

# *Skills, Work, and the Choice to Stay Migration Outcomes of STEP Academy Trainees*

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## Introduction

Internal labour migration is a crucial livelihood strategy for millions of Indians. Most labour migration is driven by the disparity in levels of development between India's rural and urban areas. Migrants from rural areas which have surplus labour and low economic opportunity travel to more economically prosperous urban centers for work (Sanyal and Kingsuk 67). Skill development initiatives aim to solve the issue of surplus labour by increasing the size of the skilled workforce, thus increasing job opportunities. After the Covid-19 pandemic brought the precarity migrant livelihoods into public view, skill training initiatives have explicitly included stopping migration as a program goal, reasoning that they can decrease migration by will increasing the viability of rural livelihoods (Ray). However, there has been limited research assessing the relationship between skill training and migration.

A study based on survey data from Tripura found that, while youth are often willing to migrate within their state for training and placement, those who had self-employment skills were not interested in future migration (Ghosh). A study surveying gulf-state migrants from Bihar demonstrated that "push" factors, primarily related to domestic economic insecurity, were significant drivers of migration. The study also showed that higher pre-migration income was negatively correlated with length of stay abroad (Khan et al.). A second study found that, within India, a state's GDP per capita was negatively correlated with rate of outward migration, while a state's rural poverty rate was positively correlated with outward migration (Akram). These results suggest that, if a skill training program can effectively promote local livelihoods, it would decrease outward migration.

STEP Academy is a unit of Aajeevika Bureau, an NGO working for the well-being and advancement of rural migrant workers and youth. STEP focuses on providing vocational skill

training to low-income, migrant families from the tribal belt of southern Rajasthan. In Rajasthan, changing climactic and ecological conditions have resulted in waning agricultural profits, despite a growing population which depends on agriculture for their livelihoods (Sharma et al. 10-13). These pressures cause much of the region's population to migrate for work, often to the urban hubs of Gujarat. STEP serves local youth who are either returning from migration, or on the verge of migration. The experience of STEP has been that, while its trainees have often migrated in the past, they tend to not migrate after their training. This study will test the hypothesis that STEP's trainees are less likely to migrate after their training than before. Additionally, the study will profile why the trainees choose to (or not to) migrate, and the factors that influence their choices.

### Methodology

The study employed a cross-sectional survey with structured format. The survey asked participants to report on a variety of demographic characteristics (age, location, marital status, education, etc.) and their work history (migration status, work area, wages) both before and after taking STEP training. Some open-ended questions allowed respondents to explain their choices regarding migration and work, and respondents were also asked how STEP training affected their choices and opportunities.

Respondents were selected from the population of trainees who underwent either Hunar or OJT training at STEP between 2015 and 2021. This group was trained recently enough that they are relatively easy to contact, but long enough ago to observe the training's effect on their livelihoods. The Hunar and OJT training types were selected because of their focus on introductory level vocational training. STEP operates nine source-location centers in southern Rajasthan (in Sabla, Udaipur City, Barwara, Banswara, Sayra, Dungarpur, Gogunda, Pindwara, and Salumbar). The staff at each center were responsible for surveying trainees from their center. Surveys were conducted between October and December 2023. Interviewers conducted interviews both by phone and in person, and logged responses through google forms on behalf of the interviewee. A convenience sampling method was employed after random sampling proved non-viable due to a high non-response rate. A total of 435 surveys were conducted.

The survey instrument was developed at STEP. Fifteen pilot interviews were conducted, after which the field team provided input on the survey methodology. The survey was revised, and then all surveys were conducted. Data was compiled into excel spreadsheets for cleaning and analysis. Because most data was categorical, chi-square tests were used extensively to test correlations across variables.

Results

Demographics

Figures Figure 1-Figure 5 illustrate demographic data reported by the 435 survey respondents. The majority are younger than 35, male, married, and from the ST category. Respondents most frequently reported having attended school through 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> standard. Compared with all Hunar or OJT trainees at STEP’s nine centres in southern Rajasthan between 2015 and 2021, the distribution of the survey respondents’ social category is not significantly different than the overall population. However, male trainees and better educated trainees are overrepresented in the sample, and trainees in the sample are on average slightly younger than the population.

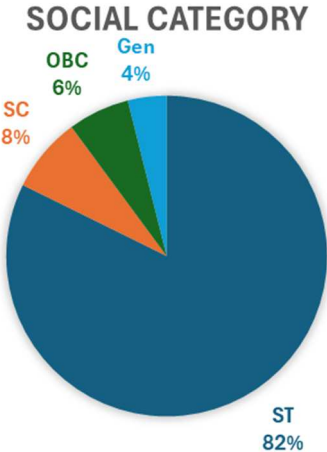


Figure 1

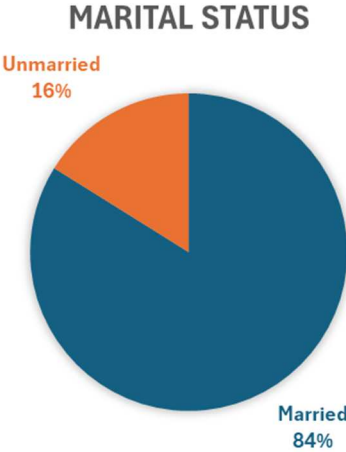


Figure 2

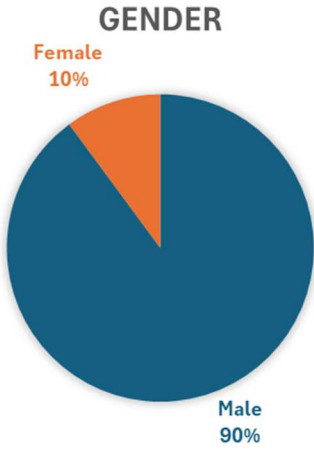


Figure 3

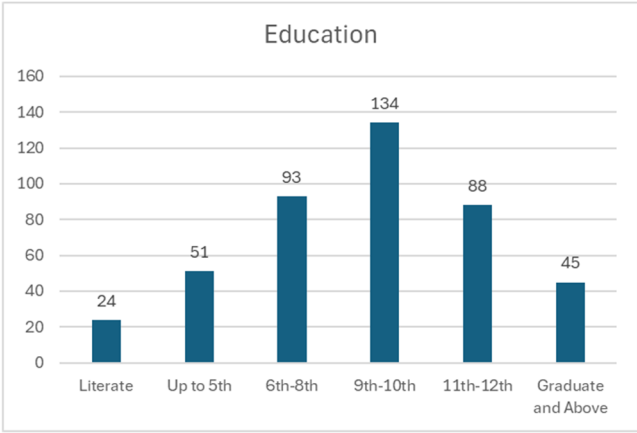


Figure 4

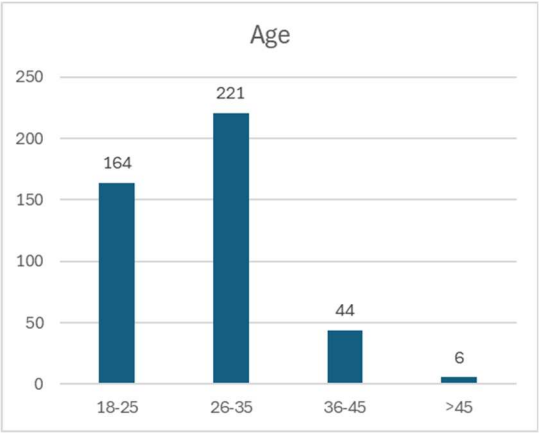


Figure 5

**Error! Reference source not found.** shows the distribution of the number of members in respondents' families and Figure 7 shows the distribution of number of working family members in each family. Respondents most frequently reported a family size of 5 or 6, and most reported being the only earner in their family, or one of two.

