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SRSC Conference Proceedings

LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF EMERGING RURAL-URBAN CONTINUUM: DIMENSIONS, PROCESSES AND POLICIES



S. R. Sankaran Chair (Rural Labour)

National Institute of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj

(Ministry of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, Government of India)

Rajendranagar, Hyderabad - 500 030.

www.nird.gov.in

NIRD&PR's VISION

- To focus on the policies and programme that benefit the rural poor, strive to energise the democratic decentralisation processes, improve the operation and efficiency of rural development personnel, promote transfer of technology through its social laboratories, technology park and create environmental awareness.
- As a 'think-tank' for the Ministry of Rural Development, NIRD&PR while acting as a repository of knowledge on rural development would assist the Ministry in policy formulation and choice of options in rural development to usher in the change.

NIRD&PR's MISSION

- To examine and analyse the factors contributing to the improvement of economic and social well-being of people in rural areas on a sustainable basis with focus on the rural poor and the other disadvantaged groups through research, action research and consultancy efforts.
- To facilitate the rural development efforts with particular emphasis and focus on the rural poor by improving the knowledge, skills and attitudes of rural development officials and non-officials through organising training, workshops and seminars.

About NIRD&PR

The National Institute of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj continuously strives to serve the nation through training, research, action research and consultancy activities for development of the rural poor and enhance their quality of life. It aims to:

- Organise training programmes, conferences, seminars and workshops for senior level development managers, elected representatives, bankers, NGOs and other stakeholders.
- Undertake, aid, promote and coordinate research.
- Study functioning of the Panchayati Raj Institutions and Rural Development programmes across the States.
- Analyse and propose solutions to problems in planning and implementation of the programmes for rural development; and
- Develop content and disseminate information through periodicals, reports, e-modules and other publications.

Considering the challenges faced by the Government in the development of a large section of rural poor across the country through its various policies and programmes, NIRD&PR as apex training Institute in the field of rural development has to cater to the training and capacity development needs of a large clientele. To achieve these objectives, a nation-wide network of training infrastructure has to play its rightful role. The clientele include a large number of elected PRI representatives at different levels, rural development functionaries, NGOs, Bankers and other stakeholders. Capacity building of rural development personnel and elected representatives is an intrinsic part of the entire rural development process. It helps to improve their managerial skills while keeping them abreast with the latest changes in strategies, government policies and programmes to augment their knowledge and working efficiency resulting in strengthening of the delivery mechanism for the benefit of all the stakeholders. The challenge is huge and NIRD&PR has been able to play its role in the country's rural development initiatives by facilitating qualitative changes in programmes implementation through a process of training, research, action research, consultancy, information dissemination and information building on a continual basis. This has enabled the Institute to emerge as the National Apex Institute for capacity development in the area of rural development.

In its continuous effort to develop managerial skills of functionaries in rural development process, the Institute started one-year fully residential Post Graduate Diploma in Rural Development Management (PGDRDM) and two one-year PG Diploma programmes in Distance Mode namely, Sustainable Rural Development (PGD-SRD) and Tribal Development Management (PGD-TDM).

Conference Proceedings : March, 2015

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March, 2015

Published by **S. R. Sankaran Chair (Rural Labour)**
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND PANCHAYATI RAJ
(Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India)
Rajendranagar, Hyderabad - 500 030. India
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Printed at : VAISHNAVI LASER GRAPHICS, Ph. 040 - 27552178

FOREWORD

NIRD&PR, through the S.R. Sankaran Chair, organised an International Conference on Labour and Employment Issues in the Context of Emerging Rural-Urban Continuum: Dimensions, Processes and Policies in March, 2015 with the objective of developing a clear understanding of the rural-urban continuum with special reference to labour and employment issues. NIRD&PR was fortunate in getting the active participation of the top most scholars of the subject from within and outside the country, including four experts from China. It may be noted that NIRD&PR has a broader role as a policy think-tank on rural development. It is in this capacity that the International Conference was organised.

Interestingly, the proceedings have provided various policy inputs related to employment guarantee, livelihoods and also social security in the context of Rural-Urban Continuum. The Conference has helped to understand different types of migration and it has brought out the complexity of the process. It is clear that the developmental policy response would vary depending on the type of migration. Incidentally, it has brought out the need for improved communication which will enable rural societies to reap the benefits of employment in the urban areas without shifting of location. The all important dimension of portability of entitlements is also highlighted, even though it requires much more study and discussion before entitlements related to food security, health security and social security can be accessed across the country.

The Conference has succeeded in bringing out the varied picture across the country even while providing a holistic understanding. The comparison and contrast with neighbouring China is illuminating. I am, sure, the publication of the proceedings would be well-received.

S.M. Vijayanand
Director General, NIRD&PR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

S. R. Sankaran Chair (Rural Labour) at NIRD&PR had organised a three-day International Conference on 'Labour and Employment Issues in the Context of Emerging Rural-Urban Continuum', during 12-14 March, 2015. The main objective of the Conference was to have a holistic understanding of the changing rural-urban linkages in the context of a structural transformation that has been going on in most of the developing countries including India. We received research papers from distinguished scholars and promising young researchers from India and abroad including China.

We are greatly indebted to Prof. S.R. Hashim, an eminent economist for delivering the Inaugural address; Prof. Jan Breman for delivering the Keynote address; and Prof. Aswini Saith for delivering the Valedictory address.

Several persons have contributed for and helped in the successful conduct of the Conference. First and foremost, we are grateful to Dr. M. V. Rao, IAS, the then Director General, National Institute of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj (NIRD&PR), for his encouragement and help in organising the Conference. We are also greatly indebted to the current Director General, Shri S. M. Vijayanand, IAS, and Deputy Director General, Shri Rajeev Sadanandan, IAS, for their support and encouragement. We have also received support from Ms. Chanda Pandit, IA&AS, Registrar/Director (Administration) and other officials. We are indebted to Professor R. Radhakrishna, Chairman, Advisory Committee, S. R. Sankaran Chair, Prof. D. N. Reddy, the previous Chair Professor and Member of the Advisory Committee, S. R. Sankaran Chair, Prof. Suman Chandra, Head, CAS & DM, NIRD&PR and all the other Advisory Committee Members (Prof. T. Papola, Prof. K. P. Kannan, Prof. Ravi Srivastava, and Prof. Alak N. Sharma) for their active support and participation in the conference. We would like to express our thanks to paper contributors, Chairpersons, Discussants of various Technical Sessions and the Panel Discussion Experts of the Conference. All of them have helped enriching our understanding of the various issues discussed during the Conference.

All the members of S. R. Sankaran Chair Unit have put in untiring efforts towards the success of the Conference.

We are grateful to NIRD&PR authorities for facilitating the publication of the Conference Proceedings for a wider dissemination of the issues and their policy implications discussed during the Conference.

Kailash Sarap

Venkatanarayana. M

S.R. Sankaran Chair

LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF EMERGING RURAL-URBAN CONTINUUM: DIMENSIONS, PROCESSES AND POLICIES

I Background

The development debate/discourse centred around the significance of structural changes in the development process of given economy began with the works of eminent economists such as Fisher, Clark, Kuznets and Kaldor. The debate on economic growth leading to structural changes in a given economy has been greatly influenced by Colin Clark's 'The Conditions of Economic Progress'. In fact, this discourse gained a further momentum with the publication of Arthur Lewis's seminal work 'Economic Development with unlimited Supply of Labour'. These economists have shown how structural changes in an economy lead to a shift from agriculture to industry and to services sector, in the development besides indicating the drivers of such

changes. As the economy grows, the demand pattern changes from agricultural commodities to manufactured products and then further to services. The productivity potential growth, in the context of technological progress and innovations, has been observed to be higher in respect of the latter sector than for the former. A similar structural change can be observed with respect to the employment structure. In the process, labour productivity and wages increase, which, in turn, lead to better living conditions. These theoretical underpinnings are based on the experiences of most of the developed countries during their development process.

In the context of developing countries, such a structural transformation has been considered as

an essential factor for their development. Most of the developing countries remain characterised by a high dependence on agriculture, backwardness, un/under-employment and low productivity. The dual economy models developed by Arthur Lewis and Ranis-Fei in the 1950s and 1960s reflect the situation prevailing in these countries besides being expected to facilitate their development on the lines of a stylised pattern of structural transformation. The underpinning of these models from an employment perspective is that labour shifts/moves (migrates) from labour surplus traditional subsistence sector(s) (i.e. agriculture or any other low/unproductive sector) to potentially labour absorbing modern (urban industry or any other productive sector) sectors.

The outcome of this process can also lead to an expansion of urban areas where the advanced sectors are located. The transfer of labour from the rural to the urban sector is a continuous process. However, what would be the nature of the transfer mediating labour market and structure of employment in the process is an empirical question. Further, the transfer process entailing shifting of labour from a rural/low productive sector to a high productive/advanced sector is not only complex in nature, but also across different regions. The

outcome in the labour market in terms of pattern of employment, terms and conditions of employment also varies.

However, the development process as witnessed in the context of many of the developing countries does not conform to a stylised pattern of structural transformation or dual economy models. Meanwhile, the development discourse has directed its attention towards an understanding of the development process in terms of rural-urban dichotomy, on the one hand, and a rural-urban continuum, on the other.

From one point of view, looking at the development process in terms of a rural-urban dichotomy or divide is undesirable. From a socio-cultural perspective, rural life is considered a continuum of tradition and culture while urban life as the debasement of tradition and culture, invariably resulting in urbanism, crime and violence. From a policy perspective, urban bias in the development policy has led to rural backwardness. The other point of view is that urbanisation and urban industry are an economy's engines of growth, as has been the case of developed countries. Herein rural-urban linkages or their interface could facilitate rural development in that the growth of urban industry could absorb the surplus rural labour while simultaneously supplying

consumer goods and services along with other inputs required for the rural production activities including agriculture. Also urban industry create demand for rural produce in the form of inputs or consumer goods. This is how rural-urban inter-dependence is seen.

