

**Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant
construction workers face in Bengaluru, India**

by

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Abstract

While partnerships between diverse stakeholders could improve the lives of migrant construction workers (MCW) in Bengaluru, literature on partnerships is limited. The purpose of this dissertation is to: i) document the perspectives on the response to issues that MCW face, ii) identify opportunities for improving the response through partnerships. Guided by a theoretical framework I developed, I collected qualitative data using focus groups (n=3) and interviews (n=2) with female MCW/family members in small construction sites, informal settlements, and a company site; interviews with representatives of civil society organizations (CSO) (n=6), the construction sector (n=10) and the government (n=6); and participant observation in Bengaluru for eight months. I analyzed the data using a combination of predetermined and emergent themes and sub-themes. I worked with members of a community advisory board throughout the dissertation.

I found MCW move to Bengaluru for job opportunities and better wages. In Bengaluru, MCW face substandard working and living conditions and limited access to services and resources, which affect women more adversely. While CSO, the construction sector, and the government have taken initiatives to improve MCW' lives, their reach is limited with differences based on the setting. Partnerships, existing and potential, address access to services, skill development, infrastructure creation, and registration with social protection programs. Partnerships within stakeholders and those involving multiple stakeholders can increase partnership effectiveness.

However, partnerships are not suited to address MCW' rights and the needs of MCW in small construction sites. Participants did not volunteer solutions to issues female MCW/family members face. Funding, trust, wariness about CSO, slow government decision-making process, and fear of bureaucracy affect the formation and functioning of existing and potential partnerships.

There is an opportunity to improve the existing response to issues MCW face through partnerships but with limitations. To overcome these limitations, empowering MCW is crucial. This study's significance stems from completing stakeholder scoping and identifying issues that partnerships can address, which is the first step in establishing partnerships. Future research needs to explore further the factors that impact the functioning of partnerships and ways of mitigating them along with identifying mechanisms for upholding MCW' rights.

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Preface

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1.0 Introduction

In 2011, internal migrants accounted for 37.5 percent (455 million individuals) of India's total population including 78 million rural-urban migrants (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, 2020a). The intercensal increase in India's urban population outnumbered the rural population growth for the first time during the 2011 Census (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, 2011). While rural-urban migration is not the only reason for the urban population growth, it contributed to around one-fifth of urban population growth between 2001 and 2011 (Bhagat, 2012). As such, rural-urban migrants are increasingly migrating to other districts within the state of residence and to other states in India (Lusome & Bhagat, 2006).

Beyond the data available from the Census, the estimate of the number of short-term migrants, including seasonal and circular migrants, varies between 10 and 100 million (Bird & Deshingkar, 2009). 58.5 percent of all rural-urban short-term migrants¹ moved to a destination outside the district of usual residence (National Sample Survey Office, 2010). Short-term migrants are more likely to be *Dalits* or *Adivasis* when compared to other castes (Deshingkar & Sandi, 2011; Tushar & Chandrasekhar, 2015). In contrast to permanent migrants, who typically have higher income and education, short-term migrants have lower income and education (Deshingkar & Sandi, 2012).

¹ The National Sample Survey defines short-term migrants as individuals who have stayed away from the village/town for 1 month or more but less than 6 months during the last 365 days for employment or in search of employment.

1.1 Reasons for migration

The reason for migration adds context to understanding rural-urban migration. In 2011, moved with household (31.3%) was the main reason for rural-urban intercensal migration followed by employment (23.7%) and marriage (23.4%) (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, 2020c). Men primarily migrated for employment whereas women for marriage. However, evidence shows that irrespective of the primary reason for migration, women join the workforce in destination areas (Chandrasekhar et al., 2017). For *Dalits*, *Adivasis*, and Other Backward Castes the main employment related reason for migration was in search of better employment, while for other castes it was in search of employment (National Sample Survey Office, 2010). This difference highlights the differential working conditions at the origin; lower castes migrated primarily for better wages and job satisfaction when compared to others (National Sample Survey Office, 2010).

1.2 Economic contribution of migrants

In 2004-05, migrant workers contributed to an estimated 10 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (Deshingkar & Akter, 2009). Sectors with a large proportion of rural-urban migrant workers such as the construction sector, by default, contribute significantly to the Indian economy. For example, the construction sector that contributes to around 7.7 percent of the GDP is concentrated in large urban agglomerations (Roy et al., 2017), highlighting the role of rural-urban migrants in the Indian economy.

1.3 Status of migrant workers

The Article 19 of the Indian Constitution guarantees the right to to move freely throughout the territory of India, and to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India. The judicial interpretations of the Article 21, that confers the right to life, include the right to livelihood, education, health, shelter, food, and environment justice (Surendranath, 2017). Despite the constitutionally enshrined rights and significant economic contributions, migrant workers in the unorganized sector have become second-class citizens of India. Rural-urban migrant workers, especially interstate migrant workers, do not have voting rights (Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 2015) and do not qualify for state-sponsored welfare programs including healthcare (Borhade, 2011; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2013), food rations (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2013), and housing (Bhan et al., 2014) in the destination areas. Further, they have difficulty in accessing basic needs including water and sanitation due to local governments not recognizing their residency (Bhan et al., 2014; Borhade, 2007; Jayaram et al., 2019). Poor implementation of labor laws in place to protect the rights of migrant workers further exacerbates their vulnerability.

1.3.1 Status of implementation of legislation related to migrant construction workers

Along with the right to life, various labor laws, in theory, are in place to protect the rights of unorganized sector workers including migrant workers (Kundu, 2014). While most labor laws are applicable to all unorganized sector workers, occupation specific legislations exist that cover

*beedi*², cinema, construction, and mine workers (Ministry of Labour & Employment, n.d.). The Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 (BOCW Act) comes closest in having the regulatory power to protect the rights of migrant construction workers (MCW) and family members (Desai, 2017). The BOCW Act stipulates an employer's responsibilities, for construction projects costing above over 10 lakh rupees³, related to construction worker and family member's safety, health, and welfare measures (Government of India, 1996a). To ensure that construction workers benefit from the infrastructure they create, The Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Cess⁴ Act, 1996 (Cess Act) mandates a one percent tax on the cost of a construction project to be used for the construction workers' welfare (Government of India, 1996b).

1.3.1.1 Status of the BOCW and Cess Acts

The absence of inspections and shortage of staff has hindered BOCW Act's implementation leading to widespread and repeated violation of the rights of construction workers (Desai, 2020; Deshingkar, 2009a). State specific Construction Workers Welfare Boards (CWWB) have collected approximately forty-six thousand crore rupees⁵ for construction workers' social protection through the Cess Act (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). However, studies and reports document poor utilization of the funds available to CWWB. As of December 2018, only eleven out of the thirty-six CWWB utilized more than half the tax collected for the welfare of construction workers (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). Nationwide, the CWWB utilized only 30 percent of funds available with them (Office of the

² Indian cigarette.

³ ~\$13,750 as of May 2021.

⁴ Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

⁵ ~\$6.3 billion as of May 2021.

Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). Low numbers of registered construction workers resulting from a lack of awareness about the CWWB and issues related to producing documentation to avail the monetary benefits have led to poor utilization of funds (Ceresna-Chaturvedi & Kumar, 2015; Soundararajan, 2013).

While the regulations and the cess have not translated into improved conditions for construction workers, the struggle for better implementation of both these Acts continues. As Agarwala (2017) discusses, the Parliament passed these Acts in 1996 in response to a campaign that involved lobbying of elected representatives and filing of a public interest litigation to seek judicial intervention. The National Campaign Committee for Central Legislation on Construction Labour led the campaign for the enactment of these legislations. After their passage, the National Campaign Committee for Central Legislation on Construction Labour has petitioned the Parliament, lobbied elected representatives, and filed further public interest litigations to ensure implementation of the rules associated with these Acts. Repeated interventions of the National Campaign Committee for Central Legislation on Construction Labour in the Supreme Court of India forced all states and union territories in India to set up CWWB to utilize the tax collected ("NCC-CL vs. Union of India & Ors.," 2018).

The National Campaign Committee for Central Legislation on Construction Labour repeatedly approached the Supreme Court of India due to the inaction of the states and union territories in setting up CWWB and utilizing the available funds. Its most recent action led the Supreme Court of India to issue directions on improving registration of construction workers, collection of tax, developing a comprehensive model CWWB program, and social auditing the implementation of the BOCW and Cess Acts ("NCC-CL vs. Union of India & Ors.," 2018). In response, the Ministry of Labour and Employment set up a committee, which came up with a

model program the CWWB across the country can implement (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). This model program partly resonates with the recommendations of the Working Group on Migration, which the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation set up (Working Group on Migration, 2017).

For many recommendations of the Working Group on Migration, the Ministry of Labour and Employment Committee has identified complementary programs. The Supreme Court judgement emphasized the need for the CWWB to consult civil society organizations (CSO) and trade-unions while developing and implementing the programs ("NCC-CL vs. Union of India & Ors.," 2018). A report from the Center for Policy Research on the MCW' welfare, similarly, suggests increased partnership of the CWWB with CSO and leveraging the work of CSO to maximize benefits for MCW (Roy et al., 2017).

In summary, various reports call for increased role of the government in protecting MCW rights. At the same time, they ask the state government to partner with CSO to identify the priorities of MCW, deliver services, and ensure better implementation of existing legislation, which highlights the need for partnerships between the government and other actors of development.

1.4 Status of response in Bengaluru

1.4.1 Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation

The Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation and the Government of Karnataka have failed to respond to the issues that migrant workers in the unorganized sector face despite CSO' advocacy (Chamaraj, 2014). The 2019-20 budget of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation

had no specific programs for migrant workers in the unorganized sector (Hemalatha, 2019). Only the National Urban Health Mission, which the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation implements, includes migrant workers as a focus of special outreach camps (National Urban Health Mission-Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike, n.d.). The National Urban Health Mission guidelines state that each urban primary health center has to carry out special outreach camps to address the healthcare needs of vulnerable populations including migrant workers (National Health Mission, 2015, February 10). All staff at urban primary health centers have responsibilities related to conducting the special outreach camps (National Urban Health Mission-Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike, n.d.). However, published reports of the National Urban Health Mission do not contain information on the number of camps conducted or the population groups reached through such camps (Department of Health & Family Welfare, 2019). In totality, the absence of Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation's policy response adds to the vulnerabilities MCW face stemming from the Government of Karnataka's poor implementation of labor laws.

1.4.2 Government of Karnataka

Various studies highlight that the state of Karnataka lags other southern states in the provision of social protection to unorganized sector workers (Rajasekhar & Sharma, 2008). Unorganized construction workers reported having the least employment security when compared to unorganized agricultural and domestic workers (Rajasekhar & Suchitra, 2006). This need translates into a higher proportion of unorganized construction workers willing to contribute towards social security programs when compared to other unorganized workers (Rajasekhar & Sharma, 2008). Constituted in 2006, the Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB) currently operates around fifteen programs. These programs only partly

match the social security needs of construction workers who prioritized unemployment benefits, old age pension, and employment injury compensation (Rajasekhar & Suchitra, 2006). Further, the KCWWB programs do not satisfy all the recommendations of the Ministry of Labour and Employment Committee (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b).

Poor implementation has resulted in construction workers not benefitting from the KCWWB programs. Various reports and studies highlight that the KCWWB has performed poorly in fulfilling its responsibilities. According to data from the 66th Round (2011-12) of the National Sample Survey, of the estimated 1.5 million construction workers in Karnataka, only .13 million or eight percent had registered themselves with the KCWWB (Soundararajan, 2013). Among the thirty-six state and union territories, Karnataka ranks second in the collection of cess through the Cess Act but twenty-ninth in the utilization of the cess collected (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b).⁶ As of December 2018, the KCWWB utilized only 10.6 percent of the funds available for the welfare of construction workers (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b).

1.4.3 Response of CSO and the construction sector

Other than the local/state government response in Bengaluru, CSO work independently or partner with the construction sector to facilitate access to existing services and to provide a wide range of services to MCW. The reach of these organizations and the scale of their interventions varies as does the location of service delivery and the type of MCW they work with. For example, CSO might not work with MCW in small construction sites and newer migrants though they

⁶ I determined the rank based on information available in the report.

experience additional vulnerabilities due to lack of social networks (Gawde et al., 2015) and the absence of programs directed at them (Agarwal, 2016). Few construction companies have started their own foundations to provide services to construction workers they employ through corporate social responsibility (Pardikar, 2018, July 17).

1.5 Issues in the local/state government response in Bengaluru and potential solutions

The highly fragmented nature of the response leads to violation of MCW' rights, increases their vulnerability, and prevents them from benefiting from existing programs. Attempts to improve the local/state government response have succeeded to varying extent. While the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation decided to update its building bylaws to increase the focus on labor safety, specifically, the setting up of labor camps and conducting periodic medical checkups for construction workers (Ramani, 2019, December 3), these efforts have not made much progress. While still in the drafting stages, the experience of the Pune Municipal Corporation in approving building plans only when a builder sets up a child daycare center provides a precedent for the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation to follow (Mumbai Mobile Creches, 2011). Opportunities for improvement exist, for example, building on the experience of the Nashik Municipal Corporation (Borhade, 2007), the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation can set up mobile toilets in locations where many MCW live in informal settlements with no access to toilets. As the Supreme Court ruling suggested, data sharing between the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation and the KCCWB can streamline tax collection under the Cess Act and prevent tax loss ("NCC-CL vs. Union of India & Ors.," 2018).

Though the KCWWB has a tripartite structure with representation from the state government, unions, and the construction sector, RoyChowdhury (2017) documents that the tripartite functioning relates only to issues of compensation in cases of deaths and injuries. The same study reported that the construction sector was critical about the lack of regular discussions with the Labour Department and the absence of regulations governing the utilization of the cess collected. The efforts of CSO to improve the KCWWB's functioning through facilitating grievance redressal did not lead to the desired effect due to the Chief Executive Officer's lack of commitment (Ceresna-Chaturvedi & Kumar, 2015). The frequent changes in the KCWWB's leadership leads to issues related to implementation and prioritization of programs (Chatterjee, 2019; Special Correspondent, 2019, February 23).

Previous efforts undertaken to improve the KCWWB's functioning include establishing *Gram Panchayat* (local self-government) level Workers' Facilitation Centers to encourage unorganized sector workers to register with it (Rajasekhar & Sharma, 2008). These Workers' Facilitation Centers functioned in partnership with CSO, self-help groups, and trade-unions. The German development agency Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) funded this pilot project. Awareness regarding the KCWWB and the benefits workers obtained nearly doubled in villages with Workers' Facilitation Center when compared to villages without such centers (Berg et al., 2014). This pilot project highlights the need for innovations for increasing the registration of construction workers with the KCWWB and for increasing the monetary benefits that construction workers can obtain.

Recently, the KCWWB shifted to an online registration system that removes the need for visiting the Labour Department. This step resonates with the recommendations of a study conducted on simplifying the procedures for the delivery of social security benefits in Karnataka

(Rajasekhar et al., 2016). Though the online registration eases the burden on MCW, the need for internet connectivity and documentation required can still impede registration. While trade-unions and CSO in Bengaluru aid MCW with the registration process, their reach is small when compared to the large number of construction workers in Bengaluru. In addition, trade-unions and CSO predominantly organize construction workers living in labor camps or informal settlements leaving out many migrant construction workers such as those living in small construction sites (Bowers, 2019).

To overcome these challenges, the Ministry of Labour and Employment Committee report recommends self-certification of construction workers with the CWWB without the need for certification from employers if a construction worker maintains a log of employment (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). Data sharing between states and the signing of memorandum of understanding can help MCW to access CWWB programs both at the destination and the origin (Working Group on Migration, 2017). These potential solutions to the problems affecting the local/state government response in Bengaluru point to the need for identifying innovative models adopted in other cities, many of which have partnerships at their core.

1.6 Role of partnerships in the local/state government response

The resilience (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016) and integration (Juzwiak et al., 2014) frameworks along with standards such as the Certified Welcoming (Welcoming America, 2016) call for increasing the role of the government through partnerships with CSO and the private sector to ensure that immigrants and refugees to experience positive outcomes at the destination. At present linkages mostly exist between either CSO and the

local/state government or CSO and the construction sector with very few partnerships involving all these stakeholders.

The CWWB of Delhi and Andhra Pradesh have partnered with CSO and trade-unions to increase the registration of construction workers (Working Group on Migration, 2017). Ajeevika Bureau and Disha Foundation's advocacy led the state governments of Rajasthan and Maharashtra to recognize cards that these organizations issued as a proof of identity (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2013). Disha Foundation facilitated grievance redressal and issuance of temporary food ration cards to MCW in Nashik through partnerships with the Labour Department (Indian Institute of Public Health-Delhi, 2014) and the Public Distribution System and the Ration Department respectively (Borhade, 2007). Partnerships between CSO and the local government have also resulted in temporary water supply, establishment of night shelters, skills-based training for migrant workers, and enrollment of migrant workers' children in government-run childcare centers and schools (Borhade et al., 2012; Borhade, 2007). Despite the evidence that construction companies and contractors lobby the government for weakening of regulatory frameworks at the cost of the rights of construction workers (Ceresna-Chaturvedi & Kumar, 2015; Wetlesen, 2010), many CSO partner with construction companies to deliver services to MCW. This usually takes the form CSO approaching a construction company to implement a project or the construction company outsourcing service delivery to CSO.

The interventions in cities such as Nashik show how partnerships between the local/state government, CSO, the private sector, and migrant workers can yield benefits. A three-year long project in Nashik, involved advocacy, building partnerships, community mobilization, and community empowerment for the delivery of healthcare and other services to migrant workers

(Indian Institute of Public Health-Delhi, 2014). The key stakeholders in implementing this project included representatives of migrant workers, CSO including community-based organizations, various departments of the local/state government, employers of migrant workers, and the local chapter of the Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India. This project not only resulted in improved healthcare delivery to migrant workers but also sensitized the government representatives on the need for migrant specific services and coordination between various departments. As a result of the project, some builders and other employers took an active role in providing services to migrant workers including establishing child daycare centers.

Similarly, Mumbai Mobile Creches facilitated the opening of early education and childcare centers operated by the Women and Child Development Department at construction sites through signing a memorandum of understanding with the state government and construction companies (Mumbai Mobile Creches, 2011). Mumbai Mobile Creches shared project costs with the construction companies and Integrated Child Development Services program. This project enabled MCW' children to attend the centers who otherwise would not have due to their migrant status. In Delhi, Mobile Creches, which runs daycare centers, shifted the ownership of the centers to the construction sector (Venkateswaran, 2013). In addition, it successfully sensitized the construction sector to MCW' needs and worked with the Integrated Child Development Services program in increasing access to *anganwadis*⁷ (Venkateswaran, 2013).

The evaluation reports of these projects point to the advantages of partnerships between MCW, the local/state government, CSO, and the employers of migrant workers. These projects

⁷ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

reinforce the advantages of multistakeholder partnerships, identified in the literature, including identifying solutions to complex problems (Overseas Development Institute and Foundation for Development Cooperation, 2003). The success of these projects partly is due to the formative research that went into understanding MCW and their family members' experiences and along with building relations with the local/state government and employers of migrant workers (Indian Institute of Public Health-Delhi, 2014; Mumbai Mobile Creches, 2011). As mentioned earlier, various reports carry the recommendation of expanding the role of the local/state government and the private sector in upholding MCW' rights and in scaling up projects that CSO piloted. The time bound and funding dependent nature of CSO led projects points towards the need for partnerships involving MCW, CSO, the local/state government, and the construction sector in delivering services to MCW.

1.7 Status of partnerships in Bengaluru

At present, no institutionalized partnership exists between the local/state government and other stakeholders for improving MCW' lives in Bengaluru. On the other hand, ad hoc relations exist between CSO and the construction sector where in CSO either provide services or facilitate access to existing services for those working at specific construction sites. While partnerships can help to improve MCW' lives, it is essential to note that the local/state government and the construction sector rarely think about their rights and welfare (Ceresna-Chaturvedi & Kumar, 2015). RoyChowdhury (2016) argues that when MCW in Bengaluru do not receive minimum wages, welfare programs cannot lead to positive outcomes for MCW. Developing this argument further, RoyChowdhury makes the case that welfare concerns cannot override the issue of low

wages since it will allow the construction sector to continue marginalizing unorganized construction workers and violating their rights. In addition, RoyChowdhury points out that the programs the KCWWB operates do not match MCW needs. This leads to the question whether the Government of Karnataka should assume the responsibility for MCW' welfare and whether the construction sector can go scot-free.

The solution to this issue discussed in the literature, mainly, relates to organizing MCW so that they can hold the local/state government and the construction sector accountable for their rights and better services and working conditions (Ceresna-Chaturvedi & Kumar, 2015; Jayaram et al., 2019). However, the reach of trade-unions and CSO involved in organizing MCW in Bengaluru prevents immediate success of such an approach. Considering that MCW' needs go beyond wages, even if they received the minimum wages that the Government of Karnataka stipulates, they still can experience additional vulnerabilities. This includes issues female MCW face that do not get highlighted due to lack of their representation in CSO and trade-unions (Jayaram et al., 2019). A study Jayaram et al. (2019) conducted, in Ahmedabad City, found that female MCW perform more paid and unpaid work than male MCW but receive lower wages and have heightened vulnerability due to lack of access to basic needs such as water and toilets. Hence, I believe, there is a need to look beyond wage-related issues for improving MCW' lives in Bengaluru. Further, I believe, that the local/state government must take an increased role in protecting MCW' rights, especially, in situations where the construction sector fails to fulfill its responsibilities.

In this context, multistakeholder partnerships, as the experience from other cities demonstrates, have the potential to ensure that MCW experience certain immediate benefits such as improved living conditions and better access to services for themselves and their family

members. However, the reasons for absence of such partnerships in Bengaluru remains unknown. Partnerships need not mean that the local/state government and the construction sector are no longer accountable for their inactions. Social audit of BOCW and Cess Acts, piloted in Udaipur (Aajeevika Bureau, 2018) and in Delhi (Sub-Committee of the Ministry of Labour, 2018), points towards a mechanism to hold them accountable. CSO and trade-unions in Bengaluru can take the lead in conducting a social audit of the implementation of BOCW and Cess Acts while continuing to organize MCW.

1.8 Need for the study

Though partnerships can improve MCW' lives in Bengaluru, not much is known about why a partnership between MCW, the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector does not exist. Successful partnership formation and functioning requires an understanding of what each stakeholder thinks about the present status of response to issues that MCW face in Bengaluru and about partnering with each other to improve the same. The few studies that capture MCW and other stakeholder perspectives in Bengaluru limit themselves to the problems and do not focus on potential solutions (Bowers, 2019). My dissertation aims to fill this gap in the existing knowledge on the role of partnerships in response to issues MCW face in Bengaluru. My research finds support from reports that recommended qualitative research to understand the nuances of the conditions of work and access to services (Zeitlyn et al., 2014) and the contextual factors to develop state specific policies (Roy et al., 2017). Building on these recommendations, my study aims to determine the perceptions that stakeholders have about the response of the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector and to identify ways of improving service delivery

to MCW through partnerships. My study will lay the groundwork for multistakeholder partnerships in the future to deliver services and uphold MCW' rights in Bengaluru.

1.9 Summary

In summary, the local/state government response in Bengaluru and other cities is either lacking or poor implementation affects it. Various reports and court rulings provide directions towards increasing the role of the local/state government in responding to the issues that MCW face at the destination. However, these reports do not explore the role of partnerships between the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector. CSO piloted models in cities such as Nashik and Mumbai highlight how partnerships between MCW, the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector can lead to improved quality of life for MCW. Building on the existing literature and based on discussions with the Community Advisory Board and my dissertation advisory committee, I decided to focus on the response to issues and partnerships in Bengaluru in my dissertation.

2.0 Identifying the Research Question

In this section, I describe the process through which I arrived at the research question addressed in my dissertation. Learning from my past experiences, I decided to involve a community advisory board (CAB) to guide me through the research process. In brief, I describe the role of the CAB and the involvement of the CAB in developing the research question.

2.1 Working with a Community Advisory Board

Through this research project, I wanted to find solutions to the problems migrant construction workers (MCW) experience in Bengaluru by following the principles of community based participatory research (CBPR). Due to my absence from Bengaluru and my inability to directly work with MCW there, I decided to form a CAB consisting of civil society organizations (CSO) representatives, researchers, and activists who have experience of working with MCW in Bengaluru or researching the issues they face. I acknowledge that even if I was in Bengaluru while developing the study, the nature of MCW' lives would have made it challenging to ensure their adequate representation and participation in a CAB. The literature on CBPR refers to including individuals with knowledge of the community in situations where working directly with the community is not possible (Duran et al., 2013). In section four, I discuss the reasons why I could not invite MCW to become a part of the CAB.

The CAB helped me avoid the pitfall of developing a research project that does not take community perspectives into consideration. Working with the CAB ensured that all the steps of

the research process and decisions I made are contextually tailored. I discussed each step of the research process with the entire CAB or members within and obtained their feedback. I worked with the CAB to: i) identify issues MCW face in Bengaluru and prioritize the issues identified, ii) identify potential research questions, iii) obtain feedback on the final research question and methodology and iv) member checking of findings. I will continue working with CAB for the dissemination of the findings.

2.2 Arriving at the research question

The impetus for this research emerged from discussions that I had with the CAB. Initially, members of the CAB, individually, listed the problems MCW experience in Bengaluru. I compiled these into a single list and categorized them (Table 1) using the World Health Organization's Commission on Social Determinants of Health conceptual framework (Solar & Irwin, 2010). Following this, during a conference call, the CAB members identified priority issues from the list (Box 1) and a set of potential research questions (Box 2). The prioritized list and potential research questions helped me in having discussions with my dissertation advisory committee at the University of Pittsburgh. These discussions, along with a literature review detailed section one, led to the selection of the final research question related to the role of partnerships in the response to issues MCW face in Bengaluru. The research questions CAB members suggested including identifying supply side barriers and best practices for program implementation closely align with the focus of my dissertation.

Table 1 Issues that the Community Advisory Board identified

I. Socioeconomic and political context	
Compliance with legislation	– Contractors fail to take license at source states for taking migrant workers
	– Contractors fail to register themselves with the Labour Department at destination for having brought migrant workers
Voting rights	– Inability to vote as name not on local electoral rolls
Entitlements	– Lack of rations from the PDS due to lack of address proof
Housing	– Lack of affordable and subsidized social rental housing provided by the government
II. Structural determinants	
Nature of employment	– Lack of minimum wages as often deductions from wages are made by employers towards loans advanced before migration, etc.
	– No ID cards and wage slips are provided to migrant workers, hence they will be unable to prove employment
Social Protection	– Lack of social security due to not being registered with local Construction Workers' Welfare Board or Unorganised Workers' Social Security Board.
Wages	– If migrants have come with contractor, contractor takes cuts from wages before disbursing it to workers.
	– Delays in payment of wages
Harassment	– Harassment and extortion by police, local elected representatives and municipal officials for squatting on illegal land
	– Clashes between local and migrant construction workers
Child development	– Childcare when the mother works
	– Childcare of children left behind in native place
	– Intersection of childcare with age and gender
	– Lack of creches for children aged 0-6 years
	– Lack of safety for young children at construction sites
	– Lack of compulsory schooling for school-age children of 6 to 14 years
Responses	– Lack of unions supporting construction workers who commute
	– Construction workers at small construction sites not a focus of unions
III. Intermediary determinants	
Working Conditions	– Poor access to toilets, drinking water, and nutritious food
	– Lack of occupational safety measures and health facilities
	– No defined work timings
Living conditions	– No permanency of residence, cooking arrangements, sanitation, running water, etc.
	– Access to food
	– Poor quality housing provided by employers at work-sites, made up of tin sheets and mud floors, with no doors and windows
	– Lack of drinking water and toilets

Table 1 cont.

Identity	– Lack of identity in the new place due to lack of address
Access to healthcare	– Access to healthcare
	– Availability and utilization of AADHAAR or Below Poverty Line cards which entitle them to public services
	– Source and navigating healthcare systems especially of interstate migrant construction workers and those who do not speak Kannada
	– Ability of women construction workers to seek healthcare related to not receiving wages directly
Travel	– Issues faced by daily commuters
IV. Outcomes	
Outcomes following migration to Bengaluru	– Impact of performing unskilled labor on health of women construction workers
	– Perceived impact on health resulting from living conditions
	– Mental health aspects of daily commuters
	– Impact of lived experience on perceptions of social and economic mobility
	– Impact of economic shocks on health and wellbeing

Box 1 Issues the Community Advisory Board prioritized

1. Issues with access to education and childcare though government programs exist to ensure universal education, childcare, and supplementary nutrition.
2. Absence of social housing programs.
3. Lack of interest of the Karnataka Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board in utilizing levies collected for the benefit of MCW.
4. Lack of studies that deal with women's health in comprehensive manner.
5. Access to healthcare.
6. Construction workers in smaller sites do not come under the radar of civil society organizations, the government, or construction companies.

Box 2 Potential research questions the Community Advisory Board identified

Issue Area One: Government service delivery

1. How can the Karnataka Labour Department adapt models existing in other states and countries to develop rights-based interventions to ensure universal education, childcare, and housing?
2. What are the supply side barriers in implementing universal education, childcare, and healthcare programs with regards to MCW?
3. How does access to subsidized food rations and supplementary nutrition programs affect nutritional intake? How does it impact women in their role as procurers and providers of food to the family?

Issues Area Two: Civil society organizations service delivery

1. How effective are the projects of civil society organizations that provide childcare and education to children of MCW? How to scale-up these projects to reach MCW living in informal settlements?

3.0 Research question and objectives

Considering that partnerships can improve MCW' lives there is a need to document the status of partnerships as well as other responses to issues MCW face in Bengaluru along with the perspectives about them. In addition, since no multistakeholder partnerships exist in Bengaluru, there is a need to explore the potential of partnerships to develop and implement creative solutions. To address these gaps, I developed the following research question and objectives.

3.1 Research question

What are the perspectives of stakeholders about the status of response to issues migrant construction workers (MCW) and their family members face in Bengaluru and the opportunities for improving the response? Stakeholders refers to the representatives of the local/state government, civil society organizations (CSO), and the construction sector.

3.2 Objectives

- To explore issues that female MCW/family members face while living in Bengaluru.
- To describe stakeholders' (representatives of the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector) perspectives regarding the status of response to issues MCW and their family members face.

- To describe stakeholders' perspectives (representatives of the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector) regarding the role of partnerships in improving the lives of MCW and their family members.
- To describe the pathways/opportunities for partnership, which stakeholders (representatives of the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector) identified.

4.0 Study design

In line with the research question, I followed a mostly qualitative methodology to fulfill the study objectives. My choice of methodology finds support from literature emphasizing the role of qualitative methods in understanding CSO-business partnerships (Byiers et al., 2016). I obtained feedback from the Community Advisory Board members on the methodology and discussed with the research implementation plan with them. These discussions helped to identify potential study participants and to recognize the issues that I might face while collecting data. As such, my study closely matches the level two of community based participatory research with immigrants, as Vaughn et al. (2017) identified, indicating that the research involves immigrant-serving community agencies as partners and immigrants themselves.

4.1 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework I used derives from newer frameworks of migration (De Haas, 2010; Piché, 2013) that take into consideration the context along with the macro, meso, and individual-level factors at the origin and destination as determinants of outcomes of migration. These macro, meso, and individual factors map closely with structural, intermediate, and proximal determinants of migrant health (Davies et al., 2009; Migration Health Division, 2013). Among these, the framework guiding my study identifies meso/intermediate level factors and determinants as amenable to change through partnerships. Various frameworks discuss how bringing together a diverse group of partners helps in identifying creative solutions to complex issues and decreasing

disparities a population group faces (Lasker et al., 2001; Overseas Development Institute and Foundation for Development Cooperation, 2003).

By definition, multistakeholder partnerships that involve organizations from different sectors, often focus on addressing complex problems such as sustainable development and economic growth, and social inclusion among others (Overseas Development Institute and Foundation for Development Cooperation, 2003). By sharing risks and combining resources and competencies, multistakeholder partnerships aim to achieve shared and individual objectives through innovative, sustainable, efficient, and systemic approaches (Stibbe & Prescott, 2016). Specifically, multistakeholder partnerships focused on sustainable development goals (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020) act as a pertinent resource for my study since eight of the seventeen sustainable development goals are related to internal migration (Lucci et al., 2016). In addition, all seventeen sustainable development goals are related to the real estate and the construction sectors' activities (Goubran, 2019), highlighting the relevance of literature related on multistakeholder partnerships to my study. The United Nations, recently, launched a series of multi-stakeholder consultations on the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration further substantiating the relevance of such partnerships for improving MCW' lives.

Building on these, the framework I developed (Figure 1), considers that the local/state government in partnership with migrant construction workers (MCW), civil society organizations (CSO) and the construction sector can identify and implement creative solutions to ensure that the lives of MCW and their family members improve. This framework builds on the literature that recognizes the role of partnerships in facilitating positive outcomes for migrants. Partnerships can address vulnerability (Rafailovic, 2019) and increase the opportunities for integration (Juzwiak et

al., 2014) and resiliency (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016) so that migrants experience positive outcomes both at destination and origin.

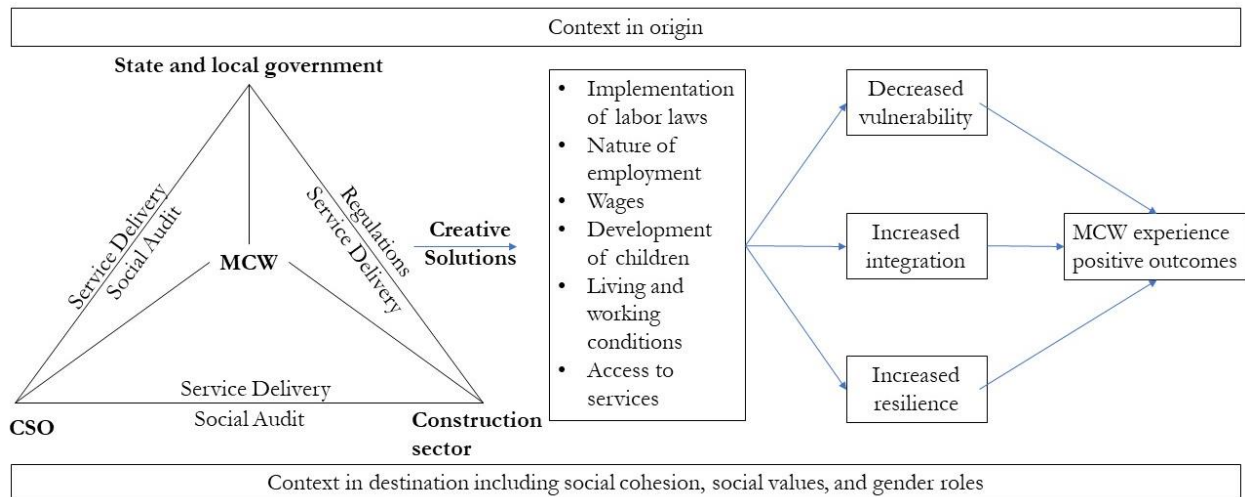


Figure 1 Theoretical framework informing the study

At its core, integration relates to immigrants and refugees becoming an accepted part of the host society (Migration Policy Research and Communications Department, 2008; Penninx, 2005) and encompasses five dimensions (Appendix A), namely, social, economic, cultural, political, and legal (Council of Europe, n.d.; Migration Policy Research and Communications Department, 2008; Penninx, 2005). Integration involves a two-way process in which both the host society and migrants share responsibilities (Council of Europe, n.d.; Migration Policy Research and Communications Department, 2008). An underlying assumption is that the host society and migrants respect each other's values and express a willingness to interact positively and learn from one-another (Migration Policy Research and Communications Department, 2008). Efforts aimed at preparing the host society at the destination for arrival of migrants are required for integration (International Organization for Migration, 2017). Policies aimed at social inclusion and social cohesion of migrants lead to integration (International Organization for Migration, 2017). Such

actions enable immigrants and refugees to realize their potential, to thrive, and to contribute positively to host societies (Singer, 2012).

Resilience refers to actions that enable migrants to better bear risks and overcome external shocks associated with the migration process (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016). Resilience aims to increase capability of migrants at all stages of migration starting with the decision to migrate and extending to return migrants' resettlement. In addition, resiliency aims to facilitate development of knowledge, skills, competencies, and the mind-set that migrants require to improve their lives at the destination. While the dimensions of resiliency (governance/regulatory systems, financial capital, physical capital, human capital, social capital, and natural capital) match to an extent with those of integration, they differ in their focus on empowerment rather than service provision (Appendix A). Vulnerability and resilience are linked to one-another; any factor that contributes to increased vulnerability can lead to decreased resilience (Siriwardhana et al., 2017). These factors exist at the micro, meso, and macro-levels (Appendix A). Interventions to increase resilience and decrease vulnerability need to span across the phases of migration. i.e., pre-migration, transit, post migration, and return (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016; Siriwardhana et al., 2017).

To put the framework in context – The BOCW Act empowers the state government to regulate the construction sector to ensure that MCW experience safe working conditions and receive minimum wages facilitating economic and legal integration (Government of Karnataka, 2006). The programs of the Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB) increase the opportunities available to MCW to access social protection and skill development facilitating economic integration and financial resiliency (Karnataka Building And Other Construction Workers' Welfare Board, 2021). Similarly, the National Urban Health Mission,

which the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation implements, increases the access to healthcare facilitating social integration and physical resiliency (National Health Mission, 2021). However, evidence points to poor implementation of these programs (National Health Mission, 2018; Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). Partnerships of various local/state government departments with MCW, CSO, and the construction sector can remedy this situation as the experiences in other cities of India demonstrate (Indian Institute of Public Health-Delhi, 2014; Mumbai Mobile Creches, 2011). MCW' centrality to the partnership indicates that all decisions involving the partnership should focus on their rights. Keeping MCW central to the partnership also means that any research or practice must consider and prioritize their perspectives over that of other stakeholders.

The framework includes potential pathways through which each partner can contribute including service delivery, social audit, and enforcing regulations when a partnership forms in the future. Social audit refers to the process of beneficiaries or primary stakeholders verifying a program's implementation by comparing official records with on the ground realities (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018a). This process includes collecting data and testimonials along with conducting a public hearing for dissemination of the findings.

4.2 Study area

Once called the '*Garden City of India*' for its abundant greenery, Bengaluru is the capital city of Karnataka. Beginning in the 1990s, the informational technology sector transformed the city leading to its moniker as the '*Silicon Valley of India*.' This transformation not only changed the economy of Bengaluru but also led to a 132 percent population growth between 1991 and 2011

(Directorate of Census Operations Karnataka, 2006, 2014). Between 2001 and 2011, the population of the Bengaluru urban agglomeration increased from 5.7 million to 8.5 million (Directorate of Census Operations Karnataka, 2006, 2014). In 2011, close to one in six residents of Karnataka lived in Bengaluru (Directorate of Census Operations Karnataka, 2014). As of 2011, Bengaluru was the fifth largest urban agglomeration in terms of population in India (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 2021; Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011). Predictions state that the population has increased to 11.4 million in 2018, making it a mega city (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division), 2018). The population is further anticipated to grow to 16.2 million by 2030 (United Nations (Department of Economic and Social Affairs-Population Division), 2018).

In 2011, migrants from within India constituted 40.5 percent of Bengaluru urban agglomeration's population of which 56.7 percent were intercensal migrants (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, 2020b). Among the intercensal migrants, 35.7 percent migrated from rural areas whereas the rest migrated from urban areas. Individuals migrating for employment constituted 36.3 percent of the intercensal migrants of whom 40.1 percent were rural-urban migrants. Among the intercensal migrants who migrated for employment, 81.3 percent were men. Within the intercensal migrants migrating for employment, 10.2 percent belonged to the same district, 47.9 percent to the other districts in Karnataka, and 41.9 percent to other states.

Bengaluru plays an important role in the state's as well the nation's economy. Bengaluru contributed 33.9 percent of the Gross State Domestic Product and 2.4 percent of the national Gross Domestic Product in 2013-14 (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2016). Among the various sectors, real estate contributed to 56.2 percent of Bengaluru's Gross District Domestic Product

followed by manufacturing (14.8%), trade and repair services (9%), and construction (8.2%) (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2016). Between 2004-05 and 2012-13, the inflation-adjusted Gross District Domestic Product of the real estate and the construction sectors increased by 159.4 percent and 104.2 percent respectively (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2014).

4.3 Study population

The stakeholders involved in the response to the problems MCW experience in Bengaluru comprise the study population, i.e., MCW and the representatives of the local/state government, CSO, and the construction sector.

4.3.1 Migrant construction workers

There are no reliable estimates of the number of MCW in Bengaluru. Estimates about the number of construction workers in Bengaluru vary between 0.5 and 1.5 million but do not provide a reference for the data source (Nachiyar; Venkataramanappa, 2016). MCW work at a variety of construction sites and live in different settings. They might work and live at small construction sites⁸, live in labor camps that developers/contractors⁹ set up and work at company sites, or live in informal settlements¹⁰ and seek work where available. Depending on where they work, their

⁸ I define small construction sites as buildings under construction that do not exceed five floors.

⁹ Labor camps refer to accommodation sites set up either by the developer or the contractor that is separated from the building/s under construction. I use company sites to refer to such accommodations and the associated building/s under constructions.

¹⁰ Informal settlements refer to an area wherein MCW setup up tents in land that they have identified or that has been rented to them.

wages, relationship with contractors, and access to occupational health and safety measures, healthcare and basic needs differs. Other differences can emerge based on the state of origin, duration of migration, type of migration, gender, whether an individual or the family has migrated, the nature of work, contact with CSO/trade-unions, and registration with the KCWWB. Irrespective of these differences, a majority of MCW have informal contracts with their employers. In summary, heterogeneity marks the MCW in Bengaluru.

Since evidence on issues male MCW face in Bengaluru is already available, I did not include male MCW as part of the study. I planned to include female MCW/family members in informal settlements and small construction sites in the study due to access considerations. While access to MCW in informal settlements and small construction sites is not controlled, access to MCW in company sites, usually, requires the permission of developers or contractors. In informal settlements going through a CSO helps to alleviate issues of trust and power. However, I recruited participants in an informal settlement without the assistance of the CSO whose help I took for recruiting MCW. To make the findings more holistic, I included female MCW/family members at a company site where this CSO had access, as an additional category of female MCW/family members.

4.3.2 CSO representatives

Bengaluru has at least 17 CSO and trade-unions that work with MCW on a wide variety of issues. While some organizations focus on a specific issue, others deal with a range of issues. I initially categorized these organizations based on their involvement with service delivery,¹¹

¹¹ CSO advocating for improving the lives of MCW by being a part of government committees and creating petitions.

collective organizing,¹² and advocacy.¹³ Later, based on my discussions with a member of the community advisory board (CAB), I identified an organization involved in design of accommodations for MCW, which is distinct from these three CSO categories. Staff who interact with MCW as a part of their day-to-day work and those who are in an executive position formed the two hierarchical levels of CSO representatives included in the study.

4.3.3 The construction sector representatives

I limited my study to the residential segment of the construction sector. The residential real estate sector in Bengaluru is highly fragmented with projects of all sizes ranging from construction of a single house to construction of apartment complexes. The Confederation of Real Estate Developers' Associations of India-Bengaluru represents the interests of construction companies involved in developing residential projects (CREDAI Bengaluru, n.d.-a). Established in 1999, at present it has over 250 dues-paying members (CREDAI Bengaluru, n.d.-b). Other than the Confederation of Real Estate Developers' Associations of India-Bengaluru, the Builders Association of India represents the interests of contractors involved in executing construction projects and has a Bengaluru chapter (Builders Association of India, n.d.). Builders Association of India annually publishes a membership directory that lists members by city (Builders Association of India, 2018). Executives of real estate developers along with contractors, intermediaries¹⁴

¹² CSO delivering services include providing healthcare, providing childcare, facilitating school admissions, creating awareness on various issues, improving financial literacy, and providing legal aid.

¹³ CSO advocating for improving the lives of MCW by being a part of government committees and creating petitions.

¹⁴ This is the closest English equivalent of the word *mesthri*. As the word, intermediaries, implies these individuals are involved in hiring of workers. In the construction sector, a *mesthri* is also someone who supervises and gives instructions to other workers at construction sites. In most situations, *mesthri* both hire as well supervise MCW. For ease of reading, I am using intermediary rather than *mesthri*. See footnote 25 for information on the use of *mesthri*/s.

responsible for hiring MCW, and independent contractors complete the construction sector. A report on urbanization and migration in relation to the construction sector in South Asia identified these four groups as key actors of the construction sector (Kumar & Fernandez, 2016).

4.3.4 The local/state government representatives

While no department exists exclusively for MCW, various departments of the local/state government are responsible for delivering services and implementing programs mentioned earlier. Specifically, I planned to include officials of the Labour Department implementing the KCWWB programs, the Women and Child Development Department implementing the Integrated Child Development Services, and the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation implementing the National Urban Health Mission. Later, based on data collected from female MCW/family members and CSO representatives, I added officials of the Education Department, implementing the Right to Education Act, to the study population.

4.4 Sampling strategy

4.4.1 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

I present the inclusion and exclusion criteria for each stakeholder group in Table 2.

Table 2 Inclusion and exclusion criteria for the study populations included in the study

Study population	Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
MCW	Those satisfying following criteria: i) Female above 18 years of age, and ii) migrated into Bengaluru irrespective of the nature of migration (permanent vs circular vs seasonal), and iii) currently works or has a family member working in any of the occupations listed in the Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996, and iv) speaks either Hindi, Kannada, Tamil, or Telugu.	Those with any present mental illness and/or acute illness on the day of focus groups that prevents their participation.
CSO representatives	Individuals above 18 years of age working in civil society organizations either as a staff member interacting with MCW as a part of their day-day work or in an executive position.	Those who in the previous six months did not work directly with MCW or supervised staff working with MCW.
Construction sector representatives	Individuals above 18 years of age involved in the construction sector as: i) executives of the developers registered with The Confederation of Real Estate Developers' Associations of India-Bengaluru, or ii) executives of construction companies and contractors, or iii) labor contractors/intermediaries responsible for hiring MCW, or iv) independent contractors.	The construction sector representatives not involved in overseeing MCW' hiring and the working and living conditions.
Local/state government representatives	Individuals above 18 years of age who are a part of the Karnataka Labour Department /the Karnataka Women and Child Development Department/the Karnataka Education Department/the Health Department of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.	Officials who joined the respective departments less than three months prior to the scheduled date of the interview.

4.4.2 Sample size

The sample size for each stakeholder group varied as described below. In Table 3, I compare the planned versus actual sample size for each stakeholder group.

4.4.2.1 Focus groups and interviews with female MCW/family members

The number of focus groups, rather than individual participants, form the sampling units for focus groups. While no consensus exists on the minimum number of focus groups, some authors recommend between two and five focus groups per issue (Carlsen & Glenton, 2011). Others refer to achieving theoretical saturation as the goal of sampling (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Based on this, I planned to conduct two focus groups each having six to ten participants with female MCW/family members in informal settlements and small construction sites and continue sampling until I reached saturation. I was unable to conduct focus groups with female MCW/family members at small construction sites due to difficulties faced in recruitment and ended up conducting interviews.

Recruitment in small construction sites proved challenging because most sites did not have more than three or four female MCW/family members. Differences between sites in terms of work schedules, MCW traveling back to the place of origin during weekends, and female MCW/family members shopping for groceries during weekends prevented me recruiting them from more than one site in the same vicinity. At one site where I had recruited six female MCW/family members, on the day of the focus group, two of them had to go back to their place of origin due to an emergency there. As a result, the data collection resembled a group interview rather than a focus group. Following discussion with my Doctoral Committee Chair, I decided that I will try to conduct a group interview instead of the final focus group. Of the three female MCW/family members I had recruited, only one had time on the day of the interview resulting in an in-depth interview.

To overcome issues with reaching saturation, I included questions about MCW' lives in other settings while gathering data in the informal settlements and the company site. As a result,

at the end of preliminary data analysis of the interviews at the small construction sites, I was able to reach saturation. In all, I conducted three focus groups, one group interview and one in-depth interview with female MCW/family members.

4.4.2.2 Key-informant interviews

Considering the broad range of services but the small number of CSO in Bengaluru, I planned on interviewing one key-informant each involved in advocacy, service provision, and collective organizing at the two levels of hierarchy described earlier. To diversify the perspectives obtained from CSO representatives, I recruited a representative of the organization involved in designing accommodations for MCW. In all, I interviewed six CSO representatives - three executives and three staff.

I planned to interview a minimum of twelve construction sector representatives belonging to the four categories mentioned earlier and to expand the pool as needed. However, I ended up conducting only ten interviews with the construction sector representatives due to difficulties in recruiting independent contractors. Against the planned three interviews, I interviewed six officials from the local/state government belonging to the four departments mentioned earlier. Overall, I interviewed 22 key-informants.

Table 3 Planned versus actual sample size

Stakeholder	Planned sample size	Actual sample size
Female MCW/family members	4 focus groups	3 focus groups, one group interview, and one in-depth interview
CSO representatives	6	6
Construction sector representatives	12	10
Local/state government representatives	3	6

4.5 Sampling method

I had planned to collect data from female MCW/family members living in the same administrative zone of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation. However, due to the involvement of the CSO and difficulties in recruiting participants in small construction sites, I was unable to do so. The five locations from where I recruited participants belonged to four different administrative zones. After identifying a specific setting, I used convenience sampling to identify female MCW/family members to take part in the study. I identified all other stakeholders through a process of purposive sampling.

4.6 Recruitment

4.6.1 Female MCW/family members

To recruit female MCW/family members living in informal settlements, I partnered with a CSO that works with MCW in informal settlements and company sites. Since the note taker and I recruited female MCW/family members from an informal settlement without the aid of the partner CSO, I took help of the CSO in recruiting female MCW/family members in a company site where it had access. I recruited those working and living in small construction sites without the aid of CSO since permissions do not impede access to these sites.

At non-CSO sites, I organized community meetings to inform MCW and their family members about the study and provided information using a participant information sheet (Appendix B). I explored suitable times and venues during these meetings before deciding when

and where to conduct the focus group/interview. I then visited the site one day prior to the data collection to remind potential participant about the focus group or the interview and to answer any questions they have about the study. In the settings where the CSO helped with recruitment, the staff of the CSO provided information about the study to potential participants. They then coordinated with potential participants to identify suitable times for the focus groups.

I provided all prospective participants information on withdrawal from the study during the initial community meetings, while obtaining consent, and before starting a focus group or interview. Through the process of recruiting, I maintained field notes to describe the context in each setting, to record reflections of interactions with MCW and their family members, and to document perceptions of any power imbalance between MCW and myself. This included non-verbal information about meetings such as weather, timing, numbers attended, and composition of group. I did not ask any specific question for recording field notes.

4.6.2 CSO and the construction sector representatives

I recruited CSO representatives via email or through in-person meetings and phone calls to take part in the interviews (Appendix C). I used existing connections with CSO through and independent of the CAB members in recruiting the CSO representatives. I also recruited CSO representatives with whom I did not have any existing connections. I recruited the construction sector representatives through a combination of using phone calls/email and in-person meetings (Appendix D). I utilized connections of CSO with developers and that of my personal contacts in recruiting the construction sector representatives for the interviews. In addition, representatives of contracting firms and independent contractors provided me the contact details of intermediaries, whom I then recruited.

4.6.3 The local/state government representatives

To recruit officials of the Government of Karnataka and the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation, I visited their respective offices to inform them about the study (Appendix E). After providing them information about the study I followed up with them through emails and phone calls. In certain instances, I interviewed the officials on the same day I visited them to provide information about the study.

4.7 Data collection

To complete the study, I collected and sequentially analyzed data from the stakeholder groups using a combination of focus groups and interviews as described below. Besides lending to the iterative approach, a hallmark of qualitative techniques, following a sequential process enabled me to tailor data collecting from each stakeholder group. Pasick et al. (2009) followed a similar sequential approach in their study on behavioral theory constructs among Latina and Filipina women where they began by interviewing key-informants followed by community gatekeepers and lay women. Following Pasick et al. (2009), I used similar domains while sequentially collecting data and the findings from each stakeholder group informed further data collection. I collected data in the order listed below.

4.7.1 Data collection from female MCW/family members

I collected data from female MCW/family members about their needs and issues outside of sexual and reproductive health to build on the existing evidence. I used focus groups to collect data rather than interviews, whenever possible, because focus groups have the advantage of providing information on the shared perspectives of female MCW/family members. In addition, using focus groups allowed me to determine the differing perspectives since not all female MCW/family members have the same experiences in Bengaluru leading to a more nuanced and holistic understanding. Due to difficulties in recruitment, I could not conduct focus groups in small construction sites as described earlier. Participants in each data collection instance shared certain characteristics as shown in Table 4.

The focus group and interview guide (Appendix F) that evolved between focus groups included the following sections: i) Icebreakers and introduction, ii) Issues faced while living in Bengaluru, and iii) Perceptions about being accepted in Bengaluru. The last two sections informed data collection from other stakeholders along with existing evidence on issues MCW face in Bengaluru. I obtained feedback about the guide from members of the CAB and the local institutional review board (IRB) prior to data collection and made changes as needed. At the end of each focus group, I collected demographic data from the participants using a short survey (Appendix G). The venue where I collected data depended on the setting (Table 4).

On the day of data collection, I kept sufficient time for confirming potential participants' eligibility for participation, answering their questions, ascertaining their understanding about the study, and obtaining their consent. The Indian Council for Medical Research guidelines recommend reimbursement of incidental expenses for all study participants and monetary compensation only when participants experience loss of wages (Mathur, 2017). Since I conducted

focus groups during weekday evenings, weekends, or on holidays, I did not provide any monetary compensation to female MCW/family members who took part in the study. Based on discussions with the members of the CAB and feedback from the local IRB, I provided blankets or tiffin carriers as an incentive to the participants based on their preference. I offered snacks to participants at the end of the focus group/interview.

Prior to starting a focus group or an interview, I obtained consent for audio-recording, taking notes, and using quotations (Appendix H). I moderated all focus groups/interviews except one and took the assistance of a female note-taker for recording non-verbal cues, seating arrangements, and keeping track of progress. The note taker moderated a focus group in one of the informal settlements due to the nature of the setting where-in men from the community could see the participants. Bowers (2019) describes a similar experience in her ethnographic work with female construction workers in Bengaluru. Since I identified this informal settlement independent of the CSO, I was not comfortable with facilitating the focus group due to the lack of rapport with the entire community. Following each focus group/interview, the note-taker and I debriefed to identify modifications to the guide. I wrote my reflections after each instance of data collection to help me identify my personal biases. Writing my reflections also helped me to identify issues that the participants did not bring up including the use of firewood for cooking and menstrual health, which I discussed later with the CSO representatives.

Table 4 Characteristics of groups included in focus groups and interviews

Category	Description	Data collection technique	Language of facilitation	Venue	Time of the day
Category One	Female MCW/family members in informal settlements	Focus group	Kannada	Informal settlement	Afternoon
		Focus group	Kannada	Recreation room built by the CSO	Evening
Category Two	Female MCW/family members in small construction sites	Group interview	Tamil	Construction site	Night
		Interview	Kannada	Construction site	Morning
Category Three	Female MCW/family members in company sites	Focus group	Kannada	Daycare center run by the CSO	Afternoon

4.7.2 Key-informant interviews with CSO and the construction sector representatives

After preliminary analysis of the data collected from female MCW/family members and updating the interview guides, I collected data from CSO and the construction sector representatives using key-informant interviews conducted in-person or via telephone. I interviewed six CSO representatives and ten construction sector representatives in a language they were most comfortable with. During each interview, I gathered data on meeting the needs of MCW, perspectives about the response, and avenues for partnership with other stakeholders for service delivery to MCW. The interview guide evolved over time based on information gathered from each participant (Appendix I and J). Participants determined the venue for the interviews – workplace, coffee shop, construction site, personal contact’s home, and public park. I maintained notes about each interview and reviewed the audio-recordings to identify any leading questions I was asking and to determine topics needing further exploration.

4.7.3 Key-informant interviews with the local/state government representatives

Based on the data collected from MCW and the representatives of CSO and the construction sector, I conducted key-informant interviews with officials of the departments mentioned earlier to understand their perspectives on meeting the needs of MCW, the status of the response, and the opportunities for partnership other stakeholders identified (Appendix K). I conducted all interviews with representatives of the local/state government in their respective offices. Only one official let me record the interview. I interviewed the officials in either Kannada or English depending on their preference.

For all key-informants, I obtained consent in-person prior to the starting the interview (Appendix L). In case a key-informant preferred a phone interview, I sent them the consent form via email prior to the interview. On the day of the phone interview, I began by reading out information in the consent form, answered any questions, and obtained verbal consent. Once the participant provided consent, I sent them a digitally signed copy of the consent form via email.

4.7.4 Participant observation

In addition to the above-mentioned data collection techniques, I maintained notes of the informal conversations I had with various stakeholders including union representatives, the Labour Department officials, *anganwadi*¹⁵ worker, CSO staff, and intermediaries. I met these individuals

¹⁵ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

through my stay in India in the context of recruitment and understanding issues MCW face. I also observed and interacted with MCW at a *naka*¹⁶ but did not collect any additional data from them. As with my other informal conversations, I made an entry in my research diary of the interaction with MCW at the *naka*. *Nakas* are not common in Bengaluru. The CSO representatives who helped to recruit participants for a focus group in one of the informal settlements mentioned that workers from the northern parts of country, where the *naka* system of hiring is more common, have introduced the system in Bengaluru.

4.8 Data management

I documented the progress of the study, decisions taken, and changes made using a research diary to establish an audit trail and to check if decisions made keep MCW as the center point of study. In addition, maintaining the diary helped me to document any changes in policies that impacted the study. For example, while I was in Bengaluru between my initial and subsequent visits to the Labour Department, the Government of Karnataka transferred the Secretary of the KCWWB. As per news reports (Chatterjee, 2019; Special Correspondent, 2019, February 23; Swamy, 2019, September 27), this transfer resulted from disagreements between the Secretary and the Labour Commissioner over the process of tendering for setting up a helpline for construction workers and the unwillingness of the Secretary to transfer funds from the KCWWB for flood relief. In addition to documenting any changes in the policy, I discussed and documented the KCWWB's

¹⁶ *Naka* in Hindi refers to junction. In many cities in India, daily wage workers stand at a *naka* hoping they will get hired for the day. This includes skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers.

political economy during my meetings with individual CAB members and other informal meetings with the stakeholders.

4.9 Data analysis

4.9.1 Focus group and interview data

Considering the qualitative and the sequential nature of the study, I conducted preliminary analysis of the data I collected from female MCW/family members prior to proceeding with further data collection. To conduct the preliminary analysis, I transcribed the audio-recordings within 72 hours of the data collection. Instead of transcribing in the language of the interview, I translated the audio-recordings into English at the time of transcribing. My inability to type in Indian languages and type in the way the language is spoken influenced this decision. I identified each transcript with a code that indicated the setting and the method used for data collection. In Table 5, I summarize the sequence and steps in data analysis.

After transcription, I added notes taken from the note-taker, my reflections, and any other entries from my research diary to the transcript. I completed the analysis of each transcript using pre-defined themes (Table 6), identifying emerging themes, writing memos, and reviewing the transcript for any issues I needed to explore further during subsequent data collection. This approach fits closely with a hybrid inductive-deductive approach, which Kavalieratos et al. (2014); Kavalieratos et al. (2017) describe. Following this approach helped me to determine whether I reached saturation with the planned number of focus groups and interviews with female

MCW/family members. As mentioned earlier, through this approach, I identified two topics that female MCW/family members did not bring up.

Table 5 Sequence and steps in data analysis

Sequence	Involved additional coder	Informed further data collection	Used predefined themes and sub-themes	Identified new themes and sub-themes	Redefined themes and sub-themes	Changed placement of sub-themes
Preliminary coding female MCW/family data	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Reviewing notes and audio-recording of interviews with other stakeholders	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
Coding female MCW/family members data	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Coding CSO representative data	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Coding the construction sector representative data	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Coding the local/state government representative data	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No

After completing the preliminary data analysis, I identified the additional questions to include for the key-informant interviews with other stakeholder groups. For the other stakeholder groups, through a combination of reviewing my notes and listening to the audio-recording after each interview, I identified specific topics related to partnerships that required elaboration. This

enabled me to discuss partnerships pathways and issues with partnerships each participant identified with subsequent participants. I proceeded with final data analysis after transcribing the interviews with representatives from CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government. Other than three transcripts in Kannada for which I hired a transcriptionist, I transcribed other interviews myself.

After transcription, I along with another coder completed the data analysis. The coder whom I worked with is a public health professional based in Bengaluru with experience in qualitative research including working with indigenous communities in South India in documenting traditional health practices. At the time of analysis, I assigned specific codes to my notes and reflections. We also maintained memos to highlight emerging themes and relationships between codes or themes. Memos also captured my thoughts as I went through the process of coding.

For analyzing the data collected from female MCW/family members, we used the coding scheme I developed at the end of preliminary data analysis. This coding scheme included predefined themes as well as those that emerged from the data. I indicate the emergent themes and sub-themes in Appendix M. After independently coding all the transcripts, we discussed our coding to identify emerging sub-themes and themes. Through discussions we decided to merge certain sub-themes and to change the theme under which we had placed certain sub-themes. For the other stakeholder groups, we coded transcripts in the same sequence of data collection, i.e., CSO representatives followed by the construction sector representatives and finally the local/state government representatives.

Table 6 Predefined themes and sub-themes along with their definitions

Theme/Code	Definition
Reasons for move	Reasons for which participant moved from origin to Bengaluru
Livelihood diversification	To diversify the household's sources of livelihood
Agricultural distress	Agriculture no longer remunerative
Agriculture disinterest	No longer interested in continuing with agriculture
Job opportunities	More job opportunities in urban areas
Wage difference	Better wages in urban areas
Caste discrimination	To overcome caste-based discrimination at the origin
Issues in Bengaluru	Issues MCW face in day-to-day life in Bengaluru
Basic needs	Access to basic needs such as food rations, water, toilets, etc.
Working conditions	Working conditions related to wages, safety, harassment, etc.
Living conditions	Living conditions such as accommodation, threat of eviction, etc.
Service access	Access to healthcare, education, childcare, etc.
Social security	Access to insurance, injury compensation, unemployment benefits, etc.
Response to issues	Response by various actors of development to issues MCW face
Services market	Description of services offered by construction companies/ contractors to MCW
NGO services	Description of services offered by non-governmental organizations to MCW
State services	Description of services offered by the state and local government to MCW
○ KCWWB	Description of services offered by the Karnataka Construction Workers Welfare Board to MCW
○ NUHM	Description of services offered by the National Urban Health Mission to MCW
○ ICDS	Description of services offered by the Integrated Child Development Services to MCW
State issues	Issues in accessing services offered by the state and local government
Perspectives on response	Perspectives regarding the responses of the three actors of development
Perspectives on market	Positive and negative references about the services offered by construction companies/contractors
Perspectives on NGO	Positive and negative references about the services offered by non-governmental organizations
Perspectives on State	Positive and negative references about the services offered by state and local government

Table 6 cont.

Resources MCW	Resources MCW have access to in Bengaluru that help them to overcome issues
Social network	Social network/s that MCW can utilize while in Bengaluru
Membership	Membership with any association/union/organization that works for MCW
Partnerships	Description of various aspects of partnerships
Partnership perspectives	Positive and negative references about partnerships made by respondents
Partnership solutions	Issues MCW face that partnerships can solve
Partnership issues	Issues that affect formation and functioning of MCW
Partnership pathways	Pathways for partnerships identified by the respondents
MCW contribution	Contributions that MCW can make to a partnership
NGO contribution	Contributions that non-governmental organizations can make to a partnership
Market contribution	Contributions that construction companies/contractors can make to a partnership
State contribution	Contributions that the state and local government can make to a partnership

We coded all transcripts independently other than two transcripts, which were in a language that the other coder did not know to read. We combined the coding scheme from the previous step with the predefined partnership related themes to initial code two CSO representative transcripts. We then compared our coding to identify emerging sub-themes and redefined certain existing ones. We independently coded the remaining transcripts prior to comparing our coding and resolving differences. We came up with newer sub-themes during this step and added it the coding scheme. We also changed the theme under which we had placed certain sub-themes.

Based on my notes and preparing the transcripts, I added new sub-themes before coding data collected from the construction sector representatives. We then sequentially coded and compared each construction sector transcript to resolve differences, identify emerging sub-themes, and redefine existing ones. Finally, we coded the data from the local/state government representatives using the coding scheme developed so far. While coding this data we did not identify any new codes and did not make changes to the existing ones. Through the entire process whenever we identified a new code or wanted to redefine an existing one, we went back to the transcripts we had coded so far and made changes accordingly. See Appendix M for the final coding scheme. We conducted all data analysis using NVivo (version 12). In addition, I used NodeXL (Smith, 2010) and Social Network Visualizer (version 2.5) for creating network diagrams shown in section thirteen.

To ensure confidentiality of the study participants, I did not include any identifiers in the transcripts. I asked the transcriptionist whom I hired to follow the same protocol while preparing the transcripts. While presenting the findings involving quotes, I only include the category for MCW; type of work undertaken for CSO representatives; affiliation for the construction sector representatives; and department for the local/state government representatives. To ensure validity

of the findings, I conducted member checking of the data interpretation. I shared the findings with the CAB members and obtain their feedback to increase the validity of findings. I decided to utilize CAB for members member checking for two reasons. First, I was unable to go back to Bengaluru to present the findings to MCW and other stakeholders. Second, even if I did to go back to Bengaluru, female MCW/family member who took part in the study might have moved from site where I collected data.

4.10 Data triangulation

After completing all coding, I determined the congruence of perceptions about the response to issues between the stakeholder groups and avenues for partnership they identified. In addition, data analysis helped to identify issues such as not having trust and shared beliefs that can impede the formation and functioning of partnerships. Comparing findings from each stakeholder group not only lent to triangulation of data sources but also helped in determining based on the perceptions of the representatives of CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government whether partnerships can lead to identification of creative solutions as the theoretical framework proposes.

5.0 Structure of findings

I present the study results through nine chapters each focusing on a different aspect. I begin by providing information on participant characteristics for each stakeholder group. Next, I layout the context in which migrant construction workers (MCW) live. Following this, I present findings related to the MCW' life in Bengaluru and detail their everyday experiences. Subsequently, I detail the working conditions that MCW experience. I then highlight issues that MCW face in accessing services and the response of civil society organizations (CSO), the construction sector, and the local/state government in improving access. Next, I describe the various resources MCW can access while living in Bengaluru. In the last two sections, I summarize the various aspects of existing and potential partnerships.

