Inclusion or Exclusion?: Gendered experiences and strategies of migrants in informal settlements in Bengaluru

Soundarya Iyer and Nitya Rao

Abstract

Internal migration, nearly four times more than the migration across national boundaries, accounts for the largest human movements in the world. In a context of agrarian distress, circular migration between the rural and the urban is a common livelihood trajectory of at least 100 million Indians. It is known that circular migrants face numerous economic and social challenges of survival in the city. This paper focuses on gendered strategies adopted by migrants for inclusion in informal settlements in Bengaluru. Drawing on the concepts of social exclusion, inclusion and agency, we use household surveys (n = 1109) in 30 informal settlements in Bengaluru in 2016, semi-structured interviews (n = 20) in one informal settlement, key informant interviews (n = 5) and participant observation in events and meetings in the city to illustrate individual and collective strategies used by diverse groups, and the ways in which these are gendered. We find that the length of stay in the settlement is a crucial determinant of social inclusion in the city.

Short bio of authors

Soundarya Iyer is Assistant Professor at RV University, Bengaluru and Associated Researcher at the French Institute of Pondicherry. She is interested in interdisciplinary approaches to the study of agrarian change, gender, and livelihoods in India. She was the Sir Ratan Tata Post-doctoral Fellow 2018-19 at the London School of Economics and Political

Science, UK. She is currently studying the sociology of the decline in female labour force participation in rural Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

Address: Soundarya Iyer, School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, RV University, RV Vidyanikethan Post, 8th Mile, Mysore Road, Bengaluru - 560059

Nitya Rao is Professor of Gender and Development at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, United Kingdom. She has worked extensively as a researcher and advocate in the field of women's rights, employment and education for over three decades. Her research interests include exploring the gendered changes in land and agrarian relations, migration and livelihoods, especially in contexts of climatic variability and economic precarity. She has done fine-grained research on households and intra-household dynamics in these contexts to draw out implications for gendered wellbeing, empowerment and justice. She has published extensively on these themes.

Address: Nitya Rao, Professor, Gender and Development, School of Global Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich Research Park, Norwich NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom

Corresponding author: Soundarya Iyer, email: soundaryai@rvu.edu.in

1. Introduction

Internal migration accounts for the largest human movements across the globe. Internal migration has contributed to urbanization: 55 per cent of the world's population resides in urban areas in 2018 as compared to 30 per cent in 1950 (*World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision*, 2019). In rural India, growing agrarian distress makes it impossible to have a livelihood solely based on agriculture (Mishra, 2020; Vasavi, 2012). Precarious work in the urban informal sector and higher costs of living have however resulted in fewer rural inhabitants fully relocating to cities in India. Instead, seasonal and temporary migration as well as commuting persist (Breman, 1996, 2011; Deshingkar & Farrington, 2009; R. Srivastava, 2012). Circular migration is the temporary, often seasonal movement of workers from the place of residence for employment and is central to the provisioning and reproduction of their families. Circular migrants are estimated to be over 200 million people in 2011-12, based on the India Human Development Survey (Nayyar & Kim, 2018, p. 18). The Census of India as well as the National Sample Survey Organisation are limited in capturing short- and long-term circular migration (Deshingkar & Akter, 2009; R. Srivastava, 2011). Scheduled castes[1] and Scheduled tribes, located at the bottom of the social hierarchy, often have no choice but to migrate in order to make a living and repay their debts. As a result, they often end up in conditions of neo-bondage as migrants, with little freedom to choose alternate employment trajectories (Acharya, 2020; Breman, 2010; *India Exclusion Report 2013-14*, 2013; Lerche, 2011).

In the urban, precarity manifests itself as temporariness of work, uncertainty and risk, informality of contract, wage squeezes and lack of mobilization (Schierup & Jorgensen,

2017, p. 6). Several studies in Indian cities have demonstrated manifestations of precarity across a diverse occupational spectrum (Breman & Linden, 2014; Jha & Kumar, 2016; Samaddar, 2016; Zaidi, Chigateri, Chopra, & Roelen, 2017, p. 34). Precarious livelihoods both reproduce poverty based on caste, class and gender, and produce new and overlapping vulnerabilities emerging from rapid urban growth and the lack of adequate public services, ecological degradation, dispossession from land and indebtedness (Rigg, Oven, Basyal, & Lamichhane, 2016).

Given the context of economic and social exclusion in the city, we ask how migrants exercise agency and what are their experiences and strategies for inclusion in the city. In the following sections we illustrate both individual and collective strategies used by diverse groups and the ways in which these are gendered. The paper is organised as follows; in the following section we lay out the empirical and conceptual literature relevant to understanding gendered strategies for inclusion in cities. The section on context and methods elaborates on the stages of economic growth in Bengaluru since the 1990s, the growth of informal settlements in Bengaluru, and explains the methods used in the study. The results section focuses on the relationships (individual and collective), resources (material and social) and rights (state social protection) that are critical for inclusion over a period of time. As a result, we find that recent migrants to the city are particularly disadvantaged due to mobile and precarious lives in the city.

2. Social exclusion, inclusion and agency

Scholars are unanimous on the experiences of social exclusion in Indian cities, expressed in residential segregation, poverty, and inequality. Residential segregation on the basis of religion, or caste, has been studied in several Indian cities, with its consequences for access to basic services and labour markets (Bharathi, Malghan, Mishra, & Rahman, 2022; Bharathi,

Malghan, & Rahman, 2018; S. Chandrasekhar & Mitra, 2018; Gayer & Jaffrelot, 2012; Mhaskar, 2018; Sattar, 2018; Singh, Vithayathil, & Pradhan, 2019; Susewind, 2017). Others have shown the lack of inter-generational occupational mobility within households in informal settlements (Krishna, 2013; Mitra, 2006; Rains, Krishna, & Wibbels, 2018). In Bengaluru, apart from the status of the settlement as notified or not, and the stratifications created by caste, education or occupation, Krishna (2013) points to the downward spirals resulting also from adverse life events like illnesses, accidents, deaths and marriages. In this paper, we find that inclusion and exclusion also appear to be mediated by the migrants' length of stay in the city.

Social exclusion is a framework that is relational and goes beyond material dimensions, allowing for an analysis of social relations between individuals across age, caste, class, and gender. Social exclusion is most commonly defined as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in society in which they live' (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 1995, p. 4). In developed countries it is seen to reflect exclusion from welfare benefits resulting from both the rupture of the social bond and concentration in the informal workforce, often considered the norm in the context of developing countries. Nevertheless, given its relational approach, the idea of social exclusion rejects the individualization and exteriorization of poverty, seeing it as embedded in diverse sets of social relations (Mosse, 2007).

This is acknowledged in de Haan and Maxwell's (1998) heuristic of rights, resources and relationships that focuses on the relations and processes that cause deprivation. Rights here are understood as human rights, legal and civic rights, as well as democratic rights; resources include human and social capital, access to labour and product markets, and common property resources, and relationships go beyond family networks to wider support networks. Democratic and civic rights, as well as access to legal support is fraught for migrants in the

city. Lefebvre argued that the right to participation and appropriation (seen as distinct from the right to property) are implicit in the right to city (Lefebvre, 1996), while studies in the Indian context repeatedly affirm the denial of these rights to migrants. The ability to appropriate space and 'inhabit' the habitat requires the possibility to use space for daily routines. This involves the access to housing, and basic amenities such as food and water.

In developing countries like India, access to resources such as land, labour, and credit, and therefore exclusion from these key resources determines livelihood and social mobility. In the urban context, residence in urban settlements is the most important resource measured by the acquisition of title deeds, as linked to this is state provision of necessities such as piped water and sewerage, also a measure of resources. The very process of migration to and resettlement in a city may lead to a loss of resources, such as land or the right to food (Wood, 2003), thus making migrants more vulnerable to social exclusion. The plight of migrants, stranded in cities during the COVID-19 lockdown in March-April 2020, led the government to rethink place-based rights, especially to food and housing (Rao, Narain, Chakraborty, Bhanjdeo, & Pattnaik, 2020). In addition, resources go beyond material endowments as understood conventionally, to the material and social resources, including education, social networks or collective organisation, that provide a potential for agency, by enhancing options and therefore the ability to exercise choices (Kabeer, 1999).

