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INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES AND INITIATIVES FOR THE SOCIAL INCLUSION OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

We live in the state and in society; we belong to a social circle which jostles against its members and is jostled by them; we feel the social pressure from all sides and we react against it with all our might; we experience a restraint to our free activities and we struggle to remove it; we require the services of other people which we cannot do without; we pursue our own interests and struggle for the interests of other social groups, which are also our interests. In short, we move in a world which we do not control, but which controls us, which is not directed toward us and adapted to us, but toward which we must direct and adapt ourselves. (Gumplowicz.L, 1963).

Internal migration in India accounts for a large population currently estimated at approximately 400 million, or nearly 30 percent of the total population. The constraints faced by seasonal migrants in particular (estimated at 100 million) (UNESCO, 2013)are many – lack of formal residency rights; lack of identity proof; lack of political representation; inadequate housing; low paid, insecure or hazardous work; extreme vulnerability of women and children to trafficking and sexual exploitation; exclusion from state-provided services and entitlements such as health and education; inability to access banking facilities; and discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, class or gender. Inspite of certain initiatives taken by government of India, ngo's and international agencies, the social inclusion of the internal migrants have been restricted and limited.

This paper is an attempt to Review the innovative initiatives taken in the context of social inclusion of the internal migrants for the development of internal migrants in India and the changes occurred in regard to the inclusion of the internal migrants.

Keywords: Internal Migrants, Social Inclusion, Innovation Strategies

1. SOCIAL INCLUSION DEFINITION

Social inclusion is a term that can be used to describe a series of positive actions to achieve equality of access to goods and services, to assist all individuals to participate in community and society, to encourage the contribution of all persons to social and cultural life and to be aware of and to challenge all forms of discrimination. By ensuring that the marginalized and those living in poverty have greater participation in decision-making which affects their lives, will allow them to improve their standard of living and overall well-being. (Council, 2009).

Poverty alone is not a comprehensive marker of deprivation. Race, ethnicity, gender, religion, place of residence, disability status, age, HIVAIDS status, sexual orientation or other stigmatized markers, confer disadvantage that excludes people from a range of processes and opportunities. Social inclusion aims to empower poor and marginalized people to take advantage of burgeoning global

opportunities. It ensures that people have a voice in decisions which affect their lives and that they enjoy equal access to markets, services and political, social and physical spaces. (WorldBank, 2013).

2. SOCIAL EXCLUSION TO SOCIAL INCLUSION

Social exclusion concept, which first emerged in the policy discourse in France and its adoption later by other European countries have had an increasing impact on the analyses of social disadvantages in Europe over the last couple of decades. (Flotten, 2001).

In literatures conceptualizing exclusion, conceptions of inclusions are implicit and unproblematized. In fact, social inclusion is seen to be defined in relation to social exclusion. Some analysts have argued that both inclusion and exclusion are inseparable side of the same coin. However, some comment that academic debate on social exclusion has been relatively silent on its assumed corollary. There have been some notable contributions to a debate on inclusion, but this has not been closely integrated into the wider debate on exclusion. It therefore remains the case that in the majority of the exclusion literature the nature and meaning of social inclusion is merely implied or asserted (Cameron, 2006) only if the question of what constitutes inclusion is addressed can the question of what constitutes exclusion be posed. Each question is mutually dependent on the other. (O'Relly, 2005).

Feminist inquiries have also shown that marginality need not only be a social disadvantage but can be both the ground of resistant discourses and resource claims. For example, in a piece on women irrigators in Nepal (C.Jakson, 1999) have shown that identities of exclusion and vulnerability were utilized to argue successfully for priority in water supply, to justify 'stealing' of water , to avoid night irrigation, to win exemption (on grounds of lesser strength and the undesirability of women working alongside strange men) from contributing to system construction and maintenance and reduction in cash contributions (C.Jakson, 1999). Thus, if inclusion implies, incorporation into exploitative or violent relationships, exclusion may not always be undesirable. More important is the ability of individuals and groups to control the terms under which they are included. For instance, debates about marginality have deep roots in Latin America where poverty is seen as resulting not from lack of integration the world capitalist system, but rather from the terms of incorporation of individuals and communities within it (C.Jakson, 1999).