Across sections, I compare findings between the three settings. I also compare findings between stakeholder groups for triangulation. I use tables and figures wherever appropriate. While presenting findings that involve extensive quotations, I used boxes. I use the codes, which I assigned to participants in each stakeholder group, while presenting findings involving quotations. Considering that the I framed the questions to obtain the collective experiences of female MCW/family members in Bengaluru, the information detailed in various sections does not necessarily reflect the experiences of the study participants, so much as the perspectives of others about those experiences.

In presenting quotes from interviews that I conducted in English but the participant used a few non-English words, I keep them as such and provide the translation as a footnote. I added signal words in square brackets to increase the clarity of quotations. The signal words clarify whom the pronouns refer to, complete the sentences, and make it easier to read the sentences.

6.0 Participants' characteristics

6.1 Female migrant construction workers/family members

I collected data from two informal settlements, two small construction sites, and one company site involving from 35 female migrant construction workers (MCW)/family members through a combination of focus group and interviews. While 35 female MCW/family members participated in the study, characteristics are only available for 22 of them (Table 7). This resulted from a combination of some participants leaving the focus group/interview while data collection was progressing and others not completing the survey, which I used to collect demographic and other details.

Table 7 Number of female MCW/family member participants by setting

Setting	Code assigned	Number of participants	Completed survey
Company site	FG_CS	10	7
Informal settlements	FG_IS1	10	3
	FG_IS2	10	8
Small construction sites	IW_SS1	4	3
	IW_SS2	1	1
Total		35	22

6.1.1 Demographics

The age of female MCW/family members who took part in the study ranged from 18 years to 45 years. Except for the focus group at the company site which had two Muslim participants, the rest were Hindu *Dalits or Adivasis*. All participants migrated with their family members to

Bengaluru. Most participants did not have any school education; only one participant had completed her 10th grade.

Table 8 Demographic characteristics of female MCW/family members who completed the survey

Demographic characteristic	N	Percentage
Age group		
18-25	7	31.8
26-35	8	36.4
36-45	7	31.8
Caste		
<i>Dalit</i>	17	77.3
<i>Adivasi</i>	1	4.5
Other	4	18.2
Level of schooling completed		
No schooling	16	72.7
1 st – 5 th grade	3	13.6
6 th – 10 th grade	3	13.6
Type of migration		
Interstate	4	18.2
Intrastate	18	81.8
Duration since migration		
<1 year	3	13.6
1 – 5 years	5	22.7
6 – 10 years	5	22.7
11 – 15 year	6	27.3
16 – 25 years	3	13.6
Employed		
Yes	13	59.1
No	9	40.9
Income (in previous one week) ¹⁷		
Not working	9	40.9
<1000 rupees	1	4.5
1000-2000 rupees	9	40.9
>2000 rupees	3	13.6

¹⁷ 1000 rupees = ~\$14 as of May 2021.

6.1.2 Place of origin and duration since migration

Most of the participants belonged to Karnataka. Within Karnataka, the participants migrated from the northern districts of the state, namely, Raichur, Gulbarga, and Ballari. The participants who migrated from other states belonged to Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. Some participants had migrated more recently whereas others first migrated to Bengaluru more than 10 years ago. The duration since the first instance of migration to Bengaluru ranged from two months to 25 years.

6.1.3 Employment and Income

Not all participants worked; those employed, mostly, worked as unskilled construction workers. Two participants worked as helpers at a daycare center run by the CSO whose help I took for recruiting participants. Participants who worked earned between 700 rupees and 2500 rupees during the week prior to the interview.

6.1.4 Ration and voter identity card

Except few participants in one of the informal settlements, other participants did not possess a ration card or voter identity card in Bengaluru. Ration cards enable eligible households to obtain subsidized food grains from the public distribution system.

6.2 Civil society organization representatives

I interviewed six representatives belonging to four different categories of civil society organizations (CSO), namely, collective organizing, advocacy, service delivery, and design of accommodations. Except for one CSO, the focus of these organizations was not exclusively on MCW and their family members. The selected CSO serve a varying number of MCW and their family members ranging from less than a hundred to few thousands. While some CSO work only with the family members, for example, through provision of childcare, others interact with MCW as well as their family members. Some of them provide services exclusively in company sites whereas others work in company sites and informal settlements. None of these organizations worked with MCW and their family members in small construction sites. These CSO received funds came from domestic and foreign sources. Based on information available on the organizations' websites, none of them received funding from the local/state government. The representatives came from five different organizations at the two different hierarchy levels (Table 9). The order listed below is based on the sequence in which I collected data. The codes represent the primary activity that the organization or the participant is involved with.

Table 9 Details of CSO representatives who participated in the study

CSO representative code	Code definition	Representative hierarchy	CSO activities
CSO_Ser	Service delivery	Staff	Collective organizing, service delivery, advocacy
CSO_Des	Design	Executive	Design
CSO_Adv	Advocacy	Executive	Collective organizing, service delivery, advocacy
CSO_CC	Childcare	Staff	Service delivery
CSO_DC	Daycare	Executive	Service delivery
CSO_CO	Collective organizing	Staff	Collective organizing, service delivery, advocacy

6.3 The construction sector representatives

I interviewed 10 construction sector representatives across four categories including developer, contractor, independent contractor, and intermediary (Table 10). All representatives belonging to the developer category who participated in the study owned their firms whereas those belonging to contractor category included a mix of owners and employees. The contracting firms they represent undertake projects of varying sizes. Intermediaries were responsible for more than one project because of which they moved between construction sites. Intermediaries had the most direct connection with MCW and developers the least.

Table 10 Details of the construction sector representatives who participated in the study

The construction sector representative category	Assigned code	Nature of job
Developers	CS_Dev1	Owner of medium scale real estate development firm and executive of The Confederation of Real Estate Developers' Associations of India-Bengaluru
	CS_Dev2	Owner of medium scale real estate development firm
	CS_Dev3	Owner of medium scale real estate development firm
Contractors	CS_Cont1	Medium scale painting contractor
	CS_Cont2	Employee of large-scale contractor
	CS_Cont3	Small scale contractor at a single company site
Intermediaries	CS_Mes1	Intermediary working with a painting contractor
	CS_Mes2	Intermediary working with an independent contractor managing workers across multiple sites
	CS_Mes3	Intermediary working with an independent contractor managing workers across multiple sites
Independent contractor	CS_IC1	Owner of firm taking up small scale construction projects

6.4 Local/state government representatives

I interviewed six local/state government representatives as shown in Table 11. Except for the official from the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation, who represents the local government, the other officials represent the various departments of the Government of Karnataka. These representatives varied in their hierarchy within the departments ranging from state-level officials to sub-district level officials.

Table 11 Details of the local/state government representatives who participated in the study

Department	Code Assigned	Representative hierarchy
Labour Department	SG_KCWWB1	State-level official
	SG_KCWWB2	State-level official
Education Department	SG_ED1	District in-charge
	SG_ED2	Program coordinator at sub-district level
Health Department	LG_HD	District-level official
Women and Child Development	WCD	Program coordinator at sub-district level

7.0 The context of MCW lives

At the time of analysis, the other coder and I identified several contextual factors that affect migrant construction workers (MCW) in their day-to-day life. I did not pre-define the contextual factors and it emerged as new theme from the data. The contextual factors permeate the lives of the MCW at Bengaluru and the place of origin while also influencing their living and working conditions and access to services and resources. In this section, I present findings related to these factors that belong to the broad categories of reasons for migration, experiences following migration, and the outcomes of migration. Gender interacts with other contextual factors resulting in female MCW/family members having a differential experience when compared to male MCW.

7.1 Reasons for migration

While participants, across stakeholder groups, mentioned various reasons for migration to Bengaluru, an underlying theme is the need to earn a livelihood, “*We came [to Bengaluru] to earn only. Some difficulties came up for us. So, for that [reason], we came [here] to earn.*” (IW_SS2). Participants across stakeholder groups mentioned failure of rain as the main reason for migration, “*because of the lack of rains... there is not much agricultural work going on. They [people in place of origin] cannot make ends meet. So, they are looking to come here.*” (CSO_DC). A recent spate of floods in certain parts of north Karnataka also led to migration, “*Now floods came. So, everyone will come [here] telling, ‘Bangalore, Bangalore, Bangalore.’*” (FG_CS).

In addition to failure of rain, participants in all stakeholder groups mentioned the lack of job opportunities as the other main reason for migration, *“If we go back to our village, we do not have any jobs.”* (FG_IS1). Along with lack of job opportunities, MCW also moved to Bengaluru because they, *“get a lot of money here when compared to what they will do in the village.”* (IW_IC1). The economic status of the family also influenced the decision to migrate, *“We are all poor people, sir... So, we came here to work.”* (FG_IS2). MCW also moved because of debt, *“they [MCW] have taken a loan [in the place of origin].”* (CSO_Ser). Participants took loans both pre- and post-migration for various reasons including, *“to get somebody married, because of some sickness... some of them own a little bit of land back in the village, they're trying to build a house.”* (CSO_DC). After having taken a loan, the lack of jobs at the place of origin can result in the inability to settle the debt leading to migration, *“if we are in our place, we cannot repay the loan. [So], we came [to Bengaluru] again now.”* (IW_SS1).

Some female MCW/family members shared experiences of corruption that prevented them from benefiting from government programs at the place of origin, *“In that [NREGA]¹⁸ work itself... if the government is paying [us] 200 rupees, they [the local government officials] are giving [us] only 100 rupees. They are holding back 100 rupees”* (IW_SS1). In such instances oppression and caste discrimination can prevent the families from demanding their wages, *“We are unable to ask. [Even] if we want to ask, [it is impossible because] upper caste people control all the work [under NREGA].”* (IW_SS1). Other reasons mentioned for migration included family circumstances, *“for drinking and playing cards, [my husband] sold everything.”* (FG_IS1) and marriage, *“After marriage, I came here.”* (IW_SS1).

¹⁸ National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, which guarantees people living in rural areas at least 100 days of wage employment for performing unskilled manual work.

7.2 Having no other option

Female MCW/family members saw living and earning in Bengaluru as their only option, *“Here, it rains so much that water enters into our huts, madam. But we live here only. We cannot go back to our villages. There are no jobs there. Somehow, we want to work, fill our stomachs, and live.”* (FG_IS1). Even though MCW face many difficulties they stay back in Bengaluru because, *“they [MCW] have bigger problems when they go to their villages... when so many difficulties are there [when living in the village], these people have adjusted [to a life] like that [in Bengaluru].”* (CSO_Ser). Female MCW/family members also spoke of having no other option than coming to Bengaluru because staying back in the place of origin would mean having to survive by, *“taking [loans] on interest, and eating.”* (IW_SS1).

7.3 Dual life

Following migration, many MCW lead a dual life i.e., they retain connections with their place of origin for different reasons and visit at varying frequencies, *“There are people who go [to place of origin] once in six months, [once] in a year. There are people who go once every two or three months and come back.”* (FG_IS2). Interstate MCW stay for a longer duration in Bengaluru and visit the place of origin less often when compared to intrastate MCW, *“If it is a local Karnataka based worker, they claim themselves these jatras¹⁹. ‘Jatre idhe namma ooralli,²⁰ I have to go’ is something which is a frequent [occurrence]... If you take up country like Bihar or*

¹⁹ *Jatra/jatre* refers to annual or semi-annual fairs that happen in specific places often associated religious festivals.

²⁰ There is a *jatre* in our village in Kannada.

Jharkhand or Uttar Pradesh from where the workers come. So, these workers, you know, they really earn very well, but, you know, after three or four months of working, they go for a month.” (CS_Dev1). All this points to circular, seasonal, and short-term migration that many MCW undertake.

MCW go back for various reasons, *“his presence is required at home town for some agricultural works, for some marriages, some his parent’s treatment.”* (CS_Cont2). While some MCW go back because they own land, *“When we ask why, ‘Rain has come, miss. We will go to the village and grow crops’ they [MCW] will tell.”* (CSO_CC), others go back to work as agricultural laborers, *“During rainy season, when crops are growing, they will go [to place of origin]. Then in the summer they will come here.”* (FG_IS2). Some female MCW/family members mentioned that their children stay back at the place of origin, *“Grandmother, grandfather are all [living] there [the place of origin]. We will leave [the children] with them and come here. They will go to school, come back [home], and do something.”* (FG_IS1). Social connections and employment are not the only reasons for MCW leading a dual life. MCW might go back to receive healthcare or recover from illness, *“See, they [MCW] find the city very expensive. And they feel that the doctors are charging them more or they get worried, so they go there [the place of origin]. And they also need to rest and recuperate, no?”* (CS_IC1).

Moving between the place of origin and Bengaluru affects all stakeholders. For example, the education of children, *“And that makes it very difficult for the children as well when they are going to school.”* (CSO_DC). Leaving children at the place of origin results in situations such as, *“When I called in the evening, they [the children] were crying [and telling], ‘Come mother.’ ‘When will you come, when will you come?’ they are asking”* (IW_SS1). As described later, leading a dual life means that MCW and their family members might not have access to various services

in Bengaluru. Dual life limits the ability of civil society organizations (CSO) to deliver and evaluate their services, “*And so, we are able to note that [behavior change] and then they go back to the village. They come back in a month. Again, they have been exposed to different set of behavior [inaudible] a lot, right? So, so, assessing the impact also becomes very difficult with migrant communities.*” (CSO_DC). Specific to the construction sector, attrition due to return migration affects the progress of construction projects, “*if they [are] coming here for a year they normally end up going back for 30-45 days. Now that is maybe acceptable by [inaudible] standards but from an industry perspective that really hurts the, the output of work on a actively going construction site.*” (CS_Dev2). Similarly, government departments face difficulties in providing services to MCW who circulate between Bengaluru and the place of origin, “*The challenge for the [Education] Department is the children whose parents shift from one place to another frequently.*” (SG_ED2).

7.4 Location of cards

Leading a dual life means that, except a few MCW, most maintained their voter identity card at the place of origin, “*Yes, they will vote and come. We [will] go [to the place of origin] and come [back].*” (FG_CS). Not having voting rights results in MCW not having a say in their conditions in Bengaluru, “*They [the politicians] will say, ‘Who are you? Which place you are from?’ They will ask us, ‘Why should we do [anything for you]?’*” (FG_IS1). Female MCW/family members, mostly, did not have their AADHAAR card²¹ or ration card associated with an address

²¹ AADHAAR card or the unique identity number card serves many purposes including as a proof of residence and enables direct benefit transfer into bank accounts for various government programs.

in Bengaluru, *“We do not have a ration card or AADHAAR card here” (FG_IS1)*. Many MCW do not carry their ration cards with them and prefer to leave it at the place of origin, *“if is there a family then some one person’s [ration card] we will bring and come.” (IW_SS1)* because, *“In the village, our father, mother, brother-in-law [will be living]... Whoever is there, they will take [the rations].” (FG_CS)*. However, having a ration card associated with an address in Bengaluru goes beyond dual life and depends on, *“if they have proper address [proof in Bengaluru]” (FG_IS2)*.

Further, *“Many of our families don't have [an AADHAAR card]... Some of them have never made it, right?” (CSO_DC)*. MCW not having or carrying the AADHAAR card affects the ability of the government departments to deliver services due to linkages between the AADHAAR card and service delivery as detailed in the section eleven. Some MCW get around this issue by carrying copies of the AADHAAR card or storing a copy on their phone, *“xerox²² will be there [with them] or [from] online they will make it [a copy]... if they have [a photo of the card] in WhatsApp that is sufficient, print out can be taken. There is no rule that they must keep it [with them]. In one mobile if the photo is kept, that is sufficient.” (CS_Mes2)*.

7.5 Nature of employment

While I detail the working conditions later, the informal nature of MCW’ employment means that they have very little control over their working conditions. Unskilled MCW, such as the female MCW who participated in the study, are at the bottom of the hierarchy within the construction sector, which renders them vulnerable to exploitation. While conditions vary

²² In south India photocopies are called xerox copies after the XEROX company.

depending on the setting and the employer, MCW routinely face wage theft, lack of overtime wages, lack of access to safety equipment, lack of opportunities for skill development, uncertainty about finding work, and issues with receiving compensation for onsite injuries. The place of employment also determines the living conditions, and access to service and resources for those in company sites and small construction sites.

7.6 Marginalization

The informal employment, along marginalization within the city, results in MCW and their family members experiencing situations over which they do not have control. They might be unable to access services, including for their children, *“If people like us go then they [the school authorities] won't give [admission to our children]. They will tell, ‘Mother²³, your child is old, we won't take [for admission].’ ‘Your child has become so old, where can we take? Why you did not put her [into a school] that time only? What happened? Where were you before?’ like that and all they ask questions.”* (FG_CS). The inability to obtain a proof of residence as described earlier or not knowing the address of the site where they are working also impairs access to services, *“We have come here to survive. Will we know what [house] number they have kept? We will not know.”* (IW_SS1).

²³ The word used in Kannada is *amma*, which means mother. Amma is often used to address a woman older than the speaker or a woman the speaker does not know.

7.7 Uncertainty

MCW experience uncertainty in many aspects of their lives. Due to their informal employment, *“There is no guarantee that work will be available for all six days [in a week].”* (FG_CS). The consequences of this uncertainty include certain contractors not willing to provide MCW any amenities beyond the basic ones, *“we can't give them [MCW] any extra services also because we are not sure if the labor is going to work tomorrow or no[t].”* (CS_Cont1). MCW might move to a different site because of better wages, *“[They do] not [have] a permanent place because they earn very well. Migrant labors because of the skill set, they earn very well.”* (CS_Dev1). This uncertainty is heightened for MCW finding work at a *naka*²⁴ since they might have to find a different employer each day. People come to negotiate with MCW standing at the *naka* in anticipation of getting hired for the day and take them to work.

In relation to place of stay, MCW in informal settlements experience evictions, *“They [the government officials] will come and tell, ‘This is government land. You have put [your huts] in government land.’ ‘You are blocking the road. [You must] remove the shed,’ they will tell.”* (FG_CS). For MCW in small construction sites since the worksite doubles up as their living space, *“Now, here the work is over... for them [the home owners] [to live], we have to vacate the place in one week they are telling.”* (IW_SS1). Such frequent moves can disrupt MCW in many ways including having to navigate their daily life in a new place, *“Everything we have to find out.”* (IW_SS2). In addition, it prevents MCW in small construction sites from sending their children to schools and *anganwadis*. I detail these uncertainties further in the subsequent sections.

²⁴ *Naka* in Hindi refers to junction. In many cities in India, daily wage workers stand at a *naka* hoping they will get hired for the day. This includes skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers.

Dual life and uncertainty interact to result in MCW having to attend to life circumstances both in Bengaluru and the place of origin. This happened while recruiting participants in small construction sites wherein MCW had to suddenly leave to their place of origin due to a family emergency, *“The unpredictable nature of people’s lives, I think, is exacerbated for migrant construction workers since they live two lives, one at the destination and one at the origin. A change in circumstance in any of these locations affects their lives in many ways” (Field notes from Sep 25, 2019).*

7.8 Sexism

Sexism affects female MCW/family members in multiple ways through the course of their daily and work life. Female MCW/family members, almost exclusively, complete household responsibilities, *“All men do that much work only. Women have more difficulties. Men do not have many difficulties. Only at sleeping time women will get sleep happily [many women laugh]. That’s it. Nothing more than that.” (FG_IS2).* This lack of support prevents female MCW/family members from visiting their relatives among other things, *“Women will not go [out]... Washing clothes and all [such] work will be there.” (IW_SS2).*

At work, female MCW receive lower wages compared to male MCW, *“For us women 300 [rupees] and for men 400 [rupees].” (FG_IS1).* Female MCW have no opportunities to progress through the ranks, *“I also know how to do all the work... Even if I know [how to do it] and become a mesthri²⁵ will they [the contractors] allow me to build a wall?” (IW_SS2).* The

²⁵ While the nearest English equivalent is intermediary, participants who spoke in English and in the local language used *mesthri*. Hence, I keep it as such when presenting quotations.

lack of opportunity stems from widely shared views about the capabilities of female MCW, *“because a woman cannot do, as far as civil work is concerned, stand on the scaffolding and lay the course of bricks or do plastering, the finer work.”* (CS_IC1). The sexism is internalized, to an extent, *“Here, it is a big city. We do not understand [everything]... People like us will not know [about everything].”* (FG_CS).

7.9 Acceptance

Participants shared mixed experiences with acceptance in Bengaluru, *“They are seeing [us] both ways. ‘Here, see they are dirty. We should not allow them inside,’ thinking like that some people, even if we stand outside [their homes] and ask for water also, they tell, ‘Get [your] bottle’... Saying that they are pouring [water] into the bottle. Some people tell, ‘It is okay come inside.’ They will call [us inside] like that and give [us] water in a vessel they have.”* (IW_SS1). Non-acceptance usually plays out in situations where MCW depend on others, *“[We] have to get water from somewhere near the site by asking, ‘Aunty, give us one pot of water’... One-one person will give. One-one person will tell, ‘It is not there.’”* (IW_SS2). The way of dressing affects the MCW’ acceptance, *“even if they [MCW] go to a government hospital, sometimes seeing their clothes, they [the healthcare providers] won’t do much for them.”* (CSO_CC). A female MCW/family member in one of the informal settlements shared about the difficulties her son was facing in finding a job in Bengaluru, *“Our son has finished college [at the place of origin] and come here. Wherever he is looking, he is not finding jobs... Where do they give [jobs] for people like us? Will they give for people like us?”* (FG_IS1).

MCW might face harassment from the local population, “‘You have come from a different place, what audacity you have.’ thinking like that people who beat up [MCW] are there.” (CS_Mes2). Other forms of harassment include making it difficult to live, “if you have a slum next to high rises, residential [ones], they [residents of high rises] throw water on your tents or whatever because they don't want that eyesore to be seen. But they want the maids to be working in the house” (CSO_Des) and blaming MCW for theft, “They [MCW] were chased from three places. So, last [time] I had seen [them], they were on a certain pocket of land. And they are seen as thieves [and] were chased away” (CSO_Des). On the contrary an intermediary mentioned the need for accepting MCW, “They [MCW] might have come from elsewhere but after coming here they are our people. Even if they have come from a different place, they are all Indians. We are not from a different country; they are not from a different country.” (CS_Mes2).

Considering that acceptance is a two-way process MCW, the transcription professional whom I worked with mentioned about the difficulties her family faced in relation to MCW, “my Mom spoke to the owners of the empty site next to our place. We got their [MCW'] stay arranged, for absolutely no rent at all... However, their attitude totally was pathetic and they created so many problems for us in terms of hygiene and also making it rough with our tenants... Playing loud music, heavy drinking and vomiting on weekends. This [was] leading to issues, [but] this was normal for them... once in a city like B'[anga]lore they should live well with people around [them] as well. Else, they may lose on a lot of things. So, my point is the basic understanding of movement to a new place – change and adjustment for their better – that also needs focus.” (Communication with transcription professional).

Specific to the construction sector the level of acceptance is low, “There is no inclusivity... They [MCW] are human beings like anyone of us, they are not lesser than anyone of us. Just

because they have less money and more need for sustenance doesn't make them any lesser than the human being that we are.” (CSO_Des). Speaking about workers from different parts of the country an independent contractor mentioned about the issues they face with interstate and intrastate MCW, “we are wary of the North Indian guys. In the sense some of them... But again, [it is a] case to case perception. Only when you hire, you’ll get, get to know how good or what they are... we have the same thing with the North Karnataka people. They're boisterous, noisy, and we'll have at least one call from some[one] who will say, “Rein in your watchman”... So, what happens we will kind of generalize it also. I’m not being regionalistic but I'm talking in terms of the people who are working here.” (CS_IC1).

7.10 Contribution to Bengaluru

Some female MCW/family members believed that the construction sector is dependent on MCW such as them, *“How will they build, if we are not there??” (FG_IS2).* Others spoke about the availability of non-migrant construction workers in Bengaluru, *“No, no. It is not possible to tell like that. People who are here are also doing this job.” (IW_SS1).* While mentioning that the construction sector cannot function without workers such as them, female MCW/family members spoke about Hindi workers referring to workers from non-southern states, *“Yes, it is not possible. If people like us are there, then work will get done. Meaning there are a lot of Hindi people... There are so many of them, sir. What, who cares about us?” (FG_IS1).*

7.11 Debt and savings

Female MCW/family members mentioned debt in different contexts including reasons for migration, having savings, and access to banking. MCW incur debt at the place of origin, *“Our older son was unwell... That time we took a [loan]... Three rupees interest²⁶”* (IW_SS2); in Bengaluru, *“We must take a loan from someone. And later after we go to work, we have to give [the money back to] them.”* (FG_IS1); and during the times when visit the place of origin, *“If any festival comes, then if a marriage happens, for such things. Then we will go [to place of origin] and come [back]. We will take loans and then come here to earn and pay it back.”* (FG_IS1). In absence of access to institutional loans MCW depend on money lenders, *“In our place, people with money for 10 paise interest, 10 percent [interest] they give [loans], some give for 5 percent. One person is giving for 1 percent.”* (IW_SS1).

Female MCW/family members spoke about their inability to save money due to debts, *“monthly we can save 6000, 7000, 8000 [rupees]. With that 8000 what we must do?... because we have debts, if anyone comes [to ask us about the loan], we will tell, “It is okay take interest from this””* (IW_SS1). In sending money to the place of origin for repayment of debts, some MCW face difficulties, *“They [MCW] send one person to their village. They give that [the savings] money to this person and tell, ‘From whom I have taken loan, you go give it to that person.’ For this person to take that money and go give it there [the place of origin], they give that person a commission. When they are going in the train a lot of theft happens.”* (CSO_Ser). However, others used banks, *“My uncle and all are there, no? We will put [the money] into their [account] number.”* (IW_SS2).

²⁶ Three rupees interest means that for every 100 rupees taken as a loan, the monthly interest rate is three percent.

The cost of living in Bengaluru also affected MCW' ability to save, *"Only one person is doing [work] so. We are four of us at home. Like that it [the money] gets spent. We do not keep at home or bank."* (FG_IS2). Others mentioned the role of alcohol in influencing savings, *"But not everyone has done something with their earnings. They come here to work, then in the evening they drink and spoil everything."* (CSO_CC). However, this was different at the company site where the women formed a savings group, *"Some of us pay into a weekly chit. If we earn a salary of 3500 or 4000 [rupees], then 1000 or 1500 [rupees] we will keep for expenses and put 2000 [rupees] into the chit... Weekly one person takes the chit [amount]."* (FG_CS).

In comparison to the female MCW/family members included in the study, skilled and semi-skilled workers from other states earn more and have better savings, *"Most of the guys who have come and work with us, we find one thing commendable... They earn so they either increase their farmland size or build a house. So, they know they have some age till which they can work. So, once they get back, their retirement home and retirement farm is ready."* (CS_IC1).

7.12 Settling down in Bengaluru

Not all MCW lead dual life and some of them permanently settle in Bengaluru, *"So what these people were doing, the men were going for construction work. The women were going for domestic work... [Now], they have taken houses on rent."* (CSO_CC). MCW take houses on rent for reasons including children's education, *"they have taken care of children's education very well."* (CSO_CC). As a result of the education, *"The children are working in offices. They work as car drivers, office assistants. Then those who do [work] in different, different corporate offices are also there. Leaving construction work they have gone to some other jobs"* (CSO_CC).

7.13 Summary

The findings presented so far layout the context in which MCW live and work. In summary, the life at the place of origin leads to migration due to rainfall related factors, wage differences, lack of job opportunities, and debt. As a result of these factors, MCW see working in Bengaluru as their only option. Following migration, MCW continue to have connections with their place of origin by leading a dual life. Once in Bengaluru, employment in the informal sector makes MCW vulnerable to exploitation. This along with marginalization and uncertainty affects their ability to establish themselves and thrive in Bengaluru. Due to a combination of these factors, MCW are unable to benefit from the constitutionally mandated rights such as education and food. Female MCW/family members have further adverse experiences due to sexism. MCW often do not have savings and use their earnings to settle debts incurred at the place of origin. Irrespective of their contribution to the construction sector, MCW might not be accepted in Bengaluru. Some MCW eventually settle permanently in Bengaluru. These contextual factors are not independent but rather influence one another as shown in Figure 2.

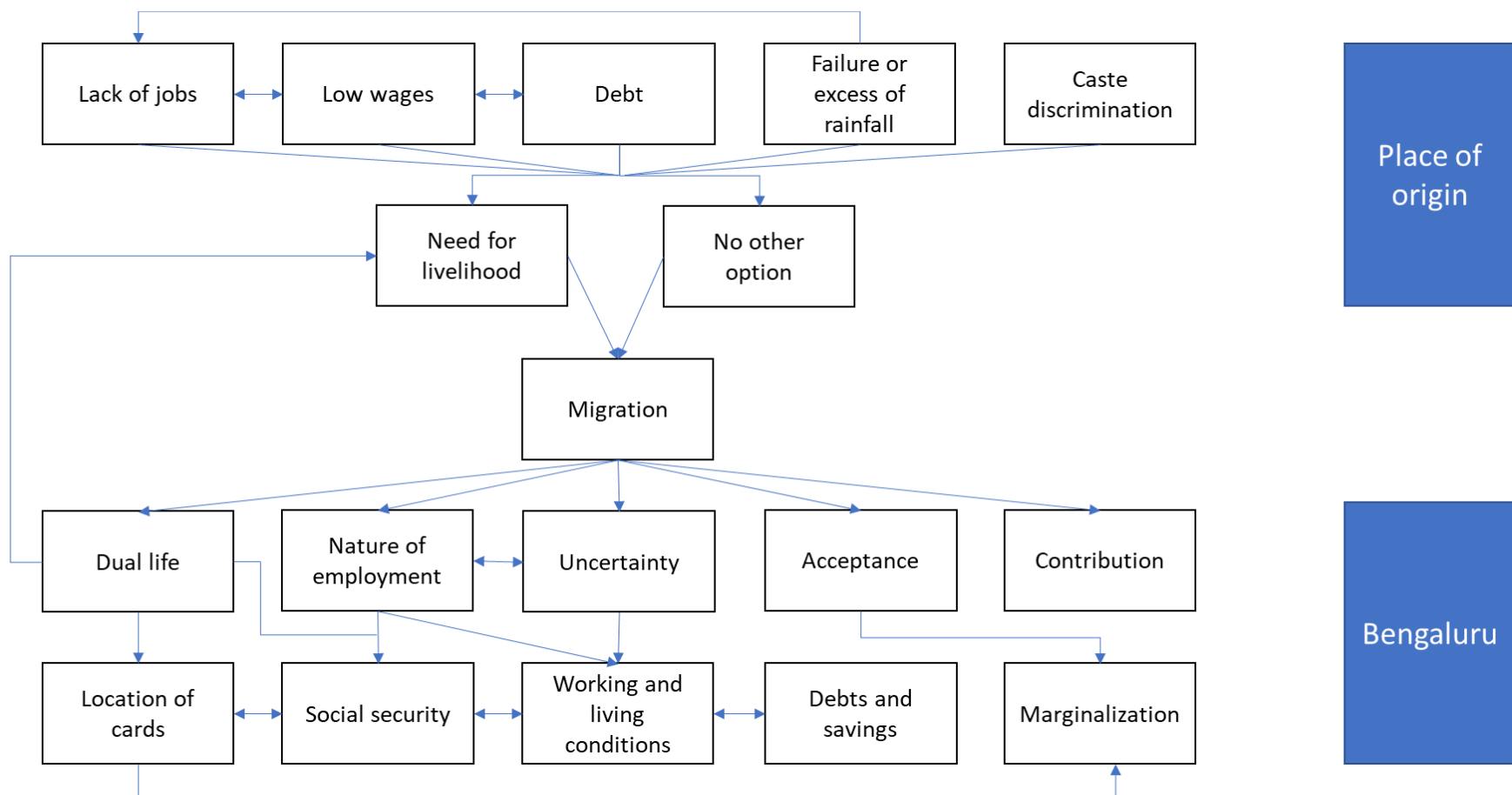


Figure 2 Relationship between contextual factors affecting MCW

8.0 Daily life in Bengaluru

Building on the contextual factors affecting migrant construction workers (MCW), in this section, I present findings related to MCW and their family members' daily life. Irrespective of the setting, MCW and their family members have similar daily experiences in Bengaluru except for a few differences, which I highlight. Certain aspects of the daily life only affect female MCW/family members by increasing their responsibilities or causing them to face adverse situations. Considering that not all MCW stick to the same setting, few female MCW/family members shared their experiences of working and living in different settings.

According to the female MCW/family members various reasons explain this shift from one setting to another including evictions, *"Where do they [MCW] go [after being evicted from informal settlements]?... they will have to work under someone in a building [small construction site]"* (IW_SS2); having children, *"Now, if small children are there then they [the mesthris] are not giving work... Because of that what are they [MCW] doing? Empty sites are there, is it not? In such places, what to do, they are putting one hut [after] asking the owners."* (IW_SS1); completion of construction, *"If we go, if we find [a new site to work] then it is fine. If we do not find [any site to work], then we have to sit on the footpath."* (IW at SS1); and wanting to have stable accommodation, *"When we came [to Bengaluru], immediately, we did not find any huts or sheds [so we worked in small construction sites]."* (FG_IS2).

8.1 Household responsibilities

As mentioned earlier, female MCW/family members almost exclusively complete household responsibilities, “*we will go to work and come. [Then] we will wash dishes and clean the house. By the time we start cooking, small children like these [pointing to children] will be crying. So, the men and children will tell make [the food ready] fast fast. This only, this only happens daily.*” (FG_IS2). Their day begins before sunrise and ends by 10 pm. “*... 10 o’clock by the time we sleep. Then again in the morning we have to wake up at 4 or 4.30 [am].*” (FG_IS2). Female MCW/ family members mentioned that their daily routine remains the same irrespective of the day of the week, “*All days are the same for us.*” (FG_CS).

8.2 Purchasing food rations

MCW typically purchase food rations due to the lack of access to the public distribution system, “*We go to the shop [to buy].*” (FG_IS1). Male MCW often help with purchasing food rations, “*they [male MCW] will go to the shop and come.*” (IW_SS2). As mentioned earlier, some MCW living in one of the informal settlements had obtained ration cards, which allows them to purchase subsidized food grains from the public distribution system. Those who had a ration card mentioned that the food grains obtained from the public distribution system does not last them the entire month, “*How much will come? Twenty-four kgs will come for five people. That is all. Twenty-four kgs of rice how many weeks can you eat? Two weeks you can eat. That is all.*” forcing them to purchase food grains from elsewhere, “*After two weeks we have to get [rice] from the shop and eat.*” (FG_IS2).

When MCW newly arrive in Bengaluru to live in an informal settlement or move to a different company site, MCW already living there help them to identify shops, *“The people who are already here will take [us] and go [to the shop]. They will help [us] with [purchasing] rations. They will help those who have newly arrived.”* (FG_CS). MCW in small construction sites depend on those living in nearby sites for help, *“if someone like us is living there [near the site], we will find them. ‘We have to buy rice, [can you] show us the shop?’ like that we can ask and go [to the shop].”* (IW_SS1). In the absence of any nearby sites, they depend on the intermediary, *“We will ask the mesthri, ‘Where is the shop, which is far, which is near?’ They [the mesthris] will show [us the shop and tell], ‘It [the shop] is here. You can purchase daily [from that shop].”* (IW_SS2). However, not all MCW help each other, *“If good people are there, then they will listen [to us]. Some will think, ‘Why should we answer her?’”* (IW_SS1).

Since MCW in small construction sites can face frequent shifts, they must identify shops with each move, *“Where is water [available]? Where is the shop? Where we must go? Like that everything [we must find out].”* (IW_SS2). In some large construction sites, contractors operate stores for the convenience MCW, *“We have our provisional stores there [near the accommodations]. Provisional store for daily, you know like, goods.”* (CS_Cont2). While talking about purchasing rations, female MCW/family members mentioned about the difference in prices between Bengaluru and the place of origin, *“The price [of food grains] will be more [in Bengaluru]. It is less there [at the place of origin]... Earning there and eating there, earning here and eating here, there is a difference.”* (FG_CS).

They also mentioned about not having to spend on food grains at the place of origin because some of them grow crops in land they own, *“Because there [at the place of origin] crops grow,*

[such as] jola-gila.²⁷ We will have all those things in our house. [So], we won't feel the pinch so much.” (FG_CS). Female MCW/family members spoke about the cost of rations in relation to their earnings, “if we take 500 rupees to shop not even one rupee we will get back. If we take 1000 [rupees] also, we will not get back anything. Leave 500 [rupees].” (FG_IS2). To deal with the cost of rations, “they [MCW] will also hunt around for smaller shops and smaller vegetable vendors so that costs are lower, no?” (CS_IC1).

8.3 Food preparation

As mentioned earlier women do the cooking, “*We have to go [to work] and whatever time we come back we have to cook and eat.*” (FG_CS). In some of the larger construction sites where only male MCW are hired, “*Separate kitchens are also provided away from accommodation area. Kitchens, separate kitchens for each subcontractor... Like a contractor has his own cook, who prepares [the food]*” (CS_Cont2). When such kitchens are set up, “*sometimes it is difficult for them to enjoy the food they are being cooked or they are being served or whatever it might be.*” (CS_Dev2) because of the differences in food habits between states, “*they obviously [are] used to a certain palate*” (CS_Dev2).

I noticed the use of firewood as a fuel in the informal settlements and the small construction sites but female MCW/family members did not discuss about it. This made me reflect if this was because they use firewood in their villages or because it has become an accepted part of life. I also wanted to know what it meant for the health of the women. When I asked about the use of firewood,

²⁷ *Jola* refers to sorghum, a part of the staple diet for those living in northern districts of Karnataka. .

a civil society organizations (CSO) representative, working with MCW in informal settlements, mentioned, *“I think they might not even realize, like you know, how harmful it [the smoke] is. And you might not even think that an alternate is possible... And to be honest, till now it never even struck me, you know, that the children are exposed to that [the smoke].”* (CSO_DC).

In contrast another CSO representative, working with MCW in company sites, spoke about the provision of piped gas when compared to the earlier use of firewood, *“But, mostly now we do not see it [firewood] much... Because houses are small, from the smoke all this [poor health] was happening. Builder was giving the firewood to them [MCW]; contractor was giving [firewood] to them... now in the construction sites they have provided [cooking] gas. In project A, from one common place they have given [gas] connections to everyone.”* (CSO_CC). A construction sector representative confirmed this, *“No no. They [MCW] use LPG²⁸... LPG we provide... some [sites] we give LPG, some [sites] the contractor gives. So, so fire[wood] is not, normally it's not used.”* (CS_Dev3).

8.4 Alcohol consumption

Participants, across stakeholder groups, spoke about male MCW consuming alcohol, *“They [male MCW] drink. They drink in the evening.”* (FG_CS). However, alcohol consumption is not limited to men, *“and even some women have substance addiction issues as well.”* (CSO_DC). According to participants, MCW consume alcohol because of the nature of their work, *“There are some particular workers who will go through a lot of har hard work. Those guys will*

²⁸ LPG refers to liquified petroleum gas available, in cylinders, for domestic and commercial use.

need alcohol fix every day.” (CS_Cont1). However, not all male MCW consume alcohol, “One-one person will be like that. In my house they [the men] do not drink.” (IW_SS2). A construction sector representative mentioned the differences in habits depending on the region to which MCW belong, “And nowadays because maximum from the North we get the people. The staff. So, they [are] only used to this [chewing] tobacco rather than this alcohol and cigarette.” (CS_IC1).

Some participants did not have negative perceptions about alcohol consumption, *“Some people jump around and others do not [after drinking]. Nothing wrong with it [alcohol consumption].” (FG_CS). In relation a CSO representative mentioned, “In the evening some people, if they have the habit, they will drink and just sleep. Apart from that, they do not create nonsense here.” (CSO_CO). However, others mentioned that male MCW consuming alcohol leads to issues including female MCW/family members having to take up the responsibility for the entire family, “One-one person if they are drinking, what they will get, what they earn will be sufficient only for them ... Women only have to earn, educate their children, take care of their husbands, and take care of the house.” (FG_IS2). Alcohol consumption at work can result in loss of wages, “while at work, in the afternoon, whenever he [the participant’s father] wanted, he was taking off [to drink]. The mesthri used to come, scold and give only half the payment.” (IW_SS2). Alcohol consumption can also lead to fights between the workers, “And alcohol, if they, they are uneducated, if they cross the quantity, then it leads to problems like fights among workers, those things takes place.” (CS_Cont2).*

Beyond MCW, alcohol consumption also affects other stakeholders. A CSO representative spoke about the inability of families to pay the monthly fees for the daycare center, *“Also, we charge the families 250 rupees a month, right? ... But some of the families say, ‘We can’t [pay]. Husband drinks, you know, the money that I earn is only used to buy food for the family.’”*

(CSO_DC). Alcohol consumption also leads to MCW' absenteeism, *"on Monday, if 100 members are there [in the site] around 5-10 members at least will be absent."* (CS_Cont3). To avoid such problems, in company sites alcohol consumption is prohibited, *"Strictly it [alcohol consumptions] is prohibited at sites."* (CS_Cont2), however, *"Sunday is off for them, if they visit some other places and all they can, they have some little quantity [of alcohol] and they come back to their home accommodation."* (CS_Cont2).

8.5 Domestic violence

Female MCW/family members face verbal, physical, and economic abuse. Participants mentioned, *"It [physical abuse] happens. Why elsewhere? It happens here also. Some people do it, others do not."* (FG_CS). One participant mentioned, *"men are drinking and speaking under stress so for that we can speak two words in anger."* (IW_SS1) but it is on the female MCW/family members to adjust with it, *"They [male MCW] know only so much. Like that if you adjust and go only then it is a marriage."* (IW_SS1). Male MCW might take their family members' earnings to buy alcohol, *"Now, both will be working, right? Husband and wife. If they work, money, the wages he will only take his wife's also."* (CSO_CC).

The response to instances of domestic violence, however, varied by setting. Participants in one of the informal settlements mentioned, *"They [other MCW/family members] will tell, 'Do not do like this. You should be good.' ... Person A will come and tell [them]."* (FG_IS2) indicating the involvement of others in the informal settlement and the community leader. In the other settings, female MCW/family members spoke about not interfering, *"We leave it thinking it is their problem [others laughing]."* (FG_CS). Even if MCW or their family members want to address the issue

the perpetrators might question them, *“If someone goes and asks, ‘Why are you hitting that girl?’ then what they are telling, ‘What is the relationship between you and my wife.’”* (IW_SS2). Even though domestic violence is common to all settings, only a few CSO are addressing this issue, *“And we working on domestic violence issues.”* (CSO_Adv). The response of the construction sector on the other hand consists of firing the MCW, *“Normally [it] doesn't happen. If at all, it happens, we we send them out [out of the site].”* (CS_Dev3).

8.6 Loneliness

Female MCW/family members might face loneliness irrespective of the setting. Some female family members in informal settlements who do not work have to stay by themselves during the day, *“Almost all the time, I will be at home. I will be alone at home.”* (FG_IS1). In small construction sites, MCW might not have the company of other MCW, *“Then in the night only two, three, or four couples [will be there]. They will not have anyone to talk with.”* (FG_CS) in contrast to company sites, *“Here [at the company site] means so many [people] will be sitting. So, difficulties like that they [MCW in small construction sites] will have.”* (FG_CS).

8.7 Sexual life

One participant, in a small construction site, brought sexual life while discussing the issues female MCW/family members face in Bengaluru. This participant mentioned that due to the nature of work, female MCW/family members might not be interested in sex leading to infidelity,

“Something we are eating and sleeping, feeling tired. What is happening then means some women are unable to give peace of mind for men. When we are unable to give, what they are doing? They are crossing to some other place.” (IW_SS1).

8.8 Menstrual health

Female MCW/family members did not bring up menstrual health through the course of the focus groups or interviews. On asking, a CSO representative shared the difficulties that female MCW/family members used to face due to using cloth pads rather than sanitary pads while menstruating, *“Now, we are not finding anything major. [Earlier] sufficient place was not there. At that time [all this] was not there. They were using cloth pads. There was no place to [wash and] dry [the cloth pads]. Then sexual, what do they say, diseases, infections... then white discharge. All that was there a lot among the workers, women workers.” (CSO_CC).* In relation to menstrual health, a CSO partnered with another organization to conduct awareness programs and distribute sanitary napkins to female MCW/family members, *“So, they, organization A, provide sanitary napkins for a whole year for the communities.... So, we, you know, did like a session with them [female MCW/family members]. Show them the videos and the teachers spoke to them.” (CSO_DC).*

8.9 Child safety

CSO representatives spoke about the hazards that MCW' children face at the place of residence. According to some of them, children face various forms of abuse, *"No child safety, right? They are, they are totally vulnerable. They are totally exposed to abuse. Physical, emotional, sexual. You keep reading about it, hearing about it."* (CSO_DC). On the contrary, a different CSO representative mentioned, *"They [MCW/family members] see child as equivalent to god. Most of them are from North Karnataka. [They are] very traditional people... So, [the] people are against that [child abuse and harassment]."* (CSO_CO). In relation, a CSO representative shared about their activities to increase awareness regarding child safety and sexual abuse, *"during our workshops with them [the parents], [we] talk to them about child safety. And we have done, you know, like puppet shows for them on child sexual abuse and I just want them to be wary. It's it is kind of really heart breaking because they're also very constrained, right?"* (CSO_DC).

The use of firewood puts children at the risk of injuries, *"Houses are small, children also will be there only. Many accidents have happened. [Children] putting hands in hot water... Children getting burnt after touching the fire, all that has happened."* (CSO_CC). MCW' children, especially in informal settlements, might go missing from place of residence due to the lack of supervision, *"There [are] a lot of children are [have] been missing from the migrant communities... When the traffickers know that these children are [left] unatten[ded], [there is] no adult supervision for them, easy to target these children and take [them], you know."* (CSO_Adv).

When MCW' children accompany their parents to the construction site, *"They [the children] were playing in sand. They playing with rocks... They used to put cement on themselves and play."* (FG_CS) because of which they are at the risk of accidents, *"There [at the site] what will fall, what will happen, no one knows."* (FG_CS). While uncommon, at present, accidents used

to lead to death of children, *“Many accidents were taking place at that time, sand falling on children, stones falling, then [children coming] under a lorry, under a tractor. A lot of children have died.”* (CSO_CC). Previously, child labor was common in the construction sector, *“But everyone nowadays, compared to maybe 15 years ago, now they [are] following the under 18 [years] norm. You know, under 18 [years] they don't [hire].”* (CS_IC1).

Large developers and contractors led changes have increased child safety, *“See, the children are never allowed on to the worksite. That is another important restriction we put nor it is allowed as per the regulation you cannot bring children to the site.”* (CS_Dev1). Changes include the provision of daycare centers in some construction sites as detailed in the section eleven. However, in smaller construction sites where children stay on site only a few safety measures are in place, *“Their [the children's] play areas are kind of separate, so that they don't play under [the] dangerous areas. We take care... you have railings or those plastic strips or barricade, [and] netting which is done now. [These are] more, more visible now, especially [in the] high rise [constructions]. Otherwise, if it is just two three floors, not that that is not dangerous but everyone is little, everyone has guts as far as that is concerned.”* (CS_IC1).

8.10 Theft

MCW in all settings experience theft, *“Here also people have lost their phones [and] money. It has happened in the houses where it happened.”* (FG_CS). In small construction sites, the nature of accommodation increases the risk of theft, *“[early] stages they [MCW] will face theft of money or mobile, charger. Those are those things they are prone to lose.”* (CS_IC1 because, *“beginning of our construction project, things will be empty [at the] site and there [will] only be*

sheds.” (CS_IC1). In informal settlements the theft is not limited to unattended items, “They [MCW in an informal settlement] also complained. The people who are living there, in the night time somebody [comes] and show them the knife and say that, ‘Give money, you know, otherwise I kill [you] and all.’” (CSO_Adv). At times other workers are responsible for theft, “Staying with us, eating from us, the money that we had kept here, thousand rupees we had kept and mobile, everything he took and went away.” (IW_SS1).

In small construction sites, in addition to their belongings MCW must safeguard the material at site, *“We only have caught three-four thieves who came [laughs] meaning they will come to take rods and all... How much ever time means that much time we used to stay up and not sleep.” (IW_SS2). During instances of theft MCW might not receive support from the police, “If we go complain in the police station, what they are doing? They are taking them [the thieves], buying them good food, keeping them [at the police station] in the night, and sending them in the morning.” (IW_SS1). When theft happens, at small construction sites, the contractors or intermediaries help MCW to file complaints, “if someone snatches the mobile and goes away... they [the contractors] will only take [MCW] to the police station [to file a complaint]” (CSO_CO).*

8.11 Festivals and other celebrations

Participants in the company site and in the informal settlements spoke about celebrating festivals in Bengaluru. Specific to the company site, participants mentioned that they celebrate festivals and other occasions across religions, *“Let it be any function, birthday, naming ceremony, everyone will go celebrate, eat, and come back. If it is in our house they will come celebrate, eat and go.” (FG_CS). Since in any given informal settlement, MCW usually belong to the same caste*

and religion they celebrate festivals of that religion, *“Now Ganesha festival came recently. People usually come together when the Ganesha festival happens.” (FG_IS1)*. In small construction sites, participants are unable to celebrate festivals with others from their place of origin because of distance, *“We will be far-far, no? So, for that reason [we do not celebrate together].” (IW_SS2)*. As mentioned earlier, MCW might go back to the place of origin to celebrate festivals, *“During Dussera time if we are in village, we will celebrate there.” (FG_IS2)*.

8.12 Entertainment and recreation

MCW visit others from their place of origin living in Bengaluru, *“If people from our village are there we go [to visit them]. Not that we do not go. They also come here.” (FG_CS)*. However, mostly it is male MCW who visit others, *“They [the men] go and come.” (IW_SS2)*. Some female MCW/family members spoke about needing rest on holidays because of which they did not want to go elsewhere, *“We need to get rest at home... On the days we are working, we have quickly to do everything.” (FG_CS)*. Household responsibilities also held female MCW/family members from going out, *“On Sunday also rest will not be there for us.” (IW_SS2)*.

Both CSO and the construction sector have taken up initiatives related to entertainment and recreation. A CSO representative mentioned that they conduct sports days in informal settlements, *“We’ve done a sports day for the community. These fathers were kind of hesitant to participate. We are hoping the next time we do [the sports day], they will also get more comfortable. But it was really nice to see these women who have never been through school themselves, have never had fun and games themselves [participate]” (CSO_DC)*. Some CSO working in company sites facilitate recreational activities, *“Like I said some recreational activities. Playing games, indoor*

games or outdoor games. Facilitating them [MCW] to do that.” (CSO_Des). Developers and large contractors also conduct sports days, “On May [Day] we conduct sports day for our members’ workers specifically... We do encourage all this, but a lot of things can be done but [this is] one more thing what is happening” (CS_Dev1).

In some large construction sites, MCW had access to designated recreation areas, *“We also have a recreational area where, where workers can go and, you know, just sit and have their food and watch TV. And, you know, just basically engage with one another.” (CSO_Dev2). Large contractors played movies for the MCW during the weekends, “We are providing some film, we show them [MCW] [on the] weekends movies... matlab²⁹ like it's very difficult to go and to have a look matlab watch movie in theatres. Tho³⁰ we provide them that facility, movie facilities also at the sites” (CSO_Cont2).*

8.13 Summary

The daily life plays out differentially for male MCW and female MCW/family members, irrespective of the setting. Female MCW/family members are responsible for all the daily chores with little or no help from male MCW. These responsibilities can increase due to male MCW abusing alcohol. While not the only cause, male MCW consuming alcohol can lead to female MCW/family members facing domestic violence. MCW’ children face various hazards both at the place of residence as well as at the construction sites. MCW face theft of money and mobile phones. MCW in all settings celebrate festivals but only for those in company sites and informal

²⁹ Hindi word for meaning.

³⁰ Hindi word for so.

settlements it is a group activity. Female MCW/family members have fewer opportunities to go out for entertainment and recreation. CSO and the construction sector have taken up various initiatives related to entertainment and recreation. The MCW' life experience in Bengaluru goes beyond their daily life and is affected by their living conditions, which I discuss in the next section.

9.0 Living conditions

Considering that where and how MCW live influences their life experience, in this section, I present findings related to accommodation and access to basic amenities including water, toilets, and bathing facilities. The findings across the sub-sections, in here, do not represent the situation in Bengaluru but rather are based on the experiences of participants across stakeholder groups. Depending on the setting, MCW have a distinct pattern of accommodation and access to basic amenities. This pattern leads to differential perceptions about each setting. When asked about MCW in other settings, female MCW/family members in the company site felt that their living situation is better than those living in informal settlements, *“We will think whether to live here or leave everything and go back to our village.” (FG_CS).*

Participants in one of the informal settlements mentioned that though companies provide accommodation and amenities, the wages are lower, *“In big-big companies, if you work there, they will give room, current³¹, all that they give. Water they give. [But] payment less they give.” (FG_IS1).* In the other informal settlement, some participants spoke about the difficulties they faced when they worked in small construction sites, *“[We were living] here and there on the side, in buildings, getting wet in rain. When they are doing centering³² in buildings there is water at the bottom [of the building]. We have lived like that only, keeping children, putting hollow block at the bottom [of the building] and sitting [on top of that].” (FG_IS2).*

³¹ Refers to electricity

³² Centering refers to using temporary material (metal or wood) to support wet concrete mix on horizontal structures such as floor slabs. Centering is followed by curing using water once the concrete has set.

Female MCW/family members, in one of the small construction sites, mentioned that other than access to water no other differences exist between them and MCW in informal settlements, *“There is no difference. Those who are in huts, [their life is] the same only. Only one thing, because we are in this building, we are getting drinking water. When we are putting huts, we must go to four houses, stand and ask for water.”* (IW_SS1). Whereas in the other small construction site, the participant felt living in an informal settlement was better, *“There [in informal settlements] current is not there. But to stay there only is better.”* (IW_SS2). These differences emerged from MCW’ experiences in each setting, that I detail next.

9.1 Accommodation

Accommodation is the first thing that MCW need once they reach Bengaluru, *“When they [MCW] come to Bengaluru... the main thing is, they need a room to stay.”* (CS_Mes2). Though accommodation is an immediate requirement the construction sector does not pay attention to it, *“So, you know, in general workers’ standard of living and standard of life and accommodation of course can improve dramatically across the board and that’s something that’s common [to] migrant workers as well as workers situated in Bangalore city.”* (CS_Dev2). The construction sector does not bother about quality of accommodation either because MCW do not demand better accommodation, *“And they [MCW] are not resisting, they are not asking for better conditions so why should we [bother]. So, that is where the situation is.”* (CSO_Des) or because MCW are content with what is provided, *“So they're willing to live in say comparatively, very humble surroundings.”* (CS_IC1).

Table 12 shows the differences in accommodations by setting and within each setting. In company sites there is large variation in terms of quality of accommodation and the facilities provided depending on the developer, the contractor, and the size of the construction project. These differences emerge from the contracting system, which is the norm within the construction sector, *“The contractor says the developer has to pay him more to do all this [provide decent accommodation]. And developer says it is not my duty it is the contractor’s duty. The contractor feels the developer makes far more money than him and let him pay me the thing. The developer is very careful not to put in the tender guidelines [about the accommodations] because then the contractor will jack up his prices.”* (CSO_Des). As a result, not all developers stipulate living conditions in their contracts, *“Living conditions and all are not mentioned in any contract.”* (CS_Cont1) because, *“It is not that they don't know what to do. They think it is not important enough.”* (CSO_Des).

However, some developers provide guidelines that the contractors must follow, *“the workers’ accommodation is something that we sort of, in terms of, we [provide the] layout, the general principles and the guidelines and conditions. And the contractor must comply to those guidelines and conditions.”* (CS_Dev2). A civil society organization (CSO) involved in design of accommodations for MCW developed these guidelines, *“which is why when we the, began the construction of our development we tied up with organization B to really come in and provide us, you know, stringent protocols to ensure that we have a very neat, clean labor site”* (CS_Dev2). This developer worked with the CSO in developing the protocols because, *“you will find that actually providing for good living conditions, which are conducive to high efficiency and high productivity [of the workers] will be the way forward.”* (CS_Dev2).

Table 12 Differences in accommodation by setting

Detail	Company sites	Informal settlements	Small construction sites
Provided by	Either the developer or the contractor provides, <i>“At some places it's a developer responsibility to provide accommodation... When it goes to a large-scale project, it is the contractor's responsibility.”</i> (CS_Cont1).	MCW identify land and put-up huts, <i>“This was all forest and garbage. We only [cleared it and] put our huts here.”</i> (FG at IS1) or rent a piece land along with other MCW, <i>“These are private lands itself, which are given on rent to them [MCW] where they put in these small huts”</i> (CS_Dev3).	The independent contractor or the intermediary provides the accommodation, <i>“Till their work is done they [the contractor or mesthri] will give a room.”</i> (IW_SS1).
Process	Developer provides material to contractor for setting up the accommodations, <i>“Company gives us the material, we do the setting [up].”</i> (CS_Cont3) or the contractor sets up the accommodation, <i>“So that is the reason we are constructing our own [accommodations].”</i> (CS_Cont2).	If already established, MCW must approach the land owner through those who are already living there, <i>“They will ask him [the owner], ‘One more family is there will you let them join?’”</i> (IW_SS2)	The intermediary negotiates with the person getting the building constructed, <i>“when we go to work, first we will tell [the home owner], ‘Our guys, we have so many people. We need a room and all here. We need current, we need water.’”</i> (CS_Mes2).
Location	Usually within the construction site or close to the construction site, <i>“So in in terms of basic logistical setup we, we like to provide separate labor camps, which are disconnected from the construction site....”</i> (CS_Dev2). In other instances, the accommodation can be located away from the construction site, <i>“the site will be at a different location and labor[er]s shed will be in a different location... So, from there the transport will be given to them.”</i> (CS_Dev3).	Where ever MCW find land or where land is available for rent, <i>“they are living in peri-urban areas where the open lands are there [that are] either state government [owned] or [the] Forest Department or the Railway authorities. Wherever the piece of land is available... through the local leaders, they are putting the shacks.”</i> (CSO_Adv).	Initially outside the construction site and later within the building, <i>“Later on once the roofs come up, then they [MCW] have extra roof area above [them], where they can at least sleep. Otherwise, they manage in sheds.”</i> (CS_IC1).

Table 12 cont.

Detail	Company sites	Informal settlements	Small construction sites
Type	<p>Accommodation provided can be poorly designed, <i>“Some of them [MCW] are living in such abysmal conditions, [in] sheds without any ventilation, without any windows.” (CSO_Des).</i></p> <p>Some contractors provide accommodation as per certain standards, <i>“at [the] labor colony we have accom[modations], you know, [made of] like insulated material. It's a temporary structure G[round floor] plus One... [we] have our standard design for that... as per [our] standards how many labors... we can accommodate in that room... It depends on sites.” (CS_Cont2).</i></p>	<p>More established informal settlements have semi-puuca³³ houses, <i>“from what I observed, the huts had cement foundation and were built on a platform like structure that kept water out” (Field notes Oct 5, 2019)</i> whereas newly established ones have huts/sheds built using sticks and tarpaulin, <i>“they only collect bamboo and plastic sheet [to build the huts]” (CSO_Adv).</i></p>	<p>Initially sheds and later the building under construction, <i>“Like a shed they have built and given... they broke it. Now they have put a tarpaulin and given us [a room]” (IW_SS1).</i></p>
Initial cost for MCW	None	<p>Up to 5000 rupees for the purchase of materials, <i>“Everything we only must get, we have to get from the shop. It comes up to five thousand [rupees], the expense” (IW_SS2).</i></p>	None
Rent	None	<p>Ranges from 500 to 2000 rupees monthly, <i>“Monthly monthly. 500 rupees. 600 [rupees] sir. 2000 [rupees] is also there sir. Only for the land.” (FG_CS).</i></p>	None

³³ Refers to houses with walls made of either cement, lime mortar, or stone but with thatched roofs.

Table 12 cont.

Detail	Company sites	Informal settlements	Small construction sites
Electricity	Available, “... <i>they will give room, current, all that they give</i> ” (FG_IS1).	Usually not available, “ <i>In the night they [MCW in informal settlements] have to make everything ready in the darkness.</i> ” (FG_CS).	Available, “ <i>And power also will be there because invariably, now, for any site you need [a] lot of cutting equipment too.</i> ” (CS_IC1).
Additional facilities	<p>Security and first-aid at certain large construction sites - “<i>We have our security; we have our first aider [at the accommodation site].</i>” (CS_Cont2).</p> <p>Dedicated recreational areas in certain large construction sites – “<i>like recreation facilities are also [there]. We are providing for them like sports [facilities].</i>” (CS_Cont2).</p> <p>Kitchen facility – “<i>we have a separate kitchen unit... So, we have separate compartmentalized setups for them [MCW] which are completely smokeless in nature... [also] storage space for their vegetables and produce etc.</i>” (CS_Dev2).</p>	The CSO, whose help I took for recruiting participants from one of the informal settlements, setup a recreational room for the children, “ <i>Within the settlement organization C has constructed a room for the children living there to play indoor games, which became the venue for the focus group.</i> ” (From FG_CS notes).	Separate rooms for families within the construction site, “ <i>If a family comes, then what we do? We give them a room separately. Family will live separately.</i> ” (CS_Mes2).
Issues	Water stagnation – “ <i>So, you know, many of these sites or these labor camps have stagnant water. That becomes a big issue because, you know, in Bangalore malaria and dengue is quite rampant.</i> ” (CS_Dev2).	Female MCW/family members reported harassment, “ <i>If we do not pay the rent, they threaten us by saying they will destroy our shed.</i> ” (FG_IS1).	MCW must move following the completion of a project, “ <i>In 10 months, the work got over. Now we must look for a new place [to live and work].</i> ” (IW_SS1).

Table 12 cont.

Detail	Company sites	Informal settlements	Small construction sites
Issues		<p>MCW in informal settlements constantly face the threat of eviction, <i>“So this people [MCW in informal settlements] are always in the threat of insecurity, you know. So, wherever they are living also the lot of times demolition [has] made them shift because they [settlements] are illegal.” (CSO_Adv).</i></p> <p>MCW in informal settlements might have to deal with water entering their huts during rains, <i>“If it rains, we have to worry about water entering our huts.” (FG_IS1)</i></p>	

Certain large contractors provide accommodation meeting specific standards as a company norm, *“Like we have our standard design for that. As per our standard design our company's design, you know like, each room it's like 20 feet by 20 feet room. Like we have different sizes.”* (CS_Cont2). Other large contractors have started working with the CSO involved in design of accommodations but only in few of their projects, *“for example, I was telling you about the Vice President, Senior Vice President, Mr. B, in one of the D's projects. All his projects are taken care of. But all his contemporary's projects are not taken care of.”* (CSO_Des). This CSO usually initiates such partnerships, *“But first project is what is tough for us to get. Once they see the benefit then we have continued for a few projects.”* (CSO_Des). See Box 3 for further details on the activities of this CSO.

In both the informal settlements, included in the study, the participants living there wanted to obtain permanent housing in Bengaluru. The CSO representative who facilitated recruitment in one of the informal settlements mentioned during an informal conversation, *“[the] presence of a leader who successfully obtained ownership papers helps... and this has led to benefits for the entire community.”* (Field notes from Oct 28, 2019). Participants in one of the informal settlements hoped to eventually obtain housing through their membership in an association, *“‘Somewhere they [the government] will give houses for poor people,’ like that they [the association] told.”* (FG_IS1). Because of membership in the association, participants no longer had to pay the monthly rent for the land where they put their huts, *“Now from three-four months, there is no rent.”* (FG_IS1). The association helping them is focused on empowering *Dalits*, *“It is Ambedkar Association.”*³⁴ (FG_IS1).

³⁴ Ambedkar Association refers to any association that fights for the rights of *Dalits*. They are named after B.R. Ambedkar, a *Dalit* scholar and jurist, who was the architect of the Indian Constitution after independence.

Box 3 Details of CSO involved in design of accommodations

“So, as, organization B, we work on bettering, giving better design guidelines. We work more with the contractor team or the management team of developers and contractors, who ever appoint us... And we try and bring in guidelines for the company across their other projects also. We study their projects. So, not only for the project we are hired... So, wherever they give us access we go and study the living conditions, document it, we have a survey. And then we submit the report to them. And then we try and bring in standard, like how much area per person, how much air volume per person, how much windows should you give... And some of our empirical evidence we have [has shown] that by doing all this, the attrition rate has come down, the health rate has gone up, the attendance rate percentage has gone up. And thereby they [the contractors and the developers] have seen the benefit and then they adopted the changes across [sites].” (CSO_Des).

Some homeowners let MCW in small construction sites to stay back in the constructed building in exchange for domestic work, *“‘We will give a room on the top [terrace], husband and wife stay [there]. Just do the work, that is there in our house.’ like that they [the home owners] are telling. We complete their work and then go to work somewhere else.” (IW_SS1).* Comparable to the expectations of the participants in the informal settlements, a participant in one of the small construction sites shared her experience of trying to obtain permanent housing in Bengaluru, which did not succeed due to various reasons (Box 4).

Box 4 Experience of a participant in SS1 in trying to obtain permanent housing in Bengaluru

“We tried but we did not get the chance. Why means? Here, in, M [neighborhood], nth cross [road] is there. Next to that one lake is there. Next to that lake many people had put huts. For some people they [the government] gave [houses]. For some people they did not give. We were also there; they did not give [house to] us. They did not give... Because it is government land we also put [a hut]. There what the people [living] like us did? [They told], ‘You have come from somewhere and put [hut] here.’ They became jealous, [they] fought with us and they made us vacate from there... That place, totally, for ten years we put hut and lived there.” (IW_SS1).

While I presented the findings related to accommodation across three settings, an additional category of MCW includes those living in rented houses. While I did not collect data from any such female MCW/family members, the other stakeholders whom I interviewed spoke about MCW

living in rented houses. This includes skilled MCW who are not provided accommodations, *“We do not get a place to stay”* but receive higher wages enabling them to rent houses, *“We take room on rent and stay”* (CS_Mes1). This intermediary, who lives with other MCW, reported not facing any issues in finding rented houses, *“We get a room. Telling someone or the other we will get a room.”* (CS_Mes1).

At times, contractors prefer that their workers stay in rented houses, *“On the site, it's not possible because there will be thefts of other things... we take up some nearby place, you know, on rent or something and we may give them [MCW] the keys to stay there.”* (CS_Cont1). Intermediaries might provide rented accommodation because they do not want to lose their workers, *“if people leave, we will not get them again, is it not? So, what we do? We only identify a place, a shed, a room. We will pay the rent, pay the advance, and keep the workers”* (CS_Mes2). MCW working in small construction sites might also rent houses so that their children's education is not interrupted due to frequent shifting. Intermediaries might help such MCW by providing a room to them, *“For them [MCW] something like a rented room we give. There only nearby they educate their children and come to work.”* (CS_Mes2).