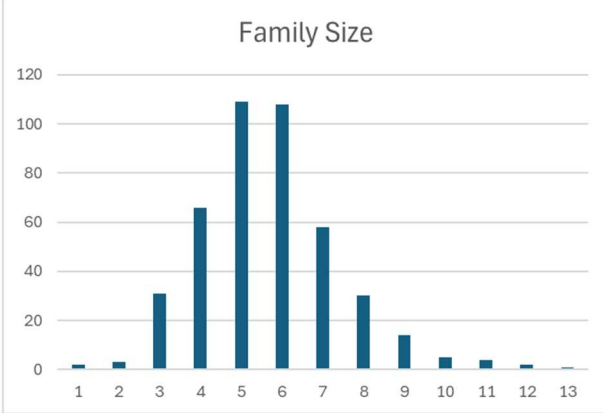


Figure 6

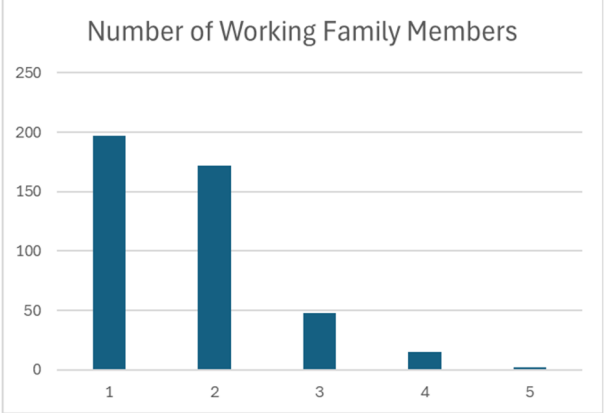


Figure 7

Geography

Table 1 gives the number of respondents from each STEP Centre, and Table 2 gives the distribution of respondents by their district of residence. All were from Rajasthan.

Training Centre			
	6		4
Sabla	7	Salumbar	3

District			
	18		2
Udaipur	1	Pratapgarh	0

STEP Udaipur	6	Dungarpur	3
	6		1
Barwara	5	Gogunda	3
	5		0
Banswara	5	Pindwara	2
	2		6
Sayra	5		
	0		

*Table 1*

Banswara	72	Salumbar	1
			5
Dungarpur	59	Pali	1
			0
Rajsamand	50	Bundi	1
			1
Sirohi	26	Chittorgarh	1

*Table 2*

### Experience at STEP

Table 3 gives the distribution of the type of training taken by survey respondents. Figure 8 shows when trainees in the study took their STEP training. There is a significant skew towards trainees who took their training more recently.

<b>STEP Training</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>STEP Training</b>	<b>Count</b>
Commercial Tailoring	79	Home Appliances Repairing	7
Two-Wheeler Mechanic	65	E-Mitra Operator	5
Mason	64	Bar bending	5
House Wiring	48	Jewelry Making	2
Motor Winding	38	Job Readiness	2
Mobile Phone Repairing	31	Welding	2
Centering	26	Beautician	1
Handpump Mechanic	18	OJT	1
Marble and Tile Fitting	16	AC/Fridge Repairing	1
Paint and Varnish	11	Hotel Work and Hospitality	1
Plumbing	11		

*Table 3*

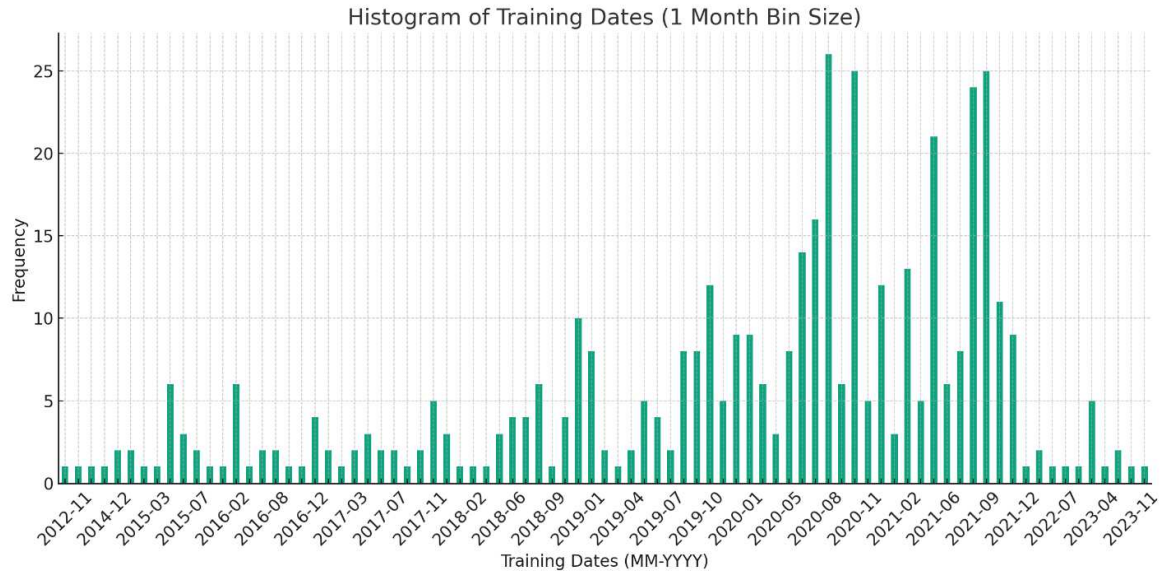


Figure 8

### Work Experience

Table 4 summarizes the work which trainees were doing prior to taking training at STEP. The majority (~2/3) were engaged as “labourers,” though a significant group (70) were previously engaged in studies, and some were engaged in skilled or semi-skilled labour.

Occupation	Count	Occupation	Count
Labourer	204	Other Helper	7
Studies	70	Shop Worker	6
Hospitality	52	Unemployed	5
Factory/Mining Work	19	Driving	3
Stone Carving	17	Other	3
Textile Work	16	Farming	2
Skilled Trade	10	Painting	2
NREGA	9	Domestic Work	2
Skilled Construction Work	8		

Table 4

At the time of the interviews, 359 (82.5%) trainees were working in the domain in which they received STEP training. The remaining 76 had stopped working in their trade. Of those still working in the same trade, 81.62% are working full-time and 18.38% are working part-time. Figure 10 summarizes the work locations of those still working in their trades.