The gender analytic approach, which considers relationality as not just the relationship between individuals, community and the state but the 'social relations which define the terms and conditions' (Jackson, 1999, p. 134) of inclusion or exclusion, helps us analyse de Haan and Maxwell's third dimension, namely, relationships. With its emphasis on agency, which is typically missing from structuralist approaches that focus on entitlements alone or relegate agency solely to excluders, gender analysis allows for an understanding of how the excluded 'engage their marginality by protesting, reinterpreting, and embellishing their exclusion'

(Tsing 1993 cited in Jackson 1999). Such an approach enables us to investigate the gendered strategies for confronting this exclusion and claiming inclusion.

Inclusion and exclusion are then two sides of the same coin. In the context of women domestic workers migrating from Jharkhand to Delhi, Rao (2011) demonstrates that while migrant workers may be excluded at their workplace, they may gain status and respect in their rural homes, both due to their remittances and the spatial separation which can hide the actual work they do (Datta, 2018; Rao, 2014). The spatial separation of the place of work and home also results in a phenomenon of translocal householding, wherein migrants to the city share the labour and costs of social reproduction across geographies (Gidwani & Ramamurthy, 2018; Ramamurthy, 2020). Of course, these experiences are not uniform, but vary by the social identity, gender and class position of the migrant workers, with less educated, rural poor, ethnic and religious minorities and the lower castes doing poorly, and women amongst them, even worse (Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1991). Taking an intersectional approach, disaggregating the data by caste and gender, and the length of stay in the city, is therefore critical to our analysis.

While entrenched gender and caste norms reinforce low paid opportunities for women and the lower castes, we find a range of state interventions targeting these groups, self-help groups (SHGs) of women being one example. Another is the political mobilization of the Scheduled Castes or Dalits through the Dalit Sangharsh Samiti (DSS), fighting for rights and political inclusion, even though discrimination may prevail in the labour markets. Inclusion and exclusion seem to work simultaneously here, with collective agency used to challenge exclusion and bolster inclusion, at least politically and discursively. Wider social networks beyond the family are then needed to support living in the city and labouring in the informal economy. This wider network includes labour contractors or labour brokers, who could be kin, or caste members, often older migrants supporting the migration of their friends and

relatives from distant villages, dominant castes holding ambivalent positions between castes and classes (Picherit, 2009, 2018), or state and civil society interventions.

The mutual dependency of agency and structure are key to the discussions of social exclusion and inclusion (Wright, 1995). Agency is understood as the ability to make meaningful choices and strategic decisions (Rao et al., 2019), which may involve not only ability to act, but also negotiations, deceptions and manipulations (Kabeer, 1999). Agency, in labour geography became synonymous to the unionization of workers, while structure reflected the capitalist system (Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011). However, in the neoliberal context in the Global South where majority of workers are in the informal sector, more fragmented expressions of agency are observed. Thus, we see both individual and collective agency at play, with structures including social institutions of kinship, gender, and religion, having an important role in workers' acts of resistance (Ong, 1991). This theorization of agency enables us to look at dispersed individual expressions of agency, such as decisions of migration and the role of marriage and social networks in this process, and collective expressions of agency, in this case through the SHGs or DSS.

3. Context and methods

Bengaluru's formal sector growth underwent three phases after Indian independence. The public sector phase in the 1940s and 50s saw the migration of people to work in government sector jobs alongside the growth of townships in Bengaluru (Heitzman, 2004; Nair, 2005). With the outsourcing of manufacture of several components to small scale industries in the 1970s, an unorganised labour force with lower salaries and poorer working conditions than in the public sector came into being (Pani, 2009). This spurred the garment sector phase in the mid-1970s which saw the migration of several informal workers from around Bengaluru to work in the garment factories in the city (Pani, 2009; Pani & Singh, 2012).

The most recent phase has been the growth of the IT sector in the late 1980s which has attracted young workers from all over the country (Sudhira, Ramachandra, & Subrahmanya, 2007). The employment in the IT sector in India in 2006-07 was about 1.6 million of a 110 million urban workforce, covering those in IT services, engineering services and software products, ITES-BPO sector as well as domestic IT professionals (C. P. Chandrasekhar, Ghosh, & Roychowdhury, 2006; Upadhya, 2011). While the sector contributes greatly to the generation of income and foreign exchange, the IT industry employed 3.97 million (*Strategic Review 2018: Amplify Digital*, 2018) of the 156 million strong urban workforce in 2018[2].

Apart from formal sector growth, there has been an increase in the informal sector as well, particularly in the construction industry (Pattenden, 2012; Picherit, 2012). The construction sector saw a high growth rate from 2002-03 to 2007-08 nationally, after which growth was lower due to the 2008 global financial crisis (R. S. Srivastava & Jha, 2016, p. 3). The number of people working in the sector in Bengaluru city has increased by nearly 50 per cent from 1,43,343 in 1999-2000 to 2,15,403 in 2011-12 as per NSSO estimates. Most of them are labour migrants (R. Srivastava & Sutradhar, 2016) from poorer districts of northern Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, mainly Scheduled Castes (Bowers, 2019; Pattenden, 2012; Shivanand, 2020). Recent migrants maintain a link with their rural homes where agriculture is practised which offers some security in situations of crisis. They circulate between the city and the village, maintaining a foot in both places. Prior research has focused on various aspects of circular migration in Karnataka, from its role in urbanization of the village (Iyer, 2017) to possibilities for upward mobility for labouring migrants (Pattenden, 2012) or the impermanence of life in the city for circular migrants (Shivanand, 2020). The ways in which gender norms converge with employment to inhibit women workers' mobility (Bowers, 2019), or their gendered strategies of inclusion remain under explored.

Low-income migrants typically live in informal settlements. One of the key events in the life of an informal settlement is the process of notification, a legal designation given by the Karnataka Slum Development Board in Bengaluru. This process takes several years to complete (Krishna, Sriram, & Prakash, 2014) and is crucial to the life of the settlement. The total number of notified settlements in Bengaluru as per the Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act (1973) are 246, while non-notified settlements are 290[3]. However, it has been found that in several cities, the number of notified settlements are the tip of the iceberg (Bhan & Jana, 2013), and activist groups working on informal settlements suggest there are at least four times the official number of informal settlements in Bengaluru (Benjamin, 2000, p. 38). Notified settlements in Bengaluru have also been found to consist of older migrants to the city. It is well understood that service provision by the government of potable water and sanitation improves after notification (Nolan, Bloom, & Subbaraman, 2017). While studies on Indian informal settlements have highlighted differentiation across notification status, how strategies used by residents of varied migration statuses are gendered are less understood.

The greatest social exclusion takes place in non-notified settlements, as these are often much newer habitations, with relatively more temporary housing structures and a larger proportion of recent migrants to the city. Yet, notified settlements, especially along growth corridors, provide the grounds for comparison of households and individuals of diverse migrant trajectories over a long period of time. Our primary qualitative data collection is therefore located in a notified settlement.

In this paper, we used mixed methods to study patterns of inclusion and exclusion, focusing in particular on the duration of migration, caste and gender. The data comprises surveys of 1109 households in 30 informal settlements (of which 11 were notified settlements) in Bengaluru in 2016, 20 semi-structured interviews in a notified settlement with migrants and

non-migrants, as well as 5 key-informant interviews with organisations working with migrants in Bengaluru. Apart from these interviews, participant observation was carried out in public events/meetings of relevance to this study through 2017-2018, such as the 1st all Karnataka Bengali Migrant workers conference – where activists, politicians from West Bengal, leaders, and residents of a large informal settlement in East Bengaluru, members of social justice movements participated; a meeting organised by a union to enable domestic workers (inter-state migrants) to organize, attended by 19 domestic workers in an informal settlement in East Bengaluru; and public events and classroom lectures by activists working in informal settlements.

The survey, conducted as part of the ASSAR (Adaptation at Scale in Semi-arid Regions) project[4], covered aspects of physical infrastructure, household characteristics, social protection entitlements, and social networks. The survey data were analysed using SPSS. The informal settlements in the survey were chosen based on three criteria: 1. The settlements are located in low lying areas, 2. Proximity to infrastructural corridors, hence rapid land-use change as well as migration, and 3. Demographic factors such as population density, social and economic marginalization (see Michael, Deshpande, & Ziervogel, 2018). In each informal settlement, the households were selected using standard door-to-door sampling using right-hand rule with a sample proportional to the total population. The infrastructural corridors where the informal settlements were chosen are illustrated in figure 1.