However, the pattern of structural transformation that is taking place in many developing countries such as India, shows that the economic structure has been steadily changing from agriculture to services sector, bypassing the industry/manufacturing, while the employment structure is changing very slowly that more than half of the workforce is still dependent on agriculture. In contrast, while there has been a stylised pattern of increasing formal employment in the growing urban industry, most of the rural migrants are getting absorbed by the informal sector. The working conditions in this sector, many a time, are no better than those in the rural areas or they could be even worse. Apart from growing aspirations, rural distress and shrinking employment for the growing labour force in rural areas and their livelihood compulsions tend to push the rural people into migrating to the urban areas in search of employment opportunities. Besides, rural migrant labourers meet the demand for unskilled labour in the

context of a growing urban industrial sector.

Therefore, the rural-urban migration is an outcome of both the push and pull factors. There are different patterns and streams of urban migration. Depending on the duration of stay at the destination, it is categorised as permanent, temporary or seasonal or circular and commuting. Some labour households permanently leave their rural home land, while many do not leave their roots in rural home lands in that they adopt a strategy of temporary or seasonal/circular and commuting depending up on the season and distance from destination. The increasing road infrastructure and transportation (public and private) have made rural-urban commuting easier. One way of looking at the rural-urban migration is the availability of better employment opportunities and the likelihood of rising family incomes through diverse sources without losing their foothold in the rural homeland. However, the kind of odds/difficulties the migrant labourers might encounter at the destination is a cause for concern.

In this context, S.R. Sankaran Chair organised a three-day International Conference on 'Labour and Employment issues in the context of emerging Rural-Urban Continuum'

and their policy implications during 12-14 March, 2015 at the National Institute of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj (NIRD&PR), Hyderabad. The main objective of the Conference was to facilitate a holistic understanding of the changing rural-urban linkages in the context of a structural transformation that has been taking place in the developing countries including India, China and Bangladesh. We received research papers from distinguished scholars and promising young researchers including scholars from China to share their country's experiences and Prof. Rizwanul Islam to reflect on Bangladesh. Some papers, based on primary information, were presented first time during the Conference.

The Inaugural session chaired by Prof. R. Radhakrishna, an eminent economist and Chairman, Advisory Committee, S. R Sankaran Chair, began with Prof. Kailash Sarap welcoming all the delegates and participants besides briefing about the Conference, while requesting Prof. R. Radhakrishna to chair the session. Dr. M. V. Rao, Director General, NIRD&PR, presented the welcome address. Prof. H. R. Hashim, an eminent economist of India, delivered the Inaugural Address, while Prof. Jan Breman, Honorary Fellow at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, delivered the Keynote Address. Ashwani Saith,

Professor, Institute of Social Sciences, The Hague, delivered the Valedictory Address with Prof. Shiela Bhall chairing the session.

There were five Technical Sessions and a Panel Discussion Session. More than two dozen papers were presented (by distinguished scholars and promising young researchers) during the Conference. Scholars from China shared their country's experiences and Prof. Rizwanul Islam made a presentation on Bangladesh. Several distinguished scholars from abroad, namely, Prof. Judith Heyer, Prof. Gerry Rodgers, Prof. Jenine Rodgers, Prof. Sonalde Desai and Prof. Kunal Sen, and those from India such as Prof. Shiela Bhalla, Prof. T. Papola, Prof. K. P. Kannan, Prof. Alakh Sharma participated in the deliberations related to different themes of the Conference. The Panel Discussion brought out some of the contemporary issues and challenges concerning the Rural-Urban Continuum. Each of the papers represented a peculiar entry point to a better understanding of the concept of rural-urban continuum besides highlighting the inherent differences and similarities between the rural and urban relations and interactions. In this process, an attempt was made to broaden the analysis of a variety of factors that link rural and urban economies, activities

and space. There was a lively discussion in each session following the presentations. This report highlights the key observations and conclusions of the papers presented as also the subsequent discussions.

II Inaugural Session

Prof. R. Radhakrishna, while chairing the inaugural session of the conference made his brief remarks. He said, the farming communities are witnessing distress in rural India leading to increased rural-urban migration. He, however, citing from different recent studies highlighted contrasting views on the fact of migration. He focused on the huge potential of rural non-farm sector which could play an important role in easing rural out-migration. He raised concern on the slow growth of rural non-farm sector and its pattern. A large part of rural non-farm sector is distress driven and not demand driven one. There is lack of effective demand in rural India. He also made several issues related to rural-urban migration expected to be flagged off for detailed discussion in the conference.

Dr. M.V. Rao, while observing that the rural-urban distinction has become increasingly blurred over the years, pointed out that the increased mechanisation of agriculture has led to the transfer of labour from rural to urban areas and also that, while the

implementation of MGNREGA is reducing the out-migration from rural areas, it has not succeeded in preventing the younger generation from moving out (referring to a NIRD Study particularly in respect of Kerala). He also observed that while the Industrialisation process managed to create a fair degree of enthusiasm in the initial phases, it has failed to sustain it subsequently.

S. R. Hashim, while noting that one of the greatest challenges of development was how to take out the surplus labour from agricultural sector, argued that the initial growth strategy of India could not generate sufficient employment opportunities in the industrial sector (as expected) making use of the rural surplus labour. Reforms were introduced to improve the situation, but the growth of urbanisation has been very slow in India, he observed. He also claimed that there is a bias in favour of rural areas which is influenced by romantic visualisation of rural life and that though most of the poverty alleviation measures are focused on rural areas, the movement of people, especially the poor, from the rural areas to urban areas has aggravated urban poverty due to lack of basic amenities and decent jobs and also that, urban areas are becoming dumping yards, while urban poverty a spillover of rural one. Nevertheless the economic conditions

of migrant people in urban spaces are, sometimes, relatively better than those of non-migrant ones, he observed.

Jan Breman, in his keynote address, while observing that the focus has been on rural-urban migration sidelining the rural-to-rural migration, as far as the issues of migration are concerned, stressed the underestimation of migrant labourers in many of the macro surveys, in that most of migrant labourers are engaged in the informal sector in view of the formal industry being unable to provide sufficient employment opportunities and that increasing rural inequality, owing to dispossession of the poor from their land and other sources of livelihood is a factor-compelling behind rural out-migration. He also emphasised the importance of education in accessing jobs beyond the rural landscape, but this realisation, according to him, has come late and at a time when the public economy is contracting. The other important points made by Breman are as follows: there is a need to recognise the diversity and accordingly practicability of the recommendations, and policies based on neo-liberalism are not taking care of the poor migrant workers. To address the important issues related to migration, he put forward the following recommendations: Adoption of land reforms/ redistribution of land

(however, it is possible in the context of China); democratisation of village administration; restoration of the public economy (bringing back public economy with a special emphasis on employment related programmes); giving a priority to housing at the village level; caring for the disabled or disadvantaged sections of the society; and political action to bring about fundamental changes.

Kailas Sarap observed that the structural transformation of a given economy is a regular phenomenon and a continuous process, but does not follow a set pattern of development and that two divergent views exist with regard to this issue: one, rural-urban dichotomy is undesirable and the other, urban development is an engine of growth and will positively contribute to rural development. Rural-urban migration is an outcome of both push and pull factors.

III Labour and Employment issues in the Rural-Urban Continuum

The first technical session, chaired by Prof. T. S. Papola, had three presentations that focused on issues in rural-urban continuum. D. Narasimha Reddy noted that the debate related to rural-urban divide has been losing its relevance and that the focus has now shifted from the rural-urban divide to rural-urban continuum and also that the growing rural-urban

linkages in terms of movement of people, labour, capital and commodities, along with social and cultural transactions, have influenced this shift. The criterion used in India to define urbanisation is too restrictive, in that as far as urbanisation in the Indian context is concerned, it is generally perceived as low level, slow paced and top-heavy. However, this scenario is changing now. For quite some time (until the 10th Five Year Plan), urbanisation was seen as undesirable and only as a problem. There is a massive underestimation of migration in the Indian context, especially NSSO's estimation of seasonal/circular/temporary migration, according to which, there are 13 million migrants falling under these categories. While underestimating the mobility, it overestimates the distress-driven migration. The main reason for NSSO's underestimation could be its limiting cut-off range (2-6 months), whereas much of the temporary migration happens to be of a longer duration. On the other hand, alternative estimates based on micro-studies range from 40 million to 100 million. Besides, very little attention is paid to issues concerning rural-urban commuting, he observed.

Gerry Rodgers and Jenine Rodgers, while assessing the role and impact of urban connection in the

transformation of rural Bihar based on a study of some 36 villages at three points of time over the last three decades, observed that the percentage of households with at least one migrant work has increased significantly over the same period and therefore, the agrarian system can no longer be conceptualised independently of urban structures because of increased migration and commutations. Rural class hierarchies are reproduced in urban areas where the rural elite have access to a better paid, more secure segment of the labour market. The rural-urban connection through migration has a mix of positive and undesirable side effects. A majority of migrants work and live in appalling conditions. Considering that migrant families stay back in villages with migrant workers returning after the peak of their working seasons, it is the rural India that subsidises the urban growth process. It means it does not pay the full cost of reproduction of labour. Since the 1990s, the boom in India has been built on the availability of a large unskilled casual migrant labourforce, facilitating a capital driven growth in urban India, he observed.

Rizwanul Islam observed that one of the challenges in the process of economic development of most of the developing countries has been un/under-employment and that the

development strategy adopted for addressing the problem has been structural transformation through the transfer of surplus labour from sectors characterised by low productivity to modern sectors with higher levels of productivity and raising the income levels of the workers and their families. But a critical aspect of such transformation in an economy is that with surplus labour, the traditional or low productivity sector begins to face the shortage of labour and simultaneously, the modern sector becomes increasingly unable to hire workers without raising the real wages. It is known as Lewis Turning point. Although the experience of the developed countries and some of the developing countries (East Asian) that have attained a developed status has seen positive, it has not been the universal experience. In the context of many developing countries, even considerably high rates of growth have not been accompanied by similar rates of employment growth and transfer of workers to sectors with higher levels of productivity. There are many factors that contribute to such a phenomenon. Most important ones are a slow growth of manufacturing and labour intensive industries. In this context, he raised a question as to whether there exist any alternative approaches to structural transformation and absorption of

surplus labour. Based on his analysis of the experience of Bangladesh, he explained that manufacturing as an engine of growth and also as to absorb surplus labour, has lagged behind in respect of many of the developing countries such as Bangladesh. He went on to observe that a large chunk of rural labour engaged in agriculture is steadily moving towards non-agricultural activities but they are not so modern and productivity in these activities may not be so different from that of agriculture. Some of them may be getting better incomes, but some others may take up these activities due to lack of employment opportunities in agriculture. Many a time, shifting to non-agriculture or modern activities may not lead to migration to urban areas, because these opportunities may be available in rural and semi-urban areas. Explaining further, he observed that the kind of structural transformation taking place in most of the developing countries such as Bangladesh may result in a shortage of workers in the agricultural sector from a supply side in that for the educated young workers, crop production activities may be unattractive and hence, they may try to eke out a living through non-farm activities such as petty trade, etc, even if they earn less than what they could have from agricultural activities. In this context, theories developed by Lewis and

Kaldor continue to be relevant in explaining the situation of development in respect of many developing countries.

