



Centre for Labour Research and Action (CLRA)

An Evaluation of G-1904-05812

May 2022

by

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&

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For

Azim Premji Philanthropic Initiatives Private Limited

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Abbreviations

CLRA - Centre for Labour Research and Action

SCW - Sugarcane Workers

MAM - Majoor Adhikar Manch

PDS - Public Distribution System

ISMW - Inter-State Migrant Workmen

ToR - Terms of Reference

ICDS - Integrated Child Development Scheme

RCH - Reproductive and Child Health

RLC - Reflection, Learning and Change

IBMU – Int Bhattha Mazdoor Union

Executive Summary

Centre for Labour Research and Action (CLRA) has been working with unorganised workers since before 2010. Azim Premji Philanthropic Initiatives Pvt Ltd (Philanthropy) started supporting work of CLRA from October 2019. This is an evaluation of grant G-1904-05812 with grant period from 1st Oct 2019 to 30th Sep 2022.

CLRA has promoted two unions, Int Bhattha Mazdoor Union (IBMU) and Majur Adhikar Manch (MAM) to work towards organising the unorganised, advocating for a living wage, demanding rights and entitlements and resolving cases of non-payment of wages, bonded labourers, violence or other issues related to unorganised workers. In the process, they are organising these unorganised workers. CLRA is using techniques time-tested by them in the past three decades and have been very successful in all of these activities. CLRA has also used innovative techniques to like time and motion study and relevant human energy consumption to establish the need of increased wages.

CLRA has further reached out to like-minded organisations, unions and individuals to create a Western India Network of organisers to spread activities, increase support to union members, provide case resolution in far reaches of Western India states and in general improve organising the unorganised.

There will always be potentials for adding to existing work and potential ideas are discussed in this evaluation too, which CLRA would have to judge the feasibility and practicality of.

Version Control

V1: 31st May 2022

Scope, Methodology and Limitations of the Evaluation

Scope

The Scope of the evaluation consisted of the following activities:

1. Preparation and planning of evaluation plan.
2. Review of grant documents (proposal, reports and related material), secondary data study, developing questions based on these and the ToR.
3. Field visits to project locations in Gujarat and Rajasthan, visiting work sites, meeting workers and staff, observing other related activities and assessing other work in relation to this grant. Details of field visits undertaken have been attached in Annexure 1.
4. Detailed interviews were conducted with CLRA staff, Union members, workers, contractors, and analysis of collated data was carried out.

Methodology

In order to carry out the evaluation, the evaluation team proceeded in the following stages, in line with the objectives mentioned in the terms of reference:

1. Study of all grant related documents shared by Philanthropy and the grantee organization. Additional supporting articles and reports shared by CLRA, which provide a deeper understanding of their work with particular sections of society and/or on particular issues of migrant workers were also studied. Secondary data was collected and studied from their website.
2. A detailed questionnaire was prepared separately for all stakeholders, especially with the upcoming field visits in mind.
3. Virtual meetings with the Founder, CLRA and APPI representatives were held to plan field visits, to resolve queries from initial studies and the evaluation framework in the ToR.
4. Field visits were made to Ajmer, Surat, Dahod and Ahmedabad to meet with Staff, workers, Union representatives and visits were undertaken to worksites and villages where labour rights violations were reported and resolved by CLRA. Interviews and team meetings were conducted at all locations visited, to get a detailed understanding of their work.
5. Post field work, transcription of interviews, making of field notes was done. Discussions and analysis of the collated information was conducted. Follow-up calls, email interviews and physical meetings with select staff were made to seek further clarification.
6. Post data analysis, draft report preparation was undertaken.

Limitations

1. Total Time for evaluation was a limitation.
2. Seasonal limitation, some of the activities were not possible to see
3. Limitations in travel (only one meeting with Sudhir, while actually multiple are required, no possibility of a combined meeting with all teams together etc).
4. Work of CLRA spans many decades and evaluating would need a greater deep dive to give it full justice.
5. There were certain crucial processes and important decision-making meetings that needed to be followed and observed in person. We were not told of these in advance. For example:
 - a. CLRA's monthly meetings where planning and reporting happens.

- b. MAM's campaigning for special occasions. We got to see their outreach among sugarcane workers after a draft notification for wage increase was issued. But this visit was coincidental, not well planned.
- c. Public events like strike, dharna etc.
- d. Negotiations with companies/employers.

Introduction: Understanding the Context

This is an evaluation of work done by CLRA on ensuring decent work for seasonal migrant workers in Gujarat and Rajasthan, under grant G-1904-05812. It has been conducted towards the end of the grant provided by APPI to CLRA.

Need of Evaluation

This evaluation is part of the Reflection, Learning and Change (RLC) process within the Philanthropy's grant management process. As a part of this process, Philanthropy staff has done two RLCs in Oct 2020 and Nov 2021. This evaluation is at the end of 28 months into the grant period.

Purpose of evaluation

This evaluation has followed a multi-pronged approach suggested by the Philanthropy. This includes understanding efficacy of programme design, achievements of the project, effectiveness of intervention, quality of services to the migrant labour and way forward. Further, this evaluation is expected to provide details of progress and essential data for grant renewal.

The pandemic has been a significant part of this grant period, and overall achievements of this grant need to be looked at keeping this in mind and the future course, needs to be planned based on learnings from COVID response work.

Background of Organizing the Unorganized Migrant Labour ¹

The economy of India consists of a vast majority of informal and unorganized labour. More than 90% of the workforce are accounted for by the informal sector workforce. As per Census 2011, 45.36 crore Indians are migrant workers.¹ More recent data says that over 94% of informal sector workers registered on the e-shram portal have a monthly income of Rs 10,000 or below.² Despite constituting such a huge chunk of the labour force, the life of an average migrant worker in India is marred with extreme difficulty and a daily struggle to meet even the most basic of needs required for existence, let alone a decent life.

The socio-economic status of migrant workers continues to remain precarious, further worsening with the advent of COVID19 and its debilitating effects on informal sector livelihoods.

Migrant workers are largely engaged in different forms of work that ought to be classified as manufacturing (bricks, cotton seeds, food production, ready-to-eat foods on roadside stalls) but instead are classified as casual labour, either in farm or non-farm activities. Since their work is classified like that, there are no work contracts, wages are unregulated and there are no safety standards at workplaces. Exploitation is a part of this whole plan it seems. Existing power structures and lack of awareness, education and optional employment opportunities allow for complete lack of regulation or accountability of employers. Migrant workers often belong to a disadvantaged class of SC/ST and OBC (72.58% of informal sector workers enrolled on the e-shram portal belong to SC, ST and OBC)², this leads to further marginalisation at the hands of the employer. This can often lead to a situation of debt, bondage, harassment and violence.

The Article 19(1)(e) of the Constitution, guarantees all Indian citizens the right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, subject to reasonable restrictions in the interest of the general public or protection of any scheduled tribe. However, people migrating for work often don't get the

¹ Based on <https://prsendia.org/theprsblog/migration-in-india-and-the-impact-of-the-lockdown-on-migrants>

² Based on <https://www.businesstoday.in/latest/economy/story/income-of-94-registered-informal-workers-at-rs-10000-or-below-74-belong-to-sc-st-obc-335562-2022-05-29>

government support they are entitled to, due to the lack of social security, health benefits and poor implementation of minimum safety standards law, lack of portability of state-provided benefits especially food provided through the Public Distribution System (PDS) and the lack of access to affordable housing and basic amenities in urban areas.

CLRA works in the scenario described above. It's programme, supported by this grant, is proposed in two states.

1. With brick kiln workers in the three districts of Ajmer, Bhilwara, and Nagaur in Central Rajasthan and
2. With construction, agriculture, and brick kiln workers in Ahmedabad, Mehsana, Dahod, and Mahisagar districts in North Central Gujarat.
3. Other geographies were included from time to time, as and when need arose.

