

Occupational and Employment Mobility among Migrant Workers: A Case Study of Slums of NCT of Delhi

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*Ajit Jha and Arvind Pandey**

[Abstract: Mobility is generally defined as movement from one area to another and from one sector to the other for better earnings and employment as well as other purposes. In this paper, our specific aim is to analyse occupational mobility and employment status among migrant workers living in the slums of Delhi at three distinct stages: before-migration, post-migration, and current status. The study is based on primary survey conducted in eight different slums in the middle of 2015 and 2016 by using the stratified random sampling technique. The job status of workers at three distinct stages has been collected from the principal earners of 400 households. Results show that before migrating to Delhi, majority of the migrant workers were engaged in elementary occupations such as labourers in agricultural and non-agricultural activities, and as cultivators. Migration from rural to urban labour market provided opportunities for better jobs and earnings. A comparison of their current job to the first job in the urban labour market shows the level of upward mobility as these migrants have shifted their occupations and status of employment from casual to self-employment. Caste, social networks, landholding size, education level, duration of stay, and location of slum are major factors that determine the job status of workers in both rural and urban areas.]

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1. Introduction

Mobility in search of employment and better income opportunities is a natural tendency and hallmark of a developing country. Regional inequality and the emergence of market system have respectively pushed and pulled individuals out of their land to seek better fortunes. It also plays an important role in improving efficiency and growth of an economy. The industrial revolution and globalisation of world economies caused unprecedented growth in production and trade, which induced large-scale movement of capital and

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labour among developed and developing regions. This process led to a gradual shift from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary sector in many economies of the world. India has been an exceptional case as it jumped from agriculture to services without unleashing the potential of manufacturing. The rise of urban population and expansion of transport and communication in the late 20th century induced this sectoral shift and movement of capital and labour in the country.

In comparison to other developing countries, the occupational and spatial mobility in India has been relatively low. Predominance of agriculture, lack of education, rigidity of caste system, diversity of languages, strong community ties, and culture and food habits are important reasons for people to stay in their native villages. The studies by Chandrasekhar (1950), Davis (1951), and Munshi and Rosenzweig (2006) established that caste-based labour market system and other labour market rigidities are responsible for internal migration in India. The economic liberalisation of 1991 unlocked these rigidities, as a result of which mobility of workers within and between the states has increased. The Census of India and National Sample Survey (NSS) data on migration have shown an increasing trend of internal migration in the post-reform period (Srivastava, 2012; Parida and Madheswaran, 2010; and, Mahapatro, 2012). Though uneven regional development, existing inequalities, and weak policy formulation are still important factors in deciding the pace and pattern of migration, factors like improvement in road and rail infrastructure, revolution in telecommunication, and education also play an increasingly important role. These aspects have contributed positively to the process of migration of rural folks to metropolitans in search of better livelihood, higher income, and long duration employment opportunities. The process of rural-urban migration entails employment and occupational mobility among migrants.

Several studies (Baganha, 1991; McAllister, 1995; Sabirianova, 2002; Granato, 2014; and, Fernandex-Macias *et al.*, 2015) contextualise the employment and occupational mobility among migrants, based mainly on the experiences of migrants in developed countries. Furthermore, studies on employment and occupational mobility of internal migrants are limited both in developed and developing countries mainly due to lack of reliable and adequate data of employment history of migrants (Nguyen, 2005). The present study is an attempt to enrich the existing limited literature on employment and occupational mobility of internal migrants by providing the pattern and determining factors of employment and occupational mobility of migrant workers living in selected slums of NCT of Delhi.

The paper unfolds in five parts following this introduction. In section two, a literature review of the theoretical models of occupational and employment mobility of migrant workers is presented. In section three, objectives, database, and methodology are explained. Section four presents the profile and migration history of workers. Section five discusses the occupational and employment mobility of workers in three stages. The final section summarises the main findings and concludes the paper.

2. Reviewing the Theoretical Framework of Occupational Mobility of Workers

There are three forms of employment and occupational mobility: 1) intergenerational occupational mobility, 2) social occupational mobility, and 3) migratory occupational mobility. Intergenerational mobility is conceptualised as the occupational differentials between two successive generations (Ray and Majumder, 2010; and, Reddy, 2015). In India there are certain types of occupations which are directly associated to a particular caste or religion. The mobility in these types of occupations is classified as social occupational mobility. These two types of occupational mobilities have been studied by scholars in India (Reddy, 2015; Ray and Mazumder, 2010; and, Thorat and Neuman, 2012). However, the third form of occupational mobility is solely related to migrant workers. It shows the upward/downward occupational mobility of migrant workers before and after migration and mobility within the duration of stay at destination.

Broadly, there are two theoretical frameworks in which the concept of labour mobility has been explained. The neo-classical framework assumes the movement of workers from underdeveloped regions to developed regions under a single integrated labour market with free mobility of workers. Contrary to this, the dualist or segmented labour market model emphasises on restricted or limited movement of workers across sectors. There are studies discussing the segmentation within a formal-informal framework where the formal sector works as primary sector and the informal sector plays the role of secondary sector. The informal sector is considered as unfavourable and temporary until a worker gets employed in the formal sector. The notion of this transition from informal to formal has not much empirical evidences. Therefore, the contention of integrated labour market and the choice of informality to be voluntary has limited relevance.

Todaro (1969) explained the process of employment related rural-urban migration and factors for employment mobility in urban labour markets. According to him, employment in urban areas is more attractive than in rural areas and therefore getting formal sector employment with better wages is the main goal of rural-urban migrants. As per his model, rural-urban wage-differential is the main factor for movement of labour from rural areas to urban areas. However, entry into better urban activities is constrained, and in the initial stage the entry of workers is mainly limited to the urban informal sector. Fields' (1975) extension of the Todaro hypothesis suggests that initial urban informal sector employment is used to finance search for formal sector entry. However, the chances of transfer from the informal to formal sector is limited and depends on education, skills, better social networks, and longer duration of stay (Banerjee, 1984). In the present study, the model proposed by Todaro (rural-urban migration due to wage-differentials) is limited to the first stage of movement of migrant labourers, i.e. movement from rural areas (origin) to Delhi. The later stage, i.e. employment mobility from first job in the city to the current employment is better explained by the human capital approach where better education,

skills, and social networks acquired by migrants with longer duration of stay in the city play an important role.

