

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, CHANNELS OF
RECRUITMENT AND THE RURAL TO URBAN
MIGRATION OF LABOUR:**

**A case study of the squatter
settlements of Delhi, India**

by

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**Thesis submitted to fulfil the
requirements for the PHD degree**

**DEVELOPMENT PLANNING UNIT
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
1994**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the role of relative deprivation in the rural areas of origin and the mechanisms of information, advice and job search in the process of rural to urban migration of labour.

There is less dependence of rural population on agriculture than usually thought and hence it is difficult to attribute rural out-migration to lack of agricultural land. The results show that *small* and *semi-medium* landholders were about twice as much likely to migrate as *marginal* landholders, the lowest category of landholders. Overall, people of *average* or *near average* circumstances were found to have migrated more than the poorest.

Connectivity to urban areas through contact with earlier migrants, exchange of information and advice regarding jobs and pre-migration visits played a decisive role in the formation of job expectations and the decision to migrate. Migrants came for the jobs they knew could be found and searched them without much wait. Though relative deprivation predisposes people to look for better opportunities, the decision to migrate can be better explained by demand for labour in urban areas communicated through the 'channels of recruitment'. The study found evidence of family strategies for diversification of sources of income and risk aversion. The process of migration is much more structured than the prevalent models recognise.

Since the decisions to migrate are governed by demand for labour, government efforts to resist migration and urbanisation have been costly and unsuccessful. In the process of structural transformation, the governments of developing countries can help the urban transition of the societies by facilitating the moves that the migrants decide to make and helping the cities work.

In memory of Srimati Karian Devi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely fortunate to have the supervision of Professor Nigel Harris. His sharp, critical and objective comments and the incredible speed with which he responds have given me an invaluable cultural input that will last much beyond this piece of research.

Dialogue with Dr Fabio Scatolin was continuous and most fruitful. I had the benefit of discussions with Moha Abdullah, Gabriel Porcila, Liang Yeh Chein, Jeoffery Nsemukila, Tayfun Atay, Sanjay Sharma and Pragati Mohapatra. I received psychological back-up from Rajinder, Joginder, Anjali, Anna, Guy, Leo, Beata, Iqbal, Rupinder, Swapna and Khanindra.

From across the seas, Dr. Mahadev Prasad Saha, Mrs. Sukhbir Kaur, Professor Surinder Kumar, Mr. Satvir Dahiya and Dr. Ajay Divakaran kept my spirits up with warmth and reassurance.

Discussions with Professor Amitabh Kundu, Dr. Sapna Mukhopadhyaya, Dr. Promila Suri, Navasharan and Atul were helpful in considering issues that came up during sample selection. Professor Devendra Gupta of the Institute of Economic Growth, Mr. K. S. Natrajan, Mr. M.S. Bhati, Mrs. Veena Dixit and Mr. Ansari of the Census of India, Sadashivam, Srirangan and Chandu Bhutia of the DDA, Mr. P.K. Chopra, Mrs. Sangita Verma, Mr. Y.P. Sharma and Shivakant of the Slum Wing of the DDA were very helpful in listening to my problems of sample selection. At times, Rishikant, Sunit, Rais, Arvind, Kunna and my brother Gopal shared my logistic worries.

Deenu and Dr Surat Singh were my solace after day's work. My friends Tej Narain and Satyadev shared all my problems and enthused me greatly at all times. Due to the support from my parents-in law, Mrs. Dhanpati and Mr. Satyapal Dahiya I could do my fieldwork without worry.

I could not have written this thesis without the cooperation, trust and affection with which the residents of squatter settlements gave me the stories of their migration to Delhi. The hundreds of names cannot be mentioned here but I would like to put on

record the initial help of Satyapal Singhal, Sushil Kumar, Shamim Khan, Jeet Ram, Satvir Singh, Niranjana Chacha and Pradip Sarakar in getting around the serpentine lanes of my field sites. Sukh Ram Laurik and Ram Dular helped me in organising the pre-testing of the questionnaires.

I particularly thank the Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak for nominating me for the Commonwealth Academic Staff Scholarship, the University Grants Commission of India for recommending my name and the Association of Commonwealth Universities for providing me scholarship to write this thesis. I am grateful to the Graduate School of the University College London and the Mountbatten Memorial Fund for providing two months' maintenance each. I thank my colleagues of the Department of Economics of the M.D. University for coping with the burden of my absence. I also thank the Nansen Village for providing me with a congenial environment for stay in London.

When I was a little boy in a Thar village, my father Chandi Dan ji taught me to believe in myself and my mother Balu Bai kept me on track. My eldest brother Suresh helped me as a friend to dream and to stand on ground. My family understood my decisions even while they disagreed. I am grateful to my teachers in various villages and towns of India who constantly showed me the next step.

Saroj and Vigyan shared every moment of joys as well as worries of my research. Master Vigyan is right when he says "What the friends are for!"

Glossary of non-English words and abbreviations

Beldari	A labourer's job, usually as an unskilled construction worker
Chowk	Market square
Jhuggie-jhonpari	Squatter settlement
Karigar	Skilled worker
Kothiwala	Bungalow resident
Mazdoor	Unskilled worker
Namaskar	A term of greeting in India
Naukari	A service job or employment in formal sector
Panchayat	Village council
Tehsil	An administrative unit, smaller than District
Vilayat	A term meaning foreign country
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
GOI	Government of India
LDC	Less Developed Country
SDP	State Domestic Product
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to state the research problem and the hypotheses of this study in the light of their theoretical background. Section 1.1 is a brief discussion of some important studies that have bearing on understanding of the motives that prompt rural to urban migration of labour. Section 1.2 identifies the research problem emerging from the literature. Section 1.3 states the hypotheses of this thesis. Section 1.4 describes the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Theoretical background

Many modern day economists have concluded that the debate on the issues of employment and labour transfer can be linked to classical economic theory. These questions are not new and we can gain from it to develop a modern day economics.¹ The first part of this section is concerned with the development of ideas on rural to urban migration of labour in classical economic writings. The second part is a survey of the prevalent theories of migration.

¹ Several authors have concluded that some of the core concepts of development economics so vital for the analysis of the phenomenon of population transfer are extensions of the thoughts already expressed by the 'pioneers' of economic science. Martin (1991: 30) offers the example of how the concepts or the phenomena of rural underdevelopment, often referred as 'disguised unemployment' is a rediscovery of the Marxian concept of 'latent surplus population' in agriculture. Martin gives the example of use of this concept by Lewis (1954) without explicit acknowledgement. Also see, Williamson (1988a: 426).

The evolution of classical ideas on labour transfer

Early post-mercantilist economic writers appreciated the significance of class-differentiation in rural areas that comes with the transition to capitalism, and the low value of skills compared to urban areas.² In this sense the historical inevitability of the transfer of labour from agriculture to industry is an old conclusion.

Adam Smith recognised the potential for migration from the areas of low costs of reproduction of labour to the areas where the costs are higher.³ As regards the rate of accumulation (and not the stage of accumulation) determining wages and by implication, the demand for labour, Smith was a true predecessor to Karl Marx. He argued that it is not the actual greatness of national wealth, but its continual increase, which occasions a rise in the wages of labour. It is not, accordingly, in the richest countries, but in the most thriving, or in those growing rich the fastest, that wages are highest.⁴

David Ricardo developed the theory of capital accumulation further by adding the technological dimension to it. He demonstrated that with technological changes the rate

² For example, David Hume's comment on the marginal life of the landless peasant in "rude unpolished nations, where the arts are neglected, all labour bestowed on the cultivation of the ground...[Vassals and tenants] are necessarily dependent, and fitted for slavery and subjugation; *especially where they possess no riches, and are not valued for their knowledge in agriculture*, as must be always the case where arts are neglected". (Hume, 1955: 28).

³ "..., it appears evidently from the experience that a man is of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported. If the labouring poor, therefore, can maintain their families in those parts of the kingdom where the price of labour is the lowest, they must be in affluence where it is highest." (Smith in Skinner, ed., 1970: 178).

⁴ "England is certainly, in the present times, a much richer country than any part of North America. The wages of labour, however, are much higher in North America than in any part of England....it is in the progressive state, while the society is advancing to the further acquisition, rather than when it has acquired its full complement of riches that the condition of the labouring poor, the great body of the people, seem to be the happiest and the most comfortable." (Smith in Skinner, ed., 1970: 172).

and pattern of accumulation will change and consequently the demand for labour will also change. Ricardo recognised the cyclical nature of production under capitalism and its implications for labour demand.⁵

Accumulation of capital and its relation to the growth of the relative surplus population are the two key elements in Karl Marx's analysis of rural to urban migration.

Marx found the seeds of the growth of accumulation and relative surplus population in transition from pre-capitalist economic formations.⁶ The development of the class of owners and of the proletariat is seen as a logical corollary of the transformation of all existing property into commercial and industrial capital.⁷ The appearance of a "doubly-free" mass of living labour power on the labour market⁸ and the role of capital in the accumulation of labour and their instruments at given points is seen as the main element of accumulation.⁹

⁵ "...All I wish to prove, is that the discovery and use of machinery may be attended with a diminution of gross product ; and whenever it is the case, it will be injurious to the labouring class, as some of their number will be thrown out of employment, and population will become redundant, compared with the funds which are to employ it." (Ricardo, 1951: 390).

⁶ Karl Marx's **Pre-capitalist economic formations** (in Hobsbawm, ed., 1965), covers the main debate around the question of pre-capitalist formations.

⁷ *ibid*, p. 30.

⁸ "Free from the old relations of clientship, villeinage or service, but also free from all goods and chattels, from every real and objective form of existence, free from all property." (*ibid*, p. 111).

⁹ *ibid*, pp. 111-112.

Smith and Marx both recognised that the growth of accumulation and its rapidity give rise to increase in productivity which makes a smaller quantity of labour produce a greater quantity of output - the composition of capital changes in favour of its constant portion. Marx distinguishes between the two stages of capitalistic accumulation (i.e., **concentration** and **centralisation**).¹⁰ The first involves concentration of means of production (and command over labour) as well as revulsion of individual capitals from each other. *Centralisation* is the concentration of capital already formed, destruction of their individual independence, expropriation of capitalist by capitalist and transformation of many small into few large capitals. (p. 586).

The stage of *centralisation* extends and speeds the revolutions in the technical composition of capital which in turn result in absolute reduction in the demand for labour. (p. 588) As this stage is marked by sudden expansions and contractions of economic activity, it needs a disposable *industrial reserve army* which makes possible throwing great masses of workers suddenly at the decisive points without injury to the scale of production. Its function is to ensure that demand for labour can be met independently of the increase in population.¹¹

In this framework *relative surplus population* or *industrial reserve army* is a pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labour works and it is a potential factor of

¹⁰ For details see, Marx (1977).

¹¹ "The industrial reserve army, during the periods of stagnation and average propensity, weighs down the active labour-army; during the periods of over-production and paroxysm, it holds its pretensions in check." (ibid: 598).

mobility. It can take different forms.¹² Upon the introduction of capitalistic production into agriculture, the demand for agricultural labouring population falls absolutely. Even while accumulation goes on, this repulsion is not compensated by greater attraction, as is the case with non-agricultural industries. One part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into the urban or manufacturing proletariat, and on the look out for circumstances favourable to this transformation. This constantly flowing source of relative surplus population presupposes, in the country itself, a constant *latent surplus population* which becomes evident only when outlets open.¹³

The classical and Marxist ideas on rural to urban migration are intertwined with their common themes of the development of capitalism, the role of accumulation and the related aspect of the growth of labour demand on the one hand and the creation of a mass of "free labourers" on the other. In other words, the concentration of economic activities in urban areas as well as their reorganisations lead to increases in urban demand for labour which in turn necessitates rural-urban transfer of labour. The classical and Marxist writings have an insightful economic theory to explain the rural to urban migration of labour.

¹² Apart from the acute form (during crisis) and chronic form (during dull times), it always has three forms, namely **floating surplus population, latent surplus population and stagnant surplus population**. (op. cit., pp. 600-603.)

¹³ Lenin (1956: 551-599) used variables like land ownership status of cultivators, ownership of animals and implements, the availability of grain all the year around and employment in non-agricultural occupations to measure the *latent reserve army* ("hidden proletariat").

The prevalent models of migration

Revenstein (1885), though a pioneering effort, added little to what had already been established in economic theory. W A Lewis (1954) was the first to consider rural to urban migration in the context of the developing countries of the second half of the twentieth century.¹⁴ This model visualised the economy as consisting of two sectors. The *traditional rural subsistence sector* is characterised by zero or very low productivity "surplus labour". Transfer of labour takes place from this sector to a high productivity *modern industrial sector*.

The primary focus is on the process of labour transfer as well as on growth of employment in the modern sector, both brought about by the growth of output in the modern sector. The speed at which these occur is given by the rate of capital accumulation in the modern sector, which in turn depends on the excess of modern sector profits over wages (assuming that all capitalists reinvest all profits).

The level of wages in the modern sector is taken as constant - being determined at a fixed premium over a constant subsistence level of wages in the traditional sector. At constant urban wage, the supply of rural labour is considered perfectly elastic.

The Lewis model, like most of the models of economic development of the 1950s, took accumulation as the key constraint on economic transformation. The recognition of the demand pull forces in the shape of elastic response to the favourable employment

¹⁴ Lewis, W.A. (1954) and later formalised by Fei and Ranis (1961).

conditions was reflected in a positive optimism towards rural to urban migration.

In a relatively recent work, Lewis not only reasserts the salient points of his 1954 model but also talks of "over-urbanisation" of the developing countries.¹⁵

He emphasises that disguised unemployment, diminishing returns and rate of growth of urban population in developing countries are greater than those in the developed during nineteenth century-end. According to him, development raises the rate of natural increase of population in a less developed country (LDC) and if the land-labour ratio is unfavourable, the land absorbs more labour - by subdivision of family farms or otherwise. At some point the diminishing returns *drive young men off the farms* into the towns, if that is where development is occurring. He supports his conclusion of "over-urbanisation" with the observation that 4.5 per cent per annum growth of urban population in the LDCs of the 1960s and 1970s was higher than the 3.5 per cent for Australia and United States of America at the end of the nineteenth century. The above assertion by Lewis has been contradicted by some authors.¹⁶

The Hoselitz thesis

Bert Hoselitz (1953, 1955, 1957) was first to offer the evidence that ratios of industrial employment to urban population is small in contemporary developing nations (Asia in particular) compared with currently developed countries in the late nineteenth and early

¹⁵ Lewis (1988: 14).

¹⁶ See for example, Williamson (1988b: 24-30).

twentieth centuries. Hoselitz's original finding encouraged the perception of urban services as "*unproductive activities*" and mainly a response to migrant-swollen labour supplies. Bairoch (1975: 150) replicated Hoselitz's finding.¹⁷ Using World Bank data from the 1960s, Berry and Sabot (1984: 106) have made the same point.¹⁸ Hoselitz's (1962) term "over-urbanisation" had signalled a thesis.

The opponents argue that Third World cities cannot be expected to replicate the employment patterns of the last century. The examples of differences in situation are the currently prevailing sophisticated level of social services and higher growth of city augmenting employment in formal and informal construction sector.¹⁹ Based on assessment of the industrial employment trends between 1950 and 1970, Preston (1979) was unable to find deterioration in industry/urban ratio in the Third World as a whole. In fact, in the largest of the developing regions - Middle South Asia (including India) the ratio has risen. Earlier Sovani contradicted Hoselitz's findings.²⁰ The opposition to the Hoselitz thesis has been backed-up by the evidence from recent studies.²¹ Apparently, migrants do not dominate urban service employment (Yap, 1977: 255). Nor

¹⁷ "The degree of urbanisation in under-developed countries was the same in 1960 as it had been in Europe in 1880-85 when the latter's percentage of working population engaged in manufacturing was twice that of the less developed countries."

¹⁸ "Whereas at the turn of the century the industrializing European nations absorbed almost half of their incremental labour force into industry each year, today the developing countries absorb less than 30 per cent of their additional workers into industry."

¹⁹ Williamson (1988a: 426).

²⁰ See Sovani (1964). He found the correlation between indicators of urbanisation and industrialisation for developed (+0.395) to be significantly less than the same for the remainder (+0.85). He found that for 1891 the correlation was 0.84 for 11 then industrialising countries which indicates that in the earlier stage industrialisation and urbanisation strongly correlated. He then goes on to give the examples of countries to say how the relationship is often not one to one.

²¹ Also see, Williamson (1988a: 439-441).

can it be argued that wages are relatively low in the urban service sector, including the urban informal sector (Yap, 1977; Papola, 1981; Kannappan, 1985). Indeed Mazumdar (1976) and others have questioned the view that urban informal sectors are a point of entry for the in-migrant any more than they are for the city-born.

However, the belief in the proposition that rural migration is caused by "sheer excess of human resources on land" and "population pressure"²² has lingered longer. The essence of Hoselitz's ideas is that the agglomeration of population occurs on grounds of the "economically irrational" motivations. According to him, *migration is not "provoked" by increasing demand for labour in urban concerns* but rather by considerations "outside the sphere of resource allocation and use". "Push" has become part of the popular parlance.²³

Refinement of the poverty theory: the Todaro model of rural to urban migration

Harris and Todaro in their two-sector model²⁴ contend that migration proceeds in response to the urban-rural differences in expected earnings, which, they postulate, arise out of the provision of politically determined minimum wages in urban areas, with the employment rate acting as an equilibrating force. It is based on a model of labour

²² Hoselitz (1962: 169).

²³ It is so appealing to describe migration as *flight from misery*. Just one example of a study that followed Hoselitz (1962): Lee (1966) thought the magnitude of net stream (i.e., stream minus counter-stream) is directly related to the preponderance of minus factors at origin, i.e., origin "push" factors are more important than destination "pull" factors.

²⁴ Harris and Todaro (1970).

migration concerned with the formulation of a theory of urban unemployment in the developing countries.²⁵ Todaro also talks of an 'empirically testable model' to explain, what he sees as a contradiction, massive and even increasing rural-urban migration, in spite of rising levels of urban unemployment and underemployment in many countries during the nineteen sixties.²⁶ He concludes that in the decision to migrate the individual has to balance the probabilities and risks of being unemployed for a considerable period against a positive wage differential.

As opposed to wage-adjustment bringing equilibrium (competitive model), Todaro argues that rural-urban migration itself must act as the ultimate equilibrium force with the assumption of the inflexibility of urban wages downwards. The modern, industrial sector is non-competitive, wages are institutionally determined at well above the opportunity cost of labour. Entry to it is restricted. Despite a very low chance of finding employment in this sector, its relative attractiveness prompts rural-urban migration. The rate of migration to the urban sector depends on the relation between present value of the expected streams of future net income from urban and rural employment. The former depends on the probability of successful entry into a preferred employment in successive time periods. The length of the queue (of migrants waiting for formal sector employment) and the present value are inversely related. The length of the queue is the equilibrator of the present values of the two streams of urban and rural future earnings. While waiting, migrants are willing to accept wages below their opportunity cost in the expectation of future compensation after entry into the high wage sector.

²⁵ Todaro (1969).

²⁶ Todaro (1976: 25).

The main attribute of the model, according to the authors, was its rigorous demonstration that migration in excess of growth of urban job opportunities is not only privately rational from an income-maximising point of view but will continue as long as rural-urban income differentials exist.

Todaro (1980: 362) has not changed his views since 1969: "On the contrary, migration today is being increasingly viewed as the major contributing factor to the ubiquitous phenomenon of urban surplus labour and as a force that continues to exacerbate already serious urban unemployment problems caused by growing economic and structural imbalances between urban and rural areas."

The model asserts that migrants earn lower incomes than non-migrants and migrants have a higher incidence of unemployment. It implies that wages are lower in informal sector²⁷ employment than in industrial employment. It also implies that migrants earn less in the cities when they first arrive, than they earned in the rural areas they left.

The main criticisms of the Todaro model have been summarised by Williamson.²⁸ Each of the five critical assumptions of the Todaro model which lead to its dramatic results, seems vague, or at the best deserves far more research.

First, job allocation rules are not likely to obey the simple lottery mechanism embedded

²⁷ As such there is no consensus on what 'informal sector' should really mean. According to Gregory (1986: 12), "typically, the informal sector is viewed as having very limited capital resources and as suffering from low productivity and earnings".

²⁸ Williamson (1988a: 445-448).

in the Todaro model (Willis 1980: 396). There is no role for investment in job search in the Todaro model, except for the actual decision to migrate. In fact, recent evidence from the Third World suggests that unskilled migrants do not engage in long job searches, and that overt urban unemployment is an attribute of the skilled rather than the unskilled (Yap, 1976, 1977; Papola, 1981). Indeed, this fact has encouraged the development of two-stream migration models and explicit attention to labour heterogeneity (Fields, 1975; Fallon, 1983; Cole and Sanders, 1985).

Second, wages do clear the labour market and they are responsive to demand and supply. Third, there has been little evidence marshalled in support of the modern sector rigid wage assumption (Montgomery (1985). For example, the formal sector wages in Sub-Saharan Africa have been in decline since 1920s. Fourth, the issue of discount rates and rational migrants needs explanation.²⁹ Fifth, and perhaps most important, the model abstracts from many additional influences on the potential migrant's decision. This is the thrust of much of Stark's recent work on risk aversion (Stark 1991), relative deprivation, and cooperative family games.

Almost all governments in developing countries are unhappy with their migration trends.

Three quarters of them want to slow or reverse migration to cities as part of their

²⁹ Given modern sector wages double that of rural wages, given some unemployment duration before the migrant secures the modern sector job, and given some discount rate, how long a time horizon would a potential migrant have to have before present values were equated? Cole and Sanders have made the calculation where discount rates are allowed to vary between 5 and 15 per cent. They conclude: "If one must assume very long time horizons, in some cases more than 50 years, an alternative explanation of migration may be in order" (Cole and Sanders, 1985: 485).

strategy of decentralisation.³⁰ On the other hand, the many threads of the case of "urban bias" and "over-urbanisation"³¹ which focus the responsibility for migration on the conditions in the areas of origin are conveniently used to deny any responsibility of the urban destination for "excess migration".

1.2 Problem

The dominant models of migration for developing countries of the second half of this century (e.g. Hoselitz, Todaro) have exhibited a pessimist orientation by emphasising that the miserable conditions in the areas of origin in the countryside account for rural to urban migration in these countries (That is, a "push" migration) and that urbanisation is out of proportion with the demand for labour (That is, "over-urbanisation").

These dominant models of migration reflect the policy assumption that poverty in rural areas of developing countries drives people out. This assumption has resulted in a deflection of attention from the questions of key importance: Why is it that not all or even most of the poor living in the rural areas migrate to the cities and only a very small minority do? Of the overwhelming majority of the rural people in the developing countries which might be poor, how are the ones who migrate selected?

In view of the importance of the debate on rural-urban migration for the critically important questions of economic development and urbanisation, it is surprising that few

³⁰ UN Economic and Social Council (1978: 27-28). This is based on the survey of 106 governments. Similar attitudes were reported by the 1981 survey of 126 governments (United Nations, 1984: 19).

³¹ See, Harris (1992: x - xvii) for a precise and critical note on the case.

micro studies exist that address the question of "recruitment versus expulsion" with a tight focus. The present thesis addresses this research problem.

1.3 Hypotheses

Migrants are recruited to the urban labour market and not expelled from the countryside - this is the central hypothesis of the present thesis. This can be broken into three specific hypotheses:

First, relative deprivation is a necessary condition (a facilitating factor) but it is not a sufficient condition for people to migrate from rural areas.

Second, the demand for labour in the urban areas is the sufficient condition (determining factor) for migration.

Third, the channels of recruitment select people with appropriate education and skills to match the demand for labour in urban areas.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is mainly based on a micro study of rural migrants in Delhi with its focus on the examination of pre-migration socio-economic strata of migrants and the way they joined the urban labour market. It is divided in six chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the research problem and hypotheses along with their theoretical background. Chapter 2 discusses the trends of inter-State migration in India as a context for the key issue of the thesis - migration to Delhi. This chapter considers the assertion of "spill-over" and "push" made by the poverty theory of migration. Chapter 3 examines the methodological questions encountered in planning and execution of the sample survey and sketches a brief profile of the sample population. Chapter 4 analyses the pre-migration social and economic profile of the migrants. Chapter 5 examines the role of the channels of recruitment and identifies the mechanism of migration that connects the demand for labour in urban areas with the mass of potential migrants in the rural areas. Chapter 6 summarises the main findings of the thesis and their implications for economic theory and policy regarding rural to urban migration in developing countries.

CHAPTER II PREVALENT INTERPRETATION OF INTER-STATE RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION IN INDIA

Introduction

The present chapter assesses the most prevalent interpretation of the trends of inter-State rural to urban migration in India with the goal of providing a macro empirical context to the key issue of this thesis - migration to Delhi. Section 2.1 provides a general picture of inter-State rural to urban migration in India. Section 2.2 looks at studies that are departure from the conventional wisdom. Section 2.3 considers the relevance of a case study of Delhi.

2.1 Inter-State migration: the conventional wisdom

Due to an imbalance in the relative size of the two sectors, rural and urban, a relatively small movement from the rural sector is able to account for a significant increase in the population of urban areas. In such a situation of low urbanisation and high urban population growth, the perception of the national urbanisation policy makers in India was ambivalent. Hence they stressed the need to 'check urban growth' and 'bring order into "this" chaos'. At the same time however, they wanted to aim for 'higher urbanisation to reach economic prosperity'.¹ And of course, the villain of the piece was migration: "... the gains of economic development should not be washed away by the

¹ GOI, Town and Country Planning Organisation (1975: 7-8).

flood of migrating population to the cities creating squalor, discord, heterogeneity and urban ugliness in all its facets" (p. 7). Apparently they seem not to have agreed amongst themselves that it is not possible to achieve higher levels of urbanisation without a substantial transfer of population from rural to urban areas.

At the same time, it is very common to find the view that mobility in India is low and declining. Bose (1980) notes that rural to rural is the main stream of migration and that rural to urban stream is dominant only in inter-State movements. He states that only three per cent of the male population were enumerated outside the State of birth. Kundu (1986) states that mobility is declining in India, particularly over long distances. Bogue and Zachariah (1962: 31, 45) note that return migration is substantial in India and it is fostered by close ties with rural origin.

According to the Census figures, the percentage of inter-State migrants² in India's rural and urban male population (inter-State migrant ratios) declined during the sixties and seventies³ (Table A-2.1).⁴ Some argue that this is expected since there is an increase in urban population and with the increase, the contribution of natural increase becomes greater than the contribution of migration (Rogers, 1984; Keyfitz, 1980). And as Bogue

² In the tables of this chapter, migrant is defined as one enumerated at a place different from his place of birth. Admittedly, it is no more than a partial indicator of population movement. Mehrotra (1974) in Chapter 1 discusses the data limitations following this concept. Since 1971, the place of last residence criterion has been used in migration tables extensively, although population is still classified by the place of birth as well. A large part of female migration in India is associational (related with family move) or is due to marriage. Classification by reason for migration is available for 1981 Population Census only. Hence, studies of economic migration based on Census data were restricted to male migration only. Only male population is considered in the tables of this chapter.

³ The migration tables of 1991 Census which would give data for 1980s are not out yet.

⁴ All table numbers with a prefix A (e.g. Table A-2.1) are in Appendix C containing statistical tables.

and Zachariah noted, the tendency of the Birth Place data is to understate migration.

Contrary to the fears of decline in inter-State mobility, the relative importance of inter-State migration, specially in urban areas seems to be increasing. The number of inter-State migrants as percentage of total internal male migrants increased in urban areas during both the decades and in rural areas during the sixties (**Table A-2.2**). Looking at the State level, we find that the inter-State component of the total internal male migrants, particularly in urban areas, increased over these two decades for all the States except for some decline for Haryana and Maharashtra and West Bengal. The concerns that long-distance migration is declining needs a careful re-examination in the light of this fact.

Bogue and Zachariah have suggested, on the basis of a study of 1941-51, that a rising tempo of rural to urban migration existed throughout India.⁵ Their experimental work showed that State of birth statistics have an in-built bias towards understating the volume of movement that has taken place, especially in recent years.⁶ They estimate the rate of net in-migration to the cities equivalent to 20 per cent of the 1941 population. It amounts to a rate of net out-migration from rural areas equivalent to 3 per cent of their 1941 population. The problem with the Bogue and Zachariah estimates is that they were not able to take into account the reclassification of towns and international migration during the decade. The figure for the latter was particularly high during that decade due to the partition of the country in 1947.

⁵ Bogue and Zachariah (1962: 30).

⁶ Bogue (1960).

One of the first comprehensive studies of migration was by Mehrotra.⁷ Apart from the mostly usual results about the characteristics of migrants, the findings on the measurement of migration showed how migration during the decade 1961-71 fell, in terms of the migrant ratios and growth rates, particularly in the urban areas.

Table A-2.1 reveals that there is considerable variation in the proportion of inter-State migrants in the male population among the States of India. **Tables A-2.3** and **A-2.4** show the broad magnitudes of inter-State out-migration for each major State of India. States with a low proportion of migrants in the rural population, greater out-migration from their rural and urban areas, have certain common features. These features are low availability of land per agricultural worker, higher share of net State domestic product originating in the primary sector, low productivity of agriculture and high rate of unemployment.⁸ Apparently it is because of the combination of these factors that many feel that the rural 'push' factor is the explanation for the areas of origin of the migrants.

There has been a decline in the female-male ratio in the highly out-migrating States of India and a particularly heavy decline in Bihar, during 1981-91. There is some speculation that this decline is due to return migration (predominantly of males), supposedly a sign of worsening 'employment problems'.

The most common anxiety in many of the analyses of the level and pattern of rural to urban migration in India has been regarding employment growth. It has been noted that

⁷ Mehrotra (1974).

⁸ Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan are most typical of such states. For a detailed statistical analysis of the trends see my M.Phil. dissertation (1987), Chapters 1 and 2.

only a marginal decline has occurred in the dominance of the primary sector in the occupational structure of the work force, despite a significant decline in its share in the net domestic product of India. The higher growth rates of income and employment in the tertiary sector compared to those in the secondary sector, have been observed since the seventies. It has been interpreted as the failure of the secondary sector to generate additional employment.⁹ The "informal sector", is perceived as absorbing poor rural migrants in low paying, low productivity jobs. Mitra (1980) thought that despite the concentration of investment in a few metropolitan nodes, proliferation of jobs in them is mostly of tertiary sector, low-grade trade and services. Scarcity of land was thought to be "pushing" the migrants out of the rural areas¹⁰ and rural poverty was thought to be "spilling over" into urban areas¹¹. Migration was seen as a process that simply transformed rural poverty into urban poverty. Due to the limited job opportunities in the modern industrial sector, workers were thought to be forced into the tertiary sector, on unfavourable terms. These views are very commonplace in much of the literature on migration in India.¹²

The tempo of urbanisation in India has declined during 1981-91 for the first time since 1961.¹³ We observe that at the all-India level the rate of growth of population living

⁹ For a detailed analysis see Rao (1987).

¹⁰ Hoselitz (1962: 169).

¹¹ "...The character of urban poverty is the consequence of the continuous migration of the rural poor into the urban areas in search of a livelihood, their failure to find adequate means to support themselves there and the resulting growth of pavement and slum life in the cities." Dandekar and Rath (1971: 35). The terms 'adequate means' and 'pavement and slum life' are quite vague for the purposes of empirical testing.