The operational area is an amalgamation of both source and destination areas for migrant workers.

Evaluation

CLRA's work centers around advancing the rights and entitlements of these migrant workers. The framework envisioned by CLRA aims to empower/collectivize, organize and ensure decent work for seasonal migrant workers in Gujarat and Rajasthan. The organisations activities can be categorised under the following objectives:

1. Mapping of workers and Development of workers organisation: for construction in Ahmedabad, agriculture in Dahod and Mahisagar, Gujarat and brick kiln workers in Ajmer & Bhilwara in Rajasthan. Mapping of workers, worker collectives, labour contractors and capacity building workshops for worker leaders.
2. Provision of redressal mechanisms: to support workers in labour rights violation cases and collective bargaining in all 3 sectors.
3. Linking migrants with public services: related to health, education, ICDS, municipal services, organizing multi-stakeholder consultations with district and state administrations/stakeholders.
4. Involving other experts and agencies, advocating for increasing wages in each sector and working for legislation or government orders for living wages.
5. Using electronic media to publish articles, studies and reports on issues related to migrant workers.
6. Making representations to relevant authorities or others to demand small or far-reaching changes.
7. Using Strikes as a tool to bring various stakeholders on the table, to challenge injustice and/or demand immediate action.
8. Attending to emergencies like COVID-19 and providing support to the migrant worker community in time of dire need.

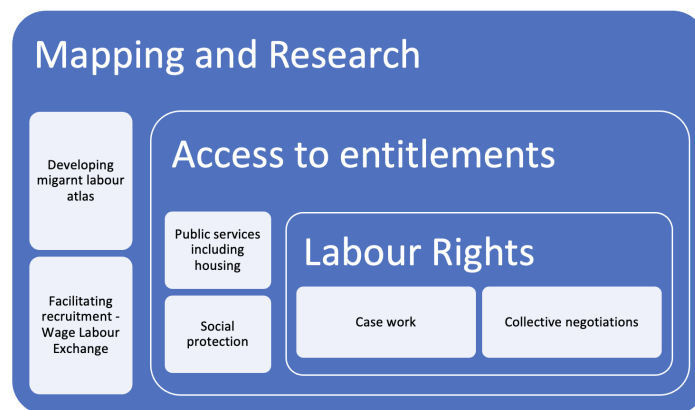


Figure 1 Their working model is described well in this diagram, shared by Sudhir Katiyar.

Grant G-1904-05812 provided support to CLRA to extend its existing activities to cover more workers and extend to new geographies in source and destination areas, and provide systematic legal and other support for casework.

The following map is a geographical representation of the spread of CLRA's work (sans source areas) under this grant.

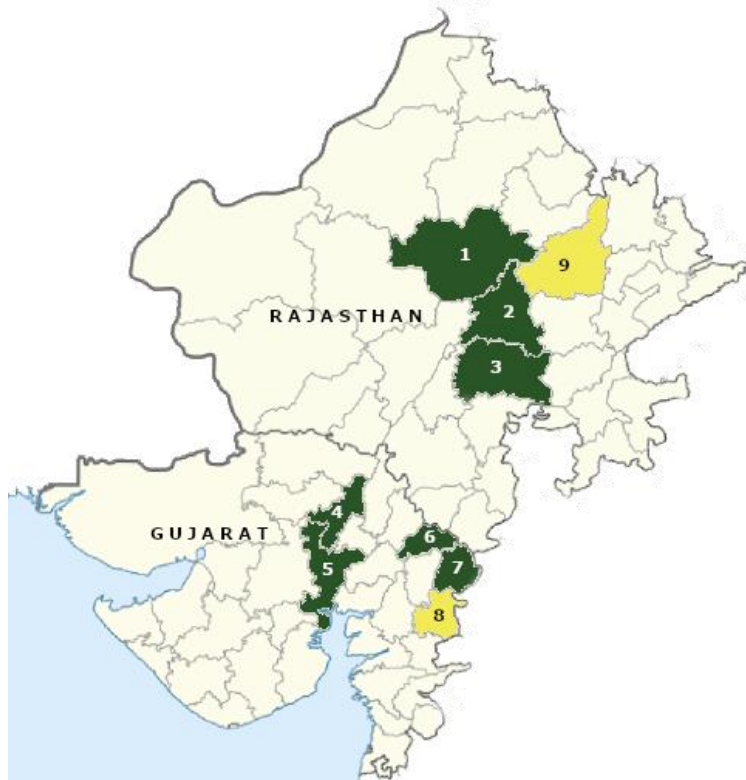


Figure 2 Map marking districts in Gujarat and Rajasthan, where CLRA's work within this grant, is spread. Districts marked in green are the ones mentioned in the proposal. The ones marked in yellow have been added later, during the grant period.

Legend

- 1 Nagaur district, Rajasthan
- 2 Ajmer district, Rajasthan
- 3 Bhilwara district, Rajasthan
- 4 Mehsana district, Gujarat
- 5 Ahmedabad district, Gujarat
- 6 Mahisagar district, Gujarat
- 7 Dahod district, Gujarat
- 8 Chhota Udaipur district, Gujarat
- 9 Jaipur district, Rajasthan

CLRA's work within this grant is mainly in Rajasthan (Ajmer, Bhilwara and Nagaur districts) among brick kiln workers, and in Gujarat (Ahmedabad, Mehsana, Dahod and Mahisagar districts) among construction, agricultural workers and partly among brick kiln workers (Detailed in above figure). During the

grant period, the organization has expanded its operations in source districts in Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Gujarat. These changes were approved during the grant period.

Programme Design

Programme Design seems to be well made, practicable and borne out of years of work on the issue. Mapping and Organizing migrant workers, working towards their rights, entitlement, fair wages is paramount. Resolving non-payment of wages or fighting against other injustices is essential because in such oppressive circumstances, none of the usual supporters stand by as situations are too challenging and workers are bereft of an avenue to resolve the injustices meted out. All of this is done capably by MAM and CLRA. One could even say they have an expertise in all of this gathered over decades of experience and work.

Programme design could however be expanded if and when CLRA perceives opportunity, develops capability or develops collaborations that may lead to "development activities" in source areas from where "distress migration" has been perceived or observed. Perhaps CLRA and MAM were never conceptualized to work on development, and it has always been observed that rights based work and developmental activities need different mindsets. Therefore, it may be helpful to collaborate with others already involved in such activities in source areas.

This does beget a broader discussion on whether CLRA and MAM would be interested and expand to catering to other needs of workers families to improve their life from a holistic perspective through mapping of their needs in source areas.

Achievements of CLRA

CLRA and MAM play a very important role, and in many geographical areas they may be the only ones supporting unorganized workers. Unorganized workers often are at the greatest disadvantage at their workplace for four main reasons:

1. They are uneducated, of rural origin and do not have ways of negotiating with employers
2. They are migrants and have no community around workplace to support them
3. They are unorganized and challenged when their rights and entitlements are not provided by employer and government.
4. Migrant workers have certain core skillsets (farming, animal husbandry, horticulture), but work at places where they only provide semi-skilled or unskilled labour mostly.

This situation creates a strong need for CLRA and MAM. In response, CLRA has managed to establish close connection with migrant labour and provide most of their immediate and basic needs. This is no simple feat.

MAM provides some immediate services to migrant labour, like dispute resolution, recovering unpaid wages, working on behalf of workers for other rights and entitlements, improvement of living conditions at workplace, providing legal support if there's violence or other injustices involved etc. CLRA and MAM also campaign for increase in wages, mobility supporting entitlements availability at destination and so on. Working towards rightful living wages for these migrant labour helps all migrant labour including those who aren't members of MAM.

Broad achievements are reported here, specific achievements are mentioned and briefly analyzed when outcomes are discussed.

Challenges

Challenges are of the usual type in this field.