[Figure 1 about here]

For our in-depth study, we chose settlement 8 on the Northern corridor. This settlement had a distribution of migrants by time of residence, allowing for a study of differences between categories of migrants. Recent migrants in settlement 8, while small in number in a notified settlement, were primarily Dalits, while older migrants were predominantly Dalits and OBCs.

72.8 per cent of the non-migrant households in settlement 8 were Dalits, and nearly a fifth were OBCs. Purposive sampling was carried out to conduct semi-structured interviews with men and women of differing migration statuses to understand a range of perspectives on the nature of rights, resources, and relationships. Interviews were conducted with Non-residents (those who worked in the settlement, but did not live in the settlement, for e.g., the government pre-school (Anganwadi) teacher, non-migrants, older migrants, and recent migrants (See Table 1).

[Table 1 about here]

Based on field work it was gleaned that achievement of basic entitlements in informal settlements takes anywhere from 2-5 years. Giving an extra year, recent migrants were defined as those who migrated to Bengaluru 6 years ago[5], older migrants as those who migrated anywhere from 7 years and above, and non-migrants were those who answered in negative to the question on migration, often also described as residents (Krishna, 2013). The qualitative interviews were transcribed and translated in English and then coded using RQDA.

A large number of Kannada-speaking recent migrants in the settlements were landless, Dalit households from Gulbarga and Yadgir districts of Northern Karnataka, which are rain-fed and fare poorly on human development indicators (Bakshi, Chawla, & Shah, 2015). Interestingly, a third of recent migrants are Bengali speaking Muslims, followed by Hindi speaking Muslims from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and Dalits (SC) and Adivasis (ST) from the Telugu-speaking states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana (Table 2). While we do provide some insights about these groups, mainly from our surveys, the qualitative interviews were restricted to the experiences and strategies of Dalit and Other Backward Caste migrant households from within Karnataka present in settlement 8.

[Table 2 about here]

4. Gendered experiences of Inclusion and Exclusion

Life in the city is deeply unequal, however, it is also a place brimming with hope and possibilities for growth. We focus on the gendered experiences of inclusion and exclusion to understand how migrants exercise agency in the city. These are not straightforward and reveal tensions between inclusion and exclusion, empowerment and subordination. As noted earlier, while certain groups may be deprived of resources, they may at the same time have advantages in terms of their social relationships and rights claims through specific mobilisation efforts based on their marginality as women or Dalits. This section analyses individual experiences and collective strategies across institutional scales, from the community to the state, for inclusion and empowerment in the city, as acceptance by the local community as well as access to state social protection are both central to urban living. Inclusion is differentiated not just by gender, but equally by intersecting identities of class, caste, language and migration status.

<u>**Resources**</u>
One of the key resources for inclusion in the city is access to housing, and property rights, which in turn impacts access to amenities such as electricity, water, and cooking gas. We see from Table 3 that recent migrants are worse off than older migrants, who in turn are worse off than non-migrants across all variables for which data is available. Further, Dalits, Adivasis and Bengali and Hindi-speaking Muslims (classified as Others), generally fare worse than OBCs in each migrant category. Among the recent migrants, for instance, none of the Dalits have ration cards, and a majority depend on open defecation. While ownership of dwelling and access to related services improve with their length of stay in the city, it always remains worse than the OBCs.

[Table 3 about here]

Given this divide in resource distribution across migration status, we explore next the individual strategies in terms of linguistic inclusion and collective strategies of financial include by gender and caste status.

<u>Linguistic inclusion</u>

Speaking the local language is one of the most critical resources that builds the social capital that is necessary for survival in the city. The 1st All Karnataka Bengali Migrant workers Conference, convened in December 2018 in East Bengaluru, following the murder of a ragpicker from West Bengal by locals, was a reminder of the contestations around linguistic inclusion. About two hundred Bengali men and women, working in the scrap industry and domestic work attended the meeting and discussed everyday challenges with social workers and politicians. For inter-state migrants, blending into the city by learning the language was a viable strategy of inclusion. A social worker remarked to the assembly of workers,

'How many here speak and understand Kannada? There are very few hands up, maybe ten people. We should try to learn Kannada; most problems will disappear.'

In settlement 8, we heard resonances of the same sentiment among Telugu dalit migrant women and men. Men typically learnt Kannada on the job, while young mothers in caregiving roles such as Bhavya (22 years) did not find the opportunity to do so. These gendered responses were further differentiated by migration status, recent migrants were less likely to have learnt Kannada as compared to older migrants. Goutaman, a 36 year old OBC man, who had worked for eleven years as a helper in Bengaluru's construction sector said,

'I speak Kannada and Telugu. I speak Telugu at home. I learnt Kannada after coming to Bengaluru. I studied upto 4th class'.

Case studies of informal settlements have shown that migrants face exclusion in dynamic urban settings, especially along linguistic difference in the case of inter-state migrants

(Michael et al., 2018). Table 3 shows the differences in local language speakers across migration status by caste. Recent migrants have a greater number of inter-state migrants than older migrants or non-migrants, making linguistic inclusion a critically important issue. While the qualitative interviews show that men are more likely to learn the local language, given the imperatives of their jobs, the quantitative data is not disaggregated by gender.

[Table 3 about here]

Financial inclusion

We examine two modes of financial inclusion in Bengaluru's informal settlements, Self-help Group-Bank linkage, and the informal chit fund. Despite critiques of self-help groups that specifically target vulnerable groups such as women by framing them as risk-averse (Taylor, 2012), SHGs are an important mechanism for financial inclusion in informal settlements. While women's control over this money and empowerment outcomes may be questionable, SHG membership nevertheless gives women visibility as recipients of money within the household (Kalpana, 2017). Loans from self-help groups are used by women to meet household expenditure needs rather than for entrepreneurship and job creation (Guérin, 2014).

Hema, an OBC older migrant in settlement 8 who manages a self-help group said that members of her group take loans for paying the school fees for their children. Education is an important strategy for future occupational mobility and women through their SHG membership, seek to fulfil their roles and aspirations for their children. While this could be seen as part of women's social reproduction roles, in terms of raising the next generation, it nevertheless involves significant agency to secure appropriate resources and access, and negotiation within the household in terms of agreements on the taking of loans and their repayment in particular (Shah & Lerche, 2020).

We find across settlements in the city, that recent migrant women have much lower access to collective strategies, whether SHGs, mahila mandals, credit groups or other social or religious groups. But here too there is variation by caste. While 14 per cent of OBC women have access to SHGs, this is virtually nil amongst dalit and Muslim women (see table 4). Membership improves across castes as they stay longer in the city, more so for dalit women than the Muslim women who constitute the 'others' category. This maybe because of state affirmative action towards the Dalits, but equally dalit mobilisation for inclusion through the DSS, discussed in the next section. The mobile lives of recent migrants were essentially incompatible with the model of SHGs which require members to be rooted in place. Such patterns of mobility have meant that most SHGs which are 5-10 years old are comprised of older migrant and non-migrant women. This is not to say that attrition of members from SHGs does not occur; in one case, a woman member of an SHG left Bengaluru to return to her maternal home on her pregnancy and ceded membership. She was replaced by a new member.

[Table 4 about here]

Further, these groups are almost exclusively women's groups. Residents of settlement 8 believed that women were better at saving, and that men did not form SHGs because they were engaged in paid work, or that men's groups were seen in the villages, but not in the city. Saving and earning were often seen as gender segregated responsibilities within the household. So while men are seen as providers, responsible for earning incomes, women are seen as household managers, responsible for the everyday survival and social reproduction of the household. In fact, Papanek has argued that women's savings, investments in children's education, gift-giving and home maintenance all constitute 'work', linked to 'status production' (Papanek, 1979). As one respondent said,

'Ladies save, they put away money here and there. They feel that if they take about Rs. 10,000 they can use it for some purpose. Men do not feel the need to do this because they work.'

Yet, it was interesting to note the presence of *chitis* or informal chit funds in the settlement with men and women participating in equal measure and bidding larger amounts of money. *Chitis* are Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCA) which involves regular cash contributions in a common pool, followed by bidding by members during emergencies. The same women managing SHGs also convene *chitis* in the settlement, though these are much more prevalent amongst the older migrants belonging to the Other Backward Castes (Table 4). These two modes of credit were available more easily to older migrants who had invested their time and money in savings groups. Poorer recent migrants often ended up with higher interest loans from private moneylenders.