IV Rural Migrants and Urban Challenges

In the second technical session, chaired by Prof. S. R. Hashim, there were six presentations that focused on rural migrants and urban challenges. Two presentations in this session were based on the experience of China. Ye Min, while noting that small family based agriculture in China, particularly in Shanghai region, is hindering the production scale, explained that (based on theory) organised agriculture reduces negative externalities and transaction costs and therefore, China (Shanghai region) is promoting organised agriculture. Further, a decline in agriculture is compelling people to migrate. A large number of migrant farmers growing vegetables sell them in late nights through trucks. There is a contradiction between grain project and vegetable project in China, leading to a problem of community integration.

Gao Ming, while observing that there is a growing perception regarding good employment vs. ordinary employment in China explained that there is a feeling of inferiority complex among the migrant

workers in that they feel worried about their future apart from a sense of uncertainty and also that there is a growing sub-urban culture (obsessed by the urban culture family background (power of the parents)). The people in China have a ready access to jobs, mainly because of a flexible job market. Certain sectors like service, prefer girls. Migrants in China get average annual income of 70000 Yen per family which is quite better than just staying at home without work. Migrants mostly work in restaurants as waiters, store keepers and the like. Besides, migrants enjoy a huge demand in China because of labour scarcity. Migrant workers in China can easily change their jobs. Regarding gender preference, the service sector prefers more women to men. The status of women has improved during the socialist regime, which is a good cultural inheritance now, she observed.

Udai Bhanu Singh, while looking at urban temporary migration based on a study carried out in respect of Gujarat observed that all industries are dominated by the youth (15-35 years) and that the construction sector is dominated by labour belonging to ST community and also that there is a negligible role for contractors in the case of diamond and textile industries. About 80% of the workers in the diamond industry are from Gujarat.

Rather than the push factors, it is the pull factor which is responsible for such migration. The terms of employment are better in the case of diamond and textile industries when compared to those of the construction sector (more number of days of work for workers in the diamond and textile industries as compared to the construction industry). Moreover, wage rates in the diamond industry are relatively higher as compared to textile and construction industries along with some social security benefits. Further, about 90% of construction workers' children do not go to school, whereas 90% of the workers in the diamond industry send their children to school. Migrants utilise their wage income for acquiring assets/savings. As far as remittances are concerned, it is more in the case of construction industry than the other two industries. Similarly, skill upgradation is observed so more in the case of the diamond industry. Regarding unionisation many employers, however, tend to discourage the formation of unions. He also argued that, a healthy transformation of the economy is required with a diversified workforce structure along with a minimum package of social security and that MGNREGS can play an important role in this respect.

J. Jeyaranjan, while dwelling on the 'Lives of Migrant workers in

Chennai', observed that Tamil Nadu has been witnessing a rapid diversification in its economy and that at the same time, it is also confronted with the problem of labour shortage in respect of all the sectors and also that some consider MGNREGA as the main culprit for such a problem. The focus of his presentation was on the short-term inter-State migration. Based on his study, he observed that about 60% of the migrant workers in Chennai come from north-east, while younger migrants are from eastern region and older ones from south (the average age of migrants workers works out to 29) and that about 90% of the workers in the manufacturing sector are very young with nearly half of the migrants being unmarried and also that about 30% of them are illiterate. The overall illiteracy level is least in respect of the manufacturing sector. Approximately 65% of the migrants do not own any land holding. Landlessness is visible even in the case of those belonging to OBC. For about 60% of the people migrating, the need for a lumpsum money is the underlying reason, while for 20% of the migration, better opportunities. Borrowing is more among SC migrants (40%). About 30% of the migrants work for 12 hours in a day. Long working hours are quite common in the case of construction sector. Although money is paid on monthly basis, yet actual payment is linked to the number of days they

work. One-third of the workers have not experienced any increase in their wages. Social security system is worst in the case of construction sector. Discrimination by police personnel is quite common. No distinct difference is found between migrant and non-migrant workers in Chennai except in respect of housing and food habits. Employers prefer migrant workers to non-migrant workers because it is easy to manage the migrants. Regarding the skills of migrant workers, they acquire skills at the destination after migration. Also migrant workers manage to learn the local language (Tamil) very quickly in Chennai. Women from NE States hold good jobs in restaurants, automobile units, petrol pumps, etc. The respective shares of migrant workers from the NE States are: Assam - 22.5 per cent, Tripura-14.6 per cent, Odisha – 14 per cent and West Bengal – 14 per cent. In Hundai Company, out of 11000 total workers, only 1000 are skilled and the rest are unskilled who really manage the production process. An interesting observation is that no migrant worker is aware of the inter-State migration law nor is it applied.

Anant Mariganti, based on his Hyderabad Migration study, explained that Hyderabad agglomeration covers parts of 5 districts and also 11 industrial areas and that some local authorities under this agglomeration,

though many of them do not have conventional old industries and also that rural areas around Hyderabad do not want urban status, as it will lead to the introduction of property tax, so they want to continue with the rural status. Large manufacturing sectors started outsourcing workers during the 1980s, leading to the emergence of small units with 2-3 employees. Migrants generally come and stay in those lands within the city which are not classified as urban land. These things happen right in the midst of the city, not in the periphery. About 70 to 80% of the migrants want to settle in the city permanently. The influence of international migration/gulf migration on the local land dynamics has changed the land dynamics in some places. Land is a base for politics. Workers want to live here mainly because of the absence of regulations/laws. But now the government is trying to regularise the encroached lands. The Leftist parties are not organised at work sites. The politics of land is not allowing the migrant workers to settle in public lands, while those living there have no access to basic facilities like toilets, drainage and drinking water and other sanitation facilities.

Jan Breman, in his talk on 'Circular Migration between the rural hinterland and the urban fringe, in the case of Ahmadabad', observed that even the skilled workers earn not much

more than 8,000 to 10,000 rupees a month. Along with low wages, the conditions of unskilled and migrant workers at workplace are very hazardous with accidents taking place, on occasions. For some time, capitalism was under control, but the situation is now different. Ahmedabad is the most livable city in India now, only for the middle and upper class people, not for the poor who find themselves dumped in the periphery of the State. He also observed that he is not optimistic about the future because of a predatory capitalism and that in Surat, very few migrant workers are aware of the inter-State migration laws nor they being implemented well. The 1970s and 80s were the most promising decades in India from a policy change perspective in respect of employment in the context of job scarcity and restrictions. A few sectors have benefited well from reforms but the marginal sections find themselves unable not able to benefit. Those decades witnessed certain counter forces working against capitalists, but they are no longer effective. In those days, migrants were allowed to stay in the city itself, but now they are dumped outside the city in Ahmedabad. The slums have been demolished there, but migrant workers always prefer to stay in the city because it is near to their work place. The destruction of their work and lives

besides dumping them away from the work place has created enormous problems for the workers. The policy is also against them in that it prevents their collectivity, organisation and unionisation. Finally, by way of concluding, he observed that he is not optimistic about India addressing the problems of migrants.

Discussion

Presentations were followed by discussants' observations and comments. K. P. Kannan observed that organisational agriculture in China is large-scale in nature with big landlords taking possession of small farmers' lands and that, while promoting organisational agriculture China seems to be moving away from small-scale agriculture. He also enquired about the quantification aspect of the study. Moreover, he also wanted to know whether the characteristics as discussed in the paper are spreading in the other provinces of China or not? The interactions between the two classes of people, i.e. local people and migrants are quite similar to those in India. Chinmay Tumbe pointed out that, while migration in China is fairly more gender balanced, in the context of India it is male dominated and that, the findings that more SC/STs are engaged in the diamond industry in Ahmedabad contradict his own experience with the study's field

region (Ahmedabad) a few years back when he had not observed any such phenomena. Therefore, his observation was that this industry might be going through changes now-a-days or there might be other reasons for such findings and also that how international migration, particularly Gulf migration, is changing the local land dynamics must be the research concern. Rizwanul Islam observed that the common running themes related to migrant workers act as numerous barriers to migrant workers and that instead of wage equalisation, migration is causing wage inequalisation, leading to an unequal society in the process. The floor was then thrown open for discussion. The discussion centred around the nature of migration, the impact of local/international migration on the families left behind and the dynamics underlying the local markets.

V Rural Conditions that Propel Mobility to Urban Areas

The third session, chaired by Prof. K. P. Kannan, witnessed a total of seven presentations. One presentation was on China's land related institutions. Cao Jinqing observed that the presence of a cheap labour in China, enjoys a comparative advantage that there is a separation of land ownership from owner and involving in collective ownership of the village.

And that there is a material-centered and people-centered urbanisation process going on in China. Current critical issues include: Schooling for peasants' children; Social Insurance; Status of land back home when peasants obtain permanent registration in cities; Priority to industrialisation over urbanisation. While China has a comparative advantage in respect of labour, the negative aspect is that the State is incapable of providing a decent urbanisation to the peasant workers. While responding to queries, Cao explained that there is a huge reservoir of college students, but not enough workers who are skilled. Also in terms of added value from non-farm use, the value keeps changing from time to time. With respect to inequality of compensation for land acquisition, they indicate that there are instances of resistance from peasants which the State has to deal with. A big challenge before China is the absence of a sufficient skilled labour force. However, they are trying to train and educate workers. Many college graduates do not get proper jobs. The skill upgrading industry must help them. There are disputes arising from a land transformation process.