1. Apathy of employers and belief that anyone without a voice and understanding can be exploited.
2. Employers think migrants don't have the right to basic amenities, or a right to a living wage.
3. Apathy of government about a living wage and responsibility for migrants at destinations.
4. General slowness of the judicial system in addressing issues of voiceless migrants and the way labour laws are designed.
5. Challenges of migrants spread out over far away brick kilns, construction sites, agricultural fields and communicating and meeting them.
6. Low awareness amongst migrants about their own rights, inability to calculate their wages, inability to keep records of payments and expenses and so on.
7. Difficulty in getting ID cards and other government paper work for migrants.
8. At some point, funding would also be a problem, as the task at hand would be so large if one thinks of all migrants in all fields of work.
9. If workers don't feel empowered at workplace, then even if established minimum wage and other rights exist, workers may not be able to demand those when these are not available.

Workers don't perceive an immediate incentive to become union members, especially because there's a cost (annual membership fee) involved. More about this later.

Outcome-wise findings and Observations

CLRA's work within this grant, is categorized under 3 major Objectives/interventions. Achievements in activities, outputs and outcomes within each of these interventions have been detailed out in the following section. Grant period is not yet over, so it is expected that all numerical targets could not have been achieved.

Brief of the core activities and achievements undertaken within each of the three objectives are enumerated below (Numbers quoted are from the beginning of the grant period till HY5 (October 2021 - March 2022)).³

Objective/Intervention #1

Facilitating development of strong workers' organizations of (i) construction, agriculture, and brick kiln workers in Dahod and Ahmedabad, Gujarat (ii) brick kiln workers in Ajmer and Bhilwara, Rajasthan.⁴

1. Workers, Workers' collectives and labour contractors are mapped. This mapping exercise and the data generated is primarily used to contact the workers, build and maintain a relationship with them. This in turn, leads to the emergence of a strong workers' organization that promotes labour rights and takes up workers' issues.
2. A total of 11,993 workers were mapped. Of this, 7702 have been mapped using the newly developed Shramshakti application.
3. Above data is mainly mapped in 3 ways, via a google form; or the newly developed Shramshakti application or a physical form. Further, this data is analyzed by the documentation and research staff at CLRA, which results in descriptive research reports, journals and news articles.
4. Informal meetings at a small collective level (Nakas, brick kilns, markets and villages) are held across all project location, mainly to organize workers, make them aware of their rights and to increase MAM membership numbers. 152 of such meetings were held, which saw a total participation of 3,843 workers.
5. Capacity building trainings are undertaken for worker leaders. 21 such trainings have been held, which have seen a total participation of 714 worker leaders.
6. Public Campaigns are undertaken for membership of workers. Additionally, discussions on MAM's work and the importance of unionizing are also held at such events. 15 such campaigns have been held, and these campaigns have been attended by a total of 1,434 attendees. Every new member pays an annual membership fee of Rs. 100, with an increase in the number of members made, funds received by the union also increases. These campaigns, augmented by capacity building training, have resulted in the emergence of new workers' leaders.
7. Mapped data (elaborated in Pt.2) is used for further research and analysis, resulting in the production of 5 analytical reports.
8. Yearly capacity building workshops are held for CLRA staff. External resource persons are invited in addition to Senior CLRA staff to helm the workshop. A total of 45 staff members have participated in the yearly capacity building program.

³ A summarized version of the Results Framework has been attached in the Annexures (Annexure 3)

⁴ From: Results Framework

Outcome related findings and observations from the field visits

1. List of mapped workers was utilized to reach out to migrants in distress during the COVID-19 lockdown. The organization staff and volunteers called workers registered on their database, and provided them with necessary ration support and travel support.⁵
2. The organization through its advocacy and public campaigns has managed to bring about significant hikes in the minimum wages of migrant workers. Min. wages for brick kiln workers which were earlier notified at a piece rate for 1100 bricks; the government has since superseded this notification in Oct. 2021, now notifying minimum wages at a piece rate for 490 bricks, amounting to a 125% hike in wages. Although this win is a result of years of advocacy and campaigning on the part of CLRA and its affiliated unions, work undertaken under the grant period is also a part of this struggle.⁶
3. Observations and recommendations for the Shramshakti app and website:
 - a. No infographics on what source and destination areas workers surveyed belong to, what % of workers come from each of these areas.
 - b. The Shramshakti website is not linked to the main CLRA website.
 - c. Information collected via the app could be presented such that they define and support the main objectives that the organization works on. Dashboards could be created for building public opinion and involving others in the discourse.
 - d. The agency which has been contracted to design, develop and maintain the app and the website provided poor services and is very slow to respond. Technical help to correct this maybe sought from Philanthropy.
4. Thinking of advocating for interventions that incentivizes workers to join the union, specifically tangible interventions that a worker can relate to, is necessary to further boost the membership drive efforts undertaken by CLRA. For example, campaign for Provident Fund for workers and/or provision of document attested by the union, documenting employment record of the worker.
5. Building strong cross-sectoral allegiance amongst different informal work sectors, will help develop a feeling of empathy and sympathy for exploitation happening for all fellow workers, irrespective of their nature of work. This helps build cohesion and a sense of responsibility of each member towards one another.

Objective/Intervention #2

Providing redressal mechanisms when labour rights of workers are violated.⁵

1. Cases of non-payment of wages to migrant workers are undertaken. Case resolution related work is undertaken by field staff from the respective field office. Help from other organizations in case resolution is also sought, as per need, especially in cases where CLRA does not have adequate reach. 215 cases have been undertaken. A total of 2398 workers have reached out to file cases. As a result of CLRA's interventions (consisting of court cases, lobbying through government officials, negotiations with employers etc.), workers receive their due payments. A total of ₹ 1,25,41,000 in wages have been claimed back till HY5 (Oct. 2021-Mar. 2022)

⁵ Ref.: Interview with Vijeta (CLRA staff) on Covid response work undertaken by CLRA.

⁶ Ref.: Email conversation with Sudhir Katiyar (CLRA founder).

2. Cases registered with CLRA also consist of workers affected by bonded labour in brick kilns, farms and other areas. Workers have been released and sent back home in 38 cases of bonded labour, helping 760 workers in total.
3. In addition to the aforementioned cases, CLRA also provides redressal in cases involving serious rights violations such as sexual harassment, workplace accidents and physical violence. Workers receive justice and due compensation entitled to them.

Outcome related findings and observations from the field visits

1. Training workshops for staff persons, especially field staff, on avoiding usage of non-discriminatory language with labourers and providing preliminary psycho-social support, can be incorporated into capacity building workshops.
2. There is a dearth of female staff, particularly in the Dahod team. This can be a drawback in resolving cases that involve sensitive conversations with female workers.
3. Casework related activities and resolution of cases is a significant source of motivation and pride for the staff. More staff motivation activities can be built on this.

Objective/Intervention #3

Linkage of migrant workers with public services related to health, education, ICDS and municipal services.⁵

1. As part of CLRA's advocacy efforts with the government, 24 evidence based memorandums were given to the Education department for enrolment of migrant children under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Scheme.
2. 24 Evidence based memorandums were given to the health department for RCH (Reproductive and Child health) services to migrant women and children under the Mamta scheme.
3. Registration of construction workers is done to the Construction workers' Welfare Board. 358 workers have been registered.
4. Multi-stakeholder consultations are organized to sensitize the state and district administration to issues of seasonal migrant workers and subsequently, effect change in policy. 3 such consultations have been undertaken, attended by 90 stakeholders. This has lead to adoption of progressive policies for migrant workers and fund allocation for the same.
5. Legal and Advocacy support is provided by CLRA to prevent evictions and enable access to municipal services. Eight worker sites have received legal support to prevent evictions and three worker sites have received legal support to enable access to municipal services like toilets and drinking water.