**CURRENT WORK STATUS**

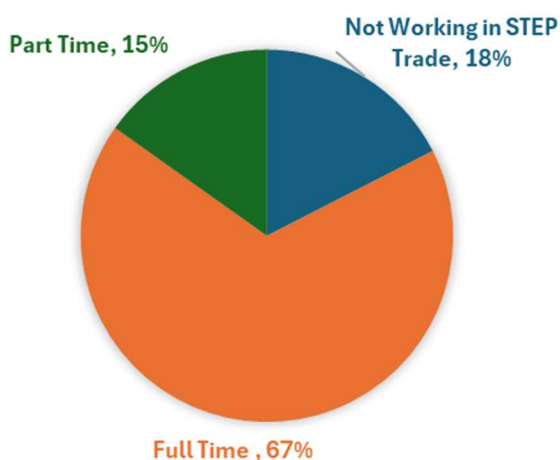


Figure 9

**WORK LOCATION**

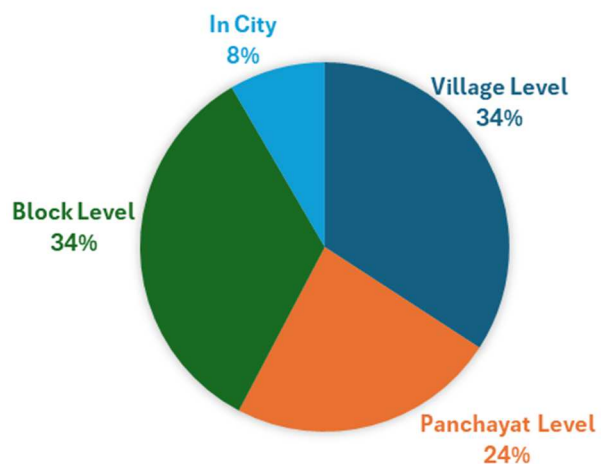


Figure 10

Table 5 summarizes the reasons respondents gave for why they left their trades. Most respondents left their trade because they were not as successful in the domain as they had hoped. Another significant group left their trade to return to their studies.

Reasons for Leaving Trade	
<b>Unsuccessful in Trade</b>	<b>44</b>
Worse Earnings	10
No Work	11
Didn't Learn Trade Well Enough	8
Few Customers	5
No Capital for Shop	5
Part time work in trade	2
Could not work due to illness	1
Lack of Materials for Trade	1

Business Closure During Covid, Had to Migrate	1
<b>Studies</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Doing other work</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Family Situation</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Not Interested in Trade</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>7</b>

Table 5

Table 6 summarizes the domains which respondents who left their trades now work in. Roughly half of respondents returned to the domain which they had worked in prior to their training, and the other half now work in a new area. Two-thirds of those who transitioned domains attribute that shift to their STEP training.

Work Domain After Leaving Training Trade			
Studies	16	Farming	3
Construction	13	Driving	3
Hospitality	10	At Home	3
Labourer	9	Stone Carving	2
Shop Work	4	Cement Company	2
Police/Security	3	Other	5
Part Time Work	3		

Table 6

## Migration

### Migration History

Fifty-seven percent of respondents (247) report having migrated at some point prior to STEP training. Of them, 88% reported having migrated alone. **Error! Reference source not found.** breaks down the migration history of the respondents prior to STEP training. At the time of the interviews, 92% of respondents were working locally. Figure 12 summarizes the respondents' migration status post-training.

Fifty-two percent of respondents reported that their “head of the family” had at some point migrated for work.

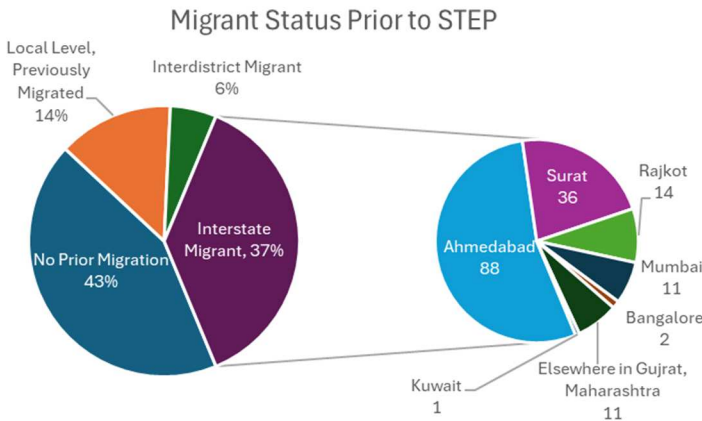


Figure 11

Post-Training Migrant Status

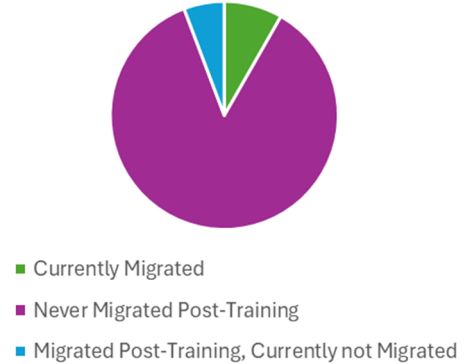


Figure 12

### Motivations for Migration

Respondents were asked to select (one or multiple) motivations for migrating prior to STEP training. Figure 13 shows the frequency of different motivations in respondents’ answers. “Economic Need” and “Seeking Opportunity” were the most-selected factors. Of 236 responses, 169 (72%) contained only responses concerning economic need or seeking opportunity and 213 (90%) included at least one of the two.

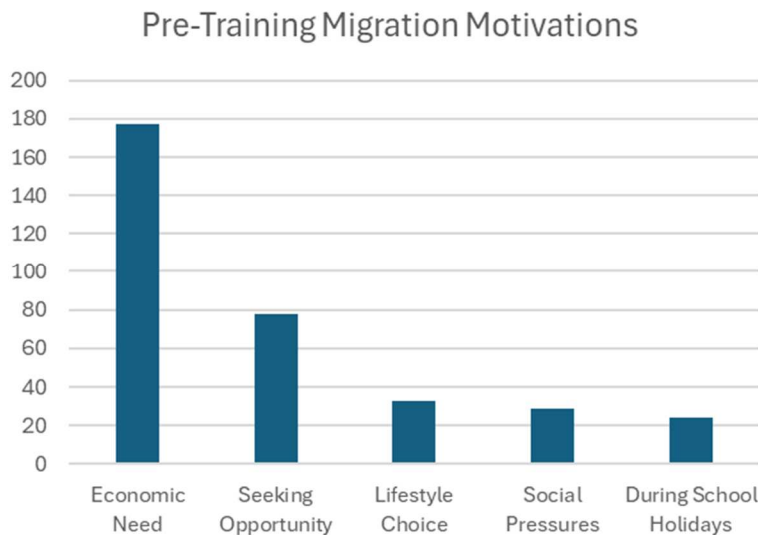


Figure 13

Twenty-five trainees migrated after STEP training but were living locally when surveyed. Of this group, 20% migrated within a month of training, 40% after a month, and 40% after three months. 72% migrated for 1-3 months, 20% for 3-6 months, and 8% for more than 6 months. This group was asked to give free-response answers explaining their choice to migrate. Their responses were interpreted and appropriately grouped. Thirteen migrated because they felt they could earn more in the city or because they had an immediate financial need which required them to migrate, 4 because they couldn't find local work at the time, and 1 migrated due to marriage. An additional 7 migrated to earn the capital required to start a business in the trade which they had learned at STEP.