Sonalde Desai, observed that migration is a household strategy and that migration types are quite

disjointed. Migration strategies vary across migration types. In the case of long-term migration, it is the household's mobility strategy, whereas in the case of short-term or temporary or circular migration, it is the household's survival strategy. Accordingly, the factors contributing to both the types of migration are different. Desai also noted that what we do not now know from data is whether short-term migration is the beginning of a long-term migration. In the process, one cannot expect wage homogenisation, as it does not always happen. The problem is further complicated by lack of data. While NSS data portray positive stories, micro-level studies depict negative impact stories. The problem with NSS data is that it underestimates migration. It has no reference period and has used a fuzzy definition of household. While educated, upper caste and higher income groups generally opt for long-term migration, circular migration is more commonly associated with uneducated, lower caste and lower income group people who belong to less privileged groups. Circular migration is more visible in backward areas. Circular migration comes down when wage rates in villages increase. On the other hand, long-term migration is there where wage rates are higher. No relationship is observed between long-term migration and

MGNREGA, but in the case of circular/short-term migration, it has some positive impact. Also, in most sites, MGNREGA is becoming a base floor for setting wage rates though these need to be thought through. With regard to the impact on women left behind because of migration, it is found that they enjoy a better decision making power if engaged in the paid labour force than those who stay back at home in joint families. Regional and caste-specific disaggregation of migration data can be undertaken, but it is also important to understand what happens at the macro level. Regarding wage homogenisation, she noted that it differs from State to State and that MGNREGA has increased the average wage in some areas.

R. P. Mumgain, while noting that Uttarakhand, a high growth economy, has emerged as a sound economy over the years, observed that it is experiencing a huge decline in agriculture, while an increase in regional disparities. About 70% of the landholdings are sub-marginal (0.5 acre). Indebtedness among agricultural households is higher, relative to those in Uttar Pradesh. Large-scale out-migration, long duration migration is taking place in the State. As far as migration is concerned, pull factors are becoming increasingly important vis-à-vis push factors. Most of the migrants are well

educated. Remittances are an important source of income and are mostly used for consumption needs. Regarding drivers of out-migration he pointed to the poor quality of agriculture/livestock. On the impact of migration on the village economy and society he observed that there have been drastic changes in the consumption pattern and that women are becoming increasingly overburdened and that social institutions are becoming weak. On the policy issues, he stressed the importance of intensive skill development programmes. D. N. Reddy pointed out that migration in Uttarakhand cannot be compared to that of Bihar and that households migrate generally for white collared jobs and also that the type of migration should be seen differently. In Uttarakhand, what was observed was that those households with remittances from services and agricultural income had low levels of indebtedness, but this trend is fast changing due to army screening becoming stricter, greater expectations on the part of educated youth who want better job opportunities, but are unable to access the same and so on. Moreover, the status of special category for Uttarakhand is being siphoned off by those living in the plain areas rather than those in the faraway remote hilly regions.

Vijay Korra explained that India is the second largest country in the world in terms of internal migrants next only to China (30%), but at the macro-level, remain largely undocumented or unreported. Moreover, migration is getting augmented by agrarian distress. His study was based on the evidence of Mahabubnagar district, one of the most drought-prone districts in Telangana. Here, migration is predominantly seasonal in nature, with an average duration of migration lasting for six months. He observed a difference in the migration pattern: While males migrate to urban areas, females migrate to the rural areas. Korra informed that seasonal migration and the associated earnings depend on duration, distance and kind of employment. For those from a rural agrarian background, the duration lasts for six months and they spend a limited amount on daily consumption.

Keshab Das, while talking of Craft Clusters and Work in rural India, argued that bringing about a broad-based rural transformation through agrarian change cannot meet expectations and that a highly skewed distribution of land and spatio-selective technological intervention would continue to plague expectations. The country has performed dismally in promoting rural infrastructure, which constitutes the

very basis of activating the rural economy. Micro and small enterprises have received a greater policy emphasis for a long time and have been construed as a vital mechanism for generating jobs (across levels of skill, education and age) and local income, using local resources. Rural craft-based enterprises contribute to local income and employment generation in a substantive manner and being often local craft and material-based, these have served as workshops of innovation. In a manner, these rural enterprises have played a role in dissuading distress-driven rural to urban migration. However, he said, a severely inadequate policy attention to various constraints facing rural enterprises has serious implications for their growth and survival. These enterprises are facing challenges of upgrading the product quality, access to a wider market, multi-skilling labour, accessing credit and adequate business infrastructure, and protecting the environment. Cluster development programmes have turned out to be an entrenched market: different forms of exclusion faced by craft enterprises; Skilled vs unskilled labour; Subsistence industrialisation. We are trying to deal with a different kind of entity unlike other forms of enterprise and to make them sustainable is to enable them to have strategies and innovate.

Basant K. Sahu, while dwelling on 'Migration, Gender and Household Labour Use for Adopting Climatic Stress: A Study of Drought affected Areas in Odisha', explained that migration in the study areas is drought/ distress-induced which is circular/short-term in nature and that it is considered as a survival strategy (migrate or starve). The main source of irrigation is canal and the pani panchayats are not working. Due to male out-migration, there is an increase in the female WPR (25-30%) indicating at feminisation of farming and household management. Also, diversifying household labour (an increase in the number of activities and working hours- a reduction in the gap between the potential and active labour). There is a shift in works and working hours (from male and migrated workers to female workers, non-workers and other left-behind members). The poor, landless and women tend to take mostly low-return, low-productivity activities when local avenues and wages are low. There is a high rate of participation in MGNREGA mainly dominated by marginal farmers. The participation of non-backward castes outpaced others in MGNREGA initially, but declined later. The demand for MGNREGA is seasonal in nature, but at the same time, there are supply constraints (activities, execution and wage payment). Gender

influences HH participation and sharing MGNREGA employment, but it is not gender-neutral. In Kendrapada, under the MGNREGA, not all activities are undertaken, but in Bolangir there were issues of delay in the payment of wages. Labour migration has failed to improve HH production and consumption volatility and gender inequality, particularly in the backward regions. Remittances spent on housing, non-local goods, social expenditure, repaying debt are welcome but there is no clear pattern observed from the study areas. He also pointed out some emerging link between HH credit and borrowing pattern and labour migration.

Mitali Gupta, while observing that sub-contracting in India has evolved as a traditional putting-out system with the subcontracting firm often being a home-based enterprise, explained that this system signifies a high degree of dependency on the subcontracting firm by the master-enterprises and that it is seen as reducing the bargaining power of the subcontracting firm and thereby inherently not benefiting a large part of the informal sector and also that her study results show that subcontracting practices have become an inherent part of the major economic activities pursued in the rural areas. Drawing on the findings of her study, she observed that instead of the

notion that sub-contracting has led to an increase in the non-conventional economic activities, it has rather complemented the already existing traditional activities in the rural areas in addition to claiming that subcontracting is used as a cost cutting strategy in the informal sector and that NSSO data need to be supplemented with primary studies.

Discussion

Presentations were followed by discussants' observations and comments. Jenine Rodgers, pointed out how the cost of urbanisation is borne by the country side and the reduction cost of labour. China has to move away from the manufacturing model. There may be juxtaposition between mobility and survival (as evident in the circulation migration) in India. Certainly one can infer from the data that education is a major factor behind migration, especially long-term migration. In this regard, she noted that in the case of Bihar, over the last 30 years, the destination of migration has changed from rural (labour for cultivation) to urban areas (for employment). MGNREGA might have some impact on circular migration, but not found in the case of Bihar, because it falls short of the targeted days of employment, varying from village to village depending on the economy. Moreover, migrants can have

a succession of jobs– from casual labour to plumbing to tailoring, indicating that skilling or skill upgradation takes place besides pointing out that in the case of Gujarat, especially in the sectors of construction, manufacturing, textile – contractors exist, but in the case of agriculture, they have been bypassed, thanks to the communication revolution – agriculturists have a direct access to labourers across various States besides observing that (based on various studies) it is also important to look at the use of remittances – for asset creation vs. consumption, and also that in the case of consumption, it is also pertinent to look at the increase in the consumption of nutritious food. In the case of Bihar, the consumption of dairy products has increased. Moreover, it is also important to look into the impact of migration on women left behind by men in the villages.

Chandrasekhar pointed out that through various studies it has been brought out that there is a multiplicity of definitions with respect to various types of migration and that there is a need for the harmonisation of definitions and also that NCAER (Desai) data is a goldmine of indicators while NSSO and micro level studies need to be complemented and supplemented. A comparison of NSS data with field based data is not desirable. He also

pointed out that skilling of migrants at the destination (of employment) is problematic and needs to be addressed, as India has 36 segmented labour markets. Different studies do not give a harmonised definition of labour migration. A simple life table analysis is good. The migration impact on MGNREGA is going to affect the average wage rates. Very little data have been collected regarding that impact on women and children. He also observed that comparing 2001 data with 2011 may give us a better understanding of migration and its impacts and also that the Census has not even classified villages by occupation in this respect. What the villages look like in 2001 and 2011 gives some insights in census data. Including migrant worker is very difficult. Chinese study is very informative. How the added value of land will be distributed?

There was a lively discussion with the distinguished participants raising certain issues related to migration. Jan Breman pointed out that China seems to have succeeded, while India has failed and that in China, the inequality is stark; corruption is on the rise; there is no democracy and peasant workers are not accepted as citizens since land continues to remain in collective form; consumption is enormous; the communist party is authoritarian;

there is no democracy; no rights to migrants with the state holding the ownership of land. These are a few criticisms on the success story of China. In the case of migrants in East Coast of China, through three rounds of field work, it has been found that there is an upward mobility among migrant workers with decent working conditions. Some of them have been even successful in getting urban household registration, while others have to move back to homeland. In other words, footloose workers are not considered dangerous in India, but in China, they are and have been asked to move back to their place of origin.

Papola pointed out that the pattern of migration in Uttarakhand cannot be compared with that of other regions in India and also that the changes that are taking place at present are very unique. Most migrants, two or three decades ago, were into services (Army), but most of them did not settle down outside Uttarakhand after retirement. However, over a period of time, changes in the transport sector have changed the destination. Huge changes are observed in respect of individual vs. family migration with transport, education and other factors being the main drivers. However, it is important to note that every third member of any household is found in the services (three arms of the Indian

Army). In addition to this, due to changes in roads and transport, the pattern of migration destination is also dependent on where in Uttarakhand you are originally from, North or South.

