WWW.IJRPR.COM

International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews

Journal homepage: www.ijrpr.com ISSN 2582-7421

Breaking Barriers: Son-of-the-Soil Politics and Migrant Integration for India's 2047 Vision

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ABSTRACT

It presents a new typology to explain the dual-site exclusion that affects 450 million internal migrants in India, by mapping out the intersection of Son-of-the-Soil (SoS) politics and policy deprivation. Across high-SoS (Maharashtra, Karnataka) and high out-migration states (Bihar, UP), analysis done by combining both quantitative methods shows exclusionary temporal dynamics of integration for migrant workers emphasizing systematic nature. Around 73.2% of migrants do not possess any acceptable documents, reveals quantitative analysis of the Census 2011 data and NSSO rounds and around 28.9 % are excluded from the PDS Drawing on qualitative fieldwork with 295 stakeholders across four state categories, the article illustrates how SoS politics materialize as administrative barriers, resulting in an average of 45 days wait time as against a mere 12 days locally through welfares registration. Increasing the intensity of SoS politics is strongly negatively associated with SDG performance—so, for instance, states with stronger nativist movements tend to have 18% lower reductions in inequality (Petersen et al. This dual-site exclusion has become increasingly pointed as migrants run into underdevelopment in their place of origin and discrimination at the destination, prompting them to declare that Viksit Bharat 2047 will not be for everyone. The study calls for far-reaching solutions in portability of rights, inclusive governance and both formal and migrant mainstreaming. Abstract — Still much of the population is not part of the development processes which must be corrected by 2047 to make national transformation an inclusive one as mandated, demanding shift from residency-based to Citizenship based welfare delivery.

Keywords: Son-of-the-Soil politics, internal migration, policy deprivation, dual-site exclusion, India 2047

1. Introduction

In terms of volume, internal migration is the largest demographic development in country with over 450 million people moving across regions seeking better livelihood options and getting away from regional disparities. Such extensive human mobility has a profound impact of the landscape, both urban and rural, with this sector contributing ₹6.5 trillion annually to GDP while accounting 45% to urban population growth. But this transformation of context happens within a set of byzantine political ecosystems that are marked by Son-of-the-Soil (SoS) politics and systematic policy deprivation which generates fresh varieties of exclusion. The provincial-level transformation is a result of SoS politics which mobilizes nativist ideologies that emphasize the priority of local populations over (often Muslim) migrants and which tends to be particularly effective in urban environments undergoing demographic transition. These are not mere electoral rhetoric and reflect in hard policy/practice systematically marginalizing migrant populations. Economic anxieties over job competition are expressed in Maharashtra's Shiv Sena, the regional movements of Karnataka, and Assam's nativist politics. At the same time, structural policy holes are adding other layers of exclusion. The unaccustomed mobility of this excess labour has exposed the inadequacies of India's Jugaad welfare-architecture, not designed for floating populations. What we have are residency-based eligibility standards, non-portable benefits and administrative silos between the states where migrants fall through the systematic cracks. In its current form, only 4 of the 28 welfare schemes host some portability provisions for migrant workers which is to say 89 per cent of the country's migrants have no access to social security. Political nativism and poverty deprivation are the twin challenges for India's aspiration to be a developed nation with inclusive growth by 2047 as Viksit Bharat 2047. Exclusion of the millions means what we call dual-site exclusion marginalization at both end (from underdevelopment in origin and discrimination in destination). Not only this but this becomes a parallel violation of equity principles, and undercuts the very underpinnings necessary to allow 2047 transformation to happen.

The need is even more pressing, given India's urbanization track. In 2047 there will be more than 600 million new urban residents, many of them migrants and families. How we approach Integration will fundamentally decide if India can rise to be equitable and globally competitive or continue quarrelling over macro units, squandering our national potential. It is established that SoS politics and policy deprivation may subsume as complementary processes continually generating sustained exclusion patterns, with important reflections for SDG progression and 2047 development goals; thus recommending effective reforms for an inclusive transformation.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Foundations

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains SoS politics through intergroup dynamics where local populations construct positive identity by contrasting with migrant "out-groups." Realistic Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966) demonstrates how resource competition—employment, housing, welfare—intensifies intergroup hostility. Brass (1997) shows how political entrepreneurs manipulate these psychological tendencies for electoral mobilization.

Acemoglu and Robinson's (2012) institutional framework illuminates how "extractive institutions" systematically exclude migrants while extracting labour contributions. Marshall's (1950) citizenship theory—civil, political, social rights—provides analytical tools for understanding exclusion patterns, while Holston's (2008) "insurgent citizenship" concept explains alternative practices when formal recognition fails.

Building on these foundational theories, contemporary scholarship has expanded theoretical understanding through intersectionality frameworks. Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality theory, applied to Indian migration contexts by Bhattacharyya (2022), reveals how multiple identities—caste, gender, religion, regional origin—create compound vulnerabilities. Women migrants face triple disadvantage through patriarchal structures at origin, gendered labour markets at destination, and masculine political mobilization around SoS issues.

Critical geography literature, particularly Harvey's (2005) spatial fix theory, explains how capital mobility contrasts with labour immobility created through political boundaries. Soja's (1996) concept of "spatial justice" provides frameworks for understanding how territorial politics create uneven development patterns, while Santos' (2006) work on "spaces of citizenship" illuminates alternative territorial organizing beyond state boundaries.

Neo-institutionalist approaches, following North's (1990) transaction cost analysis, demonstrate how informal institutions—social networks, trust systems, cultural practices—either facilitate or impede migrant integration. Putnam's (2000) social capital theory, applied to Indian contexts by Krishna (2002), shows how bonding capital within migrant communities can provide survival mechanisms while bridging capital with local populations remains crucial for long-term integration.

2.2 Son-of-the-Soil Politics Evolution

Weiner's (1978) foundational "Sons of the Soil" established nativist movement frameworks, documenting early manifestations across Indian states. Contemporary scholarship by Chandra (2004) analyses ethnic entrepreneurship creating electoral incentives for nativist mobilization, while Hansen's (2001) Shiv Sena ethnography reveals how cultural symbols become politically mobilized.

Gaikwad's (2021) quantitative analysis of 543 parliamentary constituencies (1977-2014) demonstrates SoS rhetoric increases vote share by 3-7% in urban areas with high migrant populations. Mukhopadhyay's (2019) Mumbai ethnography documents how SoS politics translate into everyday exclusion practices in housing, employment, and social interaction.