(C.Jakson, 1999) Also reminds us that inclusion can also produce exclusion, and this occurs, when excluded groups successfully achieve inclusion on the basis of excluding groups even weaker than themselves. For example, women may deny their gender interest in bid for inclusion through adopting male postures or the socially mobile poor may position themselves nearer the center through dissociation from the seriously poor (Rawal, 2008) .

3. IMPACT OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

Though it is generally presumed that exclusion is detrimental and inclusion is for good, in practice this may not be true. Coercive inclusion by market or by dominant social system in any form may cause harm to the social web of the new entity. Coercive inclusion may be in the form of child labour, women in wage labour with differential payments, putting tribal people in unskilled and unprotected labour force and as immigrant workers etc. For similar reason, exclusion is not always bad. To those who do not accept the value of the market system and do not resemble or depend on a social system outside their traditional domain, any voluntary exclusion from those entities should be perfectly accepted. Because, it is said that exclusion and poverty are mostly interrelated. Conventional poverty indicators reveal that there is a strong correlation between being indigenous or tribal and being poor or extremely poor. Tribal people are more likely to have lower income, poorer physical living conditions, less access to health care, education, and a range of other services, worse access to labour, land and capital markets, and worse returns to work as well as weaker political representation. The poverty and social exclusion experienced by tribal people are largely due to discrimination at social and institutional level during colonial and post independent era (C.J.Sonowal, 2008).

4. MAJOR MIGRATION FLOWS

More than two-thirds (69 percent) of India's 1.21 billion people live in rural areas, according to the 2011 Census of India, but the country is rapidly urbanizing. The cities of Mumbai, Delhi, and Kolkata are all among the world's top ten most populous urban areas, and India has 25 of the 100 fastest-growing cities worldwide. A significant source of this growth is rural-to-urban migration, as an increasing number of people do not find sufficient economic opportunities in rural areas and move instead to towns and cities. Provisional 2011 census data show that for the first time, India's urban population has grown faster than its rural population since the last census. Thirty-one percent of India's population is now classified as urban, up from almost 28 percent in 2001. In 2007-08, the National Sample Survey measured the migration rate (the proportion of migrants in the population) in urban areas at 35 percent. In addition to migration, natural population increase and the inclusion in census data of newly-defined urban areas also account for some of this urban growth.

Internal migrants have widely varying degrees of education, income levels, and skills, and varying profiles in terms of caste, religion, family composition, age, and other characteristics. National-level data that identify trends in these features are not available. However, micro-surveys suggest that most migrants are between ages 16 and 40, particularly among semi-permanent and temporary migrants, whose duration of stay may vary between 60 days and one year. Scheduled tribes and castes—the tribal and caste groups that are explicitly protected in India's constitution because of their historic social and economic inequality—are over-represented in short-term migration flows. And most labour migrants are employed in a few key subsectors, including construction, domestic work, textile, and brick manufacturing, transportation, mining and quarrying, and agriculture (Varma, 2014).

Despite India's impressive rates of economic growth over the past three decades, vast numbers of Indians are unable to secure a meaningful livelihood. In 2010, 29.8 percent of all Indians lived below the national poverty line, while 33.8 percent of rural Indians lived below the national rural poverty line, according to World Bank data. While wage and education gaps between rural and urban Indians are declining, rural India is still characterized by agrarian distress, a chronic lack of employment, and farmer suicides. Thus, the rural-urban divide has been one of the primary reasons for India's labour mobility.

The North Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have the highest percentages of rural populations, with 18.6 percent and 11.1 percent of people living in villages, respectively, as of the 2011 Census. These states are also the largest migrant-sending states. Substantial flows of labour migrants relocate from Uttar Pradesh to Maharashtra, Delhi, West Bengal, Haryana, Gujarat, and other states across northern and central India. Migrants from Bihar relocate to the same destinations, with the highest numbers to Delhi and West Bengal. Other major migrant-sending states are Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Orissa. Predictably, all of the major sending states are characterized by very low social and economic development indices and the major urban destinations (enumerated below) are the growing economic magnets in an increasingly liberalized (Varma, 2014).

5. PROBLEM IN MEASURING MIGRATION

The 2001 Census lists 307 million internal migrants, but defines as a migrant anyone who lives in a place that is different than their place of birth or place of last residence. This definition casts too wide a net because it includes many people who move over very short distances, within the same district. On the other hand, it likely misses a significant number of seasonal migrants, who have as much of a chance of being counted in their place of birth or last residence as they do at their new destination.