Even if MCW working in small construction sites want to stay in rented houses to ensure that their children can attend schools they might not be able to afford the rent, *“Here also nearby an anganwadi³⁵ is there, on that side... It [the anganwadi] is close by, so we wanted to look for a room. He [participant's husband] went and asked all around in V [neighborhood]. The rate they [the home owners] told was high. [The rent is] 4000-5000 [rupees] for a sheet house. Ten*

³⁵ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

thousand [rupees] advance you give, ' they told. Where to get so much money from? If we earn for the entire month, after eating not even 10,000 [rupees] will be left.' (IW_SS2).

9.2 Water

Along with accommodation, water is an essential need. Tables 13 and 14 show the details of water for domestic purposes and drinking by setting. Even within settings, differences emerge depending on the context. For example, in IS2, an older informal settlement (established 16 years ago), MCW have access to water the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation supplies whereas those in IS1, a newer settlement (established 5 years ago), do not. In SS2, the participant spoke about obtaining drinking water from a different source other than the borewell water available at the site, whereas in SS1 the participants used borewell water for all purposes.

Some company sites started providing water of better quality because of a recent outbreak among MCW, *"In the situations where we work, they are taking care of water because water became a big issue. Some people fell sick and then it became a issue in the newspapers. So, after that people take care and now they are erring on the other side"* (CSO_Des). According to a CSO representative, some MCW might misuse purified water, *"workers don't know how to use RO³⁶ water. They wash their feet with RO water. But they [the builders] are giving them that."* (CSO_Des).

³⁶ Stands for reverse osmosis, which is a water purification process.

While speaking about access to water, female MCW/family members in the company site spoke about the hardships MCW living in informal settlements face, *“In other places, if we are in rent paying accommodation, then we will have a lot of difficulties.”* (FG_CS). Participants in the informal settlements, *“Water is a big challenge for us.”* (FG_IS1) and in the small construction sites, *“For them [MCW in informal settlements], for water, for taking bath. For water only it is a difficulty.”* (IW_SS1) echoed this finding. Participants in one of the informal settlements, compared the access to water in Bengaluru and their place of origin by mentioning, *“If you see, in the village the taps are right in front of the house. Here is the house and here is the tap in the village, sir.”* (FG_IS1). The poor access to water in informal settlements affects MCW’ personal hygiene, *“then they [MCW/family members] can’t take bath and the personal hygiene is difficult, you know, because of that a lot of health-related issues are there and those things they are facing.”* (CSO_Adv).

Table 13 Differences in access to domestic water by setting

Details	Company site	Informal settlement	Small construction site
Provided by	Company provides water, <i>"Here they [the company] give us [water], so it is fine."</i> (FG at CS).	MCW might purchase water, <i>"Water. We pay money and get madam."</i> (FG_IS1), use water the land owner provides, <i>"Water. They [the land owners] only leave."</i> (IW_SS2), or use the water municipal corporation supplies, <i>"From corporation"</i> (FG_IS2).	MCW use water available at the site, <i>"There is no need to get water from anywhere outside. Because we are staying in the building."</i> (IW_SS1)
Main source	Borewell, <i>"Bore water"</i> (FG_CS).	MCW do not know source of the water they purchase or obtain from the municipal corporation.	Borewell, <i>"First bore, bore[well] they will put [drill] and then the [construction] work gets started."</i> (IW_SS2).
Cost	No cost, <i>"Water is free."</i> (FG_CS).	If purchased from a single source there is a monthly cost, <i>"For one month we pay 400 rupees"</i> (FG_IS1). If purchased from a water tanker, <i>"Almost 1000 rupees for one tanker"</i> (FG_CS).	No cost, <i>"And all of them [power, room, water] are provided free to them [MCW]."</i> (CS_IC1).
Issues	Quality of water, <i>"you see a lot of these make shift labor camps done on the smaller sites. [inaudible] logistical issues where water is definitely a concern."</i> (CS_Dev2).	Water not being released, <i>"They [those supplying water] are telling, 'We cannot release water.' Even if are willing to pay money they are telling they cannot release."</i> (FG_IS1). Walking long distances to collect water, <i>"Even to get a pot of water they [MCW/family members] have to walk a long distance and public water supply is very rare... there are no public water taps anywhere, government is removed all the public water taps"</i> (CS_Adv). Corruption on part of operator responsible for releasing municipal water, <i>"If you don't give 50 rupees then he [the operator] will switch off the water."</i> (FG_IS2)	None reported.

Table 13 cont.

Details	Company site	Informal settlement	Small construction site
Issues		Irregularity, <i>“If two days it [the water] is there means two days it won't be there.” (FG_IS2)</i>	
Alternate sources	None reported.	<p>Filtration plant, <i>“We get that [the filtration plant water] and live our lives” (FG_IS1).</i></p> <p>Tractors transporting water, <i>“we take our pots and run to tankers and request telling, ‘Brother, leave water [for us]. ’” (FG_IS1).</i></p> <p>Nearby houses, <i>“If water does not come here, then we have roam around buildings fill one-one pot, come [back] and do our things.” (FG_IS2).</i></p>	None reported.

Table 14 Differences in access to drinking water by setting

Details	Company site	Informal settlement	Small construction site
Source	<p>Same as domestic water, “All water that only. [We are] drinking that water only. We use it for everything.” (FG_CS)</p> <p>Certain contractors provide purified water, “RO³⁷ system also we are providing.” (CS_Cont2).</p>	<p>Filtration plant, “They have made it for the poor people only. They have made it for poor people to get water.” (FG_IS1)</p> <p>Purchased from others, “Like that they give [money], purchase and carry the water.” (CSO_Ser).</p>	<p>Borewell, “the clients or the owners dig a borewell and then that, the borewell water is used to drink and wash clothes or anything else or cooking, for all [purposes].” (CS_IC1).</p> <p>Nearby houses, “Drinking water alone the mesthri will ask in next house or something.” (IW_SS2)</p> <p>Filtration plant, “Or we have to get filter water by going somewhere far.” (IW_SS2)</p>
Cost	No cost.	<p>At the filtration plant 20 liters is available for five rupees, “Five rupees for each pot.” (FG_IS2).</p> <p>For pots of water purchased from others the cost varies, “It costs two rupees for one pot, one rupee for one pot, five [rupees] for one pot” (CSO_Ser).</p>	<p>At the filtration plant 20 liters is available for five rupees, “Five-rupee coin... One can will come” (IW_SS2).</p>
Issues	None reported.	<p>Specific to water filtration plants: Power cuts, “If current goes then [filtration plant won’t work].” (FG_IS2).</p>	<p>Contamination, “in some buildings water, drainage water will get mixed when putting the borewell. At that time there will be no water to drink.” (IW_SS1).</p>

³⁷ Stands for Reverse Osmosis, which is a water purification process.

Table 14 cont.

Details	Company site	Informal settlement	Small construction site
Issues		Repairs, <i>“If the motor gets spoilt then also it [the filtration plant] becomes off sir.” (FG_IS2).</i>	<p>Timing of water release, <i>“When it [the water] will be there we have go and get.” (IW_SS2)</i></p> <p>Neighbors refusing to provide water, <i>“One-one person will give. One-one person will tell, ‘It [water] is not there.’” (IW_SS2)</i></p> <p>Having to walk long distances, <i>“Or we have to get filter water by going somewhere far.” (IW_SS2)</i></p>

9.3 Toilets and bathrooms

Access to toilets and bathing facilities depends on the setting as well as the location of the setting. Female MCW/family members in the company site included in the study did not have access to toilets. These participants mentioned not having access to toilets even in the place of origin, *“In villages also we go outside... Yes, same problem here also, so we do not feel anything.”* (FG_CS). However, the absence of toilets is not the norm in all company sites, *“We are providing them toilets. And also, like common bath system also we are providing. At some site, we are providing the shower system, common showers.”* (CS_Cont2). Similar to accommodation, some developers and contractors follow specific standards in providing toilets, *“we also have a pre-prescribed ratio of number of toilets to workers as well on our site... we try, and you know, as much as possible [to] ensure that there is no stagnant water, the flooring is properly levelled.”* (CSO_Dev2).

Whereas in other company sites even if toilets are available, MCW face various issues related to accessing them. The number of toilets might not match the number of workers on site, *“In that [the site] if 500, 200 women are there, those two toilets are not sufficient... five for these people [men], five for those people [women] are needed.”* (CSO_Ser). As a result, the sanitation and hygiene levels become low. In other company sites, *“toilets are pretty much just in the open, not secluded or not provided with proper plumbing facilities.”* (CS_Dev2). The other issue that comes up in company sites relates to the maintenance of toilets, *“Workers too do not maintain [the toilets] even if they [the toilets] are constructed properly and given.”* (CSO_CC).

MCW in informal settlements usually do not have access to toilets, *“We go outside.”* (FG_IS1) and might have to pay to use such areas. They use forested or empty land for defecation, *“If anything, we go to inside the field. All plants, garbage, [and] grass [will be there]. Like that*

only they go.” (FG_IS2). Participants mentioned the difficulties in defecating in the open and compared their experiences with that of male MCW, *“It is okay for men. Only women have a problem. Men will go anywhere.”* (FG_IS1). Since informal settlements are often located on private lands, the land owners are not interested in developing any infrastructure for the MCW. While some informal settlements might have a public toilet nearby, distance prevents MCW from using it, *“That side they have built [the public toilets], sir... We go this side to the field.”* (FG_IS2).

Due to the difficulties associated with accessing toilets, whenever female MCW/family members in informal settlements can access toilets it comes as a relief, *“One of our first child, she is now in second standard. When one of our, a friend had come and was talking and trying to write stories about the children and asked her, ‘X, what is, what do you like in school,’ she was like, ‘the bathroom.’”* (CSO_DC). Beyond MCW, the absence of toilets and bathrooms limits CSO’ ability to create awareness about personal hygiene, *“When we talk about personal hygiene, when we tell use bathrooms, the first thing is bathrooms should be there in that place. It is not there. How can they [use it]?”* (CSO_CO). In speaking about the lack of toilets in informal settlements, the same CSO representative expressed frustration in not being able to do anything to remedy the situation (Box 5).

In small construction sites, toilets may or may not be available depending on the stage of construction, *“They [the mesthris] must buy pipe and come, then put the borewell. After putting the borewell, they have to build a small room. After that they have to make the [inaudible] sit. That is why they need time.”* (IW_SS1). MCW in small construction sites do not have access to toilets during the initial stages of construction, *“For one month also there is difficulty for us.”* (IW_SS1). Toilet construction becomes dependent on the interest of the intermediary, *“When we ask, one-*

one time the mesthri is doing good [for us]... ‘Women are there, where they will go?’ thinking like that he is making it [the toilet] ready for us.” (IW at SS1).

Box 5 Narrative about lack of toilets a CSO representative shared

“what I am telling is, if I have a power, I will make at least a temporary, what is it, like a temporary restroom... but if it is urgent [to go the bathroom] they have to walk so far. When I see all this, somewhere I feel very guilty about myself, guilty about my country... I don’t have power. I don’t have [the power to] facilitate them that [toilets]. To give it [the toilets] to them, I do not have the power... If I go into deep [thoughts] like that, I do not have the heart to eat that day. I feel somewhat helpless, because actually I am helpless... money becomes an issue, it is money matter actually. If I had the money, I will arrange [for the toilets].” (CSO_CO).

When toilets are not yet constructed, MCW in small construction sites might use toilets in other nearby under-construction buildings, “What they [the mesthris] will do means nearby somewhere, nearby some building work will be going on. Like this [building]. In that place if anything [toilet] is there, then they [mesthris] will adjust between themselves [so that we can use the toilet].” (IW_SS2). However, if other construction sites are not located close by, “If it [the building] is far-far then it is not possible [to make such arrangements].” (IW_SS2). In the absence of toilets, MCW in small construction sites use empty plots, “Till then where there is an [empty] ground we have to go there.” (IW_SS1) or nearby public toilets, “We go there to the public [toilet], near the bus stop.” (IW_SS2). As with other settings, using empty plots affects female MCW/family members more than male MCW, “Ladies, where can we go?” (IW_SS1).

9.4 Summary

In general, other than a few exceptions, the construction sector does not pay attention to the quality of accommodation or amenities provided to MCW. The type of accommodation along with the access to basic amenities such as water, toilets and bathrooms depends on the setting.

These differences not only lead to differential experiences while living in Bengaluru, as the participants reported, but also to MCW expressing their preference to live in one setting over the others. In addition, within setting differences exist with the most obvious differences seen in company sites. Only few developers and large contractors follow certain standards when planning and providing accommodation and amenities to MCW. Some developers and contractors work with a CSO in developing these guidelines. In informal settlements, the time since establishment of the settlement determines the type of accommodation MCW live in and amenities they have access to. MCW in informal settlements might attempt to obtain permanent housing in Bengaluru so that they do not have to face repeated evictions. Towards this end they become members in associations. In small construction sites, the intermediary plays an important role in helping the MCW to establish themselves at a construction site. Other than these three settings, MCW might live in rented houses for various reasons including not being provided accommodation and wanting to stay in a single place to ensure that their children's education is not disrupted.

10.0 Work life

In this section, I build and expand what I mentioned about the work life of migrant construction worker (MCW) in section seven. I begin by detailing the structural factors, namely, regulations and the contracting system inherent to the construction sector, which interact with each other. Subsequently, I describe the various aspects of work life that MCW experience in Bengaluru. In describing the work life, I compare the findings between settings and differentiate the experiences of male and female MCW. Irrespective of the setting, MCW perform hard and difficult work and this applies to both male and female MCW, *“We are made to do work hard. We get leg pains... We get holes in our legs. We cannot walk that is how our legs become... if it is men also, they must work hard; if it is us also, we must work hard.” (FG_IS1).*

10.1 Regulations

Various regulations are in place to protect MCW including the Building and Other Construction Workers’ Act and the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act. Participants across stakeholder groups spoke about issues with compliance and implementation of the regulations, *“Regulatory role is there but following it, there is [inaudible] bit difficult. But we do our best to do whatever we can.” (CS_Dev3); “So, I think the rules are in place, implementation is where the whole question comes up.” (CSO_DC).* While the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act offers better protections to interstate MCW, very few contractors register as per its provisions, *“Whereas [the]*

Interstate Migrant Act is far more strict. But for some reason the contractors don't follow that Act. And so, they stick on to the lighter of the Acts.” (CSO_Des).

Being short-staffed limits the ability of the Labour Department to conduct inspections to ensure compliance with the regulations, *“and the Labour Department also doesn't have a enough manpower, you know” (CSO_Adv).* As a result, the officials of the Labour Department only inspect larger construction projects and not the smaller ones, *“they tackle larger buildings and they come to larger work sites, small sites they will not come” (CS_IC1).* In relation, a construction sector representative spoke about the role of project size in complying with regulations, *“On the one hand rules have to be followed. And they aren't implementing them on a smaller scale is a difficult thing. Who suffers in the process is the rule follower. One who follows are the ultimate sufferer because they are more subject to inspection and harassment.” (CS_Dev1).* The Labour Department officials act only when a complaint is filed and are not proactive, *“So, somebody approaches them they do take action... But these are day to day issues which everybody is facing. And so, I don't know if it gets reported also or no[t].” (CS_Cont1).* The lack of data regarding MCW also limits the ability of the Labour Department to ensure compliance with the regulations, *“I don't think so they [the Labour Department] have a count of it [the number of MCW]. So, they won't be able to do anything also without all that. Because it's just a train journey. They [MCW] just sit on the train [and] come here.” (CS_Cont1).*

Even though these issues exist, the construction sector representatives acknowledged the need for regulations, *“The regulation is needed, definitely, I don't deny that. Labour Department being there is, is a good thing because at least they can, there is some platform where the labor[er]s can approach.” (CS_Dev1).* However, they spoke about the need for simplifying regulations and making compliance easier, *“That Act should be little tweaked to make it more*

simple. Labor laws are too stringent in this country. Too many labor laws [are] working. So, we need to stop that.” (CS_Dev1). They also mentioned that the responsibility of regulating the construction sector should not lie completely with the Labour Department, “the government to take the onus and responsibility for the entire industry, I think is unfair... So, I think it has to be something in, in a certain ways is regulated by a moral responsibility of the of the construction companies.” (CS_Dev2).

In contrast, participants from civil society organizations (CSO) mentioned the need for better implementation of the existing regulations and making them more stringent to protect MCW due to the various loopholes in existing regulations, *“One is the, the rule of the law. Make the policy very robust, then ensure that everybody in between will [inaudible], [they] don't take any bribes... First you have the policy in place, then ensure that it works, that's all.” (CSO_Des). They mentioned about sub-contractors not obtaining licenses, “if it is an interstate migration from one state to one state migrant, the person should have a license who is bringing these people, you know. But that is [not happening], no [Labour Department] checks are happening .” (CSO_Adv).*

Sub-contractors ask MCW to provide false information to skirt regulations, *“they [MCW] are giving a misinformation we have come on our own. So, if they are not coming through any contractor then the government doesn't have any obligation to book somebody [for violating the law].” (CSO_Adv). The CSO representative involved in designing MCW' accommodations mentioned the need for updating rules related to accommodations, “So, there should be regulatory mechanisms, but area per person, volume per person, this much ventilation per person is simply not there in the living conditions. That has to be brought out as a policy.” (CS_Des).*

Specific to regulations requiring registration of workers, the construction sector representatives spoke about MCW' turnover and the contracting system as the reasons for not

enrolling MCW, *“The main reason why we can't follow all this is because we don't know which worker is coming, which worker is going... Basically we are in touch with the mesthri. Now the mesthri also doesn't know when his labor is going on or he takes those decisions [and] shifts them out, we don't know.”* (CS_Cont1). Even in instances where the developers or the contractors pay the employer contribution, MCW might not benefit, *“So, on the contrary they [MCW] don't get any benefit because they are not permanently with me. They move from site to site.”* (CS_Dev1). In addition, the time required for completing the paperwork and registering the workers can result in MCW no longer working under the contractor or intermediary initiating the registration process, *“So we sit for two days, three days to finish all the procedure. By the time we finish, the labor is not there.”* (CS_Cont1).

Mostly developers and contractors involved in large construction projects follow the regulations or at least attempt to follow them, *“Other developers or anyone else is not bothered. You have labor[er]s, you add ten more labor[er]s, get [them to] do the job. I'm not bothered.”* (CS_Cont1). The extent to which developers and contractors implement various regulations depends on the organization and their values, *“It depends on company policies... how the board decides to have their, run their show.”* (CS_Cont1). In small construction sites, the absence of inspections results in non-compliance of regulations, *“because they are daily wage work workers, they take holidays when they want to [during] festival days. So even if it comes to your mandatory [holidays like the] Republic Day, [the] Independence Day, [the] Labor Day and all those days, they feel there is no [need to take off], it doesn't have relevance.”* (CS_IC1).

10.2 Contracting system

Due to the contracting system prevalent in the construction sector, irrespective of the size of the project, developers in large projects and home owners in small projects do not hire MCW directly. In large construction projects, developers might hire a turnkey³⁸ contractor who then sub-contracts or directly hires multiple contractors for specific jobs, *“One is directly under the developer, the contracts are spilt, other is developer gives it to a large-scale contractor, he splits the thing [the contract] under him”* (CS_Cont1). In the former, the turnkey contractor takes up responsibility for MCW whereas in the latter it becomes the responsibility of the individual contractors, *“when the contract is directly with the developer, we have to do everything on our own like accommodation to safety to healthcare everything we have to do... They [turnkey contractors] since they have the monetary funds, so they take up a big place, set up a camp there and they provide us with everything”* (CS_Cont1). Similarly, in smaller construction sites, independent contractors use intermediaries to hire MCW, *“Yeah, in my case, I have mesthris, who will handle the project.”* (CS_IC1).

Participants from the construction sector stated various reasons for preferring the contracting system including the ease of dealing with MCW, *“Because handling the labor is easier done through an intermediary.”* (CS_IC1) and complying with regulations, *“[[for ensuring] such provisions are adhered to, then you have a labor contractor. It makes it easy [for us to comply with regulations].”* (CS_Dev1). In contrast, CSO representatives mentioned that the developers and contractors use the contracting system to shift responsibility from one-another, *“I think the major problem in the construction sector, the entire thing happens in sub sub-contracting system.*

³⁸ Turnkey contractor refers to firms which are responsible for all aspects of the construction including interiors.

So, everybody is [a] scapegoat. They are, they are trying to wash their hands [by telling], 'It is not my problem and I'm not responsible, somebody else is.'" (CSO_Adv).

Only the representative of a large contractor spoke about verifying the antecedents of sub-contractors prior to engaging them, *"Like their [the sub-contractor's] worker order value, previous experience and then mobilization capacity. And, you know, like how they treat their workers. That is important."* (CS_Cont2). In the absence of such checks, MCW are prone to exploitation since intermediaries bring in workers from other states by promising them wages and facilities, *"but once they come here to the city, you know, they are put it into a different kind of situation."* (CSO_Adv). Irrespective of the size of the construction project, the intermediaries hire workers as per need and usually maintain a team of MCW, *"a foreman or somebody that's in-charge of them."* (CS_Dev2).

10.3 Entry process

Except certain large contractors, others do not have an entry process for workers. These contractors have various steps that MCW must complete prior to working at a site. See Box 6 for the details of the entry process one such contractor follows. In addition to screening, such contractors might require MCW to watch training videos prior to working at a site, *"[MCW had to watch videos] on skill [development] or on behaving on site... it was a two-day process."* (CS_Con1).

Box 6 Entry process for MCW at a large contractor

“those who are fit, like those who are eligible as per [the] AADHAAR card, those whose age is above 18... we prepare the screening forms [for them]... skill screening will be done [for them]. After that medical [examination], we have our officer at site, like a doctor... [the doctor] checks the requirement as per what, what and all are required for a worker, like physical fitness... If he's an old person, like some steps, you know, like scanning and some [other things] will be done... If he passes that medical examination, then he enters our site... like we give him one identity card, then he is eligible to work at site.” (CS_Cont2).

10.4 Finding work

In general, due to the informal nature of employment, MCW face instabilities in finding work with differences by setting and skill-level. MCW in company sites usually reach Bengaluru having a job in hand. Intermediaries might recruit MCW at the place of origin, *“our contractors, they recruit in villages and they matlab³⁹ like they pay some advance also to them [MCW].”* (CS_Cont2) or MCW already working at a site might invite others, *“So with reference they'll [MCW will] come here and then they'll get [work] with the same contractor.”* (CS_Dev3). After coming to Bengaluru, MCW might work with other contractors or intermediaries, *“And then if they [MCW] like it, they'll continue [working]. Otherwise, when they come here for about three to six months then they'll form some other links and they can just transfer to other people also.”* (CS_Dev3). According to a contractor other reasons for MCW moving between sites include issues in wage payment and the ability to complete the job, *“They [MCW] see a small delay [in wage payment], they run away. And if they feel that they're not able to complete... the job on time [they*

³⁹ Hindi word for meaning.

leave]. So, they see okay, “This is a difficult work lets go to a easier one and finish it early” ... We shout at them they run away. The work is difficult they run away” (CS_Cont1).

Compared to other settings, MCW in company sites are more assured about having work through the week until completion of a project, *“now for those who are in the labor camps, they will have jobs for sure there [at the construction site] itself; not today. not tomorrow till the building is completed they will have jobs.” (CSO_CC).* However, unskilled MCW in company sites might have to look for work elsewhere when compared to skilled workers, *“When too many people are not required here, they [MCW] will go outside [to find work], no?” (FG_CS).* When MCW in company sites go looking for work elsewhere, they have no guarantee of finding it, *“They [MCW] will think they will get jobs and go... [But] they [the mesthris] will tell, ‘No work,’ and send them back.” (FG_CS).* Company sites also hire MCW from informal settlements for unskilled work. These MCW move between sites, *“labor which I told you [about] who comes in the morning [and] goes in the evening. Today someone comes [and] tomorrow someone [else] comes.” (CS_Dev3).*

MCW in informal settlements face uncertainty about the location and the number of days they will find work during any given week. MCW living in informal settlements depend on intermediaries and sub-contractors, who visit the settlements, for finding work, *“They [MCW] will have, have subcontractors coming in a tractor taking all of them in the mornings to different projects.” (CSO_DC).* At times, even after being asked to come to work, they might not be hired, *“They [the mesthris] will tell, ‘It [work] is there, come tomorrow.’ But if we go the next day, they will tell, ‘It [work] is not there.’ [Again] they will tell, ‘Come tomorrow.’” (FG_IS2).* In case they do not find work or if told they are no longer needed, MCW in informal settlements go around looking for work, *“We will be roaming, roaming around asking, ‘Is there work anywhere, is there*

work anywhere.’” (FG_IS2). As a result, MCW in informal settlements work under different intermediaries and at different sites, “One week if we go to this person, one more week we must go to a different person.” (FG_IS1). If they do not find work, MCW in informal settlements are forced to be at home, “If it [work] is there we will go [and] do [it] or we will come back home.” (FG_IS2) or look for other jobs, “We will look for [other] jobs like washing dishes, something like that we have to search for.” (FG_IS1). Female family members in informal settlements might work as domestic workers at nearby houses, “In case if she go[es] as a housekeeping work[er]... at least some amount she can earn. So, like that those who come from the labor colony, work and go [back] are there.” (CSO_CO).

MCW working in small construction sites, contact intermediaries either prior to leaving the place of origin or after reaching Bengaluru, “Some people, those whom I know, what they do means they call from there [the place of origin] telling, ‘Like this, brother, I am coming for work. Is work available?’ Like that they will ask. Others what do they do? They will come [here] and make a phone call [thinking], ‘If we go to the mesthri he will have work for sure. [Some] house [under construction] will be there.’” (CS_Mes2). MCW in the small construction sites tend to work at a single site until completion of the project if they do not face any issues, “After coming to this work, including this month, it has been 10 months” (IW_SS1). However, this is not true for everyone; intermediaries can ask MCW in small construction sites to shift to a different site at any time, resulting in them facing additional difficulties (Box 7).

Box 7 Difficulties MCW in small construction sites face due to frequent shifting

“This one week also I got frustrated. In that [new] place not everything will be convenient, no? Everything we must find out... Will not know anything. Everything we must get adjusted [by] asking these people, asking those people. If we go to a new place, [we] cannot stay when we go [there] first time. Then, for us to see everything and adjust it takes a week. After [that] one week, for one month also we would have not worked, if work is there, they [the mesthris] will keep us [there] or they will shift us to a different building. From there taking all our luggage and children, we must go to a different place. However far that workplace is we must go.” (IW_SS2).

Building activities in small construction sites can stop due to many reasons including non-availability of materials, *“If stones do not come in the middle [of the construction], they [the mesthris] will tell holiday. If sand does not come, they will tell off holiday. If cement is not there sometimes, they will tell off it is holiday.” (IW_SS2).* Work can also stop if skilled workers do not come to the site, *“we are manual workers, above us other people are working. They are taking a trowel and doing mason work. If they come, we will get work. If they do not come, then there is no work for us.” (IW_SS1).* MCW in small construction sites often do not receive prior intimation about work stoppage, *“Before only they [the mesthris] will not tell.” (IW_SS2).* If work stoppage occurs, the intermediary might deploy MCW to a different construction site, *“where work is there, they [the mesthris] will send the men there... He [the participant’s husband] will go to other places and come.” (IW_SS2),* which might not be nearby, *“Where ever they [the mesthris] want, they take them [MCW]... Meaning, however, far it is we have to go and come.” (IW_SS2).* This participant mentioned that she does not go to other sites, *“I have children, no? Because daily I cannot take them, so they [male MCW] will leave me here [at the site] and go to work [elsewhere].” (IW_SS2).*

However, this is not the case in all small construction sites. In one site where I tried recruiting participants, female MCW with children went to work at a different site on a Sunday due to instructions of the intermediary. In instances of work stoppage, MCW in small construction sites might also try finding work in other sites, *“We can look in other places. If we find work then*

we can do. Else, [we stay] at home only.” (IW_SS2). Even if they find work in other sites, one individual must stay back at the site to prevent theft, “We can search [for work but] to look after the building one person has to be there.” (IW_SS2). In small construction sites once a project is completed, MCW must find work elsewhere or wait till the intermediary asks them to work at a different site, “Now we have to look for a new place. If the mesthri tells, ‘Stay in such-and-such a place,’ means we will stay [there].” (IW_SS1).

The situation for *naka*⁴⁰ MCW is comparable to that of MCW in informal settlements but they have an added level of insecurity because they need to find work each day by negotiating with potential employers. MCW stand at the *naka* in anticipation of finding work. Those needing construction workers come to the *naka* and negotiate with an individual or a group of MCW before hiring them for the day. Once hired, the employers pay MCW to reach the site of work. Some MCW at the *naka* associate themselves with intermediaries who then deploys them to sites they are overseeing. Irrespective of the system followed, *naka* workers might work at a different site and under a different employer each day.

10.5 Hiring Pattern

Specific hiring patterns exist within each setting with restrictions on who is hired. Participants from the construction sector, irrespective of the size of the project and setting, mentioned that they do not hire anyone below the age of eighteen years. However, when travelling

⁴⁰ *Naka* in Hindi refers to junction. In many cities in India, daily wage workers stand at a *naka* hoping they will get hired for the day. This includes skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers.

around Bengaluru, I have seen children helping their parents at small construction sites. As mentioned earlier, large contractors use AADHAAR card to verify the age while independent contractors go by the age MCW mention, *“There are cases of boys who will come and girls will come who look so childish. And they will vehemently say they are 18 [years]. In some cases we know, but in generally they may look a little more young, that’s the time we take our conscious decision whether to hire that person or not.”* (CS_IC1). As mentioned earlier, at company sites, to avoid issues children are not allowed to enter the worksite.

Large/medium scale developers and contractors mostly hire only male MCW and not female MCW. If hired female MCW perform unskilled work, *“So all the females go and they prepare food for the male [workers]. So, about 70 percent [of female migrants] don’t work. Thirty percent they do small curing works or whatever.”* (CS_Dev3). A construction sector representative explained that their organization does not hire female MCW due to the inability to provide separate accommodation and facilities for female workers, *“You know they need to stay in communal quarters like you have the women, children... And because of that it’s, it’s tough to delineate the two [male MCW and female MCW/family members] and it’s to sort of [tough to] separate or segregate them.”* (CS_Dev2). This representative then mentioned the impacts of the decision to hire only male MCW, *“it’s good to have that segregation where you won’t have, hire both the male and female workers and you are only give employment to the males. But then on the other side of it, you know, you are not empowering female workers which is also a drawback.”* (CS_Dev2). Pregnant women are usually not hired at company sites, *“Pregnant women will not there. They will not do [the work]. We ourselves do not allow it also... It used to there earlier. Now no one is allowing [pregnant women to work].”* (CS_Cont3).

At small construction sites, contractors and intermediaries place various limitations on who can work at sites. Intermediaries might not allow women with young children to work at sites, *“If a very young child has come, ‘No need of any problem’ thinking like that what we do is, ‘you take care of] children, let your husband work, you take rest’ we will tell [the workers].”* (CS_Mes2). Along with the age of the children, the availability of a family member to take care of the children determines whether women can work, *“If someone has children, the child should be minimum one-two years. [The contractor tells us], ‘If the child is two years or three years give them work, let them get someone to keep the child. If just like that you provide a job to those with children, we should not get into any problems.’”* (CS_Mes2). In addition to women with children, elderly people are not allowed to work at sites, *“Now in the beginning itself my engineer would have told, “...Do not make very old people work at the sites.”* (CS_Mes2). The trend of not hiring MCW with children is also extending to small construction sites as mentioned in section eight.

10.6 Working hours

In general, MCW work from 9.00 am until 6 or 6.30 pm, *“From morning 9 to evening 6 o'clock [we work].. 6 o'clock, 6.30 [pm] it can become.”* (IW_SS2) with an hour long break in between, *“One o'clock if we go, then must go back at 2 o'clock.”* (FG_IS1). While the work begins at 9.00 am, MCW in informal settlements might have to leave early to reach their worksite, *“some of our families now are leaving at 6.30 in the morning because they are traveling far for construction, right?”* (CSO_DC). Only in the company site, female MCW mentioned that they

receive additional wages for working overtime, *“They give extra [money]. OT⁴¹ is there.”* (FG_CS). MCW in informal settlements neither have having fixed working hours nor get paid overtime wages, *“‘Today let us go [to work] half an hour early,’ telling like that they [the mesthris] take them [MCW] early and leave them [from work] late. For that they do not pay anything extra, same payment they give.”* (CSO_Ser). While speaking about the hiring workers from the northern states of the country, an intermediary in a small construction site mentioned, *“If it becomes late, one hour, 10 minutes, half hour late no problem. If it becomes two hours late to the extent we can, one tiffin we will provide or if not, money we provide.”* (CS_Mes2).

10.7 Wages and payments

MCW, usually, receive their wages once a week through the intermediaries irrespective of the setting as cash payments. Female MCW/family members in one of the informal settlements shared that MCW working in company sites receive, *“Once a month payment.”* (FG_IS1) but the construction sector representatives from company sites did not report this, *“most of the companies pay weekend settlement.”* (CS_Dev1). The contractors transfer the money to the intermediaries who then pay MCW, *“Payment is not directly given to them [MCW]. Some fellow, [a] group leader is be[ing] given [the amount]. How it is distributed, god only knows.”* (LG_HD).

Wages per day depend on gender, the skill level, and the setting. For female MCW, who invariably work as unskilled workers, the wage per day ranges from 250 rupees to 400 rupees with variations depending on the setting. While mentioning that wages are lower in company sites,

⁴¹ Overtime

participants in one of the informal settlements stated that wages depend on the amount of work, *“For them [MCW in company sites] how much ever work is there, then payment is according to that. If their work is more, then payment will be more. If our [work] is less, then payment is also less.”* (FG_IS1). Based on talking to MCW at a *naka*, I found out that they receive higher wages when compared to MCW in other settings for a given skill level but also face more job insecurity.

Female MCW/family members spoke about not receiving higher wages even if they fight for it, *“If we fight also, they will tell, “We cannot pay you extra.””* (FG_IS1). Participants in one of the informal settlements, who have been living for a longer duration in Bengaluru, spoke about the increase in wages overtime, *“First, first when we came [to Bengaluru], we lived with a lot of difficulties. Only 60, between 50 and 60 rupees per day we were earning... Like that, like that the payment has increased now.”* (FG_IS2).

In small construction sites, wages depend of availability of work; if work is guaranteed through the week wages are lower, *“Daily, daily if they [the mesthris] are giving work then the payment is less only for us. Those who are giving work three times, two times in a week, after the work is completed some are giving 400 [rupees], 350 [rupees] they are giving. Those who give 300 [rupees] are also there.”* (IW_SS1). While discussing wages, in one of the small construction sites, participants brought up the issue of MCW from northern parts of the country working for lower wages, *“Hindi people [inaudible] if it is 300 rupees, they are ready to work for 250 rupees itself... What is happening because of that? Our wages are coming down.”* (IW_SS1). They also mentioned that even if they demand higher wages, they will not receive them because of willingness of others to work for the same wage, *“People who are struggling more than us will be there, they will come and do [the work for same wage].”* (IW_SS1).

10.8 Issues with wage payment

Female MCW/family members in all settings reported experiencing delayed and non-payment of wages. Delayed payment refers to MCW not receiving wages at the end of the week, which is the norm, *“One-one place they will give, one-one place they won't give [wages at end of the week]... Otherwise, they will give next week.”* (FG_IS2). Due to the contracting system, a delay in payment at any one level leads to delay in payment to the MCW, *“He [the mesthri] is working under some owner, is it not? If the owner gives the money then [the mesthri will] clear the money for the six days that we have worked.”* (IW_SS1). In case of delayed payments, if MCW need money before receiving their pending wages, the intermediaries might give money for their expenses, *“But for expenses, for food what they need that we arrange. ‘I have received 4,000 [rupees] payment, you take 1,000 [rupees]. Tomorrow I will give [rest of the] payment or I will give on Monday.’ I will tell.”* (CS_Mes2).

Delayed payment can turn into non-payment of wages, *“Payment also now and then little-little only he [the mesthri] gave. Weekly payment he did not clear for us [on time].”* (IW_SS2). In many instances when wages are pending, intermediaries switch off their phone, *“But if they [the mesthri] take the payment and go away, what can we do, sir? They won't answer the phone”* (FG_IS1) or tell the MCW to ask the owner or the contractor for the wages, *“When we asked the owner, ‘I do not have any relation to it. I gave you a place to stay in the building.’ like that he told.”* (IW_SS2). Intermediaries also shared similar experiences with contractors, *“he [the contractor] switches off his phone. When we call, he does not answer the call. He will tell, ‘I am here, I am there.’”* (CS_Mes1).

While comparing their life to that of MCW in other settings, participants in one of the informal settlements not only mentioned about lower wages but also issues with payment in

company sites, *“Company is better but payment they do not give properly... This means weekly weekly we get payments.”* (FG_IS1). They further spoke about the factors influencing wage payment, *“Those who work with the engineer get the payments. Mesthris are there, no? Some of them will take payments and go away, others will give.”* (FG_IS1).

The informal nature of employment means that MCW most often do not have legal recourse when they are not paid their wages, *“We will think one week we did not earn anything. ‘One week we are at home.’ we will think and leave it.”* (FG_IS2). MCW in small construction sites might shift to a different site if the intermediary does not pay them, *“He told, ‘I cannot give you [the wages].’ So only we came this side.”* (IW_SS2). Even intermediaries, especially those who do not belong to Karnataka, might have to let go of the pending payments, *“[When] we come from so far, [we] do not come to quarrel. So, we do not tell anything. [We think,] ‘He is local person, let us leave it.’”* (CS_Mes1).

Participants across stakeholder groups spoke about the resources that MCW can utilize when they experience delayed wages. In one of the small construction sites, the participant mentioned about the Labour Department as a resource that can help but did not know much about it, *“Labour Office is there it seems... If you go to Labour Office, the money, how much, how much he has to give us, for that double they will take [and give us].”* (IW_SS2). Some CSO help MCW with wage disputes, *“To the extent we can we will help. So, we will try to solve [the dispute]. In case it does not get solved, we will put a case”* (CSO_CO) whereas others do not, *“We have never gone to talk about wages because one it is not related to us [the organization]... If we go to talk [about wages], they [the builders] do not give [us] entry.”* (CSO_CC).

The CSO representative working on wage related issues mentioned they use their rapport with builders to get around permissions, *“Good rapport exists between us and the builders. So, if*

any wages dispute happens there [at the site] we will tell, “Sir, with that one worker of yours, so and so issue has happened. So, maybe some of your sub-contractors are doing some mischief”.” (CSO_CO). In speaking about CSO, a contractor narrated his negative experience with a CSO in relation to delayed wages (Box 8). I detail the perceptions about CSO that the construction sector and the local/state government representatives shared in the section twelve.

Box 8 Experience of a contractor in dealing with CSO

“So, he [the worker] went to an organization. That person called me. I said, ‘Okay so what’s the issue? He is my mesthri, he has to talk to me. Who are you to interfere?’ So, he came [and told], ‘I’ll do this, I’ll stop [work at] all your sites.’ I said, ‘Okay. It’s your thing. You want to do it, do it. I’m not telling you don’t do it. I am not begging you not to do it. It’s my work, I know how to handle it.’ ... Next day he came met me... So, he gave me an offer, like, ‘You give me this much I’ll ensure that labor[er] never comes to you.’ I said, ‘Boss if I had to give you, I would rather give the labor[er], no? He’s done the job. Why would I give it to you?’ [He said], ‘No, no you give me in one small percentage of the thing, whatever you owe him, I’ll ensure he never turns up to you.’ ... I didn’t heed to him. Then I called the labor[er] only and settled it with him, after sometime... These are the way this organizations are operating. So, they’re working for their benefits.” (CS_Cont1).

10.9 Safety

Only MCW working at company sites receive safety equipment, *“Helmet, safety belt. All that they give.”* (FG_CS). Other MCW usually do not have access to personal safety equipment, *“They are not giving [safety] boot and all that.”* (IW_SS1). A CSO representative narrated that the safety situation in company sites has evolved overtime, *“that was the condition on safety many years back say 15-20 years back... And they never followed any safety requirements... So, right now we have very good quality. I would talk for grade A developers and grade A*

contractors. Safety is taken, EHS⁴² is taken at a very high premium.” (CSO_Des). Within company sites, many factors determine safety at sites including the provision and use of safety equipment. The presence of protocols increases safety at sites, “the dependency on the, the construction team to really establish the kind of rules and protocols in order to implement, you know, safety all over site.” (CS_Dev2). These protocols include training of workers, “He has to attend all the programs, you know, like watch videos on how to, on safety” (CS_Cont1).

The extent to which safety norms are followed depends on the type of contract, “So basically when a developer is giving the contract, splitting the contract, the safety issue is quite less as per what I’ve seen. When it goes to a larger contractor and he splits the contract under him, he has one big safety team there who is following all that. So, safety in those sites are much more better.” (CS_Cont1). These teams monitor the safety at sites including the use of safety equipment, “our safety officers [monitor] whether head protection is required, you know... Whether the like fencing and, you know like, barrication has been done or not.” (CS_Cont2). Even when safety equipment is provided MCW might not use them, “They are not molded into that safety angle but rule say that you have to provide that [safety equipment]. We provide that [but] they should use, no? So, these are challenges we face as a developers. In spite of [us] telling they don’t follow it.” (CS_Dev1). In relation, some CSO working in company sites create awareness on using safety equipment, “we create [safety] awareness by providing information. And [by] demonstrating with material, while working, for which job what safety material is needed [and] which injury will it [the safety material] save us from.” (CSO_Ser).

Participants in one of the informal settlements mentioned they will use personal safety equipment if it is a rule, “If there is a rule that we must wear [safety equipment then we will

⁴² Environment Health and Safety.

wear it]” and they will use safety equipment because, *“If it will be good for us, we have to use.”* (FG_IS2). However, not all construction sites where MCW from informal settlements work provide safety equipment, *“If they give, they give, if they do not give, they do not give.”* (FG_IS2).

In small construction sites, only a few safety norms are followed, if at all, *“Because of the size of the project it's not used and helmets. Whereas boots and, as you say, gloves are required and they use them.”* (CS_IC1). The size of the building under construction determines the extent to which safety norms are followed, *“But when it becomes multiple floors, then we are also equally wary, no?”* (CS_IC1). Similar to company sites, MCW in small construction sites might not use safety equipment even when provided, *“Whatever we do, some workers when we are there [at the site] they put on [the safety equipment]. ‘Mesthri has gone that side’ thinking like that those who remove [safety equipment] are also there.”* (CS_Mes2). In relation to safety at sites, one participant at a small construction sites mentioned, *“They do not leave ladies to work on the outside [of the building]. They let us work only inside [the building].”* (IW_SS1).

10.10 Accidents, injuries, and compensation

Considering the nature of the construction sector, accidents and injuries are common at construction sites, *“injuries and accidents will happen in a in a high-risk environment”* (CS_Dev2). The response to injuries depends on the setting. Female MCW/family members in the informal settlements mentioned when MCW working in company sites get injured, the contractor or the developer take them to a nearby healthcare facility, *“If you are working for a company, then they will show [to a healthcare provider].”* (FG_IS1). Depending on the size of the project,

company sites might have a doctor on site, *“if he [MCW] gets some minor injury then our first aider and doctor, they [are] treating matlab⁴³they cure him.”* (CS_Cont2) or have tie-ups with nearby healthcare providers, *“For any emergency nearby one doctor we would have arranged.”* (CS_Cont3). The contractors stated that they take the injured MCW to a nearby hospital in cases of major injuries, *“Sometimes an accident take place, you know, unfortunately... Then we take them [MCW] to nearby hospital, if it is a major injury.”* (CS_Cont2). CSO representatives confirmed this, *“everyone shows in the hospital because they [the builders] have the fear that if anything goes wrong something will happen to them.”* (CSO_Ser).

Contractors obtain workman compensation insurance that pays for medical treatment in case of injuries, *“It is mandatory as per law to have insurance for labor[er]s because anything can happen... Either we do it or the subcontractor does it... All that is covered under that insurance but the place of injury or this thing should be either the site or the place of stay.”* (CS_Cont1). However, intermediaries working under sub-contractors face challenges in obtaining compensation, *“Contractors disappear, if big injury happens contractors disappear”* (CS_Mes1). While compensation might be paid, irrespective of the setting, MCW are blamed for their injuries, *“If their [the builders’] fault is there also, even if they have not given safety material, [they will tell] “His fault, everything was there [but he] did not wear”* (CSO_Ser).

Female MCW/family members at the company site mentioned in instances of deaths, the contractor or the developer usually pays compensation to the family of the MCW, *“Here means, if anything like that happens, it has happened, they give money 3 lakh [rupees] or so. They give compensation.”* (FG_CS). However, CSO representatives mentioned, *“But I think they [MCW] do not get full compensation”* (CSO_CC) and *“When it comes to compensation the situation is not*

⁴³ Hindi word for meaning.

that they [the builders] do not give but how much they give is important” (CSO_Ser). In addition, to avoid problems the developers and the contractors might try to hide the deaths, “even now cases of death get hushed up. They don't come [up]. I personally am aware of what happened in project A on a Sunday. A worker died and then it didn't come in the papers.” (CSO_Des).

For MCW in informal settlements, uncertainty exists about happens in case of an injury, *“If any injury happens, in some places, they will give money to show [to healthcare provider], in others they won't give.” (FG_IS2).* In informal settlements, MCW depend on the benevolence of the intermediary to receive emergency care, *“If it is less, they will take you and show [to a healthcare provider]. If there is a good mesthri, they will show.” (FG_IS2).* In the absence of support from intermediaries, MCW go to healthcare providers on their own, *“If we get injured then we will go to hospital like that only show and come.” (FG_IS1)* because *“[If] we are having pain means we have to go to the hospital. We cannot leave it and remain like that.” (FG_IS2).*

In small construction sites, the contractors take the MCW to a healthcare provider only in case of major injuries, *“They [the site engineers] take care... if they [MCW] need to be undergo stitches or medical bandaging and all then we send them across... Small injuries, they're all tough guys, they will just put their own powder and they manage like that.” (CS_IC1).* Similar to company sites, intermediaries in small construction sites might carry insurance for their workers, *“In case they [MCW] get injured, we have to take them to the hospital from our side, so only we have done the insurance... they will work for some time and go elsewhere. That time what we do? The insurance we would paid, right? We will give it [the document][to them] and send them.” (CS_Mes2).*

Intermediaries in small construction sites might help the injured MCW by compensating them for loss of wages. MCW view this as a favor rather than the norm, *“For my mother only, it*

happened. One time, one person was cleaning garbage at the top [of the building], my mother was [working] down. Small stone fell [on her]. That mesthri was very good. He showed [to healthcare provider] and told, “Till the wound heals stay at home. I will give [you] payment)” ... One week she was at home... for free he gave [the] payment till the pain went away.” (IW_SS2). The extent to which intermediaries compensate MCW depends on many factors including the duration for which an injured MCW cannot work, *“They have to rest for one month, we give, give them one week or 10 days wages, then as he said, they'll find recuperation in the native place better. So, they'll get back.” (CS_IC1).* The financial support from the person getting the building constructed also affects the monetary help intermediaries can provide to MCW, *“What did he do, the owner? ‘You are only keeping people and working, why should I give money?’ like that he told [the mesthri].” (IW_SS1).*

10.11 Harassment

Participants across stakeholder groups shared differing perspectives about harassment at work sites. At the company site, female MCW/family members spoke about safety of women, *“Men have the freedom to go anywhere and earn. For women if we do not find a safe working place, we must sit at home.” (FG_CS).* When asked a follow-up question, they mentioned that the husband and the wife must work at the same site, *“Means we cannot go alone and work anywhere. Can we work under someone else? It is not possible.” (FG_CS).* They also spoke about not finding such jobs when they initially arrive in Bengaluru, *“If my husband and me have to find work in the same place, when we just arrived, can we get? We will not get.”* which leads to the family struggling, *“For food also it becomes a problem. Only they [the husbands] must earn and we must*

eat... One person has to sit at home and the other person has to earn.” (FG_CS). They also mentioned that company sites are safe when compared to other settings, “If we get a company like this, then we are safe.” (FG_CS).

In the informal settlements, participants mentioned harassment, mainly, relates to being shouted or scolded at work, “*‘Do the work, do the work, do the work.’ they [the mesthris] will tell. We cannot go anywhere this side or that side... If we go, they tell, “Why are you roaming around too much while at work”.*” (FG_IS1). They also mentioned that they work only in certain places and not others, “*If there are good people, we will do [the work] and come... If bad people are there, we won't go... We will see. Are they good? What they are telling.*” (FG_IS2). Compared to the response at the company site regarding the husband and the wife working at the same place, participants in the informal settlements mentioned, “*Both [the husband and wife] means in the same place we won't find work. Some people will call only men and tell, ‘We do not want women.’*” (FG_IS2). In relation, a CSO representative working with MCW in informal settlements mentioned about the situations that lead to harassment of female MCW, “*if both husband and wife [are] working at the one place, I don't think [harassment takes place]... but what we heard from the [workers] that the single woman who are divorcee or widow, you know, that kind of women when they are working at the site they did face some kind of these issues.*” (CSO_Adv).

At the small construction sites, participants provided more detailed information about harassment more when compared to other settings. In one of the small construction sites, a participant, who has been working in the construction sector for the last 25 years, shared many instances of harassment. This includes the intermediaries “*Making fun of women*” (IW_SS1) and inappropriately touching them, “*Something they [the mesthris] will touch, now also they are doing, it is not like all that is not there.*” (IW_SS1). She mentioned that most intermediaries sexually

harass female MCW, *“It is happening... Hundred point [percent] it is happening. If 10 people are there, out of the 10 only two will be correct [in their behavior].”* (IW_SS1). Similar to the response of participants in the informal settlements, she spoke shifting to work under a different intermediary in instances of harassment, *“‘he [the mesthri] is doing like this, this is a big mistake, we should not stay in this place.’ thinking like that we came to a different mesthri.”* (IW_SS1).

According to her when working with intermediaries harassing female MCW, *“With them [such mesthris] only if we are careful then we can work and come. Otherwise, there is a possibility for them to do wrong things. Possibility is there.”* (IW_SS1). While sharing about sexual harassment at small construction sites an independent contractor mentioned about male MCW worrying about the safety of their family members, *“It’s not that any harassment but then basically they’ll be wary about [it]. The husband or the father will be wary about their safety... He [the mesthri] may be living in site A but for some time couple of weeks he has to go to site B. Then he will take his wife along, he won’t leave her behind.”* (CS_IC1). Female MCW might dress in a certain way due to the harassment at sites, *“And another thing that I have found [is] the Gulbarga workers, the women... on [top of] their blouse they wear a shirt. So, they feel their body is not all that exposed. They feel more careful.”* (CSO_IC1). In the other small construction site, the participant shared about harassment, which forced them to move to a different site (Box 9).

Box 9 Instance of harassment in SS2

“The mesthri was telling, ‘Send cement fast fast.’ So, my father told, ‘We are sending, no? Mesthri, are we sitting? No one will tell [things] like you.’ ‘To those who are doing the work also you are telling do [the work] do [the work]. Do we have four hands?’ my father asked? So that woman became angry. ‘Mesthri means they will tell, how can they be without telling, they have to tell.’ telling all this that woman came [to fight]... Then morning only he [the mesthri] drank and came. ‘First you vacate, I will take all your luggage and throw it out. In five minutes if you are here, it will not be proper... If you do not go, I will call rowdies. They will cut you up.’ [like that] something and all he spoke... Telling like that the mesthri went to beat up my father. ‘Mesthri is this our village to go [somewhere else]?... In city where can we go if you tell [us to] vacate all of a sudden?’ [we asked]. ‘All that I do not know, you vacate first, you vacate.’ he [the mesthri] told. ‘Will you take out or should I take out your luggage?’ he asked. Asking [someone for work] we went from here to B [neighborhood]. In B [neighborhood] we worked for one week and from there we came here.” (IW_SS2).

10.12 Skill upgradation⁴⁴ and promotions

Skill upgradation and promotions are interlinked; becoming an intermediary, usually, involves becoming skilled as a mason as well as becoming competent to oversee work at sites including hiring and managing workers. Female MCW, mostly, perform unskilled work, *“[I do] manual work... Us ladies and all have to carry stones and sand and go up [the building].”* (IW_SS2). Only at one of the small construction sites, a participant spoke about having seen female intermediaries, *“I have not worked with them [female mesthris]... While going to work and coming back like this I have seen... V [neighborhood] is there, no?... There in one building the mesthri, a lady is the mesthri.”* (IW_SS1).

MCW usually develop skills mostly through on-the-job training, *“the various tradesmen like plumber, electrician, carpenter... they have some amount of training and knowledge.*

⁴⁴ Used in Indian English as an equivalent to upgrading. I am using this word since study participants used it.

Otherwise by a rule all these guys have been working from childhood with someone and they've learned the trade.” (CS_IC1). As a result, developers and contractors mentioned the need for skill development, *“Yes, skill development is very much essential” (CS_Dev3).* I detail additional findings related to skill development and upgradation in the section fourteen.

While existent, MCW only have a few avenues for skill development and upgradation. The Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB) conducts on-site training in addition to running skill upgradation training centers (Box 10). Other than this, only two construction sector representatives mentioned about skill development opportunities that exist outside of on-the-job learning. A representative of a large contractor provided the details of the skill development initiatives their organization carries out, in partnership with the state government and CSO, including types of training programs, curriculum, and the frameworks for assessment. The other construction representative spoke about an initiative of the Builders Association of India in partnership with the KCWWB, *“In fact, earlier we launched a plan to have training for workers through Kaushalya Shale⁴⁵... I'm talking five, six years back, through [the] Builders Association of India and [the] Cess⁴⁶ [Board]. Then Cess Board chief formulated a plan to train construction workers, to upgrade their skill... We have in fact, from the Association, we have we have partnered with, at the national level, various skill development agencies to upgrade the skill of laborers.” (CS_Dev1).*

⁴⁵ Skill school in Kannada.

⁴⁶ Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

Box 10 The KCWWB's skill upgradation programs

"The Board has set up Shrama Samarthya Training for the workers who are willing to upgrade their skills through Nirmithi Kendras. Training is conducted for batches of 30 workers at the Nirmithi Kendras. Skill upgradation is available for masonry and plumbing, among other skills. For the duration of training, i.e., one month, workers receive wage compensation and at the end of the training they get a safety kit and a tool kit. The Board takes care of food and beverage expenses during the training sessions. At the end of the training, workers receive a certificate after the Builders Association of India conducts a third-party evaluation. The training involves practical teaching in a specific skill along with soft skill training including yoga and increased awareness on labor laws and financial literacy. Health check-ups are also provided for the workers and they receive a first-aid kit... In addition, the Board also facilitates recognition of prior learning-based trainings through an empaneled list of organizations through the National Skill Development Corporation. These trainings are more suited for migrant workers since they are conducted at the site. Workers must pay 25 rupees towards the training costs. These training are conducted as per the National Skill Qualifications Framework and National Skill Development Corporation norms" (SG_KCWWB2).

Female MCW spoke about lack of opportunities to develop skills on-the-job, *"They [the mesthris] do not give women a chance."* (IW_SS1). In contrast, male MCW can become skilled workers, *"Those who are learning are learning [the skills], if they put in efforts."* (IW_SS1). The time required to become a skilled worker depends on the individual, *"[It takes] two years minimum. Two to three years [depending on] interest of the people."* (CS_Cont3). Some male MCW remain as unskilled workers, *"Some people for 10 years, no for 20 years also they will remain as helpers."* (CS_Mes2).

At one of the small construction sites, a participant spoke about what they must endure to learn skills from intermediaries, *"They [male workers] are doing why should we not do this work? [Thinking like that] even if we go do it diligently, what we should do for them [the mesthris]? We must buy them cigarettes... They will be standing smoking beedi... They will say catch the matkool. We must catch the matkool, if we don't catch, they will tell leave the work and go."* (IW_SS1). Other female MCW spoke about intermediaries not giving them skilled work, *"From when I am small, I have been seeing, no? [I have been] seeing with eyes and doing with hands, what is there*

in that? Everything I know how to do. But the mesthris will not give [me skilled work] like that.” (IW_SS2).

The same participant mentioned that when male MCW do not have many opportunities to become an intermediary, female MCW do not stand a chance, *“To them [male workers] they [the mesthris] will tell you do not know how to do the work properly. They will give less and less payment only. Even if you work correctly, they will do like that. Then where will they give ladies work?”* (IW_SS2). In speaking about the reasons for female MCW not becoming skilled workers an independent contractor mentioned, *“Because I don't think they [female workers] work with a, they'll be able to work with any finer implements... They are there to do all the support and clean and all that stuff.”* (CS_IC1).

Female MCW/family members mentioned other reasons that prevents them from becoming intermediaries including lack of information, *“Men means they will be running around. So, they will have all the information”* (FG_CS); lack of education, *“We would not have studied as much as the men”* (FG_CS); female intermediaries not being hired, *“They [people] will tell, ‘It will, everything will become a loss.’ Who will give us work, if I become a mesthri?”* (FG_IS2); and having household responsibilities, *“Can we [become a mesthri]? Will we get time? We have to come back and cook.”* (FG_CS).

At the company site, participants spoke in detail about why given a chance they do not want to become an intermediary, *“We do not want it, that is what I am telling. I am happy with what work I am doing.”* (FG_CS). They mentioned that being an intermediary is difficult, *“Only mesthris knows about [their] difficulties, madam. What [work] we are doing is nothing. Only they know their difficulty.”* (FG_CS). According to them being an intermediary involves running around, *“He [the mesthri] would have climbed down from the tenth floor and if someone comes,*

then he has to climb up ten floors again.” (FG_CS), which makes it a tiring job, “Roaming, roaming. Climbing stairs their [the mesthris’] legs will get bent.” (FG_CS).

10.13 Summary

At a larger level, the contracting system and the poor implementation of regulations intended to protect MCW dictate their work lives. This results in MCW, especially unskilled workers, experiencing poor job security with differences between settings. Similarly, other aspects of MCW’ work life including wage payment, issues with wages, safety, injury compensation, skill development, and harassment differ by setting. In addition to the differences between settings, women are worse off in relation to wages, harassment, and skill-development. Only a few CSO support MCW in issues related to their work life. Other than CSO, the Labour Department exists as a resource for improving MCW’ work life but its role is limited due to various reasons. Going beyond the work life, in the next section, I focus on access to services that affects MCW and their family members including children.

11.0 Access to services

Access to various services including healthcare, childcare, education, banking, and social protection impacts not only migrant construction workers (MCW) but also their family members. As with other aspects of MCW' lives, discussed so far, access to services varies by setting. These differences emerge from determinants, such as duration of stay in Bengaluru, which vary by setting. For each service, I discuss issues affecting access, the initiatives of the local/state government to remedy issues with access, and the role of other stakeholders in improving access. While highlighting how access varies by the setting, I focus on the responses of the female MCW/family who took part in the study.

11.1 Banking

As mentioned earlier, MCW get paid in cash. Banking comes into play when MCW need to transfer money to the place of origin, *“So they land up putting it [the money] into their account or family or wife's account. I find them good at saving.”* (CS_IC1). Irrespective of the setting, MCW might have bank accounts at the place of origin, in Bengaluru or in both places, *“There also we have opened [a bank account]. Few people do not have [a bank account] there [at the place of origin], only here they have. Few people have [a bank account] there [at the place of origin] also.”* (FG_IS2). Even if they have a bank account MCW might not use it, *“[We have] no money [in hand]. So, we did not put [in the bank]. So, it [the account] got cancelled.”* (IW_SS1). In the absence of an address proof, MCW find it difficult to open bank accounts in Bengaluru, *“So, if*

you want to go to the bank and open a bank account, again, you need an address proof.” (CSO_Adv). Even if MCW have bank accounts, they might face difficulties in operating them, “[if MCW] have to make a deposit or they want to do something else, where will they know [how to do it]?” (CSO_CC).

Other than traditional bank accounts, MCW also use digital banking, “*Today with the banking system, the laborers are able to transfer money also, immediately. They are much smarter in using these smartphone. PayTM and other Rupee, Rupay, all that they use [laughs], effectively.*” (CS_Dev1). However older MCW might not have access to mobile banking systems, “*Now, for old people, all this is difficult for them [to handle], is it not?*” (CSO_CC). In the absence of bank accounts, MCW rely on their social networks for transferring money to the place of origin, “*For them [those transporting the money] to give that money there [at the place of origin], these people [MCW] give them a commission. For 1000 [rupees] [they give] 50 rupees, like that one commission [rate] will be there.*” (CSO_Ser). As detailed in the section eight, such transactions place their savings at the risk of theft.

Considering that bank accounts help MCW to transfer money and are essential for registering with the KCWWB, “*Other than that we help them to open bank accounts. [We explain] what are the benefits with opening an account.*” (CSO_Ser). In one of the informal settlements participants mentioned, “*One madam comes. Two of them come. They got it [the bank account] done for us... Half the people have got [the account], the other half are yet to get [an account].*” (FG_IS1). Other than helping MCW to open bank accounts, CSO conduct financial literacy classes for MCW, “*And also giving them a lot of inputs about how to [do] financial management, how they have to do. Because a lot of these migrant workers come and they earn money. Sometimes they might be misusing it and all that. So, this kind of activities we are doing.*” (CSO_Adv). The

financial literacy extends to helping MCW keep track of wages and spending, *“they [MCW] will [mark] daily. [So that they know], ‘I have worked for so many days.’ Just like attendance. Then that day if they have taken any advance or if they have given money to someone, all those records should be there. So, we give [them] a small diary. That [the diary] can be used for a year.”* (CSO_Ser).

11.2 Childcare

As with other services, the extent to which MCW have access to childcare depends on policy level factors interacting with the implementation of policies and individual-level factors. The government run *anganwadis*,⁴⁷ in theory, cater to the childcare needs of MCW, *“These anganwadis can be a good space for the migrant labor. And why migrant? All children who are not the, the family who cannot afford a decent day care for them can go. This is nothing but a daycare. But government policy of the anganwadi is fantastic.”* (CS_Dev1). However, various factors determine if MCW can enroll their children in *anganwadis*. The number of *anganwadis* does not match the population in Bengaluru, *“While Bengaluru needs 10,000 anganwadis based on the population; at present only 2,500 operate all over Bengaluru. In urban areas anganwadis need to cover a population of 1000 but in Bengaluru it is often a population of 2000.”* (SG_WCD). As a result, CSO advocate for opening additional *anganwadis*, *“[We] bring it to their [the Women*

⁴⁷ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

and Child Development Department's] notice that this so and so pocket the children are there." (CSO_Adv).

According to the Women and Child Development Department representative, *"The Women and Child Development Department has no specific programs for the children of migrant construction workers."* (SG_WCD), which further affects MCW' ability to enroll their children in *anganwadis*. Among the initiatives aimed at improving the functioning of *anganwadis*, *"The Bala Vikas Samithis"*⁴⁸ can play an active role in this [increasing enrollment]. However, mostly parents of settled migrants get involved in these Samithis and they might not represent migrant construction workers who frequently move place to place." (SG_WCD). As per the policy of the Integrated Child Development Services, *"While enrolling children in anganwadis, no documents such as caste and income certificate etc. are required. All children including children of migrant construction workers can enroll in the anganwadis. The anganwadi worker cannot refuse enrolment to any child."* (SG_WCD).

However, at the level of the *anganwadi*, the workers hesitate to enroll MCW' children. An *anganwadi* worker, whom I met, mentioned that while enrolling children she asks the parents on how long they are planning to stay in Bengaluru and does not enroll those will stay only for short durations. *Anganwadi* workers avoid admitting MCW' children because of issues stemming from the prolonged absence of the children, *"Imagine [just] before the [monthly] rations are delivered or after the rations are delivered the supervisor comes [to the anganwadi]. If the 10 children there [in the anganwadi] [belonging to] migrant moving population have left, then between the supervisor and this person [the anganwadi worker], there is a chance that misunderstanding happens between them. Even she [anganwadi worker] must answer a higher authority. [The*

⁴⁸ Child Development Committee in Kannada.

supervisor might say], ‘You told 25 children are there, here only 15 are there.’ The question about, ‘What did you do with the ration for the other 10 children?’ comes up.” (CSO_Ser). When asked about this, the Women and Child Development Department representative mentioned, “This should not be a problem as long as the anganwadi worker justifies why the children are in the register but are not attending the anganwadi. The Supervisor has to create awareness amongst the anganwadi workers that they need to enroll migrant children and that they can justify their absence because of the migrant status.” (SG_WCD).

Other factors that prevent *anganwadi* workers from enrolling MCW’ children include time constraints for motivating MCW, “In Peenya Industrial Estate, where there is a lot of construction activity, the anganwadi workers had to motivate the migrant parents to send their children to the anganwadi. The work load of the anganwadi workers in filling up 35 registers means that they often do not have time to engage in such motivational activities.” (SG_WCD). The launch of a mobile application is expected to reduce the workload of *anganwadi* workers, “This will change once the Sneha Mobile Application is rolled out. This application will be integrated with the RCHSID and anganwadi center data so that vaccination, ANC⁴⁹, and PNC⁵⁰ can be tracked.” (SG_WCD). Apart from the factors linked to *anganwadi* workers, the timings and distance of *anganwadis* can prevent enrollment, “Because anganwadi is located here, they [MCW] will be located here and they don't want to travel... I don't say anganwadi is open by eight [am], nine [am]. They will leave home by 7.30-8 [am.] Anganwadi opens at 10.30-11 [am]... She [the anganwadi worker] closes [the anganwadi] again sometimes early. Though she is supposed to work till four or three [pm].” (LG_HD).

⁴⁹ Antenatal care.

⁵⁰ Post-natal care.

Considering these issues, the Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB) is setting up mobile daycare centers in partnership with CSO, *“Other than this the Board has launched a new scheme for setting up of daycare centers in association with NGOs in November 2019. So far, a partnership has been established to set up 10 daycare centers in Bengaluru through two NGOs. The NGOs will setup and operate mobile creches.”*⁵¹ *The daycare centers are to be established in locations where there are at least 30 children of construction workers.”* (SG_KCWWB1).