The theoretical framework for employment and occupational mobility among migrant workers is mainly based on the experiences of immigrants because of the limited knowledge of internal migrants on occupational mobility (Nguyen, 2005). The recent development in migration studies shows a changing perspective of scholars towards the theories of internal and international migration where they have tried to find a convergence tendency between these two processes, and developed the possibility of studying both the processes in a coherent framework (see Massey *et al.*, 1993; Skeldon, 1997; King, Skeldon and Vullnetari, 2008; King and Skeldon, 2010; and, Srivastava and Pandey, 2017). In this context, the broader framework of occupational mobility among immigrants could be used to determine the factors responsible for the employment and occupation mobility among internal migrants up to a certain extent. It has been discussed in studies (McAllister, 1995; and, Sabirianova, 2002) that economic development is one of the main reasons behind employment and occupational mobility among migrants. The structural changes in the economy affect the pattern of employment and occupational mobility among migrants. The gradual shift of economy from agriculture to manufacturing and service sector brought about changes in the employment and occupation of migrant workers. The status of the economy of a country also affects the pattern of occupational mobility. It has been found that during a recession, migrants settle for low paid jobs or become unemployed (Zachariah *et al.*, 2004; and, Rajan and Prakash, 2012). However, at the time of economic growth they experience upward employment and occupational mobility depending on their social and economic capital.

Empirical studies (Baganha, 1991; McAllister, 1995; and, Fernandex-Macias *et al.*, 2015) have established the hypothesis that the occupational mobility of immigrants is a “U-shaped” curve. There is decline in the occupational status of immigrants and in-migrants from the last employment at place of origin to the first employment at place of destination due to cultural differences, limited knowledge of labour market, lack of family and social networks, and inadequate education and skills (Nguyen, 2005; and, Fernandex-Macias *et al.*, 2015). Due to longer duration of stay in the place of destination, the migrant generally moves upward in terms of employment and earnings. However, this “U-shaped” pattern of occupational mobility among migrants is not universally true, as there are skilled migrants who receive better employment at place of destination and move upward over time.

The discrimination approach as mentioned by McAllister (1995) suggests that job availability of a newly arrived migrant at place of destination and occupational mobility of migrants (both upward and downward) depend on the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the destinations.

The human capital of migrant workers such as level of education, formal and informal learning in the workplace, knowledge of language and skills, and work experience also

determine the occupational mobility of migrant workers (Nguyen, 2005; McAllister, 1995; Srivatava, 2011; and, Fernandex-Macias *et al.*, 2015). Migrant workers who have more human capital may find better employment opportunity at the destination because of the appropriate education and skills that match the demand of labour market at destination and also require better information in comparison to others. They also move upward because of these individual characteristics (Nguyen, 2005). Social and economic capital such as existence of social networks at place of destination (Massey *et al.*, 1987) and possession of land holdings and other assets at place of origin (Pandey, 2017) also decide the occupational mobility of migrant workers. The social networks not only help the migrants to get their first jobs in the city on arrival, but also pre-inform them about the skills required for the jobs. Over time, they also inform the migrants about better job availability and therefore contribute to upward occupational mobility.

3. Objectives, Database and Methodology

The objectives of the study are to analyse the occupational and employment mobility at three distinct stages: (1) job profiles of migrant workers at origin, i.e. before migration status, (2) post-migration job status, i.e. first job in the city, and (3) current job status and its comparison with the first job.

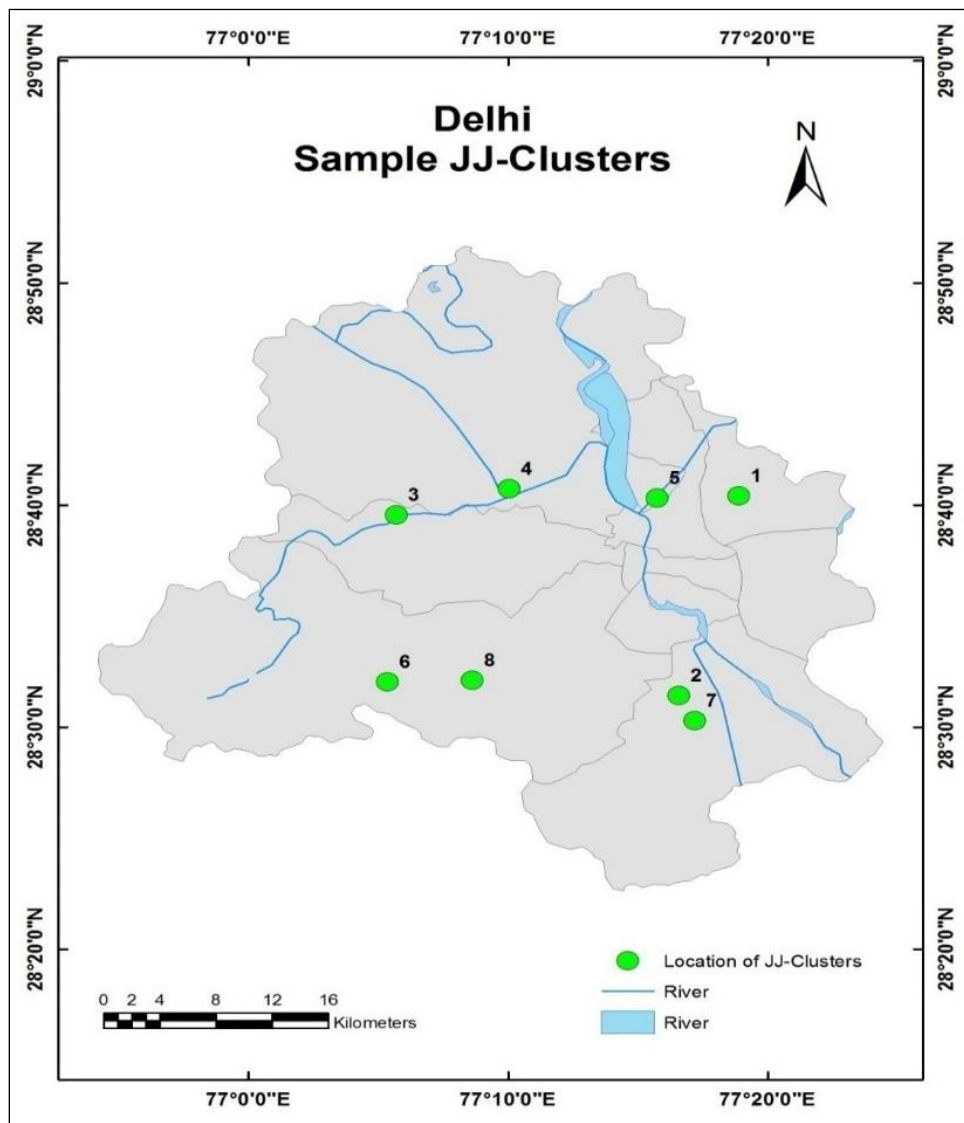
Available secondary data on migration pattern in India (Census and NSSO) do not have comprehensive information on the occupational mobility of migrant workers vis-à-vis different job profiles. Only NSSO provides information on employment status before and after migration. However, this information is limited to two points of time and largely ignores the transition in the employment status of the migrant workers with duration of stay in urban centre. Therefore, to fulfill the objectives of the study, a primary survey was conducted in eight different slums (known as Jhuggi-Jhopri clusters) in NCT of Delhi through a structured questionnaire. A total of six months were spent on field survey between 2015 and 2016. A pilot survey was also conducted to test the questionnaire and understand the locational dynamics of slums.