¹² As an example of recent writings of this type, see Arup Mitra (1990).

¹³ GOI, Census of India (1991a: 13).

in rural areas increased slightly from 1.78 per cent during 1971-81 to 1.80 per cent during 1981-91. The urban growth rate has, however, declined from 3.83 per cent to 3.09 per cent.¹⁴ It is being argued that since natural growth has remained more or less the same during the seventies and the eighties¹⁵ and reclassification does not account for it¹⁶, the decline in urban growth is due to a decline in migration.

At State-level, the seventies saw a tapering off of urban growth in the more urbanised States and a sharp increase in urban growth rate in backward States. The sharp dichotomy does not appear to hold so well for the decade 1981-91. Nevertheless, it may be mentioned that most of the major States with a higher proportion of urban population registered lower decennial growth in their urban population, and the ones with relatively lower proportions registered comparatively higher growth rates in their urban population.¹⁷

Talking about the newly-urbanising States, Mohan (1982) has suggested that with the exhaustion of land that can be brought into additional cultivation and with low increases in productivity, the agricultural incomes in these States¹⁸ are not rising and nor can

¹⁴ For details see, *ibid*, p. 51.

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 52.

¹⁶ Although lesser number of places emerging as new towns in 1991 is a factor accounting for the decline in the growth rate of urban population during 1981-91 compared to 1971-81, the 1981-91 urban growth rate is lower than the 1971-81 urban growth rate, even when we count out the effect of reclassification. For details, see GOI Census of India, (1991a) statement 30, p. 54.

¹⁷ See, Census of India 1991 (1991a: 15, 171-361).

¹⁸ The states mentioned in this group are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh (Mohan, 1982: 36).

additional labour be absorbed as in the past. Hence the acceleration of urbanisation seems to be the result of push from rural areas. Because of a low base of existing urban population a small decline in labour demand in rural areas causes a large proportional change in the population in urban areas. Given the large size of these States, the absolute magnitude of urban population is also large (about 55 million in 1981). Mohan argues that unless there is significant productivity change in agriculture in these areas, and one that is labour using, this trend can be expected to be magnified over the next decade. He claims that the combination of demand pull in the richer group of States and push in poorer States would have caused the noted acceleration in urbanisation during the eighties. The author suggests the need for employment generation in urban areas "for the increasing number of people who will tend to be pushed out from the rural areas - either because of immiserisation or because of technological change."

Sub-regional analysis

Mohan has suggested that within these States there are parts which are "pushing" rural population and others which are not.

The sub-regions of these States where growth of population is highest are the ones where there had been heavy public investment in industry and mining or the ones where high agricultural growth took place. It seems likely that in these regions incomes are rising fast, creating a demand for urban goods and services.

In contrast to the relatively dynamic regions mentioned above are the particularly poor and generally stagnant regions such as Northern and Central Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh which are geographically contiguous regions accounting for 100 million people. In these regions the rural population growth is high and a significant proportion of the urban population growth is due to reclassification of many villages as towns. In Eastern Uttar Pradesh medium size towns (all district head quarters) such as Ballia, Gazipur, Azamgarh, Deoria, Basti, Sultanpur have all grown rapidly, while the larger cities of Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Varanasi, and Faizabad are growing slowly. The level of urbanisation is still low in these regions: 6 per cent in Northern Bihar, 10 per cent in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and about 14 per cent in Central Bihar (which is dominated by Patna). The relatively high rates of urbanisation in these areas are accompanied by high rates of rural population growth. Mohan concluded: "It seems fairly clear that whatever urbanisation is taking place here is of the "rural push" variety: the high rural growth also indicates that, were opportunities of urban employment in this region to exist, very high rates of rural-urban migration can be expected."

The 'poverty hypothesis' has been used very widely to interpret rural to urban migration in India. As a matter of fact India has been used as a case of 'over-urbanisation' by Hoselitz. However, the interpretation of the Indian case by this hypothesis through its regional approach based on aggregate data has complemented the statement of research problem in Chapter I of this thesis.

2.2 A departure from the conventional wisdom

Recent studies have challenged this dominant view. For example, Banerjee (1986) tried to see if those who migrated owned more or less land than the average or had different jobs. The amount of land migrants owned before migrating was compared with the land owned by people in the State of origin. This exercise was done for Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The study observed that the propensity to migrate to Delhi of those owning less than half acre was lower than the migration propensity of households owning ten acres or more.

The study found that 26 per cent of the landless migrants in the sample were agricultural and farm labourers before they migrated. The occupations of the landless consisted of professional, clerical workers, traders, artisans and service workers. The study found no evidence in support of the claim that it is the poorest who have the highest propensity to migrate.

The study concluded that with land owners and the farm operators the propensity to migrate first rises and then falls as farm size increases. However, the comparison of the land ownership of the migrants with the land ownership in the State of their origin as a whole implies certain unrealistic assumptions such as the homogeneous quality of land and that the migrants are drawn equally from all parts of the State.

Daniel Buchanan (1966: 295) noted the recruitment efforts of Bombay mill owners and consequent development of the channels that were responsible for the predominance of

migrants from Ratnagiri in Bombay. Nigel Crook (1993: 25-61) has demonstrated the role of industry in selecting and encouraging migrants of specific age, gender and background. He gives several illustrations to show how the diversity in the composition of migrants corresponds with the diversity in industrial structure.

In the theoretical background of the research problem of 'recruitment versus expulsion' (Chapter I) and in its empirical context (Chapter II), the next section discusses why Delhi is the appropriate choice for a case study.

2.3 Choice of Delhi for the case study

The migration data provided by the population Census in India is inter-State. Delhi is the only case where a State is equal to a city. The key justification for the choice of Delhi for a case study, in contrast to other territories, is that virtually all migration into it is inter-State.

There are a few other advantages. To put the issue in the context of India, two thirds of inter-State rural to urban male migrants for employment in Delhi are from the highly out-migrating States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A greater than average proportion of migrants from these two States say they came for employment.¹⁹ The primary survey for this study also corroborates this. A significant proportion of the sample migrants came from Northern and Central Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh which Mohan (1982)

¹⁹ Census of India 1981. *Migration Tables, Delhi*, Table D-3.

characterised as an area of high out-migration of the "push" variety.²⁰ These reasons make Delhi an ideal case to test the hypothesis of 'recruitment versus expulsion' in the Indian context.

²⁰ The details are discussed in Chapter IV, Section 4.1.

CHAPTER III METHOD IN THE SAMPLE SURVEY

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to explain how the data were collected for the case study of Delhi. It describes the assumptions, choices and what was done at different stages of the sample survey of rural migrants in Delhi.

3.1 Why only the squatter settlements?

To test the null hypothesis, that migrants are recruited (not expelled) from rural areas, the migrant was to be the ultimate sampling unit. Due to time and resource constraint, the sample size had to be small. A random sample from the entire population of Delhi would have given the results pertaining to a very heterogeneous population on the basis of which we might not have been able to draw conclusions with confidence. It was decided to restrict the survey to the areas whose population was more likely to be on the left side of the curve of income distribution. The idea was that if the null hypothesis was true for the less well off migrants, it would certainly be true for the better off.

The resettlement colonies¹ and squatter settlements were the two candidates for survey. Misra and Gupta (1981: 42) and Suri (1991: 99) indicate that original residents (allottees) of the resettlement colonies have been selling off allotted plots and houses to better off buyers and, as a consequence, compared to the squatter settlements'

¹ Built during the sixties and the seventies to resettle the squatters. For details see Misra and Gupta (1981).

residents, the resettlement colonies' residents are better off.

There are indicators to suggest that squatter settlements are inhabited by relatively poor population. For example, according to DDA (1983: 61), the majority of the workers (70 per cent) were labourers. Out of the all the labourers 71 per cent were unskilled labourers. About 94 per cent of the respondents in this survey gave "employment factor" (71 per cent) and "economic factor" (23 per cent) as the reason for migration, indicating higher percentage of economic migrants in the squatter settlements.² Likewise, the data on distance between residence and workplace indicate their relative poverty. It was found that 72 per cent of the workers lived within 3 kilometres radius of their work place.³ We can take this information to mean that the areas with high incidence of squatting are the areas of high demand for labour and the squatters are relatively poor.⁴

A survey by the Institute of Socialist Education (1989: 6) found that the female-male ratio of 732:1,000 in the squatter population in Delhi was higher than the same for the general population of Delhi⁵. Since the migration is gender-selective, the higher proportion of males in the squatter population indicates that there is higher proportion of migrants among the squatter population compared to the population of Delhi in general.

² *ibid*, p. 67.

³ *ibid*, p. 69.

⁴ Also see, DDA, Perspective Planning Wing (1986: 9).

⁵ The corresponding figure is 836 females per 1,000 males for Delhi Municipal Corporation (urban) and 809 for New Delhi Municipal Committee. (GOI, Census of India 1991, (1991b: 31)).

And above all, preparing an updated sampling frame was possible in the case of squatter settlements due to the existence of a relatively detailed and recent information on them. The latest list of the squatter settlements and the estimates of the number of *jhuggies* for each of these prepared by the Slum Wing of the DDA were available (DDA, Slum Wing, C.1990). Moreover, availability of recent baseline information⁶ gave a great advantage for the study of the squatter settlements of Delhi.

3.2 The process of sample selection

To make the best use of the information and to ensure a representative sample, a four-stage sampling scheme had to be devised.

Stage I: selecting a part of Delhi

To make the fieldwork more manageable, the sites had to be within a part of Delhi and not spread all over it. We assumed that a part of Delhi with high percentage of migrant households and a high percentage of population living in squatter settlements would be more representative.

The only information on the proportion of migrant households was from a survey conducted in 1968-69.⁷ Any new calculations were not possible due to unavailability

⁶ Institute of Socialist education (1989).

⁷ The survey was carried out by the Demographic Research Centre of the Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi. The focus of the survey was on fertility and family planning (Banerjee, 1986: 12). The proportion of the migrants according to this survey was highest in South Delhi.

of data disaggregated by parts of Delhi.

The percentage of squatter population for different parts of Delhi (**Table A-3.1**) was estimated through adjustments of data from various organisations.⁸ The South Delhi Zone was selected since the percentage of its population living in squatter settlements (and also the proportion of migrant households) is higher compared to other Zones.⁹

Stage II: selecting squatter settlements in South Delhi

A *Socio-economic baseline survey* of 457 *jhuggie jhonpari* clusters (squatter settlements) in Delhi covering all parts of Delhi on the West of the river Yamuna, was conducted during 1988-89.¹⁰ Using information from this survey, an 'index of poverty and recentness of migration' was calculated for the 159 clusters of south Delhi. This index was used to select ten settlements.¹¹

⁸ For details of the method of estimation, see *Appendix A, Section 1*.

⁹ The popular perception that squatter population by area unit (density) is a more appropriate indicator for the purpose of getting to the poor migrant did not stand up to the scrutiny. For details see *Appendix A, Section 2*.

¹⁰ Institute of Socialist Education (1989). Incidentally this baseline information was not available for East Delhi.

¹¹ For details see *Appendix A, Section 3*.

Stage III: selecting Census blocks

The Census blocks¹² of the 1991 population Census provided the latest sampling frame.¹³ A list was made of the 48 Census blocks that cover the ten selected squatter settlements. Five Census blocks were selected by probability-proportionate-to-size, with a random start.¹⁴

Stage IV: selecting the *Criteria migrants* through listing survey

A listing survey of all the heads of households¹⁵ in the selected Census blocks was conducted. At this stage the migrants meeting the following criteria were selected for detailed interviewing:

- (a) The people born in or last resided in the rural areas outside Delhi State boundary;
- (b) Age at arrival in Delhi being 12 years or more (The intention was to exclude non-decision making migrants);

¹² The unit of area with defined boundaries which normally one enumerator covers during population Census is called *Census block*. It normally has between 100 and 200 households. For details of the concept of Census block in the Indian Census, see Census of India (1991) *Delhi: provisional population totals*.

¹³ GOI, Census of India, 1991 (1992).

¹⁴ For details of the selected Census blocks and problem of locating them, see *Appendix, Section 4*.

¹⁵ For the UN definition of household, see Casley and Lury (1987: 162). Persons living in the same *jhuggie* but cooking separately or keeping separate account of the common cooking were treated as household. The questionnaire is given in *Appendix D*.

- (c) Those arriving in 1972 or after¹⁶;
- (d) Those arriving after securing employment or in search of employment (so that only the decision making migrants were chosen and those who came on transfers or as dependents excluded).

The migrants meeting above four criteria are called *criteria migrants* in this thesis. The percentage of *criteria migrants* among the heads of the households of the listing survey was 36 per cent which was higher than 17.5 per cent found in an earlier survey (Banerjee, 1986: 13). Out of the 506 heads of the households interviewed during the listing survey of the first four of the selected five Census blocks, 184 were the kind of migrants who meet the above four conditions. As the target number of 150 *criteria migrants* was over-reached, the listing of the fifth Census block was not necessary. The location of these four Census blocks where sample survey was conducted is shown on **Map 3.1** (provided in the pocket inside the back cover of this thesis).

3.3 The survey

The question posed in terms of recruitment versus expulsion, gives certain relationships to test. For example, the pre-migration economic position and employment status are relevant to see if and how the migrants were deprived in the areas of origin. The knowledge of urban jobs and the presence or absence of channels of recruitment are important areas to explore to see if and how connectivity with urban labour market

¹⁶ Due to the prominence of the 'National Emergency' of 1975-77 in the public memory, it was easy for the respondents to recall the dates near to this point of reference. Moreover, the memory of the migrants of more than 20 years would have been less reliable.

determines migration. For this purpose, the two questionnaires of the sample survey covered a range of variables.¹⁷ The results are discussed in Chapters IV and V.

¹⁷ Questionnaires are given in *Appendix D*. For the report on pre-testing as well as for information on data collection and the demographic profile of the *criteria migrants*, see *Appendix A, sections 5 to 8*.

CHAPTER IV SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF MIGRANTS BEFORE MIGRATION

Introduction

This chapter presents the evidence concerning the pre-migration socio-economic status of the *criteria migrants*.¹ The objective is to examine the role of deprivation in rural to urban migration of labour.

The *poverty hypothesis* that takes area as the basis of studying migration assumes pre-migration socio-economic status by the area of origin. This assumption is examined in Section 4.1 by comparing the migrants from a highly out-migrating region with those from rest of India.

Diverse aspects of the pre-migration social and economic profile of the migrants are examined in Sections 4.2 to 4.6.² Occupational status and employment are discussed in Section 4.2. Section 4.3 considers the migrants who were agriculturists, through ownership or leasing-in of land. Section 4.4 takes up certain socio-economic indicators. This section also considers some of the extra comments by respondents.

¹ The respondents were requested to refer to a period of one year before migration while answering questions regarding their socio-economic status. The migrants who met the criteria of selection are referred as *criteria migrants* throughout this thesis.

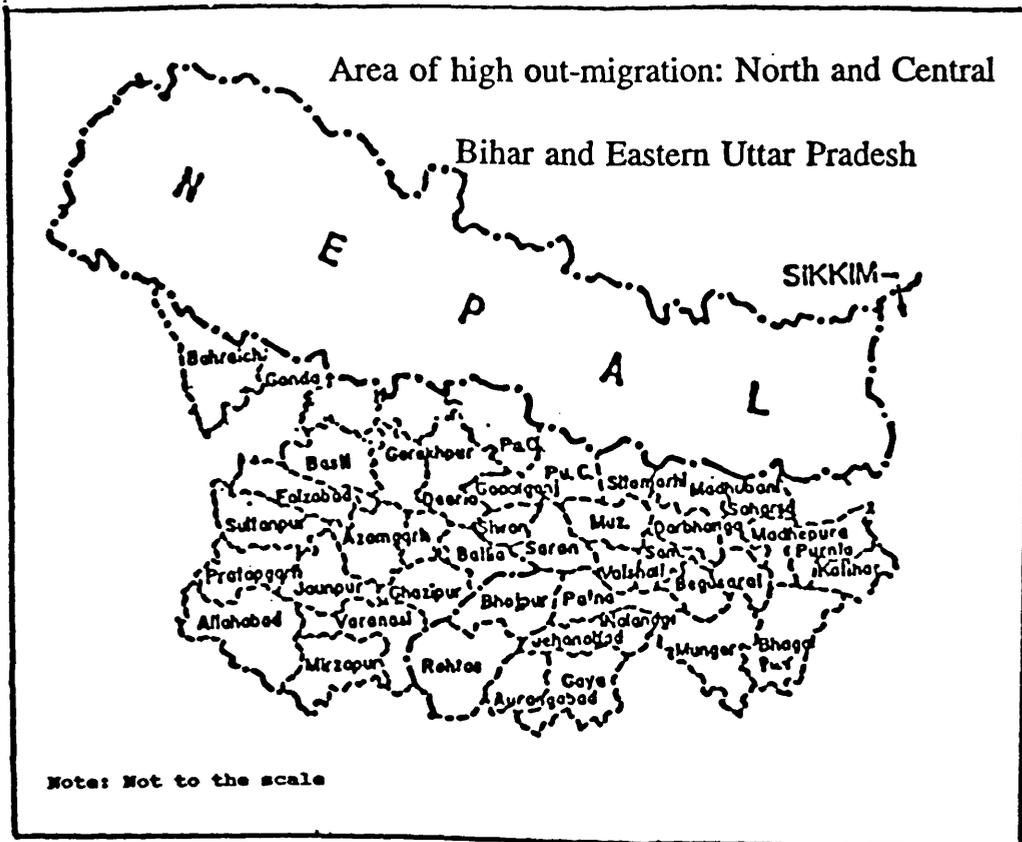
² The significance level of five per cent has been used for all the statistical results discussed in this chapter and Chapter V, unless otherwise stated.

Sections 4.5 and 4.6 are complementary to each other in ascertaining the economic and social position of the migrants vis-a-vis the village social structure. However, the nature of information examined in these two sections is different from each other. Section 4.5 is based on direct questions demanding categorical answers, whereas Section 4.6 depends on more relaxed verbal accounts in response to open-ended questions. The last section summarises the conclusions of the chapter.

4.1 A test on the *area explanation* of migration

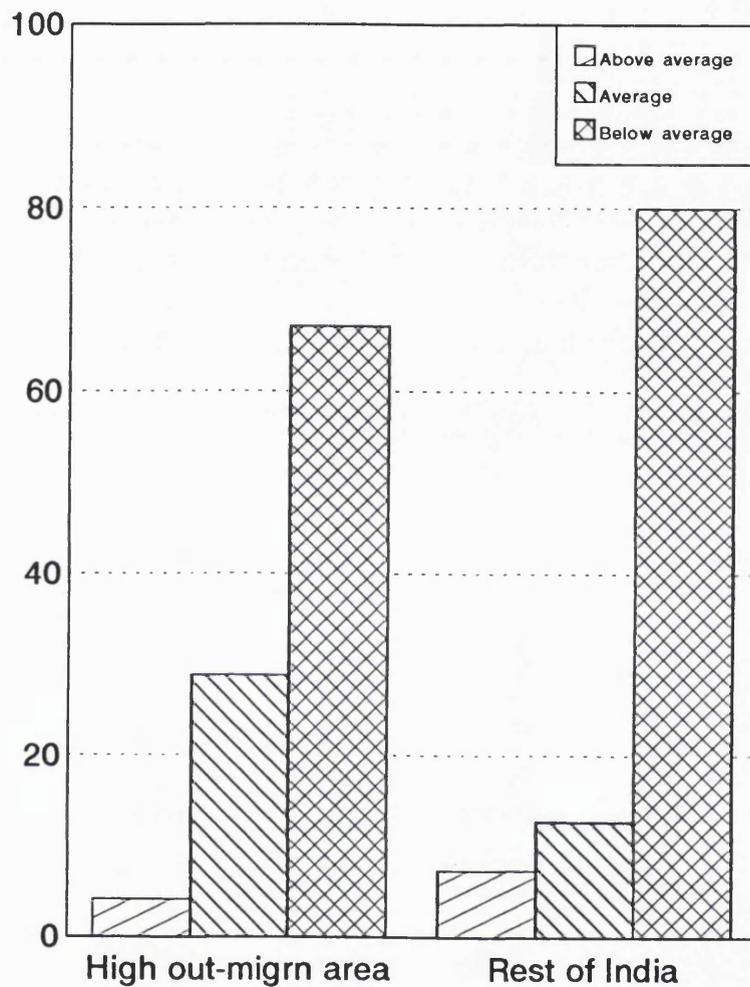
As mentioned in Chapter II, Mohan (1982: 42) identified a contiguous area covering North and Central Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. **Map 4.1** shows the location of this area. Put in the context of the State-level trends, this area is believed to be one of the most out-migrating regions of the "push variety" in India. If causation implied in the *area argument of migration* were true, the greater proportion of the migrants from this region would be from poorer sections of the area of their origin compared to the proportion among those coming from other areas. This section examines the proposition through the use of the present survey results.

Two fifth of the respondents of the present sample survey came from the districts belonging to the above-mentioned region. It is possible to compare the group of migrants who have come from this area with rest of the sample migrants to find out if there exists any significant difference between the two groups regarding their pre-migration economic status. **Figure 4.1** gives the percentage distribution of the migrants by economic status.



Map 4.1

Fig 4.1: Percentage distribution of the migrants by economic status
Migrants from the area of high out-migration and the rest of India



Valid cases used 183; 1 case for which value could not be ascertained is excluded.

The results of chi-square test indicate that, there were significantly larger number of average and fewer below average than expected among the migrants from this particular area compared to those from other parts of India. This classification is based on responses to a categorical question. The detailed discussion of the variable is given in Section 4.5.

The survey results also show that migrants from this area of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh were more likely to be owners of land or animals compared to the rest. They were also more likely to be peasants than wage-earners or artisans and traders. However, they were also more likely to be in debt compared to the rest. For all the other categorical variables for which chi-square could be calculated there was no significant difference between the two regions.

The evidence from the present sample survey suggests that the proportion of poor among the migrants from this particular area of high out-migration was lower than the that among migrants from the rest of India. It contradicts the causation implied in the *area argument of migration* in Chapter II which expected this proportion to be higher.

4.2 Occupational status and employment

This section considers the main and subsidiary occupations that the migrants did before migration (sub-section 4.2.1), the basis of employment in the main occupation (sub-section 4.2.2) and the reason for quitting (sub-section 4.2.3). All those who had some job before migration were asked if and for how long they were unemployed during their last year in the village and a complementary question on the months of employment during that year. The results are discussed in sub-section 4.2.4. The last part of this section considers the group who were non-workers in the year before migration, most of whom were young school boys in their village and started their working life in the city. They were 15 per cent of the sample.

4.2.1 Main jobs before migration

Eighty five per cent of the *criteria migrants* had worked before they came to Delhi. Their occupational history is discussed in the present sub-section. **Table 4.1** shows that the sectoral distribution of pre-migration employment of the respondents was: 69 per cent agriculture, 20 secondary and 11 tertiary. It is similar to the occupational distribution for India.

Table 4.1
Main job of the criteria migrants before migration

Code	Main job	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
1	Agriculture	30.6	30.6
2	Animal husbandry	2.5	33.1
3	Grazing / Cow-keeping	8.9	42.0
4	Share-cropper	3.2	45.2
5	Agricultural worker	24.2	69.4
6	Unskilled construction worker (<i>Beldar</i>)	3.2	72.6
7	Other unskilled construction sector worker	2.5	75.2
8	Factory and mill worker	3.2	78.3
9	Tailor	5.1	83.4
10	Other artisan and craft person	5.7	89.2
11	Shop-keeper / Vendor	3.8	93.0
12	Service worker	5.1	98.1
13	Others	1.9	100.0

		100.0	

(n=157)

The categorisation of main occupations contained in **Table 4.1** is based on the description of occupation by the respondent and may contain an element of overlapping. For example, the person describing himself as being in the occupation of agriculture might not have any land of his/her at all and the survey would have liked to put the people working on others' land in categories like share-cropper and agricultural labourer, depending on the basis on which the person worked. Despite this possible limitation the data are reliable as an effort was made to ascertain whether the respondent was mainly engaged on his/her own land or on others' land.

It was possible to reduce these 13 occupational categories to three classes. **Figure 4.2** shows the distribution. It was found that about 33 per cent were engaged in what may be broadly termed as **peasant occupations** (self-cultivation and animal husbandry) based on their own property. The categories 3, 4 and 5 may be broadly termed as the agricultural workers who worked on the means of production owned by others - they were 36 per cent of the sample. About 6 per cent were engaged as construction workers and 3 per cent in factories and mills. These 9 per cent of the respondents can be termed non-agricultural workers working for others. The category service workers includes a few domestic servants, sweepers, one bullock cart driver and one tea-shop worker. So, 50 per cent can be broadly termed as the *workers* who were mostly employed by others for wages (except share-croppers who received share in produce). The category 'others' includes a labour supervisor and a homeopathic practitioner. The 17 per cent coming under the categories 9, 10, 11 and 13 are artisans, shop-keepers and others - the common element among them which differentiates them from workers was their

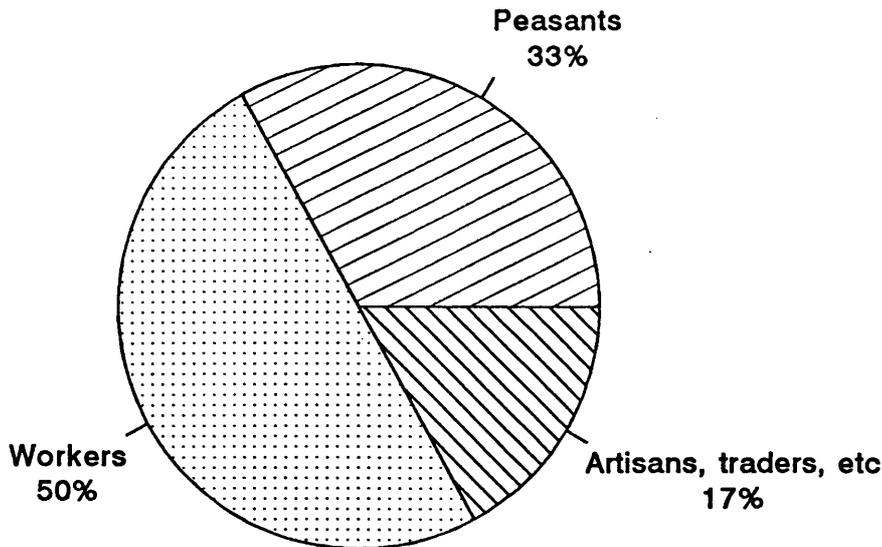


Fig 4.2: Classes by occupation

(n = 157)

entrepreneurship. This category can be called **artisans, traders, etc.** This rather broad classification would be judged in the light of other relevant variables later in this chapter.

Forty per cent of these migrants who were doing some work before migration had one or more subsidiary jobs. The distribution of subsidiary occupations confirms the occupational classification discussed in the preceding paragraphs of this sub-section. Moreover, cross-tabulation shows that even the 'peasants' or the self-employed 'landowners' often have subsidiary occupations as 'wage-workers' and vice-versa. It can be concluded that the migrants were more of the type where they earned part of their living from the labour market rather than being the "independent, self-employed, propertied" type.

4.2.2 Nature of employment

This sub-section considers security of employment. It does so separately for those who were hired and those for whom it was a family business.

Forty seven per cent of the respondents who worked before migration were hired by others. Figure 4.3 gives the details of the basis of employment for these workers.

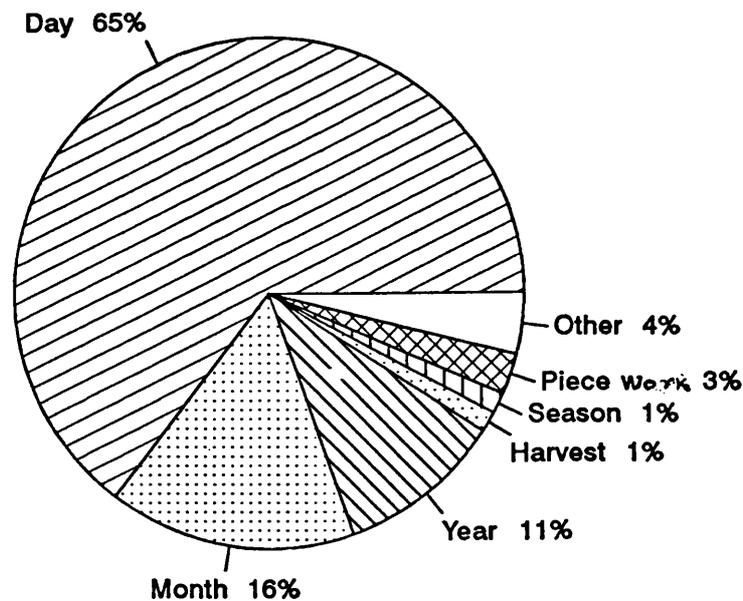


Fig 4.3: Basis of hire in the pre-migration job

(n = 76)

Out of those who were hired, about two thirds were hired on a daily basis. The verbal description of the nature of their jobs by the respondents during the interviews indicates this basis of employment entailed uncertainties and insecurity. Sixteen per cent were hired by the month and 11 per cent by the year. Payment by harvest and season was reported by a very tiny minority. About 3 per cent were paid on piece rates.

Of those who were not hired, a very small proportion (4 per cent) were replaced by someone on their leaving work in the village. In 96 per cent of the cases there was no replacement when they migrated.

4.2.3 Reasons for leaving main job

The preceding sub-section gave the general picture regarding the nature of employment. This sub-section considers the details of why the migrants left their pre-migration jobs.

Table 4.2 presents the reasons for leaving the main occupation before migration. About two third of the respondents seem to relate leaving to the low income and the associated reasons like lack or insufficiency of land and indebtedness.³ The chi-square test result shows that the complaint of low-income (Reason 4) was from all quarters. There was no significant difference between the peasants, the wage-earners or the artisans, traders etc. As expected, the reason - 'no land' - was mentioned by the people describing animal husbandry and agricultural wage work as their main occupation and the reason - 'insufficiency of land' - by those whose main job was agriculture.

³ Reasons 2 to 6.

Table 4.2

Reasons for leaving the pre-migration job

Code	Reason	Percentage of respondents mentioning the reason
1	Have not stopped (Go during the season)	0.6
2	No land	1.3
3	Insufficiency of land	4.5
4	Low income	58.6
5	Paid off debt	00.0
6	To repay debt / was indebted	4.5
7	Unemployment / under-employment	15.9
8	Skill not in demand there	1.3
9	Irregularity / un-punctuality of payment	4.5
10	Trouble with the employer	1.3
11	Poor working conditions	4.5
12	To take another job	0.6
13	Apprenticeship / training over	0.6
14	To learn skill / join training	1.9
15	To set up business	1.3
16	Laid off, no work	1.3
17	Laid off, other reasons	00.0
18	Job completed	00.0
19	Could not continue study	1.9
20	To get married	00.0
21	Got married	0.6
22	Pregnant	00.0
23	Ill health / disability	1.3
24	Others lived here / were coming here	5.7
25	Wanted to move to another area	3.8
26	Family strategy	8.9
27	Family size large	3.8
28	Family social feud	2.5
29	Tragedy / Illness in the family	1.9
30	Caste / social oppression / violence	1.9
31	Natural disasters	7.6
32	Other reasons	3.8

(n = 157)

* Sum does not add up to 100

Sixteen per cent said they left due to unemployment or underemployment.⁴ These were mainly wage workers and about half of them were agricultural workers. The common complaint of tailors that work in the village was only seasonal (during marriage and festival seasons) and irregular - was construed as underemployment and hence included in this figure.