6. DOCUMENTATION AND IDENTITY

Proving their identity is one of the core issues impoverished migrants face when they arrive in a new place, a problem that can persist for years or even decades after they migrate. Identity documentation that is authenticated by the state is indispensable for ensuring that a person has a secure citizenship status and can benefit from the rights and protections that the state provides.

A birth certificate is the primary proof of citizenship in India, and is the primary document that can be used to acquire other documentation, such as ration cards and election cards. However, there are several variations across the country on how such documentation is issued and used.

In India, many citizens are born at home or in rural or remote areas, not in places such as hospitals or clinics where birth certificates are issued. The overall birth registration rate in the country is 34.7 percent, but there are significant regional differences. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the home states of many labour migrants, have birth registration rates of 6.5 percent and 1.6 percent, respectively. This means that many labour migrants are undocumented when they arrive in the receiving community (Varma, 2014).

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

7. HOUSING FACILITY FOR THE MIGRANTS

Migration and slums are inextricably linked, as labour demand in cities and the resulting rural-to-urban migration creates greater pressures to accommodate more people. In 2011, 68 million Indians lived in slums, comprising one-quarter of the population of India's 19 cities with more than 1 million residents. Across the country, the experiences of slum dwellers are characterized by sudden evictions without adequate rehabilitation and local governments that do not provide low-cost housing for the urban poor.

Slum dwellers who are migrants sometimes face the added challenge of establishing tenure—the right to remain on a particular piece of urban land, and the right to compensation if the dwelling on that land is seized by the government for redevelopment. However, many seasonal migrants are not even able to "make it" to the slums. Unaffordable rents in slums force them to live at their workplaces (such as construction sites and hotel dining rooms), shop pavements, or in open areas in the city. This further perpetuates their vulnerability to harassment by the police and other local authorities.

8. LIMITED ACCESS TO FORMAL FINANCIAL SERVICES

Despite the economic imperatives that drive migration, migrant workers essentially remain an unbanked population. Since migrants do not possess permissible proofs of identity and residence, they fail to satisfy the Know Your Customer (KYC) norms as stipulated by the Indian banking regulations. They are thus unable to open bank accounts in cities. This has implications on the savings and remittance behaviours of migrant workers.

In the absence of banking facilities, migrants lack suitable options for safe-keeping of their money. In order to avoid the risk of theft, they are forced to wait for long periods to settle their wages. This makes them vulnerable to cheating and non-payment of wages at the hands of contractors and middlemen. Sometimes, they are forced to avail safe-keeping services from local shopkeepers, who charge a fee for this service.

Many migrant workers end up resorting to informal channels to send money home. In the case of short-distance migration, workers end up carrying money themselves which poses a potential threat of mugging or personal injury. Long-distance migrants use courier systems or bus drivers who charge high service rates. Formal remittance services by private providers are mired by questions of legality, which means that a company like a domestic Western Union is unable operate in India. The government does run a money transfer service, but it is sparsely used due to long delays and corruption.

9. POLITICAL EXCLUSION

In a state of continuous drift, migrant workers are deprived of many opportunities to exercise their political rights. Because migrants are not entitled to vote outside of their place of origin, some are simply unable to cast their votes. A 2011 study on the political inclusion of seasonal migrant workers by Amrita Sharma and her co-authors found that 22 percent of seasonal migrant workers in India did not possess voter IDs or have their names in the voter list. The study noted that "[m] any migrants leave their home at an age as early as 13-14. The voter ID is issued at an age of 18 or more. When they become eligible to get a voter ID, their work life is at its peak and their trips to home short in duration. Many migrants reported to not have the time to get their voter IDs made … and a staggering 83 percent of long distance migrants reported missing voting in elections at least once because they were away from home seeking livelihood options." Because of this, migrant workers are often left unable to make political demands for entitlements or seek reforms.

Local politics also have major implications for internal migrants. The intersection of local identity politics and migration creates political volatility in many cities and regions across India, including in Assam in the Northeast, Andhra Pradesh in the South, as well as cities across Northern India.