The selection of sample in the present study is based on the stratified random sampling. In the first stage of stratification, four districts of NCT of Delhi—South Delhi, South West Delhi, North East, and North West—were selected based on highest decadal urban growth between 2001 and 2011. It was found in studies (Dupont, 2008) that a large number of migrant slum dwellers living in Central Delhi and North Delhi were relocated and displaced during the preparation of 2010 Commonwealth Games because of retrofitting and infrastructural expansion in the city. This led to negative decadal urban growth in the districts located at the core (Central Delhi and New Delhi) and positive decadal urban growth in the peripheral districts (South West Delhi, South Delhi, North East, and North West Delhi) during 2001–11. Therefore, a total of eight slums were selected from these four districts (two from each). In the second stage, the sample slums were selected based on the percentage share of slum households settled on the land of different landowning agencies

which shows that in Delhi, 52.2 per cent slum households are settled on the land of Delhi Development Authority followed by Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB), Railway, and Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD). Therefore, in the second stage of sampling, two slums were selected from each selected district—one which is settled on the land of DDA and other which is settled on the land of DUSIB/Railway/MCD.

As explained above, after the pilot survey of these areas and observations collected in the field, we decided to select the following eight slums (JJ-clusters) for the analysis:

Map 1: Delhi Sample JJ-Clusters



Note: The number shown in the maps are mentioned in parenthesis in front of the respective JJ-Clusters.

A. SOUTH DELHI:

1. Indira Kalyan Vihar, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase-I, Okhla, (DDA), (2)
2. V P Singh Camp, Tughlakabad (RAILWAY) (7)

B. SOUTH -WEST DELHI:

3. Dalit Ekta Camp, Vasant Kunj (DDA), (8)
4. Sonia Gandhi Camp, Samalkha, Kapashera (MCD), (6)

C. NORTH-EAST DELHI:

5. Dr. Ambedkar Camp, Jhilmil Industrial Area, Raj Nagar (DDA), (1)
6. JJ-Cluster, CPJ Block, New Seelampur (DUSIB), (5)

D. NORTH-WEST DELHI:

7. JJ-Cluster, B-Block, Meera Bagh, Near NG Drain, PaschimVihar (DDA), (3)
8. JJ-Cluster, B-Block, Near Samshan Ghat, Wazirpur (DUSIB), (4)

In the final stage of stratification, 50 random households were selected from each of the eight selected slums in four districts. Overall, 400 households were surveyed using the structured questionnaire. The occupation and migration history of the heads of the households were collected from 400 households along with other socio-economic and demographic characteristics. In this study, we have considered the principal earner of the household as the head of the household. Information regarding employment status and job profile was collected from the heads of households and classified by occupational categories (i.e. national classification of occupation or NCO 2004) at one and two digits and mapping of original nature of work was done in the initial stage of discussion of results. Workers are also classified into self-employed, casual and regular wage/salaried at their post migration employment stage and current employment stage. Finally, transition of workers from before-migration to post-migration employment status and from post-migration employment to current employment status has also been presented and analysed through cross-tabulation of two stages of occupational activities. In this study, the term “migrant worker” is used for the head of the household to make the analysis simple and understandable.

4. Profile of Migrant Workers

It is evident from the literature review that factors like caste, religion, gender, age, and education create some levels of segmentation and fragmentation among the workers, and work as push and pull factors in the process of migration vis-à-vis findings jobs in the urban labour market. Therefore, the basic characteristics of migrant workers have been discussed in this section.

Table 1 presents some of these basic characteristics of workers. In the sample, 97 per cent are male migrants and only 3 per cent are female migrant workers, which shows that men dominate the job market. Women accompany their spouses and family for work but they are counted as “secondary earners” and seldom considered as principal earners of the households mainly because of structural biasness towards women in Indian society (Shanthi, 2006).

Table 1: Profile of Migrant Head of the Households

<i>Characteristics</i>		<i>Percentage (N)</i>
Gender	Male	97.0 (388)
	Female	3.0 (12)
Social Groups	Scheduled Tribes	0.50 (2)
	Scheduled Castes	42.25 (169)
	Other Backward Castes	44.75 (179)
	Others	12.5 (50)
Religion	Hindu	78 (312)
	Muslim	22 (88)
Level of Education	Illiterate	36 (144)
	Primary	13.5 (54)
	Middle	21.25 (85)
	Secondary and Higher Secondary	26.75 (107)
	Graduate and Above	2.5 (10)
Place of Origin	Uttar Pradesh	41.00 (164)
	Bihar	36.25 (145)
	Madhya Pradesh	12.00 (48)
	Rajasthan	5.00 (20)
	Others	5.75(23)
Landholding (in hectare)	Landless	62.00 (248)
	Small Landholding (≤ 0.25)	17.50 (70)
	Medium Landholding (0.25-0.75)	13.75 (55)
	Large Landholding (≥ 0.75)	6.75 (27)

Source: Survey data, 2015–16.