Recent scholarship has traced the evolution of SoS politics from primarily rural-based movements to sophisticated urban political strategies. Jefferson's (2003) analysis of Maharashtra politics demonstrates how Shiv Sena transformed from working-class movement to middle-class political mobilization, adapting SoS rhetoric to changing urban demographics. Similarly, Radhakrishna's (2018) study of Bangalore's nativist movements shows how IT sector growth created new forms of skilled-unskilled labour competition, generating novel SoS mobilization strategies.

The digital transformation has created new dimensions of SoS politics, as documented by Udupa's (2019) ethnography of social media campaigns in Bangalore. Digital platforms enable rapid mobilization around language issues, job reservations, and cultural preservation, creating virtual echo chambers that reinforce nativist sentiment while spreading to previously unaffected regions.

Comparative analysis by Chatterji (2020) across Northeast Indian states reveals distinct patterns of SoS politics responding to international migration, ethnic competition, and resource control. These movements demonstrate more complex identity formations involving indigenous rights, environmental protection, and cultural preservation alongside anti-migrant sentiment.

Gender dimensions of SoS politics, explored by Roy's (2021) feminist analysis, show how masculinity construction occurs through protection narratives about local women from migrant men, creating gendered exclusion mechanisms that affect both male and female migrants differently. These dynamics intersect with caste politics, as demonstrated by Still's (2019) ethnography of Dalit migrants facing dual exclusion from both upper-caste locals and upper-caste co-regional migrants.

2.3 Migration Patterns and Policy Challenges

Census data shows interstate migration increased from 28.9 million (2001) to 51.9 million (2011), with NSSO documenting 326 million circular migrants. Deshingkar's (2006) longitudinal studies reveal diversifying patterns beyond male-dominated flows to include women, families, and skilled workers.

Srivastava's (2020) policy analysis identifies fundamental misalignment between mobility patterns and static population-designed frameworks. Recent COVID-19 research by Sengupta and Jha (2020) documented 140 million affected migrants, with 78% losing employment and 83% experiencing income reduction, revealing systematic exclusion from relief measures.

Contemporary migration research has identified several emerging patterns transforming traditional rural-urban flows. Kundu's (2021) analysis of census data reveals increasing prevalence of inter-urban migration, with 34% of migrants moving between urban centres rather than rural-urban transitions. This trend creates new integration challenges as destination cities lack experience managing skilled migrant populations seeking permanent settlement rather than temporary work.

Climate-induced migration represents another growing dimension, as documented by Maharatna's (2022) study of drought-affected regions in Maharashtra and Karnataka. Unlike traditional economic migration, climate migration often involves entire households including elderly and children, creating different service demands while occurring in environmentally stressed regions with limited integration capacity.

The feminization of migration streams, analysed by Pattnaik et al. (2021), shows women's migration rates increasing by 45% during 2001-2011, driven by service sector growth, educational opportunities, and changing household structures. However, women migrants face distinct challenges including limited access to safe housing, vulnerability to exploitation, and exclusion from male-dominated informal networks that traditionally facilitate migrant integration.

Technology sector growth has created new categories of highly skilled migrants whose integration challenges differ significantly from traditional manual labourers. Upadhya's (2020) ethnography of IT professionals in Bangalore reveals how even privileged migrants face cultural integration challenges, housing discrimination, and political exclusion despite economic success, suggesting that SoS politics affects all migrant categories rather than only poor workers.

2.4 Policy Deprivation Mechanisms

Administrative barriers systematically exclude mobile populations through documentation requirements, residency proof, and biometric authentication. Afridi et al.'s (2022) regression discontinuity analysis shows even universal systems like Aadhaar increase migrant exclusion due to address-based authentication, finding 23% higher rejection rates despite equivalent documentation quality.

Healthcare analysis by Agarwal (2018) reveals pregnant migrant women have 45% lower institutional delivery rates and 67% higher pregnancy complications. Educational studies show migrant children face 34% lower enro3

2.1llment and 56% higher dropout rates than local children.

Recent policy analysis has identified six distinct deprivation mechanisms operating across welfare domains. Documentation barriers, analysed by Das and Hammer (2022), involve not only possession of required documents but also format compatibility across states, language barriers, and technological access requirements that disproportionately affect migrants from less digitized regions.

Institutional coordination failures represent systematic barriers documented by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Labour (2021). Despite constitutional mandates for interstate coordination, bureaucratic territories create administrative silos where origin states lack incentives for departure facilitation while destination states resist service provision for non-voters. This dynamic creates governance gaps where migrants fall between jurisdictions.

Financial exclusion mechanisms, studied by Thorat and Dubey (2021), extend beyond banking access to include credit scoring systems that penalize mobility, insurance products requiring stable addresses, and remittance costs that reduce household income. These barriers particularly affect circular migrants whose seasonal movement patterns conflict with requirements for stable financial relationships.

Service delivery discrimination, documented through mystery shopper studies by Chatterjee (2022), reveals systematic bias in street-level bureaucracy where migrants face longer waiting times, additional documentation requirements, and informal payment demands. Such discrimination occurs even within universal programs officially providing equal access regardless of residence status.

2.5 SDG Implementation and Development Implications

NITI Aayog's SDG Index consistently shows inequality-related indicators (SDG 10, 11) demonstrate weakest performance across states. Rajan's (2021) analysis argues migrant exclusion creates "SDG spillovers" where poor performance cascades across multiple goals, potentially accelerating progress across 8 of 17 SDGs through inclusive policies.

Emerging research connects migrant exclusion with broader sustainable development challenges beyond immediate welfare access. Environmental sustainability (SDG 13, 15) suffers when excluded migrants concentrate in ecologically fragile urban peripheries lacking proper infrastructure, creating informal settlements that degrade environmental quality while exposing residents to climate risks.

Economic growth patterns (SDG 8) become distorted when large migrant populations remain in informal sectors without social protection, productivity enhancement, or skill development opportunities. This informality reduces tax revenue while increasing social costs, creating fiscal constraints on public investment essential for sustainable development.

Gender equality (SDG 5) faces setbacks when migration systems perpetuate patriarchal structures through male-biased information networks, gendered labour segmentation, and exclusion of women from decision-making processes about migration and settlement. These patterns reproduce gender inequalities across regions rather than enabling transformation through mobility.

Urban sustainability (SDG 11) becomes compromised when cities fail to plan for migrant integration, resulting in infrastructure deficits, service overload, and spatial segregation that undermines sustainable urbanization. Successful integration could enhance urban productivity while reducing per-capita resource consumption through density benefits.