Effectiveness of an Intervention

Effectiveness can be measured in a myriad of ways. Only a few of those are relevant/possible to evaluate here. Possible ways of evaluating effectiveness, each would have a component of learning on efficacy which in turn would help learning of effectiveness:

1. Long term: how long did it take to reach this level of intervention, human resource, skills (of persons involved), capacities (of persons involved), capacity building (of persons involved), on-ground impacts, experience with bureaucracy and politicians and financial implications on effectiveness understanding
2. Recent Times: How have interventions evolved over a decade+ based on learnings as well as changing political climate, impact of technology (mobile phones: mainly for staff and migrant labour), access to information and internet access and so on.
3. Various types of additional activities needed that impact effectiveness (reaching out to source areas, involving external agencies e.g., for time and motion studies) and so on
4. Efforts involved in outreach and adding efforts to involve non-union members
5. Would additional collaborations have improved effectiveness?
6. Perhaps what can be done during this evaluation is dabble a bit in each of these and create a framework and input existing data in the hope to create an improved framework for a later analysis when adequate data and time are available. This will probably be a work in progress for quite some time to come.

Labour rights violation cases take many forms and *resolving* them can be defined in multiple ways and can be intricately complicated. To cite an example to explain this: an underage construction worker dies at work, with humongous efforts of MAM/CLRA, ten times compensation is awarded/paid. Perhaps only a miniscule per cent of that compensation reaches relatives of deceased worker, and this is very difficult to verify. Is this a *resolution*? Let us look at some of issues involved here:

1. In case of accident:
 - a. Underage worker should not have been allowed to work. Could this be stopped?
 - b. What would be a just compensation?
 - c. Is financial compensation the only compensation possible here?
 - d. Was anyone jailed for this? Should anyone be jailed for this? Criminal proceedings important or not?
 - e. What was the mode of compensation, cash or bank transfer? Did vested interests/politically powerful members of community in source area extract any of the cash involved?
 - f. How long is a reasonable time to get relief to the family?
2. In case of malpractice.
3. In case of abuse.
4. In case of share-cropping, premature termination and non-payment.

Way Forward

We did not undertake evaluating financial improvements, as per discussion with Hari.

Potential Programmatic Improvements:

1. Finding ways of increasing membership seems to be quite important. Increasing membership by increasing stake of migrant workers in general union activities may be

possible, will need to be explored on a trial basis. Many ideas could be tried here, for example:

- a. Provide portable toilets and bathrooms at each kiln/construction site that has more than 20 union members, in collaboration with employers or govt administration. This gives substantial incentive to be a member.
- b. Provide a “certificate” of employment to each worker for each season, let that be a “record of employment”/” proof of employment” for each worker. Cumulative employment records could be a useful tool for lobbying.
- c. A document (say an equivalent of a MGNREGA job card or ration card) that may be used for accessing govt services and entitlements at destination areas. Let’s call it a migrant ID.
- d. Provision of specific services at source and destination areas to reduce drudgery of migrant labour.

More imaginative trials could also be carried out:

- a. A co-operative savings group (and programme) that gives much higher interest rate than a bank savings programme to union members, if members are able to save a certain amount each day.
 - b. Those who have saved may become eligible to receive a certain amount of loan each year.
2. Western India Networking on Workers’ Issues is a great step towards involving others to join case resolution and other ways to support migrant workers. Similar steps to provide education, anti-malnutrition, chronic illness specialized treatment in both source and destination areas, in collaboration with NGOs working in these areas specifically on these issues could be explored.
 3. There seems to be a scope for an internal reporting system and documentation that allows all teams to learn about each other’s work and have cross-learnings as well as to draw inspiration from each other’s work and capability
 4. Developing small trial steps by learning directly from migrant workers about their needs at destination and source may help make more plans and give ideas about trying other ways.
 5. Improved record keeping methods can help the organization prioritize and plan their future course of action. Day-to-day activities of CLRA field offices, such as mapping of workers, team meetings, case resolution etc., seem to take place either on priority basis or as stipulated by senior management, without a systematic tracking of how much time is spent per day/per week/per month on each activity. Organizing an MIS system, that allows for keeping a record of such data, will give a bird’s eye view of how much time/person-hours go per activity, per field office, for each objective, leading to a much better understanding and discussion of the alignment of work undertaken, with the present and future goals of the organization.

Implementation Strategy

CLRA believes that organizing informal workers demands a new strategy from that used by the formal sector that focuses on workplace organizing. Key elements of an alternative paradigm of organizing workers developed by CLRA are:⁷

1. Identification of migration streams: Migration stream refers to a set of workers from a contiguous source cluster going to work in a destination cluster in a specific occupation. This makes it possible to make sense of the wide diversity of source areas and ethnicities amongst workers.
2. Undertaking organizational work across the source – destination continuum: A typical feature of organizational work has been that it has been undertaken in both source and destination areas. This becomes essential for migrant workers as source areas offer much more amenable space for organizational work. At destination, the workers live in spaces controlled by employers and are also under pressure of work.
3. Engaging labour contractors: CLRA found majority of labour contractors were former labourers themselves and were not against organizing, this emanated from a deeper understanding of caste-class background of these contractors.
4. Organizing at scale: The organizational efforts sought to cover the whole market. It was realized early on, that piecemeal efforts were unlikely to be successful. It is not possible for an individual brick kiln owner to hike rates and survive in the market.
5. Successful local alliance building: The movement of migrant workers is unlikely to succeed unless it finds support in the destination areas. The local civil society and progressive elements normally remains aloof from migrant workers.
6. Use of criminal statutes for labour rights violations: Labour laws are weak and therefore criminal statutes like The Atrocities Act, The Bonded Labour Act, sections of IPC in cases of grave violations need to be used. This tactics forces employers to negotiating table leading to settlement much faster.

Theory of Change of the program ⁷

At a broader ideological level, CLRA believes that it is only by combining the Marxist and Ambedkarite streams of thought and politics, that can lead to the desired outcomes. This is reflected in the flag of the Unions supported. CLRA firmly believes that *Organizing informal workers has the potential to bring about the elusive unity between the Left and the identity based political movements and take forward the democratic revolution to its logical conclusion.*

This is predicated on the understanding that the organization of informal workers represents the central contradiction facing the Indian polity. The informal workers – especially those engaged in manual work – constitute the most exploited sections of Indian working class. They also constitute the bottom of the caste ladder hailing primarily from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and the most backward amongst the Other Backward Castes.