The politics of Mumbai, the capital of Maharashtra, are an important example of the clash between migration and local identity politics. About 42 percent of Mumbai is Maharashtrian, and in 2001, migrants from other states accounted for 26 percent of the population in the Mumbai Urban Agglomeration (as compared to 4 percent in India as a whole). Mumbai is known both for its diversity of linguistic and cultural communities, as well as its decades-long history of anti-migrant politics. Since the 1960s, nativist political parties have claimed that migrants threaten Marathi culture and usurp job opportunities, residential space, and amenities that rightfully belong to the local Maharashtrian population.

Historically, the Shiv Sena political party has been the anti-migrant voice in Mumbai's politics. In the late 1960s, the Sena demanded that jobs be reserved for locals and was especially hostile to the Tamil migrant population that occupied middle-class jobs in Mumbai in the 1970s. Pressure from the Shiv Sena led to concessions from the Congress party, such as measures that gave preference to Maharashtrians for state government jobs.

Today's virulent anti-migrant party in Mumbai's politics is an offshoot of the Shiv Sena—the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS; translated as the Maharashtra Renaissance Army). The MNS accuses North Indian migrants of taking jobs that they claim rightfully belong to local Maharashtrians. In 2008, after a fiercely anti-migrant speech by MNS leader Raj Thackeray in which he accused migrants of swamping Maharashtra, MNS supporters attacked North Indian migrants in Mumbai and other cities. Hundreds of thousands of migrants fled the state as a result. Orchestrated riots and violent political campaigns routinely target these migrants and protest their presence in the city.

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Mumbai is a particularly stark example of local identity politics that marginalize internal migrant populations, but it also reflects a basic reality of the Indian states system, which is organized by language and cultural groups: since most Indian states are, by design, the local homelands of India's different ethnic and linguistic groups, migration between states often creates competitive politics between migrants and locals.

It is also important to note, however, that some migrant destinations do not have a local backlash. Bihari migrants in Kolkata, for example, form a majority of that city's labor migrants, but there is no substantial nativist strain in Kolkata's politics. As with other aspects of internal migration in India, outcomes can vary greatly by local context.

10. RAMPANT EXPLOITATION

Migration flows are mediated by an elaborate chain of contractors and middlemen who perform the critical function of sourcing and recruiting workers. The lowest links in this chain are most often older migrants who are part of the same regional or caste-based social network in the rural areas. The chain, then progresses toward destination- based contractors who aggregate workers from different geographies and link them finally with the principal employers.

While these networks do serve the purpose of providing migrants with information and subsequent access to work opportunities, they largely operate in the informal economy. There are no written contracts, no enforceable agreements regarding wages or other benefits, and no commitments regarding regular provision of work.

Migrants, completely dependent on the middlemen for information, end up working in low-end, low-value, hard, and risky manual labour and are constantly subject to exploitation with little or no opportunity for legal recourse. Their work lives are characterized by exploitative practices such as manipulation in wage rates and work records, non-payment or withholding of wages, long work hours, abysmal work conditions, and verbal and physical abuse. Female workers, especially in the domestic and construction sectors, are often sexually exploited in return for the offer of regular work. Accidents and deaths at workplaces are also extremely common in the construction sector, which is aggravated by the absence of any kind of social protection.

The presence of such elaborate contractor networks also means that it is almost impossible to fix accountability for most practices described. The worker never comes in touch with the principal employer who is thus easily able to absolve himself of any responsibility with regard to the welfare of workers.

The fact that migrants are dispersed throughout a vast urban or rural canvas also seriously inhibits their potential to organize themselves in formal or informal ways. This further weakens their bargaining power in terms of wages, benefits, and working conditions.