Within the context described so far, the access to childcare varies by setting with the role of CSO and the construction sector coming into play. At company sites, the laws governing construction projects state the requirement for daycare centers, *“The BOCW Act, 2006 under section 35 requires that any construction site with more than 30 women workers has to set up a creche. Setting up of creche is required irrespective of the number of days 30 women workers are present at the site.”* (SG_KCWWB1). Irrespective of the presence or absence of a daycare center children are not allowed at large construction sites, *“And we either encourage them to put them in the creche or don't allow them to work with the children. So, these are the two options we have.”* (CS_Dev1).

Considering the law and benefits involved, *“some builders, may be facilitating through civil society organizations, running this preschool, anganwadi for the children who are below five years of age... that is also because then they think if the creche is available then the mother can work at the site with without any fear. If the child is there then she can't go for her work. So, it serves both the purpose.”* (CSO_Adv). Either the developers or the contractors invite CSO to set up the daycare centers or CSO approach the builders for setting up daycare centers, *“We need a*

⁵¹ Refers to daycare centers.

school here, organization E come and do it.’ saying that they [the builders] call us. ‘Give your [project] proposal.’ they will tell... [Or] we only [make a] phone [call] and ask, ‘Here [at the site] children are there, we will do it [open a center].’ If we ask like that if there is a possibility that they will tell us to start [the center].” (CSO_CC). While a construction sector representative mentioned, “That’s why we [the developers] do a backward integration of restoring the anganwadis. Or [we are] sending them [children] to anganwadis or asking them to go to Nali Kali.⁵²” (CS_Dev1), a CSO representative mentioned, “They [the builders] can only setup daycare [centers]. Setting up day care center is not a big deal. [They] do not do anything like that.” (CSO_CC).

At these daycare centers in addition to childcare, nutritional requirements of children are taken care of, “We started [providing] meals for the children at that time.” (CSO_CC). Children also receive non-formal education in these centers, “Even if 10 children are there, what [education] they need according to [their] age, [for children] below six years, we have a curriculum. We use that.” (CSO_Ser). The daycare centers also prepare the children for transitioning into schools, “My organization also thinks the same because we do not want to limit their [the children’s] development. We do not like to keep them in our schools... Above 6 [years] should be in the government regular school.” (CSO_Ser). The children in the daycare centers have periodic health checkups as mentioned earlier. At some company sites where daycare centers do not exist, “[We] only [allow children] below three years so that mothers can breastfeed their children. There will be a separate room for them.” (CS_Cont3).

⁵² *Nali Kali* meaning joyful learning in Kannada is an initiative of the Government of Karnataka to encourage learning among children.

At the company site, included in the study, prior to setting up of a daycare center, *“Those who want leave [their] children at home and go [to work]. Those who stay at home, stay back.”* (FG_CS). Female MCW/family members spoke about having peace of mind once the CSO opened the daycare center at the site, *“All that was tension was there before. After organization C constructed the school, after organization C opened the school, now it is better for us.”* (FG_CS). In contrast to the informal settlements included in the study, at the company site participants mentioned, *“I won't take care of others' children. They will not take care of my children... Continuously if they are going to work, then they will not take care. They will already have a child, which is why they are at home... They must take care of their child and do all house work. That only will be a lot. Will they take care of one more child?”* (FG_CS).

In informal settlements access to childcare depends on when the settlement was setup, whether CSO are providing services, and MCW' social network. As discussed earlier, the availability of documents affects the enrollment of children living in informal settlements in *anganwadis*, *“But I think all anganwadis are, all government schools are asking for at least the AADHAAR card... And when we asked them [MCW], they say, ‘It is in the village.’”* (CSO_DC). However, this is not case with all informal settlements. In the older informal settlement included in the study, participants mentioned, *“Anganwadi will be there, no? They [the children] will go to the anganwadi.”* (FG_IS2). Considering the timings of *anganwadis*, *“A person living within the informal settlement, usually, drops and picks up the migrant children from the anganwadi. As a result, they do not miss attending the anganwadi center.”* (SG_WCD). The participants in the older informal settlement confirmed this, *“Someone will be at home, no? They will bring them [the children] home. That's it. They will bring them home. The elders.”* (FG_IS2).

In the absence of access to *anganwadis*, “so they [MCW] take the children with them to the construction sites... the whole day the children spend on the construction site literally unsupervised. Both parents are working and, you know, these children are really left to themselves.” (CSO_DC). Alternatively, women with non-school going children might not work “they are having their children with them... They will be at home only.” (FG_IS1) or leave the children with elders, “If their mother goes to work leaving them [the children], if grandmother is there then she will take care of them.” (FG_IS2). In contrast to the company site, participants in one of the informal settlements spoke about taking care of each other’s children, “We will leave [the children] with someone and go. There are some people who stay back, we will inform them and go to work. This woman is pregnant, someone will have infants, if such people are there, people like us will tell [them to] look after our children.” (FG_IS1). In the absence of such support, “the older sibling ends up taking care of the younger children.” (CSO_DC).

In addition to *anganwadis* and the social network, MCW living in informal settlements might have access to CSO run childcare centers. A CSO representative involved in running one such center explained their model, “So, we work with children ages of two to six years. And we have a holistic intervention for them. So, one is right from picking up to dropping [them], which is so critical for them to be even able to come to school... We take care of the nutritional needs of the child in terms of lunch and two healthy snacks... We provide Montessori education... So, children go back to the village sometimes for a month. They are roaming, you know for a month, they come back and take some time to again settle in. And I think because the material is so engaging, the activities are so engaging, they are able to, you know, resettle in a in a better way.” (CSO_DC). Due to the nature of MCW’ lives, this CSO faces various challenges in running their center (Box 11).

Box 11 Challenges in running childcare center for MCW in informal settlements

“So, we have to convince them [MCW] to send them [the children]. Sometimes it’s easy, most times it’s not. They are very fearful of the people in the city... And so, we bring the parents, [inaudible] the mothers we bring them in, we show them the place. Sometimes with the communities first a few children join it. So, now we have had that in the last two months, you know, every two weeks few more children are coming from the community because the parents are seeing them every day... And and so, the challenges come in terms of impact assessment, right? You know, so, it becomes very difficult because for us... if [you] see the board there, there are seven children [who] are in the village currently, right?... So, we are trying to see, okay, in terms of learning, in terms of physical growth, in terms of emotional [and] social [development] [how to assess].” (CSO_DC)

Compared to other settings, MCW in small construction sites have the least access to childcare. Participants across stakeholder groups spoke about the challenges in organizing childcare for children in small construction sites. The timings of anganwadis prevents MCW in small construction sites from enrolling their children, *“This [grandparents bringing children to anganwadis] does not happen in small construction sites because of which the parents are unable to leave their children in the anganwadi.” (SG_WCD)*. Due to frequent moves, MCW in small construction sites might not enroll their children in anganwadis, *“We have not asked. They [anganwadi worker] might enroll [the child]. If we tell we do work like this, they might enroll. But we will not stay here. We will go elsewhere, no? After work is done [here], they [the mesthris] will send us.” (IW_SS2)*. As a result, parents keep the children at the site, *“Making the children play [at the site], they [MCW] are working... The children are playing down.” (IW_SS1)*.

In other instances, MCW bring elderly people from the place of origin to take care of their children, *“they would come from their village, is it not? [They think], “If only one person is earning what will we do? What will they do sitting?” [So], to keep it, the child, they bring an elderly person [from their village].” (CS_Mes2)*. CSO do not provide services to MCW in small construction sites further limiting their access to childcare, *“So, probably we are not able to bring*

in those children. Only if the families have been here for a while and plan to be here for a while only then we bring them in.” (CSO_DC).

11.3 Education

Access to education depends on the setting where a child lives and the extent to which he or she can benefit from the programs of the state government and CSO. Participants mentioned education in the context of future of the children, *“how the children are, you know, either left in their thing, [the] village or they are moved from place to place. So, that is not quality education. What is the future of India as youngsters, so many of them? (CSO_Des).* Participants across stakeholder groups spoke about education as a pathway for children to move away from construction work, *“We work with concrete. Working with concrete all the hair on the head is gone. [We] do not want this for our children.” (FG_CS).*

11.3.1 Initiatives of the Education Department

In contrast to the Women and Child Development Department, the Education Department has put in place various initiatives to enroll MCW’ children in government schools. This includes, conducting surveys to identify and enroll out-of-school children, *“The Department of Education conducts surveys to identify out-of-school children. These surveys are conducted at bus stops, at construction sites, and other locations. Children between six and 14 years of age are identified during these surveys. In case, a child is not going to school, then he or she is admitted to a nearby government school. These surveys are being conducted at night starting from August 2019... The*

State level Department of Education has developed the survey format, which the District authorities have shared with all the Block Resource Coordinators who then provide it to the Cluster Resource Coordinators... Schools also have access to the survey format and the teachers utilize it when they conduct the surveys.” (SG_ED1). During these surveys, “For each child who is identified as out-of-school, data is collected that is then entered into a computerized system for enabling tracking of the child.” (SG_ED2).

According to an Education Department representative conducting the night surveys, *“is a challenge; at times the Education Department takes support of the Police Department.” (SG_ED1). The Education Department involves other stakeholders in conducting the surveys, “In addition to working with the NGOs, the Education Department also takes support of the police and informs the Labour Department, the Women and Child Development Department, and the Social Welfare Department about the surveys. However, there is no guarantee that the officials from these departments will accompany the Education Department officials for conducting the surveys” (SG_ED1). The Education Department works with other government departments because, “The Department of Education has adopted the policy of convergence and hence is supposed to work with other departments in identifying and bringing out-of-school children back to schools.” (SG_ED1).*

CSO’ role is not limited to the surveys and extends to holding the schools accountable, *“The role of NGOs is not only identifying the children who are out-of- school, but also motivating the parents to admit their children to schools. Other than this NGOs are also part of committees that have been formed at the school level... NGOs question school authorities, asking them why someone has not been admitted to the school if any out-of-school child is identified. This is an active role that NGOs play.” (SG_ED2).*

Comparable to the Health Department, the Education Department has launched a tracking system, *“Each student, on getting admitted to the government school is assigned a 16-digit unique number, which is called as the Student Academic Tracking System number or the SATS number. This number is included in the transfer certificate, when a child is leaving the school [to join a different school]. This helps in tracking the child, when the child goes to attend a different school. This also helps in identifying the extent to which the child has received education at the destination and helps him or her to continuing the education at the place of origin.”* (SG_ED1).

However, various issues affect the implementation of the tracking system, *“There has been a policy change that non-SATS children should not be admitted in schools. However, manual entry is being allowed. If a child is out of school whenever the child first goes to a school, he or she is assigned the SATS number. In case parents do not take the transfer certificate [while moving], the children who have already are enrolled in schools are recognized as non-SATS [in the new school]. This, in essence, means that so far they have been out of school, which is not really true. This is something that has to be rectified.”* (SG_ED2). Other than identifying and tracking, the Education Department has put in place other initiatives to ensure that MCW’ children receive schooling including setting up bridge schools (Box 12).

Once enrolled in a school, out-of-school children of MCW might face issues in learning due to the age-appropriate admission policy, *“If out-of-school children are identified, they are joined to an age-appropriate class and not based on their learning levels. This means that a child who is 10 years old will be admitted to the fourth standard and the child who is eight years will be admitted to the second standard. Irrespective of the education level of the child, the child will be put into a class based on the age. When this happens, the teachers must work with such*

children using the Nali Kali⁵³ curriculum, so that their basics develop and they can catch up with the syllabus of the class they are admitted into.” (SG_ED2).

Box 12 Bridge schools to mainstream out-of-school migrant children

“The Department of Education runs tent schools if there are more than 10 migrant children at a single site. These schools are run, in areas where huts are put up. One teacher and one ayah⁵⁴ are deputed to run the schools. Using the Chinnara Angara syllabus children between 6 and 14 years of age are taught in the tent schools. Before opening the tent schools, surveys are conducted to identify who is and who is not attending the schools. The intention of the tent schools is to mainstream out of school children into regular schools... Those children who attend the tent schools are provided with a certificate that provides information about the classes that they have attended and the education that they have received. So, whenever they go back to the place of origin, the school there will receive the certificate and then conduct an exam to ensure that they are promoted from one class to the next.” (SG_ED2).

The interest of teachers affects the implementation of the Nali Kali curriculum in schools, *“It is challenging since the child requires one-on-one support, which the teachers are not able to provide, many a time, either because of lack of interest or large class size. This also means that that teachers have an important role in taking care of the child as well as motivating the child to study.” (SG_ED2).* In relation, a CSO representative mentioned, *“If from one source they are not receiving motivation... then they should get it from a different source. For the child to think, ‘I want to go the school.’ it [the motivation] should come from the school, the parents, and the developers too. The government should think like that. I feel, in that, the government is very weak.” (CSO_Ser).*

In talking about their work, a CSO representative mentioned that the initiatives of the Education Department are newer, *“What was happening before is no one was willing to join these children in the schools. They [the school authorities] were not joining the children and*

⁵³ Nali Kali meaning joyful learning in Kannada is an initiative of the Government of Karnataka to encourage learning among children.

⁵⁴ Helper in Kannada.

used to tell [me], ‘These children, today they will come [and] tomorrow they will go, madam. We will not get their attendance and then we have to face problems.’ But now it has reserved... now the teachers have started enrolling children by going where ever the children are [living] and bringing them [to the school]. So, what we were doing has become reserved now [laughs].” (CSO_CC).

In addition to the initiatives at Bengaluru, the Education Department is developing hostels at various places of origin so that MCW’ children can continue their education without breaks, *“The new proposed policy direction - that will help children whose parents frequently shift from one site to another, or frequently migrate from the origin to the destination - is to admit the children to hostels. If children are admitted to a hostel, then they will not be lost to follow up and they will not drop out of schools.” (SG_ED1).* However, the success of this policy depends upon MCW’ willingness, *“But parents are reluctant to join their children into these hostels due to distance between them and the child.” (SG_ED2).*

Considering that the majority of female MCW/family members included in study were either *Dalits* or *Adivasis*, their children receive scholarships from the state government, *“Yes, they [the school authorities] only open bank accounts and give the money. In school and all... [multiple women talking]. In schools they give [the money]. Scholarships we get.” (FG_IS1).* Other than the initiatives of the Education Department, the KCCWB has a program for funding children’s education.

11.3.2 Factors affecting access to education

While these initiatives exist, various factors determine the access to education including those related to the parents, the school, and the larger environment in which the MCW live. MCW

might not be interested in educating their children, *“Due to the lack of education, migrant workers might not care about the education of their children. Because of the number of children, the elder siblings usually end up taking care of the younger siblings, and as a result, they do not go to school. Parents force some of the older children to work because of which they do not attend school.”* (SG_ED2). Even when parents want to educate their children, *“the ecosystem also is not very conducive for them to trust to the people in the city. (CSO_DC). As a result, “They have a fear inside [them] about losing their child, somebody else stealing [the child], someone taking the child away, or [child] meeting accidents, or something else happening.”* (CSO_Ser).

As mentioned in the section eight, leading a dual life affects children’s education. Due to these frequent shifts the Education Department also faces challenges, *“Such parents often tend to leave a place without informing the teachers. As a result, the school where the parents want to join their children does not have enough information about the children.”* (SG_ED2). Parents who foresee moving might not admit their children in schools. However, even if MCW do not plan to stay for long in Bengaluru, *“If we go back in a few months the children are still playing here.”* (CSO_DC).

The requirement for documents also affects enrollment in schools, *“they [the school authorities] said not only do we want the AADHAAR card, we want the birth certificate. I told them [organization staff] like you go and fight and they can’t be doing this, right [laughs]? ... So, their defense was that know the AADHAAR card has random birthdays and then the birth certificate will come with a different birthday.”* (CSO_DC). According to a CSO representative the reason for asking documents relates to tracking of children, *“AADHAAR card remains the same everywhere. ‘Where is that child? At least from the source village I can find out. If they do not tell us and leave, they would have told their family members at least.’ thinking like that they*

[the school authorities] ask for one ID compulsorily.” (CSO_Ser).

To avoid these issues, *“The Education Department has recently put up a circular called ‘Ease of Joining,’ which guides the schools not to ask for documents at the time of admission.” (SG_ED2).* However, *“Some head mistresses/masters, do not accept this [policy] and insist on documents at the time of admission. As a result, some of the children are unable to get admitted to the school.” (SG_ED2).* The Education Department takes action when they come across such instances, *“In case the department authorities become aware of such instances, they speak to the concerned school in-charge to ensure that the child is admitted to the school.” (SG_ED2).*

11.3.3 Differences by setting

Female MCW/family members in the company site reported that due to the intervention of the CSO their children have started attending the nearby government school, *“From their [the organization’s] side they have taken help from the government and have joined the older children in a school.” (FG_CS).* The CSO also worked out a transportation arrangement for the children, *“They [the company owners] send a tractor now, which drops the children [at school]. While returning the children walk and come.” (CSO_Ser).* However, in general, the developers or the contractors do not make such arrangements on their own, *“We must motivate them [the owners] a lot [by telling], “See, sir, this is [the children’s] rights. The parents living here work for you, if you cannot do that much for their children what does it mean?”” (CSO_Ser).* Female MCW/family members mentioned that in absence of the CSO, they face many difficulties in admitting their children to schools as explained in the section seven.

In the informal settlements, included in the study, children went to the nearby government school. In the older informal settlement, participants mentioned, *“Some will tell, [We] do not*

want government school.' If we want some other [school], then we must spend money. If we want to admit [the children] elsewhere, we will not have money. So, then anyways we must send [our children] to the government school because of lack of money." (FG_IS2) indicating a shift in aspiration from schooling to schooling in private schools. In both the informal settlements older children accompanied the younger children to the school, "They [the children] go walking... They adjust with other one another and go. Older children will be there no, sir. Talking-talking they will go off." (FG_IS1).

This was essential since the children walked to the school and had to cross a main road to reach the school. MCW might not send their children to schools if they need to cross roads, "If they [the children] don't have to cross the main road, they [MCW] allow their children to go [to the school]. And in groups they would go to school." (CSO_DC). Insecurities related to evictions also affects enrollment in schools, "because they think that, 'we don't know, sir, tomorrow whether we will stay here or we will be vacated.' That insecurity because of that they are not able to plan the children's life or their life properly. (CSO_Adv).

CSO working in informal settlements encourage parents to send their children to schools, "And then we also talk to them [MCW] about sending them [the children] to school for class one, right? So, during our parent teachers' meetings [inaudible] during our one on ones we are talking about what will happen to them if they don't go to school and just kind of encourage them to get to go to school." (CSO_DC). Other than creating awareness, CSO might provide educational services, "They do tuition centers for the children and things like that. And so, we realized that two of our children, three of our children who have gone into affordable private schools, where we are giving partially the money. They had told us, the families had told us that there is some other person also who is, you know, supporting [them]. So, we realized that we are

supporting the same families. (CSO_DC). In one of the informal settlements, a group of volunteers visit each week for providing tutorials, “Yes, they come every week and teach the children... Then they give biscuits and chocolates to the children and go.” (FG_IS1).

MCW in small construction sites might enroll their children in nearby government schools. However, this was not true for all MCW in small construction sites, *“So, it's even more difficult for these small constructions where they [MCW] don't, you know, they're not there for a long period of time. So, they can't send them [the children] to school here. They can't send the children to school in the village. (CSO_DC). Some MCW join their children in residential schools, “‘We did not study, we are doing this job. If they [the children] study, then they can do better jobs in the future.’ thinking like that those who have done that [put their children in hostel] are also there. (CS_Mes2).*

Intermediaries might help MCW to enroll their children in schools, *“What I do for them [MCW] means I take them to the government school... To the extent I can, I cannot help a lot, to the extent I can I will help them and take them to the school. For what must be done there [at the school], if anything is needed for that, I will show it to them.” (CS_Mes2).* As mentioned in the section nine, some MCW live in rented accommodation. These MCW send their children to the nearby government schools. Since they do not move between sites, *“No, we do not face any difficulties. They [the school authorities] just ask for AADHAAR card. They do admissions based on AADHAAR card.” (CS_Mes1).* Considering that these workers stay for a longer duration in Bengaluru, in case they need to go their place of origin, *‘[We go and tell the school authorities], “I am going to my village, I have this problem. I need leave.’ We must get leave pass [for the children from the school]and go.” (CS_Mes1).*

11.4 Healthcare

Access to healthcare varies by setting and the extent to which various stakeholders are supporting MCW. Considering that participants extensively spoke about maternal health and child health, I present that information separately. Irrespective of the setting, accessing healthcare for conditions not related to workplace injuries is distinct from accessing healthcare in instances of injuries, *“If the worker sustains injuries due to work, only then the owner will arrange for hospitalization. For [all] other illnesses, the workers must take care of themselves.” (CS_Mes3).*

Beliefs regarding healthcare and experiences in Bengaluru influence MCW’ care seeking behavior (Table 15). These beliefs and experiences can lead to delays in seeking care, *“In relation to that [the health problems] they [MCW] keep on neglecting it a lot. (CSO_Ser).* Irrespective of the setting, MCW prefer to deal with serious or prolonged illnesses at the place of origin, *“And so they, they [MCW] find it very difficult to, you know, even take care of their own health, the health of their children. So, they are forced to go back to the village if there is a long period of sickness.” (CSO_DC).*

In company sites, depending on the developer or the contractor, MCW might have access to onsite healthcare providers or to periodic health camps.⁵⁵ The developers or the contractors organize health camps either through collaborating with civil society organizations (CSO) already providing other services at sites or engaging CSO only for conducting the health camps. CSO also approach the developers or the contractors for conducting health camps, *“[We tell], ‘We are from this organization, we conduct health camps. From this, from the health camps the builder will*

⁵⁵ Health camps refer to outreach programs where in healthcare services are provided by visiting doctors and other healthcare providers. Health camps can either be periodic or a one-off with no follow-up.

benefit and also the workers will benefit.” (CSO_Ser). CSO often use health camps to begin working with the developers or the contractors, “For health camps no problem occurs, that is only our entry point.” (CSO_Ser).

Table 15 MCW’ experiences and beliefs related to healthcare

Beliefs and experiences	Representative quotation
Perception of seriousness of illness	<i>“So they [MCW] would have got addicted [to not seeking care], thinking pain is common.” (CSO_Ser)</i>
Discrimination at healthcare facilities	<i>“Even if they go to a government hospital, sometimes seeing their [MCW] clothes, they [the healthcare providers] will not do much for them.” (CSO_CC)</i>
Language problems	<i>“And these people [MCW], they face the problem that is because they don't say the proper thing what is happening with them... only in their native places they are able to say that, what is happening... because it's the language problem.” (CS_IC1).</i>
Cost of healthcare	<i>“Everything is expensive [at private healthcare facilities]. And they [the healthcare providers] say for small thing even for the fever, they [MCW] have to take some scans and reports. So, they're not [pause] that... comfortable here.” (CS_IC1).</i>
Denial of care	<i>“Any emergencies [that] happen during the, at the work site or the construction site or the nomads or the migrants, at least the basic first aid, the care, the private people [hospitals] should participate [in provide care]. That is not happening at all. Totally bad.” (LG_HD).</i>
Seeking treatment at place of origin	<i>“So, even from their [MCW] side too, so like I said, when they fall sick they feel, you know, they don't say, ‘Let me see how to get it fixed here’ but they say, ‘Let's go back to the village there is no way get it fixed here.’” (CSO_DC).</i>

For-profit organizations also exist that provide healthcare at construction sites, *“Yeah, I mean, you could say like health programs for workers on construction sites... So there a lot of institutions that provide services but those are paid services.” (CS_Dev2).* In other sites, the developers or the contractors might have a tie-up with a nearby healthcare provider, *“We engage a local doctor and any problem comes we'll, we'll send him [MCW] to him [to the doctor] and he'll take care [of] it.” (CS_Dev3).* However, the developer or the contractor does not always bear

the costs, “[If] small small [issues] then the contractor will take care... If it is their personal [health] issue, which is major, then half-half [cost sharing].” (CS_Cont3).

Services provided at the health camps to MCW and their family members include routine health checkups, tetanus vaccinations, dental care, and eye-checkups with variations by site and the organizations involved. Through the health camps, CSO also facilitate referrals by taking MCW and family members to tertiary hospitals or asking MCW to visit specific hospitals as needed., “if the doctor refers when [we] are conducting a camp, when referred we take them [MCW/family members] to the hospital. [We take them] to different hospitals, to government hospital or else to St. Johns [Hospital], Martha’s [Hospital].” (CSO_CC). CSO also facilitate linkages between MCW and the nearby government healthcare facilities, “[With] that [the government] doctor, what it is, in one way we are establishing linkage. [We tell MCW/family members], ‘This doctor will be in this place, this doctor is from here, if you face any [health] issue you can go there.’” (CSO_Ser).

CSO utilize health camps to highlight the need for addressing health issues during the early stages, “When the health issue is small, if you solve it then you will recover faster, to inform this we conduct the health camp.” (CSO_Ser). In addition to the health camps, the developers and the contractors as well as CSO organize health awareness programs for MCW on various topics including mental health, tobacco de-addiction, alcoholism, HIV/AIDS, and vector borne illness. Some large contractors partner with the Labour Department in organizing these awareness programs, “they [the Labour Department] are helping us with blood donation camp, awareness programs, AIDS awareness programs. This dengue awareness program.” (CS_Cont2).

Female MCW/family members in the company site mentioned that they prefer visiting private healthcare facilities in case of any illness, “They [MCW] will show in private hospital

opposite the government hospital, they won't go to government hospital.” (FG_CS). Even though the government healthcare facility is located across the road from the private healthcare they do not go there because, “They [the healthcare providers] won't see nicely in government hospital. We won't get better soon.” (FG_CS), a sentiment that participants across stakeholder groups held. However, they spoke about visiting the government healthcare facility for antenatal care and immunizations for the children, “Pregnant women and kids requiring injections go there [the government hospital].” (FG_CS).

Though MCW in company sites might have more immediate access to healthcare providers either through onsite doctors or health camps, a developer mentioned, *“in general, from an industry standpoint, I think, there needs to be a lot more improvement with that [healthcare]. Because, you know, healthcare is always situational based as opposed to something that they [MCW] receive as a standard sort of service” (CS_Dev2). According to this developer beyond health camps there is a need for, “a very neat, clean labor site and one that encourages social welfare and healthcare for all the laborers both physical and mental health.” (CS_Dev2). The CSO representative working on design of accommodations affirmed this idea, “They [MCW] have some health check-ups. Mandatory health check-ups [are] happening for people... But living conditions are not being adhered to.” (CSO_Des).*

Depending on the location of informal settlements and the duration of stay in Bengaluru, MCW have differential access to healthcare. While an intermediary reported, *“Those in informal settlements they know things very well.” (CS_Mes3), a CSO representative mentioned, “trying to go to the closest government hospital is a big challenge for them... They [MCW] don't even know where to go to. Sometimes, like the PSU is not close by, [the] PHC⁵⁶ is not close by.” (CSO_DC).*

⁵⁶ Acronym for primary health center.

To improve access to healthcare, CSO organize health camps in informal settlements by partnering with healthcare institutions including for facilitating referrals, *“And also we do the medical camps for the migrant workers in different locations and help them to [get treated for] the med, the medical issues. And also, if they have any other serious [health problem]. Like we have done a eye camp, if they require any further investigation, we help them to take that and maybe whatever they required”* (CSO_Adv). In addition, CSO conduct awareness programs on various topics, *“We've had families make small changes, for example, in terms of how to store water, you know. And the, the whole dengue season that was going on [at that time]... We talk to them about the nutrition that the children need... So, we talk about hygiene. We talk to them about how sleep is so important for the children, they should go to sleep at this time.”* (CSO_DC).

Female MCW/family members in the newer informal settlement included in the study used a nearby private healthcare facility, *“Yes, it [the government healthcare facility] is in A [neighborhood]. But we never went [there]. We go to the nearby [private] hospital, give 500-1000 rupees, show, and come.”* (FG_IS1). Whereas in the older informal settlement, participants utilized both private as well as government healthcare facilities, *“We will go anywhere... We will go to the government hospital, private hospital.”* (FG_IS2). In both the informal settlements participants did not report any issues in receiving healthcare, *“They will listen to what we tell and give us medicines. That's it.”* (FG_IS2).

Compared to MCW in other settings, MCW in small construction sites are less aware about healthcare facilities, *“People from our towns [have to] make [a] lot of enquires with others and only then will get to know things [about healthcare facilities].”* (CS_Mes3). Intermediaries might help MCW in small construction sites in accessing healthcare, *“If [MCW are] unwell then we will help [them] to the extent possible because when they are working under us then we are responsible*

for them, right? We take them to the hospital... We help them even if [the healthcare facility is] not nearby” (CS_Mes2). Participants who lived in Bengaluru for a longer duration had knowledge of the government healthcare facilities and spoke about their experience in utilizing them. This includes issues emerging from not carrying the AADHAAR card and the resulting delay in service delivery, “last week only I was feeling very unwell... I went to hospital K... They [the healthcare providers] asked for AADHAAR card. I told, “We did not bring; we are from a different place”... For giving an injection, they took 2 hours... There itself they are taking money and putting injection... If you give them money, they are seeing properly... If poor people like us go, what are they doing? They are not doing anything.” (IW_SS1).

An intermediary shared negative perceptions about government healthcare facilities, similar to what participants at the company site expressed, *“That [the government hospital] medicine will not work fast, so what do we do? Whatever hospital is nearby, we will ask [MCW] to go [there] by giving money for auto[rickshaw].” (CS_Mes2). Due to such experiences MCW prefer visiting private healthcare facilities, “If I work today my payment is 200 rupees. [I think] if it [the money] goes let it go, let me take care of my health. If our health is good only then we can go to work tomorrow and eat. Keeping that in mind we go to private hospital also.” (IW_SS1).*

Other MCW go to private healthcare facilities because they are not aware about where the government healthcare facilities are located, *“We do not go to the government [hospital]... We have not gone. Here only close by, close by they [private hospitals] will be there, is it not? So only we will show in a private [hospital] and come back.” (FG_SS2). While participants across settings expressed their preference for private healthcare facilities, the Health Department’s representative shared about the initiatives launched to increase the access of government healthcare facilities,*

“And [in] BBMP⁵⁷ what we have done is evening specialists we have taken, through NHM.⁵⁸ He might be a physician, he might be a dermatologist, he might be a psychiatrist, a pediatrician or the obstetric and gynae[cologist]... four to seven [pm] or five to eight [pm], they're serving [the people]” (LG_HD). However, the lack of awareness about these initiatives prevents MCW from using them, “people are not aware that here [in] the evening also PHCs are opening. Evening also some specialist care is given. And that was started two years back only for this working people because they don't want to miss their work and come to the center [because of] loss of pay.” (LG_HD).

11.5 Maternal healthcare

Maternal health is a major component of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation's health programs. The Health Department's representative spoke about the initiatives aimed at improving antenatal care among migrant communities (Table 16). Most of the activities listed in Table 16 are carried out through Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives, *“But in Bangalore only the slum pocket is being given ASHA,⁵⁹ not others... in the slums, they enumerate all the migrants and those things. So, this is a pattern of worker.” (LG_HD).*

⁵⁷ Acronym of *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike*, which in Kannada means Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.

⁵⁸ National Health Mission.

⁵⁹ Acronym for Accredited Social Health Activist.

Table 16 Details of initiatives related to maternal health

Activity	Activity details
Identification and classification of migrant communities into five categories.	<i>“we have almost divided the migrants’ group into five category... So M1 is slum with migration, and it is a hutmet, may be 50 or 10 [families] or whatever number it is. So M2 is nomads. They don't stay static in any place. These balloons makers and pipi-walas⁶⁰ and those [type of people]. And to track them is very difficult. Then M3 is [inaudible] your construction sites. And we have identified those construction sites along with the Labour Department . M4 is the brick kilns not much in Bangalore... M5 is all others. Whoever don't belong to this category, we put them under that.”</i>
Enumeration of MCW	<i>“They'll[Accredited Social Health Activists or Auxiliary Nurse Midwives will] identify what are the high-risk areas, how many constructions [sites] are there. They are supposed to enlist every three months. Earlier that was not much happening. But nowadays we insist, maybe we should take once a year or six months... So, every third month, she has an updated list.”</i>
Registration of pregnant women	<i>“she will get one new 16-digit number that will be we call the RCHID... That ID will be permanent for her, if she becomes pregnant same ID continues... the good [thing] about this [system] is she, wherever she registers if she is registered in Bagalkot⁶¹ and she carries her number, we can open that portal... At least basic minimum data we get. The services she [availed], where she availed the services... Is she is a high risk case or a normal, those things. What happened to the previous pregnancy everything is [available]. This is taking off slowly.”</i>
Service delivery	<i>“now of late we have started the [system where] we are not just sitting in the dispensary and giving services... We are going to the slum site. We are delivering there all the basic minimum things including she can get her BP checked... Hb haemoglobinometer check we do.”</i>
Outreach	<i>“Only thing is we can't pull them [pregnant MCW/family members] to delivery. And we are been educating these mesthris or the construction sites, the unions to help us out in the enumeration. Or to tell us where the sites are there.”</i>
Extended working hours	<i>“Sometimes I've given the option of, if really you [Accredited Social Health Activist or Auxiliary Nurse Midwife] want to do service on Sunday, if that mother is there... go to this site, go to the slum do it on [a] Sunday. This is unofficial declar, declaration we have done. Do the session give the services. You can take one day or half day break whenever you want that lenience also, we have given to the health staff.”</i>

⁶⁰ Refers to street side vendors selling toys.

⁶¹ Bagalkot is a district in North Karnataka.

This representative spoke about the difficulties the department faced in hiring Auxiliary Nurse Midwives due to issues with compensation and what the department was doing to address it, *“The Government of India gives certain grants... roughly around 10,000 rupees per ANM.⁶² Over that we have been giving 6000 [rupees] top-up. So that [we are able] to hold the ANM back in Bangalore, that we are doing.” (LG_HD)*. Though these initiatives exist various factors influence their reach and utilization. MCW living in peri-urban areas, outside of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation limits, often do not receive services, *“but problem is that the primary health centers are within the BBMP⁶³ limit. Now the city has been expanded very drastically.” (CSO_Adv)*.

The requirement of documents affects the extent to which pregnant women can benefit from the programs, *“That girl is pregnant. When it is like that, if she goes to the hospital here for check [up], if she goes to government hospital... ‘Is AADHAAR card there? Which area are you in? What address are you living at? Which cross are you living in?’ they [the healthcare providers] are asking... If we go there all that they are asking. We do not know how to tell [those things].” (IW_SS1)*.

Confirming this a CSO representative spoke about the need for documents, *“if they [the healthcare providers at government healthcare facilities] have to further proceed then it means some document, at least one [document] is needed. Either husband’s or wife’s at least one will be there for sure. If there is no document then they might have got a doubt who are these people?” (CSO_Ser)*. In relation, the Health Department’s representative spoke why the documents are needed, *“And too many schemes are attached to either the AADHAAR cards or... the Mother and*

⁶² Acronym for Auxiliary Nurse Midwives.

⁶³ Acronym for *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike*, which in Kannada means Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.

Child Tracking Card, MCP cards we say or thayi⁶⁴ cards... we don't have access to those documents for them [MCW].” (LG_HD).

Even if documents are available and a pregnant woman is registered, issues in data entry affect information available to healthcare providers in Bengaluru and the place of origin, *“I don't say it is hundred percent fool proof, and this is the second year we have started in Karnataka, maybe another one or two years it'll be streamlined... As a PHC⁶⁵ [staff], or ASHA⁶⁶ worker or the ANM⁶⁷ or the medical officer they are entering the basic profile but the services got elsewhere it is not being updated. So, there is a loss of track[ing]... her number and the age, those profile [details] will be there but services [availed] is not complete” (LG_HD).*

The participant, in one of the small construction sites, who spoke about the need for documents also shared her experience of accompanying a pregnant woman to a state government healthcare facility, *“This government hospital only, hospital K. Night 11 o'clock she got labor pains. [So], we took her [to the hospital]. When we took her what they [the hospital staff] told? ‘Where did you do [the antenatal] check[-ups]?’ they asked. I told, ‘Tamil Nadu, madam.’ ‘You pay bed charges. Pay this, pay that.’ they told. At that time, we could not pay.” (IW_SS1)* because of which they had to travel back to their place of origin, *“When it was like that, what did I do? I told the mesthri and cried. What did the mesthri do? Because he is a good person, ‘Come, I will give you money. Immediately take her in car and go to your place.’ like that he told. He gave us money and helped us.” (IW_SS1).* A CSO representative corroborated this account, *“one person we sent for delivery pains. [We] sent [her to the government hospital] when she got labor pains.*

⁶⁴ Mother in Kannada.

⁶⁵ Acronym for primary health center.

⁶⁶ Acronym for Accredited Social Health Activist.

⁶⁷ Acronym for Auxiliary Nurse Midwives.

To admit [her] the nurses were asking for 200 rupees, 500 rupees they were asking.” (CSO_Ser).

In such situations, *“If they [female MCW/family member] have little back-up, support [from the CSO] then they [nurses] will not ask like that.” (CSO_Ser).*

Beyond the health system level factors, individual-level factors also affect the receipt of antenatal care, *“they [female MCW/family member] are also not aware about [antenatal care], [that] they have to go in [for] monthly check-up to [be] done and all that that they are not aware about those facility.” (CSO_Adv).* Other than any costs borne at the hospital, the costs involved in visiting the hospitals affects the extent to which MCW receive antenatal care services, *“One is that of course they [MCW/family members] feel is that going and coming to the government hospitals cost money. Even they have to go by auto rickshaw or whatever it is. So, they have to spend money.” (CSO_Adv).* Due to fears associated with the government hospitals female MCW/family members might choose to deliver at home, *“I don't know their [MCW/family members] past experience or [if] came to [know] through somebody here, [or] heard from others that the babies will be missing in the government hospital... I'm not [laughs] saying it is true or wrong, but this is what [are] some [of the] misconceptions among the migrant communities” (CSO_Adv).*

Irrespective of the fears, most female MCW/family members prefer to deliver at the place of origin, *“Delivery they [pregnant MCW/family members] will not do here. People like us will go to our place. Here and all it will not get set... It does not get set means in our place they [people] follow different customs.” (IW_SS2).* However not all female MCW/family travel back to their place of origin for delivery, *“Till four months, five-six months [of pregnancy] they work. After that what happens [I] do not know. If they go, they go [back].” (IW_SS2).* If female MCW/family members choose to go back to the place or origin, there might be a loss of follow-up, *“That is*

where we miss the [tracking] again... she [the pregnant woman] won't carry all her medical documents; we miss what has happened to her.” (LG_HD).

11.6 Child healthcare

Speaking about the health issues that MCW’ children face, a CSO representative mentioned, *“when we conducted the health camps of the migrant community and exclusively for children, we found that 80 percent of the children are got undernourished... Second thing because of the unhygienic conditions, the skin problems [are common] among the children. The third major issue we found that 90 percent of the children had a worms in their stomach [intestine]... because of the [worms] diarrhea and indigestion all this problem [is happening]. Then ear discharge, and lot of skin diseases” (CSO_Adv).*

Due to the linkages the CSO working in the company site established, doctors from a nearby government healthcare facility visit the site for growth monitoring, *“We would not know how much our children weigh... Here only in the school they [the children] get check-ups done monthly, monthly.” (FG_CS).* A CSO representative involved in the running of a daycare center, similarly, mentioned about the linkages they have established, *“We also do a little bit of the healthcare for the children. We have regular health camps. We have hospital B, then we have another ENT doctor who recently came in and did [a camp]. We have tied up with dental college A that comes in and does dental screening as well as providing for treatments, for follow up treatment as well.” (CSO_DC).*

The Health Department has launched various initiatives to deal with some of the health issues that MCW’ children face (Table 17). In addition, other services are available to children

through the Integrated Child Development Services including cash incentives for the mother if the child is fully vaccinated, *“If they avail all the services, if the immunization is done, [if] it is not home delivery, we give them money.” (LG_HD).*

Table 17 Details of initiatives related to child health

Activity	Activity details
Identification of children	<i>“We are enlisting the site, enlisting the name of the child and [collecting] this data. [For] this child within two years, we want the complete detail [and] we are taking that... The mother's [and] father's name, and the mobile number. [For] the child, what is the immunization status, how many doses have been received or not, that we are taking [and preparing] the line list.”</i>
Vaccinations at construction sites	<i>“Even if it is two house or three house, even if there is a single child or two children, we have given the liberty of going to their own place to give the injection even if there is wastage of vaccine, we're not asking them [Accredited Social Health Activists or Auxiliary Nurse Midwives].”</i>
Changes in policy related to Nutritional Rehabilitation Centers	<i>“if the if the mother is working, if mother is staying with the child, she can be given that 15-day wages. So minimum wages for 15 days is given, even though, she's not going for work. So that is a one boon we have... [If] nobody [is there] to take care at home during that admission, the [other] children can also stay in the NRC, the older children.”</i>

Specific to polio vaccination, which is undertaken in a campaign mode in India, the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation and the construction sector partner with each other in various ways to ensure that MCW' children receive the vaccine, *“So that immunization what we do is the Association [is] being involved by [Municipal] Corporation during the immunization campaign. We open our site. We enable workers go in the jeep to the immunization booths. Sometime the volunteers, the Rotary is the one who undertakes the immunization program, so, we ask them [the volunteers] to visit these construction sites.” (CS_Dev1).* However, such partnerships are usually limited to large construction sites and children in small construction sites might be missed out. While one intermediary reported, *“There is no such thing as someone coming to the building and giving polio drops to children.” (CS_Mes3),* another intermediary mentioned, *“They come and*

put, all that they put... Nowadays they, they come to every building” (CS_Mes2). In case the health workers do not visit small construction sites for administering the vaccine, MCW must take their children to the nearest vaccination center, “They will come half an hour late and say that they had gone for polio drops for their children.” (CSO_Mes3).

While the polio vaccination campaign exists, many factors affect the receipt of vaccines. Beliefs affect the extent to which MCW accept vaccines, *“They [MCW] have blind beliefs. If you put [the] injection [then] polio will happen, [beliefs] like that. Then if we do not give [the vaccines to children] nothing will happen. [They tell us], ‘We did not get [vaccines], we are all healthy. For this child if [we] do not give the vaccines nothing will happen.’” (CSO_Ser). Along with beliefs, the lack of awareness also affects the extent to which the children receive vaccinations, “So, they [MCW] think that pulse polio itself is the immunization or they don't even have any knowledge about what is immunization, what is vaccination, how long, how many years we have to get it.” (CSO_Adv). MCW might be unaware of the healthcare facilities where vaccinations are given, “First of all she [the mother] is not aware where the services are given, the bigger hospitals.” (LG_HD).*

Beyond the individual-level factors, health system level factors also determine the extent to which MCW’ children receive vaccines. Even if MCW know the location of the healthcare facilities the wait time involved influences their decisions, *“She [the mother] doesn't want to lose that wages and come for services. And even even if she comes to PHCs or the general hospitals, the system is not that good. As soon as she comes, she won't [be able to] avail the services.” (LG_HD). The availability of vaccines also affects parents’ decisions, “‘Drop medicine [polio vaccine] we put [into the children’s mouth] is over, come tomorrow.’ like that they [the healthcare providers] are telling.” (IW_SS1). The timings of services can determine whether children receive*

vaccines, “After working we will go [to the hospital]. If we go like that, then it is not possible to show the children [to the healthcare providers].” (IW_SS1).

The focus on polio vaccination often means that other vaccines are not prioritized, “And even if the primary health centers are there, only I think the pulse polio⁶⁸ is reaching everywhere. But in terms of immunization and vaccination, those kind of things, I think the many many children are left out on that.” (CSO_Adv). The initiative of Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives also affects the vaccination of MCW’ children, “Only if the ASHA⁶⁹ workers or the ANMs⁷⁰ are regular, she [the mother] will understand. Otherwise, the construction site one is here and one here and one here... even these people [Accredited Social Health Activists or Auxiliary Nurse Midwives], I don't say completely 100 percent they do. That is where again, we miss.” (LG_HD).

As a result of these issues MCW might prefer that their children receive their vaccinations at the place of origin, “In terms of immunization, most of these children are born in the village... so they [MCW/family members] do their [the children's] immunizations in the village. And they go, like I said, they go back frequently. So, they tend to go back and do their immunizations there.” (CSO_DC). However, the vaccination status depends on the availability of these services at *anganwadis* during visits to the place of origin, “When we go to our place only [then] we put [the vaccines]. Otherwise, no. If we are there we will put. Otherwise, no.” (IW_SS2).

⁶⁸ As part of the pulse polio program children 0-5 years of age are administered oral polio vaccine drops during two rounds of immunization (in January and March) every year through the country.

⁶⁹ Acronym for Accredited Social Health Activist.

⁷⁰ Acronym for Auxiliary Nurse Midwives.

11.7 Social protection

11.7.1 KCWWB

Registering with the KCWWB is essential for social protection, “90 percent of them [migrants] [are] engaged in construction and construction related activities, so they have to register under the Construction Welfare Board as a construction worker. And they should have an ID card and then only they can [become] eligible for the social security system” (CSO_Adv). However, the lack of awareness about the KCWWB is widespread, “the majority of the migrant communities not aware about such a welfare board is exist[ing]” (CSO_Adv), resulting in even those wanting to register not having sufficient information, “We have not found out [about the card]. Else, we would have made⁷¹ it [the card]... Because we cannot trust anyone [with our wages] we would have made [the card as a form of security], but we did not know where [to go].” (IW_SS2).

This participant mentioned about the labor card, which a worker receives on registering with the KCWWB, in the context of lost wages, “Someone [else] had come to do sand work [at the site]. ‘Cheating will not happen for labor. You make a [labor] card. If you get the card made, no one can stay without making [your] payment.’ they told like that.” (IW_SS2). It is not only the MCW but also some developers and contractors who are unaware about the KCWWB, “We didn't know what this labor cess⁷² we are paying for [is] used at that point of time. We were in this

⁷¹ In India while speaking in Indian languages as well as in English people say ‘make the card’ and not ‘get the card.’ In this instance the interview was conducted in Kannada.

⁷² Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

industry from the past ten years but only last year we knew that this cess can be utilized for labor insurance.” (CS_Dev3).

11.7.1.1 Barriers to registration

Various barriers prevent MCW from registering with the KCWWB, “if they [MCW] want to register themselves, it's not an easy process, you know” (CSO_Adv). Construction workers have to submit various documents for registration, “AADHAAR card is required for registration with the Board. In case the contractor does not sign the [registration] form, workers can visit the Labour Department where the Labour Inspector will sign the form after conducting a field visit and confirming the place of work. The form needs information on the most recent place of work and the employer name.” (SG_KCWWB1). The absence of these documents prevents MCW from registering with the KCWWB, “So they [MCW] have to run around, they don't have an ID proof... they don't have address proof. So, all these are again, back to square one. And listen until you have this, then you can't get yourself registered.” (CSO_Adv). The time required in going to the Labour Department also affects registration, “social security or Labour Department, insurance and all that they [MCW] don't want to get into it or go and apply spend a day. They are all daily wage workers. So, [if] they take a day off, they lose money.” (CS_IC1).

Officials of the Labour Department do not exclusively focus on the KCWWB registrations, “The Labour Inspector and the Labour Officer have to visit the sites to ensure that the health, safety, and welfare norms are being followed. During these visits they also must verify if workers have been registered and if they are availing [themselves of] benefits. Contractors must maintain

a record of workers along with the numbers of days worked. While obtaining license from BBMP,⁷³ builders must mention the number of workers they are going to hire and register the workers with the Board. Only after obtaining the registration certificate the project can begin.” (SG_KCWWB1). These activities, are often, limited to large construction sites, “For small construction sites, the Labour Inspectors find it difficult in identifying the contractors and mesthris and hence are unable to hold them accountable.” (FG_KCWWB1). The KCWWB only monitors but is not responsible for activities of the Labour Inspectors, “The Board monitors the registration process but is not involved in the registration process.” (SG_KCWWB1).

Many contractors do not register their workers with the KCWWB. In talking about registering workers with the KCWWB a contractor mentioned, *“If there is any scheme also, by the time I find out about it, [and] get the paperwork done, it's gonna take some time. By time the thing [process] reaches that [stage], [the] benefit reaches them [MCW], by that [time] where he is, we have no idea. So, some new person comes, again [we must] follow that process for them. So, at the end of it, you will start feeling like you're just wasting time.” (CS_Cont1). As per regulations, it is the responsibility of the contractors and not the developers for registering the workers, “But it's not that possible for me to check who is working because a labor contractor comes and brings the [workers]. He gives a declaration everybody is registered [laughs]. So, it is difficult for me to monitor it.” (CS_Dev1). Some large contractors’ partner with the KCWWB to get their workers registered, “Labour Commission is helping us, for this Mazdoor⁷⁴ card registration... The initial charges whatever, you know, [the] government [is] also, they are giving*

⁷³ Acronym of Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike, which in Kannada means Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.

⁷⁴ Hindi word for labor.

us discounts and giving [such things], you know, because it, it is a benefits [for] the workers.”
(CS_Cont2).

In small construction sites, MCW might have access to the KCWWB in case the intermediaries are members of an union, *“It depends on how many [people] will join. Whether it is 15 workers or 20 workers. The mesthri joins [the union] and tells the concerned people that, ‘These workers are working under him and he oversees them.’ He then arranges for issuing the membership card and give the cards to the workers.”* (CS_Mes3). However, intermediaries are selective in whom they help with the registration, *“While helping the workers to obtain card the senior mesthri will take into consideration these aspects. The senior mesthri will help only those workers, who work under him permanently to enroll under welfare schemes. Nobody will take notice of a worker who works here for one week and there for one week, and so on.”* (CS_Mes3).

11.7.1.2 Facilitating registration

To combat lack of information among MCW, CSO conduct programs to increase awareness regarding various aspects of the KCWWB, *“So, we [have] take[n] the initiative [of] creating awareness about the, the social security measures, what is the Construction Welfare Board and what kind of schemes available, we do awareness among the public”* (CSO_Adv). Some CSO provide information in more than one language to cater to the needs of interstate MCW, *“People from different state are there, people from different districts are there. When it is like that, we tell orally and distribute pamphlets in different languages.”* (CSO_Ser).

While the KCWWB has taken certain steps to increase MCW’ registration, they have not succeeded. The KCWWB introduced an online registration portal to make it easy for the construction workers to register in 2016, *“The registration process from April 2016 has been streamlined through the Seva Sindhu portal so that registration can be done from anywhere.*

Starting from 2019 there is an option of third-party registration option meaning that individuals can register on their own.” (SG_KCWWB1). However, the lack of access to technology can prevent MCW from utilizing the online registration portal, “But the people [who] are [in the] migrant community are illiterate. They [do] not [have] access to internet... they are maybe having a small mobile, [but] they don't have a smartphones.” (CSO_Adv).

While earlier, the KCWWB had outreach programs for registration, at present no such program is operational other than spot registration, “Earlier registrations were done in collaboration with the Karnataka Legal Services Authority, which has stopped now... However, the department from time to time conducts spot registrations.” (SG_KCWWB1). As a result, “The present registration process entails Labour Inspectors visiting the field and registering the workers. Labor unions are also involved in the registration process.” (SG_KCWWB1).

Further, the KCWWB is unable to undertake any campaigns to increase awareness due to judicial orders, “According to a Supreme Court ruling in 2016, funds available with the board cannot be used for publicity. Hence, no specific activities related to increasing awareness among the workers have been taken from then on. Prior to the ruling, funds were spent on advertising about the board and its schemes through conducting jathas⁷⁵ and distributing pamphlets.” (SG_KCWWB1).

At present, the only mechanism through which the KCWWB is facilitating registration involves individuals appointed as *Karmika Bandhu's*⁷⁶, “To increase awareness about the board and to increase registration *Karmika Bandhu's* have been appointed in each panchayat.⁷⁷ These individuals work on an incentive basis – they get 2 percent of the claim amount.” (SG_KCWWB1).

⁷⁵ Fair in Kannada. In this context it refers to an information fair.

⁷⁶ Workers’ friend in Kannada.

⁷⁷ Lowest level of elected government in India.

However, *“the Karmikara Bandhu scheme has not taken off in Bengaluru because of the low remuneration, [equivalent to] incentives plus 1000 rupees per month. Only three wards [in Bengaluru] have Karmikara Bandhus. [The KCWWB] needs to see how to expand [Karmikara Bandhus] to rest of the wards.”* (SG_KCWWB1).

CSO facilitate the registration of workers, *“So, we have done hundreds of construction workers registration with Construction Welfare Board and also we got many people access to welfare schemes [programs of the KCWWB]”* (CSO_Adv). However, CSO by themselves cannot get involved with the registration process, *“There is no scope for involving NGOs in either increasing awareness or implementation of schemes since the rules do not allow them to participate. Only role that NGOs can play is to file complaints as per section 11 in case of non-implementation of the provisions of the [BOWC] Act. (SG_KCWWB1).* To overcome this restriction, CSO partner with existing unions, *“Other than this an NGO can partner with a trade union in getting workers registered.”* (SG_KCWWB1). Alternatively, *“For the registration NGOs need to convince the employers about the benefits of the schemes and encourage them to register their workers.”* (SG_KCWWB2). As a result, some CSO have started operating unions, *“Last week the union got launched. It got registered.”* (CSO_CO). CSO might not want to facilitate the registration processes for MCW who move between sites, *“Also, NGOs might not want to get involved with workers who frequently move because they [the NGOs] can be punished for duplicate registrations.”* (SG_KCWWB1).

Along with lack of awareness and issues related to the registration process, MCW’ beliefs also influence registration, *“this is YESHASVINI⁷⁸ card, like that this [card] also will be a lie.*

⁷⁸ YESHASVINI is an insurance program meant for farmers who are members of cooperative societies. For an annual premium, farmers and their family members become eligible for free inpatient care at empaneled hospitals.

That is one of their beliefs.” (CSO_Ser). As a result of these beliefs, CSO face challenges in getting MCW registered, “So like that they... they neglect it [getting registered]. (CSO_Ser). When a registered worker receives benefits from the KCWWB, other MCW might express their willing to register, “One person receives [the benefit] and tells ten other people, ‘See, I gave got it [the benefit], I have proof, I can show [the proof].’ There are instances when they show [the proof to others], other people [have] registered themselves.” (CSO_Ser).

11.7.1.3 Utilization of funds

Beyond registrations, participants spoke about the funds available with the KCWWB and the potential for its misuse, *“Say for example, one percent cess we pay on construction cost that cess across the country, particularly [in] Karnataka is about four thousand odd crores gross lying in cess fund... Thank god due to the legal activism, the judicial activism, they [the government] were not able to touch it. Legal Services Cell interfered and stopped it [the funds] long back from that being squandered away. Having stopped them, now we have to see how we can deploy these resources for the welfare of laborers.” (CS_Dev1). In relation, the construction sector representatives wanted a greater say in the KCWWB’s decision making process, “And in fact, we have been fighting on this or making this statement that we should be part of the decision-making body or the cess fund so that at least we know where we can deploy these resources.” (CS_Dev1).*

The KCWWB utilizes the funds for operating various programs. Participants differed in their assessment of the programs; while some mentioned, *“Actually, the schemes are good.” (CSO_CC), others felt, “these schemes have been designed or whatever many, many years back... So, they are not keeping updated.” (CSO_Adv). In all, “More than 10 schemes are available to the registered workers.” (SG_KCWWB1), which are directed towards social protection of construction workers.*

During my conversation with union organizers, they mentioned that while they were appreciative of the programs, the documents needed to receive the benefits prevents workers from utilizing the programs. They provided two examples to illustrate this. The KCWWB provides two lakh rupees for house construction. To receive the two lakh rupees, registered workers must submit the bank loan documents and proof of house construction. Since majority of workers do not obtain bank loans and depend on money lenders it becomes impossible for them to produce the documentation needed. To receive the marriage monetary benefit, registered workers must submit the marriage certificate and then wait for almost six months to receive the money. This is not useful for the workers since they need the money prior to the marriage for their expenses. In other instances, following registration, *“[Construction workers] often are not aware that they are registered. As a result, they end up not utilizing the benefits. Workers also forget to renew their membership or stop working in the construction sector because of which they are unable to avail the benefits”* (SG_KCWWB1).

While MCW and their family members stand to benefit from the KCWWB programs, only participants in IS2 and CS, where a CSO provides services, had access to the programs, *“From organization C only we found out [about the KCWWB] ... [Otherwise], we would have not known.”* (FG_CS). In these sites, MCW, if not all, were registered with the Board due to the activities of the CSO, *“Yes, it [the card] is there. For some it [registration] is done , for some it is not done.”* (FG_IS2). Only some participants knew about the eligibility criteria to avail the benefits, *“Any big disease if we get, they [the KCWWB] give compensation. If any boy or girl who is not married is there, if we have completed one year [following registration] then they give money to them as well [for the marriage]. If anyone falls while [working] in a building, during construction for that also they give compensation.”* (FG_CS). Those who did not know about the eligibility criteria

mentioned that the CSO staff provides them information about the programs and helps them in applying for the benefits, *“Sir, will tell us. If anything is there, we will do [it].” (FG_IS2)*. Female MCW/family members who did not receive any services from CSO, mostly, did not aware know about the KCWWB, *“The people we know no one has [the labor card]. I did not see [any]. They [some other construction workers] told [us about the card].” (IW_SS2)*.

Beyond these issues, the construction sector representatives spoke about the lack of portability of benefits between states because of which interstate MCW registered in Bengaluru cannot utilize programs once they move back to their place of origin. In section fourteen, I present information on a national identity card that the construction sector representatives believed will benefit MCW irrespective of them changing their place of work between states.

11.7.2 Other programs

MCW in company sites are eligible for certain programs, *“If he works for a period of 11 months, then many government benefits he gets like PF.”⁷⁹ (CS_Cont2)*. However, contractors do not enroll their workers in these programs, *“Now as per rules we have to do EF, PF, ESI⁸⁰ all those things we need to do. Now if the labor is not sure of working for a long time, we can't keep on shifting that ESI, PF thing.” (CS_Cont1)*. MCW might not be willing to make the payments required for Employees' State Insurance and Provident Fund programs, *“And today you tell a laborer to pay PF or ESI he says, “I don't want all that”.” (CS_Dev1)*. The paperwork involved in enrolling workers also prevents developers and contractors from registering MCW, *“if more*

⁷⁹ Stands for Provident Fund.

⁸⁰ Stands for Employees' State Insurance.

than hundred people are working in any point of time in the site then they are eligible [for enrollment]. So normally what happens is it's a lot of paperwork for small and medium builders... We see that we are below that hundred so that we don't come under that PF and all this thing." (CS_Dev3). According to the construction sector representatives, even in instances where the developers and contractors make these contributions MCW are unable to utilize the programs due to rules and bureaucratic processes, *"But having paid your contribution, their contribution my labour will not draw [the benefits]. You cannot draw it. Can a worker in Thippasandra draw from Timbuktu his benefit? No. Even in Thippasandra he won't be able to draw because that's that's humungous redtapeism"* (CS_Dev1).

11.8 Summary

As with other aspects of MCW' lives, the setting in which they live plays an important role in determining access to services. These differences emerge from duration of stay in Bengaluru, extent of social networks, knowledge of services, ability to benefit from the local/state government initiatives, and extent to which MCW have access to CSO and other resources. As such, these initiatives tend to be limited to company sites and informal settlements resulting in MCW in small construction sites having poor access to services. The time since establishment determines the access to services in informal settlements. In company sites, the role of the construction sector comes to fore since the developers and the contractors vary in the extent to which they support MCW for accessing services and the extent to which they engage with CSO and the local/state government in increasing access to services. In addition to these factors, MCW who move frequently between sites or between the place of origin and Bengaluru have poor access to services.

Considering the importance of the initiatives of CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government for MCW, in the next section I summarize the resources that MCW have access to and the perceptions that stakeholders have about them.

12.0 Access to resources

Access to resources refers to the sources of support migrant construction workers (MCW) can potentially utilize while living in Bengaluru. The resources I refer to, in this section, include the programs and initiatives of civil society organizations (CSO), the construction sector, and the local/state government. Other than these, I detail social capital, membership in associations, and the support that MCW receive from individuals. I also highlight the perceptions that stakeholders have about each of these resources. While presenting findings, I summarize the information presented in earlier sections and provide additional details when appropriate.

12.1 Support through social capital

Social capital emerges from within MCW's social networks. I excluded findings related to individuals belonging to the construction sector, here, since I am presenting that information separately. The social capital in company sites and informal settlements, where many MCW families live together, plays out similarly when compared to small construction sites. In company sites and informal settlements, MCW initially arrive through those who are already living in Bengaluru, *"They [MCW] come in and they usually come in as a community. A few families come [from the place of origin] then they, you know, kind of bring other families as well. They come in [to Bengaluru] and look for a place to stay."* (CSO_DC).

As I explained in section eight, having linkages with MCW already living in the city aids those who have newly arrived in many ways including for purchasing food rations and finding

work. In company sites and informal settlements, parents can leave their children with other MCW when they need to visit a healthcare facility. In one of the informal settlements, this extended to taking care of the children when the parents go to work. In the company site, female MCW/family members mentioned that people from their place of origin living elsewhere in Bengaluru do not help them.

MCW living in informal settlements, most often, share the place of origin at the *hobli*⁸¹ or *taluk*⁸² level and belong to the same caste enabling them to develop a sense of kinship. As a result, they extend help to each other in various forms includes sharing huts with newly arrived MCW, *“How we help means, sir, for each meal only one person cooks for everyone. If they put 500 rupees, then we will put 500 rupees. Ration, also, only one ration we use. In the middle [of the hut] we will tie a tarpaulin. If one couple sleeps on that side, the other couple will sleep on this side. Like that we live.”* (FG_IS2). Other than this, participants in the informal settlements spoke helping each other out during adverse situations, *“We will adjust amongst ourselves, in case this woman has any needs [incomprehensible]... We are one only no? We are like older brother-younger brother, elder sister-younger sister, all of us. We adjust between ourselves.”* (FG_IS1). This extends to providing each other monetary help if needed, *“We have to take a loan from someone. And then, after we go back to work, we must give [it back to] them... 100-500 rupees if we take [as a loan], we will go work for a week, earn [money] and give it back to them. That's it.”* (FG_IS1).

However, the participants' social network was limited to the specific settlement and did not extend to other settlements where other MCW belonging to their place of origin or caste lived,

⁸¹ Refers to cluster of villages

⁸² Refers to cluster of *hoblis*

“We did not [do], madam. We did not do anything. Who has done anything? Everyone lives by themselves. Who did? All of us [here] are [from the] same caste. We are one. [After] coming [here] what have we done? Nothing. Everyone is earning by themselves, eating their food, and going to village after working here. That's it.” (FG_IS1). This lack of kinship with other informal settlements, even those that are nearby, is reflected in MCW in different settlements not celebrating festivals together.

MCW in small construction sites depend on the intermediary or other MCW in identifying shops when they first arrive in Bengaluru or move to a new site. Other than the intermediary and MCW in the vicinity, MCW in small construction sites do not have any other social capital. While people from the same place of origin might be living in Bengaluru, participants stated they cannot expect any help from them because of distance, *“People from our place, if we are next to each other, they will help. If we are one side, [and] they are one side [then] they cannot help at that time. If we can, then we will solve the problem and get out of it. Else we will get stuck in the problem.” (IW_SS1).* In addition, MCW experiencing similar life situations prevents them from helping each other, *“Who will be there [to help]? Everyone is earning like us.” (IW_SS2).*

12.2 Support through membership

Membership in associations and unions varied across the settings. In company sites and informal settlements, MCW become members of union to get themselves registered with the Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB). As mentioned earlier, CSO partner with existing unions or operate their own unions for this purpose. Beyond CSO, I met two union organizers about their work in getting workers registered with the KCWWB.

These two organizers were affiliated with a union that, mostly, organizes settled migrants who have been living in Bengaluru for more than 15 years. The union organizers spoke about various challenges in organizing construction workers and getting them registered with the KCWWB. They mentioned that people either do not see a need for registering themselves or the upfront costs involved puts them off. Workers must pay around 500 rupees upfront including the cost of registration and union membership. Since this amount is equivalent to a day's wage or more, workers do not show interest in registering with the KCWWB. According to the organizers, of the hundreds of workers whom they have spoken to, hardly a handful ended up filling up the KCWWB registration form. After construction workers complete the form, union officers submit the forms to the Labour Department.

Organizers mentioned that there is no fixed period for processing the forms after submission. The wait time for the workers to get their registration cards can extend for as long as six months. As a result, workers might begin to suspect the motivations of the union as well as lose interest in getting their cards. This not only leads to union organizers losing the trust of workers who submitted the forms but also prevents other workers from registering. Once the union organizers receive the cards, they face difficulties in distributing them because workers might have moved away or are no longer are interested in receiving the cards. While individual workers can go and register themselves without the support of the union, the union organizers mentioned that it never happens. They mentioned that workers might have to bribe the labor officer to process the forms indicating additional monetary burden on workers beyond loss of wages, and cost of the registration. After meeting the two organizers and based on the interviews I had conducted with CSO representatives, I recorded my reflections (Box 13).

Box 13 Reflections following meeting with union organizers

“After we finished speaking my thoughts kept revolving around the challenges that the organizers will face in getting MCW in small construction sites registered. For now, they worked with settled migrants who have been living in Bengaluru for the past 15 years or so. To get MCW in small construction sites registered they might not be able to follow-up with them if the workers move to a different site or go back to their place of origin? So, is it even feasible to register workers in small construction sites? Who must do these registrations if no union or CSO is working with them? Can the contractors or meshtris be forced to register their workers? Should someone else like the resident welfare association take up the responsibility?... So, are MCW in small construction sites in no man’s land? Are they left to fend for themselves? On the other hand, should it be left to unpaid union officers to carry out this work? The question of responsibility seems big with no clear answers.” (December 3, 2019).

Speaking about the work of unions, a CSO representative mentioned that union membership might not benefit the workers for various reasons including lack of continued engagement, *“They [union organizers] have collected money and disappeared. There is no continuity. There is no responsibility to the workers.” (CSO_CO)*. Beyond this, even if the union organizers continually engage MCW, they might not provide the information about the benefit available from the KCWWB, *“They [union organizers] have not told what all must be done [to avail the benefits]. They have just given the receipt [for the registration fee]... They have [just] given [the registration] cards to the labor[ers]. They have not given awareness about the benefits or applied for the benefits.” (CSO_CO)*. According to this representative, union activities are comparable to that of their organization, *“What work organization C is doing that unions also do. So, we apply for benefits and get them [MCW] the benefits. So, we act as a bridge, bridge between the Labour Department and labor colony, that is work of organization C. We facilitate. Same way, same work some unions do [that work].” (CSO_CO)*.