Of the 36 trainees who were migrating at the time of their interview, 15 looked for local work before migrating and 21 did not. The two groups gave similar answers when asked "What challenges did you face [looking for work locally]?" and "If [you didn't look for work locally] why not?" respectively. Figure 14 summarizes the items most selected in responses. Once again, income and opportunity were the dominating factors.

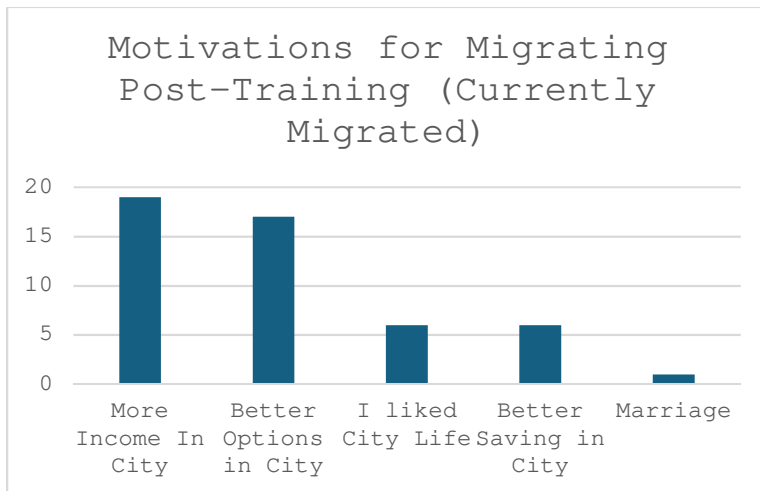


Figure 14

Respondents who are not currently migrated were asked to list their reasons for choosing not to migrate. Figure 15 shows the frequency of various answers. The most selected answer was "With the new skilling I was able to find work in my location," appearing in 65% of all answers.

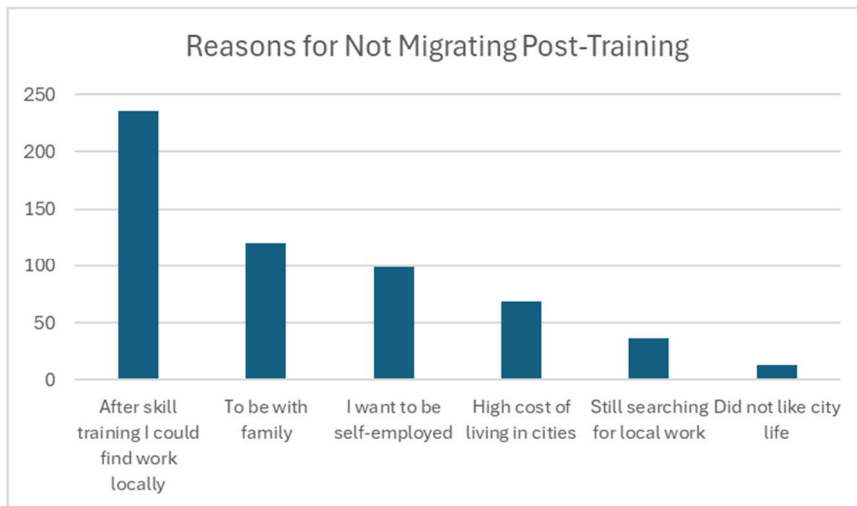


Figure 15

Trainees who are presently migrated were asked to identify differences between previous and present migration. Figure 16 summarizes their responses. Nineteen out of 36 said they earn more than they did previously.

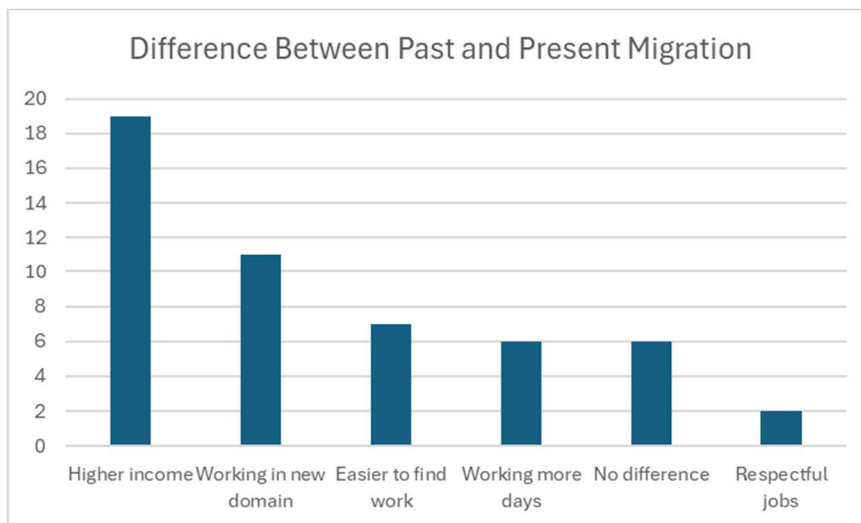


Figure 16

### Analysis of Migration Patterns

This section will analyze factors which correlate with trainees' migration to better understand migration patterns. There was significant variation in pre-training migration history across the STEP centres,  $X^2(8, N = 420) = 130.95, p = .00$ . Migration history also varied significantly by

trainees' district of origin,  $X^2 (5, N = 408) = 26.62, p = .00$ . **Error! Reference source not found.** shows the relative frequency of pre-training migration across the different training centres and Figure 19 shows the distribution of pre-training migration across trainees' home districts. Trainees who had migrated immediately prior to training are marked "Migrated" and those who had migrated at some other point before training are marked "Previous Migrant." Those who never migrated before training are marked as "Never Migrated." The total sample size for each Centre is represented on each bar. Figure 18 and Figure 20 show the same distributions for post-training migration. "Never Migrated" means no migration post-training, "Migrant" are those who were migrated at the time of surveying, and "Previous Migrant" represents trainees who migrated post-training but have since returned.