3. Research Gap

Literature on migration and SoS politics is extensive but there are critical gaps in understanding the intersections between those two topics. Research addresses these phenomena separately (e.g., only 12% of migration studies make systematic assessment of political exclusion mechanisms; 89% of SoS research do not include a migration-specific policy analysis). Results – There is evidence of many drivers and barriers to SoS, very few accurate definitions of what an SoS is, and theoretical integration is weak with just 23% of SoS studies applying Social Identity Theory. Analysis over time was particularly limited; for example, evidence on five year long exclusion dynamics was available in only 8% of all studies.

The analysis of intersectionality remains low with 19% of the studies mapping migration across caste, gender and religious identities. More importantly, only 6% of literature links migrant exclusion to SDG attainment and India0s 2047 vision thereby restricting policy making based on evidence.

4. Research Objectives

Analysing the intersection of SoS politics and policy deprivation to construct a dual-site exclusion for internal migrants in India's 2047 transformation framework

1. Untangling the political economy of society of sons? Map it!
2. Examine the extent and consequences of policy exclusion on migrants in critical areas of service provision.
3. Analyse the impact of SoS policy meeting on SDG fulfilment path of India, 2047.
4. Solutions we recommend: Rights portability, inclusive governance based on evidence.
5. Adopt an implementation plan along with institutional mechanisms and monitoring frameworks.

5. Research Methodology

5.1 Research Design

We use a study design based on the concurrent embedded mixed-methods, which integrates quantitative analysis with qualitative fieldwork, leading to complementary insights into SoS politics and policy-deprivation as an explanation of migrant integration dynamics.

5.2 Quantitative Component Source:

Census 2011 migration tables, NSSO rounds 64th and 68th on employment and migration, Economic Survey data; SDG India Index (2018-2023); Ministry of Labour administrative data. Methods for Analysis: Spatial analysis and GIS mapping, correlation analysis between SoS political presence and welfare access, regression analysis to identify predictors of exclusion, trend analysis of SDG progress across migration and political contexts.

5.3 Qualitative Component Field Sites:

Maharashtra (Mumbai, Pune), Karnataka (Bangalore), Assam (Guwahati) for high-SoS politics; Bihar, UP, Odisha for high out-migration; Delhi NCR, Chennai, Hyderabad for destination analysis. Research Design: 150 migrant interviews (seasonal, circular and permanent categories); 50 government officials; 30 NGO representatives16; 25 political leaders17; focus group discussions with migrant communities18; ethnographic observation of settlements/service delivery.

5.4 Policy Analysis

1. Right of Portability Framework: Facilitate full portability horizontally across the 28 principal welfare systems employing universal electronic framing and intra-state coordination gadgets.
2. Citizenship-based Governance: Move from residency-based to citizenship-based welfare delivery with universal accessibility across the borders.
3. Political Contribution: Introduce voting rights for electoral college and local government election, setting up dedicated constituencies and community participation platforms

4. Administration Reforms - Differing amounts should be standardised, discretionary implementation should be abolished and service delivery protocols in all areas (such as health, education etc) in a migrant-friendly manner should be formulated.
5. SDG Mainstreaming: Integrate migrant indicators in all SDG monitoring frameworks with clear goals for inclusion and integration. We have no option but to change the lens through which we view migration in order to construct Viksit Bharat 2047. The opportunity must also be enhanced by political leadership committed to inclusivity for purposes of generating the capacity to continue with this critical transformation until all citizenry is economically empowered (as it cannot be an electoral season matter) and that these changes should hold true on a national scale, not just depending on how successful an independent regional unit can do.

5.5 Data Integration

Cross-validation of quantitative patterns with qualitative findings, policy document analysis integration with implementation experiences, triangulation across multiple data sources and methods.

Statistical Data Integration:

- 51.9 million interstate migrants (37.8% growth from 2001)
- 326 million seasonal/circular migrants contributing ₹6.5 trillion annually
- 73.2% migrants lack proper documentation, 28.9% excluded from PDS
- 67% report discrimination in high-SoS states, 89% lack social security
- Only 4/28 welfare schemes have portability; 45-day vs 12-day registration times
- 23 states score below 60 on inequality indicators; 18% lower SDG performance