However, differences emerge between them due to the way the CSO functions, *“But here we are employees of organization C. We have salary. We have targets. We must do [the work]. We have to do something for the society.” (CSO_CO)*. While I did not speak to the union organizers

about this, they mentioned that many times they spend money from their pockets to help workers pay the registration fees, which they do not get back. They also spoke about the time and cost commitment involved in speaking to the workers, going to the Labour Department, and attending union meetings. Since the union does not pay for the costs associated with registering workers with the KCWWB, the only way for the union organizers to do further work is to increase membership of the union and receive the associated membership fees.

Other than facilitating registration with the KCWWB, unions also help with wage disputes and loss of employment. It is not only MCW but also intermediaries in small construction sites who depend on unions for support, *“if the owner does not give the money, we can go there [the union office] [to] bring [people]. And we can make the construction work stop if needed... we would have worked under someone for twenty years. Suddenly if they tell, ‘You do not work, you leave the job.’ we can go to them [the union] and give a complaint.”* (CS_Mes2). While the intermediary spoke about ways in which unions support MCW, developers and contractors had a negative view of unions, *“unions and strikes it leads to the, you know like... wastage of money also.”* (CS_Cont2).

Other than this, in one of the informal settlements, MCW were part of a *Dalit* empowerment organization. As detailed in the section nine, though the actions of this organization MCW no longer had to pay monthly rent for the land where they setup their tents. In addition, due to the advocacy of the organization, they were hopeful of receiving houses that the government constructs for those living in informal settlements. In one of the small construction sites, a participant shared about her experience of people making similar claims of getting MCW

government constructed houses, “They⁸³ came and told, ‘We will make ration card for you here’... They did not make ration card for us. ‘We will tell the government and make vote[r] [ID] card for you.’ like that they told. That also they did not make and give... ‘you have put huts in government land, we will tell the government, we will solve [the problems] and get that land for you. We will write and give the land in your name. If you have a house, you can go anywhere earn.’ like that they came and told.” (IW_SS1).

Some CSO help MCW in informal settlements form workers’ collectives so that they can operate independent of the CSO, “we want them [MCW] to be independent, we don't want them to dependent on us. So, we help them to see where the [Labour] Department exists, how to reach them, and what kind of documentation is required, how to go about it.” (CSO_Adv). Some CSO also facilitate female family members to form self-help groups, “Also, we are running like self-help groups... And also encouraging them [female family members] to [start] saving their money and helping them to some income generation activities. If some women are idle, we [have] given them the training” (CSO_Adv).

12.3 Support from individuals

Individuals, not affiliated to any organization, extend support to MCW, which plays out in different ways depending on the setting and the context. While some support the MCW directly, others support CSO working with MCW. Female MCW/family members in the company site

⁸³ According to the participant- “Can we keep [note of] their name and place?... ‘I am on work, I am on government's work. We are supporting poor people like you,’ like that they came and asked. We told about our shortages. To write down they asked about our place, asked our name. They wrote and went.

mentioned that nearby grocery shop owners allow them to buy items on credit, *“They give [credit]. In the shop, [and in the] bakery they give.”* (FG_CS). However, shop owners do not extend this help to all MCW, *“One more thing is they will not give [credit] for everyone... They will see and give... ‘Oh, this person is a mesthri. This person works under that mesthri. They will live here only. We can give them.’ like that they will see and give.”* (FG_CS).

As mentioned earlier, in one of the informal settlements, two individuals whose affiliation the female MCW/family members did not know, helped them to open bank accounts. Another group of individuals visited the settlement on Sundays to provide tutorials to the children and give them snacks and soaps. Some people celebrate their birthdays by providing food to MCW’ children, *“If someone’s birthday is there, for the birthday celebrations instead of doing it there [in their houses], they give the children [of MCW] food.”* (CSO_CC). In some apartment complexes, the residents gather used items, which they donate to CSO, *“they [residents] organize [a program] every year. On that day [they donate] old clothes, toys, books, things like that... They call us that time.”* (CSO_CC). Certain home owners let MCW, in small construction sites, to continue living in a small room in the constructed house in exchange for domestic work.

In relation to individual acts, CSO representatives expressed mixed opinions. One CSO representative mentioned that residents of apartments providing material support can help CSO overcome funding issues to an extent, *“even if builders give 60 percent [of cost of running a daycare center], we will be able to manage with that. Residents should at least do that, even if they do not give [us] money, if they give in kind [that will be helpful].”* (CSO_CC). However, the items that the residents give should be usable, *“But [they should give] items that can be used. Some people give [items], which are so ugly. Just to donate something, they give. Not like that.”* (CSO_CC). Another CSO representative spoke about the need for individuals to make financial

contributions instead of celebrating birthdays with MCW' children, *"when it comes to cash.... he does not feel the same as donating [items]. When he gives biscuits [to the children] and the child eats, he feels something... the same ten rupees if he gives in liquid [money] or as cash, for him there is not so much happiness."* (CSO_CO).

12.4 CSO support

As described in the earlier sections, CSO are involved in advocacy, collective organizing, direct provision of services as well as facilitating access to existing services (Table 18). The activities listed in Table 18 include that of CSO included in the study and that of CSO, which participants referred to. Advocacy is targeted at the officials of the KCWWB, the Women and Child Development Department, the Labour Department, the Health Department, and the Education Department. The other activities involve MCW in informal settlements and company sites, which leaves out MCW in small construction sites. In implementing their programs, CSO partner with local/state government, developers, contractors, other CSO, and other organizations providing specific services such as healthcare.

Considering that CSO work with stakeholders, I present information on the perceptions that they hold about CSO. Female MCW/family members, in the sites where the CSO worked, expressed positive opinions about CSO, as mentioned in earlier sections. The construction sector representatives had mixed perceptions about CSO. They mentioned that CSO do not focus on MCW' essential needs, *"But I've not seen in a good way that they come and help you [MCW] [to] get your basic necessities. All that I have not seen."* (CS_Cont1). In talking about the reasons why CSO do not provide essential needs, a developer mentioned, *"See, even an NGO to run they need*

money. NGO is not somebody who is a saint to sacrifice everything in life... So, they also need their oils to be, wheels to be oiled. So that being the case, there is not much money in this for them. So, they are also not much in this line except [for] running some mobile creches⁸⁴ and these type of things.” (CS_Dev1). According to this developer, since CSO need money for operating, “But there's a cost involved in that NGO. They have to operate it. So that means there is some leakage of revenue, either officially or unofficially.” (CS_Dev1). This resulted in the perception that CSO work for their own benefit rather than that of MCW, “On the organized sector being challenged by, by [the] non-organized sector... what is their interest in them?” (CS_Dev1).

Table 18 Activities of CSO working with MCW

Direct service provision	Facilitating access	Collective organizing	Advocacy
Childcare	Healthcare	Union membership	Advocacy with the Labour Department, the Women and Child Development Department, and the Education Department
Healthcare	Education	Workers’ collectives	
Education	Opening of bank accounts	Self-help groups	
Legal aid	Registration with KCWWB		
Skill development			
Recreation			
Awareness on various topics			
Financial literacy			
Design of accommodations			

The construction sector representatives also spoke about CSO threatening developers and contractors, “is it a matter of some indirect threat that is being pushed, because it is [seen that] for every right NGO there are four wrong NGOs. That’s a problem. Even a normal local level,

⁸⁴ Refers to daycare centers.

political goondas⁸⁵ are able to take call themselves a NGO.” (CS_Dev1). In relation, a CSO representative spoke about this perception of threat being valid, *“So, still as I understand many of the NGOs they, they work as activism. So, there is a fear in the contractors that we may make them [MCW] into unions, asking for rights, and then that impairs [or] brings down the project.” (CSO_Des).* However, other CSO representatives mentioned that such fears on part of the construction sector are unfounded, *“Maybe they [builders] have [such a perception], I don't know. It's a wrong myth. We are not there to... create any problem to anyone” (CSO_Adv).* I provide additional details on this perception of threat and fear on the part of developers and contractors, while presenting findings on existing partnerships in the subsequent section.

However, not all construction sector representatives had a negative perception about CSO. Even the participants who shared negative perceptions, acknowledged the role of CSO in potential partnerships for improving MCW' lives, as described in section fourteen. Participants from other stakeholder groups spoke about CSO in the context of services delivery and the need for continued engagement, *“organization F, organization G, and those kind of people are working [with those living in informal settlements]... so many times... it [project] will be on paper, the reality will be is different... And maybe I [should] say this, it is it should not profit oriented at all.” (LG_HD).*

12.5 Support from the construction sector

Depending on the setting, MCW receive support from the construction sector to varying extents and in varying forms. As described in sections seven and ten, most of the construction

⁸⁵ Goonda refers to a thug or a hooligan

sector does not follow rules and regulations in place to protect MCW, highlighting the need for more work on MCW's rights. In addition, the construction sector does not play an active role in registering MCW with the KCWWB, limiting social protection available to MCW. The contracting system allows the stakeholders within the construction sector to pass responsibility from one-another.

In general participants across stakeholder groups expressed that the construction sector does not care about MCW, *"All that is there, but to be very honest, nobody is bothered. As of what I feel nobody is bothered. Nobody is bothered to do anything for the labor[er]s."* (CS_Cont1) and that profit is the motive. Speaking about the reasons why the construction sector does not do much for MCW an independent contractor spoke about lack of regulations, *"Yeah, the very fact that it's not mandatory... It's the line, 'Not mandatory.' So, if it is mandatory, then you will do something. Or you may do something cosmetic... There's so many other things to worry about. You'll suddenly need, [you realize] that you need 10 people, 20 people [at the site]."* (CS_IC1).

Irrespective of the setting, MCW received support from the construction sector during instances of accidents and injuries to varying extents. Another aspect common to all settings related to the financial support, in form of monetary advances, that MCW received from the contractors and the intermediaries. In speaking about advances, a contractor mentioned about losses but did not focus on the situations that MCW face, *"Every year I also lose a lot of money because as soon as labor comes, they say, 'Advance chahiye.'⁸⁶ I don't know him; I have not seen him. These [workers] come through some reference but I can't catch him right? I can't."* (CS_Cont1). Similarly, an independent contractor mentioned that any money lost through advances is considered charity, *"But what we do is sometimes we will be giving advance money*

⁸⁶ Hindi word for need.

and all that it's recovered. And ultimately, there's always a portion, which we don't recover or we let go. So, we feel that we have done our bit by giving them a little free money.” (CS_IC1).

In company sites, MCW might receive additional provisions beyond accommodations and basic amenities, which in many instances the existing regulations require, *“apart from that many a time the labor welfare measures - their health benefits, their education for children, their nutritional benefit - are addressed by at least some of the large conglomerates and some of the developers who could afford to [do such things] are doing it.” (CS_Dev1).* The quality of basic amenities and accommodations varies by site depending on the developer and the contractor involved. Few developers and contractors have started working with a CSO involved in designing accommodations for MCW. Some developers and contractors engage CSO for conducting health camps and running daycare centers. CSO utilize the opportunity of working with MCW to provide additional services mentioned above. Larger contractors also operate skill development programs at the construction sites. However, this is not the case with all developers and contractors, *“See, apart from paying the labor cess⁸⁷ and taking care of them [MCW] when they are at the site. Then we don't [do] anything apart from that.” (CS_Dev3).*

The developers and contractors engaging CSO for running daycare centers do not cover the complete cost of running these centers, *“Forty percent we [the organization] mobilize, 60 percent the builder gives.” (CSO_CC).* As a result, CSO must raise funds but find it difficult to do so, *“‘Now, for constructing one building they [the developers] earn a lot, why can't they spend for their labor[er]s, workers' children?’ they [potential funders] tell like that [when we ask for funds]... But from the side of the builder nothing comes, [and] we are also unable to mobilize funds [completely].” (CSO_CC).* A CSO representative mentioned that while the construction

⁸⁷ Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

sector can run centers on their own in the absence of CSO, they choose not to. Similarly, in speaking about opportunities for partnership the Health Department's representative mentioned, *"they [the developers] should at least provide one vehicle [to the MCW]. Anyway, the bigger CREDAI⁸⁸ definitely has no dearth of money."* (LG_HD).

The developers and the contractors choose to provide various amenities to MCW for different reasons including company policies, as mentioned in section ten, and better productivity, *"So, definitely because see the healthy worker gives them [the developers] the healthy production shop. So ultimately, it's, it's a benefit for both. They [MCW] are also healthy; we also get a better productivity."* (CS_Dev1). As such, *"Their [the construction sector's] thinking is only to extract the work from them [MCW]. You know, so that's what their whole concentration is."* (CSO_Adv).

Larger developers and contractors, as the corporate law mandates, run various programs for utilizing their corporate social responsibility funds, *"See what happens, the CSR⁸⁹ eligible companies are very limited in the construction sector. The large conglomerates like company G, and company H and company I and. Of course, here you take company J and company K they are in that space certainly."* (CS_Dev1). Some developers and contractors utilize these funds on certain focus areas, *"See they have developed over a period [of time], some of the focus area is... They will say health or education. They are diverting that [the funds] onto that scope of work actually or some of them take other NGOs to help them with their end result of addressing the need."* (CS_Dev1). Others utilize the funds for implementing programs in nearby communities and for addressing MCW's needs, *"we engage across the board. So, you know, today it might be [the] workers. Tomorrow, it might be the community where we are building in... where we find an*

⁸⁸ Acronym for Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India.

⁸⁹ Acronym for Corporate Social Responsibility.

opportunity where we are able to make a, a noticeable and visible change is, I think, where we like to focus our efforts.” (CS_Dev2).

Contractors utilize these funds, mainly, for community development or infrastructure projects, *“like [where] our site is located, if there are some schools then we’ll, we are providing them school bags for children. Then we are providing, constructing them one, if the toilets are not there, we are [doing] constructing projects for them.” (CS_Cont1).* This difference in activities between developers and contractors emerges because, *“You are supposed to do because the, the contractors hire the laborers. [So], you are supposed to take care of them. So, [the] labor laws kick in and all. But if it is a developer, he has to do for his employees. Whatever he does for his construction projects, is a CSR⁹⁰.” (CSO_Des).*

CSO representatives mentioned that developers can utilize the corporate social responsibility funds in a better manner, *“There is a lot of tokenism, or maybe greening also. So, the money can go into their own company or they would spend on a one day-one day outing. You know this. That is what I mean by tokenism, which everybody likes. But, but I also feel that if that money can come into their own laborers, their own [workers] that two percentage or four percentage [of profits] or whatever. [In] each one of the projects if they better their [MCW] living conditions.” (CSO_Des).* A developer agreed to this by mentioning, *“Yeah, yeah. Plenty of scope. Plenty of scope. Definitely. Because ultimately, they are the one who will [be] earning your bread and butter. Nothing wrong in that.” (CS_Dev1).* While talking about corporate social responsibility, a CSO representative commented that companies often do not spend to the extent they are supposed to, *“If [anyone has a profit of] 100 crores⁹¹ [rupees], for example, [they] have*

⁹⁰ Acronym for Corporate Social Responsibility.

⁹¹ One crore is equivalent to 10 million rupees.

to give two crores [rupees for corporate social responsibility]. Two crores he must give to the society... Will they do it? If he has actually spent two crore rupees then whoever is living there will not be poor afterwards [laughs].” (CSO_CO).

In informal settlements the role of the construction sector in supporting MCW is minimal since MCW live away from the construction sites and shift between worksites. A CSO representative, working with MCW in informal settlements, shared about corporates supporting them through funding and resources, *“In terms of corporates, also we have people who come in and [do things]. For example, our third center, that is about two-three kilometers from here, is sponsored by corporate L. They've set it up as well as they are taking care of running costs for a year... and then we have organizations that bring their employees. For example, corporate M came in and did an employee engagement activity in [the daycare center] with the children. So, that's in terms of like working with corporates. We are trying to do more of that, more of those as well.” (CSO_DC).*

In small construction sites, intermediaries play an important role in supporting MCW. As described earlier, MCW in small construction sites have limited social capital and they depend on the intermediaries for support. As described in earlier sections, intermediaries support MCW in various ways including helping them identify stores for purchasing rations, admitting children to schools, identifying rented accommodation, healthcare, and opening of bank accounts. In addition, intermediaries help MCW in other ways including providing them vehicles when needed, *“Then if they need vehicle from our side, we will get them a vehicle that day itself.” (CS_Mes2).* However, intermediaries do not help all MCW working under them, *“If they [MCW] are good [we help them]... [We help] those who have worked [under us] for many years.” (CS_Mes2).* The instances of harassment that the participants in the small construction sites shared illustrates that not all

intermediaries are supportive (Box 9). In addition, female MCW face sexual harassment at construction sites with intermediaries as the perpetrators.

12.6 Support from the local/state government

As described in earlier sections, MCW do not receive any direct support from the local/state government. According to a CSO representative the reason for this relates to the government viewing migration as a negative phenomenon and the belief that providing services to MCW will only encourage further migration (Box 14). Another CSO respondent mentioned that the existence of CSO providing services points to the failure of the government, *“[After getting] independence now almost 70-80 years are over, how much? 72 [years]... After so many years if one NGO is working for one person, then what is [the] government doing? Because the government is not doing [things] correctly there is involvement of NGOs, that’s it... So, if NGOs are there, they [the government officials] do not think government’s valuation will become lower”* (CSO_CO). At the same time, according to this representative, it is not possible to blame the government, *“if they [the officials] come from labor office, they are not [responsible] only for the construction workers. Domestic [workers] will be there, then [work related to] giving out licenses will be there. It is not possible for that one person to do so much work.”* (CSO_CO).

Even the mandatory rules and regulations meant to protect MCW are not being implemented because of the Labour Department’s inability to enforce them due to reasons discussed in earlier sections including shortage of staff. Inspections and ensuring compliance are, often, limited to large construction sites. In relation, the construction sector representatives spoke about the Labour Department officials harassing them, *“Harass in the sense like, ‘Oh, you’ve not*

mentioned this labor is working with you. Come on. Come to the office. Or you come to [the] site, we'll settle it.' All that thing happens. So, because these people are all the time roaming around, they see one construction site, they go in, 'Oh you have five labor[er]s, you have seven labors, you have 50 labors. Come on, where are their documents?' All that. They do that." (CS_Cont1). As mentioned in earlier sections, the construction sector representatives spoke about the need for simplifying labor laws and making compliance easier. On the other hand, CSO representatives spoke the poor implementation of existing rules and regulations and the need for strengthening them.

Box 14 Reasons for lack of response from the local/state government

"There is so much of migration happening [in a] city like Bangalore, you know, from across the country, but there is no exclusive department who looks into the migration issues. There is no such thing. So, what they feel, the government feel that the migration is a part and parcel of the development, people will come in search of livelihood, they work and they will go back. So, the state, if [the] state start providing services to the migrant community, then we are encouraging more and more migrants to come. So, that's what [is] the mindset of the government authorities whenever we discussed [with them]. So, they say that. I think also another reason is that the government itself is not able to provide all the services to the [people] who are living [for] more than 30-40 years in Bangalore. So, then the question of delivering services to the migrant is too far away." (CSO_Adv).

The only support that MCW receive from the local/state government is through the initiatives and programs of specific departments in increasing access to services. While these programs and initiatives exist, participants across stakeholder groups spoke about the issues with access to services. While registering with the KCWWB increases social protection and opens up opportunities for skill development the lack of information about the programs prevents MCW from benefitting. Only the female MCW/family members in the company site and informal settlement where a CSO works knew about the KCWWB. In one of the small construction sites where the intermediary did not pay the participant's family wages, the family hoped to receive the KCWWB's support in receiving their pending wages. Though they wanted to register, the lack of

information prevented them from registering with the KCWWB. As mentioned in section eleven, the lack of information about the KCWWB and its programs extends beyond MCW to the developers and the contractors.

12.7 Summary

MCW need various resources to deal with the issues they face while living in Bengaluru. Not all MCW have equal access to resources with variations by setting. MCW in informal settlements and company sites have more social capital than those in small construction sites due to the number of workers living together. In informal settlements, MCW have more opportunities to become members of unions and the likelihood of union membership increases with duration of stay in Bengaluru. This also translates into MCW in informal settlements having the opportunity to take leadership roles through workers' collectives when compare to other settings. In small construction sites, intermediaries act as the gatekeepers for union membership. Union membership facilitates registration with the KCWWB and provides support to MCW in instances of wage disputes. In the absence of union or CSO support, MCW cannot register with the KCWWB due to delays and corruption. The construction sector representatives as well as some CSO representatives expressed negative opinions about unions. Other than unions, individuals help MCW in various ways; as with other resources MCW in informal settlements are more likely to receive such help. CSO help MCW by providing services, facilitating access to services, collective organizing, and advocacy. Of these, the first two extend both to informal settlements and company sites whereas collective organizing is limited to informal settlements. As such, most CSO activities are directed towards service delivery rather than empowering MCW. Representatives from the construction

sector and the local/state government shared mixed perceptions about CSO while acknowledging the role of CSO in improving MCW' lives.

The construction sector, in general, does not go beyond providing accommodations and basic amenities to MCW, the quality of which differs by site. Few developers and contractors partner with CSO in providing additional services to MCW, some of which existing laws mandate. In small construction sites intermediaries act as a resource for MCW. CSO and the local/state government representatives mentioned that the construction sector does not support MCW adequately. The local/state government do not have any special initiatives for MCW other than those intended to increase access to services. Specific to rules and regulations in place to protect MCW, the construction sector representatives felt a need easing them whereas the CSO representatives wanted better implementation. Registration with KCWWB is limited to MCW in informal settlements and company sites, especially, where CSO and unions are active. Considering that the resources that MCW have access through various stakeholders involve partnerships, in the section I focus on existing partnerships in Bengaluru and the perceptions regarding them.

13.0 Existing Partnerships in Bengaluru

Considering the focus of this dissertation, in this chapter, I present findings related to existing partnerships. In the theoretical framework, I defined partnerships as a diverse group of stakeholders working together to identify creative solutions to issues and decreasing disparities that a population group faces. However, in the context of this chapter, a partnership refers to different stakeholder groups or different organizations within a stakeholder group working together temporarily irrespective of whether the focus is on decreasing disparities. Initially, I present findings related to existing partnerships and then focus on the perceptions and experiences of those involved since partnerships do not exist in a void. Wherever appropriate, I use network diagrams to illustrate findings related to the existing partnerships.

13.1 Existing partnerships in relation to service delivery

Partnerships exist between the stakeholders included in the study to varying extents. These partnerships, mainly, relate to service delivery to migrant construction workers (MCW) and their family members. To summarize the partnerships I described while presenting findings in earlier sections, I created Figures 3, 4, and 5. Figure 3 depicts all existing partnerships between the stakeholder groups irrespective of who initiated the partnership and for what issue. Civil society organizations (CSO) have the largest extent of partnerships in terms of stakeholder groups involved. The partnerships of CSO go beyond the construction sector and the local/state

government to involve private healthcare institutions and other institutions such as banks and law firms.

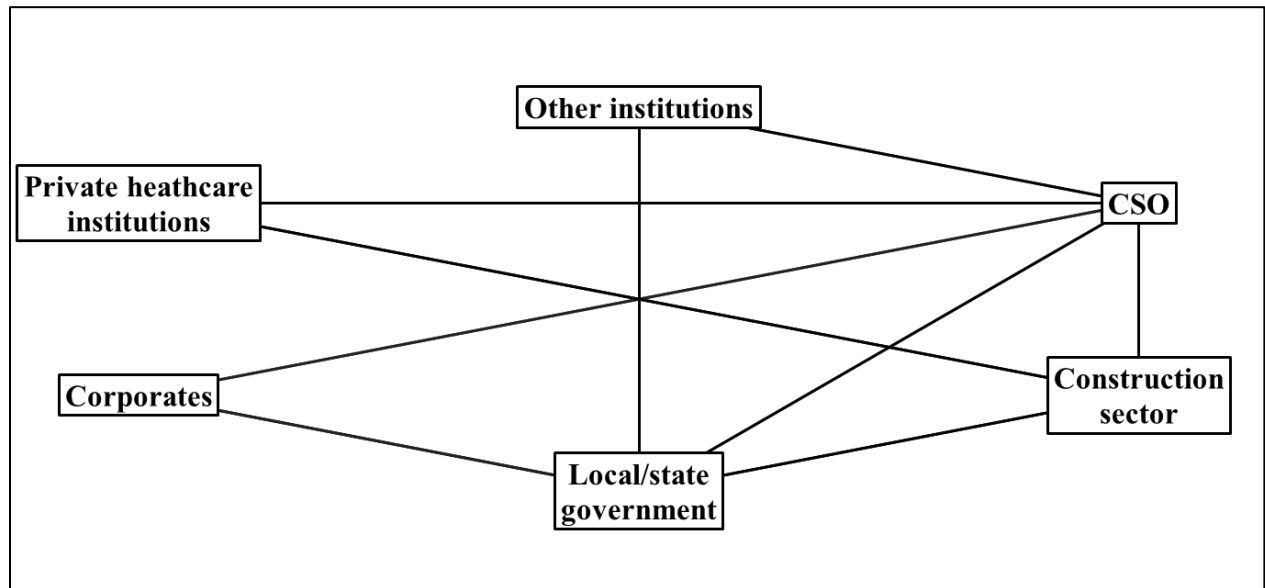


Figure 3 Existing partnerships between stakeholder groups

Considering that one of the partners, most often, initiates the partnerships, in Figure 4, I depict the directionality of initiation. In comparison to Figure 3, I have separated the various local/state government departments to provide context. Certain stakeholders such as private healthcare and other institutions are passive in that they only partner when others approach them, which the absence of arrows leading away from the nodes representing these stakeholder groups indicates in Figure 4. In contrast, CSO initiate partnerships as well as partner with other stakeholders when approached, which I indicated through the arrows leading to and away from the node representing CSO.

CSO are the only stakeholder group that partner with all stakeholder groups because they provide a variety of services, *“but in this case, organization N is not doing alone, but we are collaborating with other agencies... So, we are facilitating to see that these things happen... Yeah, definitely we partner with [the] Construction Welfare Board, the Labour Department and the*

Education Department.” (CSO_Adv). In addition, partnerships also exist between CSO in the context of service delivery or facilitating access to services. However, it is essential to note that not all partnerships are equal; the partnerships vary in their reach and in ability to improve MCW’ lives. Since partnerships exist either for delivering services or for facilitating access, for each of services that I discussed in the earlier sections, I present information on who partners with whom and in what context. Figure 5 depicts the existing partnerships in relation to service delivery.

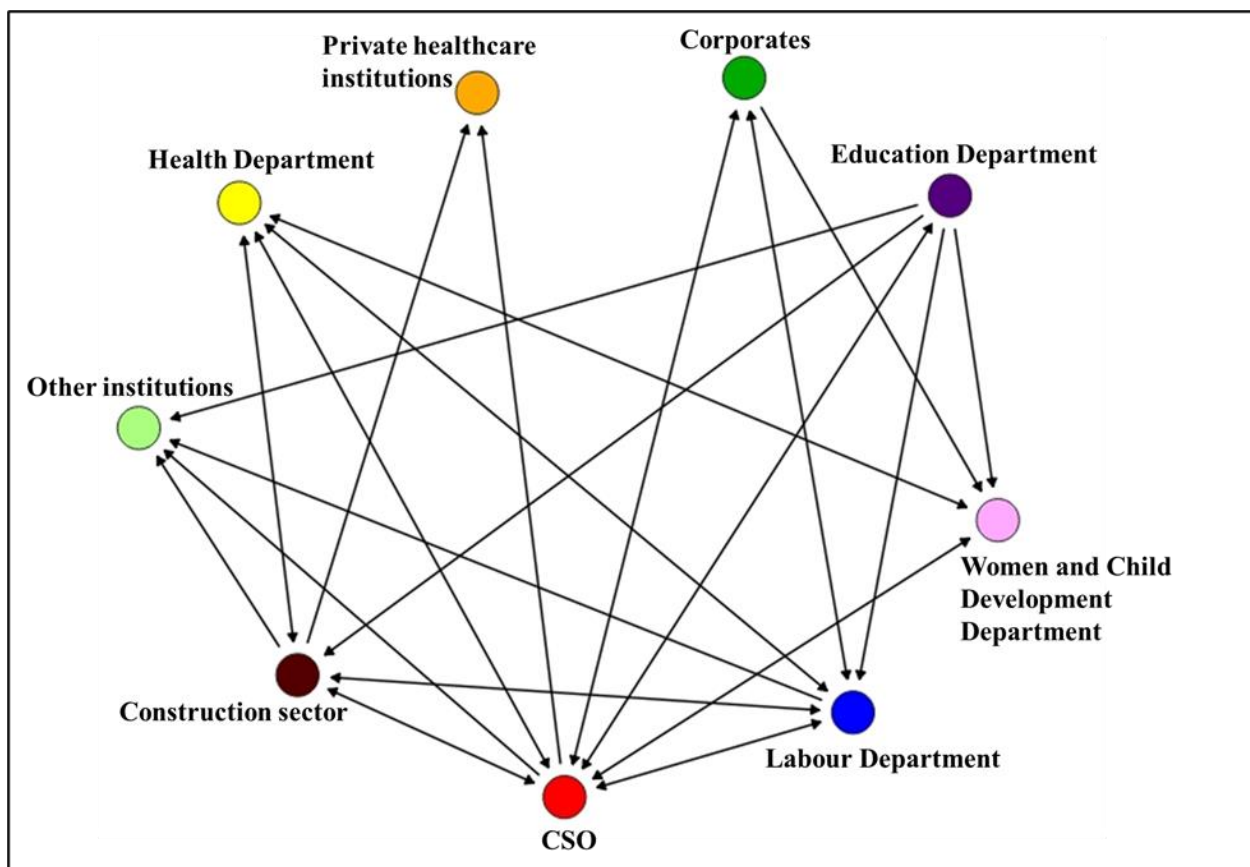


Figure 4 Partnerships between stakeholders with directionality - arrows emerging from the stakeholders indicate with whom they initiate partnerships

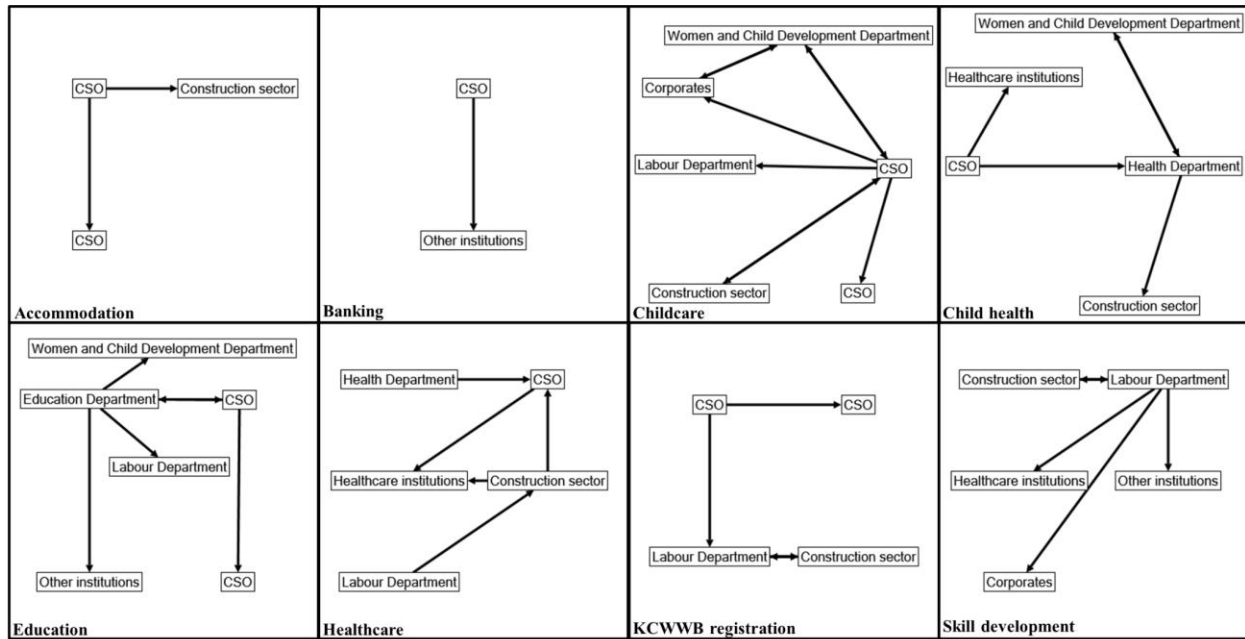


Figure 5 Existing partnerships in relation to services- arrows emerging from the stakeholders indicate with whom they initiate partnerships

13.1.1 Accommodations

For designing accommodations for MCW, the CSO involved in this activity approaches the developers and the contractors to partner with the construction sector, “*We approach [the contractors]... And many times, we use word of mouth.*” (CSO_Des). Other than designing the accommodations this CSO partners with another CSO for providing additional services, “*So, that is our role. But we partner with organizations who work with laborers themselves... So, we have a partnership with organization N, which is doing good. And they are [expansion of acronym of the CSO]. And their focus is on migrant workers.*” (CSO_Des). This partner CSO then works with other organizations in delivering various services, “*Like formally I partner with organization N. Then organization N gets NIMHANS⁹² to run say mental health programs or tobacco de-addiction*

⁹² Acronym for National Institute of Mental Health and Neuro-Sciences.

programs or any kind [of] alcoholism [de-addiction programs]. And then, they [the CSO] depending on which location, they try and partner with government organizations to do the health check-ups or with some other organizations.” (CSO_Des).

13.1.2 Banking

The CSO involved in improving financial literacy and increasing access to banking, previously partnered with banks to provide MCW information on opening and operating of bank accounts, *“bank people come [and tell MCW], ‘To open account you need [these] documents, it is immediate. ATM card will be there, with an ATM card you can do all this. How many transactions are free. ATM to ATM like this you can transfer [money].’” (CSO_Ser).* At present, staff from the CSO itself provide the information to MCW, *“Earlier we used to tell people from the bank to come [and] speak about financial literacy... Later on, we only [started] meaning inhouse resource person is there [who provides the information to MCW].” (CSO_Ser).*

13.1.3 Childcare

In relation to childcare, many partnerships exist. As mentioned in the section eleven, CSO partner with certain developers and contractors to open daycare centers at company sites. At times, the developers or the contractors might also approach CSO to open daycare centers at construction sites, *“We have done that long back because some of the developers approached us to, in terms of, running preschool for their [workers] at [the] site.” (CSO_Adv).* The Labour Department recently began partnering with two CSO in Bengaluru to open 20 daycare centers, which are not linked to construction sites and are near informal settlements.

While not specific to MCW, the Women and Child Development Department has existing partnerships at the level of the *anganwadis* to facilitate service delivery. The construction sector is involved in rehabilitating existing *anganwadis*, *“In fact, many developers along with other NGOs, like organization O have restored [a] lot of anganwadis. To my knowledge, almost 500 anganwadis were restored in the last two years... organization O and some of the developers have contributed [funds] for it. Other than that organization P itself has done it.” (CS_Dev1)*. In addition, various corporates partner with the Women and Child Development Department for corporate social responsibility initiatives, *“Corporates also help in the running of anganwadis by providing corporate social responsibility funds for infrastructure and other activities including early childhood care and development [programs].” (SG_WCD)*. CSO work with *anganwadis* on various aspects, *“NGOs help in running of anganwadis by coordinating with different departments, bringing doctors, providing facilities, distributing uniforms, and by involving the Health Department and school teachers.” (SG_WCD)*.

The CSO involved in running a daycare center for MCW in informal settlements partners with another CSO for providing meals to the children, *“Organization Q is a, is a school. [It] is an NGO that, works, has a school for underprivileged children. They have a big food program as well. So, it is called X food program... we bring the food from them. So, yes, that's another NGO that we work with.” (CSO_DC)*. As described in the section twelve, this CSO also partnered with a corporate as through its corporate social responsibility initiative.

13.1.4 Education

To bring out-of-school children back to schools, the Education Department works with other stakeholders in various ways. As described in the section eleven, the Education Department

invites CSO and other stakeholders to participate in surveys to identify such children. The Education Department also partners with CSO for operating bridge schools, which facilitate mainstreaming of out-of-school children, *“In case more than 10 migrant children are present in a specific area, then there is a provision to run a tent school for them. NGOs are running seven such tent schools in the Bangalore South Education District.”* (SG_ED1).

13.1.5 Healthcare

For increasing access to healthcare, CSO partner with the construction sector to conduct health camps. Since CSO themselves do not have the capability they in turn partner with healthcare institutions, *“For example, we are partnering with eye hospital M and [for] a lot of other health camp [we partnered with] dental college B... So, these are all [the services for which] we don't have a resources, but we collaborate with others who have got these facilities and through them we are implementing these programs.”* (CSO_Adv). This extends to obtaining resource material from other organizations, *“other organizations meaning they have their material. Now when it comes to health, [for example], HIV/AIDS, organization R is one such organization. They are working purely on those issues... We got it [the material] [from them] and are using it.”* (CSO_Ser).

Some developers and contractors directly partner with healthcare institutions for conducting the health camps, *“We did another healthcare program where they [the hospital] came and actually did a complete check-up for all the workers at site. Then we did a dental care program. Then we did a program on mental health. So, we had someone come in and provide a talk to all the workers at [the] site.”* (CS_Dev2). Apart from this, the Labour Department conducts

health awareness programs at certain construction sites by partnering with large contractors as described in the section eleven.

13.1.6 Child health

With respect to child health, partnerships exist in the context of growth monitoring and immunizations. As described in section eleven, CSO involved in running of daycare centers partner with various organizations including nearby public healthcare facilities, individual healthcare providers, and academic institutions for conducting health check-ups for the children. In addition, the Health Department organizes health check-ups at the *anganwadis* but with limited utility, *“The Health Department often informs the anganwadi⁹³ workers at the last minute about doctor visits because of which the anganwadi workers are unable to mobilize the parents to bring their children [to the anganwadi]. Even if the doctor comes, only children with illness come to the anganwadi and routine health check-ups are not done.” (SG_WCD).*

The Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation’s Health Department has various partnerships in relation to the pulse polio immunization campaigns. The Health Department partners with the construction sector through Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India-Bengaluru to gain access to construction sites, *“Only during like [the] pulse polio [campaign]. We do these national immunization days. This time it is on 19 January. We call the CREDAI⁹⁴ people [and] they help us out.” (LG_HD).* The Women and Child Development

⁹³ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

⁹⁴ Acronym for Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India.

Department organizes the Urban Health and Nutrition days in collaboration with the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation's Health Department, *"The anganwadis also host four meetings each month including three mothers' meetings and one UHND.⁹⁵ In addition, the Health Department also conducts its programs through the anganwadi. The mother's meetings are intended to create awareness about the services available through the anganwadi."* (SG_WCD).

13.1.7 Registering with the Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB)

For registering MCW with the KCWWB, CSO partner with unions to get the registration forms signed. Certain large contractors might invite the Labour Department to facilitate the registration of MCW at the construction sites, *"And they [the Labour Department] support us with [the] [registration] camp... You know, some amount is required for the preparation of card, that we pay. Our company pays."* (CS_Cont2). CSO invite the Labour Department officials to conduct awareness programs about the KCWWB, *"next month we are doing a big [meeting], about labor laws. Like a mass meeting, getting 250 to 300 members [MCW] together in one place. For that [meeting], the Labor Officer is coming. So, to talk about wages dispute [and] labor laws, he is coming."* (CSO_CO). When such meetings are held the Labour Department officials in turn might invite other government officials, *"The Labour Officer [and] the Labour Inspector, they only mobilized the Magistrate. They only are bringing one judge [to the meeting]... it is our responsibility to bring construction workers in one place. To give them one session it is their [the Labour Department's] responsibility"* (CSO_CO).

⁹⁵ Acronym for Urban Health and Nutrition Day.

13.1.8 Skill development and upgradation⁹⁶

For skill development and upgradation various partnerships exist. The KCWWB partners with the construction sector for conducting skill upgradation trainings, *“The Board has existing partnerships with BAI⁹⁷, CREDAI⁹⁸, and CTST⁹⁹ in conducting the trainings along with other corporates. The BAI provides evaluators for the training.”* (SG_KCWWB2). Since these trainings involve health related aspects, the KCWWB also partners with other organizations, *“In delivering the skill upgradation trainings, the Board partners with CREDAI, BAI, bankers, yoga teachers, unions, and also with companies associated with the construction industry.”* (SG_KCWWB2).

Other than construction related trainings, the KCWWB organizes trainings for dependents of construction workers, *“The Board also conducts trainings for dependents on STP¹⁰⁰, ETP¹⁰¹ through partnering with NGOs and corporate social responsibility wings of companies.”* (SG_KCWWB2). Certain large contractors’ partner with the Construction Skill Development Council of India for conducting skill development programs, *“We have signed a MOU with [the] government, CSDCI - Construction Skill Development Council of India... For skill development, we are, we have a tie up [with them] and they are supporting us. They are training our assessors. And as per their norms, our assessors are doing this training part for the workers’ skill certification.”* (CS_Cont2).

⁹⁶ Used in Indian English as an equivalent to upgrading. I am using this word since study participants used it.

⁹⁷ Builders Association of India

⁹⁸ Acronym for Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India⁸⁸.

⁹⁹ Acronym of Construction Skills Training Institute.

¹⁰⁰ Acronym of Sewage treatment plant.

¹⁰¹ Acronym of Effluent treatment plant.

13.1.9 Other partnerships

Apart from the partnerships mentioned above, CSO partner with other organizations for areas in which they do not have expertise such as labor laws and safety trainings, *“then we do another program on labor laws. What all labor laws exist about that. For that inhouse we do not have expertise. So, for that we invite lawyers.”* (CSO_Ser) and *“Similarly, for safety training... we know four to five safety managers [whom we invite]”* (CSO_CO). In conducting these programs CSO might partner with individuals or organizations, *“It depends, it can be individuals or groups [whom we partner with]”* (CSO_CO).

While a CSO network exists, it is presently focusing only on the rights of MCW’ children, *“Now, with organization C, they have started a forum. There was a meeting recently, which I attended. We are a member in that. There is collaboration between NGOs... That meeting was conducted [to discuss] about migrant children.”* (CSO_CC). However, not all CSO having programs related to MCW’ children participate in this network.

13.2 Perceptions about existing partnerships

Study participants expressed varied perceptions about the above-described partnerships. I initially present findings related to the initiation of partnerships followed by factors affecting the functioning of partnerships, and finally the sustainability of partnerships. The majority of the findings in this section come from CSO representatives since CSO, usually, take the lead in establishing partnerships with other stakeholders. Considering that CSO included in the study follow different strategies in engaging with other stakeholders, not all participants share the

perceptions highlighted below. In addition, the CSO representatives' perceptions vary based on their individual experiences.

13.2.1 CSO and the construction sector/corporates

Not in all instances the prospect of a partnership leads to two stakeholders working together. For example, a CSO representative spoke about the attempts their organization made to work with the construction sector, *“So, we've tried to reach out. Like recently, somebody, not recently, almost for a year now we have been talking to this person who said, ‘Let me connect you to someone I know in the CREDAI¹⁰², you know, let's see what we can do.’ Then some other friend's friend says, ‘Oh, okay, okay, I know this builder let me see what we can do’”* (CSO_DC). However, not all opportunities lead to a partnership, *“So, we have sent out proposals like that [to developers] and try to see if we could do something... But we haven't started anything yet.”* (CSO_DC).

CSO representatives mentioned about the challenges in working with the construction sector. A CSO representative shared about the challenges their organization faced when they wanted to run childcare centers at construction sites in during the 1990's, *“builders also were not letting us to enter inside the sites when we just started [our work]... they [the builders] used to close the gates, the watchman was not letting us in.”* (CSO_CC). The situation, however, changed overtime and they established the daycare centers, *“Then day by day, day by day, our rapport with the builders became better... for [running] the daycare center, once the first floor was constructed, they used to give a room somewhere on that floor... They were not constructing and giving [us] a separate daycare center at that time”* (CSO_CC). Eventually, various

¹⁰² Acronym for Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India.

developers started supporting this CSO in running the daycare centers, *“Till 1997-98 it was like that. Then developer R, a builder is there [in Bengaluru]. When we collaborated with them, they provided a separate daycare center and many facilities to the children. From then on we started collaborating [with other developers].”* (CSO_CC). This support also included developers increasing the financial contributions for running the daycare centers, *“Till then we were doing it for free, builders were not giving anything. After that we started sending proposals to them and started asking how much they can pay. They started with 30 percent then it became 40 percent. Even now they are giving only 60 percent [of the costs].”* (CSO_CC).

In relation, some CSO representatives spoke about the construction sector’s fear regarding CSO that prevents them from working together, *“NGO means they [the developers and the contractors] have a fear.”* (CSO_Ser). According to CSO representatives, the construction sector feels that issues related to MCW could to the fore if CSO start interacting with MCW, *“if people from NGO come, then this media [will also enter]. What is happening, what is not happening, they [the media] will tell bad things about us. Everyone will come to know. What is happening here, should remain here itself, it should not go to that side. People who think like that will be there. They will not give us entry.”* (CSO_Ser). As a result, many developers and contractors do not want to interact with CSO, *“[The developers and the contractors think], “Why do we need problems? If needed we can solve problems [on our own] but if NGOs enter, if they create problems, we cannot solve them”... Because they know that this [particular] NGO is working for the rights [of MCW]. They have a fear that these people will make the workers stand against us.”* (CSO_Ser)

Other CSO representatives mentioned that the construction sector’s fears and wariness are unwarranted, *“If they [the builders] have such an understanding, I think it's the wrong [perception]. We are not there to create problems to anybody.”* (CSO_Adv). In many situations

the fears relate to MCW being empowered; as a result, CSO often limit the extent to which they discuss about rights at company sites, *“But here the rights question is little difficult because they [the builders] are asking [us for] certain service delivery, okay? Mainly they want us to engage ourselves with these workers... So, there the rights question is very minimal [laughs].”* (CSO_Adv). However, even with such restrictions, this CSO representative mentioned that in case they come across any human rights violation they are bound to report it, *“Of course, if there is a human rights violation, definitely, we, we have to take up that issue. I can’t be a silent spectator to the such violations.”* (CSO_Adv). In contrast, as described in the earlier sections, CSO organize collectives in informal settlements that work on MCW’ rights.

When asked about this perception of fear or wariness, a construction sector representative mentioned if norms are followed the fears are unfounded, *“As far as our organization is concerned NGOs are supporting us, you know like, supporting... and, you know like, this fear factor we don't have... We have a system, we are following the system as I told you, we are providing as per norms and accommodations also and what the benefits are required at site. Other organization, it could be a problem, as I told.”* (CS_Cont2). At the same time this representative expressed a concern regarding unions, *“As you said that, fear factor would be the [inaudible] because the unions and all they should not create the problems at sites.”* (CS_Cont2).

Under such circumstances the willingness of the construction sector to work with CSO becomes crucial in establishing partnerships, *“What we feel is that as long as a developer is a open minded. So, because he's not going to lose anything, even if I talk about the rights. I say that the developer, ‘please ensure all your workers are get registered themselves in [the] Construction Welfare Board so that they can access to this welfare schemes.’ You know, so if the developer is open mind, and you want us to help in this process, we are very open to do. Absolutely no problem”*

(CSO_Adv). The developers' and contractors' perception that they have the inhouse capacity to provide the same services as CSO, often, prevents them from engaging CSO, *"For my first project I had to follow for three years to establish a need for them [the contractor]. They said, "There is no need. Why do you want [to do this work]? We can manage. What is [in] a design which is [different from] what [our] architects will do here?" (CSO_Des).*

The initiation of partnerships between CSO and the construction sector depends on several factors. While some developers and contractors might approach CSO, especially for running of childcare centers, mostly, CSO that approaches the construction sector. Depending on the CSO, they might approach either the developer or the contractor, *"No, we do not directly go to the contractor, we go to the builder. First, he must give permission to us, allow us. First [we go to] the builder. After that, he only communicate with certain person who, who is the concerned person, who is concerned department, they only allocate [to us]."* (CSO_CO). When CSO approach the developers and the contractors, the ability to relay the importance of the service they provide becomes crucial.

A CSO representative mentioned about using health camps to gain access to MCW, *"[We tell them], 'We conduct health camps like this... actually health camp means there are benefits for the builder then there are benefits for the workers also.' ... When we tell health camps they will not tell no, immediately. They will tell, "conduct [the health camp]"(CSO_Ser).* According to this representative the opposition to health camps is less because, *"when it comes to diseases like filaria[sis] from one person others can also get it... because they [the staff of developers and contractors] also are in the same place, [they will think], 'Tomorrow it might affect me.' With that fear they support [us]. For health camp no problem happens, that is our entry point."* (CSO_Ser). After gaining entry the CSO starts conducting other programs, *"All literacy program*

we conduct.” (CSO_Ser). In instances where the developer or the contractor is already organizing health camps, the CSO staff mention about the other programs they conduct, “apart from the health camp, if we talk about other programs, in case they [the developers or the contractors] are interested they will call [us], if not they will not call.” (CSO_Ser).

Once a partnership is initiated, if the leadership of the developers and the contractors gets involved then CSO can implement their programs more easily, *“if the top management mandates and they are very particular and involved then the [lower] management level people [follow their instructions]. So, we address the Vice Presidents, the General Managers” (CSO_Des).* In absence of such support from the leadership, CSO face barriers in implementing their programs, *“If the MD¹⁰³ is not involved how much ever I address them [the staff] because it is not a part of their KRA they don't take it seriously... So, they [the leadership] should say that, ‘You know you have to do it or else. We are spending money on these people [the CSO]. You will have to ensure that you work with them.’” (CSO_Des).*

Issues related to organizing programs can affect the functioning of a partnership. For example, organizations that approach CSO to conduct programs in informal settlements might face difficulties due to lack of infrastructure, *“But initially the logistics problem, space constraints, where to conduct [the programs], you know how to conduct [the programs]... sometimes the vehicle can't come there, you know [laughs]. So, those are those kind of small, small issues [laughs] but of course we handle them. They [the organizations] also understand if we are doing a, such a camp to the migrant community, so these facilities are not there.” (CSO_Adv).*

CSO’ ability to deliver outcomes can affect partnerships. CSO might not be able to deliver results, which the construction sector wants, *“The specific challenges is that the*

¹⁰³ Stands for Managing Director.

developers expect results, okay? ... we should be able to [achieve] whatever deliverables are there. We have to deliver [the results]. We have to show the impact, we have to show the result [s].” (CSO_Adv). CSOs face many challenges in achieving the deliverables, “when we are working with human beings, we are not working in a chemical laboratory, where you will mix this and this and this will be the outcome. So, when we are working with the human beings, there are slow process.” (CSO_Adv). These challenges relate to language barriers among other factors, “And especially this kind of people, there’s a language problem, they have come from a very far away [place], and they have certain restrictive things. So, we have to bring them out of all those things and make them to do [the behavioral change]. So, it’s a challenging job.” (CSO_Adv).

The construction sector’s financial support for programs also affects the extent to which CSOs can provide services, “Then in 2008, recession started, right? From then on it [the funding] became less. Daycare centers started becoming less. Builders were not giving this, they were not giving any financial contribution” (CSO_CC). Similarly, when corporates approach CSOs for implementing corporate social responsibility projects, there is no guarantee that the funding will continue, “Unfortunately, they [the corporate] can’t continue because they are only going to do IT related social work projects.” (CSO_DC). The requirements for receiving corporate social responsibility funds also affects the extent to which CSOs can partner with corporates, “Also, because with CSRs¹⁰⁴ they [the corporates] require you to be in existence for three years before you can, you know, even apply to be one of their projects... Another thing is that a lot of these bigger companies, even though the money is coming from their Indian budget, they want you to have FCRA.¹⁰⁵ FCRA is what’s required to get foreign donations.” (CSO_DC).

¹⁰⁴ Acronym for Corporate Social Responsibility.

¹⁰⁵ Acronym for Foreign Contributions Regulatory Act, which governs CSOs receiving funds from other countries.

As described earlier, the journey of a CSO providing childcare involved incremental changes. Another CSO representative, similarly, spoke about asking the construction sector for incremental changes leading to better results, *“We are saying, ‘Okay, you are spending this much money just give a window.’ Then once they give the window we say, ‘Why don’t you give a chajja¹⁰⁶ or a projection.’ Once that happens [we say], ‘Why don’t you give this kind of a gas or whatever or smokeless chulla,¹⁰⁷ for example.’ So, when they spend 800 rupees, we ask them to spend 4000-5000 rupees. And when they see the change happening [they agree].”* (CSO_Des).

In response to the construction sector viewing CSO as a threat, CSO opt different pathways. As mentioned earlier, some do not focus on labor laws in their programs with MCW conducted in company sites, *“We do not do [programs] on labor laws... Reason means now we are empowering workers. Labor laws is like that. [You will tell the workers], ‘These are your rights. Your wage is your right. It is your right to receive the money you have earned.’ So, if we will do [all] this, they [the developers and the contractors] do not like it... [The builders think], ‘Now labor law, as soon as law comes up, about union they can tell, some other union is forming a union [of MCW] elsewhere. [What] if a union forms [here] tomorrow?’ The company people, no one likes unions.”* (CSO_CO).

When I asked about the CSO not discussing rights with MCW due to the restrictions the construction sector places, the representative responded that speaking about labor laws will lead to MCW losing access to the other services and programs the CSO offers, *“No need. The relationship will go bad. If our relationship gets spoilt then we can go to other sites. But for the workers who are there [in that site], they [the developers and the contractors] will not empower*

¹⁰⁶ Hindi word for balcony.

¹⁰⁷ Hindi word for stove.

them. They will not help them. If I must leave for telling that one thing, then we cannot reach our objectives to so many people, is it not? Thinking like that what we do is, that one topic we hide it... because of that one topic that site goes away from us. More than the site, the workers in that site become distanced from us.” (CSO_CO). To deal with this, as described in section ten, staff from this CSO use their rapport with the staff of contractors to bring wage disputes to their notice.

Other CSO work with the leadership of the developers and the contractors to bring about a culture of change within their organizations so that they start recognizing the need for providing better amenities to MCW, *“we try and make them [the contractors] see the need for humane living conditions. And we do that by conducting workshops and engaging them on a monthly basis. So, we would be talking about what is human rights is all about, then we would talk about what does the law say. And we leave at that, we do not moralize. And we just bring in more and more awareness. And then we find out how many times do the people who are involved in the projects visit the construction laborers. They don’t. Then we facilitate something” (CSO_Des).* According to this representative such an approach leads to better results than highlighting issues as an activist, *“So, we go for more peaceful route. We are not activists. We are peaceful activists if there can term for that... So, that is why I'm saying that if we are able to work with them, synergize their goals with ours... We will work towards that rather than fighting for rights on an activist [mode].” (CSO_Des).*

The same representative speaking about the role of organizational change in ensuring the sustainability of programs that CSO initiate mentioned, *“And for that we have to engage them [the leadership of developers and contractors] in workshops and try them, try to make them own solutions which come in. Because that is the way we feel that true change can happen.” (CSO_Des).* When such change happens the developers and the contractors adopt guidelines

related to design of accommodations, “[We will work] till they [the developers and the contractors] have made it some guidelines and all that. And we call it internally fading into irrelevance. So, we want to make them make the change. [We] want to make them own the whole solution and then it becomes an internal thing and they take it forward... So, typically it takes around three years to make that happen.” (CSO_Des). However, in absence of involvement of the leadership, “it does not trickle down to the other members of the project groups inside the same company.” (CSO_Des).

13.2.2 Local/state government and other stakeholders

A CSO representative mentioned that when they partner with the local/state government, they feel that they are only helping the departments carry out their responsibilities, “*I alone cannot do it or the department, one department cannot do this much work. [The department officials think], ‘If are NGOs working, if they are helping, they are mobilizing people and giving us the details.’ We leave them to do the final approval... They have the power to decide whether to make a card or not. So, we are cooperating, that’s it.*” (CSO_CO). In working with CSO, the officials of various government departments mentioned the need for continued collaboration, “*But it should be on a regular basis, not just... It should be a continuous partnership program.*” (LG_HD).

Others spoke about CSO taking the credit for the work that the government departments perform, “*In involving NGOs there are issues because NGOs are good at documentation; as a result, they are able to project their work while the Integrated Child Development Services is unable to. This leads to complaints that the government is not doing its work when in reality the anganwadi worker would have done as much as work as the NGO staff.*” (SG_WCD). Similar to partnerships with CSO, the Health Department’s representative mentioned the need for a

continuous partnership with the construction sector that goes beyond polio immunizations, *“that [the partnership] should continue into the routine [immunization] activity also.”* (LG_HD).

13.2.3 Interdepartmental coordination

The local/state government representatives spoke about the lack of coordination between the various departments, *“Inter-department coordination is highly needed.”* (LG_HD). While the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation’s Health Department works with the Women and Child Development Department for program implementation, no data sharing takes place, *“At least we can match whether the Health Department data and that [the Women and Child Development Department] data is correct or not. The Labour Department data everything is interconnected. Because I give one figure, you give one figure, the other one gives one figure. There is no single data.”* (LG_HD). This lack of data sharing extends to other departments, *“There is no data sharing mechanism between the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation and the Women and Child Development Department about location of construction sites.”* (SG_WCD). In relation, the Health Department’s representative mentioned that other departments directly engaging MCW need to demand the Health Department for services, *“They [other departments] should ask or demand, ‘You’re not coming here, you’re not giving services we require.’... That also should be there.”* (LG_HD).

Considering that MCW face issues that span across departments the absence of a coordinated response can result in each department passing on the responsibility to the other departments, *“When it comes to health, a Health Inspector will come. The Health Inspector will explain about hygiene, he will explain about personal hygiene. If these [MCW] people ask anything about the labor card, he will tell, ‘It’s not coming under me, our department.’ Labour*

Officers will come, they will speak only about the labor card benefits, if asked about hygiene they will tell, 'It's not [my department].'' (CSO_CO). This lack of coordination also affects CSO since they are forced to go to different departments for facilitating access to services, "Now, an officer can tell, 'I do not know about it... there is a different department for that.' [Or] they might tell, 'I know that person [from the other department] well.'" (CSO_CO).

13.3 Summary

Various partnerships exist between and within the stakeholder groups included in the study in the context of service delivery to MCW. CSO have the largest number of existing partnerships with stakeholder groups included in the study and beyond. Existing partnerships vary in terms of the stakeholder group initiating the partnership and the service involved. Certain services such as healthcare and childcare involve more wider partnerships when compared to other services. Perceptions regarding the existing partnerships include difficulties that CSO face in working with the construction sector, issues affecting the functioning of partnerships between CSO and the construction sector, and the sustainability of partnerships. The construction sector representatives spoke about being wary of CSO and unions whereas the local/state government representatives spoke about the need for interdepartmental coordination and continued partnerships. In response to the construction sector's wariness, CSO do not focus on MCW's rights in company sites. Further, certain CSO representatives mentioned the need for stepping away from activism and focusing on convergence of goals with the construction sector. As a result, MCW's empowerment might take a backseat and the focus of partnerships remains exclusive to service delivery. Building on these findings, in the next section, I present findings related to potential partnership in Bengaluru.

14.0 Potential partnerships in Bengaluru

In this section, I present findings related to potential partnerships based on data collected from the representatives of civil society organizations (CSO), the construction sector, and the local/state government. I begin by reporting participant responses on who they think should be included in the partnerships. I then detail partnership avenues followed by presenting findings related to the issues that can affect the formation and functioning of partnerships. I end the section detailing an updated the theoretical framework and summarizing the findings. Considering the iterative nature of the study, the findings presented here include unprompted responses about potential partnerships and participant responses after I presented information on a partnership avenue based on previous interviews.

14.1 Stakeholders in partnerships

Participants spoke about the stakeholders who they felt should be included in partnerships. Along with speaking about whom to include in partnerships, participants also spoke about the reasons for including them. Initially, I describe the reasons why participants wanted to include or not include a stakeholder group within partnerships but not specific to any partnership avenue. When presenting findings related to partnership avenues, I highlight the stakeholder groups whom participants felt were appropriate for each partnership avenue. I define a partnership avenue as an issue that stakeholders can address by working together and identifying creative solutions.

My theoretical framework posits that the local/state government, the construction sector,

and CSO can partner with each other to develop innovative solutions with migrant construction workers (MCW) being central to the partnerships. In line with the theoretical framework, most participants mentioned that CSO, the construction sector, and the government should be a part of partnerships, *“Partnership must be done because the developer cannot do everything, the government cannot do everything, the NGOs cannot do everything. These three are like the three points in a triangle. When interlinked, it will help the workers, it will help the developers too, it will help the government too.”* (CSO_Ser). Participants also spoke about involving stakeholders groups other than those included in the framework, *“I think even private institutions [should be included], you know, colleges, [and] hospitals. Basically, institutions anyway concerned with the social aspects of life [should be included].”* (CS_Dev2).

This extends to involving the local elected representatives and corporates, *“This [partnerships] can be supported by NGOs, elected representatives, and CSR¹⁰⁸ activities. Unless the local leaders get involved it is difficult to reach out to migrant workers.”* (SG_WCD). In relation, a CSO representative mentioned about the responsibility of individuals in the community, *“So, I think it is important not just for organizations to, you know, take up the mandate but also for individuals to just see, you know, within my capacity, what can I do? To be sensitive to that.”* (CSO_DC).

The construction sector representatives not only wanted the local/state government to be involved but also to take the lead in establishing partnerships for various reasons including the government’s responsibility for ensuring MCW’ welfare, *“So, I think any kind of partnership for this [the welfare of MCW] would be the government only because nobody else is going to put money from their pocket and partner with me for a labor[er’s] benefit. For anyone’s benefit, for*

¹⁰⁸ Acronym for Corporate Social Responsibility.

that matter. So, I think government is only one who can take up something like this.” (CS_Cont1).

Supporting this view, other construction sector representatives spoke about the ability of the government to overcome barriers, *“See, if government takes the initiative and [is] calling the bodies of associations like us, it should not be a problem. If we try to do that there will be always a vested [interest] - local, political, or social nature - trying to bring in some religious favor or a political clout.” (CS_Dev1).* CSO representatives spoke about the power differentials between various stakeholders and the ability of the government to overcome these, *“[The] government should take lead because there is a lot of difference between developer power, NGO power, and worker power. No one can fight with the government; they will not fight also.” (CSO_Ser).*

With respect to partnering with the government, participants gave varied responses depending on partnership priorities and previous experience of working with the local/state government. For example, CSO representatives already working with various government departments spoke about the need for involving all departments in partnerships, *“partnership with multiple departments is important because we work in all areas... Because we do all that [the programs], for us all departments are part of the government... Without their support, it will be difficult for us to do even a single thing. We cannot do it. Their [the departments’] support is needed, partnership with them is a must.” (CSO_Ser).* Whereas CSO representatives not working, at present, with the local/state government gave more broader answers without specifying any particular department, *“So, I mean, one is the government, right? I mean, in the end, we are a country where the government, the mandate is to take care of the people.” (CSO_DC).*

CSO and the local/state government representatives spoke about involving the construction sector since various stakeholders within the construction sector employ MCW, *“But of course, as always there will be only one leader and I think it [the construction sector] should be the one*

because they [MCW] are their people, the laborers report to them. If they [the developers and the contractors] take the ownership and pride and leadership, we are all there to support and guide and all [that].” (CSO_Des). According to CSO representatives, since it is the legal responsibility of the contractors to register the workers with the Karnataka Construction and Other Building Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB), they need to be involved in partnerships, *“If they [the contractors] register them [MCW], their life will become better, is it not?” (CSO_Ser).*

While speaking about the reasons for involving CSO in partnerships, participants mentioned, *“The [Labour] Department cannot do any work directly, at any time. They do things via channels. Let them support us, we will do the outreach for them.” (CSO_CC).* CSO’ expertise in providing various services to MCW also makes them essential to partnerships, *“if the department can come forward and [if the] state [government] can come forward, we are willing to support maximum extent, whatever [is needed] for the welfare of the migrant community.” (CSO_Adv).* The other role that CSO can take up relates to mediating between the local/state government and the construction sector for establishing partnerships, *“So, NGO can play mediator between us [the developers] and the government.” (CS_Dev3).*

Only a few participants spoke about including MCW in partnerships without probing, *“In the partnership, the department should be one side, the developer[s] should be on the other side, workers should be part of it. And NGO or such like minded people will be there, right? So, NGOs should be part of it. NGO, worker, developer plus government. These four people should be in the partnership.” (CSO_Ser).* Other participants spoke about MCW’ role in partnerships only after I specifically asked them about it. Both the construction sector and CSO representatives spoke about MCW contributing to partnerships by showing interest and participating programs that might be offered, *“By having an open mind. I feel that the, that’s the, [inaudible] is the crux of implementing*

something successful or not” (CS_Dev2). They also mentioned the need for including MCW so that there is greater buy-in, “Yeah, maybe because they’ll [MCW will] have their friends and relatives spread round, all round over the city... So, surely if in one place if something is known, I’m sure that word will go around to so many [more] people.” (CS_IC1).

Based on the experience of MCW not wanting to register with the KCWWB, a CSO representative spoke about the contributions of other stakeholders becoming moot in the absence of interest from MCW, *“If they [MCW] must be well, if they have to get all the facilities then the contributions of these three [stakeholders] is really important. If those receiving the contributions are not interested, then whom to contribute to? (CSO_Ser). Such involvement of MCW is also needed to prevent them from becoming dependent on CSO, “They [MCW] should not see that we are, you know, the NGOs are there... It is not about that. Everybody has to do [their part].” (CSO_Des). In this context, creating opportunities for MCW to take ownership of initiatives is essential so that they can identify interventions that are appropriate for them, “if they [MCW] can feel the ownership in that [the partnership]. Otherwise, we [are] just doing something [on the] outside. And which may be appropriate to them or not, we don’t know. So, if they are part of the decision making, definitely, their voices can be heard... they will suggest, you know, what is applicable to them, appropriate to them.” (CSO_Adv).*

While the theoretical framework did not consider partnerships within stakeholder groups, participants emphasized the need for it. This extended to CSO, the construction sector as well as the local/state government. While I detail these intra-stakeholder partnerships along with the partnership avenues, a common theme that emerged relates to intrastakeholder partnerships leading to better service delivery to MCW. With respect to CSO, the need for partnership between CSO arises so that they can complement each others’ work. Partnerships between the various

divisions or teams within the developers and the contractors are needed to ensure that solutions are implemented across projects and become sustainable. Data sharing between the various local/state government departments can ensure that services of all departments reach MCW.

Participants whose responses did not match the theoretical framework spoke about involving only specific stakeholder groups and not others. For example, the CSO representative involved in designing accommodations for MCW mentioned that the government should be involved, in the partnership, only if it is a funder of a project, *“See, if it is a government run project. Yes, they are like the investors. So, they are putting the money, then they should take part of it [the partnership].”* (CSO_Des). Some construction sector representatives did not want the involvement of the government due to fear of harassment, as described later.