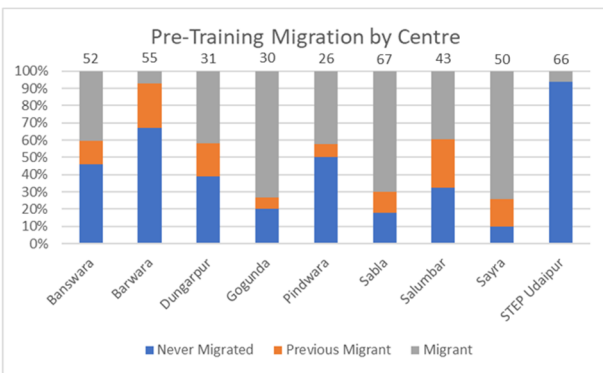


Figure 17

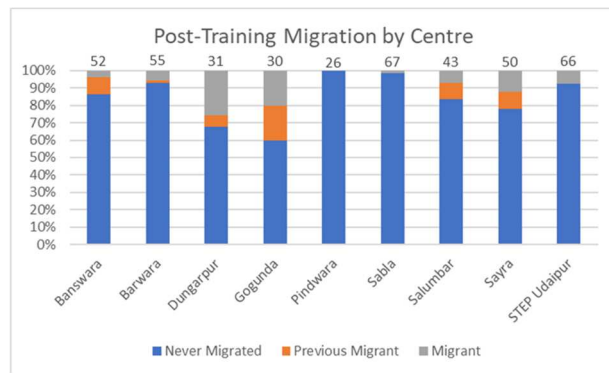


Figure 18

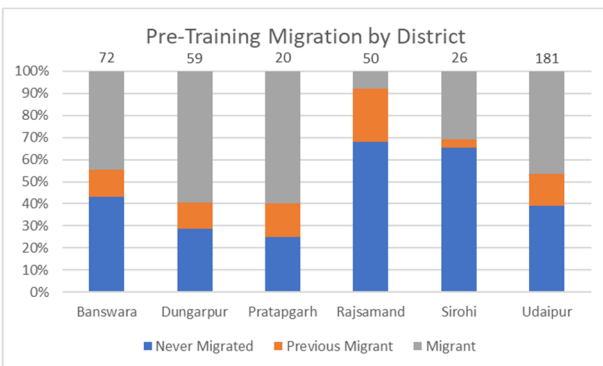


Figure 19

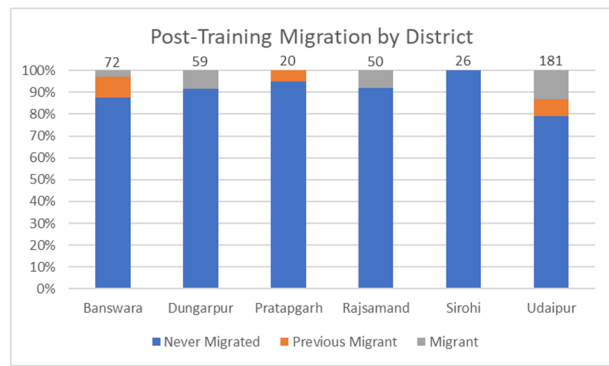


Figure 20

Additional factors were correlated with pre-training migration. There was a significant correlation between gender and migration,  $X^2 (1, N = 435) = 41.15, p = .00$ . 61.9% of male trainees had migrated prior to training, compared to only 11.4% of female trainees.

There is a significant relationship between family size and pre-training migration,  $X^2(6, N = 435) = 27.22, p = .000$ . Figure 21 shows the proportion of trainees with each family size who reported having never migrated prior to training. There is a negative relationship, where trainees with larger families are more likely to have migrated.

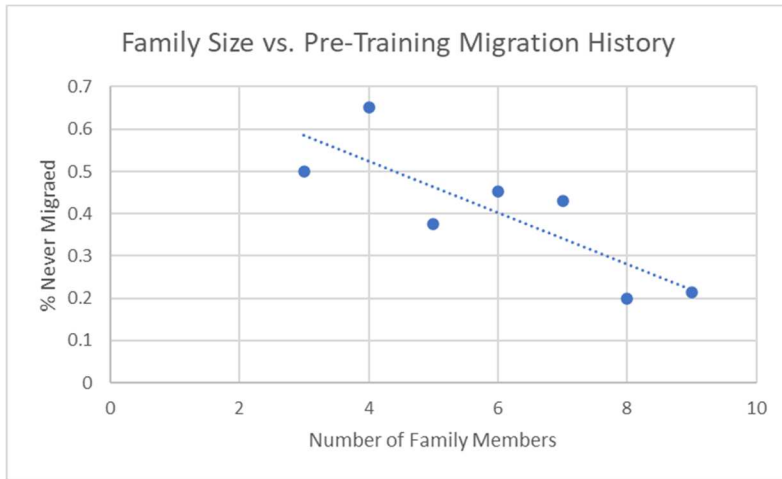


Figure 21

There is a statistically significant relationship between number of months working per year and migration status,  $X^2(6, N = 467) = 22.30, p = .001$ . Figure 22 shows the distribution of working months based on migration status. Trainees who migrated were working significantly fewer months in a year, on average.

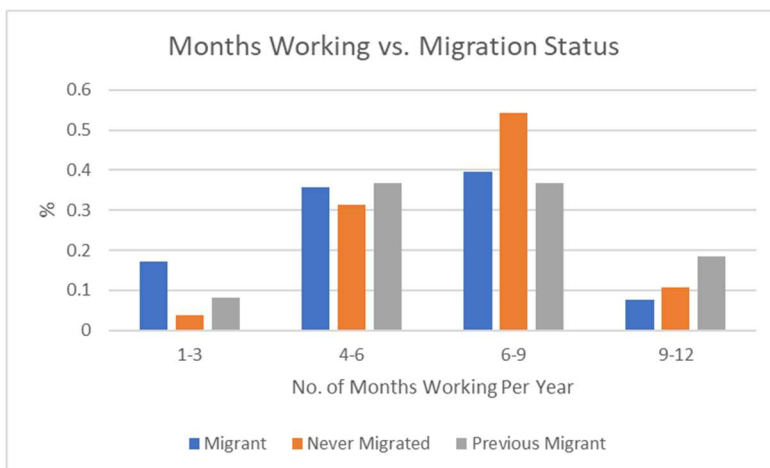


Figure 22

Age, gender, education, and number of working family members were found to not significantly correlated with pre-training migration. None of the factors discussed above correlated with post-training migration, possibly in part because of the smaller sample size.

### Respondent Self-Assessment of Impact of STEP Training

Respondents were asked to predict what their occupation would be if not for STEP training. Table 7 summarizes the distribution of respondents' predicted fields of work.