11. INDIAN STATE POLICIES TOWARDS INCLUSION

What do the Indian planning documents show in this regard? The approach paper to the 12th Five Year Plan says about inclusiveness of the recent growth process: "The progress towards inclusiveness is more difficult to assess, because inclusiveness is a multidimensional concept. Inclusive growth should result in lower incidence of poverty, broad-based and significant improvement in health outcomes, universal access for children to school, increased access to higher education and improved standards of education, including skill development. It should also be reflected in better opportunities for both wage employment and livelihood, and in improvement in provision of basic amenities like water, electricity, roads, sanitation, and housing. Particular attention needs to be paid to the needs of the SC/ST and OBC population. Women and children constitute a group which accounts for 70% of the population and deserves special attention in terms of the reach of relevant schemes in many sectors. Minorities and other excluded groups also need special programmes to bring them into the mainstream. To achieve inclusiveness in all these dimensions requires multiple interventions, and success depends not only on introducing new policies and government programmes, but on institutional and attitudinal changes brought about, which take time" (Commission, 2011)

Even if we might not have the data to analyse the achievements of the economy on all these fronts, it would be evident to an observer of India that we are quite a distance away from achieving inclusiveness. Some of these elements are assessed in the approach paper – like promotion of self-help groups, or the discussion about NREGA, where the paper claims that this measure has been "highly inclusive", with 51-56 per cent of beneficiaries being Scheduled Castes and Tribes and 41-50 per cent being women (Deshpande, Exclusion and Inclusive Growth, 2012).

However, what the preceding discussion illustrates is that for growth to be inclusive, the policy framework has to be holistically designed keeping the issue of social exclusion in focus vis-à-vis *all* policies, instead of the current practice of placing the burden of inclusion on some special policies, like affirmative action. What happens when this is done is that the special policy, viz. affirmative action, is inadequate (by design) to ensure inclusion of large sections of the target groups, and thus, when examined in terms of its effectiveness in countering exclusion, it appears inevitably to be a failure. Affirmative action serves a special purpose in that it makes the composition of elite positions reflect the underlying social composition by providing representation to groups which would otherwise be under-represented. That is important in itself. However, it does not create jobs, for instance, and thus, would never be able to provide Dalits with remunerative livelihood opportunities on the scale required to counter their exclusion from full-time decently paid employment. Therefore, if state policies are meant to counter exclusion, then the entire gamut of social policies needs to be monitored in terms of their impact on the most marginalized sections, if inclusive growth is to become a reality, instead of remaining a mere slogan (Deshpande, Exclusion and Inclusive Growth, 2012)..

In the case of bivalent groups such as Dalits, we need policies which include elements of both. For reasons stated above, the burden of Dalits inclusion cannot be placed on affirmative action alone, even as we need to recognise that affirmative action does provide a critical dimension of inclusion. For illustrative purposes, I briefly discuss two flagship policies of the government of India, which could address both dimensions of Dalits exclusion: exclusion out of paid employment and stigmatisation.

The provision of productive employment, especially rural non-farm employment, and access to productive assets, for instance, land, are critical, not only to lift the poor out of the poverty trap, but to also provide a stimulus to growth, as stable incomes can enlarge the purchasing power of the poor and enlarge the size of the domestic market. There is no evidence to suggest that high growth is somehow resulting in the large-scale provision of wage employment to the very poor or to those groups which were hitherto excluded from wage employment. The lack of access to productive employment and productive assets for long periods of time could have serious consequences, one expression of which is the Maoist insurgency spread over large parts of the country. The NREGA is meant to target exclusion in more ways than one. The programme initially started in the 200 most backward districts in the country defined as those districts with low agricultural productivity, high incidence of poverty, high concentration of SC-ST, geographical isolation and so forth. By providing paid employment for at least 100 days in a year in these districts, the programme was targeted to support very poor households which were subject to multiple sources of deprivation. It has now been extended to the entire country, while the evidence on the implementation of the NREGA is mixed, with reports of leakages and corruption, (Saha, 2010).Find that the Maoist affected districts, which are among the poorest and the most backward in the country, the programme has been inclusionary to a large extent by providing access to employment, by raising minimum wages, and possibly through the positive impact of public goods on agricultural productivity. It can, and has to a certain extent, served to counter economic exclusion. The government needs to demonstrate concerted focus, e.g. strong political will and judicious use of its legal and regulatory powers by punishing corrupt contractors, or in preventing other forms of leakages which dilute the effect of NREGA.

12. STATE RESPONSES TOWARDS INCLUSION OF MIGRANTS

One of the policy conclusions that national policymakers have drawn from these outcomes is that the state should undertake efforts to prevent internal migration, through schemes such as rural employment programs. Such policy positions have persisted despite building evidence that migration can have positive outcomes for the poor. For example, remittances from migration are applied to health care or to repay debt. Despite increasing research along these lines, urban development projects often seek to keep migrants out, local authorities continue to treat migration as a problem, and migrants are often harassed by the police because they are considered to be closer to illegal residents rather than legal migrants. Migrants are particularly susceptible to police harassment—including violence and exhortation for bribes—because of their precarious position in the receiving society. Their basic needs, such as their access to housing, can depend on the cooperation of local police.