14.2 Partnership avenues and pathways

Representatives from CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government identified various partnership avenues. Some of these avenues relate to the issues the female MCW/family members identified whereas others relate to the issues that the representatives from other stakeholder groups wanted to address. For each avenue, I describe the partnership pathway, i.e., the process by which a partnership can be established for addressing the specific issue. I then highlight the stakeholder contributions for each partnership avenue. Some of the avenues are implied, in the sense, participants spoke about them in a context other than partnerships. CSO and the construction sector representatives also spoke about the partnership avenues that require priority while talking about the various avenues.

As a precursor to partnerships, a CSO representative brought up the issue of lack of connections between CSO that work with MCW and need for establishing a networking platform, *“So, there could be umbrella organizations trying to bring different NGOs together... I mean the need is huge and there are NGOs working in isolation, right? However much we have the intention of wanting to partner just the, the lack of the ecosystem to connect [prevents us doing so], right?”* (CSO_DC). According to this representative the platform, which helps to connect CSO with each other, can serve multiple functions including identifying areas for collaboration, *“So, I think this kind of networking platforms to connect with other organizations to know how to, to see where we can complement [each other].”* (CSO_DC). These linkages can also extend to CSO working in various places of origin. A CSO representative spoke about the collaboration that existed between their office in Bengaluru and their field sites in North Karnataka to support those migrating to Bengaluru, *“At that time in our organization what thought came up?... our workers they come from there [the place of origin] to here... Linkage will be there for us [to reach them]. That was our main objective.”* (CSO_CC).

14.2.1 Childcare

CSO representatives spoke about expanding access to childcare wherein the KCWWB partners with the Women and Child Development Department to fund daycare centers, *“You [the KCWWB] collaborate with the DWCD, [the] Department of Woman and Child Development, who are running [the] anganwadis. So, you collaborate with them and you give this money [the KCWWB funds], part of it and ask them to run exclusively anganwadis for construction workers.”* (CSO_Adv). The construction sector can contribute by providing space for running these centers,

“builders can help in building a small hall, whatever it is, so that the anganwadis can run for the construction workers.” (CSO_Adv).

According to them, involving CSO and the Women and Child Development Department will help to overcome the issue of the KCWWB lacking expertise, *“They [the officials] think that [the] Construction Welfare Board [does] not have enough knowledge and resources and expertise to run preschool... So, they can collaborate [with] whoever has got [the] expertise and who can deliver services. Definitely it can be done.” (CSO_Adv).* The Women and Child Development Department can partner with CSO in identifying areas that require *anganwadis* due to lack of access to childcare, *“[We tell the Women and Child Development Department], ‘Right now, there is no anganwadis [in this area]. Government anganwadi¹⁰⁹ has not yet come [here].’ But preliminar[il]y we are running [a daycare center] on our own, so whenever they are ready, we like to hand it over to them.” (CSO_Adv).*

Since MCW in small construction sites do not have access to childcare, an independent contractor spoke about partnerships to run daycare centers at small construction sites, *“suppose you’re working in some locality, even if in your site you have space, if someone comes and says, ‘See, not only kids from your site, from neighboring site [s] even another 10 [kids] will come. Will [you] give us one shed to run ¹¹⁰creche or school kind of a thing.’ I think we can do it, we’ll willingly do it.” (CS_ICI).* A service provider rather than the independent contractors needs to initiate this partnership, *“The only thing is we may not hunt around and do it ourselves, by*

¹⁰⁹ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

¹¹⁰ Refers to daycare centers.

ourselves. If you come up with a proposal, I'm sure we'll do it." (CS_IC1). According to this independent contractor, CSO are a better fit for partnering than the government, *"I think an NGO is a safe bet because anything governmental is always viewed a little more warily by anyone."* (CS_IC1).

14.2.2 Designing accommodations for MCW

The CSO representative involved in designing accommodations for MCW spoke about the need for partnerships between the various divisions of developers and contractors, *"When I say developers right now, I'm working with only one or two teams. The safety team and the projects team at the most."* (CSO_Des). These extensions can involve the sales team, for example, so that the developer can incorporate the cost of providing better accommodations to MCW into the sale price, *"the sales team says [to the buyers], you know, 'give 25 paise per square foot to take care of the requirements [of the MCW], it's just a small thing.'"* (CSO_Des). Beyond this, the marketing team can promote the provision of better conditions to MCW to the buyers of apartments, *"We are taking care of our laborers.' if the marketing team says that... And then the owner feels that, 'Oh, I have been responsible for thousand laborers.' Each one feels that. It's all the teams."* (CSO_Des).

In addition, the design team available with the developers or the contractors themselves can design accommodations with inputs from this CSO, *"The design team in a developer will also [take part]. Like you are in charge of designing your 27-acre land, you design your one and a half acres [where MCW stay]. The guy who's in charge of the plumbing, [the] engineer, [the] consultant will take care of this [accommodations for MCW]."* (CSO_Des). In essence, the pathway for designing accommodations, begins and ends with the developer or the contractor

involving various teams and hierarchies, *“Similarly, within the contractors if you see, right from the CEO team or the management team, to the projects team, to the safety team, to the BOQ¹¹¹, the estimation guys are very important [for the partnership]”* (CSO_Des). When the partnership between the various divisions gets established, CSO can facilitate the implementation of the policies in place to ensure better living conditions for MCW, *“Then comes the implementation and there are huge challenges during implementation. So, you do need focus on the project... Now you have a blueprint, whether the blueprint is [being followed?] ... I think they [the developers and the contractors] need guidance to set up a system which works.”* (CSO_Des).

As such, the construction sector is primarily responsible for providing accommodation to MCW in company sites and therefore its contribution is important. Based on previous experience, this CSO representative mentioned that MCW can contribute to the partnership by taking up responsibility for the accommodation once provided, *“They [MCW] can be more involved in the housing around them, they can be more involved in the cleanliness around them... we think that cleanliness is not important [for MCW], they accept the situation... Yesterday I was there. They said, ‘never before in our work experience, have we been provided such clean [accommodations].’ The word cleanliness came from them. So, they can be involved more.”* (CSO_Des).

14.2.3 Dialogue between the construction sector and the Labour Department

One developer brought up the need for dialogue in the context of the Labour Department working with the construction sector for updating the existing laws and making the implementation of rules easier, *“First to take the Association on board, on a policy making [platform] itself.*

¹¹¹ BOQ stands for Bill of Quantities, which refers to the itemized cost of materials and labor for a project.

Address the need of the existing laws... How it can be [made] user friendly? [How can] it becomes useful to the labor at the same time implementable?... These dialogues will take care of the setting up of next process.” (CS_Dev1). According to this developer there is a need for the Labour Department to proactively involve the construction sector rather than waiting for the sector to bring up issues, *“Today there is no dialogue. We go with the issues, they [the Labour Department] come with [the] answers... The government comes out with policies and framework. Moment the thought [of new policies] comes itself, we should be part of such a thought and [they should] say that, ‘There is the policy we want to do [implement].’” (CS_Dev1).*

According to this developer, involving the construction sector will lead to better compliance with the rules and regulations, *“So, we need to make rules simple to follow, rules simple to interpret, [and] rules simple to administer. Then, you know, everybody will follow. Today the complication is the matter of the game, everything is complicated.” (CS_Dev1).* In addition, setting up such mechanisms for dialogue will enable the construction sector and the Labour Department to communicate with each other, *“Make us understand our role. Similarly, you understand your role. And within that framework setup the process of dialogue, it will lead to fantastic opportunity for growth.” (CSO_Dev1).*

14.2.4 Education

In bringing out-of-school children of MCW back into schools, CSO representatives spoke about the ways in which they can partner with the Education Department. CSO want to be involved in discussions at the level of the schools so that they can advocate for MCW’ children, *“‘For this child, it is like this. You support the child.’ that we will tell [the school authorities]. Such conversation, linkages and then discussions are not happening. If it happens that child will get*

educated.” (CSO_Ser). The Education Department representatives mainly spoke about the need for collaboration with other local/state government departments and the construction sector, mainly, for identifying and enrolling out-of-school children. The Education Department representatives mentioned that data sharing with other departments will help them in their work, “The Health Department can help the Education Department in tracking out-of-school children by sharing data about the children they identify during their surveys.” (SG_ED2).

The Women and Child Development Department and the Education Department can collaborate to ensure that every child who is enrolled in an *anganwadi* then enrolls in a school at the age of six, *“The Department of Education can coordinate with the Integrated Child Development Services so that whenever a child joins an anganwadi, he or she can be tracked to check whether that child has joined a school at six years of age. This can be done using the parents’ AADHAAR card.” (SG_ED2).* The Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation can share details of locations of construction sites so that the Education Department officials can visit these sites, *“At present there is no sharing of data with other departments such as the Planning Department of the BBMP¹¹² to identify construction sites. It is a good idea to involve and obtain data from them to identify construction sites.” (SG_ED1).* The construction sector can get involved in the surveys to identify out-of-school children, *“As of now, other stakeholders, such as builders, contractors or mesthris are not involved in the surveys or in identifying the out-of-school children.” (SG_ED2).*

¹¹² Acronym of *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike* which in Kannada means Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.

14.2.5 Fundraising

CSO representatives spoke about fundraising both in the context of partnerships and otherwise. They mentioned about the KCWWB partnering with CSO through providing funds, which will enable CSO to cover the gap emerging from the difference in the cost of running the daycare centers and the funding that the developers provide, *“The KCWWB should be main partner because they have so much of the cess¹¹³ funds... Now, wherever we are running daycare centers, for that at least they can support us... Builders are giving us some [funds], the remaining [funds] if they [the KCWWB] can give us [that will be helpful].”* (CSO_CC). CSO also want to partner with the KCWWB to receive funds to run skill development programs for MCW’ children, *“For that [skill development] if they give funds, we can open training centers without any trouble. We can give training to the children. [If that happens] then the construction workers’ children need not go into construction work, they can adapt [pick-up] a different skill, is it not? Like that it [a partnership] can be done.”* (CSO_CC).

As mentioned in the section thirteen, CSO representatives also spoke about individuals providing CSO funds directly rather than celebrating birthdays with MCW. The representatives did not mention the amount these individuals spend on the celebrations. CSO representatives wanted to utilize any funds that individuals can give on projects related to childcare and creating infrastructure for MCW in informal settlements, for which there is no funding at present. In utilizing the funds for such projects, MCW in informal settlements can also contribute monetarily, *“we don’t want chocolate, biscuits or clothes. [We] don’t want. Give me some liquid cash... in at least one year how much ever [money] comes, using all that [we can do something]... In addition*

¹¹³ Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

to that, whoever is living in the labor colony, if they give 50 percent [of the cost], [and] if these people put in 50 percent, everyone can join and build toilets.” (CSO_CO). CSO representatives also spoke about corporate funding and the opportunities available through corporate social responsibility funding as an avenue for partnership.

14.2.6 Health

In relation to health, participants spoke about different avenues for partnership. As discussed in section thirteen, the Health Department’s representative wanted increased and sustained partnerships with CSO as well as the construction sector. According to this representative, such partnerships are needed to improve the coverage of immunizations and antenatal care among MCW. This representative also spoke about the need for data sharing between various departments of the local/state governments for integrated service delivery, *“they [other departments] should start sharing their data [with us].” (LG_HD).* Providing more details about the interdepartmental coordination local/state government representatives spoke about creating a data sharing system, *“So, if through some common app or common software, [if] these [data sharing] are done” (LG_HD).*

Partnership between the Health Department and other stakeholders can help in highlighting the areas requiring service delivery and identifying the demand for services, *“And if the NGOs can spread [the word about services] and get us the data [on] like what is the demand. When they [MCW] want [the services]? If they really want [services] on a Sunday? ... If the construction [sector] or the Labour Department or the CREDAI¹¹⁴ or whoever it is, the Urban Development*

¹¹⁴ Acronym for Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India.

Department or the NGOs. If they study and find out [if] there is real demand for services on Sunday, we can do that.” (LG_HD).

CSO can help with training the Health Department staff in communicating with MCW, *“if the NGOs can [help us], because they are well versed in communication. And they should talk to them [MCW]. Also, they should talk to our healthcare people also so that our behavior change is also there. It should be both the changes in the recipient and the, the service provider also. I don’t say we are always good. There’s lot lots to learn... the attitude of the ASHA,¹¹⁵ attitude of the ANM¹¹⁶ towards talking [to] them [MCW]” (LG_HD).* Other than these avenues, this representative spoke about the KCWWB utilizing funds available with it for creating awareness and promoting healthy lifestyles, *“The Labour Department has no dearth of money, because they collect cess of so much [percent] from the every constructed buildings. If they can help us out, at least in creating awareness. They [MCW] should understand the importance of health, healthy behavior, healthy lifestyle, they [should] not just [be] seeking the hospital.” (LG_HD).*

The Health Department is also open to partnering with CSO and the Labour Department for conducting health camps and awareness programs, *“If the NGOs and the Labour Department can, [if] they can help. They can coordinate with the Health Department [to] take the information and organize camps or some talks. And if they can invite us or the PHC¹¹⁷ medical officers, we can go deliver [the talk]. So, this also has to happen through [the] public-private-partnerships.” (LG_HD).* Some construction sector representatives similarly spoke about partnering with CSO for conducting health awareness programs, *“they [CSO] should also become partners, you know, with our major organizations. Because as far as they can take care of the health part like*

¹¹⁵ Acronym for Accredited Social Health Activist.

¹¹⁶ Acronym for Auxiliary Nurse Midwives.

¹¹⁷ Acronym for primary health center.

[conducting] awareness programs... they can support us for [conducting] the awareness programs.” (CS_Cont2).

14.2.7 Infrastructure creation

Participants across stakeholder groups brought up creating infrastructure for MCW as a partnership avenue. According to CSO and the construction sector representatives the focus of infrastructure creation should be on affordable housing for MCW in Bengaluru, “*So as soon as we get [the MCW], we know, we are sure that we can give them accommodation and all that. So, that [affordable accommodation] will be a good idea.*” (CS_Cont1). Both CSO and the construction sector representatives spoke about creating affordable housing for MCW as a way of recognizing MCW’ contributions, “*They [MCW] are contributing for the growth of the city, you know, so indirectly or directly they are contributing. Today, Bangalore is like this kind of city or any other city, it is [because of] a contribution of the construction workers, the migrant families, you know. So, the government should recognize that and acknowledge that and do their bit in terms of providing services.*” (CSO_Adv).

CSO and the construction sector representatives wanted housing complexes to be built, utilizing the funds available with the KCWWB, where MCW can reside for the duration of stay in Bengaluru, “*The huge funds are available [with the KCWWB]... For example, Bangalore city has got eight municipal divisions... In every division, if you, if [the] government land can [be] identify. And there [in the government land] if you build apartment kind of thing, housing for the migrant worker. It [the accommodations] can be charged some nominal [rent] amount, where the water facility is there, a toilet facility is there. They [MCW] can live in that*” (CSO_Adv). CSO and the construction sector representatives mentioned that MCW need to pay nominal rent for hiring these

houses, which will they will vacate when they move back to their place of origin, *“people come, they stay there temporarily. As long as they stay there, they will pay the rent, they will use the facilities and once the work is over, they can go back”* (CSO_Adv).

Charging rent becomes essential according to a CSO representative to ensure that the local/state government does not perceive providing housing as giving away land or housing to migrants, *“You [the government] are not giving the land or you are not giving the house. You are just charging them [MCW] some money and they will make use of the space as long as they stay but also you can put a time limit... you are not allowing them to stay permanently there. [It] is not a permanent residence, [it] is only a temporary transit home.”* (CSO_Adv). This perception is important because, as mentioned in the section twelve, the local/state government view migration as a negative phenomenon that must be prevented and believe that creating infrastructure will only result in migrants settling down in Bengaluru.

The representatives from CSO, the construction sector, and the Education Department mentioned that creating such infrastructure will not only help the MCW but also their family members since various services can be provided at these locations, *“Provide them [MCW] the basic infrastructure, you don't have to give [them] a luxurious living, give them the basic facilities. Create creches¹¹⁸ and schools and hospitals nearby.”* (CS_Dev1). In addition, such housing complexes will increase the safety for female MCW/family members and children, *“The women are get protected, the children get protected. So, there is a decent facility to stay.”* (CSO_Adv).

The construction sector and CSO representatives mentioned about partnering with the local/state government in establishing such housing complexes in various ways. The construction sector representatives spoke about making financial contributions, *“[if] I'm in this field for another*

¹¹⁸ Refers to daycare centers.

10 more years, I know, I'll need somewhere, some kind of accommodation. So, I can, we all can contribute [financially] for that.” (CS_Cont1). The developers and the contractors wanted to partner with the government in establishing affordable housing since they stand to benefit from building housing for MCW, *“So when our labor[er]s come, we are very sure that we have a place where they can go and stay.” (CS_Cont1).*

However, not all contractors expressed interested in infrastructure creation, especially, since such housing complexes might be constructed in the city outskirts, *“[the] conveyance part, it becomes a problem... Traffic is too much. If they [MCW] travel morning two hours, evening two hours then it leads to problems.” (CS_Cont2).* An independent contractor mentioned that building affordable housing will only help MCW working in company sites and not MCW in small construction sites due to resources need for transporting workers, *“but it again depending on the scale... what happens is, if they're staying in place X, the work spot is B, then the company is large enough to provide transport to get people back and forth, morning and evening.” (CS_IC1).*

Other than housing, a CSO representative spoke about providing mobile restrooms to MCW in informal settlements, *“So, giving water facility. So, what do they call it? Like mobile restrooms [if made available], at least the people living in the labor colony can use it.” (CSO_CO).* According to this representative, various departments need to get involved since access to toilets is an issue that spans across departments. *“[The issue of lack of toilets] comes under BBMP¹¹⁹, comes under Police [Department], comes under Health Department, comes under the Labour Department, [and] comes under the Human Rights Department.” (CSO_CO).* Similarly, a different CSO representative, involved in running daycare centers for MCW living in informal

¹¹⁹ Acronym of *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike*, which in Kannada means Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.

settlements, spoke about collaborating with other CSO to address the sanitation needs of MCW, *“But we're always looking to connect with other organizations that do, you know, cover other aspects... They [MCW] don't have sanitation... And if somebody connected us to an NGO that would be able to do sanitation... Like I mentioned earlier, you know, and just to come together for sanitation, right?” (CSO_DC).*

14.2.8 National identification cards

The construction sector representatives spoke about creating a national identification number for MCW for various purposes. Initially, a developer brought up this idea in the context of portability of benefits between states. Subsequently, when I asked others about this idea, it went on to become a way of tracking MCW among others, which made me uncomfortable. When one participant made a reference to the National Register of Citizens, I decided to no longer ask the question since I already had gathered sufficient information on what the national identification number would entail.

The National Register of Citizens refers to the process of creating a registry of Indian citizens, first implemented in Assam in 2013-14. While I was collecting data, the Assam state government published the registry, which led to those excluded from the registry no longer being Indian citizens unless they appealed and presented documentation to prove their citizenship. There are plans to extend this process to the entire country. Since I do not support the creation of this registry and felt uncomfortable discussing it, I decided to drop the question. I do not support it due to my beliefs about the concept of nations and citizenship. Beyond this, the obvious harms from the implementation of the National Register of Citizens, including the arrest and deportation of individuals and families makes me take this stand.

The developer who mentioned this idea explained that a national identification number system would entail the construction welfare boards of different states creating a common portal through which MCW can utilize the programs in any state irrespective of where they are registered, *“in the Tinsukia or in Assam you should be able to draw his benefit through a portal which is uniform across the country. Their [MCW] number has to be unique. He can work anywhere. His benefit can be credited. The worker will also benefit because he knows his money is safe anywhere. What is wrong creating such a platform?”* (CS_Dev1). The state governments as well as the national government need to take the lead in establishing the system of national identification cards, *“Somehow the bureaucracy is not allowing such a platform to be created. You have to create that platform so that the workers, you know, get the benefit what they deserve.”* (CS_Dev1).

The contractors spoke about using the number to verify the antecedents of all workers whom they hire, *“so that more than tracking them... The background check will be there.”* (CS_IC1). One contractor mentioned about using the national identification number to track down workers in case they take any advance and do not perform the work, *“They [MCW] come to site take advance... [Next] morning they are not there. So, if something like that happens, yes, we also know that this is the person. He is there somewhere. He goes anywhere also, I can track him.”* (CS_Cont1). This contractor also mentioned an identity card, that all construction workers possess, will enable them to trust the workers, *“from my point of view, I want to know who the labor is, where he is from. So, if I have a track of that, I’ll be more confident of dealing with him. I’ll have much more trust on him. All that. To be frank, for now, I don’t have [trust in the workers].”* (CS_Cont1).

The contractors also spoke about using such a card to verify MCW’ work experience, *“If he has a unique number, you will know whether he has been a mason there. Or he’s been an*

electrical [worker] in one place and a plumber in the other. Things like that. I think that is good” (CS_IC1). In addition, creating such a system will allow MCW to get enrolled into programs such as the Provident Fund and the Employment State Insurance and to avail the benefits irrespective of them changing their place of work, “They [MCW] have to be registered that’s all. The moment he is registered, he goes anywhere it’s like a passbook for him. He can go anywhere and draw his money. In what way it is difficult? It’s something which need to be done in a war footing?” (CS_Dev1).

14.2.9 Registrations with the KCWWB

Speaking about the KCWWB, participants shared ways in which registration can be enhanced through partnerships. Contractors and developers wanted the KCWWB to provide more information about the programs and the registration process, *“if [the Labour] department can take care of people who have come in [to Bengaluru] because... the fund is there but it is not been well utilized. They can hold meetings with builders or promoters, whoever it is. And then tell, ‘This, this [programs] are available.’” (CS_Dev3). According to them in the absence of any outreach they lack information about the programs, “I don’t think so I had gone to the Labour Department [even] once. I don’t think they tried to inform me, also, about that.” (CS_Cont1).*

The outreach can take different forms including meetings where the KCWWB provides developers information on how the cess they pay can benefit the workers, *“They [the Labour Department] can put one seminar or whatever it is once a month or once in three months and tell us [about the programs].” (CS_Dev3). These meetings can also involve the contractors since they are responsible for hiring workers, “And we can bring our contractor also with us. Because if you’re not directly involved also, we can bring our contractor and he’ll also know what are the*

schemes available and what can be utilized [for MCW]. Any other interaction like that would be help[ful].” (CS_Dev3). Since the KCWWB already has information about the developers, conducting such meetings becomes feasible, “See, they [the KWWCB] have all our licenses, they have all our numbers... Because we get notices that [ask], ‘Are you following all this rules and all?’ So, they have all the communication numbers. They can help.” (CS_Dev3).

CSO can act as a facilitator between the construction sector and the KCWWB in conducting the seminars, *“because [the] government is very busy, they can’t organize anything. NGO can organize the seminar about our [inaudible] or whatever it is. And the government can come there and then explain to them [the developers] that we have the money... because we are paying [the] government money, that money has to be utilized.” (CS_Dev3). Developers can transmit any information they receive to others through communication channels they maintain, “In Bangalore we have [a] WhatsApp group. Means we, we [have] formed a Builders Group... there are many organizations [like] CREDAI¹²⁰ and we have our own [association]. We are called S association... So, we about 30-40 builders are there now in our WhatsApp group. So, we share all our information.” (CS_Dev3).*

A CSO representative spoke about the need for developers to work with CSO for providing MCW information about the programs, *“they [the developers] can tell about the government rules to the workers. Developers can find out [about the programs] and allow these people [MCW] [to register]. We can create linkages, we can give awareness, we can support [MCW] for applying to any benefits.” (CSO_Ser).*

Intermediaries, who did not know about the KCWWB, mentioned that they can receive information about the programs through developers and contractors, *“The builder will give [the*

¹²⁰ Acronym for Confederation of Real Estate Developers Association of India.

information] to the contractor. The contractor will tell us, ‘These facilities are there, you can get this.’” (CS_Mes1). After registering the intermediaries wanted to receive information directly on their mobile phones, “It can happen through our mobiles... Through WhatsApp they can send us [the information].” (CS_Mes1). CSO representatives mentioned that to solve the problem of non-renewal of cards, the KCWWB should partner with CSO to ensure that cards do not expire, “renewing all that [the cards]. If through NGOs they [the KCWWB] can get it [the renewal] done, then at least it will come of use for them [MCW]. The [Labour] Department people cannot do everything [on their own].” (CSO_CC). In addition, CSO representatives wanted the KCWWB to involve them in increasing awareness and helping MCW to apply to the programs, “We can apply for benefits for those who are registered, at least we can create awareness.” (CSO_Ser).

Due to KCWWB’s inability to directly engage CSO due to existing rules, a KCWWB representative suggested that CSO staff can be appointed as *Karmika Bandhus*¹²¹ to increase registration of MCW. These *Karmika Bandhus* can be staff at the daycare centers that CSO are establishing in partnership with the KCWWB “One possibility of involving NGOs is appointing *Karmika Bandhus* from the staff of the organization so that they [the staff] can get the workers registered and help them make the claims. This can be done in the 20 daycare centers that the NGOs are establishing.” (SG_KCWWB1). In addition, CSO can increase awareness about the KCWWB among MCW in small construction sites, “NGOs can increase awareness in small construction sites about the Board. Their role at present cannot extend beyond that.” (SG_KCWWB1).

Since the construction sector contributes to the economy and the KCWWB through the cess, a developer spoke about the sector being made a part of decision-making processes, “I am

¹²¹ Workers’ friend in Kannada.

not a cry baby. I am a contributor to the economy. So, I need to be part of the decision-making process... But there is a long way to go as far as the cess¹²² fund [utilization] is concerned.” (CS_Dev1). This developer also spoke about MCW’ contributions to the economy in the context of skill development as described later.

14.2.10 Skill upgradation¹²³ and development

The construction sector representatives brought up skill development and upgradation as a priority area for partnerships. They mentioned that the state government, through the KCWWB, should take the lead in establishing skill development and upgradation centers for MCW, *“the government has to take the first move in providing the place and make it comfortable for us to do it. It has to be run professionally.”* (CS_Dev1). In running these centers, the construction sector representatives wanted the KCWWB to involve the organized construction sector, which refers to the company sites, *“the developer community who are in the organized sector, who are following those rules should be more involved in forming [the] partnership of running centers, which enlist labor[er]s [for training]”* (CS_Dev1). The developers and the contractors wanted to contribute through providing manpower to conduct the trainings and for running these centers, *“Because there are many technical people in colleges also who are waiting to come and spend some time and explain it to them [MCW].”* (CS_Dev3).

The construction sector representatives did not want the state government to run these centers and preferred other mechanisms of operation, *“Allow that to be on a quasi-government*

¹²² Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

¹²³ Used in Indian English as an equivalent to upgrading. I am using this word since study participants used it.

setup or a private-public-partnership” (CS_Dev1). According to them, taking out the government’s role in operating these centers will prevent politics influencing the functioning of the centers, “with controls in place, so it doesn’t become a ground for some political activism or anything. It becomes a center for really addressing the need” (CS_Dev1).

In running these centers, the construction sector and the government can act as the decision-making partners, *“it has to be only the, the community of developers and the government, nothing, nobody else. It should not have any other political flavor to it, then it is better.” (CS_Dev1).* Some construction sector representatives wanted CSO’s involvement in providing services but not in operating the centers, *“with the support of NGO [for the] deliverance of services would be better than taking NGO directly on doing this service.” (CS_Dev1).* According to them CSO can provide various services associated with the running skill development and upgradation centers, *“Placements, then the migratory requirements, their [MCW] hygiene requirements, their [the children’s] schooling requirements, their safety requirements all these can be outsourced through a [NGO].” (CS_Dev1).*

Based on their experiences in other cities, a construction sector representative saw a more substantial role for CSO in running the skill development centers, *“Like, you know, we are helping the workers for their employment. NGOs are taking care of their skill development.” (CS_Cont2).* MCW’s role in a partnership focused on skill development and upgradation includes being interested in the trainings as well being a part of operation of the centers, *“They [MCW] should improve their physical fitness... and they should improve this skill level also... if they improve the skill level, then it’s good for our construction industry. We [will] support them for this skill enhancement and [ensure] that it plays a major role.” (CS_Cont2).*

These centers according to the participants can take different forms including onsite training centers as well as offsite centers where MCW can get trained, *“Like as you know, from the Association we can give onsite training because you need the work centers. So, we can provide that... In fact, many a places we are looking at setting up skill centers of large scale... it can be in the lines of the university itself... It will be interesting for developers to develop such centers because they [MCW] are the source for our productive employ employments.”* (CS_Dev1). However, in establishing these centers the developers and contractors did not want to make any financial contributions, *“We can take up skilled development but [pause] as of now, to be frank, I wouldn’t be willing to put in money and, you know, do all that.”* (CS_Cont1).

The focus of the developers and the contractors on skill development existed for various reasons including MCW’s progress, *“They [MCW] are wealth creators. That is the only neglected sector in this country, we need to address it much more seriously.”* (CS_Dev1). They also mentioned increased productivity, *“Because once you are actually are able to educate the workers at site that they add value to the process, I think, you will have a very different person at site.”* (CS_Dev2). Few of them spoke about skill development in the context of ensuring the country’s progress, *“if they [MCW] develop the skill then it’s a country’s progress... You know, progress lies in the skill development of the youth.”* (CS_Cont2). Others spoke about ensuring all workers are skilled, *“even normal coolie¹²⁴ should go through the certification process.”* (CS_Dev1).

The KCWWB, which already operates skill upgradation training programs, wants to launch a portal using which the construction sector as well as the public can hire trained construction workers, *“The plan is to create a website of trained workers so that employers and public can hire the workers thereby increasing their [the workers’] employability. The website will provide the*

¹²⁴ Word for manual worker in many Indian languages.

phone number and names of the trained workers.” (SG_KCWVB2). This is in line with what one of the developers mentioned about wanting to hire only certified workers and for the KCWVB to take the lead in creating a roster of trained workers. However, not all stakeholders within the construction sector supported the idea of skill development or upgradation training. Some contractors and intermediaries expressed that construction workers can only pick-up skills on the job and that external training will not help MCW to develop new skills or upgrade their existing ones, “Even if we have such training it cannot be as effective as on-the-job training. When a worker observes a mason doing the work, correctly, he can automatically learn by observation. It is not necessary to attend a training program to do this job” (CS_Mes3).

14.3 Other stakeholder contributions

The representatives of CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government spoke about how each stakeholder group can contribute towards improving MCW’ lives, independent of partnerships. These contributions, not linked to partnership avenues, relate to contextual factors that need remedying. For example, some construction sector representatives mentioned about the local/state governments providing free healthcare to workers, *“tomorrow any health issues if there’s any separate a clinic or whatever [for MCW]. One or two [clinics] in the city where this people [MCW] can directly go with [an] ID card, which we give or whatever it is, it will be very easy for them.” (CS_Dev3).*

On similar lines, a CSO representative spoke about the government establishing insurance programs for MCW, *“Then enrolling in insurance. For the construction workers, the main thing is insurance.” (CSO_CC).* The government can also support MCW by allowing them to obtain

subsidized food rations through the Public Distribution System irrespective of the address mentioned in the ration card, *“Now, those who have come from where else for work, where can they get a BPL¹²⁵ card here? With all that if the government helps, it will be good.”* (CS_Mes2).

Other construction sector representatives wanted the government to regulate the construction sector so that only certified organizations can operate to ensure better compliance of rules and regulations, *“Don’t allow unscrupulous elements entry. Make it challenging to enter this space.”* (CS_Dev1). They also wanted the government to take more responsibility in ensuring that the construction sector pays attention to MCW’ welfare, *“and like you are saying the Welfare Board etc. needs to be the gatekeepers of, of these aspects in the industry.”* (CS_Dev2). However, such actions might not protect the MCW in small construction sites since at present the Labour Department focuses only on large sites, *“So, I think basically that [the Labour Department] gets into [compliance] only for large projects.”* (CS_IC1).

As mentioned earlier in the section ten, CSO representatives focused on the need for strengthening the existing rules and regulations as well ensuring better compliance. They also wanted the laws regulating the various aspects of MCW’ lives to be updated including specifications of accommodations, which the developers or the contractors provide. In relation, the Health Department’s representative spoke about the need for the construction sector to provide better amenities for female MCW/family members, *“At least [for the] nursing mothers or the children [if they provide] some room [or] space... if they can provide one room and some basic [facilities] to change a dresses, to have their food, [and] toilet facilities that will be great help for us.”* (LG_HD).

¹²⁵ Stands for Below Poverty Line card, which is a type of ration card that makes the holder eligible for subsidized food grains.

A CSO representative spoke about the Labour Department involving CSO in ensuring that construction sector complies with various rules and regulations, *“Definitely [it can be done]. [The Labour Department] can collaborate with the NGOs.”* (CSO_CC). CSO representatives spoke about advocating for policy changes by working with specific stakeholders outside of the government, *“Probably that would [be] one of the things which we would like to do is getting investors and those who are into building, mandate that any construction [project should have well designed accommodations] ... If they mandate that I see will be the huge thing.”* (CSO_Des). Changes that investors mandate can have a ripple effect across the construction sector, *“So, whoever is an investor... if you are the client, [then] you have the clout. So, you have the mandate. If you have the guidelines and you tell the people and you walk the site, contractors listen far more. And changes and this thing can happen because we can seen that.”* (CSO_Des).

A contractor spoke about MCW contributing by being loyal to the employer so that they trust the workers and make programs available through partnerships, *“By being loyal and staying at a place... So, I feel if they, you know, trust someone and stick to them and work. So, we would also, you know, get some initiatives to do something for them.”* (CS_Cont1). In relation, a few construction sector representatives spoke about supporting MCW to limit turnover at worksites, *“We have we have been taking many initiatives to stop this one [turnover]. Because workman rotation is a major part [of] what we are facing as a problem”* (CS_Cont2). According to a CSO representative, true change is only possible when the construction sector starts respecting MCW, *“and I feel that is why I am strongly believe[ing] that if they [the construction sector] see them [MCW] as human beings that they are, that is when true change can happen. Until that time, we are only doing cosmetic, cosmetic changes.”* (CSO_Des).

14.4 Issues affecting potential partnerships

The representatives of CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government identified issues that can affect the formation and functioning of potential partnerships. These issues stem from various aspects involved in the formation and functioning of partnerships. Participants did not articulate all issues when talking about partnerships; they spoke about some issues in a context other than partnerships. Issues affecting potential partnerships can emerge from any of the stakeholder groups involved, *“from the workers side they might not accept [the programs] immediately. Then if you come to the developers, they will not be ready for everything... when it comes to the government, they have their own limitations, they will not cross the limitations... When it comes to NGOs we have see that side also, we have to see this side also... We cannot neglect anyone.”* (CSO_Ser).

14.4.1 Formation

Trust between the stakeholder groups can affect partnerships, *“I would imagine trust being another aspect.”* (CS_Dev2). In relation, a CSO representative spoke about the mode of working affecting the effectiveness of partnerships. According to this representative only if the partners mutually work with each other it will lead to MCW’ welfare, *“Many many issues, which each one of us with our strengths can focus on resolving, rather than just rabble rousing or creating [noise], ‘Oh, you should do, you should do.’”* (CSO_Des).

Since many stakeholder groups can be involved in partnerships, the question of who takes the lead becomes crucial, *“formation is a difficulty because we don't know who is going to take the initiative.”* (CS_Dev3). As detailed earlier, many participants stated the need for government

to take the lead in establishing partnerships. At the same time, participants shared various issues that arise from involving the government in partnerships. The political will of the government affects the extent to which it will support initiatives involving partnerships, *“But there should be political will to do it, that is lacking.”* (CSO_Adv). Along with political will, bureaucracy can affect the functioning of partnerships, *“If you allow government to do it, again bureaucracy and redtapeism will settle.”* (CS_Dev1).

The construction sector representatives also brought up concerns related to harassment when various government departments become involved in partnerships. Even participants who spoke about the local/state government taking the lead in establishing partnerships mentioned this, *“Then once he [the government official] says, ‘Okay.’ He’ll put you across to some other department, [and] he will come and harass you. That is very common... That should not increase. So, someone who wants to do this job by [pause] a good heart, I think so [it] is fine... Otherwise, this what is going to happen.”* (CS_Cont1). According to the construction sector representatives, various departments becoming involved only increases the chances of the construction sector having to deal with bureaucracy, *“Once [the] government comes in, then you will have the BBMP¹²⁶, the Corporation, then you have the Labour Department . So, they’re all interconnected.... So, we may get intertwined. And there may be a lot of bureaucracy and follow up and queries and notices, that is the fear.”* (CS_IC1).

Other than bureaucracy, the construction sector representatives spoke about the potential for corruption, especially, when monetary resources are involved in service delivery, *“Where money is involved, today, bribery and corruption is involved.”* (CS_Cont1). This potential

¹²⁶ Acronym of *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike*, which in Kannada means Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation.

increases with multiple departments getting involved in service delivery to MCW, *“but in construction they'll always be deviation when it comes to [the] municipality rules. There will be a wee bit [deviation]. The percentage will vary... if those officers come in, into the picture, we may be victimized or will land up paying them a bribe. That is the wariness.”* (CS_IC1).

CSO representatives mainly focused on the how the government functions and ways in which it can affect partnerships. Since the government keeps changing rules, the reach of partnerships can be limited and it requires flexibility on part of the government, *“they keep coming up with new rules, because of that too [we] are unable to reach [MCW]... Government has the power. According to me, that power has to be made flexible to reach the beneficiaries.”* (CSO_Ser). Since the government takes time in making decisions, initiatives may not rollout with the urgency needed, *“one problem we faced on the government side [is the] very slow process. Any meetings, any decisions [that] have been taken, it's not implemented in such a speed because it takes a long time.”* (CSO_Adv). The long-drawn process can also mean that the officials, in the various departments, leading the initiatives can be transferred even prior to rollout, *“And the second is that in the long-time process, the concerned officers who have been part of such a decision, they may get transferred, they might go. Somebody else come, then again you have to start from the scratch.”* (CSO_Adv).

With respect to the construction sector, the extent to which they are willing to participate in partnerships will determine the success, *“And the second thing is that from the builder side and those people... If they wanted to do something, definitely these things can happen... if there is a will there is a way, you know, but if there is no will [laughs] things get dilly dallied.”* (CSO_Adv).

The construction sector not providing complete details of workers can affect the extent to MCW

can benefit from programs, “*developers on one side they pay the cess¹²⁷ and wash their hands. When workers can benefit from that [the cess], they do not allow [us to enter the sites]. And they do not show, even how many workers are there [in the site], they do not show [in the records]. That one thing they hide. When they are hiding like that, other than the money [with the KCWWB] increasing [nothing else is happening].*” (CSO_Ser).

The construction sector representatives did not want CSO to change existing power relations, “*although, this is not a concern that somebody will come there to cause trouble but you know at the end of the day if they are addressing your team, you know, this thing. They [CSO] are obviously influencing the culture on your site. So, I think both the organization that’s coming in, foreign organization, as well as the, the construction site, they need to be aligned in, in their principles and values, [and] in their thinking.*” (CS_Dev2). In relation, a CSO representative mentioned activism can affect partnerships, “*Instead of trying to shame the contractors... or getting into a very activist mode or something. I think that doesn't take because they [the contractors] have the clout also the developers... which none of the NGOs will have that clout....*” (CSO_Des).

As mentioned earlier, MCW’ interest can determine if the initiatives will lead to benefits for them, “*And labor[er]s also don't ask for anything. They are happy with their daily wage and [inaudible]. So, nobody is bothered, really, there's no movement to try to do all this.*” (CS_Cont1).

¹²⁷ Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

14.4.2 Functioning

The cost involved in delivering services through a partnership can act as a barrier, *“Of course, cost would be one of them [the issues].... I see it being a hurdle to surpass.”* (CS_Dev2). This becomes a constraint, especially, if the construction sector is not willing to put money into partnerships, *“The issues, I think would be what kind of funds [and] to what extent. Will be funds only... They [MCW] come from such poor background so we, we can contribute to their wellbeing, but we know that they get good wages... So, apart from that, if we want to, we need to stretch out and give some more finance. That's where we feel we will not loosen our purse strings”* (CS_IC1). This become even more acute when small construction sites are involved, *“Funding is the main problem. For that [programs at small construction sites] there is no one who will fund.”* (CSO_CC). Along with money, time constraints can prevent effective partnerships, *“Sometimes you are grudging of time... These are the issues. Things take, change takes time.”* (CSO_Des).

Other than these issues, the absence of data about MCW in Bengaluru can affect the ability of partnerships to plan and deliver services, *“Each one goes and gets one AADHAAR card done just to reach Bangalore.”* (CS_Cont1). The differences between partners in terms of expectations of outcomes can also affect the partnership, *“Everybody wants quick results [snaps fingers]. That is a issue.”* (CSO_Des).

Even with partnerships in place, reaching MCW in small construction sites might be difficult *“If there is a problem, it is for us to go to the government, explain [to them] and [then] get help. There is no possibility of them coming to our area.”* (CS_Mes3). This becomes further complicated since intermediaries, usually, choose to support MCW who work long-term under them. This extends to information transmission through the various hierarchies of the

construction sector, *“If we ask about it, they [the contractors] will not tell us about it [the programs]. They will tell, ‘Why do want [that information]? You do your work.’”* (CS_Mes1).

As a result, MCW who shift between sites might not benefit even if any initiative is launched.

However, not all study participants anticipated that issues will affect the partnerships. According to these participants, if the various partners want to work mutually with each other then issues will not crop up, *“Mutually if we work, no? Like together as a team... Definitely, you know, it gives good result... You know, I don't think it leads to some problems. Because [a] big organization like ours, you know like, definitely we want partners... We can, together as a team, we can give good results for the community as well as, as a nation, we can show progress.”* (CS_Cont2). Others mentioned that when the partners want to come together without any hidden agenda, the partnerships will function without issues, *“There is no money in it [the partnership] for developers or the government in it. It's only a social cause being addressed. When such approach is taken, there is no challenge involved. It only needs [the] openness of [the] mind to really take this issue and move [it] forward. As simple as that.”* (CS_Dev1).

In relation to the issue of credit that a local/state government representative brought up while speaking about existing partnerships, a CSO representative mentioned that it should not matter who is providing services when a partnership is established, *“but these facilities they [MCW] should get. That is what I feel. Who is providing the service is secondary. If they [MCW] get it [the services] then it will help them.”* (CSO_Ser).

14.5 Summary

Since participants spoke about the including additional stakeholder groups and the need for intrastakeholder partnerships, I modified the theoretical framework. Compared to the original framework, in the modified framework (Figure 6). MCW remain central to partnerships but with five stakeholder groups instead of the four originally included. I represent intrastakeholder partnerships using triangles for each stakeholder group. While in the original theoretical framework I proposed that MCW are key to functioning of partnerships, in the present model, MCW' welfare becomes the central component. I further modified the theoretical framework based on inputs from the members of the community advisory board. I present and discuss the final framework in the next section.

For each stakeholder group, participants identified the reasons for including them and ways in which they can contribute to partnerships. CSO and the construction sector representatives mentioned the need for the local/state government to take the lead in establishing the partnerships. Except for few participants other did not speak about the ways in which MCW can contribute to partnerships unprompted. Various partnership avenues exist around which the stakeholders can come together. While the construction sector representatives focused on skill development and upgradation as something that needs immediate attention, CSO representatives focused on other avenues based on their experiences and areas of expertise.

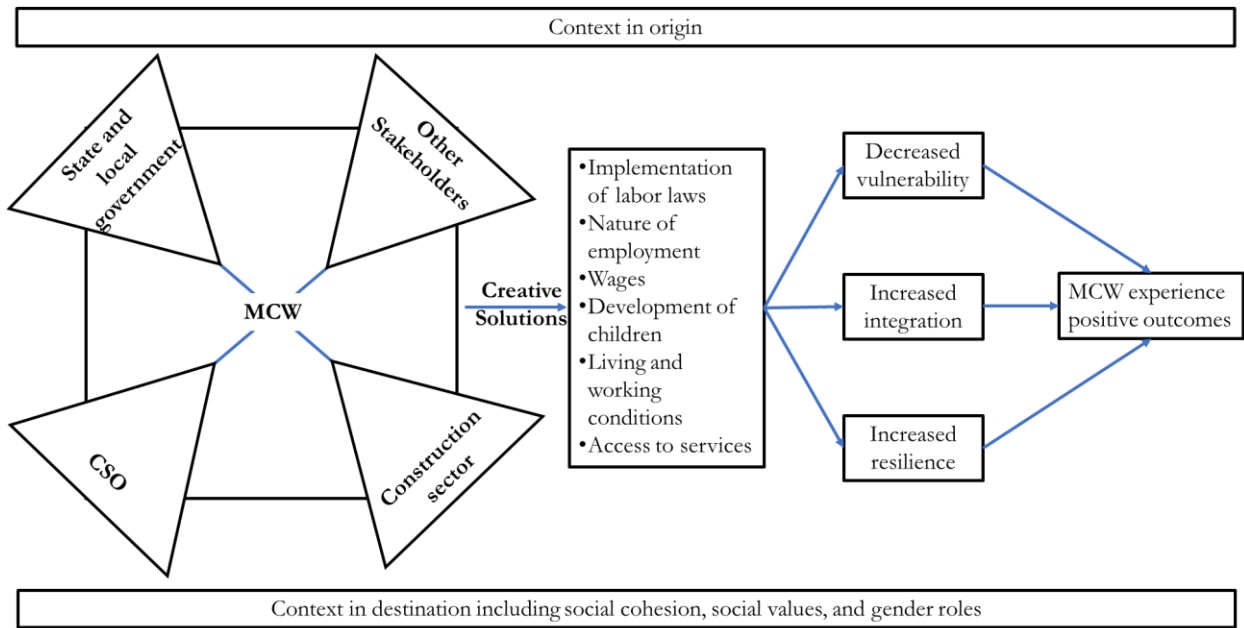


Figure 6 Modified theoretical framework reflecting intrastakeholder partnerships and additional stakeholder group

Partnership avenues not only require partnership between stakeholders but also intra-stakeholder partnerships. As with existing partnerships, the partnership avenues, primarily, related to service delivery rather than MCW' right. Other than contributing to the partnership avenues, the local/state government can undertake various steps to modify the contextual factors that affect MCW' lives in Bengaluru. Issues that can affect potential partnerships relate to bureaucracy and slow processes within the government, the construction sector not willing to work with other partners, and the wariness about CSO. In the next section, I discuss the study findings in light of existing literature.

15.0 Discussion

In this section, initially, I compare my findings with existing literature to establish the broader socio-economic and political factors that affect MCW. After discussing the broader contextual factors, I discuss the role of partnerships and other solutions in improving MCW' lives in relation to their living and working conditions, and access to services and resources. In doing so, I focus on solutions at the level of meso or structural determinants of migrant outcomes such as the ones I included in my theoretical framework. I then link the findings across sections to discuss the ways in which they can impact the formation and functioning of partnerships in Bengaluru. Subsequently, I discuss the validity of the theoretical framework I developed. I end the section by discussing the strengths and limitations of my study and providing directions for future research.

While planning my dissertation there was a dearth of information related to the lived experiences of female MCW/family members in Bengaluru. Since then, Bowers' (2019) ethnographic dissertation has not only identified the issues female MCW/family members face in Bengaluru but also provides the theoretical underpinnings of their experiences through a gendered lens. Through the discussion I cite certain studies which come closest to the work I did albeit in different cities. Overall, my findings mirror those of these studies but also build on them considering that I identified solutions through discussions with participants across stakeholder groups. In addition, compared to these studies, I focused on MCW living in three different settings. Table 19 provides information on the studies I repeatedly cite. Apart from studies that collected primary data, I also cite Khandewal et. al (2020), which is a policy study of the International Labour Organization.

Table 19 Details studies repeatedly cited in the discussion

Authors	Geographic focus	Study methodology	Data collected from	Settings of focus
Agarwal (2016)	Indore	Survey, focus groups, key-informant interviews	Recent migrants, seasonal migrants in four sectors, settled migrants	Informal settlements and slums
Bowers (2019)	Bengaluru	Ethnographic work with interviews	Female MCW, intermediaries, developers, contractors, state government officials	Informal settlements, small construction sites, and company sites
Desai (2020)	Ahmedabad	Field visits and observations at construction sites, interviews, policy and regulatory framework review	Developers and contractors	Company sites
Jayaram et al. (2019)	Ahmedabad	Time-use survey, interviews, focus group, non-participant observations	Adivasi female MCW	Informal settlements and small construction sites
Kumar and Fernandez (2016)	Chennai	Interviews with structured quantitative questions and open-ended semi-structured qualitative questions, secondary data analysis of national population/ migration datasets	MCW	Company sites
Thomas et al. (2020)	Ahmedabad and Surat	Surveys, focus groups, interviews, policy review	Circular migrant workers in five sectors including MCW, migrant power loom workers, local/state government officials and staff, elected representatives, community leaders	Informal settlements, worksites, rented housing including rooms and family homes

Since in qualitative research the perspectives and beliefs of the researcher are key to interpretation of the findings, through this section, I indicate my views on the various aspects of the study findings. The debate on whether migration from rural to urban areas is a positive or a negative phenomenon persists (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005). I take the view that processes related to migration, rather the act of migration itself, determine the outcomes. In brief, I support the views of researchers and developmental practitioners such as Deshingkar (2009b) that migration has the potential to lead to positive outcomes as long as it is supported and not related to distress. More recently the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (International Organization for Migration, n.d.) takes a similar view – supporting migrants throughout the migration process and beyond is essential for positive outcomes.

Across the sub-sections, I do not discuss ways in which the interventions or partnership solutions I identified intersect with the pathways related to integration, resilience, and vulnerability. Rather, I link the interventions and partnership solutions to these theoretical constructs while discussing the validity of my theoretical framework.

15.1 Recruitment

I struggled to recruit female MCW at small construction sites to take part in the study. While initially I thought about it as disinterest in the study, I recognized that it could be an expression of their vulnerability. From literature (Agarwal, 2016) and through collecting data from MCW, I have come to see that families working in the small construction sites are more vulnerable than other groups of workers in certain aspects of their lives. Their reluctance to participate in the research is mirrored in the experience of other researchers (Letiecq & Schmalzbauer, 2012) who

have found that among the immigrant Mexican rural communities in the United States, the most vulnerable immigrants such as undocumented agricultural workers are least likely to participate even in community-based participatory research (CBPR).

This also highlights that not all MCW are the same and that they differ in many ways including the pattern of migration, the places they live and work, their relationship with the city, and their intention to settle among others. As a result, solutions and policy decisions cannot be homogenous but rather need to cater to the diversity of the migrant worker experiences. My experience of recruiting participants from the construction sector and local/state government is similar to that of Bowers (2019) who collected also data from representatives belonging to these stakeholder groups in Bengaluru. Leveraging personal connections with the construction sector representatives and in-person visits to the local/state government offices helped with recruitment.

15.2 Contextual factors

At a larger level, my study findings confirm that the context at the origin and at Bengaluru affects migration related outcomes as De Haas (2010) and Piché (2013) suggest in their migration frameworks. These frameworks, which guided the development of the theoretical framework I used in my study, explain why I included contextual factors at the origin and the destination within the framework.

15.2.1 Contextual factors at the place of origin

Contextual factors at the origin influenced the decision of MCW/family members who took part in the study to migrate to Bengaluru. My findings indicate that many MCW use migration as a coping strategy mirroring the findings of Deshingkar et al. (2006) and Deshingkar and Start (2003). In these studies, *Dalit* and *Adivasi* households more commonly followed this pattern of migration, matching the information I gathered from the study participants. The lack of options other than to migrate has resulted in MCW coming back to the cities after the first COVID-19 related lockdown ended (Khullar, 2021) even though migrant workers in the informal sector and their family members suffered in many ways due to the government's inaction (Stranded Workers Action Network, 2020).

MCW in study mainly migrated due to debt, lack of jobs, wage differentials, climate vagaries, and caste-based discrimination, which other studies (Bowers, 2019; Centre for Media Studies, 2015; Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014; Rigaud et al., 2018) too have identified as the reasons for migration. While MCW mainly migrated to improve their economic situation, having to repay debts and the cost of living at the destination prevents them from having savings, confirming the findings of other studies (Agarwal, 2016; Kumar & Fernandez, 2016; Mobile Creches, 2008). Climate change is another contextual factor that needs increased focus considering that climate change driven internal migration in India is predicted to increase (Asian Development Bank, 2012) with Bengaluru emerging as one of the in-migration hotspots (Rigaud et al., 2018).

As such, *Dalit* and *Adivasi* migrants are less likely to undertake migration for accumulation of wealth and more likely to use the remittances for consumption (Bhattacharyya & Korinek, 2007; Deshingkar et al., 2006). Increased earning lends to increased creditworthiness,

enabling MCW to borrow for social spending (Deshingkar & Akter, 2009; Pattenden, 2012), which further might reduce the potential to save. De Haas (2010) and Piché (2013) do not discuss caste-based discrimination indicating the need for contextualizing the frameworks. In my study caste emerged as a determinant of migration confirming findings of Pattenden (2018) that intrastate rural-urban MCW from Karnataka are predominantly *Dalits* and *Adivasis*.

While Pattenden (2012) establishes that *Dalit* rural-urban migrants are able to reject and oppose the caste hierarchies at the place of origin as a result of migration, the experiences, I documented, related to the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme that is intended to reduce rural-urban migration suggest otherwise. Pattenden (2017) mentions that *Dalit* migrants' inability to benefit from this program stems from gatekeeping, which the dominant caste and class enforces to prevent those dependent on agricultural labor from demanding higher wages. Micro-level studies, from rural parts of Karnataka, show that NGERA has prevented distress migration of landless *Adivasi* and *Dalit* households (Rangappa et al., 2017). However, other households continue to migrate for better wages, increased job opportunities, and diversified income sources (Kumar & Maruthi, 2011; Rajappa, 2017; Vani et al., 2015).

15.2.2 Need for interventions at the place of origin

My findings indicate that there is need for interventions at the origin. Efforts in other parts of India include facilitating employment at the destination through partnerships with companies (UNESCO, 2013), skill development initiatives (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2013), and providing identity cards to help migrant workers avoid harassment at the destination (Khandelwal et al., 2012). Disha Foundation in Maharashtra has connected its source and destination interventions, through partnerships with the local/state

government in both the areas, thereby making migration a safe process as well as increasing access to various services at the destination (Disha Foundation, n.d.). Interventions that increase information available pre-migration validate the pathways related to increased resilience and decreased vulnerability (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016; Siriwardhana et al., 2017) included in my theoretical framework.

The Government of Karnataka's experience in establishing Workers' Facilitation Centers for increasing the access to social security programs (Berg et al., 2014) can inform efforts in establishing similar centers for migrants. An opportunity exists through *Shramika Bandhus*,¹²⁸ who can aid in providing information, at the place of origin, on registering with the KCWWB and other social security programs, accessing grievance redressal mechanisms, and identifying job opportunities in Bengaluru. Such efforts, I believe, have the potential to positively impact intrastate MCW in small construction sites who have the least access to resources while living in Bengaluru. In relation, CSO in Odisha providing services at the place of origin did not maintain the details of female migrants (Vidyarthi, 2014) indicating that gender based discrimination can affect the implementation of such interventions. Considering that my study participants did not identify ways of reaching MCW in small construction sites – which I can only assume is due to their lack of experience in working with this population – the migrant facilitation centers can play a crucial role. As I discuss later, the interventions at origin need to include those that empower MCW.

¹²⁸ Workers' friend in Kannada.

15.3 Contextual factors in Bengaluru

My findings also confirm that the contextual factors at Bengaluru affect migration related outcomes. As I stated in my theoretical framework, social cohesion at Bengaluru affects MCW in many ways. For example, only in the company site, female MCW/family members started a savings group. This finding also indicates that staying for a longer duration at a single site allows women to engage in collective actions without the support of external actors (Bowers, 2019). The other factors at the destination, which I identified being crucial to migration related outcomes as well as partnerships, represent various levels of the social determinants of migrant health (Davies et al., 2009; Migration Health Division, 2013) including the socioeconomic and political context such as policies related to employment, social protection, political participation, welfare, and access to services.

I identified that the implementation of rules and regulations associated with legislations is key for improving MCW' lives. In relation, the recently introduced Code on Wages, Code on Social Security, Code on Industrial Relations, and the Code on Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions can have widespread consequences on various aspects of MCW' lives. Beyond the level of socioeconomic and political context, I identified structural determinants such as social values and gender-based discrimination affecting MCW and their family members in many ways. At the intermediary level, in my study, living and working conditions and access to services affected the migration related outcomes. Of these, my theoretical framework states that the intermediary determinants are amenable to change through partnerships. While I mention the intermediary factors through the discussion, here, I focus on socioeconomic and political context along with the structural determinants. The setting in which MCW live and work, interacts with all levels of determinants as I highlight through the discussion. As needed, I discuss differences

between settings and the ability of MCW in each setting to benefit from partnerships and other solutions.

15.3.1 Welfare policies

MCW often moved between Bengaluru and the place of origin for reasons similar to those identified in a six-state study (Centre for Media Studies, 2015) indicating varying patterns of circular, seasonal, and short-term migration. Leading a dual life means that contextual factors at the place of origin and Bengaluru interact with one another resulting in MCW's inability to benefit from welfare policies directed at food security and housing as I discuss below.

15.3.1.1 Access to the public distribution system

As with other studies (Betancourt et al., 2013; Bjerke, 2018; Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014; Thomas et al., 2020), I found that MCW are unable to utilize the public distribution system in Bengaluru due to the circular nature of migration, leading dual lives, and the difficulties in establishing residency. This lack of access not only results in increased cost of living and thereby decreased savings as my findings and that of Thomas et al. (2020) indicate but also can lead to decreased food security (Rai & Selvaraj, 2013). MCW might prefer to maintain their entitlements such as the obtaining food grains from the public distribution system at the place of origin for various reasons including the precarity of their lives in cities and a sense of connection with the place of origin (Shivanand, 2019). The lack of access to the public distribution system came to the fore during the first COVID-19 lockdown when thousands of laid off migrant workers and family members could not access public distribution system in Bengaluru and in other cities leading to distress (Sengupta & Jha, 2020; Stranded Workers Action Network, 2020). The

KCWVB limited its relief measures to registered construction workers, excluding a large proportion of MCW.

Due to the issues migrant workers faced at the time of lockdown and in response to civil society demands, the Government of India hastened the rollout of the one nation one ration card initiative geared towards helping migrant workers to obtain food rations from the public distribution system cards irrespective of the state of enrolment (PTI, 2020, August 19). This initiative has the potential to reduce the nutritional insecurity MCW and their family members, especially, children face (Choudhary & Parthasarathy, 2009; Ravindranath, 2019). Since some MCW' family members might remain at the place of origin, the one nation one ration card initiative should allow them to draw benefits from the public distribution system simultaneously at the place of origin and the destination (Peter et al., 2020).

During my informal conversations with female MCW/family members I noticed that many of them did not know about this initiative even though the Government of Karnataka had already begun enrollment. The issues related to establishing residency and ability to benefit extends to the other social protection programs, as I discuss later. In relation, my findings and that of other studies (Gawde et al., 2015; Thomas et al., 2020) indicate that MCW who have lived in a city for a longer duration had a better understanding of their entitlements. This played out in the older informal settlement where a few families obtained their ration cards mirroring the findings of Bjerke (2018).

15.3.1.2 Access to housing

Some MCW in my study wanted to obtain permanent housing in Bengaluru through government programs. This aspiration, I believe, stems from recognizing the advantages of settling down in Bengaluru. My findings demonstrate that in the absence of threat of evictions MCW want to invest in the education of children matching the information that Krishna et al. (2014) and

Thomas et al. (2020) present. However, contrary to my study findings regarding occupational mobility following settling down, studies conducted in Bengaluru (Krishna, 2013) and Chennai (Kumar & Fernandez, 2016) show an increased diversity but of low-income and low-skilled jobs among settled migrants.

While I found that MCW might want to obtain government provided housing, Thomas et al. (2020) report that policies related to housing discriminate MCW in informal settlements, more so, circular migrants such as the participants in my study. For example, the *Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana*-Urban whose goal is housing for all in urban areas, does not allow development of housing in-situ in informal settlements unless certain criteria related to landownership, domicile documents, duration of stay, and cut-off dates are met (Thomas et al., 2020). Similar issues affect earlier iterations of the urban subsidized housing programs (Bhan et al., 2014). These requirements not only prevent MCW from benefitting from housing related entitlements but also other programs, such as the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation, aimed at ensuring access to basic amenities (Thomas et al., 2020). As I discuss later, infrastructure creation, through partnerships, has the potential to solve some of the issues related to housing and living conditions that certain MCW face.

15.3.2 Access to services

I found that policies related to documents required affect MCW' ability to access healthcare programs similar to findings of studies conducted in Karnataka (Santalahti et al., 2020) and elsewhere (Agarwal, 2016; Jayaram et al., 2019). This occurs because programs may require proof of residency or other documents MCW might not possess or prefer not to carry. Thomas et al. (2020) present similar findings in relation to access to welfare programs including those related to

maternal health mirroring my study findings. The experiences I documented related to utilizing delivery services highlights the ways in which the domicile requirements can affect access to healthcare. In addition, even if programs do not discriminate migrants by design, the decisions of the frontline staff can exclude them as seen with *anganwadi*¹²⁹ workers not enrolling short-term MCW' children. Such decisions might stem from an attitude that MCW are preventing the proper implementation of programs (Thomas et al., 2020), which can lead to restricted access and discrimination in certain instances.

The policy related findings I discussed signify the sedentary bias of the policies and programs related to urban public services, which fail to account for MCW' mobility (Thomas et al., 2020). Designing urban policies that respond to MCW' needs has the potential to improve the access to basic needs and increase integration (Thomas et al., 2020). Since some MCW have lived for more than 15 years in Bengaluru and have the intention to settle and make Bengaluru their permanent residence, I believe, it is imperative for policies to stop treating them as migrants and consider them on par with local residents for service eligibility. Such policy decisions will lead to increased integration, improved resilience, and decrease vulnerability as my theoretical framework proposes but at a much larger scale than what partnerships can achieve.

¹²⁹ In these government run centers, through the Integrated Child Development Services, children between three and six years receive non-formal education as well as supplementary nutrition whereas those younger than three years only receive supplementary nutrition. These centers offer other services including health checkups, deworming, immunizations, and referral services. In addition to children below six years of age, adolescent girls and pregnant and lactating women receive services related to their health and wellbeing.

15.3.3 Political participation

In my study, intrastate MCW exercised their voting rights at the place of origin either due to leading a dual life or the inability to obtain voter ID card in Bengaluru. However, studies have shown that due to a variety of reasons including distance, migrant workers might not exercise their right to vote at the place of origin leading to their disenfranchisement (Sharma et al., 2014). MCW's inability to obtain voter ID cards in Bengaluru, primarily, stemmed from the difficulties they faced in establishing residency. Kumar & Fernandez (2016) and Rai & Selvaraj (2013) extend this finding by stating that MCW cannot get metered water or electrical connections, which can act as a proof of residency.

Due to the nature of Representation of People Act, 1951 and the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961, circular migrant workers can only vote at the place of origin (Citizens for Justice Peace, 2020). Voting through a postal ballot, as various organizations have demanded especially in the aftermath of COVID-19 (Citizens for Justice Peace, 2020), can help circular MCW to exercise their political will at the place of origin irrespective of their place of work. It is essential to note that while there is a need for such reforms, there is also a need for MCW to have a choice to exercise their political will at the destination or the place of origin (CJP Team, 2021, January 22). Considering the differential nature of migration, MCW in informal settlements and those intending to settle might want to vote in Bengaluru rather than at the place of origin.

At a larger level, migrant workers not having voting rights in cities makes the issues they face inconsequential to politicians and political parties and thereby for policy making (Jayaram et al., 2019; Premchander et al., 2014). Studies have shown that migrants are less likely to receive support when compared to non-migrants from the local elected representatives in resolving issues such as obtaining AADHAAR card, finding jobs, drainage cleaning, and fixing street lamps among

others (Gaikwad & Nellis, 2020). The difference in responses of the local elected representatives stemmed from the belief that migrants are less likely to be registered to vote at the destination (Gaikwad & Nellis, 2020). The religion of migrants further exacerbates these differences (Gaikwad & Nellis, 2020). In my study, MCW in the informal settlements belonged to the same caste and religion, highlighting the possibility of adverse impacts on certain segments of MCW. Evictions linked to the religious background of the migrants in few informal settlements in Bengaluru (Chandran, 2020) show that this threat is not unreal.

15.3.4 Social values and marginalization

My findings related to the local population's lack of acceptance of MCW illustrates one of the several forms of marginalization MCW face. This lack of acceptance can extend to government officials including police functionaries and healthcare professionals as my study and other studies highlight (Jatrana & Sangwan, 2004; Premchander et al., 2014; Thomas et al., 2020). The partnership avenue I identified related to CSO educating Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives in communicating with MCW should extend to sensitizing the government officials, the local population, and the political parties to facilitate MCW' integration and recognize MCW' contributions. In addition, I believe, a designated internal migrant workers day comparable to the International Migrants Day celebrated on December 18th of each year (United Nations, n.d.) can help in recognizing migrant workers' contributions.

MCW' marginalization also played out during the first COVID-19 lockdown in Bengaluru, wherein, MCW not only had to fend for themselves but were left at the mercy of the construction sector. According to news reports, the construction sector lobbied the Government of Karnataka to cancel the special trains introduced to help MCW travel back to their places of origin (Babu &

Dutta, 2020; Staff Reporter, 2020, May 6), a decision the government eventually overturned (Staff Reporter, 2020, May 8). At a societal level, Mitchell et al. (2014) attribute this pattern of marginalization to neoliberal policies and labor reforms, which over the years have diluted the provisions related to worker protections, regulatory functions, and ability of workers to engage in collective bargaining. In addition, in the context of an increasing shift to a capitalistic economy in India, migrant workers are used to circumvent legislations and are seen as the key to profitability (Mitra et al., 2017). Since MCW are considered less demanding than local workers, less likely to collectively organize, and willing to put up with poor working and living conditions, as my findings indicate, the construction sector is incentivized to hire such workers.

In response to such marginalization, literature highlights the role of unions and workers' collectives. My findings related to changes that some MCW experienced after becoming members of a *Dalit* empowerment association support this line of thinking but with certain limitations. Unions in Bengaluru are mostly involved in registering construction workers with the KCWWB or the rights of local construction workers, often with no overlap (Bowers, 2019). Therefore, I believe, there is a need for grassroots movement focused on rights, which migrant workers can lead. The efforts of two CSO, included in my study, in forming a workers' collective and a union that MCW in the informal settlements lead is a step in the right direction. However, considering that such efforts do not extend to company sites, small construction sites, and newer informal settlements as seen in my study and others (Bowers, 2019; Kumar & Fernandez, 2016; Srivastava & Jha, 2016), there is a need for identifying newer ways of empowering workers in these settings.