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the samples in the respective categories

Caste is considered as one of the important factors in getting a job at destination and it plays an important role in the process of migration also. Certain castes are historically deprived from acquiring/owning property, education, and other forms of human capital, and therefore rural-to-urban migration is part of their basic survival strategy (Dubey *et al.*, 2006). Some belonging to the middle category (other backward caste or OBC) also migrate to supplement their rural earnings (Srivastava and Jha, 2017; and, Jha, 2017). In our sample, 45 per cent workers are OBCs and 42 per cent are SCs (scheduled castes). These two groups constitute 87 per cent of the total sample. The share of scheduled tribes (STs) is minuscule (0.5 per cent). The others constitute 12.5 per cent of the total workers. Religion-wise distribution shows that 78 per cent are Hindus and rest 22 per cent are Muslims. Muslim migrants constitute a significant percentage of the population in the slums located in Seelampur and Wazirpur areas. In selected samples, 62 per cent migrant workers are landless and 31.25 per cent are small- and medium-sized landholders. The level of education shows that only one-third of the migrant workers have secondary and/or above level of education. Remaining workers are either illiterate or are educated only up to the middle level. Together, about 77 per cent workers have migrated from U.P and Bihar, 17 per cent from Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, and rest from other states of India. All these migrant workers originally came from rural areas.

The basic characteristics associated with SCs and OBCs are reflected in the pattern of landholding size at origin. At some level, the education level of workers also determines the nature of their jobs. The cross classification of castes by landholding size and education in Tables 2 and 3 depict landlessness and low level of education among SC and OBC workers. Around 90 per cent SC workers and 82 per cent OBC workers were landless and small landholders. There is no denying the fact that disparity in landholding size is a historical phenomenon which has been recognised and addressed through land reforms and other institutional measures. However, land is still concentrated in the hands of few.

Table 2: Distribution of Castes by Landholding Size

Land Size	Scheduled Castes (SCs)		Other Backward Castes (OBCs)		Others		Total	
	Freq.	% Share	Freq.	% Share	Freq.	% Share	Freq.	% Share
Landless	127	75.1	109	60.9	10	20.0	248	62.0
<=0.25	23	13.6	37	20.7	10	20.0	70	17.5
0.25-0.75	14	8.3	22	12.3	19	38.0	55	13.8
>=0.75	5	3.0	11	6.1	11	22.0	27	6.8
Total	169	100.0	179	100.0	50	100.0	400	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

Note: Due to inadequate sample of STs households (N=2), they are not included in the analysis.

The distribution of workers by caste and education level shows that around 40 per cent SCs are illiterate and only 26 per cent have attained secondary and above level of education (Table 3). Likewise, among OBCs, 37 per cent are illiterate, 39 per cent have education up to middle level, and 28 per cent have secondary and above level of education.

Table 3: Distribution of Castes by Education level

<i>Education</i>	<i>Scheduled Castes (SCs)</i>		<i>Other Backward Castes (OBCs)</i>		<i>Others</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>% Share</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>% Share</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>% Share</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>% Share</i>
Illiterate	67	39.6	67	37.4	9	18.0	144	36.0
Primary	19	11.2	30	16.8	5	10.0	54	13.5
Middle	39	23.1	32	17.9	14	28.0	85	21.3
Secondary & above	40	23.7	47	26.3	19	38.0	107	26.8
Graduation & Above	4	2.4	3	1.7	3	6.0	10	2.5
Total	169	100.0	179	100.0	50	100.0	400	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

In contrast to SCs and OBCs, only 18 per cent workers are illiterate in the “others” category, 38 per cent have attained education up to higher secondary, and 6 per cent are graduate and above which is significantly higher than SCs and OBCs. It shows disparity among social groups in pursuing graduation and above degree (Table 3).

As far as the reasons for migration are concerned, there are multiple responses provided by the respondents. Therefore, the total sample is not 400 and the percentage of responses also do not add to 100 per cent.

Migration history and movement of workers from rural to urban areas is presented in Table 4 which captures both the push and pull factors of migration. The migrant workers in our study migrated in the early years of their lives; hence, the mean age of migration for the sample is 20 years. These are long-term migrant workers, living in Delhi for more than 20 years (81.2 per cent). Around two-thirds of workers reported making their own decisions regarding migration. A sizable proportion of them have come with their family members and kinsfolk. Migrant workers have stated multiple reasons for migration. The main reasons for migration highlighted are better employment opportunities at place of migration/destination (34 per cent), followed by poverty (32 per cent), and low earnings in rural areas (19 per cent). While the first one is the pull factor, the last two are push factors of migration.

Table 4: Pattern of Migration

<i>Characteristics</i>		<i>Percentage (N)</i>
Age at Migration	<=15	29.50 (118)
	16–20	39.25 (157)
	21–25	17.00 (68)
	26–30	8.75 (35)
	>=31	5.50 (22)
	Mean Age (in years)	20
Reasons of Migration (Multiple Responses)	Agriculture work is not remunerative	4.60 (51)
	Non-availability of Non-Farm Employ	3.61 (40)
	Low wages/income in source area	19.39 (215)
	Poverty*	31.47 (349)
	Socio-Political Conflict/Displacement due to Project	0.27 (3)
	Natural Calamities	0.45 (5)
	In Search of Employment	16.41 (182)
	To take up a better Employment	17.76 (197)
	Other Reasons	6.04 (67)
Decision of Migration	Self	59.75 (239)
	Parents	19 (76)
	Self and Parents both	5.5 (22)
	Friends	1.5 (6)
	Relatives	6.5 (26)
	Spouse	3.5 (14)
	Others	4.25 (17)
Duration of Stay (in years)	<=10	8.75 (35)
	10–20	30.25 (121)
	20–30	42.25 (169)
	30 and above	18.75 (75)
	Average (in years)	24

Source: Survey Data.