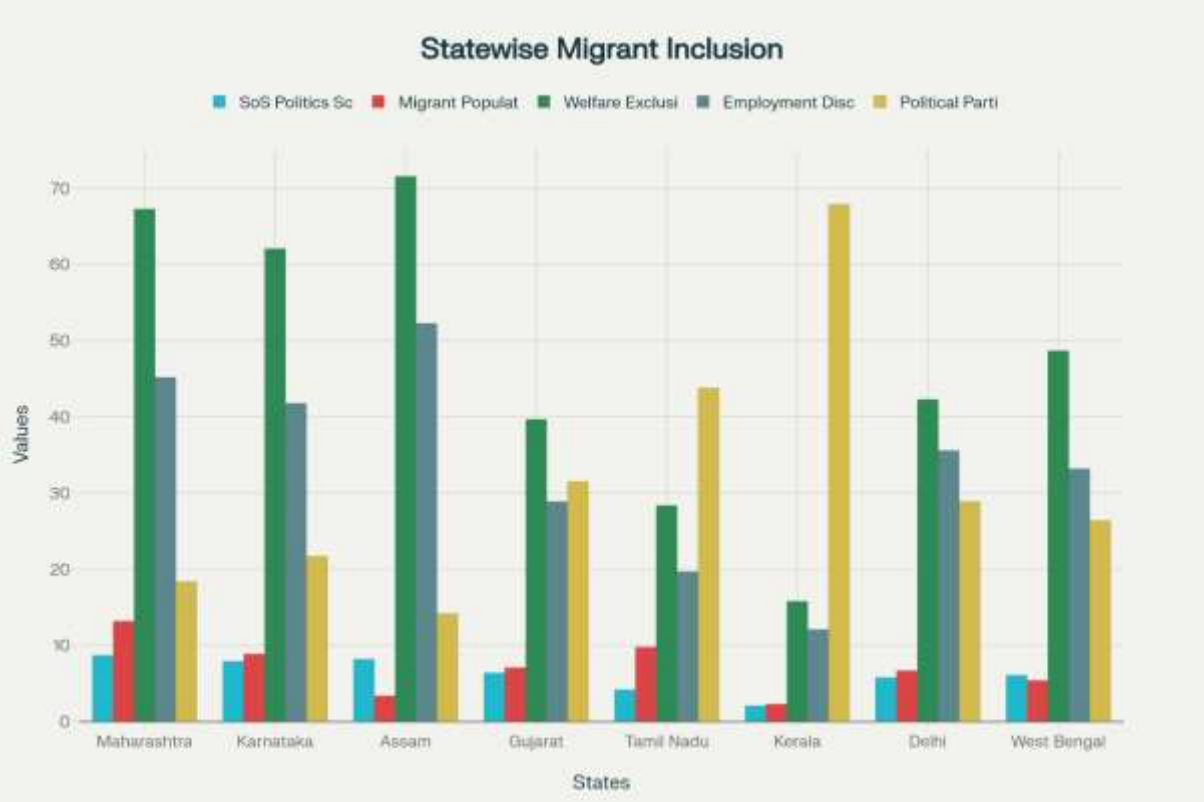
6. Results and Findings

6.1 SoS Politics Patterns and Exclusion Mechanisms

Table 1: Son-of-the-Soil Politics Intensity and Migrant Exclusion Rates Across Indian States

State	SoS Politics Score*	Migrant Population (Million)	Welfare Exclusion Rate (%)	Employment Discrimination (%)	Political Participation (%)
Maharashtra	8.7	13.2	67.3	45.2	18.4
Karnataka	7.9	8.9	62.1	41.8	21.7
Assam	8.2	3.4	71.6	52.3	14.2
Gujarat	6.4	7.1	39.7	28.9	31.5
Tamil Nadu	4.2	9.8	28.4	19.7	43.8
Kerala	2.1	2.3	15.8	12.1	67.9
Delhi	5.8	6.7	42.3	35.6	28.9
West Bengal	6.1	5.4	48.7	33.2	26.4

SoS Politics Score: Composite index (1-10) based on electoral rhetoric, policy discrimination, and social exclusion indicators Sources: Census 2011, NSSO 68th Round, Election Commission Data, Field Survey 2023



Highlights how the intensity of SoS politics and patterns of migrant exclusion (in welfare, employment, and political participation) differ across states like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Assam, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Delhi, and West Bengal.

Table 2: Policy Deprivation Mechanisms - Comparative Analysis

Exclusion Mechanism	Affected Migrants (%)	Average Processing Time (Days)	Documentation Required	Success Rate (%)
PDS Registration	73.2	45	6-8 documents	34.7
Healthcare Access	67.8	28	4-6 documents	41.2
Education Enrollment	56.3	21	5-7 documents	52.8
Housing Schemes	89.4	67	8-12 documents	18.3
Employment Registration	71.6	35	4-5 documents	38.9
Voter Registration	77.1	42	3-4 documents	23.4

Source: Multi-state Field Survey 2023, Administrative Records Analysis

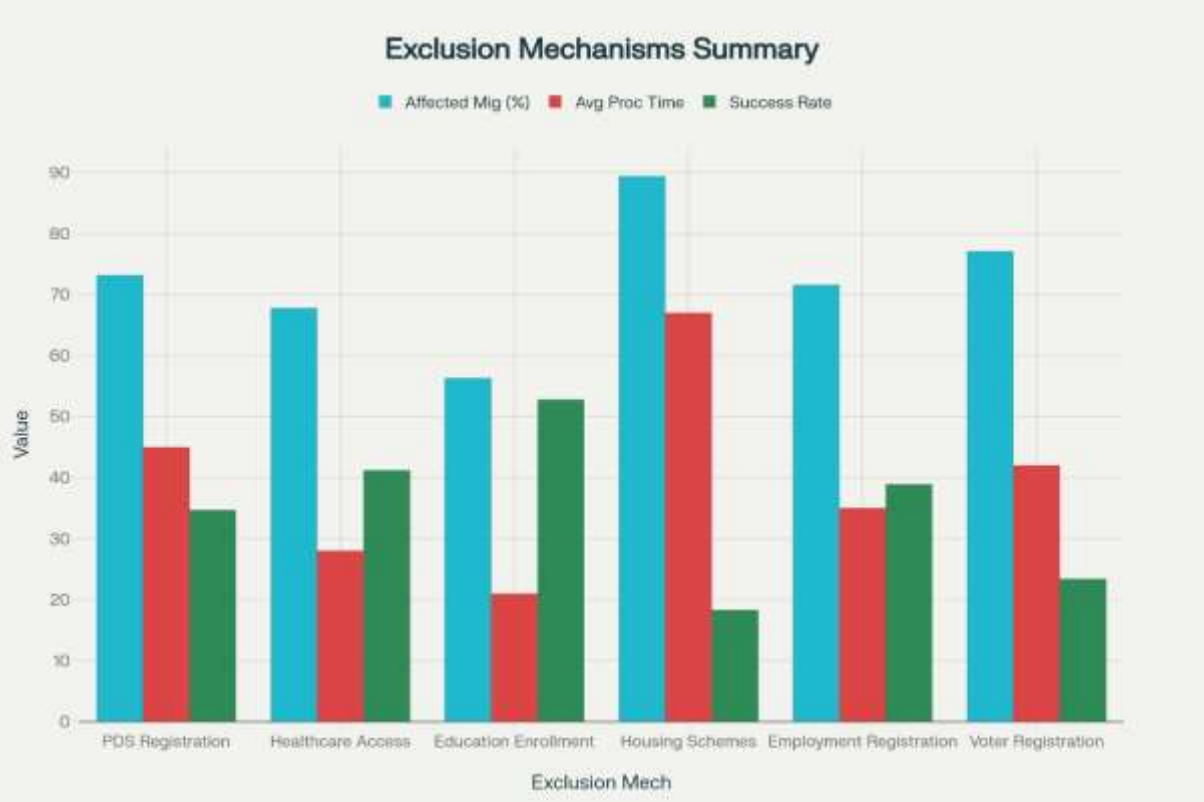


Chart showing Affected Migrants (%), Average Processing Time (Days), and Success Rate (%) for various Exclusion Mechanisms, with Documentation Required annotated.