About the same proportion gave reasons which relate to specific aspects and type of job.⁵ So, the irregularity of payment and poor working conditions were mentioned by wage-earners, agricultural workers as well as non-agricultural workers. Apart from low wage (and irregular employment), such reasons also motivate people to move to jobs where at least the timely payment of wages is assured. The completion of training or apprenticeship was mentioned by tailors. The reasons like urge to learn a skill or join training or to set-up business were mentioned by the peasants. This group of reasons seems to reflect in various ways the importance of specific aspects of jobs, such as the development of a particular skill and the knowledge that would be in demand in the urban labour market. This amounts to an inducement to leave for a more promising labour market in urban areas.

The next important group of reasons was relating to the family, indicating the importance of the family in decisions.⁶ The family strategy (Reason 26) was particularly associated with peasants. Caste oppression as a reason for quitting the job was

⁴ Reason 7.

⁵ Reasons 8 to 15.

⁶ Reasons 26 to 29.

mentioned by only three respondents, all of whom were working in the agricultural sector (one land-owner, one share-cropper and an agricultural worker).

The presence or arrival of known people to the city and the desire of the respondents to move to city were mentioned by one in ten.⁷ This indicates the importance of the channels of recruitment in moving out of earlier jobs.

Natural disasters were mentioned by about 1 in 15. As expected people who mentioned this reason were peasants (two third) or agricultural labourers (one third).

It emerges that the main reasons for leaving the pre-migration jobs were **low income, lack of regular employment, incompatibility of skills and jobs in the rural set-up and family reasons.**

4.2.4 Level of employment and unemployment

Lack of employment has been considered an important factor in almost all migration models. The present sub-section discusses the situation faced by the sample migrants in this regard.

Figure 4.4 shows that three out of every four respondents said they were unemployed or underemployed for some time in the year before migration. 68 per cent said they

⁷ Reasons 24 and 25.

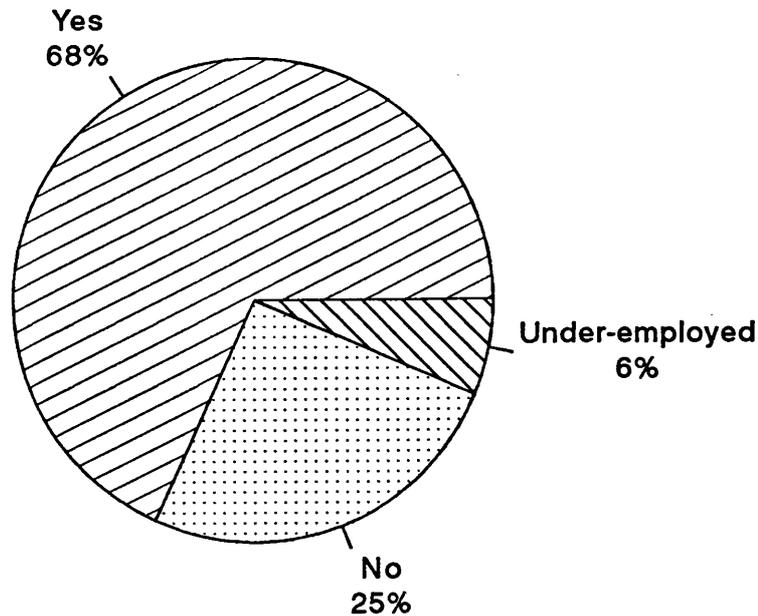


Fig 4.4: Unemployed for any time before migration ?

(n = 157).

were unemployed and 6 per cent said they were underemployed for some time during 12 months before migration.

The period of unemployment varied a lot. It ranged between 3 days (the shortest) and 11 months (the greatest) in the year. The median was 90 days and the third quarter were unemployed for period between 90 and 180 days. The mode was 6 months.

As for those describing themselves as being underemployed before migration, the typical period of underemployment was one year.

On average, the respondents had 6 months of employment during the period of twelve months before migration. The arithmetic mean was 6.7 months (standard deviation =

3.2) and median 6 months. In fact a quarter of the respondents had less than 4 months of employment in the year.

Official statistical data indicate that men belonging to the rural labour households got an average 242, 283 and 193 days of annual employment during 1974-75, 1977-78 and 1983 respectively.⁸ Almost all of our respondents were males who came between 1972 and 1992. We find that with six months of employment in a year, our respondents had less employment than the All India norm.

Table 4.3

Months of employment in year before migration

Months of Employment	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Frequency
Up to 2.00	7.5	7.5
2.01 to 4.00	20.3	27.8
4.01 to 6.00	30.1	57.9
6.01 to 8.00	14.3	72.2
8.01 to 10.00	12.0	84.2
10.01 to 12.00	15.8	100.0

	100.0	

Valid Cases 133 Missing Cases 24

The distribution in **Table 4.3** is positively skewed. It is clear from this table and **Figure 4.5**, only 3 in 10 had employment for more than 8 months.

⁸ GOI, Ministry of Labour and Employment (1991: 199).

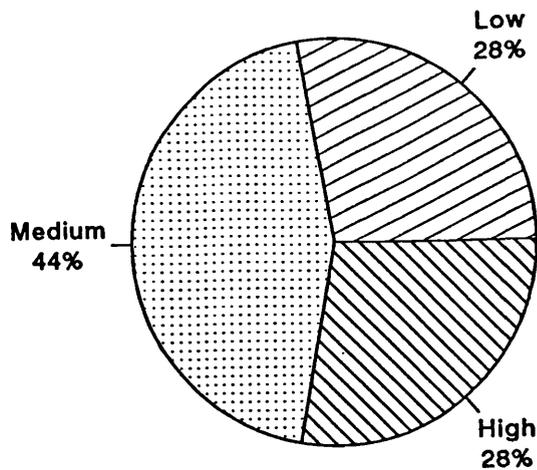


Fig 4.5: Levels of employment

The period of employment could not be ascertained for 24 respondents; Number of valid cases= 133.
 Low: Up to 4 months; Medium: 4.01 to 8 months; High: 8.01 to 12 months

The data quality is satisfactory as the information on periods of unemployment and employment compliments each other. It was not possible to test the significance of difference of the period of employment by each individual job. However, it was possible to find out Chi-square for both the *period of employment* and *period of unemployment* with *main occupation before migration*, using a three - category classification for each of these three variables. **The results show there is no significant difference in the period of employment (or unemployment) among the peasants, the wage-earners and the artisans and the craftsman.**

4.2.5 Non-workers during the year before migration

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, 15 per cent of the respondents of the present sample survey did not work in the year before migration. The t-test results indicate that those not working before migration were on an average significantly younger both at the time of migration and at the time of interview, and better educated compared to those who were working before migration. This matches with the fact that the non-workers before migration were mostly attending school and four fifths of these 20 migrants were the people who had never worked ,i.e. they were new entrants to the workforce. As the details of income from various sources were recorded only for those from agricultural families, it can be said that from among the agriculturists, the non-workers tended to have, on an average, a higher proportion of their income from *naukari* (service), a regular income by some member of the family. **The conclusion from these facts is that these were the better off villagers.**

One fifth of these 20 non-workers in the year before migration were old entrants in the workforce. The period of unemployment was 12 months on average. Looking at the nature of the jobs of these "old entrants", it can be said that unemployment has been cited by those whose job involved a higher level of skill compared to the village social structure. All four were pursuing different occupations - one was a grocer, one sweeper, one apprentice working in electricity line erection and one was in the Central Industrial Security Force.

4.3 Assessment of economic position in the agricultural context

4.3.1 Operational holdings

The object of this section is to compare the operational holdings of our respondents with the data from the All India agricultural Census conducted during 1980-81.

Table 4.4 gives the percentage distribution of operational landholding by size-groups and by tenurial status.⁹ It shows that most of our respondents came from households which were marginal, small or semi-medium land operators. However, this proportion of *marginal holdings* is lower and the proportion of *small holdings* and *semi-medium holdings* higher compared to the norm (the weighted average based on 1980-81 Agricultural Census). Thus, it appears that the propensity to migrate is greater not among the lowest stratum (*marginal holdings*) but the strata just above the lowest (*small and semi-medium holdings*). People from *small landholdings* are approximately twice as likely to migrate as those from the category *marginal holdings*. The propensity to migrate of *semi-medium landholders* is 1.72 that of the *marginal landholders*.

Considering tenurial status, some additional observations can be made. Landholdings of the *marginal* group were more from *wholly owned and self-operated* type than the norm. Those from *small* group are particularly *wholly leased-in* type and those from *semi-*

⁹ Since the Agricultural Census of India gives data by operational holdings, the information on ownership holdings and leasing-in for the sample migrants has been used here. A discussion in terms of ownership distribution is given in *appendix B*.

Table 4.4
Percentage distribution of operational holdings by tenurial status and size groups

Category of holdings and size group (in acres)	All holdings		Wholly owned and self-operated		Partly owned and partly leased-in		Wholly leased-in	
	AIRAC	SS	AIRAC	SS	AIRAC	SS	AIRAC	SS
Marginal (up to 2.47)	67.3	56.6	56.4	68.5	50.8	39.4	65.4	54.5
Small (2.48 to 4.94)	15.5	25.7	18.0	20.4	22.6	27.3	18.1	36.4
Semi-medium (4.95 to 9.88)	10.2	14.7	14.0	9.3	14.9	27.3	10.9	9.1
Medium (9.89 to 24.70)	5.5	1.8	9.1	-	9.0	6.1	5.0	-
Large (24.71 and over)	1.4	0.9	2.4	1.9	2.3	-	0.6	-

Source: 1 All India Report on Agricultural Census 1980-81 (1987: 191) for *all holdings*, the weights assigned to the States in proportion to the migrants from them.
2 All India Report on Agricultural Census 1980-81 (1987: 23) for the rest - for data by tenurial status.
3 The sample survey.

Note: 1 The number of all operational holdings in the sample survey was 109.
[The disaggregation by tenurial status is follows: *wholly owned and self-operated* (54), *partly owned and partly leased-in* (33) and *wholly leased-in* (22)].
2 AIRAC: All India Report on Agricultural Census; SS: Sample survey.

medium group more *partly owned and partly leased-in* type. So, our typical agriculturist respondent came from household with small holdings who had a part of it leased-in from others.

Table 4.5 shows that in each size-category, the extent of irrigation is higher compared to the All India norm.

Table 4.5

Percentage of irrigated land in different size groups

Category of holdings and size group (in acres)	AIRAC	SS	Sample n
Marginal (up to 2.47)	40.2	68.4	62
Small (2.48 to 4.94)	32.7	64.1	28
Semi-medium (4.95 to 9.88)	29.3	53.5	16
Medium (9.89 to 24.70)	24.2	35.7	2
Large (24.71 and over)	16.3	100.0	1
All	26.9	62.7	109

Source: 1 GOI, Ministry of Agriculture (1987: 39).

2 The sample survey.

Note: 1 The percentage of land irrigated in any size-group is arrived by dividing the sum total of irrigated land of the operators in that category of operational holdings by the total land in the category.

2 **AIRAC:** All India Report on Agricultural Census;
SS: Sample survey.

4.3.2 Income levels of the agriculturists

One of the ways to have a broad idea of the livelihood of people engaged in agriculture is through the number of crops they grow and the marketable surplus from their agricultural output. The present sub-section starts with these concerns. It is very common among agricultural communities to measure the well-being of families by the months of food supply for the household which they manage to have from their own harvests. The present study found that this measure has good association with other measures of socio-economic status. The second half of the sub-section discusses the results according to this measure and tries to assess difficulties of those who did not have food output enough to last year around.

Figure 4.6 gives the distribution of agriculturists (respondents who owned land or lease-in land) by the number of harvests taken in the year before migration. The majority (two in three) of such respondents reaped two harvests in the year before migration, 25 per cent took one harvest, 7 per cent had three and 3 per cent had none.

The survey results show that most of the people involved in agriculture, did not produce for the market. Only 15.6 per cent of them sold any agricultural produce in the year before migration. **Figure 4.7** gives the distribution of migrants by the proportion of agricultural output sold. It was found that out of the tiny minority of agriculturists who sold any agricultural output during the year before migration, 65 per cent sold less than half of their agricultural output. Those selling more than half were very few.

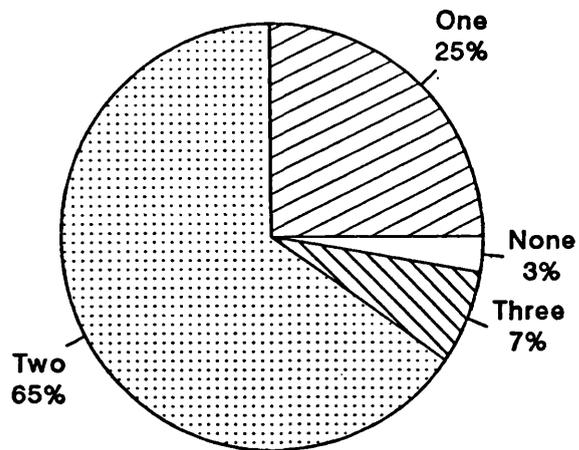


Fig 4.6: Number of harvests in the year before migration

(n = 112).

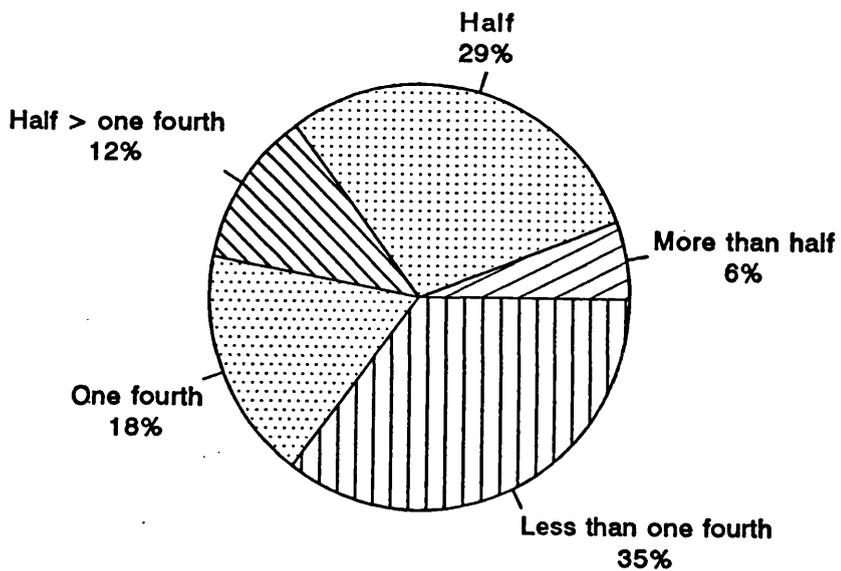


Fig 4.7: Proportion of agricultural output sold

(n = 17).

Food output and requirement

The question of how many months the harvest lasted for a family's food requirements was asked of all those who cultivated any land (owned or leased-in). **Table 4.6** gives the distribution. It shows that two third of the respondents involved in agriculture had grain from the own harvest to last for up to 6 months only. For one third it was between 6 months and 12 months. Hardly anyone had enough to last more than 12 months.

Table 4.6
Months of food from own harvest

Months	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
0.00 to 3.00	19.6	19.6
3.01 to 6.00	46.4	66.1
6.01 to 9.00	8.0	74.1
9.01 to 12.00	25.0	99.1
12.00 to 18.00	0.9	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 112 Missing cases 0

For 77 per cent of the respondents, the food from their own harvest lasted for less than 12 months. Each of the migrants reporting less than 12 months was asked the question how difficult it was to meet his or her family's food requirements in the off-season. The results are given in **Figure 4.8**.

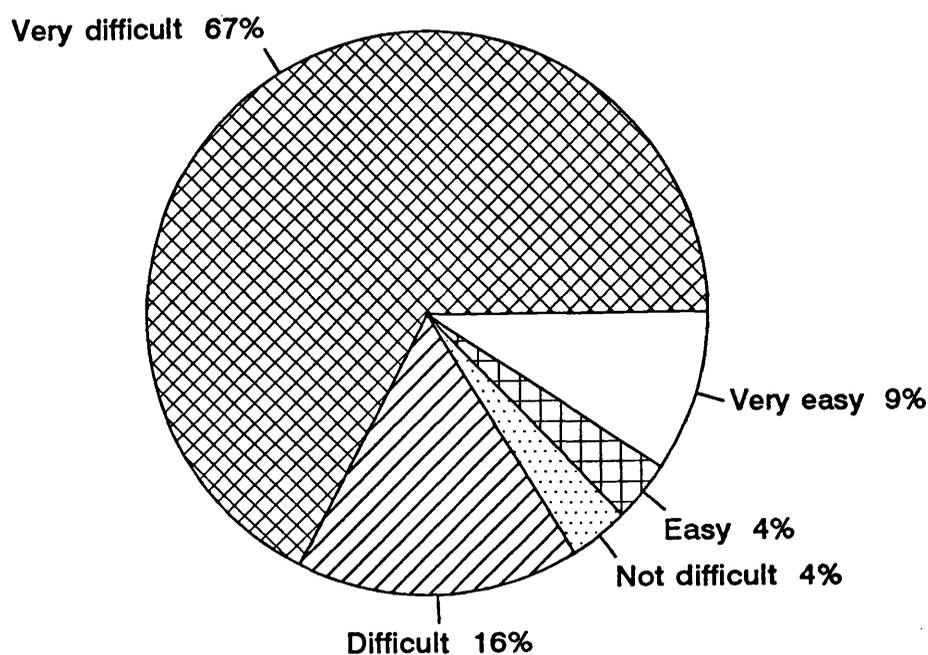


Fig 4.8: Fulfilling food requirements in off-season

(n = 86).

It was discovered that four in five found it difficult to meet food requirements. Actually, the two thirds found it very difficult. The survey also tried to find out how many of those reporting difficulty in fulfilling food requirements had to borrow as a result. The results indicate that most of them (93 per cent) had to borrow because of such difficulties.

The conclusion is that 77 per cent of the cultivators' harvest did not last year round, 62 per cent had difficulty in meeting their food requirements and 57 per

cent borrowed as a result. Official statistical data show that roughly 51.5 per cent of rural labour households were in debt at different points during the period 1974-75 and 1987-88, the latest point for which the Rural Labour Inquiry data are available.¹⁰

Our respondents appear to be more indebted than the norm for rural labour.

4.3.3 Diversity of the sources of income of the agriculturists

The traditional description of rural as synonym of agriculture needs re-examination. The present survey results reveal that 61 per cent (112 of the 184) of the migrants were involved in agriculture when they were in the countryside before migration to Delhi. It might be interesting to find out the extent of dependence of these migrants on agriculture for their income. **Table 4.7** gives the distribution of such respondents by the percentage of income from different sources.

For only 15 per cent, dependence on their own land was nearly total. The leasing-in was responsible for between a quarter and a half of the income for about a quarter of the respondents. The situation was similar regarding income from work as a labourer. Eight per cent of the respondents mentioned loans as a means of meeting the expenditure in the year before migration. **Table 4.7** gives an idea how diverse the sources can be for income of those who apparently depend on agriculture.

¹⁰ Average for years 1974-75, 1977-78 and 1987-88. See, GOI, Ministry of Labour and Employment (1991: 200).

Table 4.7

Percentage distribution of respondents by the percentage of income from different sources

	% of income	0	1-30	31-60	61-90	91-100	Total
	Sources of income						
1	Cultivation of own land	21.6	14.4	28.8	19.8	15.3	100
2	Leasing-out	92.8	2.7	4.5	0	0	100
3	Leasing-in	60.4	17.1	18.9	1.8	1.8	100
4	Animal husbandry	93.7	3.6	0	2.7	0	100
5	Grazing / cow-keeping	97.3	0.9	1.8	0	0	100
6	work as labourer	60.9	10.9	24.5	2.7	0.9	100
7	Tailoring	96.4	1.8	.9	.9	0	100
8	Other artisanship / craftsmanship	95.5	0	2.7	1.8	0	100
9	Shop-keeping / vending	92.8	4.5	.9	.9	.9	100
10	Service (<i>Naukari</i>)	94.6	1.8	2.7	.9	0	100
11	Mortgaged/ sold property	97.3	.9	.9	.9	0	100
12	Loans	91.0	1.8	5.4	1.8	0	100
13	Other source (s)	94.6	2.7	1.8	.9	0	100

Valid Cases 111 Missing Cases 1

Some of the sources of income are marked by exclusiveness. The higher the income from these sources, the less involvement in other sources of income. This tendency of exclusiveness is reflected in the negativity of correlation of sources with each other. In fact, three sources tend to be more exclusive than others. The share of income from cultivation of own land, animal husbandry and tailoring each tended to have negative

relation with all sources of income individually. This means that the more any person had a stake in any one of these sources, the more he would tend to be dependent on that source and have less to do with any other source of income. Only leasing-out and shop-keeping/vending had a significant positive correlation with each other. This corroborates the related discussion in *Appendix B*.¹¹ The shop-keepers also tend to have income from mortgage or sale of property, apart from the significant relationship of their income with leasing-out. This means that the income of shop-keeper was most diverse.

The share of income from the cultivation of one's own land has a significant negative correlation with the share of income from leasing-in and the work as labourers separately. This means those with less income from their own land tended to get involved in leasing-in and work as labourers. As already discussed, the incidence of leasing-in was high. Leasing-in has a significant negative correlation with cultivation of one's own land and a non-significant but positive relation with grazing / cow-keeping and work as labourer. This means those who leased-in are either landless or own smaller amount of land and tend to work as keepers of others' cattle or as labourers.

Thus it emerges that those who are apparently agriculturists tend to have a diversity of sources from which they earn their livelihood. The correlation results indicate that exclusiveness would develop as a higher share of income comes from sources like cultivation of one's own land, animal husbandry and tailoring. But as the labour migrants were not big operators of land, their income was quite diverse. The image of the rural as a synonym for agricultural occupations is based on the observation of

¹¹ See, *Appendix B, Section 2*.

substantial operators of land. In reality, most of our respondents are not such and they earned their livelihood from different sources. These results corroborate the profile of our agriculturist respondents discussed in section 4.3.1.

4.4 Socio-economic indicators of status

This section tries to assess the status of the migrants in terms of some commonly used indicators of socio-economic status in villages.

4.4.1 Ownership of livestock

The present survey results show that more than two thirds of the respondents owned animals. It might be more interesting to see what were the type of animals they had. **Table 4.8** gives the percentage distribution of respondents by the number of big animals and small animals separately. On an average, the respondents had 2 big animals.

Fifty eight per cent had no small animals. There is a high variation among those who had any. The animals put in the category of big animals are cows, bullocks, buffalos and horses. The animals put in the category of small animals are sheep, goats and pigs.¹²

¹² About 12 per cent had young big animals. It shows that one out of ten had some milch animal. One in thirteen respondents had one or more number of birds.

Table 4.8**Percentage distribution of respondents by number of animals owned**

Number of animals	Big animals	Small animals
No animals	13.6	58.3
1 to 2	39.4	11.4
3 to 4	34.1	13.6
5 to 6	8.3	4.5
7 to 8	3.0	3.8
9 to 10	-	3.0
11 and over	1.5	5.3
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

Valid cases 132 Missing cases 0

We found that two fifths of the owners of livestock sold some livestock or their products in that year. Unfortunately, the comparison of the livestock figures with the Livestock Census data is not possible due to differences in coverage and the wide variation by area in species and types of animals.

4.4.2 The use of electricity as an indicator

Three fifths of the respondents came from places where an electricity connection was not available and hence the question was inapplicable. Amongst the respondents whose villages had electricity and to whom the question was applicable (two fifths of all respondents) only one in eight had an electricity connection. Hence, the question of

whether they had any electric gadgets applied to only those who had an electricity connection (10 respondents). The results indicate that the ownership of electric gadgets was very low. Three people owned one fan each, and one person each owned two fans, one television and a water-heater.

4.4.3 Ownership of durable items

A list of durable items was read out to the respondents and they were asked to say if they had any of these items. If the response was affirmative for any particular item, then they were asked to state the numbers of that item. We report the results in **Table 4.9**.

A pair of bullocks and a bicycle were the assets which more people held compared to other items. Two fifths of the respondents possessed a pair of bullocks. The same proportion owned a bicycle. Wells and bullock-carts were the next important assets. None of the respondents had items like tractors, scooters, motor cycles or three-wheelers.

The correlation results indicate that the number of bullocks or bicycles owned are the best indicators of status compared to other items. People with these items do significantly better with respect to other variables of socio-economic status. For example, they have more years of schooling, tend to come to Delhi at a higher age and live in Delhi for shorter periods compared to those without these items.

Table 4.9**Percentage distribution of the respondents by ownership of certain durable items**

Number Item	0	1	2	3 and more	Total per-cent
water-engine	91.8	7.8	0.5	0	100
Well	81.0	13.6	4.9	0.5	100
Drinking water well	97.8	2.2	0	0	100
Horse	97.3	2.7	0	0	100
Bullock	58.7	6.5	31.5	3.2	100
Bullock-cart	87.0	12.5	0.5	0	100
Cycle	58.7	38.0	1.6	1.6	100
Radio	82.6	16.3	1.1	0	100

(n = 184)

The conclusion from the exercise is that about 2 in 5 who had these assets were a better off group compared to the rest of the sample migrants. The latter group had greater tendency to come to Delhi at a lower age and stay longer in the city.

4.4.4 Socio-cultural and educational indicators

This sub-section considers two variables: elements of literacy in the family and whether the respondents sent their children to school. According to the chi-square test results, these two variables have significant association with membership of a representative body like the *panchayat*, one of the most important indicators of social status. In addition, this sub-section considers some extra information received during the question on child education.

About 56 per cent of our respondents were literate which is higher than the norm of 50 per cent.¹³ Two thirds of all the migrants reported at least one literate in their respective families. Of the families with at least one literate member, 2.5 per cent received a daily newspaper and about 6 per cent a magazine.

Of the respondents who had a child of school-going age in their family, two thirds were sending their children to school. About 88 per cent of the respondents said the children had books.

It appears that about three fourths of these extra comments indicate poor economic position [Poor economic condition (10 respondents); children had to work due to economic problems (5 respondents)] as the reason for not sending children to school. Other reasons mentioned were: the practice of untouchability - the children belonging to their caste were made to sit at a distance and made to feel discriminated (3 persons), lack of motivation in the children (3 persons) and that girl children were not sent to school (1 person).

4.5 Migrants' economic and social position

The goal of this section is to examine the economic and social position of the migrants' families in the countryside before they came to Delhi relative to village social structure. It does so through a discussion around three categorical variables. They are the

¹³ National Institute of Adult Education (1992: 5). This figure is the percentage of literates among rural male population.

following: being in debt or not, livelihood compared to other families in the village and membership of a representative body.

4.5.1 Livelihood categories

In the present sample survey 3 in 5 migrants said their families were in debt. As mentioned earlier (section 4.3.4) the Rural Labour Inquiry average for rural labour is 52 per cent. Of those who were not in debt, only 1 in 10 lent money. Others neither borrowed nor lent.

The respondents were asked to rate their family's economic position in relation to other families in the village. **Figure 4.9** presents the results.

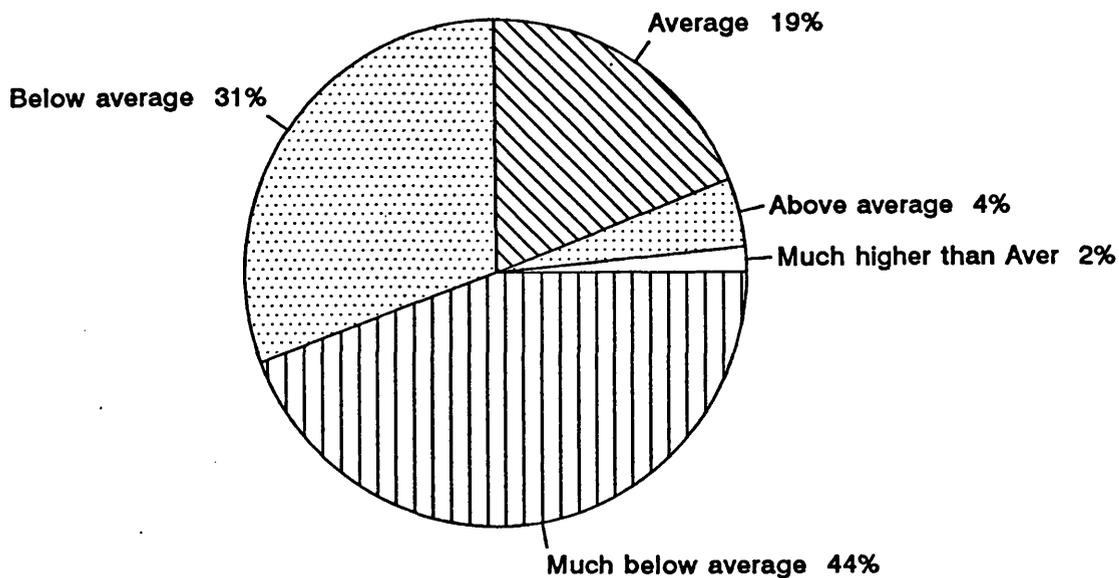


Fig 4.9: Livelihood compared to others

This figure is based on 183 cases. One missing case is excluded.

Only a quarter ranked livelihood of their families as average or higher compared to other families in the village. Most of them (75 per cent) called themselves below average. However, the majority did not belong to the lowest stratum.

The chi-square test results reveal that this variable has significant association with important indicators of economic and social position, such as membership of elected body like Panchayat, indebted or not, ownership of land and grain from harvest year around. So, this can be taken as a more reliable indicator of economic position of the migrants' families before migration. A discussion of some important results of the chi-square of this variable with others can be useful.

It is found that by and large the ability to read, the ability to write, whether he or she went to school or not, and the ownership of animals were not significantly different for the three-category classification of the families' economic position (*above average, average, below average*). However, the ownership of land had significant association with families' economic status. The landless were more likely to describe their families' economic status as below average.

The results, though not significant, indicate that relatively speaking, *workers* were more likely to be below average and *peasants* more likely to be average or above average compared to other families in the village.

Regarding those who were 'agriculturists' - through ownership or leasing-in of land - the fact whether a family had food from its own harvest to last the year round or not

turned out to be significantly associated with the status of the families. Moreover, below average status families were less likely to employ any labour in their agriculture.

There are some chi-square results which, despite having some 'expected frequency' problems, enable a discussion of some important trends. The migrants from below average families were more likely to have their first jobs at the urban destination in construction and service sectors, those from average families were more likely to be in the garment factories and those from above average families were more likely to be in the non-garment sector factories. The migrants coming from average and above average families would be less likely to prefer to live in the village for the same income or prefer doing in village a job similar to their first urban job.

4.5.2 Status categories

One in five respondents reported that someone from the family was a member of a representative body like a village panchayat.