Note: * The respondents have reported poverty and low wages/income as two separate reasons for migration. The low wages/income in source areas shows the low level of economic development in the source region. However, poverty as a household phenomenon is mainly because of low level of economic development.

5. Occupational Status of Workers and Their Mobility

According to Caldwell (1968), before and after occupation and employment status of workers is a relevant aspect of migration studies. It helps in knowing the economic motives and determining factors of rural-urban migration. In this section we have analysed the transition of workers in different stages of migration and factors responsible for their mobility. As described earlier (section 3), the data on occupational and employment status of workers is obtained at three distinct stages: before-migration, post-migration (first-job), and current status.

5.1 Before-migration Occupational Status

In rural areas the nature of jobs is mostly informal and hence it is difficult to exactly classify their jobs according to standard occupational classification. However, we have tried to map the original nature of works with NCO, 2004. In the study we found that before migrating to Delhi, one-third of the total workers were not working; in other words, they were not in the labour force. These were school and college going students. We have classified them as non-workers in the present sub-section and as first-time workers in the next sub-section.

Pre-dominance of agriculture in rural areas of India is a well-known fact. Out of 272 workers in the origin, 77 per cent were engaged in agriculture as cultivators and agricultural labourers. A higher proportion of workers in agricultural activities manifest the agrarian nature of rural economy in India. Rest, 23 per cent workers were doing non-agricultural works of sales and services, construction and manufacturing (Table 5).

Caste is one of the determining factors of the occupational status of workers in rural India. Results show that a high percentage of migrant workers from SCs (56 per cent) and OBCs (43.6 per cent) were involved in rural based elementary occupations before migration (Table 6). However, workers from "others" category were mostly cultivators. Among all these social groups, a significant proportion reported having been non-workers at the time of migration. The social group-wise differences in occupations are manifestation of landholding size at the place of origin. Therefore, a relationship between caste, occupation, and landholding size could be drawn for the migrants. The share of "cultivators" is highest among "others" category workers, which could be linked with the landholding size of this social group. Majority of the workers in this group had medium and large landholdings (see Table 2) and therefore they cultivated their own lands before migrating to Delhi. In contrast, the percentage shares of landless and small landholders were very high among SCs and OBCs (see Table 2), which could be linked with the social structure of the Indian society where a larger section of people from these marginalised groups are historically deprived from ownership of land. Therefore, in the absence of adequate land, workers from these social groups are engaged in elementary occupations.

Table 5 : Before-migration Occupational Status of Workers

<i>NCO_04</i>	<i>Description of Occupation</i>	<i>Original Work Nature</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
23	Teaching Professional	Tuition Teacher	2	0.7
51	Service Workers	Maid	1	0.4
52	Sales Persons	Shopkeeper	9	3.3
61	Skilled Agriculture Workers	Cultivator	46	16.9
71	Building Trade Workers	Electrician, Carpenter	5	1.8
72	Metal, Machinery and Related Trades Workers	Mechanic, Welder and Helper in Mechanic shop	7	2.6
73	Handicraft, Printing and Related Trades Workers	Book Binder, Potter	3	1.1
74	Other Craft and Related Trades Workers	Cobbler, Tailor	13	4.8
81	Bricklayer and Stone Masons	Brick Kiln Workers	3	1.1
82	Machine Operators and Assemblers	Turner in Pvt. Com	1	0.4
83	Drivers and Mobile-Plant Operators	Driver	1	0.4
91	Sales and Services Elementary Occupations	Street Vendor, Washer men, Milkmen	6	2.2
92	Agricultural Labourers	Agricultural Labourers	167	61.4
93	Labourers in Mining, Construction, Manufacturing and Transport Workers	Labourers in Construction	8	2.9
			272 (68.0)	100.0
X00	Non Workers Seeking Employment	Students	127	31.8
X99	Workers Not Reporting Any Occupations	Housewife	1	0.3
	Non-workers		128	32.0
	Total		400	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

Education is one factor which provides a level playing field in getting jobs even in rural areas. In certain occupations (e.g. professionals, and sales and services) at origin, the percentage share of migrant workers who had attained secondary and above level of education was high. Elementary occupations were the main occupations for migrant workers across education category followed by cultivators. But, workers having no education or low level of education were primarily engaged in elementary occupations

and the share of secondary or more educated workers was relatively low in this occupational category. Among cultivators, majority of the workers were educated up to middle or secondary level or more. It could be linked with the social groups. Majority of the workers working as cultivators belong to the “others” category and have better access to education as compared to SCs and OBCs; therefore, in this category the share of middle and secondary educated workers was higher (Table-6).

Table 6: Before-migration Occupation Status of Migrant Workers across Social groups and by Landholding and Education Level

	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Service and Sales</i>	<i>Cultivators</i>	<i>Craft Related Trades</i>	<i>Plant and Machine Operators</i>	<i>Elementary Occupations</i>	<i>Non-workers</i>	<i>Total</i>
Social groups								
SCs	0.0	2.4	6.5	5.3	1.8	56.2	27.8	100.0
OBCs	0.6	2.2	8.9	10.6	0.6	43.6	33.5	100.0
Others	2	4	38	0	0	16	40	100.0
Landholdings								
Landless	0.4	3.2	0.0	8.5	2.0	58.1	27.8	100.0
Small	1.4	2.9	7.1	5.7	0.0	42.9	40.0	100.0
Medium	0.0	0.0	43.6	3.6	0.0	12.7	40.0	100.0
Large	0.0	0.0	63.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	33.3	100.0
Education Level								
Illiterate	0.0	2.1	9.7	7.6	2.1	77.8	0.7	100.0
Up to Middle	0.0	2.9	13.7	8.6	0.0	34.5	40.3	100.0
Secondary & above	1.7	2.6	11.1	4.3	1.7	17.9	60.7	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

The analysis in this section shows that in rural areas agriculture is a dominant sector. Caste and landholding at the place of origin significantly affect the nature of jobs, whereas some level of education is helping get access to better jobs.