Relationships

As noted earlier, we explore de Haan and Maxwell's heuristic of relationships from an intersectionality perspective, focusing specifically on how gender, caste and duration of stay in the city interact to shape relationships. We explore how these relationships work across scales: from the household and marriage relations to the role of labour contractors in the markets and political party and social workers in the wider socio-political domain of the community.

Marriage and Kinship: Defining relationships at the household level

Marrying into households with long term residence in Bengaluru is a potential pathway to inclusion. As the process of acquiring title deeds is long drawn out, only long-term residents and old migrants were able to access it. We see here that access to resources and relationships are intertwined with each other.

Hema, an OBC, moved from Lakshmipura in Kolar district to Bengaluru after marrying her husband from settlement 8 five years ago. Her husband worked as an office boy in an upmarket commercial area and had lived for about 15 years in the settlement. They lived in an EWS (Economically Weaker Sections) apartment that was built by the Karnataka slum board. She is an active member of a self-help group that she started two years ago with her neighbours in the apartment. Similarly, Revathi, also an OBC, an articulate anti-caste activist (Dalit Sangharsh Samiti) moved into settlement 8 after an inter-caste marriage with her dalit husband and was able to apply for title deeds based on her mother-in-law's prolonged residence of 40 years in settlement 8. Despite facing personal difficulties in getting accepted by her in-laws in an inter-caste marriage, she emphasized that long-term residence of her husband's family was critical for mobilization around title deeds. She said,

'Since my mother-in-law has been staying since a long time in this place, we have been able to get our rights. If someone has come recently, they cannot stake claim to a place here.'

While marriage opens up a pathway for inclusion of women into the city, kinship networks play a key role in job acquisition for men. Stanley, a 36 year old recent migrant, Christian from Yadgir district in north Karnataka, works as a helper to a maistry (a master workman). He came to Bangalore 4 years ago. He said,

'My older brother was here; he was doing construction work. Now he is settled in the village, and he works there. He helped me come here. My sister's husband was here for 7 years in the same area, that's how we came to this settlement, and rented this house. now my sister-in-law and everyone has gone back there.'

Across the migration (recent and old migrants) and job (formal and informal) spectra, kinship networks come in handy for both finding a place to stay and a job.

The labour contractor

But kinship is not enough. Contractors were particularly important for recent migrants to access the labour market in the city. While friends and relatives were the first point of support when it came to help with migration from the village to the city, contractors supported the migration of 20 per cent of the recent migrant households in our survey. Ganapathy, an older migrant came to Bangalore 8 years ago from Gulbarga. He belongs to the besthar caste (OBC) works in construction. He said,

'My relatives were here in Bangalore before I came. Using their reference, I came here. There was a maistry we had contact with, using that we came here. Then there were other workers, other contractors we got in touch with.'

Contractors are not just instrumental in the migration of workers, but also in everyday access to information about work. Consider for instance the migration trajectory of Devi and her husband, recent migrants from a village in Yadgir district. She moved to Bengaluru with her husband in 2015 to earn money to repay a loan in the village, leaving her children with her mother-in-law in the village. As Madiga caste members (Dalits), they were landless and performed agricultural labour on pigeon pea and groundnut farms in the village. Construction labour in Bengaluru supplemented their income. For the first one and half years, they were based at another location in Bengaluru, completing repairs of a police quarters. They lived in makeshift huts and moved out when the work was completed. Around this time, Devi's mother-in-law died, and she had to move her children to Bengaluru. Through this period, they got jobs through a contractor. Over time, their house in the village remained locked for longer periods with visits for occasions. When they did manage to save money, they took it back to the village to repay their loan.

Devi's case echoes several other recent migrants in the role played by the contractor in everyday work and life in the city. Devi's life in the city is intertwined to that in the village through relations of debt.

Party workers and social workers

Individuals such as party workers and social workers play a role in enabling migrants' inclusion. Yashoda, belonging to the Gowda (OBC) caste, a long-term resident of settlement 8, had lived nearly three generations in the same place and built a livelihood and a community through support from the corporator. The corporator himself a long-term resident, had risen the ranks from a social worker to a party worker. This trajectory has been seen among slum leaders in other contexts, where enabling service provision within a slum is a pathway to being absorbed into political parties (Auerbach, 2019). The corporator constructed a temple and two shops adjacent to the temple, a milk booth managed by his son and a bakery managed by Yashoda. Her case illustrates the important role played by the party workers in the settlement. She considered the corporator's family as kin and said,

> 'When we stay together, we have to be like that (referring to family) isn't it? We should be together and be well'

She paid the corporator a rent for the bakery. She is a middle-aged single woman, and lived with her brother, sister-in-law, and their daughter, but was financially independent due to her work at the bakery. She also managed several functions at the temple as a priest and managed several self-help groups in the settlement.

In July 2018, an interview with a party worker, Latha, a dalit, and the president of the women's wing of the Indian National Congress, ended with an insightful event. A Muslim woman paid a visit to the party worker's house with her daughter with her high school certificates carefully wrapped in a plastic cover. She requested Latha to help her daughter

secure admission in the college nearby. Latha discussed the issue with them and promised to accompany them to the college to navigate the bureaucracy. She was influential in helping them gain admission and fulfil their gendered responsibility towards their children's education. She and other political workers also helped access other rights as discussed in the next section.

Other actors such as social workers were also present in the settlement. Marital disputes, property disputes, career counselling were a part of the stated activities taken up by the NGO, but the social worker was also an intermediary between the state and the recent migrants. Several recent migrants approached the NGO for family counselling, particularly in cases of domestic violence. Rather than approach the police, women preferred to report complaints against their husbands to the NGO, as approaching the police would result in severe punishments. Non-state actors play an important role in 'boundary work' between the state and the family, and in resolving interpersonal conflict (Ellison, 2018).

Rights

Rights are constructed as universal, as opposed to the access and meaning of resources and quality of relationships that are both mediated by caste and gender, in turn shaping inclusion and exclusion into the city. Here we find that while Dalits and women as categories are disadvantaged in the economy and by cultural norms that devalue their contributions, yet, it is this disadvantage that has made them the target of affirmative state interventions such as SHGs, and political mobilization, as in the case of the DSS. Both these challenge their traditional marginalization.

Gaining political leadership

Although in the neighbourhood of settlement 8 there was an active Dalit Sangharsh Samiti[6] (Samatavada) (DSS) – Dalit struggle committee – presence, recent migrants were not involved. DSS enabled older Dalit migrants and non-migrants to secure land titles, access

basic services, apart from intervening in family disputes and land conflicts. Revathi, a DSS activist and a non-migrant said,

'We have submitted an application for the houses under 94cc[7]. This is a Government directive; we have to take a title deed through this. In this manner, we got things done one by one – be it the water bill, the light bill, everything we have got done through the organization (DSS)…'

Mobilization for title deeds required long term residence in place, which was not compatible with more recent migrants. In fact, recent migrants in construction work lived in makeshift tarpaulin and aluminium sheet huts on rent (see Figure 2), and accessed private water, thus bearing a higher cost than older migrants and non-migrants.

[Figure 2 about here]

Other than enabling material benefits, the labour of members of DSS was used by political parties for election campaigns. Attending meetings, talking to people and government officials, provided leadership opportunities for women. For instance, Revathi joined the DSS primarily to apply for title deeds, but over time became a member and then the treasurer.

'after observing me at the meetings, the way I talked, how boldly I asked questions, and the just manner in which I conducted myself, the organization members asked me to become a member too… I am a leader now, I was told that I speak in a just, right manner, and that I participate well in all protests and campaigns, and stand up bravely for causes, and so I should be a leader.'

It is interesting to note that poor migrant women, often discriminated due to their caste, struggling to access resources to meet their basic needs, often end up in visible, leadership positions, as in the case of Revathi, pointing to the interconnections between inclusion and exclusion, deprivation and empowerment.

State social protection

A key realm of inclusion is social protection by the state. Table 5 shows that social protection schemes are differentially available to migrants across informal settlements in Bengaluru based on duration of stay. Interestingly, these schemes are predominantly perceived as relating to women's roles in the domestic domain, be it food security, childcare and education of the girl child.