Gerry Rodgers pointed out that it is also important to look at the disaggregated social composition of migration data based on a NCAER study once it is publicly available since the impacts of migration on OBCs in Bihar are completely different from those in South India and that caste is an important factor, as it is not a homogeneous factor within the country and also that reasons for migration cannot be one-sided and it is necessary to look at origin vs. destination. R. Vijay pointed out that there are two classes of migration - low income/education vs. high income/education and that in the case of the former, it is important to see how the agricultural sector/system responds to seasonal migration and whether migration in Uttarakhand is distress driven or due to a fall in the population. He raised a doubt over how the agricultural structure responds to it in terms of allocation, when agricultural labour moves out and how the local economy responds to it? The impact of sub-contracting must be correlated to household based activities/enterprises and changes thereof happening in the informal sector.

Ashwani Saith pointed out that it is also important to look at the agents of accumulation rather than looking at only the labour side of the equation and that we are focusing on one side of the equation – labour and accumulation, while ignoring the agents of accumulation. Ashwani Saith remarked that the drift in Keshab's argument indicates that crafts have suffered due to lack of an adequate policy support. He said, when Keshab Das is saying they are not supported by policy and that they are suffering, we easily drop into a supply side model. We look at the totality of the process. It says they are sunset industries. Looking to a supply side solution is a challenge. Is it coming from the demand side? Apart from supply side, one should have a comparative side. But it is important to look at whether it is complemented by demand. If it is a demand side problem, then what survives depends largely on where demand is – high end niche market. Judith Heyer said that we have to acknowledge that migration plays an important part in a dynamic economy, and that some of it is positive, some not.

VI Rural-Urban Commuting

The fourth technical session was chaired by Prof. Alak N. Sharma with four presentations made. Chinmay Tumbe emphasised the existence of

rural-urban continuum, in that this continuum is networked, diverse, full of business opportunities, segmented, transnational and highly gendered. He categorised migrants into three groups: About 5% coming under footloose labourers (commuter/seasonal migrants), 10% under unsettled settlers (semi-permanent migrants) and about 3% under settled strangers (permanent migrants). He observed that migration of adult male population from the rural areas constitutes around 80%, leading to a notion of 'missing men' and that this could be attributed to a higher rate of employment of men in non-farm sectors, especially construction and services. His concern was more about the families left behind, especially with respect to the conditions of women, after the moving out of men from their residential areas in search of employment. Male-dominant migration has led to a higher female work participation rate, especially in the case of agricultural households, but reverse is the case with other type of households. He highlighted that sex selective migration has been the major characteristic of migration in India and that migration in a contiguous district is due to geographical reasons. "foot loose" migrants are those who put one leg in the rural areas and the other one in urban areas. The higher rural wages

for labourers are due to tightening about market.

Chandrashekhar investigated into how wage rates change as you go away from the city? This paper argues that with time, the organised manufacturing sector has moved to rural areas, while the unorganised manufacturing sector from rural to urban areas. In this light, the paper concludes that an increase in the rural non-farm sector growth will lead to even higher level of commutation from the former to the latter areas. Commutation data related to NSSO reports are, some sense, right, but we cannot get everything from it; that needs micro level field studies.

N. Ajith Kumar presented a paper on the commuting patterns of workers based on his study in Kochi City covering five categories of workers: female domestic workers, retail sector workers, construction workers, office staff and IT staff. He pointed out an important fact that the population of the city has grown by just 0.1% during the last one decade making it more and more dependent on workers commuting on a daily basis from other parts of the State to fill the gap in demand and supply of labour. An average worker commuting from outside spends nearly a month in commuting to the workplace and

returning home. The study finds that women have lesser access to family owned vehicles and therefore, depend more on public transport than men. The exclusion of the commuting workers from the city governance and their place of origin is another aspect discussed in the paper. The paper brings out the implications of commuting of workers on urban governance, urban infrastructure and rights of workers.

Rathindranath Pramanik, while highlighting the problems of migrant labourers based on his study across eight villages in West Bengal, observed that due to lack of opportunities in their villages, they move to far-off places, sometimes, even to south Indian cities in search of employment and that about 50-90 per cent of the labourers in the study villages opt for seasonal migration despite the fact that they work under appalling conditions and even without getting minimum wages. Such a male-dominant seasonal out-migration is causing material as well as psychological insecurity to their families left behind.

Discussion

Discussants Sonalde Desai and P. P. Sahu were of the view that the session tried to address the key

questions of commuting and that there is a need to understand the issues for which qualitative or quantitative data are used for a particular study. In general, they were of the view that a large part of the discussion tried to portray only the darker side of migration and that there was a need to look at the other side also. In this context, a further research should also be carried out to understand how migrant workers do not fall under the formal working institutions and how they get stuck only in the larger periphery of the informal sector. In the end, one of the pressing concerns came in terms of coping with stress on the part of migrants and families left behind which also needs to be addressed. When the floor was thrown open for a discussion, queries were made on the conceptual and policy issues related to commuting.

VII Challenges in Rural-Urban Continuum: Panel Discussion

There was a panel discussion on “Challenges in rural-urban continuum”, chaired by Prof. Ashwani Saith, with expert panellists Prof. T. Papola, Prof. Rizwanul Islam, Prof. Alakh N Sharma, Prof. K P Kannan, Prof. Chandrsekhar and Prof. Cao Jinqing, participating.

T. S. Papola started with stating that MGNREGA is a unique and very

important programme for promoting livelihoods in the rural areas. Then coming to the issue of migration, he expressed his positivism by asserting that moving from rural to urban areas has definitely increased the employment status of migrants resulting in an increase in their standard of living. He also pointed out that as against the general perception, migrants are not really a burden on the urban infrastructure, and that the policy making institutions are to blame for the uncomfortable and inhospitable conditions that prevail in urban areas, not migrants. He explained this proposition by observing that the productivity of migrants is, in no way, no lower than that of non-migrants and that we do not look at the contribution of migrants to the areas they migrate and/or of the areas they migrate from (in the form of remittances which play a substantial role in building the economies of the places left). While expressing his concern that migrants are the ones who largely get stuck in the urban informal sector, though not the only ones, observed that in the context of the changing nature and dimensions of the informal sector, the informal sector no longer serves as a vestibule and apprenticeship reaching to the formal sector and that moving out of it should be the key concern on the part of the policy makers, migrants as well as non-migrants.

Prof. T. S. Papola said, migration is an important dimension of rural-urban continuum. There are so many projects of rural development aimed at keeping people there – National Rural Livelihoods Programme (NRLP) and Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) (for stopping migration). According to him, people need rural-urban continuum, but at the same time, they want to stop migration. There are not many programmes available for the urban poor in India. He tried to prove this idea of anti-urbanisation based on some research results. There is no selectivity between migrants and non-migrants. Migration leading to over-crowding and over-spacing, is obvious in the Indian context. Migrants are significantly confident about the urban economy. Productivity of migrants is, in no way, lower than that of non-migrants. It is not only the rural population that over-crowds the urban informal sectors, but also others. Urban people tend to find rural migrants unwanted. In all aspects migrants are better off than non-migrants e.g. living conditions. He suggested that instead of blaming the migrants for everything, one should blame the policy makers for not developing the urban areas.

Rizwanul Islam's observations centred around the promotion of decentralised industrialisation which

can become a crucial linkage between rural and urban areas in many ways. He was of the view that apart from setting up of good infrastructural linkages between the rural and urban areas, structural transformation is required not only within the rural areas, but also the agricultural sector as a whole. Also labour intensive production processes should not be compromised in lieu of adapting to capital and modern production processes. He started with the title of the seminar and came to a point, differentiating the word continuum or inter-linkage. He emphasised the importance of de-centralised industrialisation aspects of improving the linkage between rural and urban areas. Regarding rural industrialisation, he talked about crafts and cottage industries (e.g. KVIC). If the rural areas have industries set up, at-least rural people work there. He gave the examples of China, Taiwan and South Korea in this regard. The same thing has happened in India. He also touched on the issue of commuting vs migration. Good roads and communication facilities, which connect rural areas with urban areas, are helpful for industrialisation, he observed. In China, the situation is different in that they have town, village-township enterprises. He asserted that policy bias is not only found in South Asian countries, but also in countries like China.

Alakh N. Sharma emphasised that there is a need for planning for migration and urbanization. This is due to the fact that there has been a massive increase in the rate of growth in the rural non-farm activities, while a decline in agricultural employment, ultimately resulting in the fleeing of people from rural to urban areas. He gave an example of a high share of formal employment in China as compared to India which has resulted into its high growth rate. The other important aspect which came out of his address was that an adequate social security and portability of benefits must also accrue to the migrants to ensure their decent standard of living. He agreed with Prof. Papola and Prof. Rizwanul Islam on the rural-urban “continuum” and “inter-linkage” through commuting and migration. He also acknowledged policy bias against urban development. The increasing rate of growth of rapid urbanisation will be a challenge in the coming decades. In 1961, China was less urban than India, but now it is more urban. China workers work less than India, but earn more than India. The agricultural productivity in India has not increased like in China. However, China is witnessing a higher levels of migration than India, but at the same time, there is a substantial increase in the agricultural productivity as compared to India. The manufacturing sector is

no longer labour-intensive as it used to be earlier. Now it is much more dependent on technology. There is no policy on commuting of people in India. The basic problem of urbanisation is housing. It is important to promote development in the rural areas. In order to make the villages developed, villages have to be integrated with population and infrastructure based on local resources.

K. P. Kannan, in his address particularly stressed upon the rural urban divide which has emerged from the last five to six decades and is only going to get sharper with the building of 100 smart cities in the near future. He seemed to be very much concerned while expressing that ‘we only talk about 100 smart cities and never about 1000 villages which are going to be destroyed with the corporate sector extracting all the resources from these areas for making huge profits. He discussed at length the meaning of rural-urban continuum and whether it is to be seen in the light of a physical integration or social integration between the rural and urban areas. Barring the physical integration, he stressed that the rural-urban divide is especially visible in terms of social indicators which should be the key area for policy concerns. He started with a question: “what is the role of urban continuum”? There is a physical

dimension to migration. Migration is RurUrban in the state of Kerala i.e. it is neither rural nor urban. He also raised a question on “Continuum” and “Physical Integration”. Although the status of all the physical indicators has increased in the rural areas of India, the inter-area difference (i.e. the difference between rural and urban areas) has also increased tremendously. An increase in the social divide between rural and urban areas has also been observed in the Indian context. Hence, India needs a continuum in terms of a social integration between rural and urban areas urgently. The more the integration, better the pace of transformation.