5.2 Post-migration (First Job) Status of Workers

In this study, the post-migration employment status of workers from rural to urban areas is considered as an entry stage in the urban labour market. Generally, it is seen that workers from rural origin after entry into the urban labour market get jobs of informal nature and/or low level of economic activities. This section focuses on understanding the nature of jobs available to migrant workers in urban areas, factors that determine their access to jobs, and chances of their job mobility vis-à-vis before-migration stage.

The location of residence determines the first job of the migrants in city, mainly because the early migrants settle in the areas where they have social networks which help them to search employment (Banerjee, 1983; and, Neetha, 2004). In the present study, data on sample migrant workers have been collected from eight slums situated in different localities. For better analysis of the findings, these eight slums have been classified into two categories: Residential and Industrial. The slums located near residential area are classified as “Residential Area” and those located near industrial area are classified as “Industrial Area” slums. This classification leads to the 200 samples each in residential area and industrial area slums. Other than location, social groups, education level, and social network have also been taken into consideration to examine the chances of getting a job post-migration.

The post-migration employment status of workers presented in Table 7 shows that in our sample, higher percentage of migrant workers were regular wage workers (39 per cent), followed by casual wage workers (34.5 per cent) and self-employed (26.5 per cent). With respect to slum location, in Residential Area, a high proportion of workers (56 per cent) were engaged in casual work, whereas in Industrial Area majority of them were regular wage workers (53 per cent).

Table 7: Post-migration Employment Status of Workers

	<i>Self-Employment</i>	<i>Regular Workers</i>	<i>Casual Labour</i>	<i>Total</i>
Residential Area	19 (38)	25 (50)	56 (112)	100 (200)
Industrial Area	34 (68)	53 (106)	13 (26)	100 (200)
Total	26.5 (106)	39 (156)	34.5 (138)	100 (400)

Source: Survey Data.

Analysis based on occupation-wise classification provides more insights to explain the post-migration job nature of workers. From Table 8, it can be seen that post migration 77 per cent workers got the first job in three major occupational groups: labourers in manufacturing, construction and transport (37 per cent); workers in metal, machinery and related trades (29.5 per cent); and, drivers and mobile plant operators (10.5 per cent). It is further noted that even in the post-migration phase, more than one-third workers were involved in elementary occupations (NCO-04, code 91 & 93).

The interaction with the respondents and older members of the households during field survey revealed an interesting fact, that the type of first occupation of the migrant workers and the genesis of the slums are interlinked. For example, it was found that the share of workers in manufacturing was highest in slums located in Okhla, Tughlakabad, and Jhilmil industrial area. The respondents narrated that when the industrial activities started in these areas, the demand for workers also increased, which resulted into pulling of workers from rural areas of economically backward states. Over the years, these workers

started to construct their temporary settlements (jhuggis) on public land available in the industrial areas and subsequently several slums emerged in these areas.

Table 8: Post-Migration (First Job) Status of Workers in Delhi

<i>NCO_04</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
22	Health Professional	1	0.3
51	Personal and Protective Service workers	12	3.0
52	Sales Persons and Demonstrators	11	2.8
71	Extraction and Building Trades Workers	21	5.3
72	Metal, Machinery and Related Trades Workers	118	29.5
73	Handicraft, Printing and Related Trades Workers	10	2.5
74	Other Craft and Related Trades Workers	24	6.0
82	Machine Operators and Assemblers	7	1.8
83	Drivers and Mobile Plant Operators	5	1.3
91	Sales and Service Elementary Occupations	42	10.5
93	Labourers in Mining, Construction, Manufacturing and Transport	149	37.3
Total		400	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

Likewise, it was found that the share of migrant workers working in construction sector was high in the slums located near the residential areas of Vasant Kunj, Meera Bagh, and Samalkha. The respondents in these slums recalled that when they migrated to Delhi these areas were sites of massive construction of residential nature. They got easy entry in the construction works and later also brought their friends, family members, and fellow villagers to work in the same sector. Initially, they lived in makeshift arrangements provided by the construction firms and contractors on the open public land. Over the course of time, they made their own jhuggis on the same land and settled there.

Compared to rural areas, the job in the urban labour market is not caste specific. However, caste-based network helps in getting jobs in the urban labour market. It was found that workers from all social groups were engaged in elementary occupations and craft-related trade works. The percentage share of OBCs (56.5 per cent) and others (50 per cent) were higher in craft related trades, whereas SCs (65 per cent) were mostly engaged in elementary occupations.

With respect to education it was found that workers with secondary and above level of education were working as professionals; sales and service workers; and, plant and machine operators. Illiterate and literates up to middle level were mostly engaged in elementary occupations and craft-related trade works. Among the sample migrants, 92 per cent reported that they had previous social network in Delhi, of which 62 per cent

received help from co-workers, relatives and contractors in getting their first job in the city (Table-9).

Table 9: Post-migration Occupation Status of Workers across Location of Slums, Social Groups and Education Level

Categories		<i>Professional</i>	<i>Sales & Service Workers</i>	<i>Craft Related Trade Workers</i>	<i>Plant & Machine Operators</i>	<i>Elementary occupations</i>	<i>Total</i>
Location of Slums	Residential Areas	0.5 (1)	2 (4)	30 (60)	2.5 (5)	65 (130)	100.0
	Industrial Areas	0 (0)	9.5 (19)	56.5 (113)	3.5 (7)	30.5 (61)	100.0
Social Groups	STs	0.0	0.0	50 (1)	0.0	50 (1)	100.0
	SCs	0.0	4.7 (8)	36.1 (61)	1.2 (2)	57.9 (98)	100.0
	OBCs	0.0	6.1 (11)	48.0 (86)	3.9 (7)	41.9 (75)	100.0
	Others	2 (1)	8 (4)	50 (25)	6 (3)	34 (17)	100.0
Education	Illiterate	0.0	6.9 (10)	29.2 (42)	1.4 (2)	62.5 (90)	100.0
	Primary	0.0	5.6 (3)	35.2 (19)	1.9 (1)	57.4 (31)	100.0
	Middle	0.0	5.9 (5)	54.1 (46)	0.0	40 (34)	100.0
	Secondary & High Sec	0.9 (1)	2.8 (3)	56.1 (60)	8.4 (9)	31.8 (34)	100.0
	Graduation & Above	0.0	20 (2)	60 (6)	0.0	20 (2)	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