[Table 5 about here]

We focus on two examples, the Anganwadi (government pre-school) which runs the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and Mathrupoorna (Karnataka government scheme for maternity benefits), and the Public Distribution System (PDS).

The Anganwadi allows young women to leave their children under the care of the teacher and helpers during the day and participate in paid work. For recent migrants into settlement 8, enrolling children in the Anganwadi or the government pre-school was an important mode of social inclusion. Selvamma, the Anganwadi teacher said,

'a lot of kids whose parents have migrated from Raichur, Gulbarga come here …they mostly come to work as construction labour … we call for children aged below three years and keep them with us.'

Anganwadi staff are key resources for migrants in informal settlements in the city, and we see that it is through them that recent migrants receive information and welfare benefits. Anganwadi teachers and helpers typically maintain an updated list of pregnant women in their wards. Using help from local women's SHGs, they make physical visits and conduct surveys. They use this information to enrol children of recent migrants and to ensure that pregnant women are given nutritious food under the Mathrupoorna[8] scheme of the state

government. The Mathrupoorna scheme was launched to tackle the high maternal mortality rates in Karnataka in 2017. Selvamma, the Anganwadi teacher said,

'(those) who stayed earlier are not there now – people who are staying now will not be there after two months – we won't come to know where they are going.'

The Anganwadi could only reach out to those in the ward, but the Public Distribution System supported migrants across rural and urban geographies, despite being linked to residence. This was possible only due to the mobility of recent migrants and not portability in the Public Distribution System at the time. This meant that migrants returned once or twice a year to their villages, while some travelled back and forth every two months, enabling regular access to their entitlements under the Public Distribution System in the village. Those who had secured ration cards in the city could access PDS entitlements in the city, but this was only observed for 1.5 per cent of recent migrant households (no Dalits amongst them) and 41.3 per cent of older migrants (see Table 5).

Social protection is intimately enmeshed with women's financial inclusion through self-help groups. Government frontline workers such as the Anganwadi (day care) workers, almost all women, played an important role in recruiting and book-keeping for SHGs. They also used the space of the SHG to discuss ways in which the members could live a 'good life'. For instance, those that fell outside the ambit of the SHGs, migrant construction workers who only spent a short time in the settlement were seen as unwilling to save,

'They do not have any vision about saving for the future, or how they envisage their life should be – their attitude is that they have come here, they have to work, earn and eat, that's it.'

The discussions on living well were however of a gendered nature, focusing on women's unpaid household and care work.

'Personal hygiene, environmental cleanliness and health, how to cook food, that vegetables should be washed before cutting – all these topics will be informed, and again news also – if good information is published somewhere we also tell the group.'

Further rights gained by state social protection and resources acquired via financial inclusion are accompanied by responsibilities. These responsibilities are gendered. The labour of women from SHGs is used for government activities such as weight surveys of children below the age of 5 years and Census operations. Self-help groups thus go beyond the stated aims of financial inclusion, and generation of productive employment, to using the credit for smoothening household consumption and gendered work by its members for the state (Kalpana, 2017). Women's SHGs also earmark a certain amount each year towards social work, such as cleanliness drives, construction of toilets and disaster relief funds. Various mechanisms were used to obtain the labour of women for volunteer work such as subsidies for Scheduled Caste SHGs from the government, funds from the corporator for annual celebrations of Women's Day, Mother's Day, and anniversary celebrations for SHGs. Using the language of empowerment, women are self-responsibilised to contribute beyond the home to their familial and community life (Surendran, 2020). While this could be seen as reinforcing gender stereotypes in terms of women's reproductive roles and unpaid community contributions, they at the same time do provide women opportunities for achieving their aspirations, whether through their children's careers or by themselves taking on leadership roles in political parties and NGOs at the community level.

5. Conclusion

Our study on migrant worker strategies in a notified settlement in Bengaluru reveal two key features. Firstly, recent migrants are the most disadvantaged when it comes to inclusion in the city. We find that inclusion is a function of access to resources, rights, and relationships, and on each of these counts, recent migrants are at a disadvantage. And within this category, the

Dalits and other marginal groups (mainly Muslims from Northern and Eastern India), remain the most disadvantaged. The state, however, plays a vital role through its disbursement of resources in informal settlements. This leads us to our second key finding, that strategies of inclusion are largely place-based, and thus favour older migrants and long-term residents over recent migrants. In the present neoliberal context, where labour unionization as a mode of inclusion using the rights approach is sparse in the informal sector, we find migrants using political movements as well as state social protection to access basic services in the city. The Dalit Sangharsh Samiti active in the area, focuses on mobilization for title deeds. This however requires rootedness to place, thus disadvantaging recent migrants into the city, who have either moved from the village to the city, or from one location in Bengaluru to another for work.

We disaggregate the experiences and strategies of inclusion by gender using qualitative and quantitative data and find that women's self-help groups are an important mode of financial inclusion as well as visibility to women, that help manage household expenditures. Self-help groups as a form of collective agency enable women to carry out tasks of social reproduction and are thus key resources for social inclusion within the framework of the heteronormative family. Women's self-help groups have also been made responsible by the state to improve community life, thus drawing on women's 'voluntary' and unpaid labour for community benefit. Yet women do exercise their agency individually and collectively to draw on this critical resource to build wider social relationships with state and NGO workers, important in the process of securing their rights.

In the context of low female labour force participation rates in Indian cities, labour market inclusion has been facilitated by knowledge of the local language and also links with labour contractors. Linguistic inclusion is largely accessed by male migrants on their jobs. Men use real kin or idioms of kinship to seek inclusion, particularly into labour markets in the city. For

women, marriage plays a crucial role in social inclusion and upward mobility, alongside participation in a range of group-based, community-level activities.

Through our research we bring to light the multiple dimensions and expressions of agency in negotiating rights, resources and relationships, some individual and some collective, mediated by caste and gender. While not all may be successful, ultimately, the inclusion of migrants in the city is important for sustainable urban growth in India in the coming decades.

References

Acharya, A. K. (2020). Caste-based migration and exposure to abuse and exploitation: Dadan labour migration in India. *Contemporary Social Science*, *16*(3), 371–383. https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2020.1855467

Assadi, M., & Rajendran, S. (2000). Changing Shape of Caste Conflict. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *35*(19), 1610–1612.

Auerbach, A. M. (2019). *Demanding Development: The Politics of Public Goods Provision in India's Urban Slums*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108649377.001

Bakshi, S., Chawla, A., & Shah, M. (2015). Regional Disparities in India: A moving frontier. *Economic & Political Weekly*, *50*(1), 44–52.

Benjamin, S. (2000). Governance, economic settings and poverty in Bangalore. *Environment and Urbanization*, *12*(1), 35–56. Retrieved from http://eau.sagepub.com/content/12/1/35.short

Bhan, G., & Jana, A. (2013). Of Slums or Poverty: Notes of Caution from Census 2011. *Economic & Political Weekly*, *48*(18), 2011–2014. Retrieved from http://www.epw.in/system/files/pdf/2013_48/18/Of_Slums_or_Poverty.pdf

Bharathi, N., Malghan, D., Mishra, S., & Rahman, A. (2022). Residential segregation and public services in urban India. *Urban Studies*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211072855

Bharathi, N., Malghan, D., & Rahman, A. (2018). *Isolated by Caste: Neighbourhood-Scale Residential Segregation in Indian Metros* (No. 2018–08). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.701181

Bowers, R. (2019). Navigating the City and the Workplace: Migrant Female Construction Workers and Urban (Im)Mobilities. *Global Labour Journal*, *10*(1), 20–36. https://doi.org/10.15173/glj.v10i1.3406

Breman, J. (1996). *Footloose Labour: Working in India's Informal Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Breman, J. (2010). Neo-Bondage : A Fieldwork-Based Account. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, (78), 48–62. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547910000116

Breman, J. (2011). *Outcast Labour in Asia: Circulation and Informalisation of the Workforce at the Bottom of the Economy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Breman, J., & Linden, M. Van Der. (2014). Informalizing the Economy: The Return of the Social Question at a Global Level. *Development and Change*, *45*(5), 920–940. https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12115

Chandrasekhar, C. P., Ghosh, J., & Roychowdhury, A. (2006). The 'Demographic Dividend' and Young India's Economic Future. *Economic & Political Weekly*, *41*(49), 5055–5064.