The Government of India's Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act of 1979 was passed in order to address the unjust working conditions of migrant workers, including the necessity of gaining employment through middlemen contractors or agents who promise a monthly settlement of wages but do not pay when the times comes. The act lists the responsibilities of employers and contractors and the rights of workers to wages that are equal to those of the local employees, the right to return home periodically without losing wages, and the right to medical care and housing at the employment site. In practice, however, this act is overwhelmingly ignored by state governments. As such, it articulates ideal working conditions for interstate migrants, but lacking provisions for enforcement, it has not been used to create a better policy environment in practice.

13. CIVIL SOCIETY INTERVENTION

13.1   Welfare Services and Social protection for Migrants:

Aajeevika Bureau, a nongovernmental, non-profit initiative was set up in 2005 in Udaipur, Rajasthan with the mandate of providing services, support, and security to rural, seasonal migrant workers. Aajeevika posits that rural-to-urban migration is an inevitable socioeconomic reality in transition economies such as India; hence the need is to provide services and solutions that can transform migration into a more rewarding opportunity. Aajeevika works through a network of walk-in resource centers that are functional at both the ends of the migration corridor. This linkage from source to destination is an important part of the organization's operational strategy. Service provided to migrants include registration and photo ID cards; skills training and placement services for jobs at urban destinations; legal aid and literacy programs; organization of worker collectives at destination; assistance accessing banking and social security; and strengthening support systems for women and families affected by male migration.

13.2   Education for Children of Migrant:

NGOs in high out-migration areas have designed and implemented initiatives such as seasonal hostels and residential-care centers to enable inclusion of children from migrant families in schools at both source and destination. Some noteworthy examples are Lokadrushti in western Odisha for children of brick-making workers, SETU in Gujarat for children of migrants working in salt pans, and Janarth in Maharashtra for children of sugar cane cutters.

13.3   Organizing Workers for Demanding Entitlements:

NGOs such as PRAYAS Center for Labor Research and Action have adopted the rights-based strategy of unionizing migrant workers. They work with vulnerable occupation streams such as construction, brick-making, and cotton ginning. Through this model of unionization, PRAYAS was able to successfully reduce the number of child workers who were being trafficked to cotton seed farms from Rajasthan to Gujarat. The unions also enjoyed considerable success in negotiating wage increases for workers with employers and middlemen. PRAYAS's work on child trafficking has also led to the creation of a joint task force by both source and destination governments to prevent child trafficking in the cotton pollination season.

13.4   Institutional Linkages with the Urban Labour Market

Organizations such as Labour net in Bangalore have initiated programs aimed at member registration, certified training, and placement; the system acts as an interface between employers and certified workers. Apart from providing work linkages, they also facilitate the workers' access to social security and financial inclusion.

13.5   Access to Food Entitlements at Destination

Rationing Kruti Samiti, a network of civil-society organizations in Mumbai, is a successful initiative that has influenced government policy to enable migrant workers to accessing subsidized rations in urban destinations. The network was instrumental in the passing of a government resolution that acknowledges the issues faced by migrants in acquiring proofs of identity and residence, and proposes certain relaxations for both interstate and intrastate migrant workers. Disha, a leading organization in Nashik, used this government resolution to help seasonal migrants get temporary ration cards for a period of four months (extendable to 12 months) with relaxed documentary requirements.

14. CONCLUSION

The magnitude and variety of internal migration flows in India, as well as the distresses associated with them, are enormous. A basic overview of this complex phenomenon makes clear that in spite of the vast contributions of migrants to India's economy, the social protections available to them still remain sparse.

While the state and market have failed in providing protections to these millions of internal migrants, civil-society interventions across various high migration pockets in India offer a number of successful, context-specific solutions that the government can adapt and build upon in order to protect this marginalized segment of workers. A concerted national strategy, integrated inclusion policy that ensures access to entitlements and basic work conditions will be essential in building a sustainable and equitable pathway to progress.

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