Complementing the arguments put forth by K.P. Kannan, S. Chandrashekar observed that rural-urban continuum is visible in terms of health, commuting, governance and portable rights, labour markets and institutional structures. He expressed that India has failed to create a good quality non-farm employment, resulting in unnecessary urban conglomerations and issues of portability of rights in the inter-State migration. There is no discussion on “Inequality of opportunities in rural-urban continuum” and “portability”. Urbanisation of poverty depends on its definition. At present 84 classifications of Census towns are available. It is a

governance issue. Talking about the rural-urban continuum is not possible without a proper governance structure put in place.

Cao Jinqing focused on the development of agriculture in China with the promotion of newer strategies like an increase in the family farm size, agricultural cooperatives, contracting of workers for working on farm lands and facilitating of the construction of large-scale irrigation systems. These policy initiatives have mainly resulted from the fact that the income of agricultural workers is one-third as compared to the non-agricultural workers. He talked about the significance of Township and Village enterprises in the Chinese economy. In China, agricultural companies contract land and hire it for workers. However, the main challenge is to facilitate large scale irrigation systems. Besides this, another main challenge in China is to find out ways to achieve social solidarity for the urban population.

A lively discussion followed the experts’ presentations with a few important questions raised from the floor about healthy types of migration (Judith Heyer) and the definition of urbanisation today (Chinmay Tumble). Alak N. Sharma and Chndrasekhar did not see any problem with the current definition of urbanisation. Lastly, as

there was an exhaustive debate on rural-urban continuum and migration, the consensus was that in order to understand the dynamics of rural labour, there is a need for understanding the urban migrant labour issues and the impact of capital accumulation.

VII Social and Institutional Dimensions of Rural-Urban Mobility

This technical session, chaired by Prof. Rizwanul Islam, had six presentations. Sheila Bhalla presented a comprehensive account of the evolution of Agricultural Policy in India since Independence and its impact on both the agricultural and non-agricultural workers. She observed that due to a weak negotiating power of the Less Developed Countries (LDCs), the Agreement on Agriculture which had initiated major changes in the Indian agricultural sector, proved to be a 'lost decade' for Indian agriculture and agricultural workers. With this decline in agriculture and rising income inequalities, there was a marked increase in the non-farm sectors, especially in the services sector. This was evident from a rising share of compensation to the organised service sector employees on the one hand and non-earning of even the stipulated prices for millions of farmers on the other hand. The rising

share of income was stakeholded between the organised sector employees and the top government players. She noted a challenge in getting the estimates for the manufacturing sector as there is a dearth of studies focusing on the income estimates of the small and medium scale enterprises.

Judith Heyer traced the trajectory of development in the villages of Tiruppur-Coimbatore region from 1981-82 to 2008-09. She said, though the major economic activity of the villages continues to be agriculture, there is a large occurrence of rural non-farm activities. This is evident from the decentralised industrialisation taking place through an increase in the number of textile and engineering units. With substantial commuting from the villages from 1996 onwards, there has been a shift observed in caste structure existing in the villages (the study was first conducted in 1981). Naidu which was once a prominent caste in the villages, has, today, given way to Gounders community that has played a key role in the development of garment industry in the villages. The villages have witnessed a decline in the traditional castes, while the proportion of dalits, has increased, especially Arunthathiyars community, one of the lowest among all the three dalit castes in the villages. One important thing to

be noticed here is that though with the intervention of State level programmes to eradicate poverty, the status of dalits has improved in economic terms i.e. in the form of an increase in wages and material standards, in social terms their status has improved less as untouchability still continues to exist in the region. While tracing patterns of migration by economic class, she found that the members of the middle income group had become part of the rural non-farm sector very early as compared to the upper classes, which moved especially into the services sector from agriculture. Also, an increase in the educational levels of both males and females, has made a great difference to the overall development of the region.

Yuqin Huang, based on her study conducted in Lianhe village in Central China, observed that rural China is facing the crisis of ageing. She explained that the modalities of elderly care have been greatly influenced by the intersection of historical time and space. She used two approaches to study the elderly population the first is the structural approach wherein the elderly have been considered as 'care recipients' of the society. The second approach is the 'agency' approach to rediscover the potentiality of the elderly. The paper discovers two cohorts of ageing population 2005 ageing cohort

and 2013 ageing cohort. The inter-generational contract based on 2005 ageing cohort considers itself the most unlucky generation as it relies on its own labour, while receiving very little from their off-springs, especially the elder ones, whereas the 2013 ageing cohort finds itself somewhat protected from these modalities due to cooperative societies and State interventions. She brought out that the 2005 ageing cohort is the one which needs most attention for enhancing their support systems.

A. Amarender Reddy examined the determinants of farm and labour productivity from 2001 to 2009 by way of drawing a comparison between more developed States and less developed States in India. The major results which the study derived include an increase in labour productivity rather than the land productivity and a higher productivity and accruing of higher net returns in the case of medium and large farmers. Thus, it seems obvious that 'push factor' is working for marginal farmers in terms of searching for alternative avenues of employment and 'pull factor' for medium and large farmers for remaining in this sector. One of the noticeable changes this study came across was a huge increase in the usage of hired machinery by both the small and large farmers irrespective of their landholdings size.

Kunal Sen validated the existing notion of a declining female labour force participation rate in the rural areas from 2004-2011 based on various indicators like marital status of women, social groups, community, education level, household consumption, poverty status, land owned by the women, male children in the family and across States. The study employed a new approach for capturing the issue of a declining female labour force participation rate in terms of a conceptual framework based on the employment status of women narrow, medium and wide. He explained the study attempts to rule out mono-typed casual explanations for the pronounced decline in the female labour force participation rate based on extensive field studies.

G. Vijay and Tathagata Sengupta dwelled on the drivers of migration and conditions of migrant workers in the Brick Kiln industry. They informed that Dalit Bahujan Adivasis form the bulk of the labourforce in the brick making industry. Workers are recruited on families basis with almost equal number of men and women workers (together with children). One of the main reasons for doing so is to make it harder for individual workers to escape when working conditions reach extreme levels of oppression. A short duration based skill imparting explains

why a large number of people get into brick making industry. The advent of big capital and mechanisation, together with the de-skilling of working population at the source areas can have a significant adverse impact on the employment opportunities. The average working hours come to about 15 hours a day. Such long hours of work, without the payment of minimum wages or overtime wages or proper nutrition can only be maintained through a brute force and relentless surveillance. Every worker faces 14 minor accidents (per season) on an average. One of the common forms of accidents is electrocution, often leading to the loss of life. Most lease agreements are unofficial/illegal/semi-legal, that fall outside the purview of law and regulations. Women workers undergo regular sexual harassments, mostly from the kiln management staff because of the fact that there is no safe bathroom facility available for them. Although most kilns have access to borewells for drinking water, workers depend on common wells and tanks for other domestic water need. These tanks are already severely polluted due to all kinds of activities, particularly pollutants from kilns. The usage of such water invariably leads to serious physical problems, such as skin disease, etc. There is no communication or interaction

between workers in the neighbouring kilns. The only real social time available for the workers is during the weekly market. But even at the market place, the workers are kept under a strict surveillance by the kiln management.

P. P. Sahu talked about the limited livelihood options and opportunities for rural India, especially for socially and economically backward sections of the society such as SCs and STs, based on various data sources like Census, NSSO, Economic Census, Small-Scale Enterprise Surveys. He presented a disaggregated analysis of private business participation in the rural areas explaining how the caste plays a role in determining the type and nature of enterprises and also productivity differences across social groups. The paper clearly brings out how SCs and STs owned disproportionately lower share in private business economy and also operate at lower levels of productivity as compared to enterprises owned by the upper caste. The study also highlights how the constraints to start and run a business venture are more and acute for SC and ST entrepreneurs as compared to other categories in rural India. As a policy option, the study suggested creation of adequate earning opportunities in rural India as well provisioning of monitoring and mentoring.

Discussion

Presentations were followed by observations and comments from discussants, J. Jeyaranjan, Keshab Das and R. P. Mamgain and Rizwanul Islam. Regarding Judith Heyer's presentation, it was expressed that in spite of so much development taking place in the State of Tamil Nadu, caste continues to play a very dominating role in the social fabric of the State. So, it is important to question and even bifurcate the role being played by the decentralisation of industries and State institutions to ensure an overall development of the region. Also the social security programmes prevailing in the villages of Central China were brought to the attention of the participants for a glimpse of the role played by the State institutions. Also, the paper suggested the incorporation of the lessons based on the experiences of the urban areas to the rural areas for enhancing the support systems for the elderly. Kunal Sen faced a query regarding the conceptual framework he adopted to examine the decline in the female labour force participation rate. He was asked to pursue instead of 'what' aspect, 'how' aspect and should be expressed more precisely. Overall, there was a general consensus expressed over the issues of unprecedented levels of rural

non-farm activities, especially among the younger educated generation, shifting of occupational hierarchies from rural to urban areas, non-emergence of any clear and precise patterns and trends in migration in spite of so many studies conducted and finally, the need for a synthesis of macro and micro level data for obtaining a comprehensive and holistic picture of the issues discussed.

With the floor thrown open for a discussion, there were suggestions to triangulate the micro and macro data for a proper understanding of the issues related to migration, women work participation rates and livelihood conditions of the poor. Some of the queries were, when people migrate, why women participation is low. Is there a need for a narrow definition of Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), when a majority of them are self-employed. A suggestion was that there is a need to look at the income factor for declining LFPR of women. Substitution of capital for labour in the informal economy is also one of the reasons for a falling female LFPR. An analysis of LFPR data can give an age-group-wise unemployment picture. There is a need to look at the sectoral ratio of LFPR. There is also a need to study why Dalit women in Tamil Nadu are withdrawing from workforce and also the effect of MGNREGA on LFPR. We need to be careful while giving an

explanation for a falling female LFPR in the long-run. For the poor migrants from Odisha, except brick-kilns, there is no other way, as they have migrated from Western Odisha which is a feudal-social society. Unlicensed contractors are the main reason for not providing any basic facility at work sites of brick-kilns. Rizwanul Islam summarised the discussion in the following way: No single pattern emerging for migration in India. The plight of SC & ST is miserable, who find themselves at the low end of migration, and their space is gradually shrinking. The short-term based data are not enough to analyze the declining female LFPR. This needs to be analysed, using both micro and macro data.