Area of Work Without Training			
Labourer	258	Unemployed	7
Hospitality	45	Driving	7
Studies	22	Other	6
Skilled Construction Work	17	Factory/Mining Work	5
Skilled Trade	14	Domestic Work	5
Stone Carving	13	NREGA	4
Textile Work	12	Other Helper	2
Shop Worker	8	Painting	2
Farming	8		

Table 7

Respondents were also asked to predict where they would be working if not for STEP training. Table 8 summarizes respondents' predicted migration status if they had not taken STEP training. Note, only 133 of 435 respondents responded to this question. There is no statistically significant difference between this distribution and the distribution of workers' actual migration status prior to training,  $X^2(3, N = 499) = 3.79, p = .28$

Migrant Status	Count
Interdistrict Migrant	6
Interstate Migrant	66
Intradistrict Worker	8

Local Level	53
Grand Total	133

Table 8

There is a statistically significant correlation between pre-training migration history and predicted migration if not for STEP training,  $X^2(2, N = 133) = 33.40, p = .00$ . Trainees who migrated immediately prior to STEP training were more likely to predict future migration than those who were living locally. Trainees who had previously migrated but not immediately prior to training were not significantly more likely to predict that they would migrate than those who had never migrated,  $X^2(1, N = 58) = 0.37, p = .54$ . There was also a significant correlation between prior migration status and response rate to the question,  $X^2(2, N = 435) = 31.28, p = .00$ . Trainees with prior migrant history had the highest response rate, while trainees coming directly from school had the lowest. To control for this variation, the percentage of trainees who predicted they would migrate (either the “interdistrict” or “interstate category”) by pre-training migration status was calculated. Then, these percentages were multiplied by proportion of each pre-training migration status and summed. This resulted in a predicted 46.5% of trainees who would be migrating if not for training.

Figures Figure 23-Figure 25 summarize the responses to three questions which asked respondents to evaluate the impact that STEP training had on them.

HAS STEP INFLUENCED YOUR CHOICES REGARDING MIGRATION?

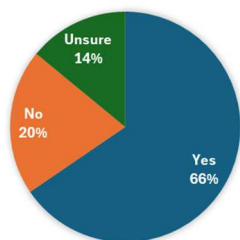


Figure 23

AFTER STEP, I CAN EARN MORE MONEY LOCALLY THAN I COULD PREVIOUSLY

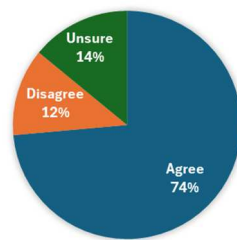


Figure 24

AFTER STEP, I CAN EARN MORE MONEY BY MIGRATING THAN I COULD PREVIOUSLY

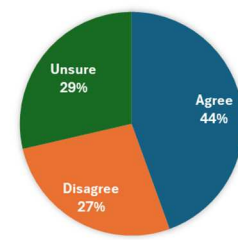


Figure 25

Table 9 shows responses to the question “Has STEP training influenced your choices regarding migration?” segmented by the trainees’ migration history (where a trainee listed as “Migrated, Unmigrated” migrated prior to training, but is currently not migrated). Trainees who had migrated

prior to training but are currently unmigrated were significantly more likely to report that STEP influenced their migration decisions compared to the other groups,  $X^2(4, N = 417) = 111.50, p = .00$ .

	Has STEP training influenced your choices regarding migration?		
Migration History	Yes	No	Unsure
Migrated, Migrated	11	15	5
Migrated, Unmigrated	184	12	8
Unmigrated, Unmigrated	79	58	45

Table 9

Table 10 shows responses to the statement “After receiving training at STEP, I can earn more money working at local level than I was able to prior to the training.” There is a significant correlation between migration history and responses to the question,  $X^2(4, N = 417) = 80.48, p = .00$ . Trainees who had migrated before training but are living locally now were the most confident that after STEP they could earn more locally (with 89.7% responding “Yes”), while trainees who migrated both before and after their training were least confident, with only 29.0% responding “Yes.”

	After receiving training at STEP, I can earn more money working at local level than I was able to prior to the training		
Migration History	Agree	Disagree	Unsure
Migrated, Migrated	9	13	9
Migrated, Unmigrated	183	16	5
Unmigrated, Unmigrated	117	22	43

Table 10

Table 11 shows responses to the statement “After receiving training at STEP, I can earn more money through migration than I was able to prior to the training.” There is a statistically significant relationship between responses to the question and migration history,  $X^2(4, N = 413) = 117.79, p =$

.00. Trainees living locally but who had previously migrated were the most likely to agree, while trainees who never migrated were significantly more likely to answer “Unsure.” Notably, only 32.3% of trainees who are currently migrated agreed that they could earn more through migration than they were able to previously.

	After receiving training at STEP, I can earn more money through migration than I was able to prior to the training		
Migration History	Agree	Disagree	Unsure
Migrated, Migrated	10	12	9
Migrated, Unmigrated	117	76	11
Unmigrated, Unmigrated	58	23	97

*Table 11*

Of trainees who are currently living locally, 79.95% say they do not feel like migrating now, 16.29% say maybe, and 3.76 percent say yes. Table 12 shows the responses to “Do you still feel like migrating to the city?” with respect to the respondents’ migration status. There is a statistically significant relationship between responses to the question and migration status,  $X^2(4, N = 386) = 116.02, p = .00$ . Trainees who migrated post-training were significantly more likely to express interest in migrating in the future. Also, trainees who never migrated were most likely to respond “Maybe.” Additionally, Trainees who are not still working in the trade which they trained in are more interested in future migration,  $X^2(2, N = 386) = 8.58, p = .014$ .

	Do you still feel like migrating to the city?		
Migration Status	Yes	No	Maybe
Migrated, Previously Migrated	9	14	0
Migrated, Unmigrated	4	167	12
Unmigrated, Unmigrated	2	126	52

*Table 12*

Table 13 shows responses to “Has STEP training influenced your choices regarding migration?” segmented by whether the trainee has remained in their STEP trade. Trainees who are not working

in their trade are significantly more likely to say that STEP has not influenced their migration decisions,  $X^2(2, N = 420) = 68.18, p = .00$ . The relationship holds both when only looking at trainees who are currently migrated, and trainees who are currently living locally.

	Has STEP training influenced your choices regarding migration?		
Are you still working in the same trade?	Yes	No	Unsure
No	19	36	21
Yes	256	50	38

Table 13

### Analysis of Relationship Between Migration, Work, and Wages

#### Repeat Migration

Table 14 examines the relationship between migration patterns before and after STEP training. There is a statistically significant relationship between trainees' migration choices before and after training,  $X^2(4, N = 435) = 35.83, p = .00$ . Of 183 trainees who never migrated pre-training, only 5 (2.7%) migrated post-training. In comparison, of 247 trainees who migrated pre-training, 56 (22.7%) migrated post-training.

	Post-Training Migration Status		
Pre-Training Migration Status	Never Migrated	Previously Migrated	Currently Migrated
Never Migrated	183	2	3
Previous Migrant	45	6	9
Migrated	146	17	24

Table 14

Trainees who migrated prior to training were also significantly more likely to report that the head of family had at some point migrated for work,  $X^2(2, N = 435) = 148.37, p = .000$ . 78.3% of trainees who had migrated also reported that the head of the household had migrated at some point, compared to only 19.5% of trainees who had never migrated.