Chandrasekhar, S., & Mitra, A. (2018). Migration, caste and livelihood: evidence from Indian city-slums. *Urban Research and Practice*, *12*(2), 156–172. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2018.1426781

Chigateri, S., Zaidi, M., & Ghosh, A. (2016). *Locating the Processes of Policy Change in the Context of Anti-Rape and Domestic Worker Mobilisations in India*. Geneva. Retrieved from http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/(httpPublications)/03AB499766D6FDB2C1 257F9B004F6BDF?OpenDocument

Coe, N. M., & Jordhus-Lier, D. C. (2011). Constrained agency? Re-evaluating the geographies of labour. *Progress in Human Geography*, *35*(2), 211–233.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510366746

Collins, P. H. (1998). Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Nation: Some Implications for Black Family Studies. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *29*(1), 27–36.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299.

Datta, A. (2018). Pride and shame in the city: young people's experiences of rural–urban migration in India. *Children's Geographies*, *16*(6), 654–665. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2018.1495317

de Haan, A. H., & Maxwell, S. (1998). Poverty and social exclusion in North and South. *IDS Bulletin*, *29*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.1998.mp29001001.x

Deshingkar, P., & Akter, S. (2009). Migration and Human Development in India. *Human Development Research Paper 2009/13*, (19193), 91. https://doi.org/10.1227/01.NEU.0000349921.14519.2A

Deshingkar, P., & Farrington, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Circular Migration and Multilocal Livelihood Strategies in Rural India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Ellison, S. H. (2018). *Domesticating Democracy: The Politics of Conflict Resolution in Bolivia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. (1995). *Public Welfare Services and Social Exclusion: The Development of Consumer Oriented Initiatives in the European Union*. Dublin: The Foundation.

Gayer, L., & Jaffrelot, C. (Eds.). (2012). *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*. London: Hurst and Company.

Gidwani, V., & Ramamurthy, P. (2018). Agrarian questions of labor in urban India: middle migrants, translocal householding and the intersectional politics of social reproduction. *The Journal of*

Peasant Studies, *45*(5–6), 994–1017. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2018.1503172

Guérin, I. (2014). Juggling with Debt, Social Ties, and Values: The everyday use of microcredit in rural South India. *Current Anthropology*, *55*(S9), S40--S50. https://doi.org/10.1086/675929

Heitzman, J. (2004). *Network City: Planning the Information Society in Bangalore*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

India Exclusion Report 2013-14. (2013). Bangalore: Books for Change.

Iyer, S. (2017). Circular Migration and Localized Urbanization in Rural India. *Environment and Urbanization ASIA*, *8*(1), 105–119. https://doi.org/10.1177/0975425316683866

Jackson, C. (1999). Social exclusion and gender: Does one size fit all? *European Journal of Development Research*, *11*(1), 125–146. https://doi.org/10.1080/09578819908426730

Jha, M. K., & Kumar, P. (2016). Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *51*(26–27), 69–77.

Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. *Development and Change*, *30*(3), 435–464. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00125

Kalpana, K. (2017). *Women, Microfinance and the State in Neo-Liberal India*. London: Routledge India. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315543321

Krishna, A. (2013). Stuck in Place: Investigating Social Mobility in 14 Bangalore Slums. *Journal of Development Studies*, *49*(7), 1010–1028. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2013.785526

Krishna, A., Sriram, M. S., & Prakash, P. (2014). Slum types and adaptation strategies: identifying policy-relevant differences in Bangalore. *Environment and Urbanization*, *26*(2), 568–585. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247814537958

Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. (E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Eds.). Blackwell Publishers.

Lerche, J. (2011). Agrarian Crisis and Agrarian Questions in India. *Journal of Agrarian Change*,

11(1), 104–118. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2010.00295.x

Mhaskar, S. (2018). Ghettoisation of Economic Choices in a Global City: A Case Study of Mumbai. *Economic & Political Weekly*, *53*(29), 29–37.

Michael, K., Deshpande, T., & Ziervogel, G. (2018). Examining Vulnerability in a Dynamic Urban Setting: The Case of Bangalore's Interstate Migrant Waste Pickers. *Climate and Development*, *11*(8), 667–678. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2924375

Mishra, D. K. (2020). Agrarian crisis and neoliberalism in India. *Human Geography*, *0*(0), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1177/1942778620935688

Mitra, A. (2006). Labour Market Mobility of Low Income Households. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *41*(21), 2123–2130.

Mosse, D. (2007). *Power and the Durability of Poverty: A Critical Exploration of the Links Between Culture, Marginality and Chronic Poverty*. *CPRC Working Paper*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1615629

Nadkarni, M. (1987). *Farmers' Movements in India*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

Nair, J. (2005). *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nayyar, G., & Kim, K. Y. (2018). *India's Internal Labor Migration Paradox: The Statistical and the Real* (No. 8356).

Nolan, L. B., Bloom, D. E., & Subbaraman, R. (2017). *Legal Status and Deprivation in India's Urban Slums: An Analysis of Two Decades of National Sample Survey Data* (No. PGDA Working Paper No. 135). Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Ong, A. (1991). The gender and labor politics of postmodernity. *Annual Review of Anthropology. Vol. 20*, (55), 279–309. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.20.100191.001431

Pani, N. (2009). Resource cities across phases of globalization: Evidence from Bangalore. *Habitat*

International, *33*(1), 114–119. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2008.05.007

Pani, N., & Singh, N. (2012). *Women at the Threshold of Globalization*. New Delhi: Routledge.

Papanek, H. (1979). Family Status Production: The "Work" and "Non-Work" of Women. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *4*(4), 775–781. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1086/493663

Pattenden, J. (2012). Migrating Between Rural Raichur and Boomtown Bangalore : Class Relations and the Circulation of Labour in South India. *Global Labour Journal*, *3*(1), 163–190.

Picherit, D. (2009). "Workers, Trust Us!": Labour Middlemen and the Rise of the Lower Castes in Andhra Pradesh. In J. Breman, I. Guerin, & A. Prakash (Eds.), *India's Unfree Workforce: Old and New Practices of Labour Bondage* (pp. 259–283). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Picherit, D. (2012). Migrant Labourers' Struggles Between Village and Urban Migration Sites : Labour Standards , Rural Development and Politics in South India. *Global Labour Journal*, *3*(1), 143–162.

Picherit, D. (2018). Labour migration brokerage and Dalit politics in Andhra Pradesh: a Dalit fabric of labour circulation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1528101

Rains, E., Krishna, A., & Wibbels, E. (2018). *Urbanisation and India's Slum Continuum: Evidence on the range of policy needs and scope of mobility* (No. C-35309- INC-1). London. Retrieved from https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Rains-et-al_Working-paper_cover.pdf

Ramamurthy, P. (2020). Translocal householding. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, *40*(1), 86–94. https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201X-8186093

Rao, N. (2011). Respect, status and domestic work: Female migrants at home and work. *European Journal of Development Research*, *23*(5), 758–773. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2011.41

Rao, N. (2014). Migration, mobility and changing power relations: aspirations and praxis of

Bangladeshi migrants. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *21*(7), 872–887.
https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2013.810600

Rao, N., Mishra, A., Prakash, A., Singh, C., Qaisrani, A., Poonacha, P., … Bedelian, C. (2019). A
qualitative comparative analysis of women's agency and adaptive capacity in climate change
hotspots in Asia and Africa. *Nature Climate Change*, *9*, 964–971.
https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-019-0638-y

Rao, N., Narain, N., Chakraborty, S., Bhanjdeo, A., & Pattnaik, A. (2020). Destinations Matter: Social
Policy and Migrant Workers in the Times of Covid. *European Journal of Development
Research*, *32*(5), 1639–1661. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-020-00326-4

Rigg, J., Oven, K. J., Basyal, G. K., & Lamichhane, R. (2016). Between a rock and a hard place:
Vulnerability and precarity in rural Nepal. *Geoforum*, *76*, 63–74.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.08.014

Samaddar, R. (2016). Migrant and the Neo-liberal City: An Introduction. *Economic & Political
Weekly*, *51*(26 & 27), 52–54.

Sattar, S. (2018). Social Exclusion and Muslims of Kolkata. In A. Shaban (Ed.), *Lives of Muslims in
India: Politics, Exclusion and Violence*. New York: Routledge.