This indicator of social position turns out to be very important. According to the chi-square results, the families with a member in a representative body are more likely to be economically better off, have a literate in the family, and the migrants from such families are more likely to be educated.

Taking the membership of an elected body as an indicator of the social status of the family in the village, it can be said that the peasants were likely to command greater

status in the village life than those working for wages.

Though with the 'expected frequency' problem, the chi-square test results indicate that this variable does not have any significant difference regarding the sector of first job in Delhi or the preference to live for the same income or do a similar job in the village. **In this regard economic condition (as discussed in terms of the livelihood categories in the previous sub-section) seems to matter more than social status.**

4.6 Qualitative analysis of the socio-economic position

The chapter has so far considered information which was quantifiable. This section presents the gist of information from the open-ended questions relevant to the study of the socio-economic position of the migrants before migration. The first and second sub-sections are based on the verbal accounts of the migrants in response to the open-ended questions on family's economic position and father's status in the village, respectively.

4.6.1 Description of economic position of the family

The respondents were asked to describe the pre-migration economic position of their families. One key adjective or phrase from each migrant's description was identified. Economic position of the families was classified in five groups according to these key phrases.¹⁴ The distribution is given in **Figure 4.10**.

¹⁴ The words or phrases were classified as follows:

Good economic position: good, quite good.

Average economic position: just alright, alright, all right, not very good, not particularly good, so-so, average,

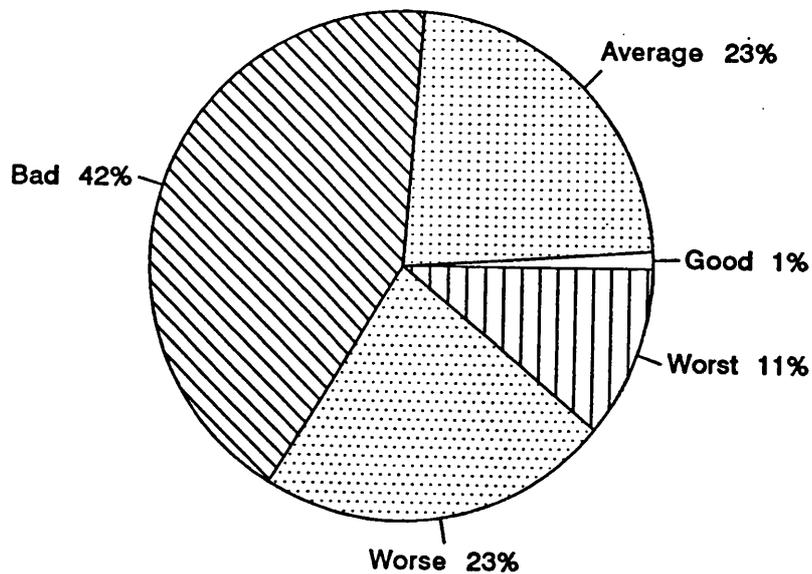


Fig 4.10: Classification of families by economic position

This figure is based on 184 cases.

The details in the reply indicate why they termed themselves as they did. The distribution according to this classification matches with the classification according to livelihood categories which is discussed in sub-section 4.5.1. The socio-economic position of the migrants as reflected by the quantitative information presented earlier is corroborated by the analysis in this sub-section.

normal, keeping the pot boiling, just able to subsist.

Bad economic position: Poor, poverty, difficult \ difficulty, bad, bad and useless, weak, quite weak, not alright, miserable, miserable only, down-graded, downgrade, bit low, not good, not so good, trouble, bit deteriorated, deteriorated, in a lot of mess, bit spoilt, spoilt, were not able to subsist.

Worse economic position: very poor, a lot of poverty, very bad, utterly bad, extremely bad, critical, very weak, very miserable, very downgrade, serious, very defeating, a lot of trouble, great trouble, pitiable, distressed, distressful, ragged, shattered, indebted.

Worst economic position: utter poverty, extreme poverty, worst, very critical, very much critical, helplessness, great helplessness, extremely miserable, completely miserable, absolutely miserable, very serious, very distressful, very ragged, very depressed.

4.6.2 Father's status

Due to the open-ended nature of the question,¹⁵ the responses tended to follow a very open form. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a few observations. Firstly, one in nine of the respondents reported that their father died too early for them to remember or say much about him. Keeping out such cases and those who said they did not know about it, broadly the number of affirmative responses to this question turned out to be slightly higher than the number of negative responses (82 and 80 respectively). However, the figure of positive responses is an over-estimate, partly due to the cultural-linguistic context of the fieldwork and status consciousness ("the ego factor") but to a large extent due to the fact that the group with high mortality of fathers is excluded. This group is more likely to be similar to those giving negative responses, on the premise that mortality and poverty statistically have a positive relation.

The reasons given by the respondents for people consulting their fathers were related to agricultural work, social relations, economic problems and official (i.e. governmental) matters. There was also the mention of **the importance of skills and the knowledge of the urban labour market**. A few respondents said people respected and listened to their fathers either because they were artisans of woodwork, barbers or because their fathers knew about the urban labour market, for example through the latter's stay in cities such as Delhi or Bangalore.

¹⁵ The question was: Did people turn to your father for advice?

The equivalent word for advice in Hindi (the main language of interviewing in the present sample survey) has some scope for vagueness. The word 'Raya' can mean advice, as well as, opinion. Hence some of the people giving affirmative responses may mean people took their fathers' opinion. This is a limitation on the use of this question as indicator of pre-migration socio-economic position.

For those who said others did not consult their fathers, the main reasons mentioned were poverty, weak economic position, landlessness, old age or being junior in age and the arrogance of the better off.

If a substantial number of those who said their fathers died early deaths is added to this group and one does not expect people to be very talkative about a downgraded position in the society, it is reasonable to conclude that the number in the group with low status by this indicator would be greater than those with high status.

The evidence in the present sub-section is in line with the conclusions in this chapter so far in that our typical respondent was from below average but not the lowest strata.

Conclusions

The evidence examined in this chapter shows that majority of our respondents were of below average (not the lowest) economic and social status in the countryside before migration to Delhi.

In occupational terms, the majority of them were labourers. Most of those hired for wages were hired on a daily basis. The main reasons for leaving the pre-migration jobs were low income, lack of regular employment, incompatibility of skills and jobs in the rural set-up and family reasons. The days of employment in the year before migration was below the norm. The literacy amongst our respondents was higher than the rural

norm.

Of our respondents who were involved in agriculture, the proportion of *marginal holdings* was lower and the proportion of *small holdings* and *semi-medium holdings* higher compared to the norm. From this, it appears that the propensity to migrate is greatest not among the lowest stratum (*marginal holdings*) but the strata just above the lowest (*small and semi-medium holdings*). Our typical agriculturist respondent came from household with small holding and had a part of it leased-in from others. Slightly higher proportion of our respondents were in debt than the rural norm.

The qualitative analysis also corroborates that majority of our respondents were not from the lowest, but from just *below average* or the *average* strata. The present chapter has discovered that this majority group of economically deprived would rather work and stay in the village if they had similar income and would not care for the social shame of doing any work in the village. When the opportunity of work arose in the urban areas and they learnt of it, they were sufficiently ready to move. However, a small group of the relatively better off migrants would rather not go to the village and would not do in the village the work they do in the urban areas are the ones who had a relatively higher level of living in rural areas compared to other families and would not go back to the village. This is a group which were deprived socially and culturally rather than economically.

The correlation results corroborate the above point in relation to status and migration. The better off (the number of bullocks and bicycles come out to be important indicators

of better off status) tend to stay for shorter duration in the city and the less better off for a longer period. Those coming at a younger age tend to stay longer. The better off tend to be more educated and have less children.

It also appears that the people with the means of production like bullocks and wells tend to get employment in the village before migration and these are the people who stay for shorter periods compared to the worse off. They may be target migrants, coming to earn a certain target of money during off-season rather than coming to stay for a longer time period, unlike those without these means.

Despite some evidence that relative deprivation in the areas of origin makes people ready to leave, what needs to be explained is why a much larger number of people of similar status and circumstances in rural areas do not leave. Deprivation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for migration to take place. The presence in rural areas of a mass of labour in poor conditions who can expect higher earnings in urban areas through their skills is no guarantee that migration would take place. Nor is the demand for labour a guarantee in itself. The demand for labour gets related to the sending areas through the "culture of migration" - the channels of recruitment that bring this mass. These channels of migration - how a special group of migrants gets into special jobs - is the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V CHANNELS OF INFORMATION, JOB EXPECTATION AND THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION

Introduction

We suggested in Chapter IV that the existence of a mass of people in the countryside who are objectively ready to move out (the **necessary condition**) is met by the demand for labour in urban areas (the **sufficient condition** of migration). The main objective of the present chapter is to examine the role of the channels of recruitment and to find out the mechanisms of migration that connect these conditions.

Section 5.1 considers the pre-migration contacts of the migrants with the urban labour market through visits, acquaintances and the flow of information and advice from them. Section 5.2 discusses whether migrants knew of job vacancies before migration and what was their assessment of the chances to get work in Delhi. Section 5.3 examines the role of the family in the migration decision. Section 5.4 considers how the migrant survived during the waiting period. Section 5.5 provides information on all jobs that migrants did in Delhi, with special emphasis on various aspects of the first job. Section 5.6 explores the non-economic factors in migration. Section 5.7 considers some additional observations on rural to urban migration. The last section concludes the discussion.

5.1 Pre-migration urban visits, contacts, information and advice

The present section examines how far the migrants had links with the urban area before they migrated. The first part of this section considers details of the pre-migration visits to Delhi. The second part explores how many migrants had acquaintances in Delhi. Whether the acquaintances gave any information or advice to the potential migrants. The patterns of information flow are also the subject matter of this part.

5.1.1 Visits

It was found that nearly one-third of the migrants had visited Delhi before they came to settle there. As Figure 5.1 shows, most of these had visited more than once.

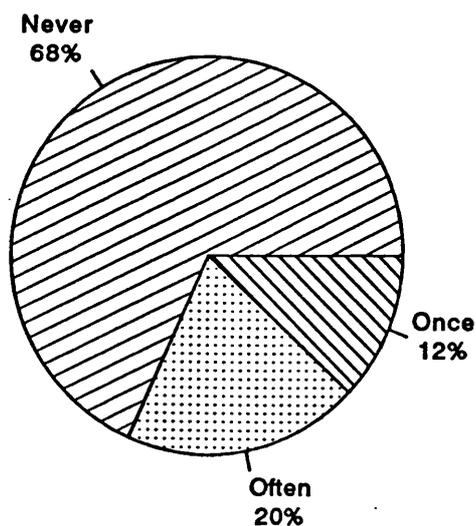


Fig 5.1: Distribution of migrants by pre-migration visits to Delhi

(n = 184).

The migrants who had visited Delhi more than once before migration were asked why they visited Delhi so often. The responses are summarised in **Figure 5.2**.

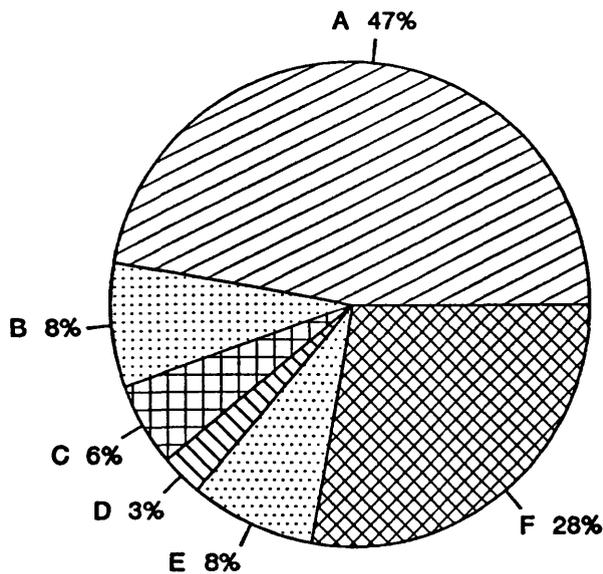


Fig 5.2: Reasons for visiting often

(n 36)

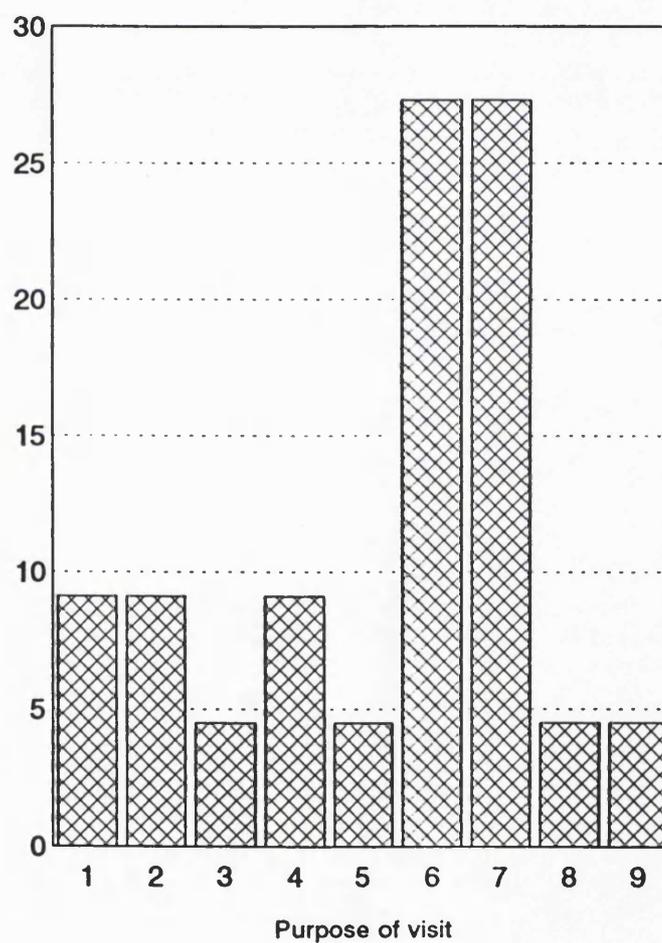
**A: To visit relatives; B: To attend marriage / family obligations; C: To stay with the relative
D: To learn work; E: To search for a job; F: To work**

It appears that three in five of the frequent visitors gave reasons related to the presence of their relatives in the city. The rest (two in five) gave reasons related to work. Among the former class of reasons visiting the relatives was most prominent (47 per cent), followed by marriage (8 per cent) and staying with relatives (6 per cent). From among the latter class of reasons, 28 per cent of the frequent visitors had actually come to work earlier, 8 per cent came in search of work and 3 per cent to learn work.

Information on the calendar month and year of visit, the purpose of the trip and the duration of stay were sought for those who had visited Delhi only once before migration.

Only about 55 per cent of them could recall the calendar month of their pre-migration visit. The distribution is given in **Table A-5.1**. Of those who could recall, there is a strong evidence of summer and winter off-seasons in agriculture being the time when they did so. Of these two off-seasons, summer time was more prominent.

Fig 5.3: Purpose of pre-migration visit
Percentage distribution of the one-time visitors



- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1: For pleasure trip / to move around | 2: To visit (the relatives) |
| 3: To stay with the relatives | 4: To see Delhi (from work angle) |
| 5: To learn work / experience | 6: To search a job |
| 7: To work | 8: To settle here |
| 9: Other | |

Table A-5.2 gives the distribution of respondents who visited Delhi only once before migration by the year of their visit. It was discovered that the visits were very highly concentrated in periods just before and after the "Emergency" (1975-77). This pattern seems to have an association with the pattern of migration as described in *Appendix A*.

Figure 5.3 gives the distribution of one-time visitors by the purpose of their visit. In the case of those visiting only once before migration, the visit to and stay with relatives accounted for only 15 per cent (contrary to the case of those with multiple pre-migration visits for whom these were very dominant reasons).

These people were very keen and explicit job searchers. Nine per cent said they had come to see Delhi in order to assess chances of finding work. Five per cent came to learn/experience work and 27 per cent to search for a job.

'For pleasure trip' or 'to move around' were found to be euphemisms for job-search. With this, about 50 per cent of the one-time visitors can be said to have come to search for a job. 27 per cent had made pre-migration visits to work. That means that 77 per cent of those with one pre-migration visit knew something about the job market before they come to settle in Delhi.

About a quarter stayed up to a week, about half up to one month and most of them less than 6 months. On an average the one-timers stayed in Delhi for about a month (median) during the visit. The positive skewness of the distribution in **Table A-5.3** indicates that the tendency was towards shorter than average trips.

In this sub-section, some differences between frequent and one-time visitors regarding the reasons for visiting were considered. It appears that the latter group were made up of more explicit job seekers. The one-time visitors often came to Delhi during off-seasons, mostly in the years around 1975-77 "Internal Emergency" and stayed for a month on average.

5.1.2 Urban contacts, information and advice

Most of the migrants in the present sample (95 per cent) knew somebody in Delhi before they moved there. Contrary to the simplicity and randomness of migration implied in many economic models, potential migrants were very highly connected to the urban area. To explore this theme a little further, all the migrants who mentioned the presence of any urban contact were asked whom they knew and what work their acquaintances did. This information was noted for up to three contacts.

The most popular contact mentioned in the first place was co-villager. However, relatives held the overall majority. The overwhelming dominance of what sociologists and anthropologists call *primary relations* (those based on kinship or due to belonging to the same village) is clear. *Secondary relations* (a friend or acquaintance not from the same village) accounted for only 5 per cent of the pre-migration acquaintance mentioned in the first place. 6 per cent mentioned multiple contacts in the first place.

30 per cent of respondents mentioned that they had a second acquaintance and 10 per cent a third. The contacts mentioned in second and third places tended to be more

relations of kith and kin and less co-villagers. One important thing is the more frequent mention of multiple acquaintances in the second and third place.

Cross-tabulation shows that, though there can be reservations on the use of chi-square due to 'expected frequency' problems, the clear evidence is that the migrants' first jobs were more likely to be similar to those of their pre-migration acquaintances. It holds true with respect to the acquaintances mentioned in the first and second place and not with respect to the ones mentioned in third place. Migrants tended to get their first jobs in the sectors in which their urban contacts were working.

The above finding leads to the conclusion that not only did most of the migrants have at least one urban connection but tended to get jobs in the city in the sectors where their acquaintances were employed. It indicates to the possibility of mechanisms carrying information about the demand for labour of particular skills and types to the mass of workers who might be ready and able to do these jobs.

The respondents were asked whether they received any information or advice from their urban contacts. Three fifths of the respondents received information or advice from the acquaintance that they named first. As regards the acquaintance named in the second and third places, one fifth of the respondents were in receipt of information or advice.

The fact that such a large proportion of migrants received information and advice points to the fact that the connection with urban areas before migration was quite active for a majority of migrants.

What sort of information or advice did migrants receive before migration?

The overall picture suggests that with rare exceptions of advice against migration, most of the information and advice flowing from the urban contacts was very positive, informative and assuring. In many cases (roughly one in ten), the respondents reported they were either brought along or called through message by their urban contacts. For about one in six there was assurance from the urban contact that work would be found. A few (one in thirty) migrants, in fact, said that urban contacts had arranged jobs for them beforehand.

Apart from the generally positive advice for migration and the assurances of jobs, the most important thing to note is the information on the urban labour market. The kind of information being communicated included many aspects of life and work in the city. The essence of the information was that work of all sorts was available in Delhi, it was regular and better-paid compared to rural areas, the payment was made in cash, it was more formalised ("duty by duty") as opposed to the drudgery in the village (for example, in the work of a sweeper) and that the workers could earn money in urban areas. Moreover, the information on the particular sectors travelled to the appropriate prospective migrants. The information regarding the job situation also travelled. For example, the workers in different sectors, particularly those in the garment export sector, cleaning and construction detailed how they received the details of the kind of work, the rates, the basis of payment, as well as, the situation regarding availability of jobs, i.e., if the work was flourishing or not.

One other thing observed is the importance of skills and education. There are numerous cases where the advice was that migrants must acquire a particular skill if he or she wanted to be successful. In fact, there were cases where the older migrants offered to train the newly arrived migrants. It was particularly so in tailoring and sweeping. It was done through informal training at home or at the place of work. There were instances where the respondents received work trials by the contacts who were already working as employees.

So it is reasonable to conclude that the migrants were well-connected, well-informed, well-assured and often had their moves well-planned.

5.2 Pre-migration knowledge of vacancies and chances to get work in Delhi

About 9 per cent of the respondents were offered jobs before they came to Delhi. How did the group which was offered jobs before coming to Delhi, differ from those who did not? The t-test results show that the former had a significantly higher number of bullocks, horses or water-pump engines and animals. There is some evidence that among those working before migration, the duration of employment in the year before migration was higher in the case of the group who had arranged their jobs in Delhi before coming compared to the other group. These are the indications that the group was better off.

Questions regarding knowledge of the Delhi urban labour market were asked of those who did not have job offers before coming to Delhi (91 per cent of our sample). This

section tries to assess it in two complementary ways. The first part of the section is based on categorical questions to migrants about knowledge of job vacancies. The second part is an assessment of verbal accounts in response to an open-ended question.

5.2.1 Vacancies

The results indicate that of those who did not have a job offer, only a small proportion (one in twenty) knew about job vacancies before they came to Delhi.

All those who said they knew about job vacancies before migration (9 respondents) were asked if they knew about any specific job vacancy. Two third (6 respondents) said they did. These migrants were asked as to what that particular job vacancy was.

Of six cases who knew about a particular job vacancy, three said it was a vacancy for a sweeper, and one each mentioned shop-keeping, peon and teacher in a '*spiritual school*'. The channels seem to be most active in the case of cleaning jobs. This is confirmed by the verbal account of the respondents in this occupation.

The news about a job vacancy came from very close relatives - father, brother-in-law or first cousin - in the case of four respondents and from the co-villagers for the remaining two.

5.2.2 Chances to get work in Delhi

The previous half of the present section was based on straight questions about the migrants' knowledge of job vacancies. This part discusses the matter in more general terms. It is based on the narration of migrants, who did not have a job offer before coming to Delhi, in response to an open-ended question.

The respondents appeared quite realistic and methodical about the chances of getting work. Mostly the migrants were hopeful of getting work. It was reflected in the perception that other people were earning and hence they could also hope. They were flexible - "ready to do whatever would be offered". They had a definite idea of the kind of work they might get, usually based on the type and level of skill they possessed. This reflected definite skill-led search. They had an idea of the skill in demand. One of the migrants summarised such an assessment: "the houses are built everyday and a day worker is employed daily". They often had some idea of how they were going to get work, i.e., had the channels in mind. Even if they did not know the urban terminology they had a feel and sense for it - for example, one migrant did not know what the *beldari* (unskilled construction work) was but he roughly knew that the people of his skill did this job. Migrants with education were realistic about the value of their education. For example, one migrant with formal education but less confident of its use in getting a job said: "And what was there in Bihar education?" (Meaning it was not of much value). Migrants realised that learning of skills was more important in the urban labour market. Some of the migrants thought they "would learn and then earn good money". There is evidence that the migrants had definite plans in mind - the minimum

was defined, had a particular job in mind - and had alternative plans, in case the main plan failed. There were very few who did not have any idea. There was also evidence that the respondents had an idea about the length of waiting period.

5.3 Attitudinal patterns of families towards migration to Delhi: an evidence of family strategy

Figure 5.4 gives the distribution of the migrants by the attitudes of their families towards migration.

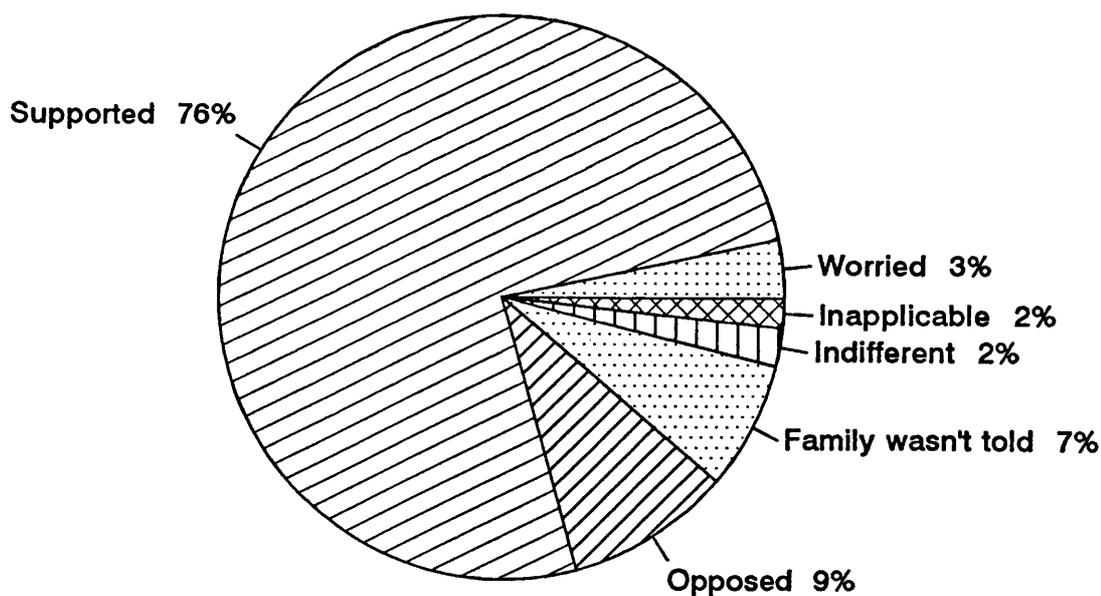


Fig 5.4: Family attitude to migration

Number of valid cases used = 179; Missing cases excluded = 5.

In three fourths of the cases, the family supported the move. One out of ten families

were opposed.¹ About 7 per cent of the respondents left without telling their families. Presuming that these were also the cases where families opposed the move and hence they had to leave, the lack of family support becomes apparent in 17 per cent of cases. About three per cent of the families were very worried and about 2 per cent indifferent.

What sort of help was given?

Despite diversity, the modes of help were quite simple. The migrants were given moral support, as well as, advice and ideas. The advice often reflected the need for them to migrate. The examples of particular patterns were the need to supplement earnings, diversify the earnings-base of the family, find a solution to the problems of debt or economic difficulties or to strengthen the position, worry about the future of the family, etc. The forms of help were usually to provide uncooked food for a few days or weeks, cooked food for the journey and for the initial phase, money for fares and for initial expenditure in the urban areas. The families sometimes borrowed money and even sold some asset, for example a cow or a goat, to give money to the migrant. Support from the family was accompanied by the hope of remittances, respect and prestige associated with migration of a family member, the likelihood of repayment of the family debt and the hope that the migrant would share the responsibilities of the family. The patterns of advice in the cases of support indicate that the family strategy and view often governed the attitude towards migration. For example, observations such as "we will be well here and you go and exert yourself in Delhi" or the advice to be "careful with the mouth"

¹ The three migrants to whom the question on the attitude of the family was not asked were the only members in the family in the village and hence they thought this question was inapplicable to them. The attitude could not be ascertained for 5 cases (3 per cent of the sample).

(i.e. eat less and save more) are graphic examples of how the families advised the migrant and why they supported the move.

As the cases of outright opposition are few, it would be sufficient here to state that the families with initial reservations about migration were usually worried about the security and safety of their members migrating to the city, or about the level of help the family would subsequently receive from the migrant and the fear of losing his or her material or psychological support.

The present survey results show that three fourth of the migrants were from parental families. 12.5 per cent came from extended families and 11 per cent from nuclear families. The fact that most of the families (9 of 10) were parental or extended suggests that the family strategy must have been an important factor in the sense of diversification of sources of income and risk aversion. The verbal accounts corroborate this observation.

Where the migrant had children, there was a significant correlation between his age at migration and the age when the respondent's first child was born. It corroborates the observations by respondents that the birth of a child induced them to move to make more earnings. Another important point is that the people with more male children tended to stay longer in Delhi, leaving children in the village. Presumably the male children of the respondents were considered more able to take up agricultural operations and other social responsibilities, leaving the adult males free to migrate - one of the ways in which the expansion of the family can be seen as leading to the strategy of

migration.

Evidence presented in this section strongly indicates the importance of family strategies in the process of rural to urban migration.

5.4 Patterns of job search, wait and support in the urban labour market

It was noted earlier in this chapter that 91 per cent of the respondents did not have any job offer before they came to Delhi.² The present section looks at the patterns of job search, wait and support for this group to discover the channels of recruitment associated with the process of migration.

Sub-section 5.4.1 considers the activities of migrants who start looking for jobs some time after arrival. Sub-section 5.4.2 looks at the waiting time for first job and the survival strategies during this period. Sub-section 5.4.3 examines the channels of recruitment in the first job.

5.4.1 Beginnings on arrival

Figure 5.5 gives the distribution of migrants by the period they spent in Delhi before they started looking for a job.

² Section 5.2.

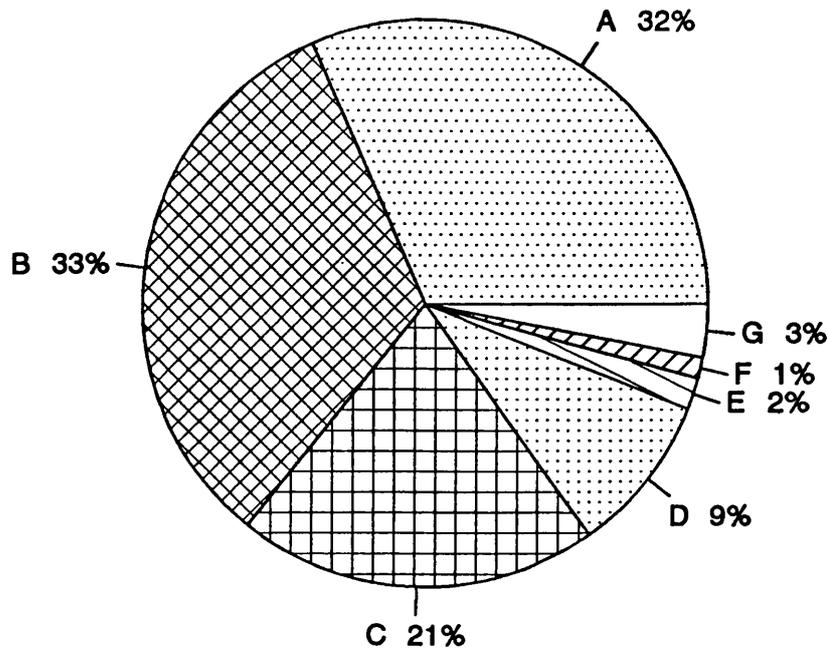


Fig 5.5: Job search start time

Valid cases used = 165; Missing cases excluded = 2.

(DAYS) A: Same day; B: 1 to 2 ; C: 3 to 7 D: 8 to 15 E: 16 to 30; F: 31 to 90; G: 91 to 180.

Four in five start looking for a job within one week of arrival and most within a fortnight. Two third of the migrants who did not start looking for job on the day of arrival were asked what they did until they started job the search. Their replies are briefly reviewed in the following paragraphs.