## Migration and Trade Retention

Trainees who remain in their trade report higher earnings in general,  $X^2(3, N = 435) = 42.44, p = .00$ . Figure 26 compares the relative frequency distribution of present monthly income for trainees still working in the trade learned at STEP to those working in another field.

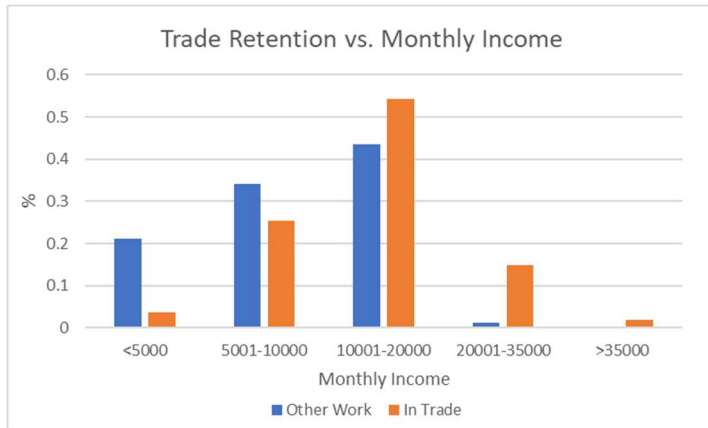


Figure 26

Trainees who had migrated prior to training were more likely to remain in their trade,  $X^2(1, N = 435) = 14.90, p = .00$ . 88.3% of trainees who migrated prior to training remained in their STEP trade compared to 75.0% of trainees who never migrated. Additionally, trainees who migrated prior to training were more likely to be working full time, as opposed to part time,  $X^2(2, N = 359) = 10.61, p = .005$ . 88.6% of trainees who migrated prior to training are working full time, compared to 74.5% of trainees who never migrated.

Table 15 compares the migration patterns for trainees who have continued working in the trade learned at STEP to those who left their trade. There was a statistically significant relationship between working in the STEP trade and present migration,  $X^2(1, N = 435) = 39.48, p = .00$ . Trainees who had left their trade were approximately 6 times more likely to be migrated. However, there was no significant difference in attrition rate between trainees who never migrated post-training and those who migrated and then returned,  $X^2(1, N = 399) = 0.092, p = 0.76$ .

Are you still working in your trade?	Post-Training Migration Status		
	Migrated	Never Migrated	Previous Migrant

No	20	53	3
Yes	16	321	22

Table 15

### Migration and Income

Figure 27 shows the relative frequency distribution of pre-training individual monthly income, segmented by pre-training migration experience. There is a significant correlation between migration history and prior monthly income,  $X^2(3, N = 365) = 11.43, p = 0.010$ . Trainees with a history of migration were earning slightly more, on average. There was no significant difference in reported income between migrants and previous migrants. Figure 28 compares pre-training migration and present family income. Trainees who migrated prior to training in general reported higher present monthly family income,  $X^2(3, N = 435) = 31.31, p = 0.000$ .

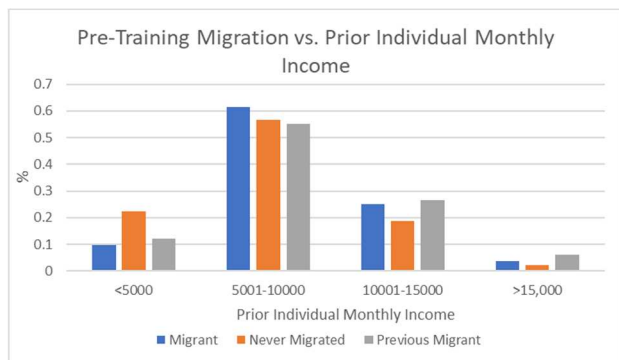


Figure 27

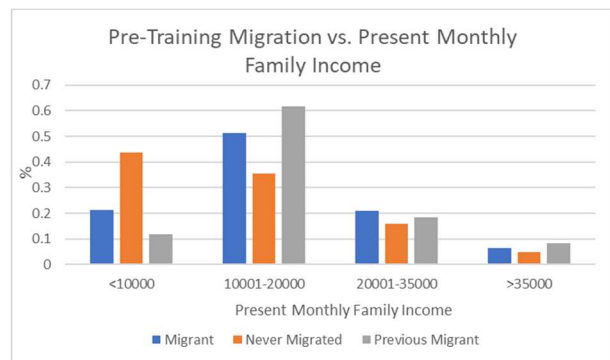


Figure 28

To better understand how migration history affected trainees' success with earnings, pre- and post-training income were compared. Income categories were assigned comparable "N" values as per Table 16. Trainees with  $N_{\text{after training}} > N_{\text{before training}}$  were considered "upwardly mobile," trainees with  $N_{\text{after}} < N_{\text{before}}$  were considered "downwardly mobile" and in cases where  $N_{\text{after}} = N_{\text{before}}$ , trainees had "no mobility."

Pre-Training Income Category	Post-Training Income Category	N
<5000	<5000	1

5001-10000	5001-10000	2
10001-15000	10001-20000	3
>15,000	20001-35000	4
	35001-50000	

Table 16

Of 365 trainees who were working both before and after training, 212 (58.1%) were upwardly mobile, 132 (36.2%) had no mobility, and 21 (5.8%) were downwardly mobile. Figure 29 compares rates of mobility for trainees, based on their post-training migration. While there was no significant difference in mobility between migrants and previous migrants, trainees who did not migrate were significantly more upwardly mobile than those who did,  $X^2(2, N = 365) = 11.60, p = 0.003$ .

Figure 30 compares the relative frequency of mobility across pre-training migration history, looking only at those trainees who did not migrate post-training. There was no significant variation in rates of mobility between migrants and previous migrants, but trainees who had migrated prior to training were significantly more likely to achieve upward mobility than those that never migrated,  $X^2(2, N = 310) = 29.14, p = 0.000$ . 72.8% of trainees who had migrated reported upward mobility, compared to only 42.9% of trainees who had not migrated.