Schierup, C.-U., & Jorgensen, M. B. (2017). From "Social Exclusion" to "Precarity": The Becoming
Migrant of Labour. In C.-U. Schierup & M. B. Jorgensen (Eds.), *Politics of Precarity: Migrant
Conditions, Struggles and Experiences*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Shah, A., & Lerche, J. (2020). Migration and the Invisible Economies of Care: Production, Social
Reproduction and Seasonal Migrant Labour in India. *Transactions of the Institute of British
Geographers*, *45*(4), 719–734. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12401

Shivanand, S. (2020). 'Feet in Both Places': Affective Spaces of Circular Migration. *Urbanisation*, 1–
15. https://doi.org/10.1177/2455747119892346

Singh, G., Vithayathil, T., & Pradhan, K. C. (2019). Recasting inequality: residential segregation by

caste over time in urban India. *Environment and Urbanization*, *31*(2), 615–634. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247818812330

Srivastava, R. (2011). Internal Migration in India: An Overview of its Features, Trends, and Policy Challenges. In *Internal Migration in India Initiative: National Workshop on Internal Migration and Human Development in India*. New Delhi: UNESCO and UNICEF.

Srivastava, R. (2012). Changing Employment Conditions of the Indian Workforce and Implications for Decent Work. *Global Labour Journal*, *3*(1), 63–90.

Srivastava, R. S., & Jha, A. (2016). *Capital and Labour Standards in the Organised Construction Industry in India: A Study Based on Fieldwork in the National Capital Region of Delhi*. New Delhi. Retrieved from https://www.soas.ac.uk/cdpr/publications/reports/file111602.pdf

Srivastava, R., & Sutradhar, R. (2016). *Migrating out of Poverty? A Study of Migrant Construction Sector Workers in India*. New Delhi.

Strategic Review 2018: Amplify Digital. (2018). Noida.

Sudhira, H. S., Ramachandra, T. V., & Subrahmanya, M. H. B. (2007). Bangalore. *Cities*, *24*(5), 379–390. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2007.04.003

Surendran, A. (2020). Women, Work and Development in Rural India: A Catalogue of Voluntarism in Policy. *Social Change*, *50*(1), 141–159. https://doi.org/10.1177/0049085719901088

Susewind, R. (2017). Muslims in Indian cities: Degrees of segregation and the elusive ghetto. *Environment and Planning A*, *49*(6), 1286–1307. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X17696071

Taylor, M. (2012). The Antinomies of 'Financial Inclusion': Debt, Distress and the Workings of Indian Microfinance. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *12*(4), 601–610. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2012.00377.x

Tsing, A. L. (1993). *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-way Place*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Upadhya, C. (2011). Software and the "new" middle class in the "New India." In *Elite and Everyman: The Cultural Politics of the Indian Midle Classes* (pp. 167–192). New Delhi: Routledge.

Vasavi, A. R. (2012). *Shadow Space: Suicides and the Predicament of Rural India*. New Delhi: Three Essays Collective.

Wood, G. (2003). Staying secure, staying poor: The "Faustian bargain." *World Development*, *31*(3), 455–471. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(02)00213-9

World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision. (2019). New York. https://doi.org/10.4054/demres.2005.12.9

Wright, C. (1995). Gender Awareness in Migration Theory: Synthesizing Actor and Structure in Southern Africa. *Development and Change*, *26*(4), 771–792. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.1995.tb00574.x

Zaidi, M., Chigateri, S., Chopra, D., & Roelen, K. (2017). *'My Work Never Ends': Women's Experiences of Balancing Unpaid Care Work and Paid Work through WEE Programming in India* (IDS Working Paper) (Vol. 2017). Brighton, UK.

Table 1: Sample characteristics of interview respondents in Settlement 8

Interview sample	Recent migrants		Older migrants		Non-migrants		Non-residents		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Number	2	6	3	3	1	3	1	1	20

Source: Authors

Table 2: Household Characteristics by migration status and caste

Category of household	Household characteristics	SC	ST	OBC	Other	Total
Recent migrant	Average age of Head of household (in years)	37.2	35.4	34.7	35.3	35.9
	Average no. of years in Bengaluru	2.9	2.4	3.6	2.9	2.9
	Percent of Kannada speaking households	64.5	37.5	0	1.0	26.2
	Percent of Tamil speaking households	1.3	25.0	7.1	1.0	2.5
	Percent of Telugu speaking households	26.3	37.5	14.3	4.8	14.9
	Percent of Hindi speaking households	7.9	0	14.3	23.1	15.8
	Percent of Bengali speaking households	0	0	50.0	60.6	34.7
	Total number of households	**76**	**8**	**14**	**104**	**202**
Older migrant	Average age of Head of household (in years)	42.4	45.7	44.9	41.7	42.8
	Average no. of years in Bengaluru	18.7	21.0	24.7	16.1	18.6
	Percent of Kannada speaking households	62.6	69.2	41.2	9.2	50.0
	Percent of Tamil speaking households	13.8	15.4	5.9	3.1	10.9
	Percent of Telugu speaking households	19.5	15.4	11.8	12.3	16.9
	Percent of Hindi speaking households	0.5	0	20.6	10.8	4.7
	Percent of Bengali speaking households	1.5	0	2.9	40.0	9.4
	Total number of households	**195**	**26**	**34**	**65**	**320**
Non-migrant	Average age of Head of household (in years)	45.1	44.1	45.3	44.2	44.7
	Average no. of years in Bengaluru	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Percent of Kannada speaking households	58.8	58.3	48.1	8.5	37.1
	Percent of Tamil speaking households	24.8	25.0	5.2	4.7	14.1
	Percent of Telugu speaking households	15.1	13.9	9.1	4.7	10.1
	Percent of Hindi speaking households	1.3	2.8	7.8	9.7	5.6
	Percent of Bengali speaking households	0	0	0	3.8	1.5
	Total number of households	**238**	**36**	**77**	**236**	**587**

Source: Survey, 2016

Table 3: Percentage of households with key resources by caste and migration status

Migration status	Key resources	SC	ST	OBC	Others	Total
Recent migrant	Ownership of dwelling	5.2	12.5	21.4	3.8	5.9
	Household in notified settlements	6.6	25.0	28.6	3.8	7.4
	Electricity	42.1	37.5	50.0	74.0	58.9
	Use of LPG for cooking	3.9	25.0	42.9	18.3	13.9
	Purchasing drinking water from tankers	22.4	0	57.1	37.5	31.7
	Open defecation	75.0	75.0	14.3	72.1	69.3
	No drainage	53.9	75.0	14.3	68.3	59.4
	Ration card	0	0	14.3	2.9	2.5
	Total number of households	**76**	**8**	**14**	**104**	**202**
Older migrant	Ownership of dwelling	55.4	61.5	76.5	30.7	53.1
	Household in notified settlements	52.3	76.9	73.5	18.5	49.7
	Electricity	74.9	69.2	94.1	73.8	76.3
	Use of LPG for cooking	33.8	38.5	44.1	40	37.5
	Purchasing drinking water from tankers	12.8	19.2	2.9	30.8	15.9
	Open defecation	40.0	30.8	14.7	55.4	39.7
	No drainage	32.8	15.4	11.8	46.2	31.9
	Ration card	41.0	50.0	61.8	29.2	41.6
	Total number of households	**195**	**26**	**34**	**65**	**320**
Non-migrant	Ownership of dwelling	84.1	77.8	74.0	56.4	71.2
	Household in notified settlements	69.3	77.8	70.1	32.2	55.0
	Electricity	94.5	86.1	96.1	94.5	94.2
	Use of LPG for cooking	54.6	36.1	62.3	54.2	55.7
	Purchasing drinking water from tankers	2.1	11.1	1.3	5.9	4.1
	Open defecation	26.9	22.2	5.2	18.6	20.4
	No drainage	28.6	8.3	15.6	16.9	21.0
	Ration card	68.1	66.7	77.9	59.3	65.8
	Total number of households	**238**	**36**	**77**	**236**	**587**

Source: Survey, 2016

Table 4: Membership of social networks across migration status and caste (as percentage of households)