5.3 Current Job Status of Workers

It is evident from the profiles of migrant workers in the present study that majority of these workers are long-term migrants who are living in Delhi for more than 10 years. In the intermediate time between the first and the current job, a significant proportion of workers reported having received basic entitlements, established networks, and received better jobs and earning opportunities. In this context, it would be interesting to look at the current employment status of workers and examine whether they are doing better than their post-migration employment (first job). Table 10 shows the current occupation of workers at two digits NCO classification. Compared to the post-migration occupations, where majority of the workers were concentrated in construction, manufacturing and transport, and in metal, machinery and related trade works (see Table 8), the current employment status shows the engagement of the migrant workers in various types of occupations.

Table 10: Current Occupational Status of Workers

<i>NCO 2004</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Sample Workers</i>	<i>Percent</i>
22	Health Professional	1	0.25
31	Science Associate Professionals	1	0.25
33	Teaching Associate Professionals	2	0.5
34	Other Associate Professionals	3	0.75
51	Personal and Protective Service workers	16	4
52	Sales Persons and Demonstrators	32	8
71	Extraction and Building Trades Workers	46	11.5
72	Metal, Machinery and Related Trades Workers	88	22
73	Handicraft, Printing and Related Trades Workers	6	1.5
74	Other Craft and Related Trades Workers	29	7.25
81	Stationary Plant and Related Operators	2	0.5
82	Machine Operators and Assemblers	16	4
83	Drivers and Mobile Plant Operators	25	6.25
91	Sales and Service Elementary Occupations	40	10
93	Labourers in Mining, Construction, Manufacturing and Transport	93	23.25
Total		400	100

Source: Survey Data.

The post-migration employment shows that a total of 67 per cent workers were engaged as labourers in construction, manufacturing and transport, and metal, machinery and related trades. However, the current employment status shows that the percentage of workers in these occupations has declined to 45 per cent (Table 10). Now, workers have access to more-skilled occupations where they could earn higher wages. The current employment status of the migrant workers shows that building trades (11.5 per cent), drivers and mobile plant operators (10 per cent), sales persons (8 per cent), craft related trades (7 per cent), and machine operators and assemblers (6 per cent) were some new occupations in which a significant number of migrants were engaged. A small proportion of them are also working as professionals in different fields.

The occupational classification by location and across social groups and education also reflect changes in occupations of workers. The location-wise occupations show a shift from elementary occupations and craft-related works to plant and machine operators, services and sales workers and this shift is more evident for migrant workers living in residential areas. It was observed during the field survey that acquisition of new skills and social

networks with duration of stay in the city played an important role in the upward mobility of migrant workers.

The social group-wise current employment shows a significant shift of occupations across social groups. However, the shift is more prominent among OBCs and General who have shifted from elementary occupations and craft and related trade workers to service and sales workers and plant and machinery operators. One can draw inferences that migrants from certain social groups have advantages in the form of their caste based social networks and therefore acquiring new skills and shifting to a better employment is easier for them as compared to the migrants from disadvantaged groups (table 11).

Table 11: Current Occupational Status by Location and across Caste and Education

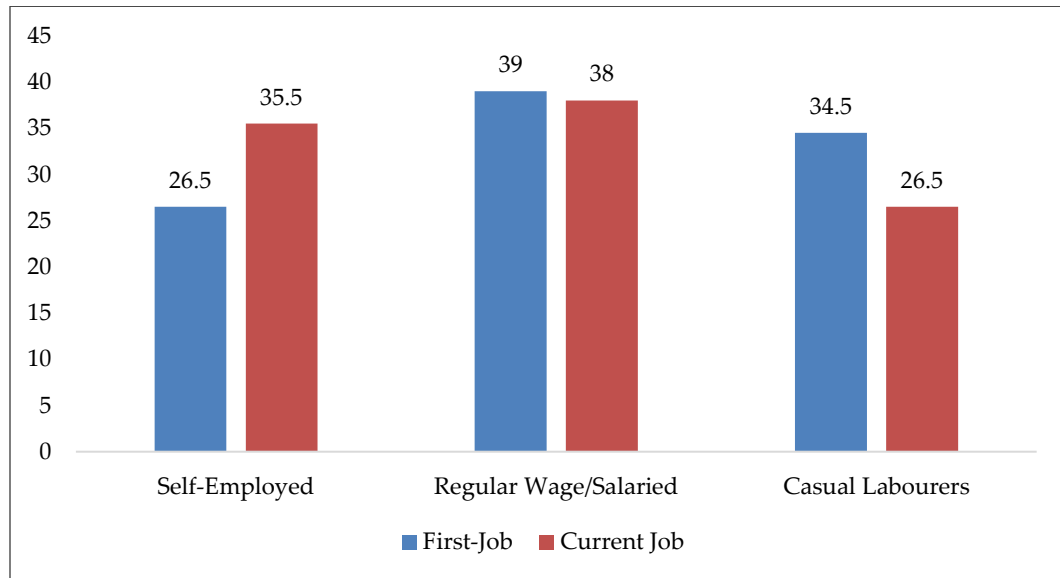
	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Technical Professionals</i>	<i>Service & Sales Workers</i>	<i>Craft and Related Trade Workers</i>	<i>Plant and Machine Operators</i>	<i>Elementary Occupations</i>	<i>Total</i>
Location of Slums							
Residential Area	0.5	1.0	10.0	35.0	11.0	42.5	100.0
Industrial Areas	0.0	2.0	14.0	49.5	10.5	24.0	100.0
Social groups							
Scheduled Caste	0.0	0.6	7.7	45.0	5.9	40.8	100.0
Other Backward Caste	0.6	2.2	13.4	43.6	12.3	27.9	100.0
General	0.0	2.0	22.0	28.0	22.0	26.0	100.0
Education level							
Illiterate	0.0	0.7	9.7	35.4	8.3	45.8	100.0
Up to Middle	0.0	0.7	14.4	43.9	6.5	34.5	100.0
Secondary & Above	0.9	3.4	12.0	48.7	18.8	16.2	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