A few of them reported they were tired and hence rested. The first reaction of most of the migrants was that they stayed idle (mostly at the places of relatives or other urban

contacts) and went around. But some of the detailed description of the activities of this 'idle period' reflected introspection, exploration and adjustment. It appears that many of the migrants (particularly those who had not had a pre-migration visit to Delhi) did not know what they described as "practices", "manners", "ways" "place", and did not know "how to cross roads". They reported that they used to walk, wander and "see the place around". Apart from making these obvious but interesting observations, the migrants said that they used to visit fellow-villagers or neighbours and express their desire to search for work. There were a few who helped their urban contacts with the jobs that the latter did or in household work like cooking food.

The conclusion is that not only did the migrants start looking for jobs very soon after arrival, but also that even the time between arrival and job search is a period of moving towards the eventual job.

5.4.2 Waiting time and survival strategies

Figure 5.6 gives the distribution of those who had to wait for the first job in Delhi. Hence, it does not include the three respondents who got a job on the day of arrival.

The average waiting time was low. However, the dispersion was quite large. So, the arithmetic mean of 24.63 days (with Standard Deviation 48.04 and high positive Skewness) is an overestimate of the average. Over half of the migrants got a job within a week of their arrival in Delhi, about three quarters within a fortnight and 86 per cent

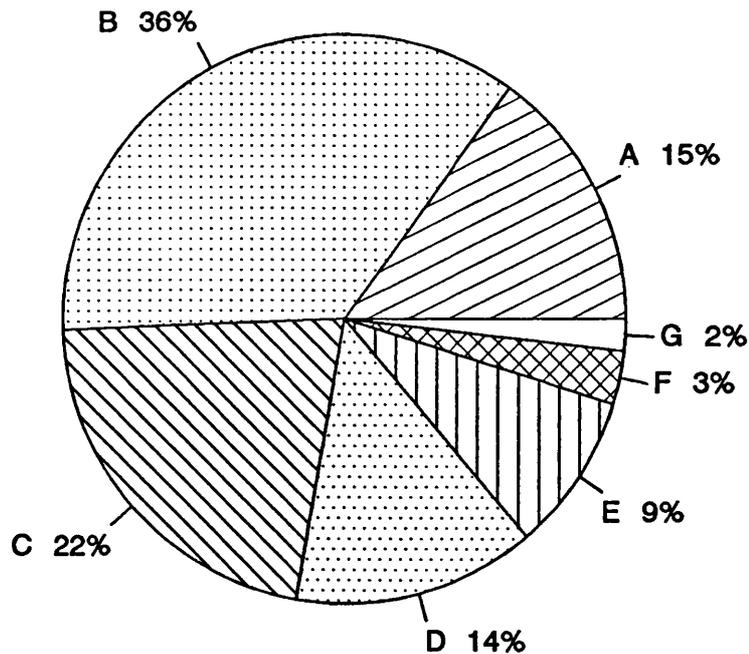


Fig 5.6: Waiting time (Days)

Valid cases used = 166; One missing case excluded.

A: 1 to 2; B: 3 to 7; C: 8 to 15; D: 16 to 30; E: 31 to 90; F: 91 to 180; G: 180 to 365.

within a month. The results of our survey lend support to results from earlier studies of migrants in Delhi (Banerjee, 1986: 118-119; Suri, 1991: 250).

The cross-tabulation suggests, despite the un-reliability of chi-square test due to 'expected frequency' problems, that those who got their first job in the service sector had to wait longer compared to those in construction, garment factories and as artisans and craft-persons.

The survival strategies during the waiting period

Table 5.1 gives some idea of how migrants supported themselves during the waiting period and the percentage of respondents mentioning different ways in which they sustained themselves. Some of the respondents mentioned more than one method and hence it does not add to 100.

Table 5.1

The method of support during the waiting period in Delhi

	Method of support	Percentage of respondents mentioning the method
1	Past savings	3.9
2	Sold cattle / property in the village	1.9
3	Loan	20.0
4	Support from family in village	7.1
5	Brought food from the village	9.0
6	Family members' support in the city	11.0
7	Co-villager(s)' support in Delhi	15.5
8	Relatives' support in Delhi	34.2
9	Friends' support in Delhi	3.9
10	Help with domestic work of urban contact	4.5
11	Contractor arranged it	1.9
12	Other source	2.6

Valid cases 155 Missing cases 8

There is a strong evidence that about half of them received help from their families and relatives. They received support from the remaining family members in the countryside (7 per cent), from family members in the city (11 per cent) and from relatives in Delhi (34 per cent). Other more significant methods of support during the waiting period were the co-villagers' support in Delhi (16 per cent) and loan (20 per cent). Four per cent received friends' support in Delhi. Some helped urban acquaintance with the domestic work during the waiting period. About four per cent mentioned past savings and 2 per cent sold their cattle and/or property in the village to meet their expenditure on migration.

5.4.3 Methods of job search

Table 5.2 gives an idea of the methods which were tried. Usually more than one method was used while searching for the first job in Delhi. The search efforts of the urban contacts and approaching factories, work sites, etc. were the most prominent methods, being mentioned by 60 per cent and 54 per cent of the respondents, respectively.

The next most important methods used were jobbers (26 per cent), *chowk* (market square) (15 per cent). The institutionalised methods like employment exchange and newspapers were relatively less important, being tried by 7 per cent and 4 per cent of the respondents respectively.

Table 5.2**The methods used for searching for the first job in Delhi**

	Method	Frequency	Percentage of respondents mentioning the method
1	Jobbers	44	26.3
2	Private employment agency	0	0.0
3	Referrals	2	1.2
4	Information about "impending recruitment"	1	0.6
5	Radio / television	1	0.6
6	Newspapers	6	3.6
7	Employment exchange	12	7.2
8	Search efforts of urban contacts	95	56.9
9	Approaching factories, work sites, etc.	90	53.4
10	Chowk (market square)	25	15.0
11	Tried to set up business	9	5.4
12	Other methods	6	3.6

(n = 167)

'Other methods' were mentioned by about 4 per cent. These were mixed and deserve mention. Out of 6 such cases 2 said it was sheer luck (*God's grace*) that they got in touch with the employers, one was invited by a "God-man" for recruitment as a "Brahman teacher". One of the female respondents said that she was squatting near a rich residential area and a "bungalow resident" (*kothiwala*) came to recruit her for household work. One of the 'others' mentioned that he used to go with his brother to a dyeing factory where the latter worked and the brother told him how the work was to

be done. And the last one of this heterogenous 'others' said he simply rented a bicycle and started the rounds to buy scrap which implies a considerable prior knowledge of the occupation as well as the area.

Table 5.3

The channels of recruitment to the first job in Delhi

	Channel	Frequency	Per cent
1	Jobbers	37	20.1
2	Private employment agency	0	0.0
3	Referrals	2	1.1
4	Information about 'impending recruitment'	0	0.0
5	Radio / Television	0	0.0
6	Newspapers	1	0.5
7	Employment exchange	2	1.1
8	Search efforts of urban contacts	124	67.4
9	Approaching factories, work sites, etc.	22	11.9
10	Chowk (market square)	16	8.7
11	Tried to set up business	3	1.6
12	Other channels	3	1.6

(n = 184)

Note: Some of the respondents used more than one channel. The respondents who were offered jobs before coming Delhi are included in this table.

How useful were the different methods?

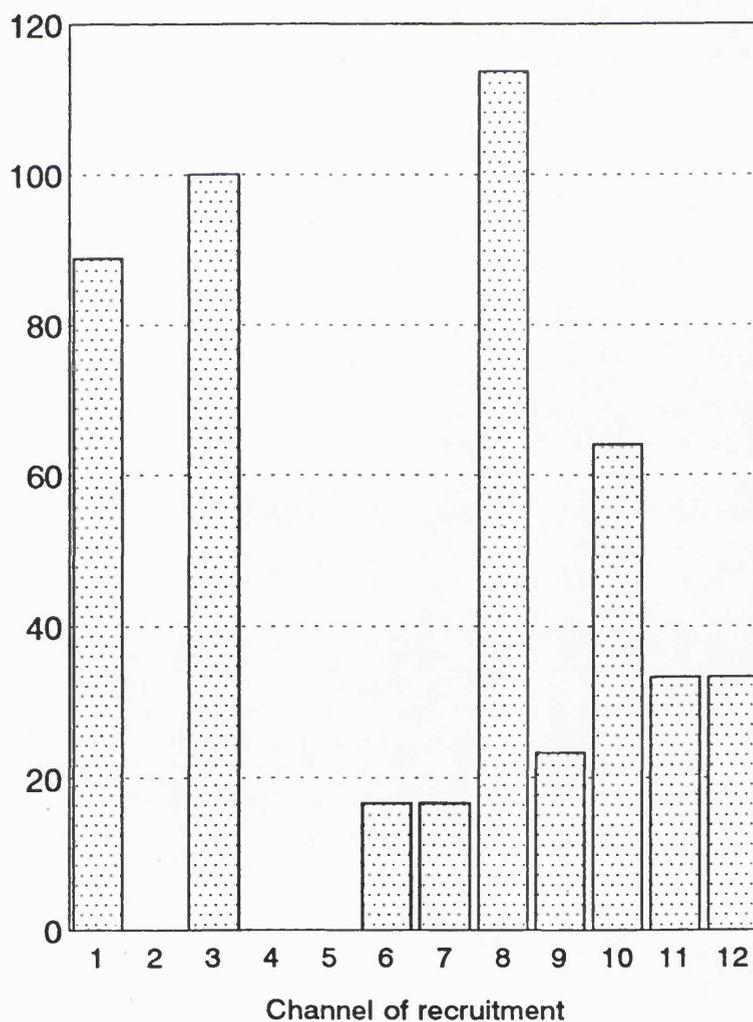
A look at the **Tables 5.2 and 5.3** gives only a partial idea of the difference in the effectiveness of various methods. This can be a very crude judgement as these two tables are not comparable. The reason is that while the former is restricted to the 167 migrants who did not have an offer of a job before coming to Delhi, the latter includes those migrants who had their jobs fixed up before migration. There were essentially two groups of migrants. One - who came with their jobs fixed up and the other who had to find jobs after arrival in Delhi. For the first group who came after fixing a job, the role of urban contacts' search efforts and jobbers seems to be more important. This is clear from a comparison of the absolute figures for these methods in **Tables 5.3 and 5.4**.

As for the second group, **Table 5.4 and Figure 5.7** present an index of effectiveness for each of the methods. This index allows a comparison of different methods for their effectiveness.

The most used of all the methods was the 'search efforts of the urban contacts'. Some respondents did not say they tried this method to search job and yet they found a job through this method. Apparently, it is so prevalent and informal that some people take it as given and do not mention it as one of the methods tried. The next most used method - approaching factories, work sites, etc. was a dismal performer. The significant point to note is that it is a method often used by the people who search for jobs but the number who actually get work through this rather direct method is relatively small. Jobbers and *chowk* were apparently quite successful methods according to this index,

the success rate being 89 and 64 per cent respectively. Most of the less used methods were all less effective. Private employment agency, radio / television, newspapers were less used and less effective methods. The only method used by very few but very effective for those who used it was the 'referrals' - recommendation from more resourceful people to the employer or manager for consideration.

Fig 5.7: Channels of recruitment
An index of their effectiveness



The index is the % ratio of those who found a particular method useful by the number who tried it.
(n = 167).

Table 5.4**The index of effectiveness* of the various channels of recruitment in getting the first job in Delhi**

	Channel	Found useful by	Tried by	Index
1	Jobbers	36	44	88.82
2	Private employment agency	0	0	-
3	Referrals / recommendatory references	2	2	100.00
4	Information about 'impending recruitment'	0	1	0.00
5	Radio / television	0	1	0.00
6	Newspapers	1	6	16.67
7	Employment exchange	2	12	16.67
8	Search efforts of urban contacts	108	95	113.68**
9	Approaching factories, work sites, etc.	21	90	23.33
10	Chowk (market square)	16	25	64.00
11	Tried to set up business	3	9	33.33
12	Other channels	3	6	33.33

(n = 167)

Note: Some of the respondents used more than one channel. The respondents who were offered jobs before coming Delhi are excluded.

* Percentage ratio of the number who found a particular method useful by the number who had tried it.

** It seems the respondents did not realise they tried this method. It came "automatically"!

It was not possible to do a chi-square test of the waiting period with each of the channels due to the 'expected frequency' problem. However, it was possible to do it with respect to the most used methods, viz, jobbers, search efforts of the urban contacts, approaching factories, work sites, etc., chowk and other channels. There was no

significant difference between those using any particular one of these channels and those not using it in respect of the waiting time - the time from start of the job search until a job was found in Delhi.

The evidence presented in this section shows labour demand is buoyant for the sort of skills these migrants bring. Contrary to the "push" thesis, they are not driven from rural unemployment to urban unemployment.

5.5 Jobs in Delhi

The survey collected information on post-migration occupational history to see how the migrants used skills for getting jobs and in turn got skills from the jobs and if and how they switched from one job to the other as time passed.

5.5.1 First Job

Table A-5.4 gives the details and **Figure 5.8** gives an idea about the sectors where the migrants in Delhi found their first jobs.

The construction sector³ was the biggest employer of migrants. It employed 37.5 per cent of them, mostly as unskilled workers. It was followed by the service sector⁴ which

³ Codes 3 to 5.

⁴ Codes 14 to 20.

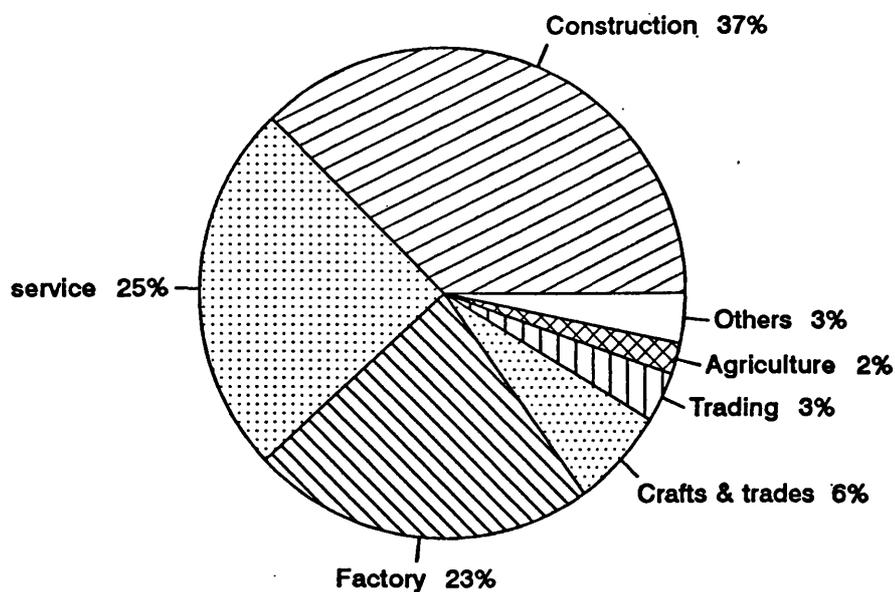


Fig 5.8: Sectors of migrants' entry into urban labour market

(n = 184).

accounted for about 25 per cent of the jobs of the new migrants. The factory sector⁵ was closely behind the service sector. It accounted for about 23 per cent of the jobs of the new migrants. The trading sector provided employment to about three per cent. There were six per cent who worked as crafts and trades persons. Two per cent worked in the agricultural sector. The *other jobs* like of porter, chipping firewood, laying railway tracks, hawking for or picking up scrap paper or used bottles, paramedic and one describing himself as "assistant to prostitutes" accounted for three per cent of the first jobs.

⁵ Codes 6 to 10.

Method of payment in the first Job

The question on the method of payment was not applicable for 13 respondents (about 7 per cent) of the migrants as they were not working on a hire basis. They were in self-employment. Seven of them were vendors, two shop-keepers, one craftsman, one animal husbandry and two "other" occupations - one a scrap-buyer and the other a paramedic.

Figure 5.9 gives the distribution for those to whom this question was relevant. Roughly half were paid by the day - 43 per cent were employed as casual daily labourers and about 5 per cent were regular workers employed on a daily basis.

A monthly basis was almost equal in importance to casual daily employment. 41 per cent of the new migrants' first jobs were paid on a monthly basis. Very few were employed on weekly or fortnightly payment basis. However, piece work was important - about 5 per cent of the migrants (mostly tailors) were paid on this basis. "*Other methods*"⁶ were reported by 3.5 per cent respondents.

The greater proportion of wage workers in pre-migration rural jobs were employed on daily basis (65 per cent) and smaller proportion on monthly basis (16 per cent) compared to urban jobs. This corroborates the description by the migrants that the post-migration jobs in Delhi were more regular and secure than the rural wage jobs.

⁶ Such as work in lieu of training, stipend or basic expenditure, payment by number of pieces after subtracting the commission.

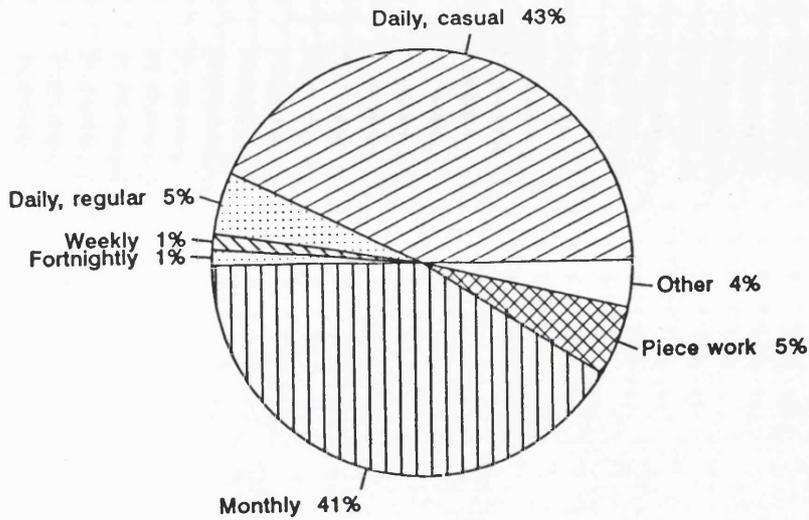
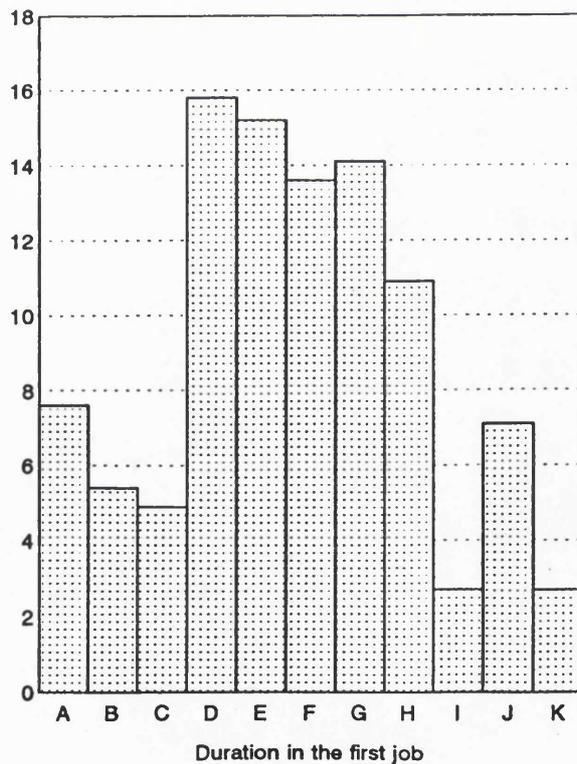


Fig 5.9: Methods of payment in the first job

Valid cases used = 170; One missing case excluded.

13 migrants were self-employed and hence the question on method of payment inapplicable to them.



(DURATION IN MONTHS) A: Up to 0.23; B: .24 to 0.50; C: 0.51 to 1.00; D: 1.01 to 3.00
 E: 3.01 to 6.00; F: 6.01 to 12.00; G: 12.01 to 36.00; H: 36.01 to 72.00; I: 72.01 to 108.00;
 J: 108.01 to 180.00; K: 180.01 to 240.00.

Fig 5.10: Percentage distribution of migrants by the duration in first job (months) (n = 184)

Duration in first job

About 17 in 20 had left their first jobs before the present survey. Only 3 in 20 were still in their first jobs. The total duration in the first job was ascertained for all the migrants.

Table A-5.5 and **Figure 5.10** give the results. For about 2 in 10 it was less than 1 month. For a quarter, it was less than 3 months. For about half, it was less than 12 months. Up to three quarters had less than 36 months in their first job. The average was 7.5 months (median).

Reasons for ending the first job

86 per cent of the respondents had left their first jobs before this survey. They were asked the main reason for ending the first job. **Table 5.5** gives the details.

If individual factors are considered, low income was the single most important reason for leaving. It was mentioned by 23 per cent of the respondents. Strictly speaking, the grouping is not possible because of the multiplicity of answers and the sum in **Table 5.5** does not add up to 100.

However, it is possible to make some generalisations. If the reasons are grouped into broad categories, laying off⁷ comes at the top with its mention by 29 per cent, followed

⁷ Codes 16 to 18.

by adverse factors associated with the employment (27 per cent)⁸. The next important group is the positive factors like getting another job after acquiring new skills in the first job (25 per cent).⁹ Absenteeism¹⁰, generally with the purpose of going to village due

Table 5.5

The main reasons for ending the first job in Delhi

	Reason	(Valid) Percentage of respondents mentioning the reason
1	Have not stopped	0.0
2	Got promotion / regularisation	1.3
3	Low income	22.3
4	Paid off debt	0.0
5	Unpunctual payment / cheating	3.2
6	Insecure nature of job	1.9
7	Went to village / absenteeism	12.1
8	Poor working conditions	14.6
9	Illness / accident related to job	7.0
10	Quarrel / dispute with the employer	3.8
11	To take another job	15.3
12	Apprenticeship / training over	5.7
13	To join training / to learn work	1.9
14	To set up business	0.6
15	Quit for other reasons	5.7
16	Laid off, no work	18.5
17	Laid off, factory / shop closed	4.5
18	Laid off, other reasons	5.7
19	Job completed	0.0
20	To get married	0.0
21	Pregnant	0.0
22	Wanted to move to another area	0.0
23	Other reasons	1.9

(n = 157)

* Sum does not add up to 100.

⁸ Codes 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10.

⁹ Code 2 and 11 to 14.

¹⁰ Code 7.

to a work responsibility there and also due to lack of provision for holidays from the job, was mentioned by 12 per cent. The other reasons - like a family feud or chaos (like the riot that followed the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984) were mentioned by about 2 per cent of the respondents. An alternative scheme to the one described above is to group factors as follows: lay off (mentioned in at least one of the reasons 16 to 18); adverse factors (mentioned in at least one of the reasons 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10) and positive factors (mentioned in at least one of the reasons 2, 11 and 14). The result is 29 per cent, 27 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. This indicates that first jobs are usually the ones that end more as a result of adverse factors than positive ones.

From the above it can be concluded that in the beginning, the migrants tend to get jobs that are less remunerative, have poor working conditions and these jobs often end more as a result of negative conditions than positive ones. But it is equally likely that the jobs end with their gaining some skill and as a result being in a better position to get another job which is at least as good as, if not better than, the first.

5.5.2 Subsequent jobs

All the later jobs, mainly understood in the sense of different occupations after the first, were recorded. The distribution of those who took up their second job is given in **Table A-5.6**. The regrouping by sectors is shown in **Figure 5.11**.

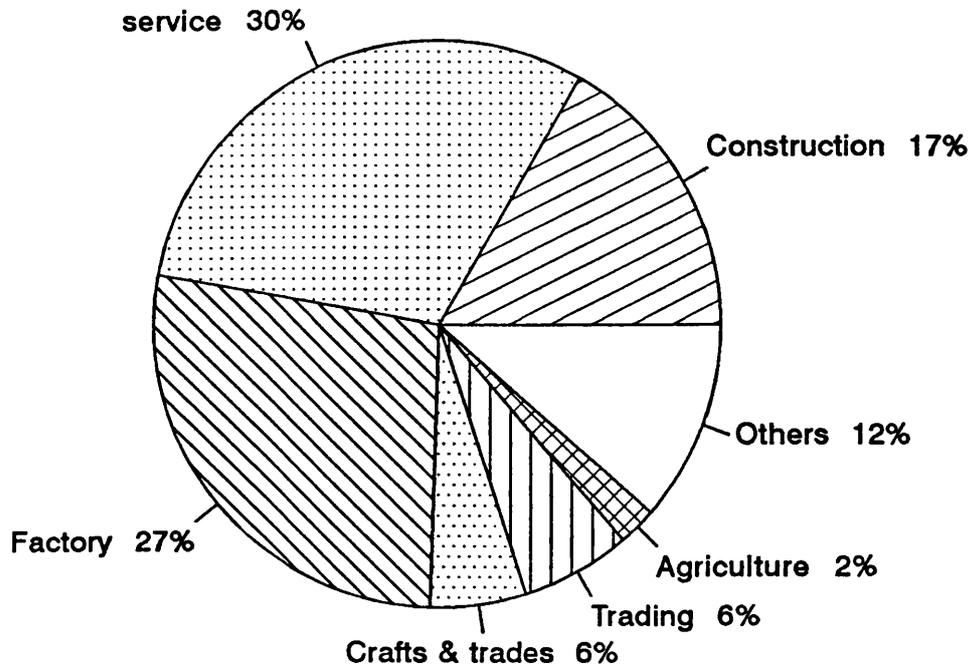


Fig 5.11: Sectors of second job

Figure based on 95 cases; Excluded are five missing cases and 84 did not have a second job.

Compared to the distribution of first jobs, here the construction sector lost 20 percentage points. Its position slipped to third place after the service and factory sectors. Table A-5.7 and Figure 5.12 give the distribution of those who took up their third job in Delhi. The share of the factory sector was at the top. Construction and service sectors had equal share. The construction sector improved its importance compared to the second job. However, within this sector, in the case of respondents doing their third job, the share of semi-skilled increased compared to the unskilled. Regarding the change from

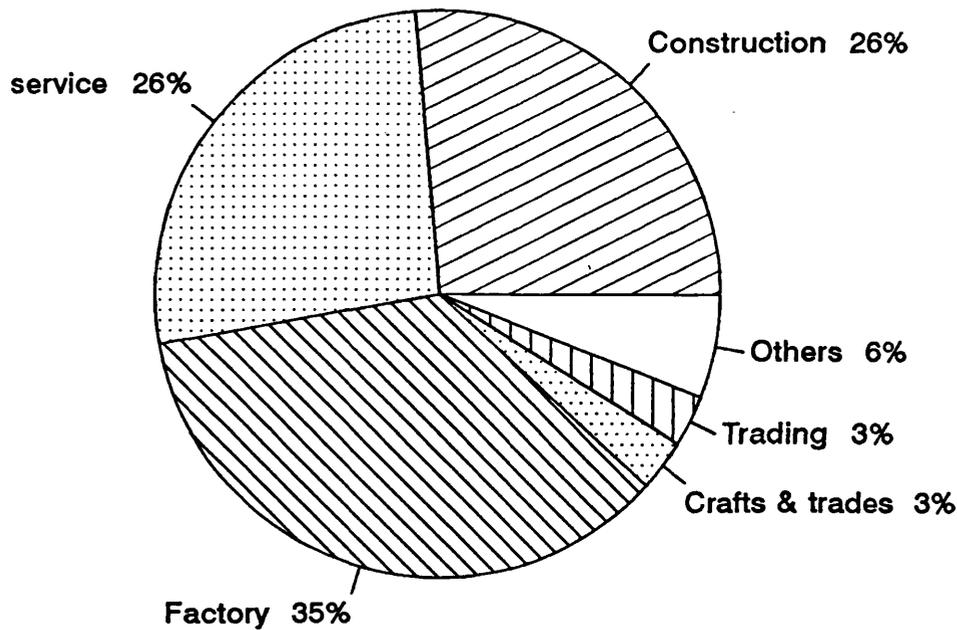


Fig 5.12: Sectors of third job

Figure based on 34 cases; Excluded are five missing cases and the 145 who did not have a third job.

first to second and the third job, it can be observed that the importance of garments in the factory sector increased compared to the non-garment part of it.

Why was the construction sector the entry point?

Results discussed in Chapter IV indicate that the migrants from below average families were more likely to have their first jobs at the urban destination in construction and service sectors, those from average families were more likely to be in the garment factories and those from above average families were more likely to be in the non-garment sector factories.

Two points can be made:

- (i) Migrants from low socio-economic status with low education levels matched the predominantly unskilled nature of the construction sector jobs. Their relatively low socio-economic status made them particularly suitable to do the unskilled construction jobs which are relatively hard and low-paying. Piore's (1979: 17) description of migrant job characteristics would be particularly helpful in this interpretation.
- (ii) Due to the low-technology and labour-intensive nature of the unskilled construction jobs, production in this sector demands more labour.

Migrants changing jobs more often

An insignificant number of respondents changed jobs more than twice. The important thing to note about these frequent job-changers is that they tended to switch to more skilled jobs. **Table A-5.8** gives the details of fourth job of migrants. Only two migrants did a fifth job in Delhi - one as helper in a non-garment factory and the other in the service sector. Sixth and seventh jobs were done by one person. The jobs were a semi-skilled garment factory job and shop-keeping respectively.

5.6 Why not work in the village?

It is being increasingly accepted that non-economic considerations are important in migration decisions. To find about these possible factors, all the respondents were asked if they would prefer to live in the village for the income and job similar to theirs when they joined their first job. Those replying in the negative were asked to state reasons for it.

5.6.1 Would they settle for a similar income in the village?

In the present sample survey, 91 per cent of the migrants said they would prefer to live in their villages if they could earn the same income as they earned in their first job in the city. The remaining 9 per cent said they would not. So, nearly one in ten would not go to the village even if they could earn the same income. The latter group (consisting of 17 respondents) were asked the reasons for preferring not to live in the village. The results are presented in **Table 5.6**.

The respondents said that in the city they were relatively free from the effects of **social factors** such as family feuds, social oppression and the considerations of caste and religion which bothered them in rural areas.

About half of the respondents mentioned these reasons. The wish to move to another area and the presence of other family members in the city were also important factors which showed relative attraction of the city. The category '*other reason*' which

Table 5.6
Reasons for not preferring to live in village

Reason	Valid Per cent	Cumulative per cent
Family feud	25.0	25.0
Social oppression / lawlessness	25.0	50.0
Wanted to move to another area	18.8	68.8
Other family member / relative lived here	12.5	81.3
Other reasons	18.8	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 16 Missing cases 1

accounted for 19 per cent included factors such as the complaint that jobs in the village could be found only through favours, there were insufficient places to live as well as the perception that in the city, even a low income is acceptable due to the benefits of training.

A t-test exercise was carried out to find if those who would be ready to live in their village for income similar to what they received in their first job in Delhi differed from the ones who would not be ready to do so. It appears that the only significant difference that could be seen was regarding the ownership of bicycles and the number of children in the case of married migrants. The latter group scales better in terms of the ownership of bicycles whereas the former group tended to have more children.

From among the people who had anything to do with land, the group which would not

settle for the same income in the village had significantly higher pre-migration income from leasing-out, shop-keeping / vending and *naukari* ("service"). It gives a clear indication that this group had more diverse sources of income and less stake in agriculture as far as doing the job in village was concerned.