Category of household	Membership of social networks	SC	ST	OBC	Others	Total
Recent migrant	Self-help groups	0	12.5	14.3	1.0	2.0
	Mahila Mandal	2.6	12.5	0	0	1.5
	Credit or savings group/committee/chit fund	5.3	0	0	1.0	2.5
	Social group or festival society	0	12.5	0	1.0	1.0
	Religious group	0	0	0	1.0	0.5
	Employee union, business or professional group	0	0	0	0	0
	Youth club, sports group or reading room	1.3	12.5	0	1.0	1.5
	Total number of households	**76**	**8**	**14**	**104**	**202**
Older migrant	Self-help groups	14.4	30.8	14.7	6.2	14.1
	Mahila Mandal	6.2	34.6	11.8	4.6	8.8
	Credit or savings group/committee/chit fund	6.2	34.6	20.6	3.1	9.4
	Social group or festival society	2.6	3.8	0	3.1	2.5
	Religious group	2.1	3.8	2.9	3.1	2.5
	Employee union, business or professional group	3.6	7.7	14.7	1.5	4.7
	Youth club, sports group or reading room	3.6	3.8	5.9	0	3.1
	Total number of households	**195**	**36**	**24**	**65**	**320**
Non-migrant	Self-help groups	17.2	30.6	13.0	9.7	14.5
	Mahila Mandal	16.0	27.8	16.9	11.0	14.8
	Credit or savings group/committee/chit fund	9.2	25.0	15.6	10.2	11.4
	Social group or festival society	3.8	16.7	2.6	5.9	5.3
	Religious group	2.1	5.6	1.3	5.1	3.4
	Employee union, business or professional group	2.1	8.3	3.9	2.5	2.9
	Youth club, sports group or reading room	2.5	5.6	1.3	0	1.5
	Total number of households	**238**	**36**	**77**	**236**	**587**

Source: Survey, 2016

Table 5: State social protection by migration status and caste (as percentage of households)

Category of household	State social protection	SC	ST	OBC	Others	Total
Recent migrant	PDS	0	0	14.3	1.0	1.5
	MDMS	19.7	12.5	14.3	13.5	15.8
	ICDS	9.2	12.5	0	6.7	7.4
	RSBY	0	12.5	0	1.9	1.5
	PMJJY	0	0	0	1.0	0.5
	BBBP	0	0	0	0	0
	RAY	0	0	0	0	0
	Total number of households	**76**	**8**	**14**	**104**	**202**
Older migrant	PDS	40.5	50.0	61.8	29.2	41.3
	MDMS	34.4	50.0	38.2	23.1	33.8
	ICDS	12.3	19.2	17.6	12.3	13.4
	RSBY	5.6	42.3	14.7	1.5	8.8
	PMJJY	3.1	19.2	14.7	3.1	5.6
	BBBP	3.1	3.8	8.8	1.5	3.4
	RAY	1.0	7.7	0	0	1.3
	Total number of households	**195**	**26**	**34**	**65**	**320**
Non-migrant	PDS	61.8	66.7	70.1	56.8	61.2
	MDMS	28.6	41.7	31.2	31.8	31.0
	ICDS	8.4	22.2	9.1	9.3	9.7
	RSBY	8.8	38.9	13.0	11.0	12.1
	PMJJY	9.2	13.9	13.0	4.2	8.0
	BBBP	1.3	5.6	5.2	9.7	5.5
	RAY	1.7	0	0	0.8	1.0
	Total number of households	**238**	**36**	**77**	**236**	**587**

Note: PDS – Public Distribution System, MDMS – Mid-day meal scheme, ICDS – Integrated
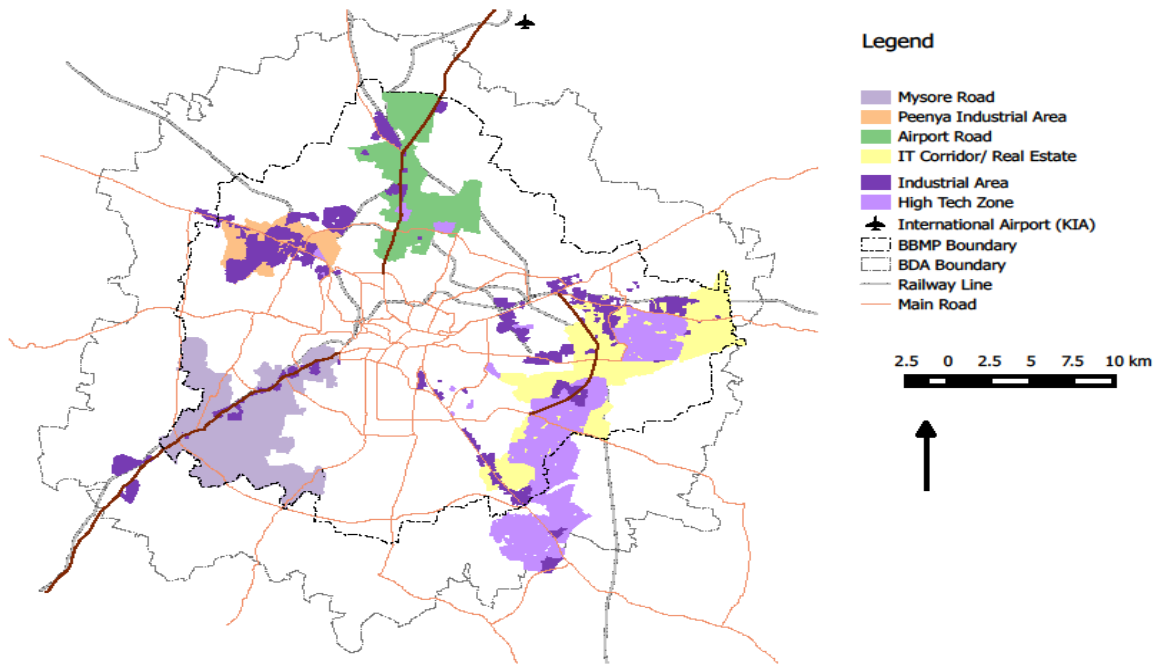
Child Development Services, RSBY – Rashtriya Swastha Bima Yojana, PMJJY – Pradhan

Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana, BBBP – Beti Bachao Beti Padhao, RAY – Rajiv Awas

Yojana

Source: Survey, 2016

Figure 1: Infrastructural Corridors in Bengaluru

Source: ASSAR project, IIHS

Figure 2: Recent migrant households in settlement 8

Source: Authors, 2018

[1] Scheduled Caste (SC), referred to as Dalits and Scheduled Tribes (ST), referred to as Adivasis or tribes are communities that have faced historical marginalisation and suffered social disadvantages due to the caste system in India. These communities are recognised by the Constitution of India and the government makes provisions for affirmative action.

[2] The worker population ratio by usual status category is 33.9 per cent in urban areas as per the Annual Report, Periodic Labour Force Survey 2017-18 and the urban population estimates are from the World Urbanization Prospects: 2018 Revision https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL (Accessed on 10 March 2020)

[3] Figures for Bangalore Urban retrieved from https://www.karnataka.gov.in/ksdb/Pages/Slum-Statistics.aspx (accessed on 27 November 2019).

[4] Adaptation at Scale in Semi-Arid Regions (ASSAR) was a five-year-long project that examines the barriers and enablers to effective, widespread and sustainable adaptation in Africa and India (http://www.assar.uct.ac.za/). This project was carried out with financial support from the UK Government's Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office and the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada.

[5] Even though recent migrants were classified as those who migrated to Bangalore 6 years ago in the survey data, interviews with recent migrants in settlement 8 revealed complex trajectories of migration. For instance, a recent migrant was typically a seasonal migrant, who could have a parent who migrated to the city several years ago, and who had another family member with whose help they first migrated. Thus, networks of migration, especially family networks could be alive for well over 6 years.

[6] Karnataka has had a strong Dalit movement through different factions of the DSS since the 1970s in villages (Assadi & Rajendran, 2000; Nadkarni, 1987, p. 150; Pattenden, 2012, p. 171) as well as in Bangalore (Chigateri, Zaidi, & Ghosh, 2016, p. 10).

[7] Regularisation scheme as per section 94 C of the Karnataka Land Revenue Act (for rural areas) and section 94 CC (urban areas) https://www.deccanherald.com/content/558989/houses-govt-land-regularised-6.html (Accessed on 6 December 2019)

[8] http://dwcd.kar.nic.in:8080/icds.jsp (Accessed on 10 March 2020)