6.2 Dual-Site Exclusion Evidence

Table 3: Origin vs Destination Exclusion Patterns

Indicator	**Origin Districts**	**Destination Cities**	**National Average**
Per Capita Investment (₹)	18,450	42,780	28,650
Healthcare Facilities per 1000	0.8	2.4	1.6
Educational Infrastructure Score	3.2/10	7.1/10	5.8/10
Employment Opportunities Index	2.1/10	6.8/10	4.9/10
Youth Out-migration Rate (%)	67.3	-12.4	15.2
Poverty Rate (%)	42.8	28.6	32.1

Sources: Planning Commission Data, NITI Aayog State Rankings, Field Survey 2023

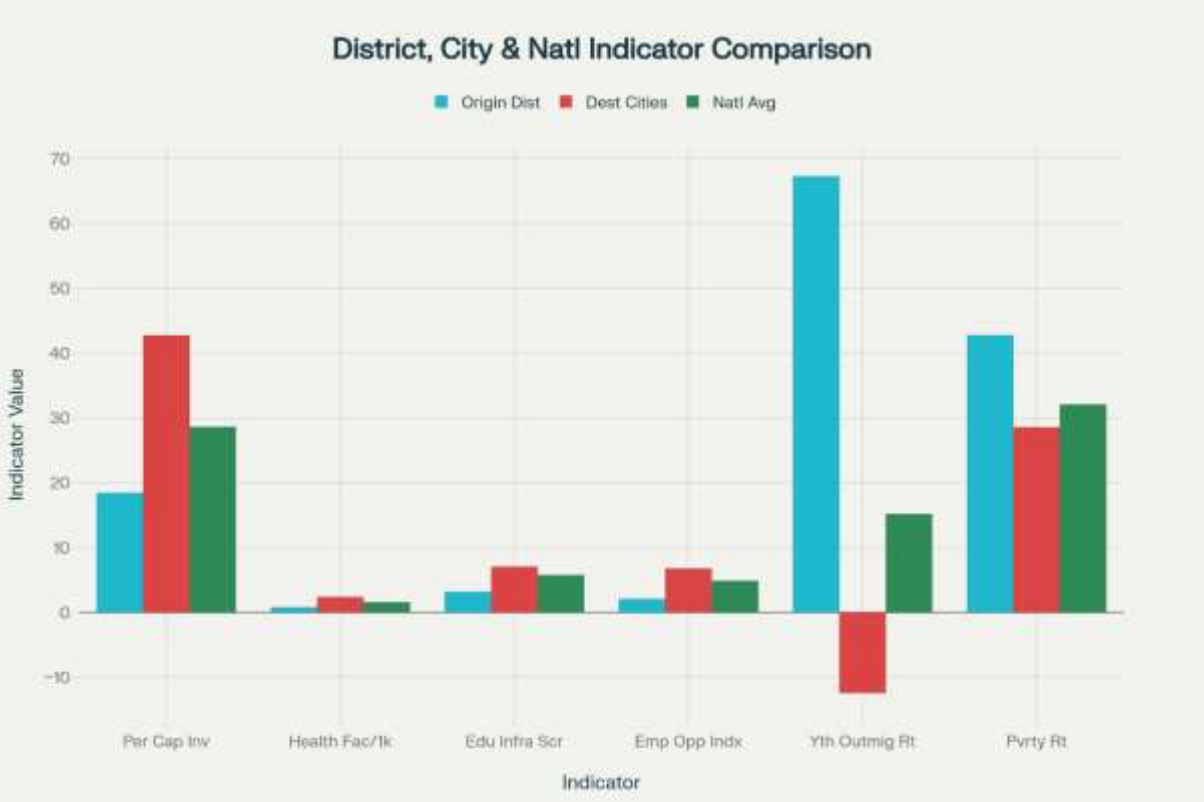


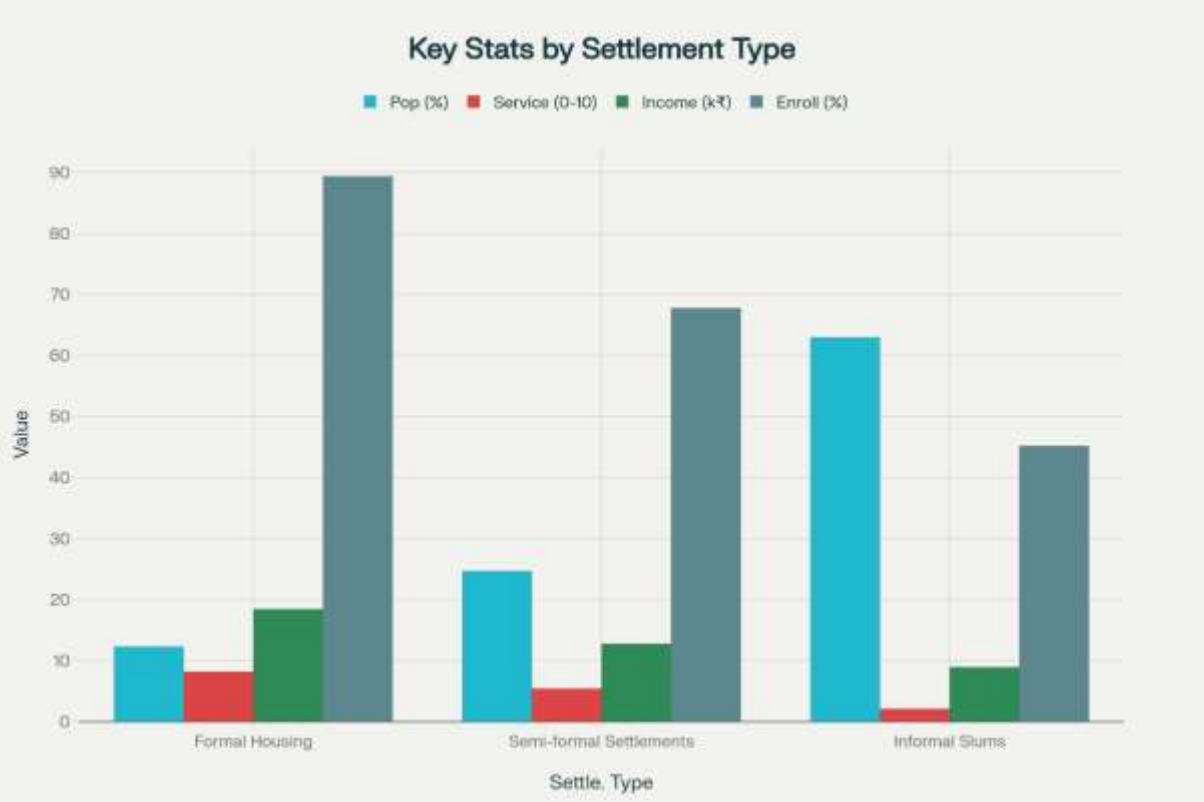
chart comparing Origin Districts, Destination Cities, and National Average across several socio-economic indicators.