Regular wage workers constitute the highest percentage both in the current and the first job in the city among sample migrant workers. The major change between the two job statuses is the rise in the share of self-employed with a corresponding decline in the casual wage workers. Figure 1 shows that from the first-employment status, the share of self-employed workers has increased by 9 percentage points, while the share of casual wage workers declined by 8 percentage points. It indicates that during a longer stay in Delhi, majority of workers managed to shift from casual wage employment to self-employment. It was observed during field survey that the migrant workers who were working as daily wage labourers shifted to being auto rickshaw drivers, and some of them started their own

tea-stalls small grocery shops near their slums in industrial areas. They narrated that this shift helped them earn better and regular income.

Figure 1: Employment Status between First and Current Status



5.4 Job Mobility from First to Current Employment

The occupational and employment changes between first and current jobs are examined through cross-mobility tables. The tables have been constructed to capture the shift in occupation and employment status with columns representing the post-migration situation of migrant workers and the rows representing their current status in the same classification. Table 12 presents occupational mobility from first to current employment and Table 12 presents employment mobility between the nature of employment.

The results from Table 12 show a major shift in the case of elementary occupations. Around 45 per cent workers in this category have shifted mainly to craft-related trades followed by service and sales, and plant and machinery operators. It shows an upward mobility among the migrant workers because they are shifting from the low skilled/unskilled employment to skilled employment. Craft-related services is the second occupation in which significant mobility has been found. The results show that around 35 per cent workers have shifted to other occupations, mainly elementary occupations, followed by plant and machine operators, services and sales, and professionals. It indicates that workers in this category have experienced both upward and downward mobility. About 22 per cent workers have shifted from service and sales to craft-related trades, elementary occupations, and operating plant machinery. There is no significant shift among workers working as professionals and plant and machine operators as most of the workers remained in the same occupation since their first job in the city.

Table 12: Occupational Mobility – From the First Job in Delhi to Current Job

<i>First Job/Current Job</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Service & Sales</i>	<i>Craft Related Trades</i>	<i>Plant and Machine Operators</i>	<i>Elementary Occupations</i>
Professionals	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service & Sales	0.0	78.3	8.7	4.3	8.7
Craft Related Trades	2.9	6.4	65.3	12.1	13.3
Plant and Machine Operators	0.0	8.3	0.0	91.7	0.0
Elementary Occupations	0.5	9.4	28.3	5.2	56.5

Source: Survey Data.

There is also a shift in the employment status. One-third of the workers in each employment category shifted to other categories.

Employment status of one-third of the workers has changed in all the three categories. The shift is evident among casual labourers. Twenty-eight per cent casual wage workers moved to self-employed (18 per cent) and regular wage workers (10 per cent) categories. Regular wage/salaried is the second category out of which a significant percentage (25.6 per cent) of workers shifted to other categories, mainly to self-employed (23.1 per cent). A total of 23.6 per cent self-employed workers moved to other employment categories, of which majority of the workers (20.8 per cent) shifted to regular wage/salaried employment.

Table 13: Employment Mobility: From Post-migration to Current Employment Status

	<i>Self-Employed</i>	<i>Regular Wage/Salaried</i>	<i>Casual Labourers</i>
Self-Employed	76.4	20.8	2.8
Regular Wage/Salaried	23.1	74.4	2.6
Casual Labourers	18.1	10.1	71.7

Source: Survey Data.

Overall, there is significant shift among the workers working in elementary occupations and craft-related trades. However, in terms of change in the nature of employment, only one-third migrants shifted to other categories. The share of self-employed workers has increased with a corresponding decline in the share of casual labourers. These shifts from elementary occupations, and craft-related trades to other occupations, and from casual labourers to self-employed can be termed as upward mobility.

6. Summary and Conclusions

In this paper, our focus has been on analysing the occupation and employment status of migrant workers in three distinct stages: before-migration, post-migration, and current status. A sample of 400 migrant workers is drawn from eight slums of NCT of Delhi, covering four peripheral districts with highest decadal growth. Factors of caste, education, landholding, and social network have been considered in determining occupation and employment mobility between post-migration and current job status.

Analysis of before-migration status reveals that majority of the workers were engaged in elementary occupations as labourers in agricultural and non-agricultural activities and as cultivators. A significant percentage of them were not in the labour force as they were studying at the time of migration. Caste and landholding were the major factors determining the nature of job in rural areas.

In the post-migration status, majority of the workers were engaged in elementary occupations and craft related trades. However, the nature of elementary occupations in rural areas was mostly agriculture based, whereas post migration (first job in the city) the occupational status shifted to that of labourers in construction, mining, manufacturing, and transport. The study shows that the share of workers has significantly increased in non-elementary occupations in the post-migration period. The post-migration employment status of workers shows a higher percentage of workers working in regular jobs. Based on the location of the slums, the number of regular/salaried workers was high in the slums located in industrial areas. However, the number of casual workers was high in slums located near residential areas. Compared to rural areas, the nature of post-migration jobs was not caste specific in the urban labour market, but caste-based network is an important factor in getting a job. Education is another important factor in deciding the nature of jobs. The study finds that those with secondary and above level of education were engaged in non-elementary occupations.

As regards the current job status, there is a further decline in the share of workers in elementary occupations. Receiving basic entitlements and building social and personal network have helped in getting better jobs. As per the employment status, there is a rise in the share of self-employed with a corresponding decline in the share of casual workers.

The comparison of post-migration and current job status shows both occupational and employment mobility. The migrant workers shifted from elementary occupations and craft-related trades to other occupations. The shift in the nature of employment is slow and mainly from casual wage status to self-employment status. It can be concluded from the study that rural-urban migration is instrumental for occupational and employment mobility among migrant workers and several factors such as caste, education, landholdings, and better social networks play an important role in the upward occupational and employment mobility.

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