VIII Valedictory Session

Prof. Ashwani Saith delivered the valedictory address with Prof. Sheila Bhalla presiding over the session. Prof. Saith, while talking of the glaring realities in terms of vulnerabilities existing in India and China observed that the independent histories of the two nations were almost the same. He further observed that in 1978, the difference between India and China's growth estimates was only around 1-2%, but thereafter China developed very fast. He attributed this growth to the year 1978 which is supposed to be the cutting point in the development history of China. This was when the

collectivist model in China came up and laid the foundation for China's success story.

While probing into what actually made the difference in the growth rates of the two nations, he emphasised that the capitalistic mode of production wants resources more than even labour. But the irony is that all the resources are collectively owned by the communities that thrive on those resources. So the capital wanting labour is one side of the coin, while labour willingly releasing resources to capital is the other side of the coin. The latter process takes time to happen, especially in the rural areas and it may range from a few years to many hundred years and may involve certain procedural phenomena, bringing into the picture interventions by the State institutions. Now to accelerate this accumulation of labour and resources, breaking of this community holding is important so that the resources can be released as the capitalist mode of production exactly does not need labour as much as it needs resources. This is where China's collectivist model has become a great success.

Explaining about China's collectivist model, he said that there exist three layers of working space-(1) production team (comprising villages and are the lowest tier); (2) production

brigade (enterprises working in this sector); and (3) production communes (higher structures and institutions which run them). The lowest tier consisted of Landlords and Peasants which were collectivised and then later de-collectivisation took place by the communes which brought in economies of scale and then there emerged a class of industrial estates which were politically very strong. This system was vertical in nature and very strong in its operation and systematically exploited resources and labour. This model of collective ownership of land and resources increased the latter's productivity and also of the areas around it. In fact this kind of model is actually feeding back into agriculture more than what it has derived from it.

The next issue he dwelled on was exploitation of labour vs. nationalism. He noted that the rate at which income can be converted into consumption was very slow in China and even after working against the stipulated price mechanisms, China grew much faster than India. Also the availability of land back home made the Chinese labour force less migration prone as compared to India. It has also been seen that the way the bargaining exchanges take place in the communes worked well to suppress labour unrest. This is where socialism played its role in China by elevating the levels for

capitalism to operate on a large scale for accumulating both labour and resources. Saith expressed that though for the world outside, this seems to be the exploitation of labour, this pattern of socialism laid the foundation stone for China's success because people had belief in this kind of system and wanted it to happen. This feeling of nationalism was sustained and maintained through social transformation for a long time in China which was not possible for India.

Coming to the progress of India, Saith tried to probe if socialist and collectivist model of growth has shown results in China, so were the Nehruvian policies and the decade which implemented those policies was a 'waste' or should it be considered the other way round? There are institutional differences existing between the social structure of India and China, so the way the socialist/collectivist model worked in China cannot be expected to work in India. Also, there is a honcho going around the corporate culture that India will overcome China in a few years or in the next decade or so, but the ground realities in India do not conform to this notion. There are many reasons for it. First of all, labour schemes in China

had a positive impact on agricultural productivity and rural non-farm sector, but MGNREGA programme in India has been only instrumental in generating employment, not asset-creation. Secondly, India has been well protected in a host of dimensions of the agricultural sector like irrigation and fertiliser by way of providing huge subsidies, but then it is unable to survive the wrath of the corporate culture which bypassed millions of farmers working in the agricultural sector. Thirdly, there are structural differences between India and China in terms of labour productivity, infrastructure, economies of scale, maintaining of a favourable exchange rate for a long period of time and education and urbanisation with high rates of growth as compared to India. Coming to the end of the lecture, Prof. Saith expressed a significant concern that whether in India or in China, the corporate culture leaves behind the inferior part of agriculture and moves with the forward, the already strong classes in agriculture. Everybody cannot be accommodated in the industrial and service sectors world, so we should create such a social fabric and structure which can involve one and all in the most productive way possible.

Programme Schedule

Day 1: March 12, 2015 (Thursday)	
Registration	: 9.00 to 9.30 AM
Inaugural Session	: 9.30 to 11.30 AM
	<p>Chairperson : Prof. R. Radhakrishna</p> <p>Welcome Address : Dr. M. V. Rao, IAS, D.G., NIRD&PR, Hyderabad</p> <p>About the Conference : Prof. Kailash Sarap</p> <p>Inaugural Address : Prof. S. R. Hashim</p> <p>Keynote Address : Prof. Jan Breman</p> <p>Vote of Thanks : Prof. Kailash Sarap</p>
Tea Break	: 11.30 to 11.45 AM
Technical Session I (11.45AM to 1.30 PM)	: Labour and Employment Issues in Rural-Urban Continuum
	<p>Chairperson : Prof. T.S. Papola</p> <p>Presentations:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Prof. D. Narasimha Reddy - Labour and Employment Issues in the Emerging Rural-Urban Continuum in India: An Overview 2 Prof. Gerry Rodgers and Prof. Jenine Rodgers - The Urban Connection in the Transformation of Rural Bihar 3 Prof. Rizwanul Islam - Structural Transformation and Alternative Pathways to the Lewis Turning Point Discussants: Prof. Alakh N. Sharma and Prof. Kunal Sen Rapporteurs: Dr. Sanjit Raut and Dr. P. P. Sahu
Lunch Break	: 1.30 to 2.30 PM

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Programme Schedule *(Contd...)*

Technical Session II (2.30 to 5.30 PM)	: Rural Migrants and Urban Challenges Chairperson : Prof. S. R. Hashim
Tea Break	: 3.45 to 4.00 PM Presentations: 1 Dr. Ye Min – The Small Migrant Farmers and Unfriendly Policies of Metropolitan Government in Shanghai 2 Dr. Gao Ming – How do the views of pain and hope shape the continuous migration? Cases in Shanghai 3 Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh – Rural to Urban temporary Migration in Gujarat: Understanding Linkages between Migration and Development 4 Prof. J. Jayaranjan – Lives of Migrant Workers in Chennai 5 Dr. Anant Mariganti – The Agrarian Question as the Urban Question 6 Prof. Jan Breman – Circular Migration between the rural hinterland and the Urban fringe, the case of Ahmedabad Discussants: Prof. K.P. Kannan, Dr. Chinmay Tumble and Dr. G. Vijay Rapporteurs: Dr. Chirala Shankar Rao and Dr. Sanjit Rout
Day 2: March 13, 2015 (Friday)	
Technical Session III (9.15 AM to 1.30 PM)	: Rural Conditions that Propel Mobility to Urban Areas Chairperson : Prof. K. P. Kannan
	Presentations: 1 Prof. Cao Jinqing – Chinese land institutions: migrant workers and urbanisation 2 Prof. Sonalde Desai – Rural to Urban Migration: The Role of Push and Pull Factors

(Contd...)

Programme Schedule (Contd...)

	3	Prof. R. P. Mamgain and Prof. D. Narasimha Reddy – Out-migration from Hill Region of Uttarakhand: Magnitude, Challenges and Policy Issues
	4	Dr. Vijay Korra – Intra-dynamics of Seasonal Labour Migration: A Case Study of a Drought-Prone District in Telangana
Tea Break	:	11.30 to 11.45 AM
	5	Prof. Keshab Das – Craft Clusters and Work in Rural India
	6	Dr. Basant K. Sahu – Migration, Gender and Household Labour Use for Adopting Climatic Stress: a Study of drought affected areas in Odisha
	7	Ms. Mitali Gupta – Role of Sub-contracting in Structuring Changes in Economic Activity in Rural Areas of India
		Discussants: Prof. Jenine Rodgers, and Prof. S. Chandrasekhar
		Rapporteurs: Dr. Prajna Mishra and Dr. Soumya Vinayan
Lunch Break	:	1.30 to 2.15 P M
Technical Session IV (2.15 to 3.45 PM)	:	Rural-Urban Commuting Chairperson : Prof. Alakh N. Sharma
		Presentations:
	1	Dr. Chinmay Tumbe – Contemporary Migration in India and its Intersection with Rural Labour Markets
	2	Prof. Chandrasekhar – Mobility of Workers: Implications for Integration of Rural and Urban Labour Markets
	3	Dr. N. Ajith Kumar, Baishali Goswami and Prof. K. K. George - Patterns of Commuting for Work: A Case Study of Kochi City, Kerala

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Programme Schedule (Contd...)

	<p>4 Dr. Rathindranath Pramanik – The Nature of Migration of Rural Labourers and their Problems: A Micro Level Study</p> <p>Discussants: Prof. Sonalde Desai and Dr. P. P. Sahu Rapporteurs: Dr. Sanjit Raut and Dr. Chirala Shankar Rao</p>
Tea Break	: 3.45 to 4.00 PM
Panel Discussion (4.00 to 5.45 PM)	: Challenges in Rural-Urban Continuum Chairperson : Prof. Ashwani Saith
	<p>Panelists:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Prof. T. Papola 2 Prof. Rizwanul Islam 3 Prof. Alakh N. Sharma 4 Prof. K. P. Kannan 5 Prof. S. Chandrasekhar 6 Prof. Cao Jinqing <p>Rapporteurs: Dr. Sujit Mishra and Ms. Mithali Gupta</p>
Day 3: March 14, 2015 (Saturday)	
Technical Session V (9.15 AM to 1.30 PM)	: Social and Institutional Dimensions of Rural-Urban Mobility
	<p>Chairperson : Prof. Rizwanul Islam</p> <p>Presentations:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Prof. Sheila Bhalla - The Metamorphosis of India's Agricultural Policy in the 1990s and its Impact on the Conditions of erstwhile Agricultural Labour Supply to the Non-farm Sector

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Programme Schedule (Contd...)