The chi-square test results show that the latter group was not significantly different from the first in terms of the most important reasons for migration, or the fact of having land or not. However, it can be seen that those describing their families as below average compared to the other families in the village were more ready to go back, although there are reservations on this chi-square result due to 'expected frequency' deficit.

Of those willing to settle in the village significantly fewer had visited Delhi before migration compared to those who did not want to go back. The group wanting to stay in the city were significantly more likely to have acquired the ability to read and been educated compared to the group willing to settle in the village for the income of their first job.

Cross-tabulation indicates that even among those ready to go back to the village, there were proportionately fewer ready to do a job in the village which was similar to their first job in Delhi. This group which had relatively better pre-migration economic status compared to fellow villagers found the city more attractive due to family and social networks and a wish to acquire a skill. They did not want to go back to village for that would mean social and cultural deprivation.

5.6.2 Would they mind doing a similar job in the village?

About one in ten said they would not be prepared to do in the village a job similar to their first job in Delhi. From t-test results it emerges that the ones not ready to do a similar job in village were better off in terms of the ownership of bicycles or radios. Chi-square results show that there was no significant difference between the two groups regarding their having an ability to read and having been to the school. Though there is a problem of 'expected frequency' with the chi-square test, the cross-tabulation suggests that those below average were more likely to do a similar job in the village. The only statistically significant chi-square test result is that those not willing to do a similar job in the village were more likely to have visited Delhi before migration compared to those who were willing.

Table 5.7

Reason not doing a similar job in village

Reason	Valid Per cent	Cumulative per cent
Would feel shy / shame	29.4	29.4
Well settled here	17.6	47.1
Family feud	5.9	52.9
Social oppression / landlessness	11.8	64.7
Wanted to move to another area	11.8	76.5
Other reasons	23.5	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 17

Missing cases 2

Table 5.7 presents the reasons for not doing a similar job in village. About three in ten said they would feel shame in doing a similar job in the village (**status consciousness**). This matches closely with their better social and economic status before migration. Family feud and social oppression accounted for 2 out of 10 cases. Roughly two in ten said they would not do the job in the village because they were well-settled in the city and one in ten said they wanted to move out to another area. *Other reasons* such as less lucrativeness of the job and lack of facilities in the village accounted for a quarter of such cases. These reasons along with the desire to move out to, and being well settled in, the city indicate a positive liking on the part of this group to be in urban jobs.

5.7 Additional observations on the process of migration

This section considers the responses of the migrants at different points of the structured interviews in this survey expressing the reasons for migration. Sub-section 5.7.1 is based on the results of a direct question during the listing survey. The main questionnaire of the survey had allowed for a spontaneous remark and there was a direct question to conclude the detailed interview. They are discussed in sub-sections 5.7.2 and 5.7.3, respectively.

5.7.1 Stated reasons for migration

Towards the end of the listing survey, all the respondents born outside Delhi (and not only the *criteria migrants*) were asked to give the most important reason for migration to Delhi. The results are given in the **Table 5.8**.

Job-search and associational migration were the most important factors. The job search can be seen to have its causation in other factors mentioned in the table like the insufficiency of work, unsatisfactory nature of work, unemployment and irregularity of work.

Table 5.8
Most important reason of migration

Code	Reason	Per cent
2	In search of a job	0.2
3	Work was insufficient to support the family	7.2
4	Nature of the work unsatisfactory	1.6
5	Unemployment	4.0
6	Irregularity of work	0.9
8	To learn skill	2.0
9	To seek better job / income	4.3
10	Offered better job / income	1.3
11	Landlessness	0.9
13	Poverty	5.6
14	Economic difficulty	0.9
15	Indebtedness	1.8
16	Bought land / business in Delhi	0.9
17	To get education for self	0.4
19	To get married	0.2
20	To accompany the family	15.5
21	Family / social feud in the previous place of residence	1.3
22	Caste violence / social oppression	0.2
23	Family tragedy	0.2
26	Illness	0.9
27	Natural calamities	7.8
28	Other reasons	2.7

		100.0

(n = 446)

The comments in the above paragraph apply to all the migrants. As mentioned in Chapter III, one of the criterion for choosing the *criteria migrants* was that they must

have come in search of a job. The distribution of these respondents by the most important reason for migration is given in **Table 5.9**.

Table 5.9

The most important reason of migration (*Criteria migrants*)

Code	Reason	Per cent
2	In search of a job	50.0
3	Work was insufficient to support the family	11.4
4	Nature of the work unsatisfactory	2.2
5	Unemployment	4.9
6	Irregularity of work	1.1
8	To learn skill	0.5
9	To seek better job / income	7.6
10	Offered better job / income	1.6
11	Landlessness	1.6
13	Poverty	9.8
14	Economic difficulty	2.2
15	Indebtedness	3.3
16	Bought land / business in Delhi	0.5
21	Family / social feuds in the previous place of residence	0.5
22	Caste violence / social oppression	0.5
23	Family tragedy	0.5
27	Natural calamities	0.5
28	Other reasons	1.1

		100.0

(n = 184)

Since the bias is deliberate towards the economic factors, the pattern is different. A look at the **Table 5.9** reveals that with the exception of the reasons 8, 9 and 10 which account for 10 per cent of the *criteria migrants*' most important reason for migration, all other reasons are related to job-search or the causes that lead to the job-search.

5.7.2 Spontaneous remarks on migration

At the beginning of each main interview the opening remark of the interviewer was followed by a deliberate pause to allow for any spontaneous remark that could come from the respondents. The technique was successful as it was able to evoke spontaneous remarks from two thirds of the respondents.

At the same time, there was a vast diversity of concerns. A woman respondent had the fears of the train journey while travelling alone and hence said: "There was no problem in coming from home. Someone occupied a seat and no jostling took place". However, such concerns were not equally frightening to others most of whom were males. Most of the respondents described how, the unavailability or insufficiency of work in the village, lack of land or property made their position difficult in the village and so they came in search of a job. These early remarks emphasised the conditions at origin.

The landless agricultural labourers as a group tended to be more ready to leave. Apart from the fact of having no land or property, the cycles of low and high demand for their labour in the countryside made their lives not only economically difficult but also socially vulnerable. For example, an agricultural worker mentioned that while the lean season would mean lack of income, the busy season would send the competing landlords and rich farmers rushing to his thatch house sometimes applying brute force to pressurise him into working for them. He said: "My main problem, however, was that the people used to trouble me. Four people would come at a time. When the work started simultaneously, then the people would trouble - would trouble very much. (They)

would threaten to kill me, would storm the house and would abuse me. I wondered what to do in such conditions. It was because of this that I moved here....".

Similar pain was described by a person who, as a child labourer, had to do work which was very hard for his age until a friend of his said: "No. How long will you continue to suffer kicks like this. Come with me, I will get you work somewhere."

On the other hand, there were some people who equally emphasised their problems at origin and possibilities at the destination. A typical example is the following remark: "My parents died while I was studying. Due to the economic hardship, I kept on wandering in my own district, looking for a job (*naukari*); I was getting small jobs that were not sufficient to subsist. That's why I had to come here. Somebody told me that the work of stitching clothes for export was flourishing and was well-paid. That's why I came to Delhi and started working in the 'export line'".

The gist of these subjective responses corroborates the main findings regarding pre-migration socio-economic status and channels of recruitment given in Chapter IV and the present chapter. It also matches with the information received from the earlier question on the reasons for moving to Delhi which has been discussed in the last subsection.

5.7.3 Reasons, on balance

The sum of most of the responses to the question "Looking on balance, why did you come?" can be seen in a comment by one of the respondent : "The heart of the matter (was) work. If one can't meet expenses, what can one do?". Most of the respondents mentioned the fact of a job and the conditions that made them think about the city. It seems from the reading of the responses that although the unavailability or insufficiency of work in the village may have been a necessary factor making them think beyond their village, the possibility of a city job was the deciding factor that finally moved them. This direct question at the end of the interview brought the responses which match and corroborate the main findings of this thesis presented in Chapter IV and the present chapter.

Conclusions

The evidence that a significant proportion of the respondents had visited Delhi before migration, most of them knew somebody in Delhi and the vast majority received information and advice from their contacts - many were brought along and a few were even given a work trial - goes to show that the connection with the urban area was quite active before migration.

The need to supplement earnings, diversify the earnings-base of the family, find a solution to the problems of debt or economic difficulties or to strengthen their position, worry about the future of the family, etc. were the main concerns of the families. The

family often provided food, fares and initial expenditures. These elements show the importance of family strategies in the process of rural to urban migration.

A few came with jobs fixed beforehand and the rest searched for jobs on arrival. The migrants had a realistic idea before arrival regarding what to look for in the urban job market and what to expect. The existence of close contacts resulted in an early start in job searching. After arrival, the time before the job search started was often used to learn the "manners" of urban areas. The waiting period for first jobs was a week for over half of the migrants and 86 per cent got a job within one month.

The migrants received help from families, relatives, co-villagers and friends during the waiting period. They also used past savings and found other ways of survival.

They mainly got a first job through the search efforts of urban contacts and jobbers. The *labour chowk* was often the way to get unskilled construction jobs. The importance of urban contacts was corroborated by the finding that migrants often got jobs in the sectors where their acquaintances worked.

The main sectors of migrants' entry into the Delhi labour market were construction, service and factory, respectively. Construction sector emerges as the entry point for two fifth of the migrants. Usually the migrants from low socio-economic status and low education started in unskilled construction jobs. Moreover, the low-technology and labour-intensive nature of this work meant more demand for labour in this sector compared to others.

Migrants tended to leave their first jobs between six months and a year after starting. The first jobs often ended more because of negative factors like low remuneration, poor working conditions and lay off. In the later jobs, the service and factory sectors became more prominent. Within the construction sector in the subsequent jobs, the share of skilled workers increased compared to unskilled ones.

While most of the migrants would go back to their village for the same income or a similar job as in Delhi, about one in ten would not. The latter group were relatively better off before migration and social factors and the status consciousness were important issue for them.

On balance, the remarks from respondents suggest that the possibility of getting a city job was the critical factor in their decision to move. **Recruitment in the urban labour market is decisive in migration.** A brief critique of the main propositions of Hoselitz and Todaro and implications of the results of this thesis for policy are taken up next in the '*concluding considerations*'.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

The "over-urbanisation" thesis based on the comparison by Hoselitz (1962) of nineteenth century urbanisation of Europe with India of mid-twentieth century is an example of urban pessimism based on ahistorical analysis. While propounding the idea that in both situations "push" factors were preponderant, he singled out India for its "*less developed*" industry, *small proportion* of urban labour force in industry and *large proportion* in services, and "*fractionalised urban labour market*". Apart from the question of the reliability of the data to be able to draw such drastic conclusions, this comparison assumes a fixed ratio between manufacturing and service employment regardless of historical period. The idea of "over-population" in the rural areas of India, based on the comparison of its "man-land ratio" with that of nineteenth century Europe, evades an analysis of poverty. This primitive index assumes that all rural people cultivate and all landless are poor. Our results indicate the contrary.

Two in five migrants of the present study had nothing to do with agriculture. Of those who worked on their own or others' land, very few were totally dependent on agriculture. Moreover, of our respondents who were involved in agriculture, the proportion of *marginal operational holdings* was lower, and the proportion of *small* and *semi-medium holdings* higher, compared to the All India Agricultural Census figures. From this it appears that the propensity to migrate is greatest, not among the lowest stratum (*marginal holdings*) but the strata just above the lowest (*small and semi-medium holdings*). These results belie the belief that man-land ratio and migration have a direct and proportionate relation.

The Todaro model was a brave attempt to include the role of income-expectations in the migration decision. However, the way it was seen to happen gave rise to one of the biggest confusions about the process of rural to urban migration.

In this model, favoured jobs are thought to be allocated by lottery. Following this logic, migrants are supposed to earn lower incomes than non-migrants. Our results show that there was no "lottery" involved in getting jobs. People with the right skills, education, gender and age were recruited to *appropriate jobs* through reliable go-betweens. The channels of recruitment were more structured than a "lottery". Yap (1976: 238) found that income-differentials had less to do with the migrant status than age and skills. Evidence from other studies also does not support the view that migrants earn less than non-migrants (Yap, 1977; Nelson, 1979; Mohan, 1980).

Another proposition of the Todaro model is that the potential migrant calculates the expected value of that *lottery ticket* and compares it with certain employment in rural areas. There is an assertion that migrants have a higher incidence of unemployment. Our results contradict this belief. Labour demand was found to be buoyant for the sort of skills these migrants bring. Contrary to the "Push" thesis, most of them were not driven from rural unemployment to urban unemployment. The migrants like all human beings may have their own fantasies but their expectations about city job are not wild. Through their close pre-migration connection with the urban area, they have a fairly good idea of what jobs they would get. The migration decision fits into their family strategies to diversify income sources and risk - it is not an indefinite wait with a *lottery ticket*. This is consistent with the finding that unemployment rates among migrants were low

(Papola, 1981: 99; Berry and Sabot, 1984: 111).

Our results indicate that the duration of job-search is short for most of the labour migrants. Earlier studies on Delhi (Banerjee, 1986: 118-119; Suri, 1991: 250) and other studies (Sinclair, 1978: 50-51; Papola, 1981: 83-84) reached similar conclusion.

The Todaro premise of rural-urban wage equalisation does not seem to be in evidence. Nor does evidence support the view that wages in the modern sector are well above those in the informal sector, especially for manual workers (Kannappan, 1985: 708-712).

One key idea of the Todaro model is that of a sector of the urban economy with zero marginal productivity. Migrants are thought to be earning less in the city when they arrive than they earned in the rural areas they left. Our respondents maintained that this was not the case. Earnings in the first city job were higher than their pre-migration rural earnings. Yap (1977) and others have shown that migrants improve their income over their rural options immediately upon finding the first urban job. Williamson (1988a: 448) reports studies on American and British cities to make the point that historically too, the process of migration has not been dismal, uncertain, random and blind as Todaro would like us to perceive for the developing countries.

The pessimistic models of migration to cities reflect the policy assumption that *overpopulation* and deprivation in rural areas of developing countries drive people out. This assumption has resulted in a deflection of attention from the questions of key importance: Why is it that not all or most of the poor living in the rural areas migrate

to the cities and only a very small minority do? Of the overwhelming majority of the rural people in developing countries which might be poor, how are the ones who migrate selected?

Following Hoselitz, the 'poverty hypothesis' has been used widely to interpret rural to urban migration in India. States of India which are thought to be poor in terms of low per capita income, low availability of land per worker and low productivity in agriculture, exhibit high rates of out-migration compared to other States of India. There are attempts to argue that it is "push" migration.¹ Our results show that there were a significantly larger number of people from *average* economic status and fewer from *below average* than expected among the migrants from a highly out-migration region of North and Central Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh compared to rest of the migrants.

The remarks from respondents suggest that while the unavailability or insufficiency of work in the village may be a necessary factor making them think beyond their village, the possibility of a city job is the deciding factor that finally moved them. **Recruitment in the urban labour market is decisive in migration.**

Deprivation is a necessary condition (a facilitating factor), but not a sufficient condition, of out-migration for most of the migrants. The sufficient condition is urban labour demand communicated through the channels of recruitment. This suggests that migration to urban areas is an option not for all poor people but only those who were recruited.

¹ See, for example, Mohan (1982) and Ratnoo (1987).

Policy approach of the Government of India

By and large, Government of India has viewed the growth of big cities with disapproval and made efforts to stop their growth. During the 1980s, a *National Commission on Urbanisation* (NCU) prepared a report on urbanisation in India and made recommendations for future policy. The attitude of the NCU towards migration reflected the "too big city" syndrome of Hoselitz (1962).² Development of "growth centres" and "counter-magnets" to stop the "avalanche" of rural to urban migration³ and prevent the "runaway growth of large cities and migration of rural people into metropolitan cities"⁴ were its prescriptions.

The recommendation of the NCU matched with what the government had already initiated during its Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-81 to 1984-85), a scheme called *Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns* (IDSMT). The objective of the scheme has been to slow down the growth of larger cities by developing small and medium towns through increased investments in these towns for the improvement of their infrastructure, besides other essential facilities and services. The idea was to place them in a position where they could "effectively serve the rural hinterland and ultimately help in checking the migration of people from rural areas and urban centres to big towns / metropolitan cities as a part of the National Policy of dispersed urbanisation..."⁵ It

² See, GOI, Ministry of Urban Development (1988), vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

³ *ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 31.

⁴ *ibid*, Vol. 2, p.33.

⁵ GOI, Town and Country Planning Organisation (1994: 25).

envisages the development of the towns which are headquarters of administrative Divisions and Districts. The aim is to 'generate employment' in small and medium towns in order to 'retard' rural to urban migration to cities. The government ministries have been the main 'generators' of employment.

The idea that size and 'hinterland' of urban centres can be determined, fails to appreciate that the cost of production and distribution of goods and services is not determined by population-size or geographical proximity to the point of consumption but by the economies in the sphere of production. The 'generation' of employment by government ministries does not substitute for the functioning of economic laws. This policy approach fails to appreciate the need to study the comparative advantages of particular regions and urban centres in terms of their productive power to compete with other cities on a larger, possibly global, scale.

It does not recognise heterogeneity within the categories "big", "medium" or "small". That is why it talks about each category as an aggregate. The idea that a city can be "too big" is false. The belief that government can decide the "optimal" city size is difficult to justify except at a heavy economic cost in lost productivity. The cities in India grew despite government efforts to stop their growth. Moreover, the government needs to recognise that migration is no longer a key factor in growth of big cities. Now, the growth of big cities is slowing down. However, this is not due to government intervention. There is a belief that decentralisation through such intervention is desirable and feasible. A gist of the studies reported in a UN/UNFPA workshop (UN, 1981: 18, 40, 122, 126) suggests negligible effect of such policies. Another problem with this

approach is the belief that the bureaucracy can decide which cities to develop. Otherwise, what justification can there be for choosing political capitals of the provinces, and other administrative headquarters for "development"?

The Town and Country Planning Organisation of the Government of India in its latest report implicitly accepts the inevitable failure of the efforts to resist the power of labour demand as a factor determining migration:

"It is also true that migration from smaller urban areas to bigger urban areas has been taking place in the past with a view to find better employment facilities. One simple but major factor for such movements has been the belief that bigger cities offer more employment opportunities and better living standards."⁶

This is an admission that recruitment in the urban labour market and not a blind flow of migrants is responsible for migration to cities.

Implications

This thesis supports the move away from the pessimistic interpretations of rural to urban migration and towards the microeconomic foundations of the classical economic theory on rural to urban transfer of labour.

The new wave of globalisation of the economies of the developing countries, especially those of the *emerging markets* harbinger a rapid capitalistic development. The process

⁶ *ibid* (1994: 26).

of structural transformation - the evolution of an agrarian economy into a diversified industrial economy - is being accelerated as a result of this wave. This would result in a rapid decline in the share of agriculture in the labour force and national product. The consequent *urban transition* will be accompanied by a massive transfer of labour from rural to urban areas. It is beyond the power of governments to stop this transformation. The Government of India policy to resist and stop urbanisation has failed. It must embrace urbanisation and try to make cities work. Migrants know better than governments where they ought to be. The government must facilitate migration and not waste time and effort trying to stop it. The test of successful policy will be how a government helps the growth of the productive capacity of the economy.

One of the comparative advantages that the developing countries have, and will continue to have for the foreseeable future, is their young labour force. A developing country can use this advantage of a low cost of labour if it can plan and develop education, skills and work culture that raise labour productivity. The urban labour market is an important element of a strategy of industrialisation.

The rapidity of breakthroughs in science and technology and their integration in the production system means the development of infrastructure and products and services is becoming a much more dynamic process. It will need greater insight on the part of the governments to recognise what they can usefully do. What the local and national governments can do is to recognise their strengths and find a place in the increasingly globalised market and use manpower planning to make use of opportunities and minimise risks.

Appendix A

**Methodological details of the sample survey
and
the demographic profile of *criteria migrants***

1 Method in estimating the percentage of squatter population in different parts of Delhi

In the first place the decision had to be made on the unit by which to do the first-stage sampling, i.e., selecting a part of Delhi. The organisations that keep and collect data on Delhi use different classifications¹ and often the data are incomparable.

During the information-hunt, an updated list of 929 *jhuggie jhonpari* clusters (squatter settlements), disaggregated for each of the 5 Zones of the Slum Wing of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), was found.² The list also gave the number of *jhuggies* for each cluster. In order to estimate the Zone-wise squatter population, it was necessary to estimate the average number of persons per *jhuggie* for each Zone. For this, the Food and Supplies Department of the Delhi Administration were approached. Their Circle offices located in different parts of the city had to be visited for data on the number of *jhuggie* ration cards and number of sugar units. The average number of sugar units per *jhuggie* ration card was estimated for each Zone of the DDA (Slum Wing).³ Multiplying this figure by the number of *jhuggies* as given in the DDA (Slum Wing) list, it was possible to estimate the population living in squatter settlements for each Zone. But, no data for the total population and area of these Slum Wing Zones exist. However, the area figures and the population figures, for 1971 and 1981, could be found

¹ Some of the examples are : Municipal Corporation of Delhi divides Delhi into 14 Zones; Delhi Administration into 5 Districts; Delhi Development Authority into 8 Planning Divisions; Slum Wing of the DDA into 5 Zones. Unfortunately there is hardly any compatibility with each other.

² Delhi Development Authority, Slum Wing (1990).

³ The average of the number *sugar units* per *jhuggie* ration card for Food and Supplies Department Circles serving a particular Zone of the Slum Wing was taken as an average for that Zone.

for the 8 Planning Divisions of the DDA⁴. The estimates for 1991 population were made, assuming that the 1971-81 trends of population growth continued in the eighties. These Divisions could be regrouped into the 5 Slum Wing Zones, although the latter needed some adjustments for this.⁵

With these steps, it was possible to estimate the percentage of squatter population in different parts of Delhi (**Table A-3.1**).

2 Examination of density criterion: South Delhi or East Delhi?

This section examines the evidence to see if population density means poverty in the context of Delhi.

The availability in per capita terms, of water, sewerage and hospital beds is low⁶ and the 'population/college ratio' high in the East Delhi⁷, compared to the other parts. On the other hand, South Delhi comes highest in respect of most of these facilities in per capita terms. However, these indicators do not mean that the people living in the squatter settlements of South Delhi are any better off than those of East Delhi.⁸

⁴ Information on area was collected from the unpublished records of the Zonal Planning Division of the DDA. Population figures were taken from GOI, Ministry of Urban Development (1990: 120).

⁵ Slum Wing Zones included some areas outside the DDA Zones.

⁶ Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration (1982: 40-41).

⁷ See, DDA, Perspective Planning Division (1983: 5).

⁸ The area averages have the tendency to hide the group differences.

The provisional results of the Economic Census of the Union Territory of Delhi⁹, conducted in September 1990, show that Shahdara Zone of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (About the same as the East Zone of the Slum Wing of the DDA) tops in terms of its percentage share of the *enterprises* as well as that of the *persons usually working* in Delhi.¹⁰ However, in this part of Delhi more enterprises are without premises than those with premises¹¹ and more of them are *own-account* (those using household labour only) than *establishments* (those working with the assistance of at least one hired worker on a fairly regular basis).¹² It lags behind in terms of its percentage share of the *hired persons usually working* in Delhi.¹³ Moreover, this Census does not cover certain kinds of employment opportunities as, for example, those of the domestic servants which are greater in the case of South Delhi.¹⁴

One more objection to the South Zone being chosen was that the squatter population is very highly concentrated in a part of it¹⁵ and it is usually perceived as a "rich area" This concentration of squatter settlements matches closely with the fact that the South

⁹ see, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration (1991).

¹⁰ op. cit., pp. 8-9.

¹¹ op. cit, p. 11.

¹² op cit, p. 13.

¹³ Op. cit., p.13

¹⁴ The studies by the Perspective Planning Wing of the DDA (1986: 9) and Suri (1991: 258) indicate that the squatter settlement dwellers predominantly depend on cheap means of transport and tend to live near the place of work. This corroborates the intuitive understanding that the higher employment opportunities attract labourers and these labourers tend to settle as nearby as possible to the places of their work. A Survey by the Institute of Socialist Education (1989: 13) shows that 76 per cent of the squatter settlement dwellers of Delhi walk to their work and the rest use bicycles (12 per cent) and buses (12 per cent).

¹⁵ It was hoped that the sampling scheme would take care of this by allocating more probability of choosing squatters from this area of concentration (because of the very reason of this concentration).

Zone has the biggest industrial belt of Delhi. Moreover, this "rich area" provides a lot of domestic employment and offers the best pay. Finally, the South Zone was selected because the notion that the poor and the rich do not live side by side and the conceptualisation by area were mainly responsible for the popular perception of rich and poor areas.

3 Index for selection of squatter settlements in Delhi

The following weights (given in brackets) were applied to the selected indicators for the calculations of the '*index of poverty and recentness of migration*' for the 159 squatter settlements of South Delhi for which information was available:

- (a) the percentage of 5-12 years not going to school (.1666),
- (b) the percentage distribution by occupation of those above 18 years (.1669),

[The weight was further distributed as follows: *Mazdoor* (unskilled worker) (.0534); *Karigar* (skilled worker)(.0267); service (.0134); Business (.0134); No occupation (.0601)]

- (c) the percentage of 12-18 years working (.1666),
- (d) the percentage of the scheduled caste in the population (.1666),

(e) the percentage distribution of households according to year of migration (.3333),

[The weight was further distributed as follows: 1960-65 (0); 1966-73 (0); 1974-76 (.0400); 1977-80 (.0667); 1981-85 (.0933); 1986-89 (.1333)].

Two clusters with the highest values of the index from each of the five size-groups (up to 100, 100-250, 250-500, 500-1000, 1000-3600) were selected.

These 10 sites were visited for physical verification and observation. It was found that one of these settlements was demolished about one and half years back and hence the cluster with the next highest value of index in that size-group was substituted for it. The viewing during round of the selected clusters corroborated the expectation that poor migrants can be found in "rich areas".

4 The selected Census blocks

Following were the selected Census blocks¹⁶:

- 1 Charge No. 109, Enumeration Block 87, **Subhas Camp** T. Huts Nos. (1-137)
- 2 Charge No. 109, Enumeration Block 92, **Subhas Camp** T. Huts Nos. (686-822)
- 3 Charge No. 110, Enumeration Block 70, **Okhla Industrial Area Phase II**
Sanjay Colony T. Huts Nos. Block F181-300 and Block G 1-72

¹⁶ Census of India (1992).

4 Charge No. 110, Enumeration Block 83, **Okhla Industrial Area Phase I**

T. Huts of Bengali Camp at Plot No. A-197 Behind Punjab and Sindh Bank. T. Huts Nos. 1-139.

5 Charge No. 110, Enumeration Block 62, **Okhla Industrial Area Phase II**

Sanjay Colony Census No. T. Huts Nos. 1201-1400 or Municipal Nos. Block - C 201-367.

It was difficult to locate any particular selected Census block and to identify the households covered by it from among a large number of *jhuggies*. It was due to the lack of systematic numbering and the very nature of the settlement in the squatter areas.¹⁷

5 The pre-testing of the questionnaires

The pre-testing of the Hindi translation of the questionnaire I on 17 heads of the households and of questionnaire II on 4 migrant heads of households, living in the *jhuggies* situated on both sides of the Railway tracks near the Azadpur Railway station in the Azadpur-Wazirpur industrial area of North Delhi, gave the impression that while the questionnaires were working well, some changes in translation were necessary. The questionnaires were finalised and printed after a review of the pre-testing¹⁸. The finalised questionnaires proved to be reasonably successful in eliciting the right

¹⁷ The maps of the census blocks were hard to get. Photocopying or tracing was not allowed. The copies were made by observation. Even the maps were not very accurate. The household list of 1991 census of census blocks was of greater use. The respondents were located (traced) with the help of household list, a map and purchase of the "local expertise".

¹⁸ The questionnaire used in the listing survey (stage I) and the questionnaire used to interview further the migrant heads of the households (stage II) are given in *Appendix D*.

information, except for the wording of a question on the place of last residence¹⁹ which, it was realised soon after the actual survey started, was being commonly misunderstood. The wording was changed appropriately.

Other languages in interviewing

The questionnaires had to be translated into Bengali as most of the respondents in one of the squatter settlements could best understand that language. In some cases, interpretation became necessary while interviewing the respondents whose languages were Bengali, Tamil and Nepali.

6 The settings for data collection

Every head of the household residing in the selected Census blocks was approached with the questionnaire designed for the listing survey (phase I of the sample survey). The opening remark of this questionnaire contained, apart from the introduction of the purpose of the survey as well as the surveyor, a request to agree to answer few questions. If the person was prepared for this conversation, the questionnaire I was used. If the person refused a request for appointment at some other time was made. Most of the respondents would at least agree for other time, although some of them did not keep appointments and had made the appointment only to avoid and evade the interviewer.

¹⁹ See Questionnaire I, Question 5 (a). This question on last residence before migration to Delhi was misunderstood as a question on last residence in Delhi.

If the respondent agreed to spare a few minutes we would complete this part of the survey (listing). If the respondent was found to be a *criteria migrant*, we would immediately request him or her for agreement to be interviewed for the stage II survey. If the person agreed we would continue the interview, and try to finish the second stage of the interview which on an average took about 24 minutes. If some one refused to be interviewed further, we would try to fix an appointment for some other time. The last part of the questionnaire I contained questions regarding the persuasion for the second stage interview.

7 Where and when the interviews took place

The interesting contrast is that the *criteria migrants* were quite low in number in Subhas camp. We can see from **Table A-3.2** that the proportion of migrants amongst the total number of households was half in this locality compared to the other two. **Table A-3.3** gives similar distribution by Census blocks.

Date, day and time of data collection

The interviewing for the survey was done between 14 March 1992 and 29 April 1992. Weekend was the time when about two-fifth of the interviewing was done. The tempo of work used to start building on Friday and reach the peak on Sunday, the day on which a quarter of the total interviewing was done. The tempo would start falling on Monday and the mid-week was the period of "underemployment" for the researcher (**Table A-3.4**). A quarter of the interviews were conducted before 8 O' clock in the

morning. The results show that the forenoon contributed more than the afternoon in terms of the proportion of interviews conducted during the day (**Table A-3.5**). Similar was the case with the listing survey.

Interview-duration for the main survey

The measures of the central tendency show that the average duration of phase II interview was around 24 minutes. On the basis of mean (24.33) and standard deviation (8.46), we can say that in two thirds of the cases the interview-duration was between 16 and 31 minutes.

The interview-duration was recorded for 163 out of the 184 *criteria migrants*. The quarter of the interviews took less than or equal to 20 minutes. The next quarter took between 20 and 24 minutes. The third quarter of the interviews took between 24 and 30 minutes. The last quarter took between 30 minutes and 55 minutes. The minimum duration was 9 minutes and the maximum 55 minutes. **Table A-3.6** gives the distribution.

8 Demographic profile of the *criteria migrants*

Most of the migrants (98 per cent) were males, a proportion higher than found among the sample population of 506 in the listing survey (94 per cent). It demonstrates that the migrants of the kind we chose were predominantly males.

The *criteria migrants* were younger (median = 32 years) compared to the heads of the households in squatter settlements in general (median = 33 years). **Table A-3.7** gives the distribution.