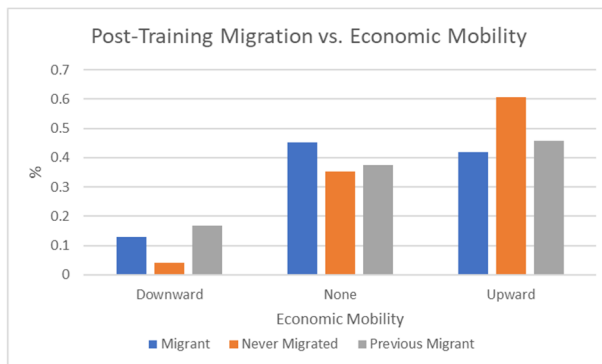


Figure 29

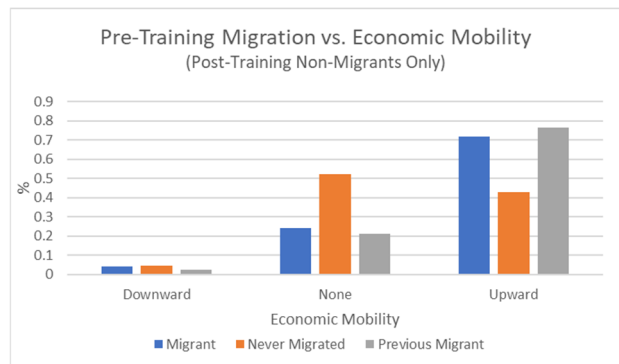


Figure 30

Figure 31 gives the relative frequency distributions of present individual monthly income with respect to pre-training migration history. In line with the results concerning economic mobility, trainees who migrated prior to training reported higher present income on average,  $X^2(4, N = 435)$

= 53.21,  $p = 0.000$ . However, post-training migration and present income were not significantly correlated,  $X^2(4, N = 435) = 4.78, p = 0.311$ .

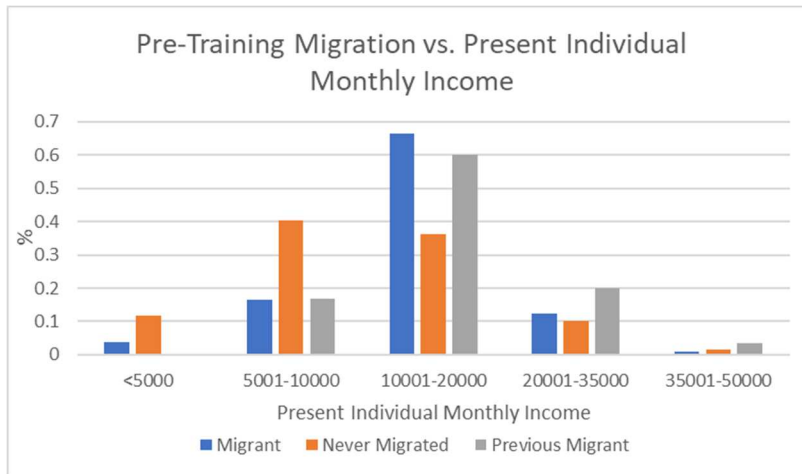


Figure 31

## Discussion

The survey results provide evidence that for STEP trainees, migration is primarily an economic strategy. Ninety percent of respondents who migrated prior to STEP training said they did so to earn money or for better job opportunities and 65% of respondents who are living at home said they are not migrating because now they can earn money locally.

Fifty-seven percent of trainees migrated prior to training and 44% had migrated immediately prior to training. When surveys were conducted between October and December 2023, 14% of respondents had migrated since their training, and 8% were actively migrated. The experience of STEP Academy has been that because informal sector skill training most significantly improves employment opportunities in rural areas, trainees are most successful working close to home, so they choose not to migrate. The significant decrease in the rate of migration after training and respondents' self-assessments of their migration decisions provide strong evidence that trainees are likely to choose to live near home if they have viable rural livelihood opportunities.

Additional evidence further substantiates this argument. A predicted 46.5% of trainees would be migrating if not for STEP, demonstrating that, for many trainees, STEP training made a non-

migratory lifestyle viable. Overall, 83% of respondents are still working in the trade which they learned at STEP, and trainees who were still working in their STEP trade reported significantly higher earnings on average than those who were not. Trainees who left their trade were six times more likely to migrate after training, significantly more likely to say that they were interested in migrating in the future, and significantly less likely to say that STEP had influenced their migration choices compared to those who remained in their trade. When asked why they left their trade, most trainees responded with various reasons why they were unable to earn enough money from it. It therefore follows that this group would be more likely to seek out a living through migration. Accordingly, trainees who migrated post-training were the least likely to say that after training, they could earn more money locally. Interestingly, they were also the least likely to say that they could earn more through migration—reflecting their overall pessimism about their prospects in the trade they learned at STEP.

The variety of experiences with migration were also reflected in trainees' perceptions of opportunity and migration decision making. Overall, 74% of respondents said that after STEP training they could earn more locally than before training, compared to only 44% who said they could earn more through migration. This helps explain the general choice to not migrate after training. In both cases, trainees who migrated before but not after training were the most likely to say that they could earn more, reflecting the success and greater optimism of this group. Sixty-six percent of trainees said that their training had influenced their migration decisions, but 90% of those who migrated before and not after training responded "Yes," compared to only 43% of those who had never migrated, and 35% of those who migrated after training. Notably, across all questions about migration decisions and economic opportunity, trainees who have never migrated were significantly more likely to give answers of "unsure." This seems to reflect a knowledge and experience gap between them and trainees with migration experience.

Trainees who migrated post-training on average earned less and achieved a lower rate of upward economic mobility than their counterparts. This makes sense when combined with the observation that this group was generally driven to migrate because of a lack of success in their STEP trade, or other financial pressures. However, trainees who migrated prior to their training achieved a higher retention rate, were more likely to be working for time, and were 1.7X more likely to

achieve upward mobility than trainees who never migrated. This success is reflected in this group's previously observed optimism, with 90% of previous migrants saying that they could now earn more locally, compared to 64% of those who never migrated. Additional research could identify explanations for the notable success of trainees who migrated before their training. One explanation is that migration provides the migrants portable skills which they can apply when they return home. This is in line with the observation that trainees who had migrated generally had a better sense of how they would evaluate their economic opportunities and make economic decisions compared to those who never migrated.

While the survey provides significant evidence that STEP helps create sustainable non-migratory livelihoods, the non-random nature of the sampling method means that only limited conclusions can be drawn regarding the trends in the overall trainee population. Additional research would be required to better understand the overall relationship between STEP training and migration.

Additionally, qualitative study could help better understand the relationship between STEP training and migration at an individual level. For example, it would be valuable to understand if STEP trainees generally prefer life at home as opposed to a migratory lifestyle—a result that the survey hinted at but did not provide significant evidence on. Additionally, from the survey, it was not clear if youths come to STEP with the explicit intent of transitioning their lives closer to home, or if this is a consequence of the training itself.

## Conclusion

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#### To-Do for analysis/results

- Lit review—look at existing understanding of migration patterns, apply the logic to these results
- FGD question development
  - o Did you come to STEP with a plan to transition to local-level work, or did that plan develop only after you arrived at STEP?

- Do you prefer to live in the city or locally? How much do you need to earn to choose to live locally? How much would you need to be offered to choose to migrate now?
- What would make you choose to migrate again?
- How do you know what options are available to you locally if you're migrated? How much do you know about options through migration if you're currently living locally?
- How do working conditions and social conditions impact your migration decisions? How did your social life change between the two? How has the "dignity" of your work changed? Is the dignity of work something you consider when you decide what work you do?
- Effect of marriage
- 
- **Compare to general trainee data from CSR system**
- -compare pre-training migration+attrition statistics
- -check for trends of pre-training migration and post-training income