This becomes even more essential since CSO might decide to focus on welfare rather than rights in all or some settings as I found. The experiences of Ajeevika Bureau in forming the *Rajasthan Vishwakarma Nirman Majdoor Sangh* through involving intermediaries who hire

workers at *nakas*¹³⁰ is a useful model to explore (Khandelwal, 2012). The role of resident welfare associations and ward-level committees in representing MCW living within their geographic limits is worth considering. In addition, community radio stations, such as the Gurgaon *Ki Awaaz* (Ramakrishnan & Arora, 2015), can be useful tools for disseminating information on MCW' rights and entitlements (Working Group on Migration, 2017). Beyond interventions at Bengaluru, I discuss the role of interventions at the origin in empowering MCW while establishing the validity of the theoretical framework

15.3.5 Sexism and gender-based discrimination

My study confirms the predictions of the feminist theory of migration (Piché, 2013) that female migrants/family members will end up taking jobs that pay less and assume household responsibilities replicating gender differentials that existed at the origin. My finding that sexism pervades all aspects of the lives of female MCW/family members is mirrored in studies from other parts of India (Jayaram et al., 2019). Female MCW/family members must complete all the household responsibilities mostly on their own. They must wake before sunrise for defecating in the open reducing the time they get to rest at night. In addition, the burden increases because they also must source and carry water. Bowers (2019) confirms my finding that men sometimes might help with household responsibilities, mainly, food preparation and purchase of rations.

The situation related to household responsibilities becomes even more dire because most female MCW/family members do not have any support at the destination unlike the traditional

¹³⁰ *Naka* in Hindi refers to junction. In many cities in India, daily wage workers stand at a *naka* hoping they will get hired for the day. This includes skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers.

support structures they have in the place of origin (Mobile Creches, 2008). As a result, female MCW/family members might prefer living at the place of origin compared to Bengaluru as Bowers (2019) and I found. However, as my findings show, MCW and their family members continue living in cities even with all the difficulties they face because of the situation in the place of origin, which does not allow them to thrive (Bhattacharyya & Korinek, 2007). Due to the patriarchal view that female MCW/family members must assume responsibility for domestic chores both at home and at the worksite, male MCW, the construction sector, and the trade unions do not acknowledge the efforts put into such tasks (Bowers, 2019; Jayaram et al., 2019). In addition, as my findings indicate, their contribution to the construction sector is not acknowledged (Jayaram et al., 2019).

Due to the existing norms related to household responsibilities, female MCW/family members do not get entertainment or recreation time as I found and also highlighted in a study conducted in Delhi (Mobile Creches, 2008). While my findings indicate that female MCW/family members do not go out of the sites due to household responsibilities, Bowers (2019) has identified intermediaries as well as male family members surveilling or regulating female MCW/family members as one of the reasons for lack of mobility. However, it is not only female MCW/family members who are subjected to surveillance. My findings indicate that at company sites male security guards monitor MCW to ensure they do not consume alcohol in their accommodations.

I discussed about the use of firewood with a member of the community advisory board (CAB) who is conducting ethnographic work with female MCW/family members in Bengaluru. According to this CAB member, female MCW/family members do not consider using firewood an issue, because they might be using the firewood even at the place of origin. To contextualize, the ownership of liquefied petroleum gas cylinders and stoves has increased among those below

the poverty line following introduction of the *Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana*¹³¹ (Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 2019). However, the usage remains low (Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 2019) and many households continue to depend on traditional fuels (Gupta et al., 2020). As with other welfare programs, issues related to residency and documents required prevents migrant workers benefitting from this program at the destination (Sharma, 2019). As such, the use of firewood not only increases the risk of respiratory illness for female MCW/family members (Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014) but also the risk of their children getting injured.

My findings related to female MCW/family members facing domestic violence, often linked to male MCW's alcohol consumption, are similar to those of Betancourt et al. (2013) and Chawada et al. (2012). However, not everyone expressed negative opinions regarding alcohol consumption. This included female MCW/family members even though they mentioned that they might have to take up the entire responsibility for providing for their family members due to male MCW consuming alcohol. Roberts ((2016) in Bowers (2019), p.75) says that women are prone to limit their criticisms of male family members' consuming alcohol, which, I believe, stems from patriarchy and the norms regarding marriages that are prevalent in India.

Not all CSO included in the study had programs directed against domestic violence. Even when such programs are in place, they are directed at settled migrants who live in informal settlements. Focusing on the domestic violence programs of a particular CSO, Bowers (2019, p.101) comments, "*Domestic violence sessions were monotonous and unengaging, featuring a*

¹³¹ Program aimed at creating a smoke free rural India through providing concessional liquefied petroleum gas connections and stoves, mainly, for women living below poverty line (BPL).

CSA staff member holding up pictures of the ‘ideal’ family versus an arguing, violent family and inviting the audience to identify which was the ‘right’ one, while another member read from a script, often losing her place.”

My findings related to male MCW preferring to take their wives along with them when they shift between sites temporarily, indicates the possibility of harassment as well as attempts of male MCW to avoid suspicions of female MCW/family members’ infidelity. While the literature has recommendations for establishing helplines and women’s resource centers that provide services and support to victims of domestic violence and sexual harassment (Khandelwal et al., 2020), the CAB member conducting ethnographic work mentioned that the women whom she interviewed consider preventing their husbands from drinking alcohol as the best solution to domestic violence. The ability of partnerships to address sexism and gender-based discrimination MCW/family members face is an area for exploration since my study did not identify any solutions to issues female MCW/family members face.

15.4 Living conditions

15.4.1 Company sites

As my study, other studies highlight that the conditions in which MCW live depend on the setting and that there is variation even within settings. My data shows that company sites have the largest variation in terms of quality of accommodations and amenities made available to MCW, comparable to findings from Ahmedabad (Desai, 2020). While some developers and contractors provide facilities such as kitchens, toilets and bathrooms, electricity, drinking water, creches, and

recreation areas, others do not. Even when amenities are provided, the amenities might not be adequate in number or well maintained.

Providing context to my finding that the construction sector does follow with regulations related to living conditions, Desai (2020) talks about the time it takes for the cases to be heard and the low fines involved incentivizing the construction sector's non-compliance. At the policy level, there is a need for updating the rules, associated with various legislations, governing MCW' working and living conditions, since not all of them have strong provisions related to living conditions. In relation, it is not known what provisions related to living conditions will become a part of the rules associated with the new labor codes that will supplant the existing labor laws if and when they are implemented (Desai, 2020).

Similar to findings from Bengaluru (Bowers, 2019) and Ahmedabad (Desai, 2020), in my study many factors determined the facilities provided at company sites including company values, duration of project, size of project, number of contractors involved, size of the contractor, the contracting system, whether the developer or the contractor is providing the accommodations, and the benevolence of the proprietors or owners. Another finding from my study that coincides with Desai (2020) relates to the construction sector providing better amenities with the expectation that the worker will remain at the site for longer or that productivity will increase. Developers stipulating working and living conditions while handing out contracts seems to have the maximum impact on provision of better amenities to MCW as I found, and Bowers (2019) and Desai (2020) note. My findings show that the construction sector might not want to provide any additional facilities since MCW do not stick to single a site and frequently move between sites. However, others (Kumar & Fernandez, 2016; Searle, 2016) argue that the construction sector uses MCW

moving between sites as an excuse to circumvent regulations as well as profit from their precariousness.

A participant in Bowers' (2019) stated investors do not want bad 'public relations', which explains my finding that better living and working conditions are often a direct result of investor pressure. While this might be applicable for the commercial and office segments of the real estate sector, I believe, the push for better conditions in the residential real estate segment must come from home buyers. In relation, participants in Desai (2020) mentioned that customers might not pay more to offset the costs incurred in providing better living conditions and amenities to MCW. My findings show that to overcome this issue, different teams within the developers and the contractors must partner with each other to justify the marginal increase in cost to homebuyers.

Beyond the homebuyers, Khandelwal et al. (2020) refer to employer and business membership organizations, such as the Confederation of Real Estate Developers' Associations of India (CREDAI), adopting policies that prevent workers' exploitation and penalize firms that do not follow the policies. As I detail later, such policies, can extend to other aspects of MCW' lives including wages. I believe there is a need for mediation between the supply and demand side so that both the construction sector and the home buyers are willing to invest into better living conditions and amenities for MCW.

CSO already working with MCW can mediate between the construction sector and the home buyers to establish industry wide standards. The experience of the Workers Defense Project in Austin, Texas in advocating for the Better Builder Program provides a reference for actualizing it. As per this program, to become eligible for Travis County contracts, the prime and the subcontractors have to join a contract compliance program and commit to certain standards related to workers' wages, safety, and training programs (National Association of Counties, 2020). The

CSO involved in design of accommodations wanting to expand from direct service provision to working with a wide range of developers to help them implement better designed accommodations, I believe, can have widespread impacts. The Workers Defense Project certifying builders through Premium Community Builders' program (Workers Defense Project, 2013) is a useful reference for such work.

15.4.2 Small construction sites and informal settlements

The living conditions for MCW in small construction sites are usually constant across sites with a few differences based on the stage and the intermediary involved. Overall, not only do MCW in informal settlements have poor access to amenities but also face additional threats such as evictions and harassment at the hands of those owning the lands and others. Electricity is another missing feature in informal settlements, which can affect children's education (Agarwal, 2016). Due to the risk of evictions in informal settlements, which I document, MCW do want to invest in creating more permanent infrastructure and own fewer assets (Thomas et al., 2020). As a result, female MCW/family members face additional burdens, for example, the time required to prepare food due to having only one utensil (Jayaram et al., 2019). MCW in one of the informal settlements in my study had to deal with flooding; Basu and Bazaz (2016) predict that such occurrences will increase in Bengaluru due to a warming trend and extreme precipitation resulting from climate change. When seen in the context of increased in-migration Rigaud et al. (2018) predict, the living conditions for MCW in informal settlements in Bengaluru are likely to worsen.

All this indicates a need for interventions related to infrastructure creation for MCW living in informal settlements, which is one of my study findings. These interventions can take the form of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation taking responsibility for supplying water and

accessible sanitation facilities including mobile toilets comparable to what was done in Nashik (Borhade, 2007). Beyond such stop-gap measures, the primary opportunity for improving the living conditions for MCW in informal settlements relates to in-situ upgrading and development (Desai, 2020).

15.4.3 Rental accommodations

The perspectives of the construction sector expressed in Ahmedabad (Desai, 2020) regarding the developmental of rental housing for MCW were similar to what I found. While a majority saw the utility in creating affordable rental housing for MCW, some brought up concerns including issues with workers leaving to work with a different contractor, location of the rental housing, and transportation. Building on the idea of rental accommodations, Desai (2020) explores various models of providing such housing including initiatives in India and elsewhere. Of these models, the Government of Kerala building *Apna Ghars* comes closest to what I documented. At present, the *Apna Ghars* model mainly focuses on single male migrant workers with dorm like rooms leased out to industries rather than individuals. The proposal for Affordable Rental Housing Complexes developed under the *Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana-Urban* (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 2020), following the hardships MCW faced during the first COVID-19 lockdown, discusses development of rental housing through two models. Irrespective of model followed, I believe, rental housing should focus on the most vulnerable populations.

The advantage of integrated service provision in the rental housing complexes, an area for partnership that I identified, finds mention in other reports (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b; Working Group on Migration, 2017). These reports suggest that the state level Construction Workers Welfare Boards should utilize the available funds to construct transient

accommodations for MCW. They also recommend that not more than 10 per cent of the cess¹³² collected during the previous year should be spent on housing (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b). Taking into consideration the cess the KCWWB collected during 2018-19 (Public Affairs Centre, 2020), close to 87 crore rupees¹³³ will immediately become available for provision of housing, if this policy is implemented.

In providing state sponsored affordable rental accommodation, Desai (2020) raises pertinent questions related to the construction sector not providing accommodations and thereby skirting regulations, MCW not associated with any construction company missing out, and the role of public-private partnerships in scaling up the housing projects. Developing rental accommodations, often at locations away from the city, is not without criticism. Extending my findings on the location of rental accommodations, Peter et al. (2020) discuss rental accommodations segregating and othering migrant workers and discuss the need for rental housing that is affordable, not exploitative, and located close to places of work. The solution to this lies in the KCWWB developing rental housing in each zone of Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation as my findings indicate. Since many MCW lead dual lives, it is essential to factor in the heterogeneity of MCW and the differing needs based on the pattern of migration while exploring the various mechanisms and models of providing accommodations (Desai, 2020). The approaches discussed so far do not consider MCW in small construction sites and there is a need to identify opportunities for improving the living conditions for MCW in such sites.

¹³² Cess in India refers to a tax imposed on specific activities.

¹³³ ~\$11.95 million as of May 2021.

15.5 Work life

My findings on various aspects of working conditions including the timings of work, lack of overtime pay, delayed and non-payment of wages, dependence on intermediaries, lack of opportunities in large sites for female MCW, and lack of safety measures at small construction sites mirror other studies, as I detail below.

15.5.1 Regulations

Multiple studies confirm my findings related to the poor implementation of rules and regulations (Bowers, 2019; Centre for Media Studies, 2015; Ceresna-Chaturvedi & Kumar, 2015; Desai, 2020; Srivastava & Jha, 2016). My finding related to the construction sector not following the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 and its associated rules finds mention in Srivastava and Jha (2016) and the Ministry Of Labour & Employment (2019). The poor implementation of the BOCW and Cess Acts and the associated rules limits the state government's ability to protect MCW' rights as well ensure their welfare (Srivastava & Jha, 2016). The reasons for poor implementation others (Desai, 2020) and I identified relate to the contracting system in the construction sector and the lack of staff and resources within the Labour Department. In addition, different divisions of the Labour Department being responsible for enforcing the BOCW and Cess Acts, often, results in unequal implementation (Desai, 2020) .

While all this points to the need for increased harmonization between the different regulations (Srivastava & Jha, 2016), something the proposed codes aim to do, the decreased workers' protections embedded into the codes make them a hard sell. Of the various aspects of the codes, only the provision for self-registration of interstate migrant workers, which can increase

data available on migrant workers has gained some traction among activists and researchers working on labor rights (Varma, 2020, September 27). Considering that not all of the construction sector in my study and in Ahmedabad (Desai, 2020) opposed regulations but wanted emphasized the need for easier implementation, the proposed codes that have a pro-business tilt might appeal to them. CSO included in my study, which wanted better and more stringent regulations might do not agree with the provisions of the codes. This is already seen with CSO, activists, and researchers opposing the codes (Johari; Varma, 2020, September 27).

Since the absence of inspections and the staff shortages at the Labour Department leads to the lax implementation of the regulations, the impact of the newly introduced codes on worker rights, I feel, is predictable unless there is support for strengthening the state level Labour Departments through increased funding and staffing as Khandelwal et al. (2020) suggest. These steps can help the Labour Departments in performing their regulatory role and ensuring compliance with the laws (Khandelwal et al., 2020). Data sharing between departments, a partnership avenue I identified, can also help with the enforcing the regulations along with efforts to sensitize government officials to MCW' needs (Khandelwal et al., 2020).

In the light of the proposed changes to the regulations, I think, there is a need for the construction sector to adopt standards that will go beyond the requirements of the codes and use the opportunity to improve its image by expressing interest in ethical business practices. My findings show that the construction sector wants to shift the regulatory burden away from the Labour Department. In relation, the Confederation of Real Estate Developers' Associations of India and similar organizations can play an important role in coming up with a Code of Conduct (Desai, 2020), which CSO can audit and certify compliance. My finding that CSO are willing to help the Labour Department in ensuring compliance with the regulations further bolsters such a

model. While this will result in the Labour Department giving up its regulatory role, it finds support in Khandelwal et al. (2020). The social audit of the CWWB done in Delhi (Sub-Committee of the Ministry of Labour, 2018) and Rajasthan (Aajeevika Bureau, 2018) points to ways in which CSO can play a role in auditing the implementation of regulations. In the context of distrust and fear of CSO, which I discuss later, the construction sector might not agree to CSO participating in the audits. Specific to small construction sites, the role of the ward level committees in ensuring that independent contractors are following minimum standards of employment needs to be explored.

15.5.2 Wages

Female MCW receiving lower wages is also documented in other studies with the added information that they perform as much work as male MCW or more (Jatrana & Sangwan, 2004; Jayaram et al., 2019). My findings point to the willingness of MCW from northern states of the country to work for lower wages and a shifting pattern of hiring only such MCW at company sites. Bowers (2019) and Pattenden (2018) state that participants in their studies brought up a similar issue, indicating a shift in the construction sector's hiring practices to populations that are least likely to organize. The transient nature of job opportunities means MCW, other than those in company sites finding, have no guarantee of finding work daily. However, my findings show that those in company sites receive lower wages compared to others. Bowers (2019) states that contractors use the provision of amenities at company sites to justify the lower wages. My findings confirm that of other studies (Dhal, 2020) that continuous work is associated with lower wages and that wages of MCW gathering at *nakas*, who face more uncertainty in finding work, are higher.

Bowers (2019) mentions intermediaries and contractors use delayed and non-payment of wages as a strategy to force MCW to continue working under them. This pattern of exploitation

exists because MCW are dependent on intermediaries for finding work as my findings indicate. In absence of any grievance redressal mechanisms, MCW must let go of their pending wages. Legal support that some CSO provide in relation to wages is, often, limited to informal settlements. I see a need for exploring the feasibility of conducting area wise legal clinics that can serve MCW in small construction sites as well as company sites. The role of helplines the KCWWB and a CSO have setup in Bengaluru in resolving wage related issues needs to be explored in terms of documenting the number of calls and the reasons for which MCW called the helpline, as Ajeevika Bureau did in Rajasthan (Khandelwal et al., 2012). Other than a helpline that focuses on resolving issues, there is a need for establishing an info line that provides information related to the legal benefits, social protection, and services available to migrants as the Working Group on Migration (2017) suggests.

15.5.3 Accidents and injuries

As with my study, others have noted that while injuries are common (Akram, 2014), especially among women construction workers (Lakhani, 2004), there is no uniformity in providing personal safety equipment and implementing safety measures (Kumar & Fernandez, 2016; Premchander et al., 2014; Srivastava & Jha, 2016). MCW in small construction sites and those working in informal settlements have the least access to safety equipment. Only registered workers have access to the KCWWB's skill upgradation initiative that also provides personal protective equipment as a part of the training, leaving out many MCW. This highlights the need for widespread registration of MCW with the KCWWB. CBPR can contribute to reducing injuries and improving safety as the experience of Marin and Roelofs (2018) demonstrates. They followed

CBPR to engage small contractors in Lawrence, MA to participate in an intervention aimed at reducing falls and silica exposure more so among Hispanic construction workers.

The variation between sites and settings extends to compensation for accidents and injuries. For example, since MCW in small construction sites are not registered with the KCWWB, they do not become eligible for compensation for injuries and deaths. Some intermediaries and contractors do not compensate MCW, which can lead to situations where the injured worker's family is saddled with additional debt due to the cost of healthcare (Pattenden, 2012). Further, my findings indicate that the construction sector hides the deaths of workers from the public, which Nayak (2011) confirms. My findings also point towards a gap in awareness among MCW regarding workmen compensation, a form of insurance, which can be bridged through the construction sector informing and providing MCW the relevant documents.

15.5.4 Skill upgradation and development

Though skill development is important since it determines migration related outcomes, many factors affect it. Comparable to the findings of Srivastava and Sutradhar (2016), my findings indicate the inability of unskilled or semi-skilled construction MCW to save and use remittances for wealth accumulation in contrast to skilled workers who used their remittances to purchase farmland or build houses. While unskilled MCW can pick up skills on-the-job and then progress to become intermediaries, the progress in becoming a skilled worker is uneven as Kumar and Fernandez (2016) discuss and my findings indicate. When an unskilled or a semi-skilled MCW progresses to become an intermediary, migration might shift from being a coping strategy to one that aids in the accumulation of wealth (Pattenden, 2012).

Female MCW have negligible opportunities to develop skills due to the entrenched beliefs about the capabilities of women workers within the construction sector as seen in my study and others (Bowers, 2019; Jayaram et al., 2019). Similar to my findings, Bowers (2019) and Jayaram et al. (2019) highlight that the bias against female MCW not only prevents them from developing skills but also limits their employment opportunities once they become skilled. As my study demonstrates, the lack of opportunities can lead to internalization of the perception that female construction workers cannot become intermediaries (Anvekar & Manjunatha, 2015, October 6; Bowers, 2019). As I discussed earlier, this is not the only situation where female MCW/family members are discriminated.

However, even male MCW find it difficult to become skilled workers and then intermediaries. The challenges in becoming an intermediary are more acute for MCW in small construction sites because they do not have the required social and financial capital (Bowers, 2019; Kumar & Fernandez, 2016). While some skill development and upgradation opportunities exist, the extent to which they have benefitted the workers is unknown. Though the KCWWB has a skill upgradation program, my study indicates a lack of awareness regarding it. In addition, the program only focuses on registered workers, which means large sections of MCW miss the opportunity. With the organized construction sector moving away from hiring female MCW, the possibilities of female MCW developing skills are becoming even more remote.

My findings indicate that the construction sector is interested in skill development initiatives as the main avenue for partnership for reasons related to the perceived benefits including increased productivity. However, at the same time, I documented various barriers that can hinder skill development initiatives such as MCW' transiency, echoing Bowers' (2019) findings. This can give rise to situations where the construction sector is incentivized to keep

workers unskilled so that they can continue paying lower wages Bowers (2019). Other reports highlight the need for skill development (Working Group on Migration, 2017) and the need for involving large contractors and developers (Kumar & Fernandez, 2016) in line with my findings.

Within this context, it becomes obvious, any initiative related to skills might limit itself to MCW working in large construction sites and completely exclude female MCW. Reports such as the Working Group on Migration (2017) recommend the recognition of prior learning (RPL) at large sites, which again excludes those in small construction sites and informal settlements. This highlights the need for identifying ways to offer skill development and upgradation opportunities to MCW in settings other than company sites. As I discussed earlier, migration facilitation centers can play a crucial role in skill development for MCW and their family members at the place of origin.

15.5.5 Harassment

My finding that sexual harassment is underreported and that intermediaries and contractors have an outsized role in dealing with instances of sexual harassment reflects those of Anvekar and Manjunatha (2015, October 6), Bhattacharyya and Korinek (2007), and Bowers (2019). In discussing the reasons for sexual harassment, Bowers (2019) places the role of female MCW/family members within the masculine and patriarchal nature of the construction sector. When seen along with absence of gendered policies (Khandelwal et al., 2020; Srivastava & Jha, 2016) including the BOWC Act (Dewan et al., 2017), it becomes obvious that female MCW/family members do not have any recourse in situations of sexual harassment.

This lack of gendered understanding, probably, explains why participants in my study did not identify solutions to issues female MCW face either through partnerships or otherwise. The

International Labour Organization's (Khandelwal et al., 2020) policy document highlights the need for gender-based policies and effective implementation of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace Act of 2013. The helplines, including the existing ones in Bengaluru, can be expanded to include support and services for female MCW/family members in more than one language as the Working Group on Migration (2017) recommends. Since leaving work also leads to MCW in small construction sites losing a place to stay, they might be forced to tolerate delayed wages and other forms of harassment (Bowers, 2019). Specific to female MCW in small construction sites, their options are limited to tolerating the sexual harassment, moving to a different site with the loss of wages, or having to live in unsafe accommodation arrangements.

15.6 Access to services

15.6.1 Banking

Though my findings indicate the possibility of technology making banking easier, MCW still face many difficulties in transferring the money to those living in the place of origin. According to Premchander et al. (2014) the difficulties partly arise due to absence of bank accounts. This points to need for studies that explore the role of mobile banking in MCW's financial inclusion, especially since bank accounts are required for registering with the Karnataka Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (KCWWB) as I discuss later. The partnership between CSO and banks in increasing financial inclusion of MCW is therefore useful and is comparable to interventions in other cities (Khandelwal et al., 2012).

15.6.2 Childcare

Childcare is directly linked to child safety at worksites and the place of residence (Betancourt et al., 2013; Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014). In line with my findings, a six-state study that included Karnataka, found that none of the states had taken initiatives to bring migrant workers' children under the Integrated Child Development Services coverage (Centre for Media Studies, 2015). In my study, the access to *anganwadis* and other childcare facilities was demarcated by setting in which MCW live mirroring the findings of Bowers (2019) and Thomas et al. (2020). Children in established informal settings had the most access whereas those in small construction sites had the least. Those in informal settlements had access to *anganwadis*, CSO run childcare centers, the family members of other MCW, and elderly relatives who took care of the children.

My findings and that of other studies (Agarwal, 2016; Centre for Media Studies, 2015) highlight that children are not enrolled *anganwadis*, irrespective of the setting, due to the location and timings of *anganwadis* in addition to *anganwadi* workers' unwillingness to admit MCW' children. Beyond the factors I identified, language barriers (Kumar, 2011), lack of information (Mobile Creches, 2008), and a perception of poor-quality of these institutions (Mander & Sahgal, 2012) also affect enrollment. All this indicates the need for policy changes and better implementation of the Integrated Child Development Services' programs to cater to MCW' needs.

For children in company sites, access is dependent on factors such as presence of a childcare center at the site, whether transportation is provided to the *anganwadi* centers, and distance to the *anganwadi* centers. In addition to providing childcare at company sites, CSO offer multiple benefits to MCW including child safety, healthcare, nutrition, and education, a model that is common to CSO in Bengaluru and in other cities of India (Betancourt et al., 2013). While

regulations require a childcare center if there are more than 50 workers at a construction site, most construction sites employing large number of women workers do not provide such a facility (Jayaram et al., 2019). For children in small construction sites, barring the presence of women who are not working or elderly family members, there are no other options for childcare.

The existing and potential partnerships, I identified, relate to increasing access to childcare for children in informal settlements and company sites. This includes the KCWWB's initiative in partnering with CSO for setting up mobile childcare centers, similar to the Gujarat CWWB's program (Desai, 2020). Building on the Gujarat CWWB's experience, the KCWWB needs to ensure that the challenges and issues CSO might face in running the childcare centers are tackled prior to implementation. The challenges that CSO running childcare centers at company sites in Bengaluru face are similar to those CSO in other cities face including lack of funding, provision of space, and difficulties in engaging builders and convincing them about the need for the centers (Desai, 2020; Mumbai Mobile Creches, 2011; Venkateswaran, 2013). Mobile Creches successfully transferring the childcare centers' ownership to certain builders and providing consultancy services so that the builders can independently operate the centers (Bajaj & Gupta, 2013; Venkateswaran, 2013), offers a reference for similar efforts in Bengaluru.

While the independent contractor, who participated in my study, spoke about allowing CSO to run childcare centers at small construction sites, considering the present reach of CSO this seems unfeasible. It is, therefore, useful to look at other models to expand the access to childcare for children in newer informal settlements and small construction sites. SEWA's model of setting up childcare centers, through a cooperative, exclusively for its trade union members (International Labour Organization and Women in Informal Employment, 2018; Sharma et al., 2013) is a useful example. These centers are run through shared governance between the union members and the

facilitators responsible for day-to-day operation of the centers. This model of shared governance can help to overcome the issue of MCW not taking part in the *Bal Vikas Samithis* at *anganwadis*, which I identified. Another example is the Wawa Wasi National Programme in Peru that allows mother-carers to provide childcare services at home or in community spaces through a component called family Wawa Wasi (Samman et al., 2016).

Such models can be adapted to informal settlements and small construction sites through funding from the KCWWB, another area for partnership that I documented. Since some mothers already take care of other MCW' children in informal settlements and elderly family take care of children in small construction sites, their presence can be leveraged for establishing these centers. Alternatively, self-help groups at the ward level can run these childcare centers (Centre for Media Studies, 2015). Mumbai Mobile Creches' experience in training *Bal Palikas* or child minders from within the MCW community to operate the childcare centers can serve as a reference for such efforts (Pispati & Africawala, 2014; Pispati et al., 2017). Identifying and training female MCW/family members through a cluster wise approach can ensure continued service delivery even if a trained person moves to a different site.

Mobile Creches in Delhi has expanded their services through partnering with community-based organizations to establish smaller childcare centers based on the needs of the migrant communities (Bajaj & Sharma, 2016). The KCWWB can similarly fund community-based organizations to open and operate centers across the city to cater to MCW' needs rather than supporting large CSO. Another area for partnership I identified, relates to data sharing between various local/state government departments to improve access to childcare. This idea, however, is not new; a report from 2006 (Mobile Creches) talks about the need for partnerships between the Labour Department and other departments, and between states for improving access to childcare.

15.6.3 Education

As with other studies, my findings indicate that MCW see children's education as a way of enabling them to move away from the construction sector. At the same time, a seven-city study showed that more than 80 percent of seasonal migrants' children lack access to education (Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014). My study identified many barriers to education including the documentation required and the unwillingness of schools to admit MCW' children, which other studies (Betancourt et al., 2013; Centre for Media, 2015; PwC and Save the Children, 2015) also highlight. This is occurring despite the policy the Education Department has put in place related to school admissions without the need for documents. Barriers to education, other than what I identified, include distance to schools (PwC and Save the Children, 2015), lack of electricity at homes, poor study environment, and absence of tutoring (Betancourt et al., 2013).

Beyond these issues, I found that parents might not send their children to the school if it involves crossing a road mirroring findings of Betancourt et al. (2013). My study brought up parents' lack of interest as one of the factors that can affect children's education, which the Centre for Media Studies (2015) also discusses. In the absence of childcare centers, as my findings indicate, parents might force older siblings to drop out of the school to take care of the younger siblings (PwC and Save the Children, 2015). To overcome some of these barriers, a review on improving the educational outcomes for migrant children refers to the role of parenteral involvement (Deborah, 2009). Towards this end, more efforts are required to involve and encourage MCW' participation in the school management committees.

The Education Department's initiatives for identifying out-of-school children, often, do not reach MCW in small construction sites. In my study, except the children in the small construction sites, other children residing in Bengaluru had access to education. Comparable to

my findings, Agarwal (2016) presents evidence of migrants in established informal settlements sending their children to private schools as opposed to the aspiration of MCW in small construction sites to enroll their children in schools. Mostly, due to the nature of my study participants, I did not find any issues related to the language of instruction. However, Rajan (2020) highlights that the language of instruction can hinder the education of interstate MCW' children. In relation, various other studies (Centre for Media Studies, 2015; Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014) and reports (Working Group on Migration, 2017) reiterate the need for education in a language the children know rather than the language spoken at the destination.

The online tracking system has the potential to improve tracking of academic progress between schools and ensure continued education, irrespective of migration, if the issues I documented are rectified. I believe, proactively providing the Student Attendance Tracking System (SATS) number to the parents can solve some of these issues. For those who leave behind their children at the place of origin, the evidence is equivocal in terms of improved access to education and prevention of dropping out (Srivastava & Sutradhar, 2016). Dormitories in places with high out-migration, such as ones the Government of Karnataka has set up, have potential to improve education outcomes of children at the place of origin (Chandrasekhar & Bhattacharya, 2018). However, my findings show that not all migrant parents might want to admit their children in boarding schools. To overcome this issue, the role of alternative community-based arrangements for children, as implemented in Maharashtra (Chandrasekhar & Bhattacharya, 2018), needs to be explored in the context of Karnataka and other states.

The avenues for partnership to improve the access to education, I identified, are similar to those discussed in PwC and Save the Children (2015) including advocacy at the level of schools to ensure that MCW' children receive adequate attention and additional pedagogical support.

Another partnership avenue related to data sharing across departments to identify out-of-school children, including mapping areas with large number of migrant workers, has found attention in other studies (Agarwal, 2016; Thomas et al., 2020) and policy recommendations (Khandelwal et al., 2020). Establishing a Nodal Agency to coordinate data and information sharing between departments (Nayak, 2011) as well as between states can help to operationalize this partnership avenue. Ideally, the Nodal Agency should be located within the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Khandelwal et al., 2020).

Since these initiatives do not target MCW in small construction sites who move between sites, I think, the role of technology needs to be explored and leveraged. The experience of COVID-19 has shown that while remote education is possible, it has disadvantaged children in government schools and low-income families due to issues related to internet connectivity, availability of laptops, cost of data, and the difficulties in watching classes on a mobile phone (Special Correspondent, 2020, September 8). Improving upon this experience and using the learnings from interventions that use of information technology for remote learning in India can allow for continued education even when MCW move between sites. Pal (2014) discusses a model where children access classes using technology in supervised settings, thereby, enabling them to continue education in a language of their choice.

The Government of India's recent initiative in making educational content available online and via television in multiple languages can aid in such efforts (INFLIBNET, 2021). eVidyaloka's model of utilizing volunteers and CSO in teaching children, who otherwise do not have access to quality education, through digital lessons (eVidyaloka, n.d.), I believe, can be adapted to Bengaluru's context to reach children of MCW in small construction sites. The independent contractor's willingness to provide a space for running a childcare center indicates it is possible to

establish such centers at small construction sites. It is essential to note that even if MCW' children get educated, they might not find jobs due to class and caste based-discrimination as Bowers (2019) and I found. As mentioned earlier, Bowers (2019) talks about the incentives for businesses to keep workers under-skilled and underemployed so that they have a continuous supply of workers willing to work for low-wages.

15.6.4 Healthcare

My study brought up contrasting information on access to healthcare when compared to existing literature but also when comparing responses across participant groups. Data collected from MCW indicates that they might not want to postpone seeking healthcare since being healthy is directly linked to their ability to earn, the reason for which they migrated to Bengaluru. However, other stakeholders and studies in other cities (Betancourt et al., 2013; Centre for Media Studies, 2015; Jatrana & Sangwan, 2004; Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014; Ravindranath, 2019) highlight that MCW and their family members routinely delaying seeking care due to a variety of reasons including the cost of care. The access to healthcare in company sites in other cities, as with my study, is often limited to injuries and does not extend to other illnesses (Betancourt et al., 2013).

In line with other studies (Betancourt et al., 2013; Bowers, 2019; Thomas et al., 2020), my study shows that that MCW and their family members prefer private healthcare facilities. While study findings do not indicate MCW using informal healthcare providers, other studies (Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014; Ravindranath, 2019) highlight their role. The experiences at the government healthcare facilities leads to the preference for private healthcare facilities. These experiences match those discussed in literature including the requirement of documents

(Thomas et al., 2020), wait times (Centre for Media Studies, 2015), timings (Ravindranath, 2019; Thomas et al., 2020), and not knowing the location of the closest government healthcare facility.

Mirroring the findings of Betancourt et al. (2013) and Ravindranath (2019), my findings show that the perceptions about substandard care and medications at government hospitals are common. However, Aivalli et al. (2018) showed that the quality of generic medications dispensed at government healthcare facilities in Karnataka is comparable to that of branded medicines available at private healthcare facilities and government-run cooperative societies. A combination of the above discussed factors can result in MCW going back to their place of origin for receiving healthcare, as Thomas et al. (2020) and I found.

The Health Department's initiative of mapping migrant communities and opening evening clinics has the potential to improve the access to healthcare. However, the distrust of government healthcare facilities can prevent migrants from utilizing them. The Health Department's partnership with CSO in providing services is often limited to established informal settlements, thereby, reaching only settled migrants. The partnership between CSO and the construction sector for conducting health camps at company sites is also reported in other cities. Comparable to my study, Desai (2020) reports that the presence of a healthcare professional at company sites is not common. Mimicking the partnerships, I identified, Desai (2020) found that CSO that partner with the developers for operating childcare centers, establish referral systems and linkages to the nearby government healthcare facilities.

The Health Department wanting to partner with CSO to identify the demand for services, ideal timings for service provision, and need for translators, finds support in an International Labour Organization's policy recommendation document (Khandelwal et al., 2020). In relation, the role of mobile health clinics, similar to those the Gujarat CWWB operates (Desai, 2020), can

be explored for implementation in Bengaluru's context. More importantly, evaluating the National Urban Health Mission's outreach activities will help to identify the opportunities for improving service provision to MCW in newer informal settlements and small construction sites. The National Urban Health Mission needs to publish reports that indicate the quantity and range of services provided to migrant communities through the outreach clinics as a starting point.

15.6.5 Child and maternal healthcare

Access to child healthcare as with other services depends on the setting. While children enrolled in *anganwadi* centers and CSO run childcare centers have access to healthcare (curative, promotive, and preventive), for the rest, access is limited to curative healthcare in case of illness confirming the findings of Agarwal (2016). For children not attending the above-mentioned facilities, the only preventive healthcare they receive is polio vaccinations, confirming the findings of Migration Information and Resource Centre (2014) and a 13-city study on internal migrants' experience and perceptions of frontline health workers, which included Bengaluru (Babu et al., 2018).

The reasons which I identified and other studies discuss for children not receiving vaccines, other than polio, include MCW not carrying the vaccination cards (Centre for Media Studies, 2015; Migration Information and Resource Centre, 2014; Ravindranath, 2019), healthcare personnel such as Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives not visiting the construction sites (Babu et al., 2018; Centre for Media Studies, 2015), difficulties in accessing the healthcare facilities (Centre for Media Studies, 2015), and not knowing where vaccines are administered. Similar to what I found in terms of the differences between newer and older informal settlements,

Kusuma et al. (2010) report that children of recent migrants are less likely to be fully vaccinated when compared to settled migrants.

Echoing my findings, Agarwal (2016) and Kusuma et al. (2013) report that maternal healthcare depends upon the setting and duration of stay in the city. As with my study, others (Agarwal, 2016; Premchander et al., 2014) report that female MCW/family members living in established informal settlements or in the same company site for many years might access government healthcare facilities for antenatal care. Those in small construction sites and newer informal settlements, who are more likely to be seasonal migrants, do not have any such access. The absence of antenatal care and the preference for delivering in the place of origin, which (Premchander et al., 2014) and I documented, can result in unattended deliveries at the workplace, miscarriages, and reproductive health issues (Jayaram et al., 2019; Premchander et al., 2014).

The lack of contact with Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives, mentioned earlier, extends to maternal health (Jayaram et al., 2019; Pardhi et al., 2020). While Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives are supposed to conduct surveys and provide preventive and promotive healthcare, less than 10 percent of the migrant pregnant women and migrant children under two received services from them in Bengaluru (Babu et al., 2018). Thomas et al. (2020) report that Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives do not engage migrants because incentives are linked to continuous service delivery and surveying migrant communities and delivering services to them requires additional efforts. This points to the need for policy changes which support and encourage frontline workers to repeatedly map and visit sites for delivering services through incentives (Agarwal, 2016; Khandelwal et al., 2020). At a larger level, I believe, that there is a need for a shift from an incentive-based model to one where Accredited Social Health Activists receive a monthly salary.

Accredited Social Health Activists and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives identified keeping track of migrants and maintaining their health records as a challenge that can lead to non-delivery of services (Babu et al., 2018). The SNEHA mobile application being rolled out in Karnataka has the potential to reduce burden of frontline workers but requires effective implementation since the slow procurement of smartphones has already affected its rollout (Suraksha, 2020). The SNEHA mobile application integrates data across departments (Center for Study of Science, n.d.) and can help to operationalize the data sharing partnership avenue I identified.

While the Mother and Child Tracking System has the potential to ensure that children, pregnant women, and new mothers receive services, at present, issues related to lack of identifier data are affecting its implementation. Since non-availability of AADHAAR number affects service provision to female MCW/family members, there is a need to explore other ways of identifying the health records including using phone numbers as a proxy (Centre for Media Studies, 2015). Using phone numbers has the added advantage of relaying information, via text messages and automated voice calls, regarding vaccinations and antenatal visits. In addition, the role of a callback number that will help MCW to identify the nearest location to receive vaccines and antenatal care in Bengaluru needs to be explored. The earlier discussed helplines and community radio can also be used to provide the information related to vaccines and antenatal care.

In Ludhiana, an intervention aimed improving vaccinations through the public healthcare facilities collaborating with migrant communities living in slums showed positive results (Sengupta et al., 2017). However, the study highlighted that without continued support the public healthcare facilities might not be able to sustain the outcomes of the intervention. This confirms the need for continued partnerships as my study findings indicate. A CSO led an intervention in Nasik, as described in section one, that involved partnerships between multiple stakeholders,

increased maternal health service delivery to MCW including ante and postnatal care (Indian Institute of Public Health-Delhi, 2014). However, the intervention was unable to follow-up and provide services to mobile MCW indicating the difficulties in reaching those in small construction sites and those in informal settlements at risk of evictions. This intervention had components related to community mobilization, knowledge and awareness, formation of inclusive partnerships, advocacy, and development of IEC material indicating the extensive involvement of this CSO. This affirms my finding that CSO are taking up an outsized role in the implementing interventions aimed at migrant communities.

15.6.6 Social protection

Specific to social protection, my findings show that the developers and the contractors want the KCWWB funds to be used for the welfare of the workers so that efforts of the workers are recognized. The Public Affair Centre's (2020) evaluation of the KCWWB also presents similar findings. However, my findings show that there is resistance in the construction sector to register MCW with the KCWWB. Citing the difficulties in completing the registrations or a lack of interest, developers and contractors do not register the workers with the KCWWB, reflecting the attitudes of participants in Desai (2020). Juxtaposing these two contradictory findings indicates that beliefs about workers' welfare might not get translated into actions.

I found that only MCW with CSO support are aware about the KCWWB and are registered with it, confirming the findings from Karnataka (Public Affairs Centre, 2020) and elsewhere (Desai, 2020; Srivastava & Jha, 2016) regarding MCW' low level of awareness and registration. Bowers (2019) highlights that MCW are unable complete the registration process independently without the support of the unions or CSO because they do not have the required documents. My

study extends these findings, as it not only the required documents but also the lack of awareness, and the problems arising from not linking phone number with AADHAAR and not having bank accounts that act as barriers to registration. Beyond registration, the challenges in utilization the KCWWB's programs are documented in Bowers (2019) as well; MCW' burden in establishing their eligibility for the programs is high with accusations of workers submitting fraud claims indicating a lack of trust.

Beyond the factors related to the KCWWB, Wetlesen (2016) also reports the lack of interest among MCW to register with the Tamil Nadu CWWB mirroring the findings of my study. I found that the lack of interest stems from previous negative experiences with unions, inability to access the programs immediately after registering, and long wait times between applying and completion of registration. While my findings indicate that unions and CSO regard MCW' disinterest in registering with the KCWWB as being present oriented, it is essential to note that class prejudices about unworthy poor can lead to such observations (Bowers, 2019). Comparable to my findings, union organizers in Wetlesen (2010) recounted the difficulties in convincing workers to register as well the challenges in the renewal process due to difficulties in tracking workers .

The attempts of CSO and unions I documented in Bengaluru for increasing registrations are similar to efforts in other cities (Indian Institute of Public Health-Delhi, 2014). As such, the involvement of CSO and unions increases awareness of the KCWWB's programs and facilitates registrations as my study findings and that of the Public Affairs Centre (2020) indicate. However, the involvement of unions is not without issues; my findings show that some unions might not register MCW with the KCWWB after taking money from them or they might not facilitate access

to the programs after registration. Bowers (2019) reports that this mistrust extends to government officials who accuse unions and CSO of benefitting through workers' registrations.

While the KCWWB representatives in my study mentioned about the inability to involve CSO in registering MCW, the role of CSO is highlighted in reports the Government of Karnataka (Public Affairs Centre, 2020) and the union Ministry of Labour and Employment (Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b) have commissioned. The KCWWB partnering with CSO will increase registrations since CSO have immediate access to MCW. While some CSO are already registering MCW in Bengaluru, identifying those that are not and partnering with them will enable the KCWWB to fulfill its objectives and MCW to benefit from its programs.

While various reports highlight the need for increasing the registration of MCW with the state level CWWBs, the issues I discussed above along with limited reach of CSO and unions indicate the need for innovative strategies. The recommendations related to self-certification, easier renewals, and streamlined process of submitting and receiving claims (Ministry of Labour & Employment, 2020; Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b), can alleviate the issues related to registration of MCW to an extent. At present, BangaloreOne Centers accept subscription payments for the KCWWB (Directorate of Electronic Delivery of Citizen Service, n.d.). Allowing these centers to register MCW will increase the access to the KCWWB since these technologically enabled centers are located throughout Bengaluru. However, these solutions in the absence of self-certification will not lead to improved access since obtaining the required documentation is difficult, as I discussed earlier. Following registration, my findings on relaying information about the KCWWB's programs through WhatsApp find support in the Public Affairs Centre's (2020) recommendation of providing information about the programs and renewal through text messages.

Scaling up CSO-run migrant resource centers will ensure that MCW have more immediate access to the KCWWB programs, can receive information and support for registering with the KCWWB, and have a grievance redressal system at their disposal. Such centers can also facilitate registration with multiple social security programs based on the workers' facilitation centers model (Berg et al., 2014). My findings related to the partnership avenue between state governments for establishing a universal identification number for portability of benefits finds mention in various reports (Hopkins et al., 2016; Ministry of Labour & Employment, 2020; Office of the Director General (Labour Welfare), 2018b; Public Affairs Centre, 2020; Srivastava & Jha, 2016). Similarly, the Working Group on Migration (2018) and Khandelwal et al. (2020) have both highlighted the need for interstate portability of benefits and universalization of benefits irrespective of the place of work. I found that the construction sector wants more information about the KCWWB, with CSO as a facilitating partner. Similarly, developers in Ahmedabad wanted more information about the Gujarat CWWB, CSO, and the facilities they can provide to MCW (Desai, 2020).

The recently introduced Code on Social Security has a provision for portability of benefits irrespective of state of registration but does not provide the mechanisms through which the portability will be operationalized (Mehrotra, 2020, June 12). In addition, as I mentioned earlier, various stakeholders have pointed out that the presence of this provision should not be considered progressive since the codes make the already weak regulations laxer and decrease the protections available for workers including migrants. As a result, the stakeholders including trade unions, development practitioners, and researchers have criticized the codes. In relation, I went into my dissertation thinking that wage related issues need not take complete precedence over the other issues MCW face. Considering the issues MCW faced during the first COVID-19 lockdown and

the experiences of MCW who participated in my study I have come to believe that welfare cannot override rights.

However, there are likely to be tradeoffs when the focus is on the rights; more immediate changes in MCW lives might result when a welfare framework is applied. More importantly what do MCW want and think about the welfare versus rights debate, as a CAB member mentioned, I feel is important. I discuss the overarching theme of rights versus welfare in relation to the partnership avenues and the theoretical framework later. At a larger level, I think, it is a question of whether changes come through a revolution or incrementally. As I discussed earlier, CSO' and the construction sector's views regarding regulations do not match; underpinning this difference, I believe, is the priority given to worker rights versus ease of doing business and profit.

My findings related to data sharing between departments for improving the access to services extend to the KCWWB also. The evaluation of the KCWWB (Public Affairs Centre, 2020), similarly recommends involving various department and establishing a coordination system to ensure that all services reach construction workers including migrant workers. One such area for data sharing, which the Working Group on Migration (2017) recommends and Desai (2020) discusses, relates to linking data between the municipal corporations and the Labour Department to increase the number of sites under the purview of the BOCW Act, thereby, extending its provisions to a larger number of workers. In relation, as I discussed earlier, a nodal agency can coordinate information sharing between different the departments. Beyond this, the Ministry of Labour & Employment (2020) suggests data sharing with CSO and trade unions to encourage registrations and renewals.

Beyond the solutions that I documented, there is a need for increasing funding for CSO and trade unions to help them identify and develop models that can be scaled up for implementation

across states. This includes support for research, interventions, and systems aimed at migrant inclusive development and policies (Khandelwal et al., 2020). As I discuss later, corporate social responsibility funds can support such initiatives. Since my findings point to the KCWWB's programs being outdated, it is useful to look at the recommendations for utilizing the available funds. During member checking of the study findings, the CAB member conducting ethnographic work with migrant communities in Bengaluru confirmed that the female MCW/family members have shifted to using sanitary napkins from rags/cloth pads. In this context, specific to female construction workers, the Public Affairs Centre's (2020) evaluation of the KCWWB recommends the distribution of sanitary napkins. If implemented, it will mark a shift towards developing gendered policies and programs. I already discussed other suggestions for utilizing the funds available with the KCWWB including infrastructure creation, partnerships with CSO for setting up daycare centers, and extending the role of the helpline.

15.7 Access to resources

15.7.1 Social capital

Similar to my findings, other studies mentioned that social networks play an important role in MCW' decision to migrate (Mobile Creches, 2008), finding employment (Mobile Creches, 2008) and settling down when MCW first arrive in the city (Bowers, 2019; Centre for Media Studies, 2015). Providing context to my finding that MCW living in informal settlements share their accommodations with those newly arrived, MCW in Bowers (2019) mentioned that they do not mind sharing the space with others because it leads to a feeling that their entire village is in the

city. This sense of kinship emerges from the long duration of stay in company sites and MCW being related to each other either through caste or the place of origin in informal settlements. This kinship translates into MCW and their family members looking out for each other through actions such as taking care of children and offering loans in times of need. Adding meaning to MCW and their families, in informal settlements and in company sites, celebrating festivals in Bengaluru, Shivanand (2019) states that it is in a way an opportunity for migrants to recreate the place of origin. In the absence of social networks, MCW in small construction sites are forced to depend on the intermediaries, which can put them in adverse situations as I discussed earlier.

15.7.2 Membership

Union membership is largely limited to MCW in established informal settlements where unions and CSO are involved in collective organizing. Wetlesen (2016) documents that in small construction sites, union membership is dependent on intermediaries, comparable to my findings. I found that union activity does not extend beyond local workers and settled migrants due to challenges in accessing sites, language difficulties, need for travel, MCW frequently moving, and antiunion attitude of construction companies. Ceresna-Chaturvedi and Kumar (2015) and Wetlesen (2016) also highlight the differences in union activity based on the setting.

As such, my study findings confirm that unions, traditionally, have not paid attention to migrant workers or women workers (Bhattacharyya & Korinek, 2007; Bowers, 2019; Jayaram et al., 2019). Jayaram et al. (2019) highlight that in the absence of women leaders, which I also noted, unions tend to focus on welfare rather than rights of female construction workers. As a result, female construction workers often end up having no role within the unions (Bowers, 2019; Jayaram et al., 2019). Researchers' efforts, (Jayaram et al., 2019), through discussions and workshops, led

to organizational changes and adoption of a charter recognizing the gendered burdens of women construction workers in the BVMS union in Ahmedabad. This is a useful model that can be replicated in Bengaluru.

In my conversations with CSO and union staff, I found out that MCW become union members, mostly, in the context of registering themselves with the KCWWB. While union membership is not a pre-requisite to gain access to the KCWWB, unions use the registration process to increase their membership (Bowers, 2019; Wetlesen, 2016). This can create a system wherein the disenfranchised are forced to depend on middlemen for access to welfare programs (Das & Randeria, 2015). In relation, as I discussed earlier, many view the involvement of unions in registration process negatively.

Wetlesen (2010), comparable to my findings, reports the existence of ‘bogus unions’ that aim to profit through charging a high membership fee in-lieu of facilitating access to social protection programs. The role of unions in registering the workers has meant that some of them have moved away from a rights based approach to focus on welfare, more so in relation to female workers (Bowers, 2019). In contrast to other unions, my findings indicate that CSO led ones focus on creating worker led collectives to decrease reliance on external actors to facilitate registration with the KCWWB. While in my study only the intermediaries brought up the role of unions in grievance redressal, construction workers in Wetlesen (2016) spoke about becoming union members to gain access to grievance redressal in situations of delayed or non-payment of wages and to obtain compensation in cases of injuries and death. This difference, probably, stems from participants in Wetlesen (2016) being local construction workers when compared to MCW who participated in my study.

As I discussed earlier, becoming members in *Dalit* empowerment association helped MCW living in an informal settlement to stop paying the monthly rent. Since this informal settlement is located on land belonging to the government, in effect, the membership helped to prevent extortion. This indicates that membership in unions or other associations is useful for MCW, irrespective of the setting, either in terms of rights or access to welfare systems. However, considering that MCW in small construction sites and company sites do not have access to unions, it is essential to explore other ways of empowering these workers, as I discuss later. The negative perceptions about unions and activism, which I documented, can affect the functioning of any potential partnership in which unions are involved.

15.7.3 Individuals

In contrast to other studies, I found that individuals in Bengaluru help MCW in various ways. The extent to which this might denote acceptance of MCW needs exploration. Since other studies and I documented the local population's discrimination of MCW, the individual acts of charity might signify acceptance. While not everyone in my study shared positive perceptions regarding the contributions of individuals, their role in partnerships as local level advocates of MCW in small construction sites either independently or as a part of resident welfare associations is worthwhile investigating.

15.7.4 CSO

MCW in my study shared positive perspectives regarding CSO, in line with findings of other studies (Betancourt et al., 2013; Ravindranath, 2019). As I discussed, so far, CSO support

MCW in various ways either on their own or through partnerships. As such, the activities of CSO included in my study are comparable to CSO in other cities. However, there is variation in terms of activities and programs implemented based on the setting and the organization. I found that CSO do not focus on rights and wage related issues when working with MCW in company sites. Kumar and Fernandez (2016), similarly, document that the stakeholders within the construction sector have differing perspectives regarding CSO based on the service they provide. Highlighting the preference for welfare over rights, as I identified, Kumar and Fernandez (2016) report that rather feeling threatened the construction sector welcomes CSO providing education and healthcare services in contrast to CSO working on labor rights. As a result, CSO might end up focusing on service provision in company sites even as they focus on labor rights in other settings.

It is essential to highlight that the reach of CSO is small when compared to the large number of MCW living in Bengaluru. Networking between CSO, which I identified as a partnership avenue, can help to solve this problem by enabling them to pool expertise and resources. Doing so, I believe, will not only increase the reach of each organization but also the number of MCW interacting with CSO. I hope that such networking can lead to CSO applying for grants collectively and implementing programs based on the needs of MCW they work with. The issue of CSO not focusing on small construction sites and seasonal MCW is not limited to Bengaluru and seen in other cities as well (Agarwal, 2016). Comparable to my findings, other studies too do not provide recommendations or solutions in reaching MCW in small construction sites. Considering that other stakeholder groups shared negative perceptions regarding CSO, I discuss how these perceptions can affect partnerships subsequently. However, my findings indicate that even those who shared negative perceptions acknowledged the role of CSO in potential partnership avenues.

15.7.5 The construction sector

My findings demonstrate the need for the construction sector to step up its support for MCW. As I discussed earlier, construction sector uses the contracting system and MCW to maintain profits. Desai (2020) and Bowers (2019) focus on how the demands of the consumers, i.e., home buyers do not let the developers provide any additional amenities to MCW since it will diminish the slim profit margins. I found that even in situations where the construction sector is partnering with CSO for services, such as childcare, cost sharing becomes an issue. All this points to opportunities for the construction sector to enhance its role in supporting MCW including through partnerships.

Among the opportunities, the role of corporate social responsibility needs to be explored further. While my study brought up mixed opinions about corporate social responsibility, as I discussed earlier, others have identified its role in fostering innovation related to accommodations and increasing the funding for service provision to MCW. While corporate social responsibility would be applicable only to the large developers, any effort they support has potential to impact many MCW due to the size of the projects. In addition, large developers can utilize the corporate social responsibility funds for initiatives and programs that have long-term consequences rather than taking an event-based approach, as my study findings indicate. My findings related to need for utilizing the corporate social responsibility funds for the benefit of MCW support this line of thinking. It is important to acknowledge that utilizing the corporate social responsibility funds for service provision is indirectly the state subsidizing the lack of initiatives within the construction sector to improve the lives of MCW.

Since the potential for rules and regulations to positively impact MCW is large, various systems that can ensure that the construction sector is complying with the rules and regulations are

needed, including the involvement of CSO. Specifically, the subcontracting system needs to be scrutinized to ensure that MCW are not exploited or cheated (Khandelwal et al., 2020). The construction sector's perception that adopting a code of conduct can bring about positive changes more than regulations was common to my study and Desai (2020). I discussed earlier about the potential negative effects of the proposed codes and how can the construction sector can take an active role in mitigating them. Since I found that there is an unequal burden of following regulations based on the size of projects, there is a need for a system that imposes regulations irrespective of the size of the project. In absence of such a system, MCW in small construction sites will continue to depend on intermediaries and will not have access to any grievance redressal mechanisms. My findings confirm those of other studies that while intermediaries might exploit MCW, they are also the people who take care of MCW in times of need. The introduction to a special issue on migration brokerage in the Global South (Deshingkar, 2018) highlights that while intermediaries help MCW obtain well paid jobs at the destination, they also contribute to MCW' exploitation through facilitating the reproduction of caste inequalities.

15.7.6 The local/state government

My findings on government officials' perception that MCW are a constraint on resources and hence should not be supported is a common (Betancourt et al., 2013). The other aspects of the local/state government response relate to not enforcing of regulations as I discussed earlier. Though various departments have put in place initiatives to improve service delivery and access, issues related to implementation affect MCW' ability to benefit. This points to the need for evaluating these initiatives to identify areas for improvement, implementing evidence-based solutions, and adapting best practices to increase their effectiveness.

One such aspect which I have already highlighted and finds mention repeatedly in literature (Desai, 2020; Khandelwal et al., 2020; Ministry of Labour & Employment, 2020; Mobile Creches, 2006; Thomas et al., 2020; Working Group on Migration, 2017), as discussed through this section, relates to data sharing between departments within the state and across states. This, I believe, is something that needs to be done on a priority basis considering the significant impact it can have on the lives of MCW. My findings show mixed perceptions regarding the response of the local/state government. In addition, my study documented the inability of the local/state government to respond to the specific MCW' needs. This lends support to the need for partnerships led by the local/state government, which tackles the issues MCW face.

15.8 Potential partnerships in Bengaluru

The findings I discussed so far indicate that existing and potential partnerships have benefitted and have the potential to benefit MCW with certain limitations related to setting and the population of focus. It is essential to note that while multistakeholder partnerships can complement legislation, they cannot replace policy decisions and regulations that have enforcement mechanisms (Karkare & van Seters, 2019). In the absence of legislations, multistakeholder partnerships can fail to bring about positive change due to the risk of the businesses, which are inherently powerful, dominating the agenda. Since the proposed labor codes dilute worker protections, the need for exploring alternative ways of ensuring compliance, as I discussed earlier, becomes even more crucial to offset any changes in legislations. In this sub-section I extensively cite Stibbe and Prescott (2020) and PPPLab Food & Water (2018). The former is a guide book aimed at building high impact multi-stakeholder partnerships for the Sustainable Development

Goals and the latter is a tool-kit that focuses on assisting various stakeholders who wishing to build or improve their partnering activities with governments in developing countries.

15.8.1 Feasibility of potential partnerships

To test whether potential partnerships are feasible, I compare the study findings against the fundamentals required for successful partnership formation and functioning (Pattberg & Widerberg, 2014; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). As I found and discussed in literature (Overseas Development Institute and Foundation for Development Cooperation, 2003; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020), when different stakeholders come together it is possible to create net value when compared to one-off collaborations involving only certain stakeholders. As my study findings indicate, initiating cross-sectoral partnerships involving stakeholders within the construction sector, the various local/state government departments, CSO, and MCW, can help to increase the reach of programs, and to improve and innovate on what is being done at present. In addition, the participation of donor agencies and corporates, whom I categorized as additional stakeholders, lends itself to an inclusive approach, another fundamental for successful partnership formation (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020).

Within this context, only certain partnership avenues, which I identified, align themselves with the shared vision of creating added value and can influence the stakeholders' decision to participate. Table 20 shows the overlap between stakeholders and the partnership avenues they identified or wanted to be a part of. I did not include MCW since my study did not identify any role for them within the partnerships. As Table 20 illustrates, most partnership avenues relate to service delivery and do not address MCW' rights.

Table 20 Potential partnership avenues and stakeholders' involvement

Partnership avenue	CSO	Construction sector	Local/state government
Childcare	Yes	Yes	Yes
Designing accommodations for MCW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dialogue between the construction sector and the Labour Department	No	Yes	Yes
Education	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fundraising	Yes	No	Yes
Health	Yes	Yes	Yes
Infrastructure creation	Yes	Yes	Yes
National identification cards	No	Yes	Yes
Registration with the KCWWB	Yes	Yes	Yes
MCW' rights	No	No	No
Skill upgradation ¹³⁴ and development	Yes	Yes	Yes

Only partnerships related to service delivery and living and working conditions involve all stakeholder groups and found favor with across these three stakeholders. This finding indicates that for partnerships focused on improving specific aspects of service delivery and living and working conditions I identified the right partners (Pattberg & Widerberg, 2014; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). In addition, this finding shows that partnerships within and between stakeholder groups can lead to transformative changes in service delivery and living and working conditions. Further, existing partnerships indicate that a shared vision for these partnership avenues is already in place. While existing and potential partnerships, both, exclude MCW in small construction sites from their purview, partnership avenues based on data sharing between various departments of the local/state government can benefit MCW in this setting through identification and enumeration of small construction sites.

I acknowledge that prioritizing these three partnership avenues will be at the cost of MCW' rights. While welfare cannot override MCW' rights, in the context of CSO' focus, shortcomings

¹³⁴ Used in Indian English as an equivalent to upgrading. I am using this word since study participants used it.

of organizing mechanisms, and weakening legislations, I think, partnerships cannot address the issue of rights. Instead, as my theoretical framework states, partnerships are best suited for addressing the intermediate or meso-level determinants. While I discuss mechanisms to mitigate some of these issues, later, I am not sure if and to what extent they can remedy the situation and empower MCW to fight for their rights. This is not to say that such efforts are not needed but that such efforts are best taken up outside of partnerships. As I discuss, later, efforts towards ethical recruitment can initiate the process of empowering MCW and can help with efforts to organize them.

15.8.2 Barriers and facilitators to partnerships in Bengaluru

I identified several barriers and facilitators to partnership formation and functioning. I place the findings related to potential partnerships in the context of facilitators and barriers to multistakeholder partnerships and then discuss ways of mitigating the barriers based on best practices implemented in other settings. These factors, mainly, relate to the stage of partnership scoping and building, which is first stage of partnership formation as I discuss below.

15.8.2.1 Inclusion of key stakeholders

One of the first steps in forming partnerships relates to identifying the right partners for achieving a goal (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). The data I collected, to a large extent, completes stakeholder mapping and analysis (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020) that helps to identify the right partners and why each stakeholder group might be interested in multistakeholder partnerships. I identified five stakeholder groups (Figure 6 on page 263) that can get involved in partnerships aimed at improving service delivery and living and working conditions. These

stakeholder groups are the right partners because of their roles in existing partnerships and the roles my study identified for each of them, thereby, lending to an inclusive approach (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020).

In brief, CSO can leverage their knowledge and expertise to contextualize interventions. The construction sector's participation is crucial for access to MCW, funding of initiatives, and taking responsibility for MCW. The local/state government's participation is essential to provide resources and to negate power imbalances between other stakeholders. MCW' participation will ensure that all decision taken by the partnership are in their best interests. Additional stakeholders including politicians, funders, and corporates can ensure support for the partnerships through resources and funding. Of these stakeholders, early government buy-in is crucial to maximize benefits and improve the chances of a partnership succeeding for reasons I discuss subsequently.

Here it essential to highlight and discuss the role of the local/state government considering that in the Indian context business-CSO partnerships can lead to development of parallel systems that not only are unaccountable and unsustainable but also reduce the efficiency of the government institutions (Pyres, 2011). The construction sector's and CSO' perception that government involvement not only provides legitimacy but also helps with enabling, facilitating, and promoting partnerships is in line with literature on the role of government in partnerships (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018).

15.8.2.2 Shared and individual objectives

After identifying the right partners, the next step relates to approaching them to partner with others. At this stage, the extent to which a partnership can help to achieve shared and individual objectives influences stakeholders' decision to participate (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). The benefits for each partner, which my findings point to are in line with literature on

multistakeholder partnerships (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018). Through partnerships CSO have an opportunity to fulfil their goals of improving the quality of life of MCW or increasing the access to services. The construction sector stands to benefit from having a workforce that is healthier and better trained. The local/state government has an opportunity to improve service delivery and reach an increased number of MCW compared to present. In addition, if a partnership pilots a service provision and demonstrates positive outcomes, the local/state government can implement the intervention at scale. MCW and their family members can benefit through increased access to services, which will improve their quality of life in Bengaluru.

15.8.2.3 Ability to contribute to partnerships

Since any partnership aimed at service delivery and improving living and working conditions will build on existing ones, I believe, that partners are sufficiently empowered and can contribute to the partnership, which is a prerequisite for successful partnerships (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). However, when the partnerships involving MCW are established, they might require support for ensuring adequate and representative participation since those with the least power are likely to be sidelined (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). The workers' collectives CSO are facilitating can play an important role in representing MCW in partnerships. Even CSO might need support in the form of funding to facilitate their participation since their activities are dependent on having adequate funds.

Since the funding for existing partnerships between CSO and the construction sector is project based, involving funders or leveraging corporate social responsibility funds, as I discussed earlier, can ensure continued CSO participation (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). The government's involvement will help to bring resources and in scaling up the interventions implemented through partnerships to ensure sustainability (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018). The local/state government

can also ensure inclusive participation due to its convening power and ability to influence stakeholders.

My findings on factors such as costs, time commitments, the risk of harassment, and the outcomes in relation to partnerships indicates that the various stakeholders understand the risks of participation, which can influence the decision to participate (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). When comparing the contributions and risks they mentioned, I feel the only feasible partnership avenues relate to service delivery and living and working conditions. My finding that existing partnerships are already trying to deal with the issue of service delivery and living conditions further supports this assumption.

15.8.2.4 Leadership and commitment

The next fundamental relates to the commitment from the leadership of the stakeholders involved in a partnership (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). My findings indicate that a senior level functionary's involvement is crucial for the success of partnerships. Leveraging champions from the construction sector, whom CSO have identified, can help in obtaining the commitment of senior leadership of other organization within the construction sector. CSO can also help in identifying officials, from each local/state government department, involved in efforts to improve MCW' lives or initiating partnerships with CSO and other stakeholders. Due to a combination of these factors, I believe the fundamentals are in place for the formation of a partnership focused on addressing issues related to certain aspects of service delivery and living and conditions as shown in Table 20. However, further exploration is required to establish the goals and to identify roles for each partner as a precursor to partnership formation (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020).