	2	Prof. Judith Heyer - Differential experiences by caste, class and gender of people entering non-agricultural employment in the rural-urban continuum around Tiruppur and Coimbatore
	3	Dr. Yuqin HUANG – The Changing Inter-generational Contracts: Gender, Cohorts and Elderly Care Arrangements in a Central Chinese Village, 2005-2013
	4	Dr. A. Amarender Reddy – Changes in Farm Size, Income and Employment in Paddy Cultivation in the past Decade
Tea Break	:	11.00 to 11.15 PM
	5	Prof. Kunal Sen - Declining female labour force participation in rural India
	6	Dr. Tathagata Sengupta and Dr. G. Vijay – The De-institutionalising Labour Relations of Accumulation through Disuse: The Case of Brick Kiln Industry in Telangana
	7	Dr. P. P. Sahu – Expanding Livelihood Strategies for Marginalised Communities in Rural India: Opportunities and Challenges
		Discussants: Prof. J. Jeyaranjan; Prof. Keshab Das, Prof. R. P. Mangain
		Rapporteurs: Dr. Chirala Sankar Rao and Ms. Mithali Gupta
Lunch Break	:	1.15 to 2.00 PM

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Programme Schedule (Contd...)

Valedictory Session	:	2.00 to 3.15 PM
Chairperson	:	Prof. Sheila Bhalla
Valedictory Address	:	Prof. Ashwani Saith – The Collectivist Foundations of Market Success: Viewing Chinese Development from an Indian Perspective
Vote of Thanks	:	Prof. Kailash Sarap
High Tea	:	3.15 PM

Organising Committee

Dr. M. V. Rao, Director General, NIRD&PR – Chairman and Chief Patron.

Prof. R. Radhakrishna, Chairman, Advisory Committee, S. R. Sankaran Chair, NIRD&PR.

Prof. Kailash Sarap, Professor, S. R. Sankaran Chair, NIRD&PR – Convener and Secretary.

Prof. C. S. Singhal, Professor and Head, CWDGS, NIRD&PR.

Prof. Suman Chandra, Professor and Head, CAS&DM, NIRD&PR.

Prof. D. Narasimha Reddy, ICSSR National Fellow, CSD, Hyderabad.

Coordinators

Prof. Kailash Sarap, Professor, S. R. Sankaran Chair, NIRD&PR, Hyderabad.

Prof. Suman Chandra, Professor and Head, CAS&DM, NIRD&PR.

M. Venkatanarayana, Research Officer, S. R. Sankaran Chair, NIRD&PR, Hyderabad.

Resource Persons: Rapporteur

Inaugural Session	Dr. Sanjit Raut
Technical Session I	Dr. Sanjit Raut and Dr. P. P. Sahu
Technical Session II	Dr. Sanjit Rau and Dr. Chirala Shankar Rao
Technical Session III	Dr. Sanjit Rau, Dr. Prajna Paramita Mishra, and Dr. Soumya Vinayan
Technical Session IV	Dr. Sanjit Rau and Dr. Chirala Shankar Rao
Panel Discussion	Dr. Sujit Mishra, Dr. Sanjit Raut and Ms. Mitali Gupta
Technical Session V	Dr. Sanjit Rau, Dr. Chirala Shankar Rao, and Ms. Mitali Gupta
Valedictory Session	Dr. Sanjit Rau and Ms. Mitali Gupta

List of Key Participants

1	Prof. Cao Jinqing	Faculty, Department of Sociology, East China University of Science and Technology, Shanghai, China.
2	Dr. Yuqin Huang	Faculty, Department of Sociology, East China University of Science and Technology, Shanghai, China.
3	Dr. Ye Min	Faculty, Department of Humanities, East China University of Science and Technology, Shanghai, China.
4	Dr. Gao Ming	Lecturer, Department of Cultural Studies, Shanghai University, Shanghai, China.
5	Prof. Jan Breman	Honorary Fellow at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam .
6	Prof. Rizwanul Islam	Former Special Adviser, Employment Sector, International Labour Organisation (ILO), Geneva.

(Contd...)

List of Key Participants *(Contd...)*

7	Prof. Aswani Saith	Professor, International Institute of Social Science (ISS), The Hague.
8	Prof. Kunal Sen	Professor, University of Manchester, Manchester.
9	Prof. Jenine Rodgers	Visiting Professor, Institute for Human Development (IHD), New Delhi.
10	Prof. Gerry Rodgers	Former Director, International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS), International Labour Organisation (ILO), Geneva. Currently Visiting Professor, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi.
11	Prof. Judith Heyer	Emeritus Fellow, Somerville College, Oxford.
12	Prof. T. Papola	Professor, Institute of Studies on Industrial Development (ISID), New Delhi.
13	Prof. R. Radhakrishna	Chairman, Advisory Committee, S. R. Sankaran Chair, NIRD&PR and Chairman, Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Hyderabad.
14	Prof. K. P. Kannan	Chairman, Laurie Baker Centre for Habitat Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.
15	Prof. Alak N. Sharma	Director, Institute of Human Development (IHD), New Delhi.
16	Prof. Sheila Bhalla	Emeritus Professor, CESP, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
17	Prof. S. R. Hashim	Chairman, Indian Association of Social Science Institutions, New Delhi; Former Chairman, UPSC, New Delhi.
18	Prof. D. Narasimha Reddy	ICSSR National Fellow, Council for Social Development (CSD), Hyderabad.
19	Prof. Indira Hirway	Director, Institute of Alternative Development (IAD), Ahmedabad.

(Contd...)

List of Key Participants (Contd...)

20	Prof. J. Jeyaranjan	Director, Institute of Development Alternatives (IDA), Chennai.
21	Prof. R. P. Mumgain	Professor, Giri Institute of Labour Studies, Lucknow.
22	Prof. Sonalde Desai	Professor, University of Maryland and National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER), New Delhi.
23	Prof. Keshab Das	Professor, Gujarat Institute of Development Research (GIDR), Ahmedabad.
24	Prof. S. Chandrasekhar	Professor, Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), Mumbai.
25	Prof. Kailash Sarap	Professor, S. R. Sankaran Chair (Rural Labour), NIRD&PR, Hyderabad.
26	Dr. M. V. Rao	Director General, NIRD&PR, Hyderabad.
27	Prof. R. Vijay	Professor, School of Economics, University of Hyderabad (UoH), Hyderabad.
28	Dr. Basant K. Sahu	Associate Professor, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade (IIFT), New Delhi.
29	Dr. Partha P. Sahu	Assistant Professor, Institute for Studies in Industrial Development (ISID), New Delhi.
30	Dr. A. Amarender Reddy	Principal Scientist, Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI), New Delhi.
31	Dr. Ajith kumar	Director, Centre for Socio-economic and Environmental Studies (CSES), Kochi.
32	Dr. Rathindranath Pramanik	Associate Professor (Economics), Palli Charcha Kendra, Department of Social Studies and Rural Development, Visva-Bharati, Sriniketan.

(Contd...)

List of Key Participants *(Contd...)*

33	Dr. G. Vijay	Associate Professor, School of Economics, University of Hyderabad (UoH).
34	Dr. Chinmay Tumble	Assistant Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Hyderabad.
35	Dr. Vijay Korra	Assistant Professor, Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Hyderabad.
36	Dr. Anant Mariganti	Hyderabad Urban Labs, Hyderabad.
37	Mr. Bharat Bhusan	Hyderabad Urban Labs, Hyderabad.
38	Dr. Udai Bhanu Singh	Assistant Professor, Amity Business School, Amity University, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
39	Dr. Sujit Mishra	Associate Professor, Council for Social Development, Southern Region, Hyderabad.
40	Dr. Sanjit Raut	Economist, Livelihood and Natural Resources Management Institute (LNRMI), Hyderabad.
41	Dr. Soumya Vinayan	Assistant Professor, Council for Social Development, Southern Region, Hyderabad.
42	Dr. Prajna Paramita Mishra	Assistant Professor, School of Economics, Central University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.
43	Dr. Chirala Shankara Rao	Assistant Professor, Council for Social Development, Southern Region, Hyderabad.
44	Mr. Thathagata Sengupta	Scholar, Department of Statistics, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.
45	Ms. Mitali Gupta	Research Scholar, Department of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

About S.R. Sankaran

Shri S. R. Sankaran, a Civil Servant, is known for his commitments and actions for the upliftment of the poor and the marginalised. The seamless integrity between his life, ideas and work was the unique dimension of his personality. As a Civil Servant, he took Constitution as a mandate and made every opportunity to put in practice the fundamental principles of equality, non-discrimination, justice and affirmative action in favour of the economically backward sections. He believed that his true vocation as a civil servant was to serve the people where the poor occupied the primacy of position. Within the poor, his concern was about SCs and STs as they have been at the lowest rung of the social hierarchy, wallowing in chronic misery and deprivation and subjected to daily acts of injustice and indignity.

The transformative role that Shri Sankaran as a Civil Servant, played in the lives of the poor is exemplary to date. His deep understanding of the social environment of the poor is remarkable. In his view, the poor are typically unorganised, hard to reach, inarticulate, often invisible by residing in periphery. Along with lack of access to land and other natural resources, lack of access to education makes them vulnerable to manipulation by adversaries they suffer leading them to internalise the ideology of dependence and submission. The conditions of poor can be compressed into five disabilities, such as lack of access to land and employment; unfree labour; low wages; institutionalised discrimination; and deprivation in social services. His work during his career and after retirement devoted to uplifting the poor by relieving them from such adversaries and organising them. While working for the poor he had not only used his professional skill but also brought to bear on the problem of human touch and his moral values.

Shri Sankaran was a legendary civil servant, a crusader for social justice, a civil rights activist, a perceptive critic of development and public policy with extraordinary sensitivity, clarity, and above all, an epitome of compassion. A single social goal of his entire life's work was the reduction of contradiction between political and socio-economic inequality.

S.R. Sankaran Chair

S. R. Sankaran Chair (Rural Labour) is instituted at the National Institute of Rural Development and Panchayat Raj (NIRD&PR), Hyderabad by the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), Govt. of India with the objective of promoting research on issues that would enhance understanding and help in improving the world of work and the life worlds of the rural labour. Collaborative research, seminars, workshops and policy dialogues involving institutions, organisations, policy makers and other stakeholders with similar objectives, and placing the results in the larger public domain through working papers, articles in learned journals, books and policy briefs are part of the activities set out for the Chair.



S. R. Sankaran Chair (Rural Labour)

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