⁷ Based on Email communication (17th May 2022) with Sudhir Katiyar

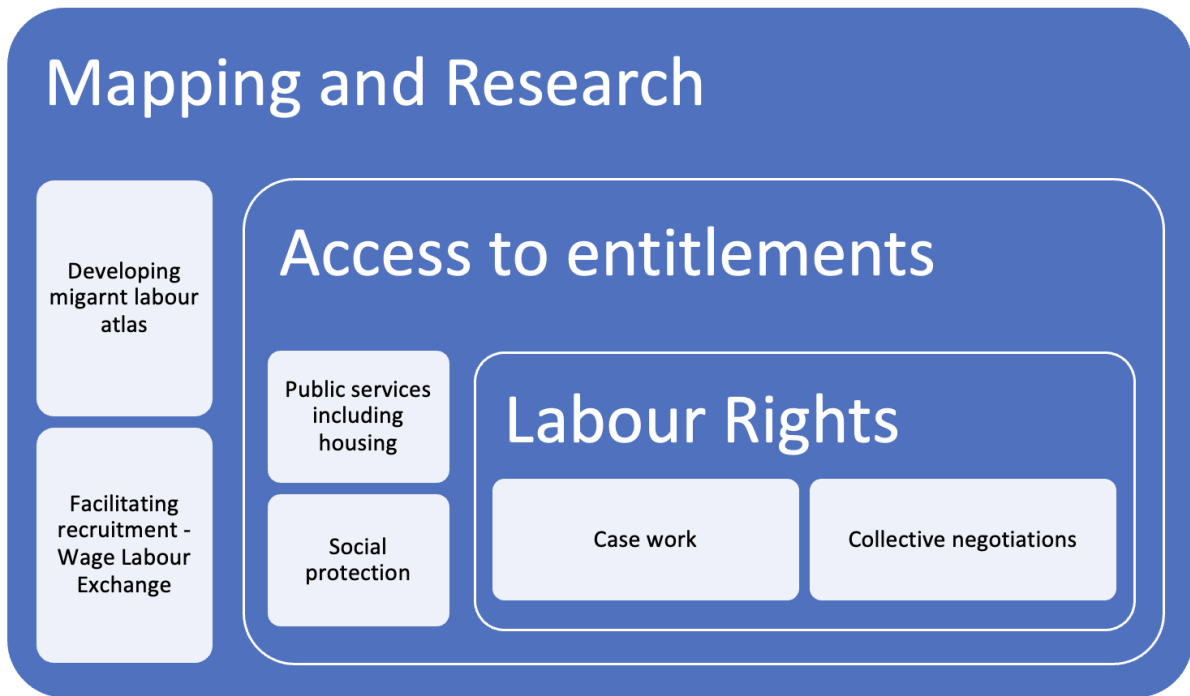
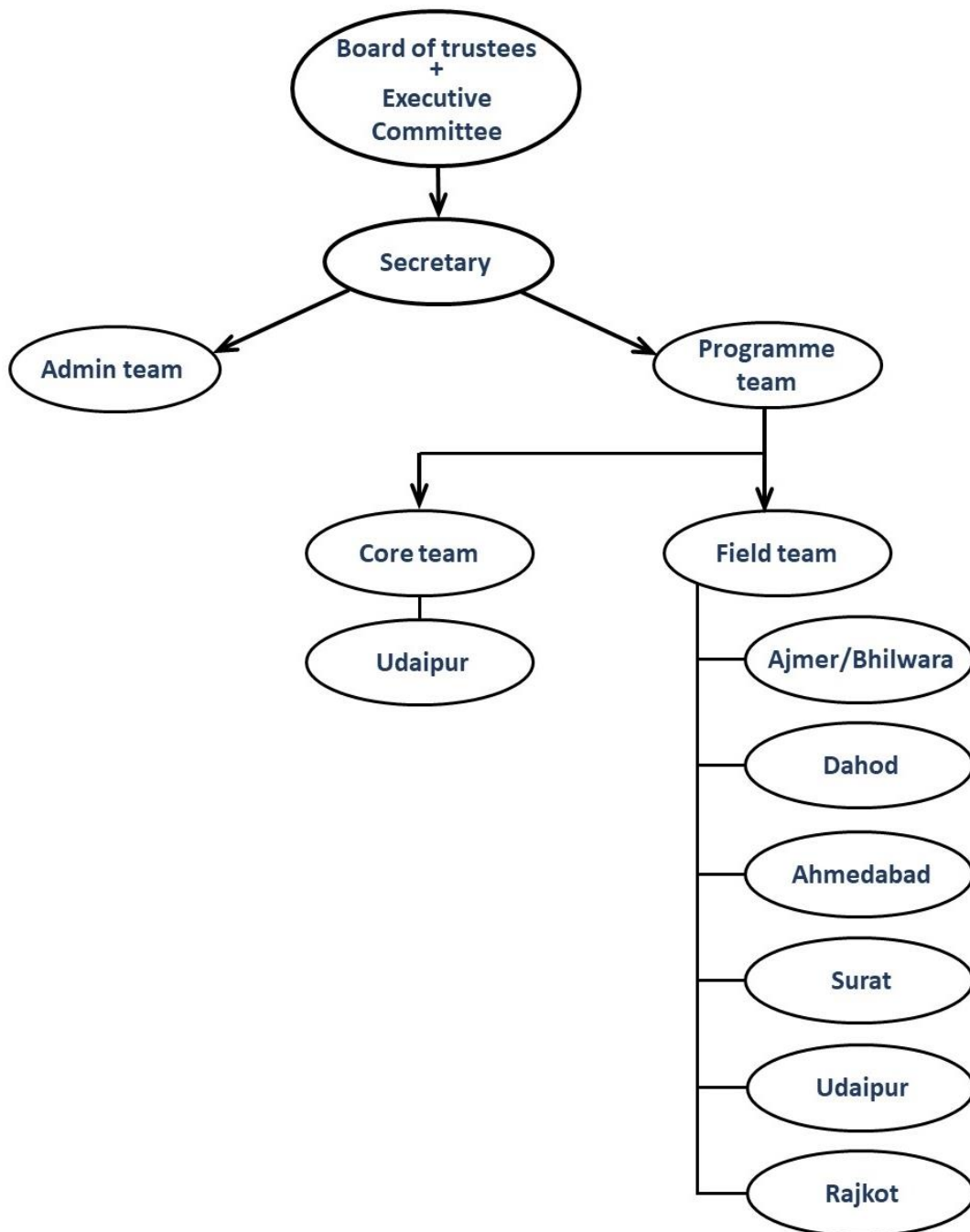


Figure 3 All of CLRA's work is aligned to this.

Systems

Organization Management Structure

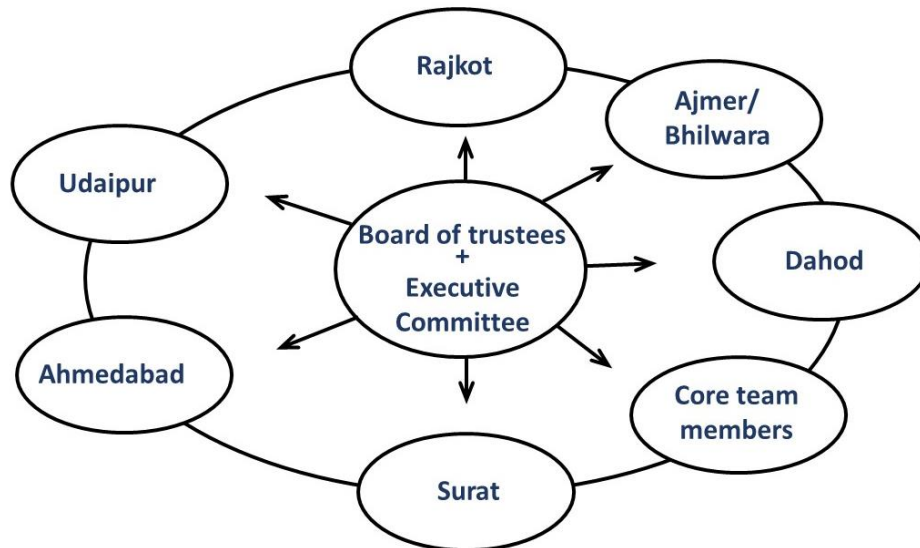


Leadership & Staff

The organization is headed by a Board of Trustees/ Executive Committee. The Secretary of the Committee is the Chief Executive and designated as Project Director for CLRA projects. The program staff may be divided into two categories – (i) field staff that works directly with and through workers’ organizations (ii) core staff that takes up public service advocacy work using the NGO identity.

The administrative staff looks after accounts and administrative issues. The two-member team is based at Udaipur but travels frequently to field locations.

The team functions in a democratic manner. It has a flat structure with nearly all decisions being taken in the monthly Review and Planning meeting where everybody is present.



Flat structure for decision making

It is expected that the field staff will identify with workers' organizations and become its full-time employees over a period of time. The field team leads the mobilization effort that is supported by core staff. The organization has seven field offices – each with its own team leader. These are based at Ahmedabad, Kadi, Rajkot, Dahod, Surat, Udaipur and Bhilwara/ Mandal. The team comprises members with diverse skills that range from field level mobilization skills, legal expertise, ability to argue cases with state machinery, documentation and analysis, and policy advocacy with state organs. There are 29 members in the team including six female employees. The teams are mobile, travelling to source areas, for field work, and other team locations when required during public campaigns.