About 56.5 per cent of the *criteria migrants* had the ability to read, slightly higher than the figure of 55.3 per cent for the sample population of the heads of households of the listing survey. Regarding the ability to write in any language, the *criteria migrants* were better than the general sample population of the squatter settlements, as revealed by the listing survey. The 55.4 per cent of the *criteria migrants* could write compared to the figure of 52.8 per cent for the heads of the households of the squatter population in general. The 52.7 per cent having been to the school, the *criteria migrants* turned out to be better off than the general squatter heads of the households, the figure for the latter being 51.2.

97 people reported having been to a school. The years of schooling could be determined for 95 only. **Table A-3.8** gives the distribution of the respondents according to the years of schooling they had.

About 92 per cent were married and 6.5 per cent unmarried. The proportion of others (divorced, widowed, etc.) was higher among the *criteria migrants* (1.5 per cent) (**Table A-3.9**) than was among the sample population in general (1 per cent). The question on number of children was not asked of unmarried people. However it was asked to the people in the category 'others' - the divorced, widow, etc. On the average the *criteria migrants* had 3 children which is similar to heads of the households in the squatter

settlements. The average number of male children (Mean = 1.59, S.D. = 1.047) was higher than female children (Mean = 1.40, S.D. = 1.13). It shows the adverse gender-ratio (more adverse compared to the general sample population).

The profile of mobility

Duration of stay in Delhi

Table A-3.10 gives the distribution of the *criteria migrants* according to the total duration of stay in Delhi. The median duration of stay in Delhi was 132 months compared to the average of 162 months observed in the case of migrants in general. This means our *criteria migrants* are more recent than the migrants in general. The proportion of recent migrants was also high among the *criteria migrants* compared to the migrants in general. The 7 per cent of the *criteria migrants* had arrived in the past seven months (compared to 4 per cent in the case of the migrants in general). As we had selected the migrants of a particular duration only (those who have come in past 20 years) the two are not comparable. The point made here is that our preference for more recent is in fact reflected in the distribution here.

Table A-3.11, gives the distribution of the respondents by the years since migration. This dummy variable corroborates the conclusion based on the direct question on duration of stay in Delhi.

Arrival in Delhi

Only two thirds of the *criteria migrants* could recall the exact month of their arrival in Delhi. However, The rate of recall is higher than the migrants in general - only half of them could recall it. The seasonal pattern observed in the case of migrants in general is also observed in the case of our *criteria migrants*: *March to May* and *November to January* seem to be two peaks. The off-season in the countryside seems to coincide with the arrival in the city. However, more interesting thing to observe here is that despite the peaks there is an year-round migration. (Table A-3.12).

Table A-3.13 gives the distribution of the respondents by the calendar year of arrival in Delhi. There seems to be a greater concentration in post-1977 (the "post emergency") period culminating in 1982 (the Delhi Asian games' year). The *modal year* of migration was 1982. Median year was 1981. The other year of high migration seems to be 1984. The recent migrants are well represented in the sample - about 10 per cent having arrived within one and half years before the survey.

Table A-3.14 gives the distribution of *criteria migrants* by the age at arrival in Delhi. The average age at arrival is around 21, slightly higher than the migrants in general (which includes associational and other types of migrants).

Places of last residence

Table A-3.15 gives the distribution by the type of the place of last residence. For 97 per cent of the *criteria migrants*, the type of the place of last residence was village. The others with place of last residence other than village were, in fact, rural-born step-migrants.

To a certain extent by the very logic of our selection all the migrants had their last residence within India. The State of Uttar Pradesh contributed the highest.

At the district level, Purnia (Bihar) comes at the top. About 16 per cent of our *criteria migrants* came from this district. Maldah (West Bengal) with its contribution of about 7 per cent in the sample of the 184 *criteria migrants* occupies the second place. The other significant ones are Sawai Madhopur (Rajasthan) and Bulandashahar (Uttar Pradesh) each contributing about 5 per cent of the sample.

Appendix B

Ownership, leasing-in and leasing-out of land

This appendix is concerned with the people who owned land or leased-in land.

1 Economic position in terms of the ownership of land

Whether they owned land or not was ascertained for each of the 184 sample migrants.

It was found that just under half of them had land and the rest did not.

One quarter of the land-owners had less than 1.25 acres, half had less than 1.88 acres.

Table A-4.3 gives some idea of how much land the migrants had in the countryside before they came to Delhi. The positive skewness of the distribution of total land in this table (Skewness = 4.23) shows the tendency is towards lower than average acreage. However, what really counts in agriculture is cultivable land rather than the total land owned. It appears that the tendency to low acreage was stronger with respect to cultivable land. A quarter had less than one acre, half had less than 1.72 acres.

The distribution of cultivable land in **Table A-4.3** and **Figure A1** shows a greater positive skewness (+ 5.47) than the one with respect to the total land given in **Table A-4.3**.

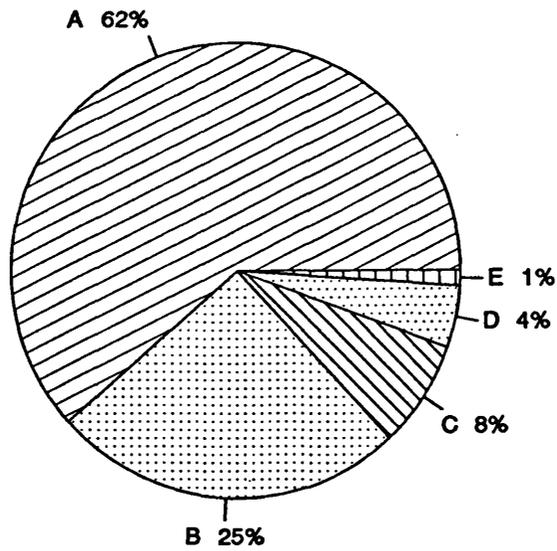


Fig A1: Ownership distribution of cultivable land

(n = 91)

LAND IN ACRES: A = Up to 2.49; B = 2.50 to 4.99; C = 5.00 to 7.49; D = 7.50 to 9.99; E = 10 and above.

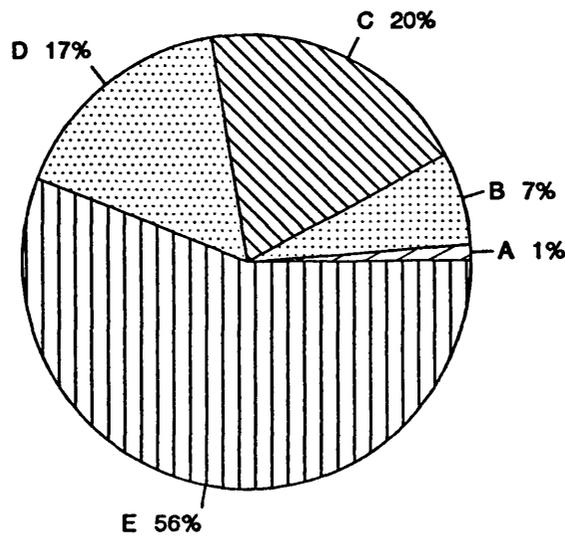


Fig A2: Extent of land cultivable

(n = 91).

% OF LAND CULTIVABLE: A = Up to 24.99; B = 25 to 49.99; C = 50 to 74.99; D = 75 to 99.99; E = 100.

About the land owned and employment of labour

The size of landholding in itself is not an adequate indicator of its economic worth. Important questions to be considered are the proportion of cultivable to total land, how fragmented or consolidated was the cultivable land owned and if, and how much, were the operators dependent on employment of others' labour.

Figure A2 gives distribution of the cultivable to total land ratio for the land-owning migrants. For about 8 per cent of the landowners, less than half of their land was cultivable. For another 20 per cent, the extent of cultivable land was between half and three quarters of their total land. It is clear that for 3 out of 5 of the land-owners, all land was cultivable. On an average, 82 per cent land was cultivable. The All India average for operational holdings is 90 per cent.¹

Further, it was discovered that the land was fragmented in the case of three fourths of all the respondents who had any cultivable land. A quarter had their land in one piece.

Figure A3 gives the distribution of single plot-owners by the size of their plots of cultivable land. In the case of those with a single plot of cultivable land, only a third owned plots of area less than one acre. The comparable situation with respect to those with fragmented land is that four fifth of them had less than one acre plots.

¹ GOI, Ministry of Agricultural (1987: 33), Table 3.25A.

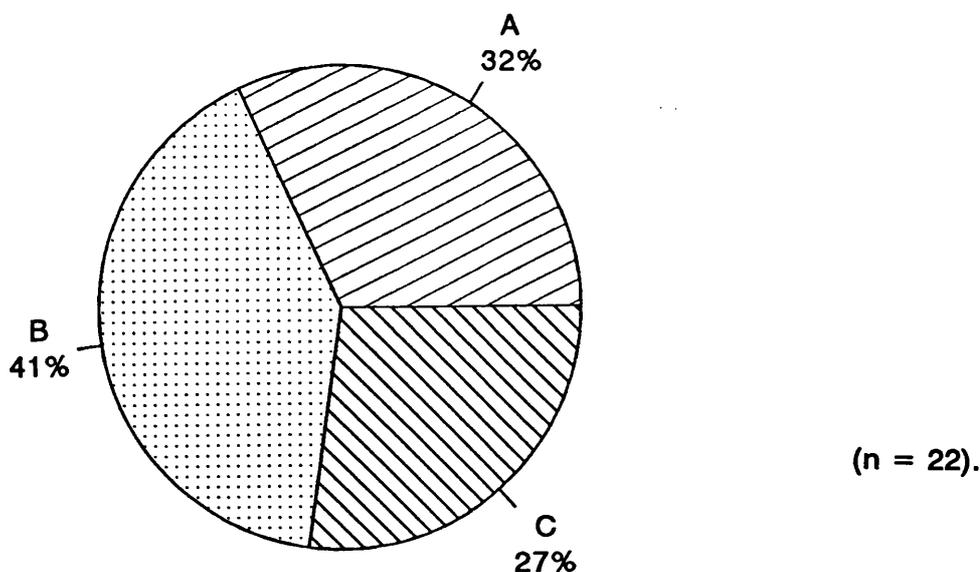


Fig A3: Distribution of single plot cultivable holdings

A: Less than one acre; B: 1 to 1.99 acres; C: 3 acres and over.

For those who had fragmented land, the average number of pieces was 5 (median). Only one third had 2 or 3 pieces. The rest had more than 3 pieces. For one quarter of the respondents, the land was fragmented into 9 or more pieces. In terms of the percentage of irrigated to cultivable land the median of 67 is much higher than the weighted average of 43 per cent based on official data.²

² This average was arrived as follows:

(i) calculating percentage of area under irrigation for States (i.e., Net irrigated area as percentage of Net Cropped Area).

(ii) Taking an average of State-level figures, weights being assigned in proportion to the migrants in our sample from that State.

[Weight for a particular State = Percentage contribution of the State to the sample by *place of last residence* (POLR) concept of migration + percentage contribution of the State to the sample by *place of birth* (POB) concept \ (2)]

The unweighted All India average was 61 per cent (GOI, Ministry of Agriculture (1987: 36), Table 3.27A.

The landowners were asked if they employed any labour for agricultural purposes. Only a quarter of the respondents did so. Even those who employed labour did so very occasionally.

It leads to the conclusion that most of the landowners had low acreage and for many the land was not cultivable. Most of the migrants did not employ other people for work.

2 Extent of self-cultivation and leasing-out

Most of them (92 per cent) were from households who cultivated all their land by themselves. The remaining eight per cent (7 respondents) did not cultivate all their land.

Those leasing-out were, by and large, similar to others in terms of the amount of land owned. The lack of resources to manage inputs was the main reason for leasing-out - four out of these seven gave this reason. Two said they did not know agriculture and one gave a vague reason that the share-cropper needed to be helped!

The t-test shows that those leasing-out migrated at an age significantly higher than those not leasing out. Moreover, these were people who had income from diverse sources - they were getting, on average, significantly greater proportion of income from shop-keeping / vending, loans and mortgaging / sale of property in the year before migration compared to those who did not lease-out. Looking at this profile, those who were

leasing-out appear mostly to be the middle income, more skilled compared to others and reported decline in business of shop-keeping. **The results show that most of the landowners cultivated their land themselves and those who leased-out were a small group.**

3 Leasing-in

This sub-section considers how many migrants leased-in land from others. It also discusses the amount of leased-in land and aspects like fragmentation and irrigation. It considers the landowners among the migrants who lease-in to find out how dependent this group is on the leasing-in of land.

The survey results show that about 3 in 10 migrants leased-in land. The average leased-in area was 1.25 acres (median). **Table A-4.4** gives the distribution. In fact, a quarter of them leased-in less than 0.63 acres.

The survey results show that two in five had more than one piece of leased-in land. The average size of single plot of leased-in land was 1.25 acres (median). **Table A-4.5** and **Figure A4** give distribution of single leased-in plots. More than half (of the respondents who had more than one plot of leased-in land) had more than 3 pieces.

The average size of plots of leased-in land was .52 acre (Median). The average size of the plots of irrigated leased-in land was .63 acre (Median).

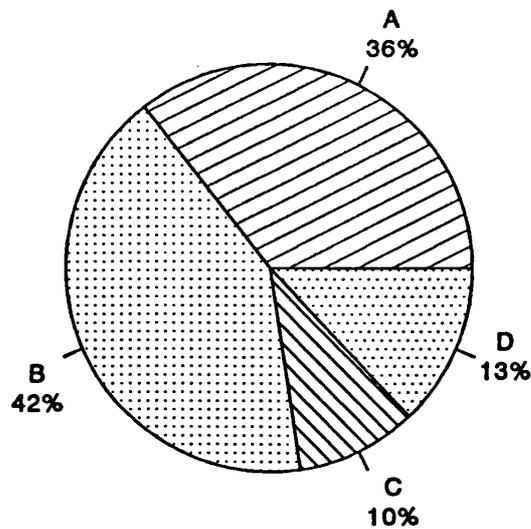


Fig A4: Size distribution of single plots of leased-in land

(SIZE IN ACRES): A = Less than 1; B = 1 to 1.99; C: 2 to 2.99; D = 3 and over.

(n = 31).

The overall conclusion is that while some of the leased-in holdings (20 out of 55) were comparatively compact, the rest of them were very tiny pieces.

The survey also noted how much of the leased-in land was irrigated. **Figure A5** gives the distribution. For 58 per cent, all of it was irrigated and another 11 per cent had more than half of the area irrigated. For a quarter, all the leased-in land was un-irrigated whereas there were 34 migrants who owned as well as leased-in land. To put the number into context, they were 37 per cent of the land-owning migrants; 62 per cent of those leasing-in and 18 per cent of all the sample migrants. On average, they leased-in land equivalent to half the amount of their own land

One of these 34 did not have any cultivable land. For the remaining 33 respondents, the

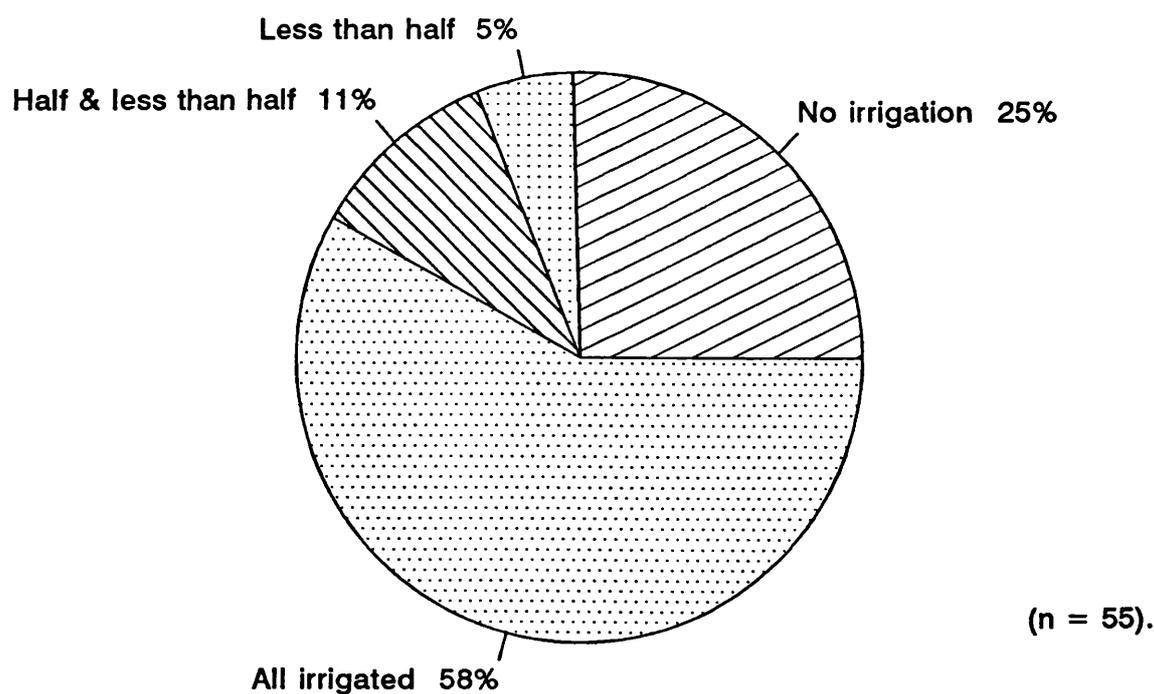


Fig A5: Extent of irrigation in the leased -in land

percentage of leased-in to own cultivable land was 66, on average. It shows that the typical land-owning migrant (who leased-in any land) leased in an amount of land equivalent to two thirds of what he or she owned. About 2 in 5 of such respondents leased-in land equivalent to or more than their own land. The distribution is given in **Table A-4.6**.

Appendix C

Statistical tables

Table A-2.1*

Life time internal male migrants as percentage of internal male population in the
States and Union Territories of India - 1961, 1971, 1981

State / UT	Migrants			Rural			Urban			Inter-State migrant			Inter-State rural			Inter-State urban			Intra District Migrants ratio			Intra District migrant ratio in Rural areas			Intra district migrant ratio in Urban areas		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
	1. Andhra Pradesh	21.18	21.25	20.46	17.52	17.80	15.80	38.24	35.42	35.50	1.40	1.42	1.32	0.66	0.68	0.64	4.81	4.44	3.49	14.32	14.38	13.12	13.47	13.82	11.83	18.31	16.68
2. Assam	23.43	24.38	N.A.	21.50	22.40	N.A.	47.82	45.01	N.A.	5.82	4.97	N.A.	4.54	3.56	N.A.	21.99	19.62	N.A.	13.64	15.33	N.A.	13.53	15.26	N.A.	15.12	16.06	N.A.
3. Bihar	12.20	9.48	8.38	9.45	6.59	4.93	39.65	33.65	31.16	1.63	1.28	1.10	0.85	0.50	0.39	9.38	7.79	5.75	7.17	5.28	3.64	6.44	4.66	2.99	14.49	10.44	7.91
4. Gujarat	19.91	19.67	20.18	13.99	13.61	13.51	36.85	34.99	34.69	2.83	3.09	3.51	0.98	0.98	1.19	8.13	8.45	8.56	10.91	9.92	11.25	9.83	9.25	8.71	14.00	11.61	11.33
5. Haryana	N.A.	13.93	14.28	N.A.	10.23	9.07	N.A.	28.26	34.18	N.A.	6.38	6.56	N.A.	4.23	3.49	N.A.	14.98	18.31	N.A.	5.46	4.41	N.A.	4.58	3.45	N.A.	8.53	8.09
6. Himachal Pradesh	N.A.	18.04	19.10	N.A.	14.74	16.02	N.A.	59.29	53.79	N.A.	3.87	3.92	N.A.	2.37	2.67	N.A.	22.57	18.08	N.A.	10.18	10.71	N.A.	9.76	10.21	N.A.	15.44	16.39
7. Jammu & Kashmir	12.02	11.07	9.61	10.56	9.90	8.36	19.25	16.16	14.28	0.86	1.70	1.33	0.56	1.35	0.90	2.39	3.19	2.90	7.43	6.36	5.38	7.25	6.43	5.36	8.30	6.05	5.48
8. Karnataka	23.59	23.15	22.28	19.61	19.38	17.05	37.01	34.51	34.35	4.32	3.76	3.96	2.44	2.18	2.13	10.67	8.53	8.34	13.96	13.81	12.13	13.53	13.70	11.38	14.98	14.14	13.94
9. Kerala	20.07	16.93	15.54	19.34	16.44	14.38	24.12	19.41	20.55	1.47	1.22	1.36	1.26	0.99	1.19	2.67	2.39	2.10	13.32	10.04	12.17	13.34	10.26	12.51	13.20	8.92	10.69
10. Madhya Pradesh	22.63	20.57	19.33	19.27	17.20	15.08	42.30	37.40	35.60	4.32	3.83	3.44	2.12	1.69	1.41	17.21	14.50	11.20	13.46	11.96	10.62	13.66	12.16	10.41	12.31	10.98	11.45
11. Maharashtra	31.08	29.39	31.99	21.64	20.30	23.71	53.33	48.08	46.43	7.51	7.40	7.65	1.38	1.46	1.93	21.97	19.62	17.64	14.15	12.65	13.77	15.66	14.24	16.04	10.59	9.39	9.82
12. Manipur	13.53	15.50	10.73	13.66	15.76	10.05	12.11	13.83	12.63	1.54	3.05	2.28	1.17	2.82	1.66	5.36	4.58	3.99	11.99	10.84	6.14	12.49	11.33	6.50	6.76	7.64	5.12
13. Meghalaya	N.A.	28.07	23.89	N.A.	26.20	20.26	N.A.	39.33	40.41	N.A.	6.86	7.07	N.A.	3.62	3.92	N.A.	26.33	21.39	N.A.	20.80	14.01	N.A.	22.12	14.42	N.A.	12.65	14.11
14. Nagaland	12.07	16.96	26.83	9.24	9.34	20.20	57.99	76.71	59.98	4.56	11.40	11.52	3.10	5.30	7.60	28.34	58.59	38.14	6.41	6.92	10.72	5.00	6.24	9.34	29.39	13.72	17.59
15. Orissa	13.63	17.02	15.60	11.46	14.17	11.44	42.72	45.95	44.60	1.73	2.09	2.29	0.95	1.04	1.11	12.16	12.78	10.47	9.28	11.77	9.25	8.63	11.25	8.14	18.06	17.10	17.01
16. Punjab	18.89	13.49	17.19	13.53	12.12	12.11	43.49	35.70	30.92	3.24	4.05	4.74	1.52	1.82	2.38	11.14	11.81	11.11	8.68	7.99	7.38	7.70	7.02	6.57	13.16	11.38	9.73
17. Rajasthan	12.20	12.73	12.81	9.50	10.10	9.66	26.38	25.22	24.41	2.37	2.24	2.38	1.60	1.38	1.43	6.42	6.30	5.87	6.66	7.35	6.83	5.95	6.86	6.13	10.37	9.61	9.41
18. Tamil Nadu	18.67	19.96	19.04	13.12	14.36	12.74	33.70	32.66	31.86	1.80	1.92	1.69	0.61	0.63	0.52	5.03	4.84	4.05	11.40	11.57	10.29	10.16	10.89	9.40	14.76	13.12	12.17
19. Tripura	22.87	17.53	14.30	23.23	17.56	14.05	18.21	17.21	16.52	3.05	2.83	2.19	2.69	2.44	1.87	7.87	6.71	5.06	19.83	12.21	9.41	20.54	17.56	9.68	10.33	6.78	6.94
20. Uttar Pradesh	11.66	9.02	7.18	8.47	6.21	4.46	32.63	25.86	19.43	1.09	0.97	0.80	0.47	0.45	0.42	5.12	4.06	2.50	6.27	4.64	3.26	5.66	4.11	2.66	10.32	7.80	5.97
21. West Bengal	22.24	14.91	14.53	14.24	9.84	8.90	47.06	29.98	30.25	9.34	6.61	5.08	3.27	2.88	1.42	28.17	17.82	15.29	8.35	6.80	5.73	8.63	7.72	5.77	7.47	4.06	5.63
22. Delhi	51.05	42.79	43.13	18.95	23.45	22.58	57.07	45.28	44.86	46.61	41.52	41.04	16.76	19.49	20.13	51.15	44.36	42.80	5.43	1.27	2.09	2.19	3.96	2.46	5.93	0.93	2.06
India	18.93	17.49	16.64	14.37	13.07	11.39	40.17	34.95	33.22	3.56	3.44	3.24	1.40	1.35	1.20	13.25	11.68	9.68	10.35	9.31	8.23	9.88	9.06	7.67	12.47	10.28	9.99

Notes:

1. Population and migrants figures for this table exclude international migrants and are not corrected for any boundary changes.
2. The figures for migrants in NEFA and Goa, Daman and Diu as well as Himachal Pradesh are excluded. Haryana and Meghalaya were not in existence as separate states in 1961.
3. The Census in 1981 could not be held in Assam due to disturbed conditions.

Sources:

1. GOI, Census of India 1961, Vol. I India; Migration Tables, part II-C (iii).
2. GOI, Census of India 1961, India: General population tables, Vol. I, Pt. II-A (i).
3. GOI, Census of India 1971, Series 1 - India, Migration Tables, Part II-D (i).
4. GOI, Census of India 1981, Series-1, India; Migration Tables, Part V - A & B.
5. GOI, Census of India 1981, Series 1 - India, Part II B (i) Primary Census Abstract General Population.

Table A-2.2

Male Migrants of different categories as percentage of total internal male migrants - 1961, 1971, 1981*

State / UT	Migrants in rural areas			Migrants in urban areas			Inter-State migrants			Inter-State migrants in rural areas			Inter-State migrants in urban areas			Intra District migrants (all)			Intra District migrants in rural areas			Intra District migrants in urban areas		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
	1. Andhra Pradesh	68.10	67.41	58.96	31.90	32.59	41.04	6.59	6.67	69.43	2.57	2.59	2.40	4.02	4.06	4.03	67.61	67.69	32.41	52.33	52.35	12.44	15.28	15.34
2. Assam	85.04	83.86	N.A.	14.96	16.14	N.A.	24.84	29.40	N.A.	17.96	13.24	N.A.	6.88	16.14	N.A.	58.23	62.89	N.A.	53.50	57.13	N.A.	4.73	5.76	N.A.
3. Bihar	70.40	62.06	51.03	29.60	37.94	48.97	13.32	13.53	13.10	6.32	4.74	4.07	7.00	8.79	9.03	58.82	55.67	43.44	48.00	43.90	30.92	10.82	11.77	12.52
4. Gujarat	52.04	49.57	45.85	47.96	50.43	54.15	14.22	15.73	17.40	3.63	3.56	4.03	10.58	12.17	13.37	54.78	50.43	47.26	36.56	33.70	29.57	18.22	16.73	17.69
5. Haryana	N.A.	61.84	50.34	N.A.	38.16	49.66	N.A.	45.81	45.94	N.A.	25.58	19.35	N.A.	20.23	26.50	N.A.	39.20	30.91	N.A.	27.68	19.15	N.A.	11.52	11.76
6. Himachal Pradesh	N.A.	75.68	77.07	N.A.	34.32	23.93	N.A.	21.43	20.55	N.A.	12.17	12.84	N.A.	9.26	7.71	N.A.	56.42	56.08	N.A.	50.08	49.09	N.A.	6.34	6.99
7. Jammu & Kashmir	73.07	72.74	68.53	26.93	27.26	31.47	7.18	15.33	13.79	3.84	9.95	7.40	3.34	5.38	6.39	61.81	57.44	56.03	50.19	47.23	43.96	11.62	10.21	12.07
8. Karnataka	64.14	62.96	53.99	35.86	37.04	46.01	18.32	16.23	17.76	7.99	7.08	6.25	10.33	9.15	31.01	58.78	59.67	54.45	44.27	44.49	36.05	14.51	15.18	18.40
9. Kerala	81.59	81.24	75.10	18.41	18.76	24.90	7.33	7.21	8.75	5.30	4.90	6.29	2.03	2.31	2.54	66.38	59.30	78.30	56.31	50.68	65.35	10.07	8.62	12.95
10. Madhya Pradesh	72.71	69.70	61.86	27.29	30.30	38.14	19.10	18.62	17.80	7.99	6.07	5.80	11.11	11.75	12.00	59.48	58.14	54.95	51.54	49.25	42.68	7.94	8.89	12.27
11. Maharashtra	48.89	46.48	47.12	51.11	53.52	52.88	24.16	25.18	23.92	3.11	3.34	3.83	21.05	21.84	20.09	45.52	43.04	43.05	35.37	32.59	31.87	10.15	10.45	11.18
12. Manipur	92.28	88.23	68.95	7.72	11.77	31.05	11.35	19.70	21.23	7.93	15.80	11.41	3.42	3.90	9.82	88.65	69.90	57.19	84.35	63.40	44.62	4.30	6.50	12.57
13. Meghalaya	N.A.	80.00	69.53	N.A.	20.00	30.47	N.A.	24.45	29.58	N.A.	11.06	13.45	N.A.	13.39	16.13	N.A.	73.99	60.12	N.A.	67.55	49.48	N.A.	6.44	10.64
14. Nagaland	72.18	46.80	62.71	27.82	53.20	37.29	37.79	67.21	42.95	24.19	26.58	23.59	13.60	40.63	19.36	53.15	40.82	39.94	39.05	31.30	29.01	14.10	9.52	10.93
15. Orissa	78.27	75.78	64.17	21.73	24.22	35.83	12.67	12.28	14.66	6.49	5.54	6.25	6.18	6.74	8.41	68.12	69.14	59.30	58.93	60.13	45.64	9.19	9.05	13.66
16. Punjab	58.80	54.25	51.41	41.20	45.75	48.59	17.17	23.29	27.57	6.62	8.15	10.12	10.55	15.14	17.45	45.93	46.02	42.95	34.46	31.43	27.66	12.47	14.59	15.29
17. Rajasthan	65.37	64.44	59.37	34.62	34.56	40.63	19.42	17.55	18.56	11.00	8.92	8.79	8.42	8.63	9.77	54.59	57.67	53.31	40.99	44.50	37.65	13.60	13.17	15.66
18. Tamil Nadu	51.28	49.92	44.58	48.72	50.08	55.42	9.66	9.61	8.88	2.40	2.19	1.83	7.26	7.42	7.05	61.05	57.99	54.07	39.71	37.87	32.90	21.34	12.12	21.17
19. Tripura	94.48	91.04	88.42	5.52	8.96	11.58	13.34	16.16	15.34	10.96	12.66	11.79	2.39	3.50	3.55	86.66	69.65	65.81	83.52	66.12	60.95	3.14	3.53	4.56
20. Uttar Pradesh	63.01	59.06	50.80	36.99	40.94	49.20	9.34	10.72	11.16	3.53	4.29	4.83	5.81	6.43	6.33	53.78	51.42	45.42	42.08	39.08	30.31	11.70	12.34	15.11
21. West Bengal	48.40	49.39	45.11	52.60	50.61	54.89	42.00	44.30	34.97	11.11	14.21	7.22	30.89	30.09	27.75	37.54	45.60	39.46	29.35	38.75	29.25	8.19	6.85	10.21
22. Delhi	4.80	6.26	4.07	95.20	93.74	95.93	89.56	97.02	95.16	4.24	5.20	3.63	85.32	91.82	91.53	10.44	2.98	4.84	0.56	1.06	0.44	9.88	1.92	4.40
India	61.38	59.62	51.99	38.62	40.38	48.01	18.76	19.64	19.46	6.05	6.15	5.47	12.13	13.49	13.99	54.66	53.22	49.45	44.67	41.35	35.01	11.99	11.87	14.44

Note: Same as Table A-2.1

Source: Same as Table A-2.1

* Ratnoo (1987: 40).