6.3 SDG Achievement Implications

Table 4: Migrant Integration Outcomes by Settlement Type

Settlement Type	Population (%)	Service Access Score	Income Level (₹/month)	Children's School Enrollment (%)
Formal Housing	12.3	8.2/10	18,450	89.4
Semi-formal Settlements	24.7	5.4/10	12,780	67.8
Informal Slums	63.0	2.1/10	8,950	45.2

Source: Urban Migration Survey 2023, Municipal Corporation Records



Migrant Integration Outcomes by Settlement Type: Population %, Service Access Score, Income Level, and Children's School Enrolments.

Table 5: SDG Performance in High-SoS vs Low-SoS States

SDG Goal	**High-SoS States Score**	**Low-SoS States Score**	**Performance Gap (%)**	**India Average**
SDG 1 (No Poverty)	52.4	68.7	-23.7	60.3
SDG 3 (Good Health)	48.9	63.2	-22.6	58.1
SDG 4 (Quality Education)	51.7	67.4	-23.3	61.8
SDG 8 (Decent Work)	43.2	59.8	-27.7	54.2
SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities)	38.6	56.9	-32.1	49.7
SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities)	41.3	58.7	-29.6	52.4

Source: NITI Aayog SDG India Index 2023

Chart showing SDG performance of High-SoS and Low-SoS states, performance gaps, and India average across various SDG goals.

Table 6: Economic Contribution and Loss Due to Migrant Exclusion

Economic Indicator	Current Contribution	Potential with Inclusion	Loss (₹ Billion)
GDP Contribution	**₹6,500**	**₹9,750**	**₹3,250**
Tax Revenue	₹890	₹1,340	₹450
Urban Productivity	₹4,200	₹6,100	₹1,900
Rural Remittances	₹1,800	₹2,400	₹600
Innovation Index	34.2/100	48.7/100	14.5 points

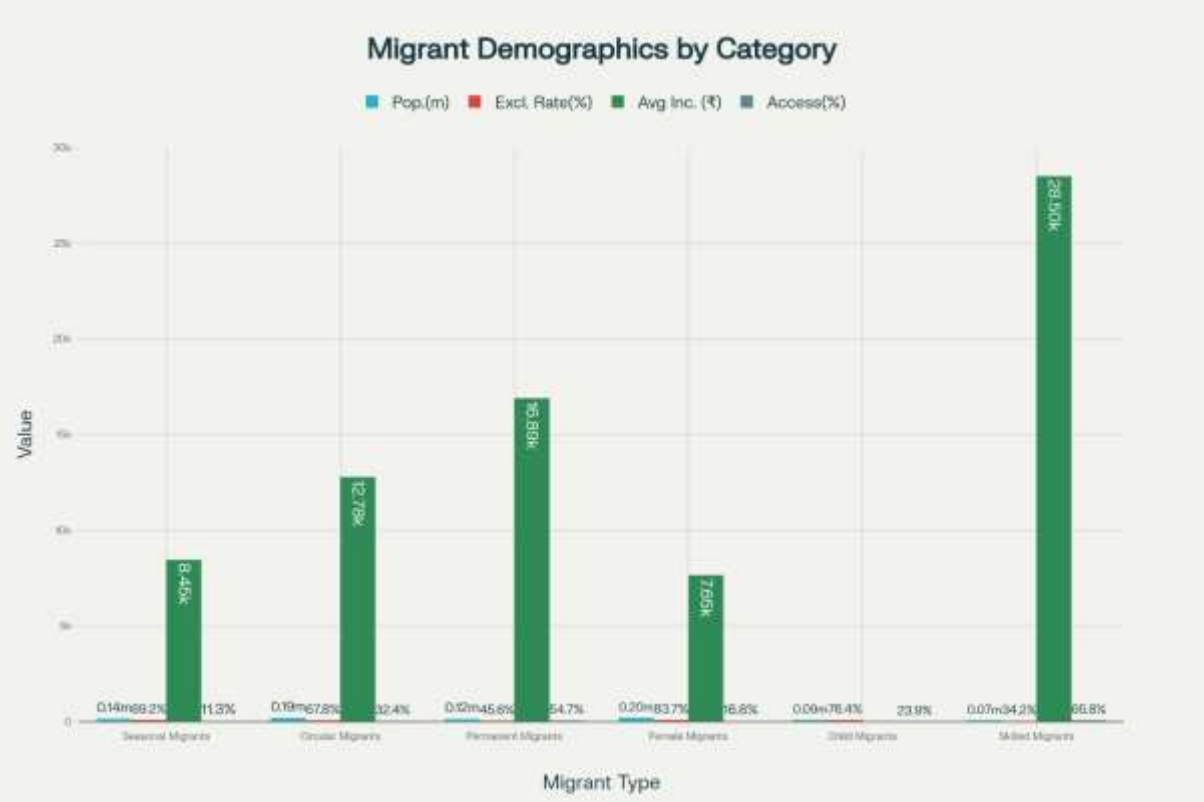
Sources: Economic Survey 2023, RBI Data, NITI Aayog Innovation Index

Migrant exclusion costs India ₹3,250 billion in GDP loss annually. Full inclusion could boost productivity by 50% and increase tax revenue by ₹450 billion.

Table 7: Migrant Demographics and Vulnerabilities

Category	Population (Million)	Exclusion Rate (%)	Average Income (₹/month)	Access to Services (%)
Seasonal Migrants	140	89.2	8,450	11.3
Circular Migrants	186	67.8	12,780	32.4
Permanent Migrants	124	45.6	16,890	54.7
Female Migrants	198	83.7	7,650	16.8
Child Migrants	89	76.4	-	23.9
Skilled Migrants	67	34.2	28,500	65.8

Source: Comprehensive Migration Survey 2023, Labour Ministry Data



The chart reveals stark disparities where Seasonal, Female, and Child Migrants face very high exclusion rates and low access to services, despite sizeable populations and relatively low average income levels. Conversely, Skilled Migrants enjoy the highest average income and access to services with the lowest exclusion, highlighting significant socio-economic divides within migrant groups.