Management Information System (MIS)

Internal data collection system consists of a tabular monthly compilation (on hard copy) of the following data:⁸

1. Meeting information: Date, Place, number of attendees (male and female) and remarks.
2. Mapping information: Means of mapping are google form, Shramshakti app, manual form-filling, other, Number of mapped workers, number of workers fed into the computer and remarks.
3. The Shramshakti application is a newly developed application by CLRA, to be used to map details of migrant workers at both source and destination workers. The form is fairly elaborate, and roughly takes about 20 mins to be fully filled for one candidate. The application also generates analytical graphical information from the collected data, which can be viewed only by CLRA staff, through a secure Login ID and password. An example of the analytical report generated through the app has been attached as Annexure 4.

⁸ From information provided by CLRA Ahmedabad office during field visit.

4. Case work registry: Type of case (Bonded labor, wage non-payment, Accident in the workplace, gender-based violence, Caste-based harassment, others), type of worker (Brick kiln worker, farm worker, construction worker, factory worker, other), gender of worker and number of workers affected.
5. Case work results: Type of case (Bonded labor, wage non-payment, Accident in the workplace, gender-based violence, Caste-based harassment, others), Solved case categorization (by Union intervention, by Government intervention, Through Court intervention), Pending case categorization (with Union, with Government, shut), monetary compensation received and number of beneficiaries.
6. Information regarding Public Events: Date, Place, No. of attendees (Male and female) and remarks.
7. Information regarding Capacity building trainings: Date, Place, number of workers participated (male and female) and remarks.
8. Information regarding beneficiaries of other support services: Type of benefit received (education, aanganwadi, health, P.D.S, others), no. of beneficiaries (male and female).
9. Union Membership information: Number of members (male and female) and categorization under SC, ST, OBC, Muslim, General.
10. Membership under Government boards: Type of board (Construction workers' board, E-Shram portal, other), number of members (male and female) and remarks.
11. Information regarding monetary contributions from workers: Types of contribution (through membership, through casework) and total money received.

Human Resource

There are very few trained personnel available who will have union perspective to doing organizing work in rural areas. There are some who have learnt hands-on with the likes of MGNREGA unions, however, in reality, any human resource will need significant training for this type of rights-based approach. On work training may be the best way to go, though some study would be essential to complement that. CLRA has a total staff strength of 27, based at 7 field offices. The list is given below. The ones supported by APPI have been marked accordingly.

Ajmer - Bhilwara

1. Ratan Lal Bhil – APPI supported
2. Shaitan Raigar - APPI supported
3. Pukhraj Rawat - APPI supported
4. Asha Verma
5. Hem Lata Bajaj
6. Amita Rawat
7. Jagdeep Singh
8. Pooja Meghwal
9. Mahaveer Bairwa

Dahod

1. Ravjibhai - APPI supported
2. Sunita - APPI supported
3. Govabhai - APPI supported

Ahmedabad

1. Preetiben
2. Rameshji
3. Dineshbhai
4. Minaben

5. Balwant - APPI supported
6. Bhupat Solanki
7. Vijeta – APPI supported (part time)
8. Poonam Patel – legal consultant

Surat

1. Denis Macwan
2. Shanti Lal
3. Jitu Baraiya
4. Jayesh Gamit
5. Anushka Rose

Rajkot

1. Ashok Samrat

Udaipur

1. Sudhir Katiyar – APPI supported (part time)
2. Roshan Menariya – APPI supported (part time)
3. Bihari sharan Vyas

Steps taken to prepare second line leadership in the organization⁹

1. All field offices are independently capable enough to carry out all key activities of CLRA and the union, without a need for constant guidance from the founder, and have been doing so. Financial authority and some administrative powers are still held by the founder. The founder also plays the role of an overall team leader. Efforts to decentralize some of the responsibilities have been undertaken, some of the financial authorities have been given to a staff member from the Ahmedabad office.
2. Additionally, the goal is to strengthen the union such that, it functions independent of CLRA.
3. Senior experienced team members of CLRA are in the age bracket of 45-55 years. CLRA now plans to train the newer younger members of the organization, so as to decentralize powers of the senior leadership and train the younger members also to better discharge their responsibilities.

⁹ Based on discussion via voice messaging with Sudhir Katiyar.

Sustainability of the Model

Sustainability for an organization like CLRA can be viewed from multiple perspectives, keeping in mind that in each scenario CLRA would be able to function independently and be accountable to migrant workers and society at large while never being beholden to where they receive funds from.

In an ideal world, true capitalism would not define brick manufacturing, agricultural work, construction work (a myriad of similar activities) as unskilled and any worker would not remain “unorganized”. In such a scenario, workers would be able to negotiate a living wage in the present-day world as and when needed and purchasers of such “labour” or “services” would be willing to pay the real costs involved by paying appropriate prices for a product (whether it is a brick, or construction costs). Until then,

1. A systems perspective: In a capitalist economy, responsibility to provide all the services needed by migrant workers would be taken care of by the employers. Multiple ways of implementing this could be thought of, a few ways without needing an organization like CLRA, and other ways keeping CLRA an independent body, devoid of any pressures originating in funding.¹⁰
2. If we were to imagine a scenario that there will be need for CLRA to fulfill current needs, then support for CLRA could also be gathered from trade union members. This is hard to imagine, looking at the fact that the migrant workers of trade union do not themselves make a living wage. However, [Shaheed Hospital](#) in Dalli Rajhara has established a precedent for us to imagine such a scenario. It would be a worthwhile exercise to compare expenses on case resolution and compare that amount with the 10% of resolution amount received by MAM as contribution by worker.
3. Until two scenarios above are not reached, funding from multiple sources can be sought by CLRA.

¹⁰ District Mineral Fund (DMF) is a good example of creating funding for services stream. However, reality of use of DMF leaves much to be desired and it hasn't been used for stated purposes.

Conclusion and Recommendations

CLRA and MAM have been working under extremely challenging circumstances with perseverance and grit, providing an essential service to all its union members and struggling on a broader level for policy change and wage increases, all of which is beneficial to all migrant labour communities, whether they are members or not. Their work during COVID is also exemplary, in getting emergency ration to migrant labour, arranging of shramik trains as well as providing other myriad services. Migrant labour rarely receive such services, especially where they are working and do not have community. Case resolution is also something migrant labour have a lot of difficulty with, and would be exploited severely.

Ideally, there would be enough organisations like CLRA in every state so that all migrant labour would be part of a union everywhere and would be taken care of. Organisations like CLRA need to be supported by society and sustainable models of such support need to be put in place by society.

Recommendations to the Grantee Organization

1. *Using innovative ways of data representations:* CLRA may incorporate usage of graphical data representation and analysis in their descriptive reports to APPI and for internal organizational documentation, to supplement conventional reporting of statistics and research reports. For eg, State-wise and district-wise geo-mapping of cases (registered, in-progress and resolved) can help understand the spread of CLRA's work and aid in future strategizing on expansion. Infographics are also relatively easier to comprehend and allow for creative ways of adding additional information than conventional written documentation of the same.
2. *Improved record keeping:* Recording, organizing and segregating of all grant-related expenses under different cost centres (Each field office of CLRA could be one Cost centre), will help the organization get a comprehensive view of expenses incurred by each field office per intervention. This information in addition to person-hours and travel hours spent per intervention can also better determine staffing requirements of the organization.
3. *Improved web presence for outreach:* CLRA's official website does not have a link or a direct mention to the Shramshakti application Dashboard (<http://vikasdwar.com/safallabour/web/index.php?r=site%2Flogin>). The link was provided to us by CLRA staff. This is a limitation for all visitors of the CLRA website seeking to understand work done by the organization, and an opportunity for CLRA to showcase work done on mapping of informal sector workers.
4. *Results Framework:* Work mentioned against some of the activities under an objective in the RF under the vertical 'Working Notes' is unrelated to the actual activity itself. Further, the work mentioned seems to be additional work undertaken by CLRA which is significant in itself. Hence, it is important to allow for incorporation of such additional work, the need for which may have risen suddenly, (such as the example mentioned below) under a different row in the RF. As a suggestion, a new row under Objectives/Interventions can be added to mention activities undertaken outside of the stipulated activities in the RF. Eg.: Under Objective/Intervention #3, Covid-relief related activities during the first Covid nation-wide lockdown have been mentioned. Work done by CLRA to send workers back home is a mammoth effort, and has immense significance in the themes that CLRA works under. Hence, it is imperative to document these activities properly, as opposed to documenting them under working notes of an unrelated activity.