15.8.2.5 Trust

Literature identifies trust and power as factors that can affect the relationships between partners and thereby the setup of partnerships (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020), which in many ways confirm my findings. In addition, literature on CSO-business partnerships offers insights into issues that might come up and ways to mitigate them (Byiers et al., 2016; Posthumus, 2012; Pyres, 2011). My findings on the construction sector not trusting CSO for reasons related to mismanagement of funds and experience with fraudulent or unprofessional CSO reflects the perception that many businesses have about CSO (Pyres, 2011). To contextualize, in general, CSO and the construction sector expressed a lack of trust about each other's sector. In addition, construction sector is not currently engaging with CSO or might not want to due to a perception that CSO pose a threat to its way of functioning and thereby profits. Considering that CSO play a large role in existing partnerships and might continue to do so in the future, any partnership that includes CSO might face challenges due lack of trust between the construction sector and CSO.

Other studies centered on multistakeholder partnerships note a similar lack of trust while discussing the differences between countries based on the culture and legislations in place (Karkare & van Seters, 2019). The trust between CSO and the construction sector built through existing partnerships can be leveraged for potential partnerships. Taking small joint actions, such as the construction sector allowing CSO to register MCW in company sites, I believe, will enable each partner to progressively build trust towards undertaking larger and more complex actions such as those related to auditing compliance with regulations. Overtime these stakeholders will be able to shift the focus from relationships between them to the issues affecting MCW (Glasbergen, 2011).

Extending the idea of data sharing to partnerships through having a coordinating agency and mechanisms to facilitate information sharing between the stakeholders can help in establishing

accountability and external transparency, which in turn leads to development of trust (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018). In relation, partnership agreements that layout the procedures to facilitate joint decision-making and participation of organizational leadership can help with establishing trust between partners (Byiers et al., 2016; PPPLab Food & Water, 2018; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). I identified the inability to achieve agreed upon outcomes as a potential barrier to partnerships, which in the long run can also lead to trust deficit between the partners (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020).

Other than differences between stakeholders, CSO following a different approach in tackling issues can also affect the formation of partnerships and their inclusive nature. For example, the differing modes of CSO functioning and beliefs activism, I identified, can affect trust between partners. In addition, some CSO choose to focus on rights in certain settings but not in others, making it difficult to categorize CSO based on their approach. This lack of shared values might come to fore when a stakeholder group or members within a group view other partners as threat to their mission. CSO that want to maintain their role in advocacy and campaigning against issues might not want to participate in partnerships. The lack of shared values can also lead to adversarial negotiations during the partnership building process, negatively impacting partnership outcomes (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). In relation, the organizational representatives' ability to negotiate, the often conflicting, internal priorities of the organizations and that of the partnership might lead to a long drawn process of developing partnership agreements (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020).

15.8.2.6 Power

With a pattern of marginalization of CSO in global multistakeholder partnerships in relation to decision-making, the power imbalances between stakeholders needs acknowledgement (Storeng & de Bengy Puyvallée, 2018), which in the context of my study relates to the power

differentials between CSO and the construction sector. As my findings indicate and literature on partnerships discusses (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018), involving the state/local government can help to mitigate power differentials between CSO and the construction sector. However, it is essential to identify various sources of power (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020); in certain contexts and situations, the power CSO derive from having access to communities potentially overrides the power that the construction sector brings through monetary resources or political influence.

Using information in Stibbe and Prescott (2020), I developed a matrix (Figure 7) that illustrates the high power/influence but low interest of the construction sector and the local/state government in contrast to the high interest but low power of MCW. Only CSO belong to the high power/influence and high interest category indicating that imbalances exist in the interest and influence of the stakeholder groups over issues MCW face. Using such matrices can facilitate partnership agreements that emphasize moving all stakeholder groups into the high interest and high influence category eventually. Agreements can also help to balance the differences in power between stakeholders through governance structures that promote joint-decision making. As such, once a partnership forms, governance structures become key to maintaining power balances (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020).

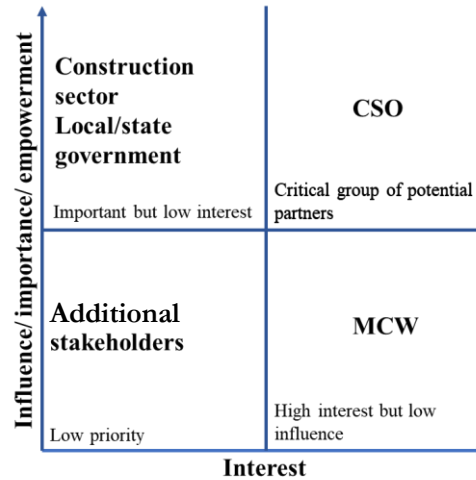


Figure 7 Power interest matrix of the stakeholder groups

15.8.2.7 Accountability

Each stakeholder groups' experiences and perceptions about the others can influence their perceptions of mutual and collective accountability (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). For example, based on previous experience, CSO identified that the construction sectors' willingness to participate and provide access to MCW in company sites will affect the formation and functioning of partnerships. When applied to the context partnerships in Bengaluru, the following discussion throws light on ways to mitigate the issues that CSO and the construction sector believe comes with the local/state government's participation. The construction sector brought up the issues of bureaucracy, harassment, and corruption, which are discussed in literature as deterrents to involving the local/state governments in partnerships (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018). While recognizing this issue, PPPLab Food & Water (2018) highlights that CSO and businesses wanting to partner with the government need to understand the issues that can arise so that they can respond swiftly when needed .

Generally, a charter for good partnering behavior can help to mitigate any issues with mutual accountability if it is used as the starting point or the statement of intent at the beginning

of a partnering process (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). Having such a charter, I believe, can help to address the issue of bureaucracy, harassment, and corruption to an extent. In relation, the constructions sector's perception that it is not sufficiently involved in rule making processes might influence its participation in any partnership that involves the local/state government. CSO mentioned talking about rule changes, frequent transfers, and slow decision-making process, indicating that they are aware of the challenges in involving the local/state government in partnerships. As a result, CSO might favor short-term projects rather than focusing on long-term projects where the above-mentioned challenges can affect the outcomes.

The Government of Karnataka led Indian Administrative Fellowship has a provision for those selected to continue with their projects even if the civil servant with whom they started working is transferred (The Nudge, 2021). This can serve as a useful model to overcome the challenge of transfers affecting a department's priorities. Involving multiple departments simultaneously, as my study findings indicate, can help to deal with not only the issue of frequent transfers and the government's slow decision making (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018) but also ensure continued governmental involvement. In addition, the presence of a champion in any of the departments, I think, will encourages other departments to play their part.

15.8.2.8 Continued participation

Since continuity is crucial to success of partnerships, it is essential to deal with the barriers related to it. For example, developers and contractors might want to partner only when they have a construction project, which they believe will benefit through partnerships. In such situations, continued engagement through seeking inputs even if an intervention is not implemented at their sites can help. Funding can affect CSO' continued participation in partnerships and it is essential that CSO are financially supported (Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). In existing partnerships, the

construction sector does not fully fund CSO activities, highlighting an issue that needs to be negotiated in the early stages of partnership building along with the extent to which the local/state government will support CSO. In relation, Stibbe and Prescott (2020) highlight the need for having policies in place that determine the course of actions in case a partner wants to leave or join the partnership.

15.8.2.9 Partnership outcomes and beyond

Once a partnership is in place, achieving the intervention objectives is often challenging, which can prevent effective functioning. In relation, Stibbe and Prescott (2020) recommend having an evaluation plan that considers all stakeholders' input, is based on goals identified, and can evolve overtime recognizing the emerging threats and opportunities as well as allowing adjustments in direction and quantum of change. The issue of credit for success, which I identified, finds mention in literature in the context of attributing outcomes as well as measuring the outcomes (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018). These issues point to the next phases of setting up partnerships including partnership maintenance, and review and revision. During these stages, agreements related to structure and set-up of partnerships including governance mechanisms, funding and resource sharing, timeline for program implementation and achieving milestones, legal structures, measurement of success, and monitoring and evaluation play an important role in ensuring optimal functioning (PPPLab Food & Water, 2018; Stibbe & Prescott, 2020). These stages are beyond the scope of data I collected and require further exploration indicating the need for additional research that builds on my findings.

15.9 Checking validity of the theoretical framework

The findings I discussed, so far, indicate that partnerships are feasible and that they can lead to positive outcomes for MCW. However, they do not confirm whether the study findings support the theoretical framework I developed. To determine the theoretical framework's validity, I compared the existing and potential partnership avenues with solutions listed in the framework. The partnerships, existing and potential, cover the solutions included within the theoretical framework, which relate to the meso or the intermediate level of social determinants of migration outcomes (Table 21). In addition, my findings show the need for interventions both at the place origin and in Bengaluru indicating that contextual factors at both these locations determine migration related outcomes as the theoretical framework proposes.

Table 21 Solutions in theoretical framework and existing/potential partnerships

Theoretical framework solutions	Related existing/potential partnership
Implementation of labor laws	Yes
Living and working conditions	Yes
Nature of employment	Yes
Wages	Yes
Development of children	Yes
Access to services	Yes

Though I included gender roles as one of the contextual factors and my findings establish that female MCW/family members face sexism and gender-based discrimination, my study did not identify ways of addressing these issues. This indicates that the theoretical framework can be used not only for identifying solutions but also areas that require but lack interventions. In the same vein, I not identify any role for partnerships at the place of origin but the information I presented throughout this section provides many examples of how partnerships at the origin can benefit MCW. In addition, origin-destination partnerships can ensure continuity of services and facilitate

efforts aimed at empowering MCW. In addition, as I highlighted so far, the contextual factors affect the formation and functioning of partnerships as well as the implementation of solutions.

As a next step, I determined whether the existing and potential partnerships are in alignment with the concepts of integration (Council of Europe, n.d.; Migration Policy Research and Communications Department, 2008; Penninx, 2005), resilience (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016), and vulnerability (Siriwardhana et al., 2017). The existing and potential partnerships, except one, in all probability lead to increased integration, improved resilience, and decreased vulnerability when compared to interventions known to positively impact them (Tables 21 and 22). In appendix A, I defined the dimensions connected with the constructs I included in the theoretical framework.

The partnership avenues, I documented, relate to most dimensions of the constructs included in the framework indicating that the theoretical framework is valid qualitatively. Evaluating the existing partnerships can help to determine the extent to which they have helped to achieve the outcomes suggested in the framework using indicators related to integration, resilience, and vulnerability. Existing and potential partnerships do not target cultural and political integration. I discussed earlier need for interventions related to acceptance and policy level changes to ensure MCW' political representation, which address cultural and political integration respectively.

Table 22 Comparison of existing partnerships and changes peroposed in the theoretical framework










































































Existing partnerships	Construct and dimensions		
	Integration  Social  Economic  Legal	Resilience  Physical capital  Human capital  Financial capital	Vulnerability  Meso-level
Designing accommodation	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Banking	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Childcare	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Child healthcare	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Education	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Healthcare	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Legal support	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
KCWVB registration	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Skill development	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 

Table 23 Comparison of potential partnerships and changes perposed in the theoretical framework

Potential partnerships	Construct and dimensions		
	Integration  Social  Economic  Legal	Resilience  Physical capital  Human capital  Financial capital  Regulatory/ governance	Vulnerability  Meso-level
Childcare	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Designing accommodations for MCW	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Dialogue between the construction sector and the Labour Department	↓ 	↓ 	↑ 
Education	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Fundraising for service provision	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Healthcare	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Infrastructure creation	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
National identification cards	↑  	↑ 	↓ 
KCWVB registration	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 
Skill development	↑ 	↑ 	↓ 

At a larger level, a countrywide study on integration of interstate migrants ranked Karnataka 21st among 29 states and union territories based on a policy review (India Migration Now, 2021, February 24; Mitra et al., 2020, November 8). Among the receiving states, Aggarwal et al. (2020) and India Migration Now (2021, February 24) state that Kerala performs better when compared to other states in terms of having policies and programs that promote integration of migrant workers. However, Peter et al. (2020) have identified various issues with these policies and programs indicating that opportunities for further improvement exist in Kerala.

Specific to resilience, the partnerships do not address the dimensions of social capital and natural capital (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016). Policy level changes such as the proposed codes can weaken regulatory/governance systems as I illustrated in Table 22. Interventions aimed at natural capital go beyond migrants and encompass interventions that focus on biodiversity, water, land, and forest conditions. In the context of climate change induced migration interventions that target natural capital will become crucial. Interventions addressing social capital focus on increasing migrants' networks with other people from the place origin and the host community.

To increase theoretical framework's validity, I presented the modified theoretical framework (Figure 8) to the CAB member and my dissertation committee. Based on their feedback, I made further changes to indicate that most stakeholders considered MCW as passive rather than active participants. The size of the triangle of each stakeholder group represents the power they wield in the context of partnerships. The unequal sizes signify the power differentials between the stakeholders. The arrows in indicate whether a stakeholder is participating in an active or passive role; active signifies that the stakeholder group collaborates with other groups and passive denotes that the stakeholder group receives benefits but does not have any other role. While

partnerships need to have their MCW' rights as the basis of their functioning, I think, MCW themselves should decide the nature of partnerships. As I discussed earlier, I feel empowering MCW to fight for their rights is best addressed outside of partnerships. I also added arrows to indicate that the context at the place of origin interacts with the context in Bengaluru.

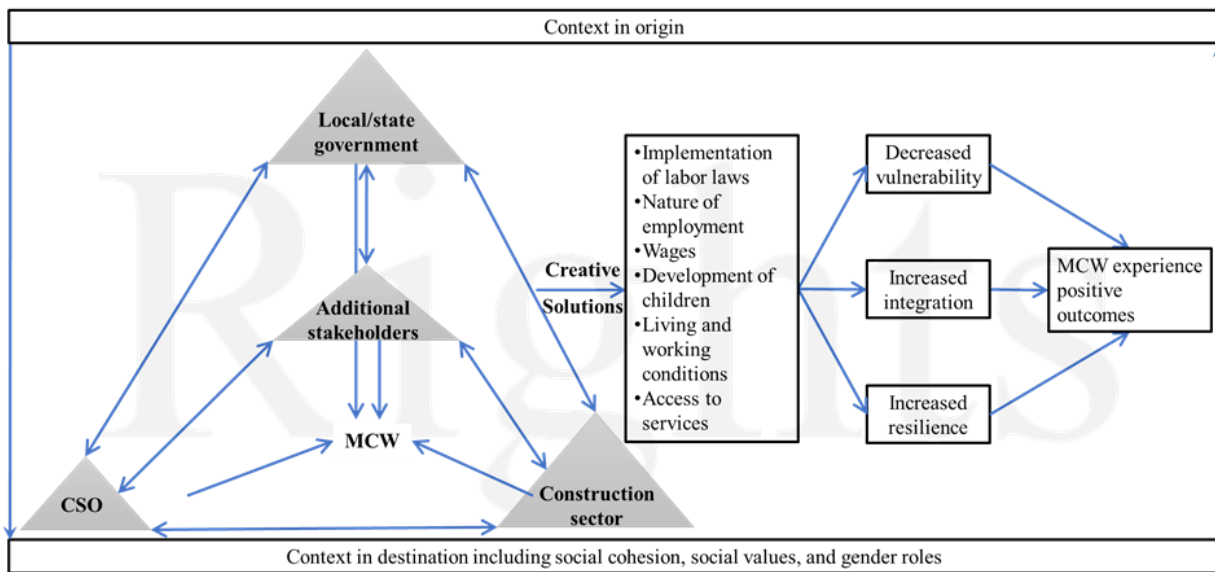


Figure 8 Modified theoretical framework following discussions with community advisory board members and dissertation committee

To address MCW' rights as well as to ensure that they are the key stakeholders in any partnership organizing MCW in settings other than established informal settlements, I believe, needs immediate attention. While I acknowledge CBPR's role in empowering workers, I am concerned that same logistical issues that have prevented CSO and unions from organizing MCW might come into play. During my conversation with a union organizer many years back we discussed about an agency that can negotiate working and living conditions on behalf of MCW and serve as a conduit for hiring MCW to help reduce their exploitation. The KCWWB wanting to establish a portal through which MCW can be hired is a starting point but in the absence of efforts focused on protecting MCW' rights, I do not think any positive changes will occur. These

efforts can take the form of regulated and ethical recruitment, which has found favor in the context of international migration (Andrees et al., 2015; Gurney, 2017; Plumb, 2020). The International Organization for Migration defines ethical recruitment as the process of *‘hiring workers lawfully and in a fair and transparent manner that respects and protects their rights.’*

Since such initiatives already exist in India in the context of overseas migration (Gurney, 2017), the role of ethical recruitment in facilitating safe and orderly internal economic migration needs to be explored. Some of the initiatives, I discussed earlier, including setting up of migration resource and facilitation centers at the place of origin and in Bengaluru can serve to facilitate recruitment, which is not exploitative. The Global Fund to End Modern Slavery’s recent request for a proposal on recognition of prior learning for skill certification and facilitating recruitment through ethical micro-contractors to ensure that MCW experience non-exploitative working environments (Global Fund to End Modern Slavery, n.d.) is one such attempt. The results of this innovative program, if positive, could impact many MCW if it finds wider support and is scaled up for implementation countrywide. In relation, instituting partnership agreements that incentivize the construction sector to follow a code of conduct, comply with regulations, and engage in ethical recruitment can complement grassroots level efforts.

15.10 Narrative to facilitate partnership building in Bengaluru

To set the stage, based on my findings, I developed the following narrative, which I will use while disseminating findings and advocating for partnerships. This narrative focuses on service delivery and living and working conditions. I will acknowledge that partnerships might not be suited for addressing MCW’ rights. The shared value that can convince the construction sector to

participate in partnerships relates to the ability of partnerships to facilitate benefit MCW and for the construction sector to benefit from a healthier and more productive workforce. In addition, the construction sector's image can improve from partnering with organizations that offer solutions to the issues MCW face, which the construction sector is unable to solve on its own. Partnering offers the construction sector an opportunity to engage in business practices that the investors and the larger community view positively. The construction sector, through partnerships, can contribute to strategic social investments and value chain sustainability through getting involved in efforts that support MCW through the entire lifecycle of migration. For the local/state government partnering with CSO and the constructions sector increases the opportunities available for fulfilling its mandate.

Partnering offers CSO an opportunity to become key players in developing solutions through leveraging their knowledge, field experiences, existing partnerships, and capacity for innovations in a context where the local/state government is slow and unresponsive and the construction sector is focused on efficiency and profit at the cost of human values. In addition, beyond the present model of delivering services to MCW through project-based funding, CSO can lead transformational changes in service delivery to MCW. For MCW, who might be represented by CSO or trade unions or workers' collectives, taking part in a partnership offers the chance to increase their leverage with the construction sector as well as benefit through improved outcomes related to migration. The additional stakeholders including corporates can gain positive traction by supporting partnership initiatives. Overall, by contributing resources and expertise, each stakeholder group stands to benefits from the efficiencies other stakeholders bring at no additional costs. I will use examples and case studies from other industries to developing this narrative further for dissemination.

15.11 Strengths and weakness

The strengths and weaknesses of my study primarily derive from the methodology I followed and data collection techniques I used. The strengths include working with members of the community advisory board (CAB) through all the steps of my dissertation and in laying the groundwork for future partnerships in Bengaluru. My study included perspectives of four stakeholder groups, which will serve to inform any future partnership between them. Within each stakeholder group, the diversity of participants is an added strength. I included female/MCW in three different settings, civil society organizations (CSO) representatives belonging to four different types of organizations, construction sector representative playing different roles in the real estate segment, and local/state government representatives from four different departments.

Using qualitative methodology meant that I could explore additional topics based on each data collection instance and perspectives of each stakeholder group. I began the study by collecting data from MCW on their needs, which informed the data I collected from other stakeholder groups. This understanding of needs enabled me to determine how and whether other stakeholders want to partner with each other to address the problems MCW experience in Bengaluru. In addition, sequential data collection helped me to determine the opportunities and barriers for partnership between the stakeholder groups and within themselves.

The data collection technique I used with each stakeholder group is an added strength. Using focus groups, with exceptions, allowed me to capture the differing perspectives of female MCW/family members since their experiences vary based on many factors leading to a more nuanced and holistic understanding. While interviewing representatives of other stakeholder groups, I built on the responses of each participant and asked subsequent participants additional questions, as needed. In addition, participant observations and maintaining notes of my informal

conversations with individuals whom I met through the course of my research provided additional perspectives. Maintaining a research diary helped me to identify issues that require additional exploration.

To increase the validity of the findings, I analyzed the data with another public health researcher. This helped to control any biases that could have affected the data analysis. We reached consensus with the themes and sub-themes used in the analysis and codes assigned to the data. I triangulated the findings by comparing the responses across stakeholder groups to increase the validity of the findings along with member checking. The final theoretical framework with inputs from CAB members will inform future studies.

As with the strengths, the limitations emerged from the methodological decisions. The difficulty in recruiting female MCW/family members in small construction sites forced me to conduct interviews at small construction sites. However, by including questions about the lives of MCW in other settings, I was able to reach saturation. In addition, interviews helped female MCW/family to share more about harassment at worksites, which was not the case with focus groups. Similarly, I had difficulties in recruiting independent contractors which led me to conduct one rather than the three planned interviews with this category of participants. Considering that intermediaries rather than independent contractors hire MCW, by collecting data from the intermediaries I was able to overcome issues in saturation.

The major limitation of my study relates to the study not having elements of empowering MCW but rather focuses on improving service delivery thereby not following a true CBPR approach. The transient nature of MCW, the lack of any associations directly representing MCW, and my presence in Pittsburgh for some parts of my research journey made involving them in all steps of the research process difficult. I am hopeful, based on having identified this limitation, I

will undertake research and practice that involves MCW as partners, leaders, and changemakers in my future work.

The other major limitation relates to focusing on the residential real estate segment of the construction sector. I did not capture the perspectives of MCW working on commercial and public infrastructure projects in my study. However, I believe, the partnership avenues my study identified can eventually serve MCW irrespective of the segment. Since many of the construction sector representatives, I interviewed, have experience of working in the commercial real estate segment my findings can be extended to this segment. The other limitations emerge from the possibility of respondent bias affecting the validity of the findings. Due to the focus of this dissertation participants from CSO, the construction sector, and the local/state government might have been inclined to provide positive responses about partnerships. However, considering that most participants identified barriers that can prevent successful partnership formation and functioning it is possible to rule out this bias to an extent.

I did not identify any concrete solutions to the issues, which female MCW/family members and MCW in small construction sites face indicating the need for additional research as well as a limitation. The small number of participants from the construction sector in comparison to the size of the construction sector in Bengaluru is a potential limitation. A different set of participants might have identified distinct partnership avenues based on their individual experiences. In the absence of data regarding the feasibility of the partnership avenues I identified, I am unable to determine which of them will translate into practice. To overcome this, as a next step, I plan to survey the stakeholders to determine the feasibility of the partnership avenues.

15.12 Dissemination plan

I plan to utilize multiple channels and methods for dissemination of the study results (Table 24). Each of these serve a particular purpose and will allow me to reach specific audiences. I obtained feedback on my initial plan from the members of the CAB and modified the dissemination plan accordingly. While disseminating the findings, I will ensure that I incorporate MCW' voices into all methods listed in Table 24 by including quotations and narratives based on the data I collected from female MCW/family members. I will follow the COREQ guidelines (Tong et al., 2007) and the guidelines for publishing qualitative CBPR (Grieb et al., 2015) while preparing manuscript/s for publication. In choosing a journal for publication, I will pay attention to the geography of the readership along with checking if the journal focuses on practice rather than theoretical aspects of migration and partnerships. In addition to these, an ideal dissemination method would be a workshop where representatives of MCW, CSO, the local/state government, and the construction sector work together to discuss the pathways for partnerships I identified and prioritize them for implementation.

Table 24 Plan for disseminating study findings

Audience	Potential methods	Purpose
MCW	Radio broadcast, WhatsApp recording	To provide information on study findings and how partnerships can benefit them
CSO	Infographic, brief research report, newsletter article	To inform about potential avenues for partnership with other stakeholders
Policy makers	Infographic	Advocacy for partnerships in delivering services to MCW
Construction companies	Infographic, brief research report, article in CREDAI Bengaluru and Builder Association of India newsletters	To inform about potential avenues for partnership with other stakeholders
Resident Welfare Associations/general population	Radio broadcast, newspaper article, podcast	For the resident Welfare Associations/general population to advocate for MCW
Funders	Brief research report	Accountability
Scientific audience	Journal, conference	Contributing to existing knowledge, peer review of findings, opportunities for improving the study design in future research, additional research on partnerships to build on my study findings, and utilizing findings for generating empirical evidence on benefits of partnerships

16.0 Conclusions

Through this study I aimed to document the experiences of female migrant construction workers (MCW)/family members in Bengaluru along with the perspectives of civil society organizations (CSO), the construction sector, and the local/state government regarding the present status of response to issue MCW face and opportunities for improvement. MCW face issues that span across all aspects of their life indicating a need for a multistakeholder response. However, the response at present involves stakeholders working alone or through project bound partnerships. Multistakeholder partnerships have the potential to improve MCW lives but with limitations related to their inability to address MCW' rights and needs of MCW in all settings. While I was able to document the experiences of female MCW/family members as planned, I did not identify any solutions to issues they face that go beyond maternal health. Similarly, I did not identify any concrete ideas for through partnerships or otherwise to address the needs of MCW in small construction sites. In addition, partnerships are suited to address issues related to welfare rather than MCW' rights.

Though these shortcomings exist, partnerships have a role in positively impacting MCW when supplemented by efforts focused on rights. Existing partnerships in Bengaluru point towards the benefits for MCW when diverse stakeholders come together, specifically, in addressing the intermediate determinants of migration outcomes. The qualitative findings from my study need to be bolstered with quantitative data to confirm the benefits for MCW. Multistakeholder partnerships need to focus not only on partnerships between stakeholder groups but also within stakeholder groups to maximize their impacts. Multistakeholder partnerships, however, face various challenges at all stages of partnership formation and functioning. The barriers and facilitators to

partnerships I identified can act as starting point for the stakeholders to understand the challenges that come with partnering. This understanding can serve to speed up the process of developing partnerships and putting in place structures that will help partnerships to deal with issues as they come up. My findings can help to kickstart the process of establishing partnerships focused on improving certain aspects of service delivery and the living and working conditions, since I completed the stakeholder scoping and analysis required for partnership building. Any partnership efforts need to go together with efforts aimed at empowering MCW and increasing their role within the partnerships.

To complement my findings, future research needs to pay attention to the factors that can impact maintenance, and review and revision stages of partnerships. Specifically, I recommend qualitative studies to capture the elements I listed above. In addition, mechanisms to empower MCW in various settings along with looking at ways of integrating MCW' rights into partnership frameworks need exploration. Other than partnerships at the destination, the role of partnerships at the source and between stakeholders at the source and in Bengaluru need to be explored to help to identify mechanisms for empowering MCW.

Appendix A : Dimensions of constructs included in theoretical framework

Dimensions of integration

Social integration refers to having access to services such as education, healthcare, and housing to the same extent as the citizens of the host society without any discrimination.

Economic integration deals with labor rights, opportunities for employment, and labor market participation. It includes recognizing contributions to the local economy and non-discrimination at workplace.

Cultural integration varyingly refers to religious diversity as well as ability of host and immigrant populations to express and understand each other's culture.

Political integration manifests as having political and voting rights, say in policy making and voting rights.

Legal integration confers immigrants and refugees the same rights as those afforded to citizens of host society.

Source: (Juzwiak et al., 2014)

Dimensions of resiliency

Governance/regulatory systems refer to the laws, regulations, and organizations at all levels of the government that affect a society.

Financial capital refers to having access to stable revenue streams and safety nets that help to deal with impacts of sudden financial shocks.

Physical capital refers to having access to services, infrastructure and resources, which are required for human survival including clean water, food, healthcare, shelter, and sanitation.

Human capital refers to both formal education and informal skills along with having access to information on labour markets, rights, and services that help to deal with unexpected events and build resiliency.

Social capital refers to existing social norms, the networks that provide support to people within a society and promote acceptance by the community.

Natural capital refers to the level and quality of natural assets that humans need to survive such as atmosphere, biodiversity, water, and forests.

Source: (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2016)

Levels of vulnerability

Micro-level includes factors such as genetic inheritance, age, and gender that impact all stages of life.

Meso-level includes factors related to living conditions, wages, life events, sources of support, and social inclusion/exclusion.

Macro-level factors include the systems of governance, labor market policies, social and economic policies, migrant-hostile political discourse, and culture.

Source: (Siriwardhana et al., 2017)

Appendix B : Introductory script for female migrant construction workers

“Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru”

I, Rahul Amruthapuri, am conducting a research study to determine how the state and local government can partner with non-governmental organizations, the construction sector, and migrant construction workers to improve the lives of migrant construction workers such as you. To complete the study, I will be collecting data from female migrant construction workers/family members, and representatives of the local/state government, non-governmental organizations, and the construction sector. I am inviting you to take part in this study because your experiences as a female migrant construction worker/family member living in Bengaluru are valuable to answering my research question. I will recruit a total of 34 female migrant construction workers to take part in four focus groups. If you want to participate, you need to be above 18 years of age; migrated into Bengaluru; either be a construction worker or a family member of a construction worker; speak either Hindi, Kannada, Tamil, or Telugu. You cannot participate in the study if you have any present mental illness or if you are acutely ill on the day of the focus group.

If you are willing to participate, you will attend a focus group that will last around 90 minutes. I would like to audio-record the focus group to facilitate data analysis. During the focus group you will be discussing the issues female migrant construction workers/family members face including living/working conditions, harassment, domestic violence and about being accepted while living in Bengaluru. While there are no unforeseeable risks from taking part in the study you might feel uncomfortable in answering certain questions. There is also a risk for breach of confidentiality. You might face harassment from your employer for participating in the study. To reduce the

chances of this, I have already spoken to your employer about the study and have ascertained that they do not have any issue with your participation in the study (only for small construction sites if needed).

There are no direct benefits for participating in this study. No assurance can be made that this study will lead to development of partnerships or implementation of solutions. You will receive cooking utensils or a blanket as an appreciation for your participation in the study. The information you provide during the focus group will be recorded anonymous and any information you provide cannot be traced back to you. The focus groups will be conducted in rooms that offer privacy so that those outside the room cannot hear our conversation. I will keep the information you share during focus groups confidential and will destroy all audio-recordings after typing them. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you can decide at any point even after the focus group begins to withdraw from the study. However, any information you provide up until the point of withdrawal will be used in the study. I will be visiting one day prior to the focus group to answer any questions you may have about the study and to provide you the details about the venue and timing of the focus group. You can contact me at +91 8925285681 in case you have any questions.

Appendix C : Introductory script for civil society organization representatives

“Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru”

I, Rahul Amruthapuri, am conducting a research study to determine how the state and local government can partner with non-governmental organizations, the construction sector, and migrant construction workers to improve the lives of migrant construction workers. To complete the study, I will be collecting data from female migrant construction workers, and representatives of the local/state government, non-governmental organizations, and the construction sector. I am inviting you to take part in this study because your role as a member of the non-governmental sector working with migrant construction sector in Bengaluru is valuable to answering my research question. I will recruit a total of six non-governmental sector representatives to take part in the interviews. If you are willing to participate, you need to be above 18 years of age, working in a civil society organization either as a staff member interacting with migrant construction workers as a part of your day-day work or in an executive position. You cannot take part in the study if in the previous six months you did not work directly with MCW or supervised staff working with MCW.

If you are willing to participate, you will be part of an interviews will last around 60 minutes. I would like to audio-record the interview to facilitate data analysis. During the interview you will be answering questions related to the issues migrant construction workers face while living in Bengaluru, meeting the needs of migrant construction workers, perspectives about the response to issues, and avenues for partnership with the construction sector and the local/state government in

service delivery to MCW. There are no unforeseeable risks from taking part in the study. There is a risk for breach of confidentiality.

There are no direct benefits for you by participating in this study. No assurance can be made that this study will lead to development of partnerships or implementation of solutions. You will not receive any compensation for participating in the study. The interview will be anonymous and information you provide cannot be traced back to you. I will keep the information you share during the interview confidential and will destroy all audio-recordings after transcription. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you can decide at any point until data analysis begins to stop participating in the study. While sharing results of the study that involve quotes, I will only mention the type of work carried out by your organization. I will contact after two days to ask about your willingness to participate in the study. You can contact me at +91 8925285681 in case you have any questions.

Appendix D : Introductory script for the construction sector representatives

“Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru”

I, Rahul Amruthapuri, am conducting a research study to determine how the state and local government can partner with non-governmental organizations, the construction sector, and migrant construction workers to improve the lives of migrant construction workers. To complete the study, I will be collecting data from female migrant construction workers, and representatives of the local/state government, non-governmental organizations, and the construction sector. I am inviting you to take part in this study because of your role as a member of the construction sector in Bengaluru is valuable to answering my research question. I will recruit a total of 12 construction sector representatives to take part in the interviews. If you are willing to participate, you need to be above 18 years of age; involved in the construction sector in one the following capacities: i) executives of the developers registered with CREDAI-B, or ii) executives of construction companies and contractors, or iii) labor contractors/ intermediaries responsible for hiring MCW, or iv) independent contractors. You cannot participate in the study if you are not involved in overseeing the hiring and the working and living conditions of MCW.

If you are willing to participate, you will be part an interview that will last around 60 minutes. I would like to audio-record the interview to facilitate data analysis. During the interview you will be answering questions related to the issues migrant construction workers face while living in Bengaluru, meeting the needs of migrant construction workers, perspectives about the response to issues, and avenues for partnership with non-governmental organizations and the local/state

government in service delivery to MCW. There are no unforeseeable risks from taking part in the study. There is a risk for breach of confidentiality.

There are no direct benefits for you by participating in this study. No assurance can be made that this study will lead to development of partnerships or implementation of solutions. You will not receive any compensation for participating in the study. The interview will be completely anonymous and information you provide cannot be traced back to you. I will keep the information you share during the interview confidential and will destroy all audio-recordings after transcription. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you can decide at any point until data analysis begins to stop participating in the study. While sharing results of the study that involve quotes, I will only mention your affiliation with the construction sector. I will contact after two days to ask about your willingness to participate in the study. You can contact me at +91 8925285681 in case you have any questions.

Appendix E : Introductory script for the local/state government representatives

“Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru”

I, Rahul Amruthapuri, am conducting a research study to determine how the state and local government can partner with non-governmental organizations, the construction sector, and migrant construction workers to improve the lives of migrant construction workers. To complete the study, I will be collecting data from female migrant construction workers, and representatives of the local/state government, non-governmental organizations, and the construction sector. I am inviting you to take part in this study because of your role as an official of a department involved in delivering services to migrant construction workers in Bengaluru is valuable to answering my research question. I will recruit a total of three state/local government representatives to take part in the interviews. To participate in the study, you need to be a part of the Karnataka Labour Department or the Karnataka Women and Child Development Department or the Health Department of the Greater Bengaluru Municipal Corporation or the Karnataka Education Department. You cannot participate in the study if you joined the department less than three months ago.

If you are willing to participate, you will be part of an interview that will last around 60 minutes. I would like to audio-record the interview to facilitate data analysis. During the interview you will be answering questions related to the issues migrant construction workers face while living in Bengaluru, meeting the needs of migrant construction workers, perspectives about the response to issues, and avenues for partnership with non-governmental organizations and the construction

sector in service delivery to MCW. There are no unforeseeable risks from taking part in the study. There is a risk for breach of confidentiality.

There are no direct benefits for you by participating in this study. No assurance can be made that this study will lead to development of partnerships or implementation of solutions. You will not receive any compensation for participating in the study. The interview will be completely anonymous and information you provide cannot be traced back to you. I will keep the information you share during the interview confidential and will destroy all audio-recordings after transcription. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you can decide at any point until data analysis begins to stop participating in the study. While sharing results of the study that involve quotes, I will only mention the department you belong to. I will contact after two days to ask about your willingness to participate in the study. You can contact me at +91 8925285681 in case you have any questions.

Appendix F : Focus group script and questions

Thanks for coming today. I will begin the audio-recording now.

Thank you again for your time and for being here today. As I am speaking, in case you want any further explanation or additional information please feel free to ask me. My contact details are in the consent document that I provided you.

The focus-group will last around one and half hour. I am here to learn from you and request you to share your thoughts freely. The purpose of this focus group is for you to discuss questions, that I ask, with each other. To help with the discussion I would like to set some rules. I encourage everyone to take part in the conversation. Please respect each other's ideas and opinions. It is okay to express ideas or opinions that do not match those of others. It will be helpful if you let others complete speaking before you start speaking.

You may choose to leave the room anytime you wish. We arranged snacks and water in the corner (point to the location); please help yourselves. Please either switch off your phones or keep them on silent mode. You can step out to receive calls and join back in.

In case any question makes you feel uncomfortable or if you feel the question(s) are too personal you need not answer them. I will protect your identity and will not share your information with others. I will not reveal to your employers or others about your participation in the study. I request you not to share what we discussed today with others including family members and friends.

I want to remind you that there are no direct benefits for you by participating in this study. You will receive cooking utensils or a blanket at the end of the focus group. Your participation will increase the understanding the how partnerships can benefit migrant construction workers in Bengaluru. XXXX who is with me will take down notes as the focus group progresses.

Please note that participation in the study is voluntary. You can withdraw from the study anytime even after the focus group begins. However, any information you provide up until the point of withdrawal will be used in the study. Feel free to ask me any questions you have.

(After answering any questions) If you are willing to be a part of the study, please remain in the room (give time for those who want to leave). Please say yes when your turn comes up as a record of your consent.

Questions:

- 1. We can begin by introducing ourselves mentioning where we are from and for how long we have lived in Bengaluru.**
- 2. Can you talk about the reasons you moved to Bengaluru?**
- 3. Tell me about the life of female migrant construction workers/family members in Bengaluru.**

Probes:

- What issues do they face in your day-to-day life?
 - Describe their access to basic needs
Talk about access to food rations, water, toilets
 - Describe their working conditions
Talk about contract, wages, safety, harassment, skills development, promotions
 - Describe their living conditions
Talk about accommodation, harassment, domestic violence
 - Describe their access to services
Talk about access to healthcare, children's education, childcare
 - Describe their access to social security
Talk about access to insurance, injury compensation, unemployment benefits

- 4. Tell me what do you feel about migrant construction workers being an accepted part of the society in Bengaluru?**

Probes:

- In what ways does the native population make migrant construction workers feel that they are accepted or unaccepted in Bengaluru?
- Tell me what do feel about migrant construction workers' contributions to Bengaluru?
- Tell me how being an accepted part of the society will make a difference in migrant construction workers life?

- 5. In what ways does the lives of female migrant construction workers at small construction sites differ when compared to those working at large construction sites and those living in informal settlements?**

- 6. What kind of assets/resources does the migrant construction worker community in Bengaluru have to solve the issues you are facing?**

Probes:

- What about collective bargaining power?
- Tell me about social networks you have?
- Tell me about any organization/association you are a member of?

Thank you very much for attending the focus group. We appreciate your time and effort to be here. I am summarizing what we discussed today:

Do you have any additional thoughts or comments about what we discussed before we conclude?

I will now meet with you each of individually to collect demographic data through a survey.

Appendix G : Survey tool for focus group participants

Thanks for coming to the focus group. Before you leave, I want to collect some details from each of you individually that will help to better understand your lives. In case you are not comfortable answering any of the questions, do not have to answer them.

1. What is your age (in years)?
2. How many years of schooling have you completed?
3. Which state do you belong to?
4. Which caste do you belong to?
5. Which was the last place of your residence?
6. For how long have you been staying in Bengaluru (in years and months)?
7. For how long have you been staying at present place of residence (in years and months)?
8. What languages do you speak?
9. On a scale of 1 (cannot understand or speak at all) to 5 (very proficient) how do you rate your proficiency in Kannada?
10. What is your present occupation?
11. What was your income during the last work week?
12. Are you involved in any economic activity at the place of your origin? 1.Yes, 2. No, 8.No response
If yes, how many months in a year do you spend working on that job?
13. Did you migrate with your family? 1.Yes, 2.No, 8.No response
14. How many local friends/ acquaintances do you have who can provide support and help in Bengaluru?
15. Do you have a Voter Identity Card in Bengaluru? 1.Yes, 2.No, 8.No response
16. Do you have a Ration Card in Bengaluru? 1.Yes, 2.No, 8.No response

Appendix H : Focus groups - Participant informed consent



Study Title: Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru

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If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to talk to someone other than the research team, please call the University of Pittsburgh Human Subjects Protection Advocate toll-free at +1 866-212-2668.

Introduction

I am currently a doctoral student at the University of Pittsburgh Graduate School of Public Health. I am conducting this research study to fulfil my program requirements. This research aims to determine how the state and local government can partner with non-governmental organizations, construction sector, and migrant construction workers to improve the lives of migrant construction workers such as you. I have obtained funding from the University Center for International Studies and the Department of Behavioral and Community Health Sciences to complete this study. I invited you to take part in this study because your experiences as a female migrant construction worker or as a family member are valuable to answering my research question.

Procedure

To complete the study, I will be collecting data from female migrant construction workers/family members along with representatives of the local/state government, non-governmental organizations, and construction sector. During the focus group you will be discussing the issues female migrant construction workers/family members face including living/working conditions, harassment, domestic violence and about being accepted while living in Bengaluru with other

female migrant construction workers/family members. You will also provide basic demographic data about yourself. The focus group will last around 90 minutes and will be conducted at a venue that offers privacy.

A colleague and I will be the only people who will be present in the room other than the participants. **We will be audio-recording the focus group and will take down notes as the focus group progresses. You may choose to leave the focus group anytime you wish. In case any question makes you feel uncomfortable or if you feel the question(s) are too personal you need not answer them.**

Benefits

There are no direct benefits for you by participating in this study. No assurance can be made that this study will lead to development of partnerships or implementation of solutions.

Risks

While there are no unforeseeable risks from taking part in the study you may experience discomfort or might be affected emotionally due to the nature of the questions. I will make resources, such as contact numbers of organizations, available to you in case you require them. Although I have made efforts to decrease the potential for any risk from your participation, you can choose to not answer questions that make you feel uncomfortable in any way. There is also a risk for breach of confidentiality, including those participating in the focus groups sharing what was discussed with others, against which I have taken multiple measures as described later. I have spoken to your employer about the study and they do not object to your participation in the study (only for small construction sites if needed).

Privacy

Venues selected for focus groups will offer a private space where others cannot listen to conversations happening within. You will not be forced to share personal experiences during the focus groups unless you wish to. We will be audio-recording the focus group and will take down notes as the focus group progresses. You can ask for the audio-recording to be stopped at any instance.

Confidentiality

I will protect your identity and will not share your information with others. The focus group will be completely anonymous and information you provided cannot be traced back to you. I will not reveal to your employers about your participation in the study. I request you not to share what we will be discussing with others including family members and friends. I will keep the information you share during the focus group confidential using password protected files and will destroy all audio-recording after transcription. I will keep focus group notes/summaries in a locked file folder that only I can access.

Other than me only a hired transcriptionist will have access to the audio-recordings. To ensure your confidentiality the transcripts will not include any identifiers. I will share transcripts with a translation service to get them translated into English. I along with another researcher will have access to the translated transcripts and we will analyze the data together. Any manuscript or other output resulting from the research will only include type of migration you have undertaken and type of workplace/accommodation while presenting the findings involving quotes.

Withdrawal

Considering that focus group data is collected anonymously, you will be able to withdraw from the study until the focus group begins. Once the audio-recording begins you cannot withdraw your participation from the study. You will be given a chance to leave the room prior to starting the audio-recording. You may also leave the room any time after the focus group begins. To withdraw from the study prior to the focus groups you can contact me using the phone number listed above.

Compensation

You will not receive any monetary compensation for taking part in the study. You will receive cooking utensils or a blanket as a token of appreciation at end of the focus group.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research study is entirely voluntary. In case you want any further explanation or additional information please feel free to ask me.

Verification of Explanation

I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research study to the participant in appropriate language. He/she has had an opportunity to discuss it with me in detail. I have answered all his/her questions and he/she has provided verbal consent to participate in this study.

Investigator's Signature

Witness Signature

Date

Investigator's Name

Witness Name

Appendix I : Interview guide for civil society organizations' representatives

1. Tell me about the issues migrant construction worker face in Bengaluru?

Ask about below if not mentioned:

- Basic services
- Working conditions
- Living conditions
- Access to services
- Social security

2. Do you feel that MCW in Bengaluru are considered as residents/citizens of Bengaluru?

3. What specific issues do male migrant construction workers living and working in small construction workers face?

4. Tell me what your organization does in relation to migrant construction workers?

- What services does your organization provide to migrant construction workers?
- Which activities of your organization involve migrant construction workers?
- Do any of your activities involve partnering with other organizations and how?
- Do you think builders have a sense of fear or mistrust when NGOs approach them?

5. In what ways are NGOs working with MCW in Bengaluru are partnering with one-another?

Probe:

- In what ways can NGOs serving MCW in Bengaluru network with each other? What benefits do you foresee from such networking?

6. Tell me what you think about the response of the state and local government to issues migrant construction workers face?

- What do you think about the regulatory role of the Department of Labour?
- What do you think about the functioning of the Karnataka Construction Workers Welfare Board?
- What do you think about the schemes of the Karnataka Construction Workers Welfare Board?
- According to you in what ways is the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike supporting migrant construction workers?

7. Tell me what you think about the response of real estate developers to the issues migrant construction workers face?

- In what ways are construction companies helping migrant construction workers in Bengaluru?
- What do you think about the role of CSR of construction companies in improving the lives of migrant construction workers?

8. What role do you see for partnerships in solving the issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru?

- What do you think about a forming such a partnership?
- Who do you think should be a part of the partnership in Bengaluru?
- How can migrant construction workers contribute to partnerships?
- What issues do you foresee in forming and working as partners with others?
- What do you think about a partnership between the NGOs that work on issues faced by MCW?

9. Tell me what a partnership involving non-governmental organizations, the government, and construction companies should work on?

- What avenues for partnership do you think your organization will be interested in?
- Ask about the partnership avenues identified by other participants.
- What issues do you think the partnership can/should tackle immediately?

I finished asking the question I intended to. I will be summarizing our discussing briefly at the end of our interview. Prior to that is there anything else that you would like to talk to me about to help me better understand the role of partnerships in addressing the issues MCW face in Bengaluru?

Provide summary:

Do you have any questions for me?

Thanks for the time you spent answering my questions. Your interview will help me better understand the how partnerships can improve the lives of MCW in Bengaluru. Thanks once again. I will stop the audio-recording after I finish speaking this sentence.

Appendix J : Interview guide for the constructions sector representatives

1. We can start of by talking about the needs of migrant construction workers. Tell me about the issues migrant construction worker face in Bengaluru?

Ask about below if not mentioned:

- Basic services
- Working conditions
- Living conditions
- Access to services
- Social security

2. Thanks for talking about the needs of migrant construction workers. We will shift the focus to developers. Can you tell me what developers are doing to address the issues that migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru?

Probes:

- What services do developers provide to migrant construction workers?
- How does the frequent changes in the work force affect service delivery?
- What do you think issues related to wages of migrant construction workers?
- Do developers stipulate working and living conditions of construction workers when hiring sub-contractors?
- According to you to what extent developers comply with various regulations put in place to protect the rights of migrant construction workers?
- In what ways do builders have a moral responsibility towards their workers?
- How does the frequent turnover of workers affect service delivery to MCW?
- What do you think about the role of CSR of developers in improving the lives of migrant construction workers?

3. Since we have discussed about what construction companies are doing, let us talk about what others are doing to solve these issues. Tell me about the response of the state and local government to issues migrant construction workers face?

Probes:

- What do you think about the regulatory role of the Department of Labour?
- What do you think about the functioning of the Karnataka Construction Workers Welfare Board?
- What do you think about the schemes of the Karnataka Construction Workers Welfare Board?

- In what ways can the CS representative be a part of decision making process of the Construction Workers Welfare Board?
- According to you in what ways is the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike supporting migrant construction workers?
- What do you think about having a Unique Identity Number for the construction workers?

4. Moving away from the state and local governments, we will next talk about what non-governmental organizations are doing. Tell me about the response of non-governmental organizations to the issues migrant construction workers face?

Probes:

- In what ways are non-governmental organizations helping migrant construction workers in Bengaluru?

5. Now that we have talked about what the government and non-governmental organizations are doing, we will shift our focus to what more can be done. Non-governmental organizations in other cities have partnered with the government and construction companies to facilitate migrant workers' access to government-run services. What role do you see for such partnerships in solving the issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru?

Probes:

- What do you think about a forming such a partnership?
- Who do you think should be a part of the partnership in Bengaluru?
- How can migrant construction workers contribute to partnerships?
- What issues do you foresee in forming and working as partners with others?

6. Since we spoke about what a partnership can look like, we can talk about what the partnership can do. Tell me what a partnership involving non-governmental organizations, the government, and developers should work on?

Probes:

- What avenues for partnership do you think your organization will be interested in?
- What issues do you think the partnership can/should tackle immediately?
- Ask about the partnership avenues identified by other participants.
- What is the best way to increase awareness among MCW about the resources available to them?

I finished asking the question I intended to. I will be summarizing our discussing briefly at the end of our interview. Prior to that is there anything else that you would like to talk to me about to help me better understand the role of partnerships in addressing the issues MCW face in Bengaluru?

Provide summary:

Do you have any questions for me?

Thanks for the time you spent answering my questions. Your interview will help me better understand the how partnerships can improve the lives of MCW in Bengaluru. Thanks once again. I will stop the audio-recording after I finish speaking this sentence.

Appendix K : Interview guide for the local/state government representatives

1. We can start of by talking about the needs of migrant construction workers. Tell me about the issues migrant construction worker face in Bengaluru?

Ask about below if not mentioned:

- Basic services
- Working conditions
- Living conditions
- Access to services
- Social security

2. Thanks for talking about the needs of migrant construction workers. We will shift the focus to the state and local government. Can you tell me what your department is doing to address the issues that migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru?

Probes:

- What services does your department provide to migrant construction workers?
- What outreach activities do you conduct to increase awareness of your services to migrant construction workers?
- In what ways does your department partner with other department/agencies to provide services to migrant construction workers?
- What do you think about the regulatory role of the government in ensuring that rights of migrant construction workers are protected?

3. Since we have discussed about what the government departments are doing, let us talk about what others are doing to solve these issues. Tell me about the response of non-governmental organizations to the issues migrant construction workers face?

Probes:

- In what ways are non-governmental organizations helping migrant construction workers in Bengaluru?

4. Moving away from the non-governmental organization, we will next talk about what construction companies doing. Tell me about the response of construction companies to the issues migrant construction workers face?

Probes:

- In what ways are construction companies helping migrant construction workers in Bengaluru?
- What do you think about the role of CSR of construction companies in improving the lives of
- migrant construction workers?

5. Now that we have talked about what the construction companies and non-governmental organizations are doing, we will shift our focus to what more can be done. Non-governmental organizations in other cities have partnered with the government and construction companies to facilitate migrant workers' access to government-run services. What role do you see for such partnerships in solving the issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru?

Probes:

- What do you think about a forming such a partnership?
- Who do you think should be a part of the partnership in Bengaluru?
- How can migrant construction workers contribute to the partnership?
- What issues do you foresee in forming and working as partners with others?

6. Since we spoke about what a partnership can look like, next, we will talk about what the partnership can do. Tell me what a partnership involving non-governmental organizations, the government, and construction companies should work on?

Probes:

- What avenues for partnership do you think your department will be interested in?
- What issues do you think the partnership can/should tackle immediately?
- Ask about the partnership avenues identified by other participants.

I finished asking the question I intended to. I will be summarizing our discussing briefly at the end of our interview. Prior to that is there anything else that you would like to talk to me about to help me better understand the role of partnerships in addressing the issues MCW face in Bengaluru?

Provide summary:

Do you have any questions for me?

Thanks for the time you spent answering my questions. Your interview will help me better understand the how partnerships can improve the lives of MCW in Bengaluru. Thanks once again. I will stop the audio-recording after I finish speaking this sentence.

Appendix L : Key-informant interviews - Participant informed consent



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Study Title: Partnership between diverse stakeholders: A potential solution to issues migrant construction workers face in Bengaluru

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If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to talk to someone other than the research team, please call the University of Pittsburgh Human Subjects Protection Advocate toll-free at +1 866-212-2668.

Introduction

I am currently a doctoral student at the University of Pittsburgh Graduate School of Public Health. I am conducting this research study to fulfil my program requirements. This research aims to determine how the state and local government can partner with non-governmental organizations, construction sector, and migrant construction workers to improve the lives of migrant construction workers. I have obtained funding from the University Center for International Studies and the Department of Behavioral and Community Health Sciences to complete this study. I invited you to take part in this study because your experiences as a part of the non-governmental sector/construction sector/local or state government are valuable to answering my research question.

Procedure

To complete the study, I will be collecting data from representatives of the local/state government, non-governmental organizations, and construction sector along with female migrant construction workers/family members. During the interview you will be discussing about the issues migrant construction workers face, response to the issues, meeting the needs of migrant construction workers, perspectives about the response to issues, and avenues for partnership in

service delivery to MCW. The interview will last around 60 minutes and will be conducted at a venue that offers you privacy.

I will be audio-recording the interview and will take down notes as it progresses. You may choose to leave the interviews anytime you wish. In case any question makes you feel uncomfortable or if you feel the question(s) are too personal you need not answer them.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits for you by participating in this study. No assurance can be made that this study will lead to development of partnerships or implementation of solutions.

Risks

While there are no unforeseeable risks from taking part in the study you may experience discomfort due to the nature of the questions. There is also a risk for breach of confidentiality against which I have taken multiple measures as described later. Although I have made efforts to decrease the potential for any risk from your participation, you can choose to not answer questions that make you feel uncomfortable in any way.

Privacy

Venues selected for interviews will offer a private space where others cannot listen to conversations happening within. I will be audio-recording the interview and will take down notes as the interview progresses. You can ask for the audio-recording to be stopped at any instance.

Confidentiality

I will protect your identity and will not share your information with others. The interview will be completely anonymous and information you provided cannot be traced back to you. I will not reveal to your employers about your participation in the study. I will keep the information you share during the interview confidential using password protected files and will destroy all audio-recording after transcription. I will keep interview notes/summaries in a locked file folder that only I can access.

Other than me only a hired transcriptionist will have access to the audio-recordings. To ensure your confidentiality the transcripts will not include any identifiers. I will share transcripts with a translation service to get them translated into English. I along with another researcher will have access to the translated transcripts and we will analyze the data together. Any manuscript or other output resulting from the research will only include the department/sector you belong to while presenting the findings involving quotes.

Withdrawal

You will be able to withdraw from the study until the data analysis begins. Once the data analysis begins you cannot withdraw your participation from the study. You will be given a chance to leave the room prior to starting the audio-recording the interview. You may also stop participating in the interview at any point. To withdraw from the study prior to the interview you can contact me using the phone number listed above. To withdraw after completion of the interview, I request you to provide me in writing about your decision to withdraw.

Compensation

You will not receive any monetary compensation for taking part in the study.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research study is entirely voluntary. In case you want any further explanation or additional information please feel free to ask me.

Verification of Explanation

I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research study to the participant in appropriate language. He/she has had an opportunity to discuss it with me in detail. I have answered all his/her questions and he/she has provided verbal consent to participate in this study.

Investigator's Signature

Date

Investigator's Name

Appendix M : Final coding scheme

Theme/sub-theme ¹³⁵	Definition
<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>MCW experiences of interacting with native population of Bengaluru</i>
Access to services	Access to healthcare, education, childcare, etc.
Banking	Experiences in accessing banking including factors affecting it
Childcare	Experiences in accessing childcare including factors affecting it
Education	Experiences in accessing children's education including factors affecting it
Healthcare	Experiences in accessing healthcare including factors affecting it
Labour Card	Experiences in obtaining and utilising the card from Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board
<i>Contribution</i>	<i>Perceptions of MCW regarding contributions to Bengaluru and the construction industry</i>
<i>Daily life</i>	<i>Daily life experience of female MCW and family members in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Alcohol consumption</i>	<i>Alcohol consumption by male MCW and its consequences</i>
<i>Child health and safety</i>	<i>Safety of children of MCW at sites</i>
<i>Domestic violence</i>	<i>Domestic violence faced by female MCW and factors affecting it</i>
<i>Entertainment and recreation</i>	<i>Sources of entertainment and recreation for MCW and family members in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Festivals</i>	<i>Activities undertaken in relation to celebrating festivals</i>
<i>Harassment</i>	<i>Harassment MCW and family members experience outside the context of their living conditions</i>
<i>Household responsibilities</i>	<i>Household responsibilities of female MCW and family members.</i>
<i>Language barriers</i>	<i>Language barriers MCW experience while living in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Loneliness</i>	<i>Loneliness experienced by female MCW in certain types of settings</i>
<i>Menstrual health</i>	<i>Menstrual health of female MCW/family members</i>
<i>Negative behaviour</i>	<i>Negative behaviour exhibited by MCW in Bengaluru</i>

¹³⁵ Themes and sub-themes in italics indicate ones that emerged from the data.

<i>Savings</i>	<i>Savings that MCW have and what they do with it</i>
<i>Sexual life</i>	<i>Sexual life of MCW in Bengaluru including factors affecting it and consequences</i>
<i>Theft</i>	<i>Theft experienced by MCW and their family members while living in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Life circumstances</i>	<i>The circumstances in the participants life that predisposes them to migration and/or affects their life in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Better at place of origin or destination</i>	<i>Living conditions are better in the village compared to the present place of stay or better in Bengaluru compared to place of origin</i>
<i>Caste discrimination</i>	<i>Caste-based discrimination experienced at the place of origin by MCW</i>
<i>Corruption</i>	<i>Corruption in government schemes at the place of origin that limits ability to benefit from them</i>
<i>Dual life</i>	<i>Having connections with the place of origin including family living there, having livelihood there, etc.</i>
<i>Government support</i>	<i>Instances where MCW received support from the government at the place of origin</i>
<i>Loans</i>	<i>Loans that the migrant construction worker family has to repay</i>
<i>Location of cards</i>	<i>Where participants have cards such as AADHAR, ration card etc.</i>
<i>No other option</i>	<i>No other option other than to work and live in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Settling in Bengaluru</i>	<i>Experience and outcomes of MCW settling down in Bengaluru</i>
Living conditions	Living conditions including accommodation and access to basic needs
Accommodation	Type of accommodation and experiences related to place of accommodation
Food	Access to food and factors affecting it
Toilet	Access to toilets and factors affecting it
Water	Access to water and factors affecting it
Partnerships	Details of partnerships (existing and potential)
<i>Existing partnerships</i>	<i>Current partnerships that each respondent's organisation is pursuing</i>
Partnership issues	Refers to the issues that can act as a barrier to the formation of a partnership in Bengaluru between different stakeholders
Partnership pathways	Pathways for partnerships in identified by the respondents including who should partnership with whom and for what
<i>Accommodation at sites</i>	<i>Designing accommodations for MCW at construction sites</i>

<i>Childcare</i>	<i>Providing childcare to MCW' children in different settings</i>
<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Dialogue between the stakeholders who will be involved in partnerships</i>
<i>Education</i>	<i>Improving access to education</i>
<i>Financial contribution</i>	<i>Funding CSO for undertaking different activities</i>
<i>Health</i>	<i>Improving access to healthcare</i>
<i>Identification cards</i>	<i>System of national identification cards</i>
<i>Infrastructure</i>	<i>Creating infrastructure that supports MCW</i>
<i>Interdepartmental coordination</i>	<i>Status of interdepartmental coordination between various departments at present</i>
<i>Network</i>	<i>Networking between CSO</i>
<i>Partners</i>	<i>Who should participate in partnerships</i>
<i>Priority</i>	<i>Which avenues need to be prioritized</i>
<i>Recreation</i>	<i>Creating recreational amenities for MCW</i>
<i>Registration</i>	<i>Registration of workers under existing schemes</i>
<i>Regulations</i>	<i>Ensuring compliance with regulations</i>
<i>Skill upgradation</i>	<i>Establishment of skill upgradation and development programs</i>
<i>Partnership perspectives</i>	<i>Positive and negative references about existing partnerships made by respondents</i>
Stakeholder contribution	Contributions of each stakeholder group towards partnerships
Construction sector contribution	Contributions that developers/contractors can make to a partnership
Individual contribution	Contributions that individuals not affiliated to any organization can make
MCW contribution	Contributions that MCW can make to a partnership
NGO contribution	Contributions that non-governmental organizations can make to a partnership
State contribution	Contributions that the state and local government can make to a partnership
<i>Other contributions</i>	<i>Contributions independent of partnerships</i>
<i>Personal perspectives</i>	<i>Personal experiences and perspectives of CSO, the construction sector, and local/state government representatives</i>
Place and duration since first migrated	Place of origin and duration of stay in Bengaluru since migration
Reasons for move	Reasons for which participant moved from origin to Bengaluru
Agricultural distress	Agriculture no longer able to support the family
Agriculture disinterest	No longer interested in continuing with agriculture
Caste discrimination	To overcome caste-based discrimination at place of origin
<i>Debt</i>	<i>To repay debt incurred at place of origin</i>

<i>Family circumstances</i>	<i>Circumstances within the family that resulted in migration.</i>
<i>Food shortage</i>	<i>Migration resulting from shortage of food at place of origin</i>
<i>Job opportunities</i>	<i>More job opportunities in Bengaluru/lack of job opportunities in place of origin</i>
<i>Livelihood diversification</i>	<i>To diversify the household's sources of livelihood</i>
<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Migration subsequent to marriage</i>
<i>No land ownership</i>	<i>Not owning land</i>
<i>Wage difference</i>	<i>Better wages in Bengaluru</i>
Resources MCW	Resources MCW have access to in Bengaluru that help them to overcome issues
<i>Individual acts</i>	<i>Acts of individuals not affiliated to any organisation to support MCW and family members</i>
<i>Membership</i>	<i>Membership with any association/union that works for MCW</i>
<i>Organisational support</i>	<i>Organisational support that MCW and family members when in Bengaluru</i>
<i>Social network</i>	<i>Social network/s that MCW can utilise while in Bengaluru</i>
Response to issues	Response by various actors of development to issues MCW face in Bengaluru
<i>Construction sector</i>	<i>Description of support offered by developers/contractors/mesthris including CSR</i>
<i>Awareness</i>	<i>Refers to any awareness activity carried about by the construction sector</i>
<i>Childcare and education</i>	<i>Activities/systems put in place by the construction sector for childcare and education of children of MCW</i>
<i>CSR</i>	<i>CSR activities of the construction sector and corporates</i>
<i>Entry process</i>	<i>Refers to entry process followed while inducting a worker into a site</i>
<i>Financial support</i>	<i>Financial support in any form</i>
<i>Healthcare</i>	<i>Activities related to health of MCW organised by the construction sector</i>
<i>Living facilities and amenities</i>	<i>Accommodations and basic amenities provided by the construction sector to MCW</i>
<i>Perceptions about construction sector</i>	<i>Perceptions regarding the construction sector that other stakeholder groups shared</i>
<i>Recreation</i>	<i>Recreational amenities for MCW</i>
<i>Registration with KCWWB</i>	<i>Registration of MCW with the KCWWB</i>
<i>Regulations</i>	<i>Extent to which the construction sector follows various labour laws</i>
<i>Support</i>	<i>Responses about extent to which the construction sector supports MCW</i>

<i>Whose responsibility</i>	<i>Who takes responsibility of ensuring welfare of MCW within the construction sector</i>
<i>Why provide</i>	<i>Reasons for which the construction sector provides or should provide better amenities for the workers</i>
Individual	<i>Actions of individuals to help MCW</i>
CSO	Description of services offered by CSO
<i>Advocacy</i>	<i>Advocating for MCW rights and welfare</i>
<i>Awareness</i>	<i>Creating awareness on various issues including rights</i>
<i>Collectives</i>	<i>Forming worker led collectives</i>
<i>Design</i>	<i>Design of accommodations</i>
<i>Financial literacy</i>	<i>Increasing financial literacy and access to banking</i>
<i>Health</i>	<i>Facilitating or providing healthcare</i>
<i>Legal aid</i>	<i>Providing legal aid in situations of wage disputes</i>
Perceptions about CSO	Perceptions regarding CSO that other stakeholder groups shared
<i>Preschool&Education</i>	<i>Facilitating or providing childcare and education</i>
<i>Recreation</i>	<i>Recreational activities for MCW and family members</i>
<i>Registration</i>	<i>Registering MCW with the KCWWB</i>
<i>Rural development</i>	<i>Programs at the source areas</i>
<i>Skill development</i>	<i>Programs related to skill development</i>
<i>Target population</i>	<i>Who is offered services and in which settings</i>
State	Description of services offered by the state and local government
BBMP	Description of services offered by the Health Department of BBMP and issues with the same
<i>Education Department</i>	<i>Issues related to functioning and the response of Education Department that affect access to education</i>
ICDS	Description of services offered by the ICDS and issues with the same
KCCWB	Description of services offered by the Karnataka Construction Workers Welfare Board and issues related to it
<i>Labour Department</i>	<i>Regulatory role performed by the Labour Department and issues with it</i>
Perspectives on State	Positive and negative references about the services offered by state and local government
Social protection	Access to insurance, injury compensation, unemployment benefits, etc.
<i>Insurance</i>	<i>Insurance schemes that MCW can utilize</i>
<i>Scholarship for children</i>	<i>Scholarships for children of MCW from the Education Department</i>
Working conditions	Working conditions related to wages, safety, harassment, etc
<i>Accidents and injury compensation</i>	<i>Accidents and injuries faced by MCW at sites and the compensation they receive</i>

<i>Amenities</i>	<i>Amenities provided at the workplace</i>
<i>Child labour</i>	<i>Policies related to child labour at construction sites</i>
<i>Contract</i>	<i>System of hiring of MCW</i>
<i>Difficult work</i>	<i>Nature of working conditions and its impacts on MCW</i>
<i>Harassment</i>	<i>Harassment of various forms faced by female MCW at sites</i>
<i>Hiring pattern</i>	<i>Pattern of hiring at construction sites</i>
<i>Instability in work</i>	<i>Issues and consequences related to not having continuous work and wages</i>
<i>Issues for employer</i>	<i>Issues that the construction sector employers (developers, contractors, mesthris) face</i>
<i>Promotions and skill development</i>	<i>Pattern of promotions and skill development for MCW and factors affecting it</i>
<i>Safety</i>	<i>Safety of MCW at construction sites and factors affecting it</i>
<i>Sexual relationships</i>	<i>Sexual relationships at the workplace</i>
<i>Wages</i>	<i>Wage payment to MCW such as pattern of payment and factors affecting wage receipt such as delayed payments and wage theft</i>
<i>Working hours</i>	<i>Timings of work</i>

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