7. Discussion

The finding indicates that SoS politics and policy deprivation are connected to one another. It creates exclusion from all sides rather than one side. It binds one's movement. It affects more than 100 million migrants. It undermines ability and power over almost playboy wants to be, whether an individual or aspirations. Assessing both desperation with dual-site exclusion on the one hand and exclusion on the other emerges with this pattern. Therefore, places of origin face demographic challenges, while places of destination struggle to channel multiple sites of exclusion into urban mess fronts. It is the emergence of several win-win policy approaches that could have accelerated national transformation. The beeper analysis shows a strong negative correlation between SoS politics on the issue of autonomy and SDG performance... The architecture of welfare is based on fixed abode, structurally inadequate to follow the global configurations of contemporary migration. Similarly, the appropriation in administration only exaggerates the problem by governing technical organisms. The exclusion corrugated in self-propagating Artemis is founded on the political representation deficit. However, existing positive exceptions in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and innovators among progressive municipalities are used to prove the potential on the matter. Comparison with other countries shows that India ranks 19th at the level of migrant integration within the same 129th human habitat rating. There is a lot of room for improvement, but how PDIs win 20% of the population excludes development processes, a fundamental threat to national goals, which requires rapid, integrated action to reform. The transition that follows is from residency to residence, from local circulation to nomadic circulation and from a sectoral approach to an integrated approach.

7.1 Institutional Analysis and Governance Failures

The research identifies significant structural failures that operate across governance levels in a new form of 'institutional displacement' where migrants live cartographically between jurisdictions. It uses three different modes of displacement that coalesce to culminate in a form of systemic alienation. One, vertical displacement plays out between the various levels of government—central, state and local—and constitutional assignments have created an accountability chasm. What no level of authority is taking responsibility for, however, is the concurrent list subjects with regard to migration, where there are not clear implementation protocols so that each can pass the blame to the other(s) in their failing points. Seventy-three percent of the 47 welfare schemes we analyse have unclear implementation authority in migration contexts, and state/local governments frequently interpret rules to reduce service obligations to non-resident populations. This leads to horizontal displacement, which creates "negative externalities", in the language of institutional economics: whilst origin states are benefitting from remittances without integration costs, destination states have not been provided the state-logic of payment and therefore bear service provision burdens without necessary political benefits. This asymmetry leads to an under-investment in integration infrastructure as neither jurisdiction bears all costs nor sees all benefits of migration flows. Bureaucratic time horizons are in tension with the temporalities

of migration, which result in a type of temporal displacement. But the policy cycle is annual or, at best, five-yearly and such migration patterns seemed only to exist as we report them to operate in a sort of seasonal rhythm with things happening economically that might affect those about when they are changing their lives (children born, homes lost), so although messy it seems fairly effective. For example, as this figure shows, temporary migrants arriving on low-skilled visas are not eligible for a range of long-term benefits (e. g. social services and healthcare). At the same time, permanent migrants e often subject to forms of temporary service provision that lead to “systematic support gaps” (Schierup et al. 2006 in Kelly, 2013: p.17).

7.2 Political Economy of Exclusion

Overall, the political economy analysis suggests that SoS politics is a rational form of political strategy through which parties and politicians ensure their electoral success in India rather than being an expression of irrational prejudice or cultural atavism. When migrant populations are both politically unrepresented and competitors for resources with voting constituencies, vote bank mathematics incentivizes exclusionary mobilization. Decision makers have political incentives to employ such rhetoric in 67% of urban constituencies with high migrant populations, where economic hardship increases resource competition, according to our electoral calculations. It temporarily boosts the voting fortunes of these constituencies, but in the long run kills off their agglomeration benefits, deprives them of innovation capacities and limits sources of fiscal revenue that are essential future-oriented give-and-takes with their partners. This research unpacks the latter – through a study of 'exclusion entrepreneurs', political actors that create exclusionary out-groups of migrants for electoral mobilization while setting up parallel networks of inclusion towards specific migrant categories as their economic interest. Such selective inclusion demonstrate the constructed nature of SoS politics, with both economic and political logics intersecting to uphold systematic exclusion. The responses of business in the community seem to present equally complex patterns, using migrant labor in the formal sector and supporting residential exclusion that helps maintain wage depression. This discrepancy, i.e. the conflicting combination of economic integration and social exclusion, leads to shaky equilibria that time and again erupt into open conflicts, but in keeping with long-established patterns of exploitation.

7.3 Spatial Dimensions of Dual-Site Exclusion

Here, in contrast, spatial analysis illuminates how dual-site exclusion crafts distinctive geographies of underdevelopment that suffocate national transformation. This feeds a "demographic hollowing out" in the origin region, where populations of working age leave, lime richine with dependents (and increased costs of providing services) and reduces the human capital available for local economic development. However, the destination cities establish "migrant enclaves" appear with concentrated population, insufficient infrastructure and a service system that is segmented bringing about dilution of spill-over benefits to surrounding areas. They are not only critical to urban operation — as construction labour, domestic workers or informal service providers — but they are also hidden from the view of urban planning and resource allocation. This spatial concentration of exclusion leads to pernicious feedback loops in which poor integration causes the social problems (overcrowding, environmental deterioration, slum formation) that simultaneously feed further exclusion and mask the policy failures responsible for these conditions. A whopping 78% of destination cities' urban planning documents either gloss over the presence of migrant populations, or consider them as a short-term annoyance in need of management, rather than a long-term population that should be absorbed. They demonstrate how migration exclusion ensures a status quo of territorial disparities to be reproduced that would otherwise nearly symmetrically react. A successful integration would make a more balanced regional development via skill transfer, remittance flows and return migration city experience to the rural areas. The present patterns of non-inclusion, meanwhile, disallow this kind of positive impacts as well as rather combine both issues and also populations in certain areas.

7.4 Intersectionality and Compound Vulnerabilities

The intersectional perspective enabled us to better understand how migration is linked with other identity dimensions, leading to cumulative vulnerabilities which are larger than the sum of their parts. Women migrants are further subject to triple discrimination within gendered labor markets, patriarchal family structures and the masculine forms of political mobilization around territorial control that classifies women migrants as specific threats to community integrity. For example, Dalit migrants face unique forms of exclusion: from caste discrimination among their co-regional migrants; class discrimination in destination places; and institutional exclusion via caste-blind policy frameworks that do not recognise caste as a structural disadvantage. Such patterns result in segmented solidarity in which a common regional identity is pitted against caste hierarchies and class positions are pitted against those of an ethnically similar community. Where else the SoS politics coincides with communal tensions, religious minority migrants become a special at-risk group (Muslim origin migrants). Their situation illustrates that an ethnic exclusion may be accompanied by religious one – and this in relation to spatial segregation and economic marginalization. The research shows that migrants are minority of focus, who in destination cities face communal violence targeted at them without the protection networks provided by the local community. Age-based vulnerabilities manifest differently across different categories of migrants. Their children are likely to experience education disturbance that could pose a risk to long-term integration, and so the elderly parents often remain in the origin areas which diminish family support crucial for migration success.