5. Innovative ideas to increase membership of unions can be explored. Such as:
 - a. Provide portable bathrooms and toilets at the workplace for union members.
 - b. Provide a “certificate” of employment to each worker for each season, as a proof of employment.
 - c. Provision of specific services at source and destination areas.

More imaginative trials could also be carried out:

- a. A co-operative savings group that helps survival of members. Such members could also be offered loans & other additional services.
 - b. Collaborating with other organizations to cater to needs of workers’ families in source areas.
 - c. Can an ethical entity replace “Contractors” of the kind of “Anup Agarwal”? Refer to Goyla Kiln Case study in Annexure 2. Additionally, a similar alternative concept of ‘labour exchanges’ has been documented by Sudhir Katiyar, and shared with NITI AAYOG.¹¹
6. Discussions on Internal qualitative analysis post events or on annual retreats may be happening, but no readily available documentation of the same could be seen.
 7. Capacity building training for CLRA field staff on sensitivity of language and providing support to potential victims.
 8. Develop a Strategy Document for CLRA, which includes on the ground time bound *Milestones* which lead to verifiable *Outcomes* which together may form steps towards a long-term *Goal*. Use of terms Goal-Outcomes-Milestones here is different than similar terms used in the Philanthropy RF. Update it every three years.
 9. Develop a Theory of Change document. Update it every three years
 10. CLRA could document it’s milestones and important achievements in the form of a timeline as illustrated in Annexure 4.

¹¹ Two documents shared via email by Sudhir Katiyar, referenced in Bibliography.

Annexures

Annexure 1 Visits and Meetings with Evaluation team

Date	Location of the Visit
10-04-2022	Car interview with Sudhir Katiyar on the way to Udaipur
11-04-2022	Visit to JMD Kiln, meeting with union and staff, Ajmer district, Rajasthan
12-04-2022	Goyla Kiln visit, team meeting, Ajmer district, Rajasthan
22-04-2022	Sugarcane workers visit, Palsana, Surat district, Gujarat
23-04-2022	MAM and CLRA staff meeting, Dahod, Gujarat
24-04-2022	Case work visits to Khapariya village (Dahod taluka), Dhokla Khakhra (Jhalod taluka) and Kanthagar village (Fatehpura taluka), Dahod district, Gujarat.
25-05-2022	Bastis in Ahmedabad, MAM union office meeting, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.

Annexure 2 Case studies

Dholakhakhra Case, Dahod district, Gujarat:

The case was of Death due to Accident at workplace (May also be seen as Death due to negligence and lack of safety measures at workplace). The victim was from Dhola Khakhra village, Jhalod taluka, Dahod district, Gujarat. The village has a population of 2542, according to the Census 2011. It is a part of a Gram Panchayat of 3 villages.

A minor (<18 yrs of age) worker from the village went to work in Gandhinagar at a construction site. He fell from the 10th floor and died on the spot. Senior Representatives from the village were called to the site, where they were overshadowed by the police and the powerful builder lobby. They then reached out to the MAM Surat office, who in turn notified MAM Ahmedabad office to reach the site. Through MAM's pressure building and prompt action, an FIR was filed under Prevention of Atrocities act and Death by Negligence against the builder. Post which, a settlement was reached at a compensation of 11.5 lakhs for the bereaved's family.

Goyla Kiln Case, Ajmer district, Rajasthan:

This was a case of Bonded labour. A group of 8 families went to work at a brick kiln in Pratapgarh district, Uttar Pradesh, from Baloda Bazar district, Chhatisgarh. These families went through a contractor called Anup Agarwal. They had each taken about ₹ 25,000-30,000 of advance payment from the contractor.

At the brick kiln in Pratapgarh district, the labourers had to sit without work for 3 months. No work meant no payment for them, and unlike home they had to purchase food, hitting them with double the financial trouble. Further harassment and exploitation at the hands of the brick kiln owner, lead to them becoming bonded labour at the brick kiln. One of the laborers then contacted the Int Bhattha Mazdoor union. IBMU then facilitated the release of the worker families through persistent advocacy through the Pratapgarh District Collectorate. All eight families were released. The District administration ensured that the loan amounts they took were waived off.

Three of the families chose to return back home. The other five families wished to work further and sought the help of the Union to find work. These five families were then given employment at a brick kiln in Goyla, Ajmer district, Rajasthan by the Union.

The Brick kiln at Goyla also had a history with the Union. The previous owner of the brick kiln was extremely exploitative and had made numerous workers suffer. IBMU, through persistent follow-up via meetings and litigations against the owner, made him sell the brick kiln and leave. The new owner of the brick kiln, was facing difficulties hiring workers due to the kiln's reputation. The union then stepped in by connecting the new owner with the families released from U.P., thereby ensuring work for them.

This experience can provide a basis for trying out something new. Can IBMU and MAM with support of CLRA and other well-wishers create a contractor agency owned and operated by Union members, that is registered with the authorities (unlike the small-time contractors)? This entity can earn the same commission as the contractors but, pay the earned commission per worker to the workers themselves. In the process, providing improved housing at destination and other basic amenities and services, that are never provided by a Contractor. Can such a model be financially viable and acceptable to migrant labour?

Annexure 3

Summarized Results Framework¹²

Sr. No.	Description	Target	Actuals / Achievements	Working Notes
Objective/Intervention #1: Facilitating development of strong workers' organizations of (i) construction, agriculture, and brick kiln workers in Dahod - Ahmedabad, Gujarat (ii) brick kiln workers in Ajmer-Bhilwara, Rajasthan [Added temporarily for my clarity, may delete later]				
1	Mapping of workers, worker collectives, and labour contractors	12,375	11,993	Final version of Shramshakti app delivered on 17th Jan 2020.
2	Data entry and analysis of the mapped workers using new software	12,375	7,702	Shramshakti app updated and recreated in late Sept. 2020. [Cell N5, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
3	Informal meetings at small collective level - nakas, brick kilns, markets, villages.	198	152	
4	No. of Workers participating in informal meetings at a small collective level - nakas, brick kilns, markets, villages (240 meetings in 3 years)	3,960	3,843	Source area visits undertaken in UP, Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan. [apr21-sept21, Cell AB8, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
5	Organizing capacity building training of worker leaders	18	21	2-day capacity building program undertaken in Chhattisgarh. [Cell:AB9, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
6	No. of worker leaders participating in capacity building training sessions.	475	714	
7	Undertaking public campaign for membership of workers	18	15	Campaigns undertaken in Alirajpur and Sendhwa district of Madhya Pradesh. [Cell: U11, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx] Public event held in Chhota Udaipur district on 6th April, 2021. [Cell: AB11, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
8	No. of workers participating in public campaigns that are undertaken.	3,800	1,434	

¹² Data quoted in the table is taken from the file: APPI data reports region wise.xlsx, shared by Sudhir Katiyar.

9	Research and documentation of mapped data.	4	5	Articles published in the Counter View (May 2021), The Wire (July 2021) and a Research report on tribal agricultural migrant workers, published in Dec 2020. [Cell: AB13, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
10	Analytical reports produced through the data mapped.	4	5	Undertook a rapid assessment of the impact on Covid 19 lock downs on unorganized sector, migrant workers. Another impact assessment was undertaken for slum dwellers in Ahmedabad. [Cell: N14, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
11	Capacity building workshops for staff.	2	2	
12	No. of staff members participating in the capacity building workshop.	30	40	
Objective/Intervention #2: Providing redressed mechanisms when labour rights of workers are violated [Added temporarily for my clarity, may delete later]				
13	Undertaking cases of non-payment of wages to migrant workers.	290	215	Cases registered in Chhattisgarh as well. [Cell: AB18, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
14	No. of workers reaching out to file cases of non-payment of wages.	3000	2398	
15	Releasing workers from bonded labour in brick kilns and other area.	15	38	
16	No. of workers affected by bonded labor, file cases in brick kilns and other areas.	150	760	
17	Other cases involving serious violations like sexual harassment, work place accidents, physical violence.	18	27	
18	No. of workers affected by serious violations like sexual harassment, work place accidents, physical violence etc., file cases.	180	53	
Objective/Intervention #3: Linkage of migrant workers with public services related to health, education, ICDS and municipal services [Added temporarily for my clarity, may delete later]				

19	Evidence based memorandum given to the Education Department for enrolment of migrant children under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan scheme	22	18	
20	No. of memorandums given to Education Department to provide services to children of migrant worker.	22	18	
21	Evidence based memorandum given to the Health Department for RCH services to migrant women and children under the Mamta scheme.	22	14	
22	No. of memorandums given to Health Department to provide services to migrant women and children.	22	14	
23	Filing applications for registration of construction workers with the Construction Workers Welfare Board.	250	520	
24	Construction workers fill forms of the Board.	250	358	
25	Organize multi stakeholder consultation to sensitize district and state administration to issues of seasonal migrant workers and effect change in policy.	2	3	
26	No. of stakeholders participating in consultations that are sensitized on the issues of seasonal migrant workers.	60	96	CLRA has engaged with stakeholders in cotton supply chain- seed production companies and Fair Trade- a labelling organization- to ensure payment of minimum wages and ensure decent work in cotton and cottonseed production. [Cell: AB32, file:APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
27	Legal and Advocacy support to prevent evictions and enable access to municipal services.		19	
28	No. of workers' sites receiving legal support to prevent eviction (Case basis).		8	

29	No. of workers' sites receiving legal support for municipal services like toilet and drinking water (case basis).		3	
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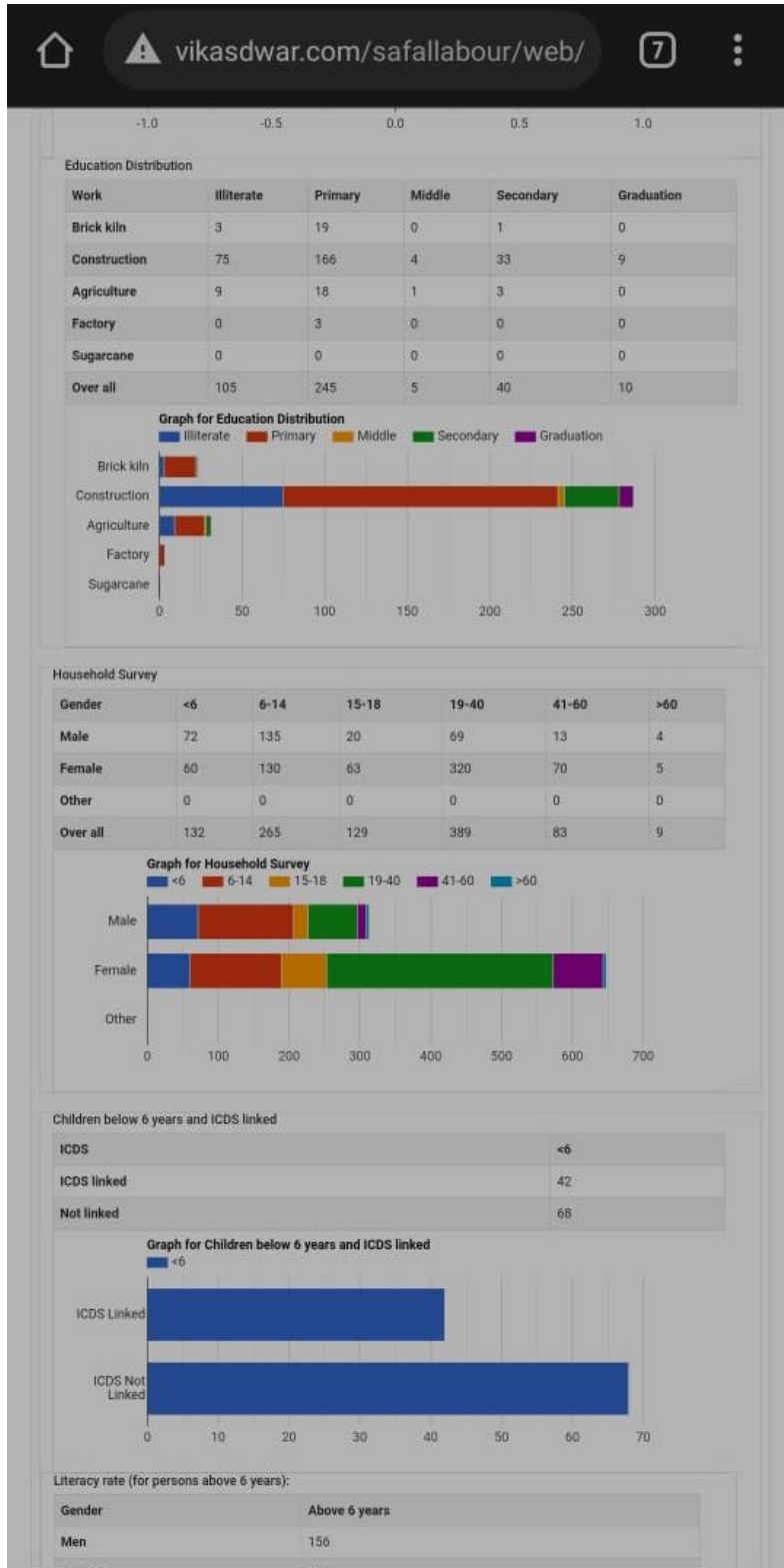
Annexure 4

Timeline

2019-10-01	Grant Start Date [APPI_VG 9 months Report Final 180820.xlsx]
2019-10-01	New staff recruited for this grant joined in Dahod. [cell G4: APPI_VG 9 months Report Final 180820.xlsx]
2020-01-17	Final Version of Shramshakti App delivered [file: APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
2020-08-17	9-month RLC Report [APPI_VG 9 months Report Final 180820.xlsx]
2020-09-01	Shramshakti app updated and recreated in late Sept. 2020. [Cell N5, file: APPI data reports region wise.xlsx]
2020-04-01 to 2020-09-01	Two reports produced in this period 1) Rapid assessment of unorganized, informal and migrant workers in collaboration with INHAF and Pune University and; 2) Impact assessment was undertaken in collaboration with CISHA for slum dwellers in Ahmedabad.
2020-12-01	Research Report on tribal agricultural migrant workers, 'Footloose in Farms' published.
2021-05-01	Article published in The CounterView on the ingress of Covid-19 in Rural India.
2021-07-01	Article in The Wire on the Supreme Court's order on the Migrant workers' exodus during the Covid-19 lockdown.
2022-02-05	Government of Gujarat declared the minimum wages for sugarcane harvesters through a draft notification.
2022-09-30	Grant End Date

Annexure 5

The Shramshakti application developed by CLRA, further generates analytical reports and graphs based on the data fed into it. These can be viewed by staff members who have a designated login ID for the App. The following picture is a screenshot of some of the graphs generated through a CLRA employee’s login ID:



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