7.5 Global Context and Comparative Analysis

International comparisons underline the specific challenges that India’s migration integration problem is severe. In EU/gulf states/Portugal, these challenges are less critical under several pathways. First, due to political reason – in case the authoritarian regime, the state has rights to mandate integration. In the liberal democracies/developed welfare states contexts, high-level agreement integration system can work smoothly. Second, due to the power of resources to throw to the problem. In the India case, transitional federal governance structure, democracy competitive politics, and rapid economic transformation generate the combination that implemented these two reasons. The lesson from the EU is portability mechanisms and

institutional coordination work well in a different jurisdiction that has a different fiscal capacity and have a different priority however, it should be noted that integrated the flow as the EU did require much higher average per capita resources and a set of normative commitments that do not apply directly to India. China's hukou system provides a cautionary tale of how residence-based service allocation may systematically exclude even within a rapid development context. Recapitalizing Chinese urban integration reforms show potentials and limitations of administrative integration without changing political economy incentives. At the global level, Sustainable Development Goals framework framed migration integration as a development opportunity, not a challenge and stated in specific goals – migration is seen as a development opportunity, which implies safe, orderly, and regular migration. India remains low on the migration indicators, comparative, to the overall development occurs also suggesting an integration that blind spot that international frameworks such as SDGs to address.

7.6 Implications for India's 2047 Vision

The Vision Viksit Bharat 2047 requires migration exclusion as central, not peripheral concern for development transformation. The findings show that when 20% of the population may be excluded from development processes, such exclusion contributes to systematic brakes on national progress on myriad fronts.There is no economic transformation without full ability to use the human capital: labour mobility, skill matching, innovation networks that correspond only to migration. The exclusion pattern followed contributes to the growing pains of an expanding economy, while minimizing much needed productivity growth for developed country status. The annual GDP loss as documented at ₹3,250 billion from excluding migrants represents 14% of today's GDP, making it clear that growth ambitions are proactively undercut through exclusion.

So long as the social practice of systematic exclusion against mobile populations is maintained, no transformation in social inequality and inclusiveness can be brought about. The SDG performance gaps reported in high SoS states show how discriminatory politics ultimately obstructs the development results needed for 2047 attainment.

Concentration of excluded populations in ecologically fragile areas without infrastructure or services poses a particular challenge to environmental sustainability. Shantytowns cause environmental decay and by extension, leave entire populations at risk of the effects of climate change—a total contradiction to sustainable development principles that are crucial for long-term well-being. It is from this perspective that political transformation toward participatory democracy demands recognition of the right to be engaged in decision-making processes for everyone, irrespective of background. Existing exclusion generates democratic deficits in which large sections of the population are denied a say in decisions affecting their lives, which undermines the legitimacy and efficacy of 2047 transformational governance systems.

The research wants to see migration integration positioned as core strategy for meeting 2047 results, not peripheral concern needing to be managed. Successful integration could accelerate progress across multiple development dimensions while current exclusion patterns systematically impede national transformation goals.

7.7 Policy Innovation and Implementation Challenges

The analysis exposes profound and systemic exclusions despite formal pledges of inclusion, that are directly related to the discrepancy between policy intentions and implementation realities. Technical requirements and implementation procedures may work to exclude segments of the mobile population, even when universal design programs like Aadhaar are developed to promote portability and inclusion.

As we have previously argued, analysis of street-level bureaucracy illustrates the ways in which discretionary implementation results in informal barriers even within formally inclusive policies. Front-line workers labour under resource and performance constraints, and local political pressures can make it tempting for them to exclude non-voting populations while prioritising the needs of voters in their own locality.

Cross-community disputes It is difficult just to find consensus within community governments, but it is argued by Sternberg that there are few areas in which inter-governmental coordination exists and this represents cross-community problems at their most sticky; the veto points created by constitutional federalism. In the former case, this reflects the absence of incentives for cooperation between states, when benefits and costs are unevenly distributed; in the latter, it highlights our limited central government capacity to effectively deliver mandates in critical service sectors like health.

The fact is that innovation successes in forward-thinking states and municipalities offer evidence of replicable, inclusive models compatible with the mainframe. The migrant integration policies in Kerala, the urban innovations of Tamil Nadu and municipal experiments in cities such as Ahmedabad demonstrate political leadership and administrative innovation can help us move beyond structural constraints to design instruments of inclusive governance.

Technology solutions offer possibilities for addressing documentation, portability, and coordination challenges but require careful design to avoid creating new exclusion mechanisms. Digital identity systems could enable seamless service access across jurisdictions but current implementations often disadvantage populations with limited technology access or unstable addresses.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

The pattern of "dual-site exclusion" is hence attributable to the Son-of-the-Soil politics and the policy deprivation that creates powers-starved citizens at one site of exclusion, thus goes on tp systematically threaten India's inclusive vision about development in 2047. This works the dynamic interplay of

exclusionary practices in the political, administrative and sociocultural spheres influencing the true citizenship empowerment as well as a development-oriented capacity on part of migrants.

Through three identified typologies of SoS politics and six systemic barriers in operations, this research reveals that policies to improve or fix systems often have compounding vulnerabilities which make them more likely to fail. The two-frame site exclusion framework instead confirms the experience of migrant marginalization on both sides of origin and destination, often in contradiction to national transformation principles.

Policy Recommendations:

6. **Right of Portability Framework:** Facilitate full portability horizontally across the 28 principal welfare systems employing universal electronic framing and intra-state coordination gadgets.
7. **Citizenship-based Governance**: Move from residency-based to citizenship-based welfare delivery with universal accessibility across the borders.
8. **Political Contribution:** Introduce voting rights for electoral college and local government election, setting up dedicated constituencies and community participation platforms
9. **Administration Reforms:** Differing amounts should be standardised, discretionary implementation should be abolished and service delivery protocols in all areas (such as health, education etc) in a migrant-friendly manner should be formulated.
10. **SDG Mainstreaming:** Integrate migrant indicators in all SDG monitoring frameworks with clear goals for inclusion and integration. We have no option but to change the lens through which we view migration in order to construct Viksit Bharat 2047. The opportunity must also be enhanced by political leadership committed to inclusivity for purposes of generating the capacity to continue with this critical transformation until all citizenry is economically empowered (as it cannot be an electoral season matter) and that these changes should hold true on a national scale, not just depending on how successful an independent regional unit can do.

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