Table A-2.3*

**Life time inter-State male migrants from rural and urban areas (per cent)
and their growth rates - 1971-81**

States	Rural out-migrants		Urban out- migrants		Growth rates for migrants			
	to population		to population		-----			
	1971	1981	1971	1981	Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban
					to	to	to	to
				rural	Urban	rural	urban	
1. Andhra Pradesh	1.84	1.81	4.07	3.42	3.33	23.72	15.65	27.31
2. Bihar	4.06	3.50	5.90	6.66	-29.08	37.60	71.68	72.20
3. Gujarat	2.61	2.34	4.60	3.82	19.17	7.81	21.39	16.30
4. Haryana	5.11	5.12	10.76	9.36	22.09	22.00	37.20	39.08
5. Himachal Pradesh	5.47	5.67	27.28	25.60	18.14	29.76	54.69	19.09
6. Jammu & Kashmir	0.96	0.87	4.96	3.88	55.76	- 8.75	63.22	5.58
7. Karnataka	2.39	2.84	6.39	5.00	40.06	42.05	11.09	18.37
8. Kerala	3.59	3.29	14.67	12.42	- 3.05	8.53	- 9.70	20.29
9. Madhya Pradesh	1.21	1.66	3.49	2.95	53.88	80.20	43.68	27.11
10. Maharashtra	1.43	1.47	2.81	2.57	5.15	37.46	14.82	29.95
11. Manipur	1.03	1.33	2.96	1.06	30.08	72.11	63.95	247.72
12. Meghalaya	1.89	0.25	8.61	3.75	-89.53	-27.56	-66.59	- 3.15
13. Nagaland	1.04	0.72	3.76	2.61	-39.25	92.17	- 29.58	114.81
14. Orissa	1.93	1.63	4.43	3.60	-32.76	35.69	- 8.57	50.19
15. Punjab	6.98	5.67	13.00	10.28	- 0.87	-10.59	- 5.52	17.51
16. Rajasthan	3.97	3.52	7.82	5.80	- 3.01	20.96	3.42	20.16
17. Tamil Nadu	1.99	2.08	4.27	4.53	2.19	34.99	38.66	34.54
18. Tripura	1.73	0.83	4.88	3.15	-54.91	11.31	155.29	37.34
19. Uttar Pradesh	3.52	4.00	8.17	7.23	2.75	45.80	19.38	42.80
20 West Bengal	0.96	0.88	2.69	2.72	- 9.48	42.92	13.55	33.22
India	2.69	2.76	5.49	4.99	- 1.20	31.91	20.80	31.91

Source 1. Census of India, 1971, Series 1, India, Migration Tables, Part II, Table D-1

2. Census of India, 1981, Series 1, India, "Report and Tables based on five per cent data", Table D-1

* Kundu (1986: 2007); Rainoo (1987: 45).

Table A-2.4

Lifetime inter-State male net migrants and the decadal rates 1971-1981

States	Net migrants 1971	Net migrants 1981	Estimated net decadal migrants	Decadal rate of migrants
1. Andhra Pradesh	- 178721	- 237170	- 74784	0.34
2. Bihar	- 908347	- 976053	- 165099	- 0.57
3. Gujarat	64740	190140	129016	0.93
4. Haryana	278873	289926	29183	0.54
5. Karnataka	62808	92256	33630	0.22
6. Kerala	- 449054	- 455482	- 51574	- 0.49
7. Madhya Pradesh	634144	510968	- 62767	- 0.29
8. Maharashtra	1596912	1977008	494611	1.89
9. Orissa	17785	113175	97273	0.88
10. Punjab	247583	276520	44918	0.62
11. Rajasthan	- 217530	- 186174	19277	0.14
12. Tamil Nadu	- 90327	- 153669	- 72114	- 0.35
14. Uttar Pradesh	-1362285	-2053328	-835908	- 1.78
15. West Bengal	2825443	2821105	207118	0.88

Note: Net migrant figures are obtained by subtracting the out-migrants from the in-migrants. Survivors among the 1971 migrants have been computed by multiplying the net migrants by the survival ratio of 1971-81, the latter being the proportion of male aged ten and above in 1981 to the total male population in 1971. Net decadal migrants have then been obtained by subtracting the survivors among the migrants of 1971 from the net migrants of 1981. Decadal rate of migrants is the percentage of decadal migrants to the population of the states.

Source 1. Census of India, 1971, Series 1, India Migration Tables, Part II-D(i), Table D-I

2. Census of India, 1981, Series 1, India, "Report and Tables based on five per cent data".

* Kundu (1986: 2007); Ratnoo (1987: 47).

Table A-3.1
Population of jhuggie jhonpari clusters (squatter settlements)
in different parts of Delhi

Slum Wing (D.D.A.) Zones	Population in jhuggie jhonpari Clusters 1991	Population 1991	Percentage of JJ to total population	Area (Hect.)	J.J. Population/ Area
East	195,944	2,108,616	9.29	5,396.3	36.31
Central	92,540	1,050,586	8.81	8,286.1	11.17
North	261,627	2,069,785	12.64	8,217.0	31.84
West	182,212	2,170,655	8.39	12,292.7	14.82
South	356,844	1,404,564	25.41	11,039.0	32.33

Notes on sources:

1. The population figures for Planning Divisions of the DDA are from GOI, Ministry of Urban Development (1990: 120).
2. Squatter population was estimated by taking the average size of the household in squatter settlements in different parts of Delhi using the unpublished data from the various Circles of the Food and Supplies Department of the Delhi Administration.
3. Figures for area of Planning Divisions of the DDA were collected from the unpublished records of the Zonal Planning Division of the DDA.
4. GOI, Census of India 1991, (1991b).

Table A-3.2**Percentage of *criteria migrants* from different squatter settlements**

Name of the Locality	Per cent of <i>criteria migrants</i>	Criteria migrant proportion*
Subhas camp	33.7	0.24
Sanjay colony	31.0	0.47
Bengali camp	35.3	0.50

	100.0	

(n=184)

* *criteria migrants* as proportion of all sampled heads of households of the listing survey.

Table A-3.3

The percentage distribution of *criteria migrants* among census blocks

S.No.	Census block	Per cent	Migrant proportion*
1	Subhas camp, (E. B. 87)	18.5	0.25
2	Subhas camp, (E.B. 92)	15.2	0.24
3	Sanjay colony, (E.B. 70)	31.0	0.47
4	Bengali camp, (E.B. 83)	35.3	0.50

		100.0	

(n=184)

* *Criteria migrants* as proportion of all sampled heads of households of the listing survey.

E.B. Enumeration Block

Table A-3.4
Percentage distribution of the phase I interviews
with the *criteria migrants* by day of the week

Day of the week	Percentage of phase I interviews of the <i>criteria migrants</i>
Monday	14.1
Tuesday	14.1
Wednesday	9.2
Thursday	9.8
Friday	12.5
Saturday	16.6
Sunday	23.4

	100.0

(n=184)

Table A-3.5**Phase II interview in the forenoon or afternoon**

Part of the day	Valid per cent
Forenoon	53.0
Afternoon	47.0

	100.0

(n = 183) Missing cases 01

Table A-3.6**Interview duration in minutes (Phase II)**

Duration	Valid per cent
up to 9	0.6
10 to 14	6.1
15 to 19	16.6
20 to 24	28.2
25 to 29	22.7
30 to 34	13.5
35 to 39	5.5
40 and over	6.7

	100.0

Valid cases 163 Missing cases 21

Table A-3.7**Age at the time of interview**

Age in years	Valid per cent
15 to 19	0.5
20 to 24	13.6
25 to 29	16.3
30 to 34	31.5
35 to 39	13.6
40 to 44	15.2
45 to 49	5.4
50 to 54	1.1
55 to 59	2.7

	100.0

Valid cases 95 Missing cases 2

Table A-3.8**Years of schooling**

Schooling	Valid per cent
Below primary	15.8
>= Primary but < middle	27.4
>= Middle but < matric	26.3
>= Matric but < Graduate	27.4
Graduate and above	3.2

	100.0
<hr/>	
Valid cases	95
Missing cases	2

Table A-3.9**Present marital status**

Marital status	Per cent
Married	91.8
Unmarried	6.5
Others	1.6

	100.0

(n = 184)

Table A-3.10**Total duration of stay in Delhi (in months)**

Duration	Valid per cent
Up to 6	5.5
7 to 12	1.6
13 to 48	6.0
49 to 119	24.6
120 to 179	39.3
180 to 239	21.3
240 and over	1.6

	100.0

Valid Cases 183 Missing cases 1

Table A-3.11**Years since migration**

Years	Valid per cent
Up to 1	3.8
1 to 4	10.3
5 to 9	22.3
10 to 14	39.1
15 to 19	22.3
20	2.2

	100.0

Valid Cases 184 Missing cases 0

Table A-3.12

**The distribution of the *criteria migrants*
by the calendar month of arrival in Delhi**

Month	Valid per cent
January	12.1
February	3.4
March	9.5
April	10.3
May	11.2
June	9.5
July	6.0
August	5.2
September	6.9
October	8.6
November	11.2
December	6.0

	100.0

(n = 116)

Missing cases 68

Table A-3.13**Calendar year of arrival in Delhi**

Year	Valid per cent
1972 to 1973	7.4
1974 to 1976	11.8
1977 to 1978	10.3
1979 to 1980	19.9
1981 to 1982	14.0
1983 to 1984	11.8
1985 to 1986	7.4
1987 to 1988	5.1
1989 to 1990	2.9
1991 to 1992	9.6

	100.0

Valid cases 136 Missing cases 48

Table A-3.14**Age at arrival in Delhi**

Age (in years)	Valid per cent
10 to 14	5.4
15 to 19	30.4
20 to 24	31.0
25 to 29	17.4
30 to 34	7.1
35 to 39	5.4
40 and over	3.3

	100.0

Valid Cases 184 Missing cases 0

Table A-3.15**Type of the place of last residence**

Type	Per cent
Village	97.3
Town	0.5
City	2.2

	100.0

(n = 184)

Table A-3.16**State of birth**

State	Valid per cent
Bihar	28.3
Haryana	2.2
Madhya Pradesh	0.5
Orissa	0.5
Rajasthan	8.2
Tamil Nadu	3.8
Uttar Pradesh	45.7
West Bengal	10.9

	100.0

Valid Cases 184 Missing cases 0

Table A-3.17

The percentage distribution of the *criteria migrants*
by the state of last residence

State	Valid per cent
Andhra Pradesh	0.5
Bihar	29.9
Haryana	2.7
Madhya Pradesh	0.5
Orissa	0.5
Rajasthan	7.6
Tamil Nadu	3.8
Uttar Pradesh	45.7
West Bengal	8.7

	100.0

(n = 184)

Table A-4.1**Duration of unemployment for those unemployed before migration**

Duration of unemployment (in days)	Valid per cent
1 to 7	1.9
8 to 30	10.3
31 to 60	21.5
61 to 90	17.8
91 to 120	13.1
121 to 180	23.4
181 to 240	8.4
241 to 300	2.8
301 to 360	0.9

	100.0

Valid cases 107 Missing cases 0

Table A-4.2

**Duration of under-employment for those under-employed
before migration (in days)**

Duration of under-employment	Valid per cent
300	12.5
365	50.0
730	25.0
1095	12.5

	100.0

Valid cases 8 Missing cases 2

Table A-4.3: Percentage distribution of respondents by the amount of total and cultivable land owned (acres)

Size-class (acres)	Total land		Cultivable land	
	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Up to 0.49	7.7	7.7	15.4	15.4
0.50 to 0.99	14.3	22.0	17.6	33.0
1.00 to 2.49	33.0	54.9	28.6	61.5
2.50 to 4.99	23.1	78.0	25.3	86.8
5.00 to 7.49	12.1	90.1	7.7	94.5
7.50 to 9.99	7.7	97.8	4.4	98.9
10 and over	2.2	100.0	1.1	100.0
	-----		-----	
	100.0		100.0	

Valid Cases 91 Missing Cases 0

**Table A-4.4
Leased-in land (in acres)**

Size-class (acres)	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
Up to 0.49	10.9	10.9
0.50 to 0.99	23.6	34.5
1.00 to 1.74	27.3	61.8
1.75 to 2.49	7.3	69.1
2.50 to 3.49	20.0	89.1
3.50 to 4.99	3.6	92.7
5.00 to 7.49	5.5	98.2
10 and over	1.8	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 55 Missing cases 0

Table A-4.5**Size of single plot of leased-in land (Acres)**

Size-class (acres)	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
0.25 to 0.49	16.1	16.1
0.50 to 0.74	19.4	35.5
1.00 to 1.99	41.9	77.4
2.00 to 2.99	9.7	87.1
3 and over	12.9	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 31 Missing cases 0

Table A-4.6**Percentage of leased-in to own cultivable**

Per cent	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
Up to 24	12.1	12.1
25 to 49	18.2	30.3
50 to 74	27.3	57.6
75 to 99	3.0	60.6
100 to 199	21.2	81.8
200 to 399	9.1	90.9
400 and over	9.1	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 33 Missing cases 0

Table A-5.1**Calendar month of pre-migration visit**

Month	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
April	16.7	16.7
June	33.3	50.0
August	25.0	75.0
October	16.7	91.7
November	8.3	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 12 Missing cases 10

Table A-5.2**Calendar year of pre-migration visit**

Years	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
1960 to 1970	10.0	10.0
1971 to 1973	25.0	35.0
1974 to 1976	5.0	40.0
1977 to 1980	25.0	65.0
1981 to 1984	15.0	80.0
1985 to 1988	10.0	90.0
1989 to 1992	10.0	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 20 Missing cases 2

Table A-5.3**Days of stay during pre-migration visit**

Stay (in days)	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
1 to 7	23.8	23.8
8 to 30	28.6	52.4
31 to 180	33.3	85.7
181 to 365	14.3	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 21 Missing cases 1

Table A-5.4
First job in Delhi

Code	First occupation	Per cent	Cumulative per cent
1	Animal husbandry	0.5	0.5
2	Agricultural labour	1.6	2.2
3	Unskilled construction work (<i>Beldari</i>)	33.2	35.3
4	Semi-skilled construction work	0.5	35.9
5	Other unskilled construction work	3.8	39.7
6	Helper / labourer in non-garment factory	8.7	48.4
7	Semi-skilled non-garment factory work	3.3	51.6
8	Helper / labourer in garment factory	2.2	53.8
9	Tailor	6.0	59.8
10	Other semi-skilled garment factory work	2.7	62.5
11	Craft and trade person	6.5	69.0
12	Shop-keeping	1.1	70.1
13	Shop worker	2.2	72.3
14	Vendor	3.8	76.1
15	Sweeper	7.6	83.7
16	Watchman / security guard	3.3	87.0
17	Peon	2.2	89.1
18	Hotel / restaurant / Bar and related work	3.3	92.4
19	Domestic servant	2.2	94.6
20	Other service sector work	2.2	96.7
21	Others	3.3	100.0
		----- 100.0	

Valid cases 184 Missing cases 0

Table A-5.5**Total duration in first job (in months)**

Duration (in months)	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
Up to 0.23	7.6	7.6
0.24 to 0.50	5.4	13.0
0.51 to 1.00	4.9	17.9
1.01 to 3.00	15.8	33.7
3.01 to 6.00	15.2	48.9
6.01 to 12.00	13.6	62.5
12.01 to 36.00	14.1	76.6
36.01 to 72.00	10.9	87.5
72.01 to 108.00	2.7	90.2
108.01 to 180.00	7.1	97.3
180.01 to 240.00	2.7	100.0

	100.0	

Valid cases 184 Missing cases 0

Table A-5.6
Second job in Delhi

Code	Occupation	Valid Per cent	Cumulative per cent
1	Animal husbandry	1.1	1.1
2	Agricultural labour	1.1	2.1
3	Unskilled construction work (<i>Beldari</i>)	8.4	10.5
4	Semi-skilled construction work	6.3	16.8
5	Other unskilled construction work	2.1	18.9
6	Helpers / labourer in non-garment	6.3	25.3
7	Semi-skilled non-garment factory work	5.3	30.5
8	Helper / labourer in non-garments factory	9.5	40.0
9	Tailor	1.1	41.1
10	Other semi-skilled garment factory work	5.3	46.3
11	Craft and trade person	5.3	51.6
12	Shop-keeping	4.2	55.8
13	Shop worker	2.1	57.9
14	Vendor	5.3	63.2
15	Sweeper	8.4	71.6
16	Watchman / security guard	7.4	78.9
17	Peon	5.3	84.2
20	Other service sector work	4.2	88.4
21	Others	11.6	100.0

		100.0	

Valid cases 95 Missing cases 5

Inapplicable 84

Table A-5.7
Third job in Delhi

Code	Occupation	Valid Per cent	Cumulative per cent
3	Unskilled construction work (<i>Beldari</i>)	14.7	14.7
4	Semi-skilled construction work	8.8	23.5
5	Other unskilled construction work	2.9	26.5
6	Helper / labourer in non-garment factory	5.9	32.4
7	Semiskilled non-garment factory work	14.7	47.1
9	Tailor	5.9	52.9
10	Other semi-skilled garment factory work	8.8	61.8
11	Craft and trade person	2.9	64.7
12	Shop-keeping	2.9	67.6
14	Vendor	2.9	70.6
15	Sweeper	8.8	79.4
16	Watchman / security guard	2.9	82.4
18	Hotel / restaurant / bar and related work	2.9	85.3
20	Other service sector work	8.8	94.1
21	Others	5.9	100.0
		----- 100.0	

Valid cases 34 Missing cases 5

Inapplicable 145

Table A-5.8
Fourth job in Delhi

Code	Occupation	Valid Per cent	Cumulative per cent
3	Unskilled construction work (<i>Beldari</i>)	11.1	11.1
4	Semi-skilled construction work	33.3	44.4
6	Helper / labourer in non-garment factory	11.1	55.6
12	Shop-keeping	33.3	100.0
		----- 100.0	

Valid cases 9 Missing cases 5

Inapplicable 170

Appendix D

Questionnaires

THE SMALL SCALE SAMPLE SURVEY
OF INTER-STATE RURAL MIGRANTS IN DELHI

1992

STAGE I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS
OF THE SELECTED CENSUS BLOCKS

CONFIDENTIAL

Unit Code No. _____

House _____

Locality _____

Date -----

Time -----

Namaskar. I am a student. Earlier I was studying in Delhi. Now I am on scholarship in *vilayat* and doing this survey for my studies. This is about the people who have come from rural areas to Delhi for work. Would you mind answering some questions about your stay in Delhi?

Q1 Were you born in Delhi?

YES**NO**IF ANSWER IS **YES** SKIP TO (7)

Q2 (a) Where were you born?

Village/Town/City _____
Tehsil _____
 District _____
 State/Country _____

(b) Was it a village, town or city?

Village
 Town
 City
 Estate/Plantation
 Other (specify _____)

(c) Did your mother always live there?

YES

NO

If the answer is YES, skip to Q3(a)

(d) Where did your mother normally live?

Village/Town/City _____
Tehsil _____
 District _____
 State/Country _____

(e) Was this a village, town or city?

Village
 Town
 City
 Estate/Plantation
 Other (specify _____)

Q3 (a) How long have you been in Delhi?

Months _____ Years _____

(b) Would you recall the month and year of your coming to Delhi?

Month _____ Year _____

Q4 How old were you when you moved to Delhi?

_____ Years

Q5 (a) Where did you usually live before you moved to Delhi?

Village/Town/City _____

Tehsil _____

District _____

State/Country _____

(b) What sort of place was this?

City

Town

Village

Estate/Plantation

Other (specify _____)

Q6 (a) Why did you move to Delhi?

(RECORD UP TO THREE: MARK IF REPLIES MATCH THE OPTIONS, NOTE IF DIFFERENT)

Transfer of place in old job
 In search of a job
 Work was insufficient to support family
 Nature of work unsatisfactory
 Bought land/business in Delhi
 To seek better job/income
 Offered better job/income
 To get education for self
 To get education for children
 To get married
 To accompany family
 Family/social feuds in previous place of residence
 Have other friends and relatives here
 Poor amenities in previous place of residence
 Other (specify _____)
 Don't know

(b) Which of these reasons was the most important?

Q7 (a) How old are you?

Q8 (a) Can you read in any language?

YES

NO

(b) Can you write in any language?

YES

NO

(c) Did you go to school?

YES NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO SKIP TO Q9]

(d) How long were you at school?

Q9 (a) Are you married?

YES NO

IF YES,

(b) Do you have any children?

IF YES, HOW MANY AND WHAT ARE THEIR AGES

Thanks for your kind cooperation.

REQUEST TO THE MIGRANT HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD TO BE INTERVIEWED AGAIN

Q10(a) Would you please be kind enough to give me half an hour to talk to you about how you came to Delhi.

YES

NO

IF ANSWER IS NO SKIP TO Q10(C)

If yes,

(b) Can we talk now?

YES

NO

IF ANSWER IS 'YES' SKIP TO STAGE II QUESTIONNAIRE

(C) Is it possible any other time, today or any other day?

Date _____

Time _____

THE SMALL SCALE SAMPLE SURVEY
OF INTER-STATE RURAL MIGRANTS IN DELHI

1992

STAGE II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MIGRANT HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

CONFIDENTIAL

Unit Code No. _____

House _____

Locality _____

Date -----

Time -----

Namaskar. It is very kind of you to agree to spend some more time with me.

As I mentioned earlier, I would like to know more about how you moved to Delhi.

(Wait for reaction. If there is any spontaneous remark or reflection, note it. Otherwise, move on to questions if the respondent is ready.)

First, some questions on what happened in the year before you came to Delhi. Imagine that you are in your village (name the village) in the year The questions that I am about to ask you all relate to that one year.

Q1. What was your **main** activity?

[Listen to the reply and note what is said instead of reading the list]

1. Work for living **[SKIP TO Q3]**
2. Housework
3. Attending school
4. Sick/disabled
5. Retired
6. Other (specify _____)

Q2 Did you work?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO Q3]

(b) Did you want to work?

YES

NO

**[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO Q4;
IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q5]**

Q3 If you were working during that year, then :

(a) What was your main job?

Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve?

(b) **Were you hired?**

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP (d)]

(c) Were you hired by the day, by the week, by the month or on any other basis?

1. Day
2. Week
3. Month
4. Year
5. Harvest
6. Season
7. Piece work
8. Other (specify _____)

[SKIP TO (e)]

- (g) Besides your main work, what other work did you do in those 12 months?

[IF ANSWER IS NONE, SKIP TO (h)]

1. Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve?

2. Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve?

3. Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve?

- (h) for about how many months, in all, did you work?

Months _____

[IF NONE, SKIP TO Q4]

[SKIP TO Q5]

Q4 If you did not work, but wanted to, then :

(a) How long were you without work?

Never worked [SKIP TO Q5]

Months _____

Years _____

(b) What sort of work had you been doing before you stopped?

1. Main occupation _____

2. The kind of work it involved

Now, I want to ask you some questions on land-holding, cultivation and livestock in that year.

Q5 Did you have any livestock?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP Q6]

(b) Which and how many?

(c) Did you sell any livestock or its product in the 12 months before your leaving the village?

YES

NO

Q6 Did your family own any land?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q10]

(b) How much was the total land?

_____ acres

(c) How much of it was cultivable?

_____ acres

[IF ANSWER IS NONE, SKIP TO Q10]

(d) Was it one plot?

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO f]

(e) How many pieces?

(f) How much of it was irrigated?

_____ acres

Q7 Did you cultivate all of your (cultivable) land?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO Q8]

(b) How much of it did you cultivate?

_____ acres

(c) How much of it was irrigated?

_____ acres

Q8 Did you employ any labour?

YES

NO

Q9 Did you lease-out any land?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q10]

(b) How much?

_____ acres

(c) Why did you have to lease-out?

Q10 Did you lease-in any land?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO NEXT SECTION]

(b) How much did you lease-in?

_____ acres

(c) Was it one plot?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO e]

(d) How many pieces?

(e) How much of it was irrigated?

_____ acres

Now, some questions on harvest in that year.

**[IF ANSWER TO Q6 AND Q10 IS NO,
SKIP TO Q15]**

Q11 How many harvests did you take in that year?

1. One
2. Two
3. Three
4. Four
5. More than four

Q12 Did you sell any produce in the market?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q13]

(b) What proportion of your total agricultural output did you sell that year?

1. All
2. More than half
3. Half
4. More than one third
5. One third
6. More than one fourth
7. One fourth
8. Less than one fourth

Q13 Approximately, how many months did your food grain harvest last in terms of home consumption?

_____ months

If less than 12 months,

(b) How difficult was it to fulfil the family's food requirements in off-season?

1. Very difficult
2. Difficult
3. Not difficult
4. Easy
5. Very easy

If difficult,

(c) Did you have to borrow because of this?

YES

NO

Q14 Do you have a rough idea of how much livelihood (in *Anna* terms) the family gained from different sources?

1. Cultivation of your own land
2. Leasing out
3. Leasing-in
4. Other source (specify _____)

Now, some general questions.

Q15 Did you live in a parental family or in a joint family or a nuclear family?

1. Parental
2. Extended
3. Nuclear

Q16 How would you describe your family's economic position before you came to Delhi?

Q17 How good was your livelihood compared to other families in your village?

1. Much higher than average
2. Above average
3. Average
4. Below average
5. Much below average

Q18 Did people turn to your father for advice?

YES

NO

Q19 Was any member of your family in any representative body like *panchayat*, cooperative society etc.?

YES

NO

Q20 Was your family in debt?

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO Q21]

(b) Did people owe money to your family?

YES

NO

Q21 Did you have any electricity connection?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q22]

(b) Did you have any of these and if YES, how many:

1. Fridge
2. Fan
3. Television
4. Any other gadget(s)

Q22 Did your family have the following?

If YES, how many

1. Tractor
2. Scooter
3. Motor cycle
4. Three-wheeler
5. Water pump engine
6. Well
7. Horse
8. Bullocks
9. Bullock-cart
10. Cycle
11. Radio

[IF THE RESPONDENT CAN READ, SKIP TO Q23 (b)]

Q23 Could anyone in your family read in any language?

YES

NO

(b) Did you get any daily newspaper?

YES

NO

(c) Did you get any magazine?

YES

NO

[IF HE/SHE DOES NOT HAVE ANY CHILDREN, SKIP TO Q25]

Q24 Did your children go to school?

(b) Did your children have books?

Now, some questions on how you moved to Delhi and what you knew about jobs before you came here.

Q25 Did you visit Delhi before you came to settle here?

YES

NO

[IF THE ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q26]

(b) Did you visit often?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO (f)]

(c) When was it?

Month _____ Year _____

(d) What was the purpose of your trip?

(e) How long did you stay in Delhi during that visit?

Days _____

Months _____

[SKIP TO Q26]

(f) What used to be the reason for visiting Delhi so often?

Q26 Did you know somebody in Delhi before you moved here?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q27]

(b) Whom did you know?

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(c) What did he/she (they) do for work?

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(d) Did you get any information or advice from him (them) before you came?

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

Q27 Were you offered a job before you came?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO Q34]

Q28 What did you know about the chances to get work in Delhi before you moved here?

Q29 Did you know about job vacancies before you came?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q30]

(b) Did you know about a particular job vacancy for which you were qualified?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS NO, SKIP TO Q30]

(c) What job was this?

(d) What work did it involve?

(e) Who told you about it?

Q30 What was attitude of your family to your migration to Delhi?

1. Did not mind
2. Supported
3. Opposed
4. Indifferent
5. Other (specify _____)

(b) How?

Q31 For how long were you in Delhi before you **started** looking for job?

1. Have not started [SKIP TO Q33]

2. Days _____
Months _____

(b) If you did not start looking for job immediately, what were you doing?

(c) What methods did you mainly use for searching work?

1. Jobbers
2. Private employment agency
3. Referrals
4. Information from earlier settlers about 'impending recruitment plans'
5. Radio
6. Newspapers
7. Employment Exchange
8. Search efforts of urban contacts
9. Gate hiring
10. Approaching factories, work sites, shops and offices
11. Chowk(market square)
12. Tried to set up business
13. Other (specify _____)

Q32 How long after your arrival, did you start working?

Days _____

Months _____

Year _____

Q33 How did (do) you support yourself during this waiting period?

1. Past savings
2. Loan
3. Support from family in village
4. Friends' support in Delhi
5. Relatives' support in Delhi
6. Other source (specify _____)

Now, some questions about your first job in Delhi.

Q34 What was your first job in Delhi?

Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve? _____

Q35 Through which channel did you get this job?

1. Jobbers
2. Private employment agency
3. Referrals
4. Information from earlier settlers about 'impending recruitment plans'
5. Radio
6. Newspapers
7. Employment Exchange
8. Search efforts of urban contacts
9. Gate hiring
10. Approaching factories, work sites, shops and offices
11. Chowk(market square)
12. Tried to set up business
13. Other (specify _____)

Q36 What else did you do?

1. Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve? _____

2. Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve? _____

3. Occupation _____

What kind of work did it involve? _____

Q 37 If you could earn the same income in your village, would you prefer to live there?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO (c)]

(b) What is the reason for it?

(c) Suppose, you get a similar job in your village, Would you be prepared to do it?

YES

NO

[IF ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO Q37]

(d) Why not?

Q38 If you were working for wages, how were you paid?

1. Season
2. Casual, daily
3. Weekly
4. Monthly
5. Annually
6. Piece work
7. Other (specify _____)

Q39 For how long did you remain in your first job?

1. Still in job [SKIP TO Q40]

2. Years _____

Months _____

Days _____

[ASK MONTHS ONLY IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR]

(b) What was the main reason for ending that job?

1. Have not stopped
2. Quit, low income
3. Quit, poor working conditions
4. Quit, to take another job
5. Quit, to set up business
6. Laid off, no work
7. Laid off, other reasons
8. Job completed
9. Ill health, disability
10. To get married
11. Pregnant
12. Paid off debt

13. Completed / gave up
apprenticeship/training
14. Wanted to move to another area
15. Other (specify _____)

Q40 Looking on balance, why did you come?

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Notes to map 3.1:

1. This map is based on a draft map being processed during December 1991 at the Design and Planning Cell of the DDA Slum Wing entitled 'Location of JJ clusters in Delhi Urban Area'.
2. Delhi Urban Area is divided into 8 Planning Divisions shown on the map.
3. The 8 Planning Divisions shown on the map can be regrouped into 5 Slum Wing Zones as follows:

DDA Planning Divisions	Slum Wing Zones
H and C	North
G and B	West
A and D	Central
E	East
F	South

4. South Delhi was selected at first stage of the sampling.
5. The squatter settlements where the sample survey was conducted are shown on the map in orange colour as follows:
 - 1 Subhas Camp
 - 2 Sanjay Colony
 - 3 Bengali Camp
6. For details on sample selection see, Chapter III and *Appendix A* of this thesis.

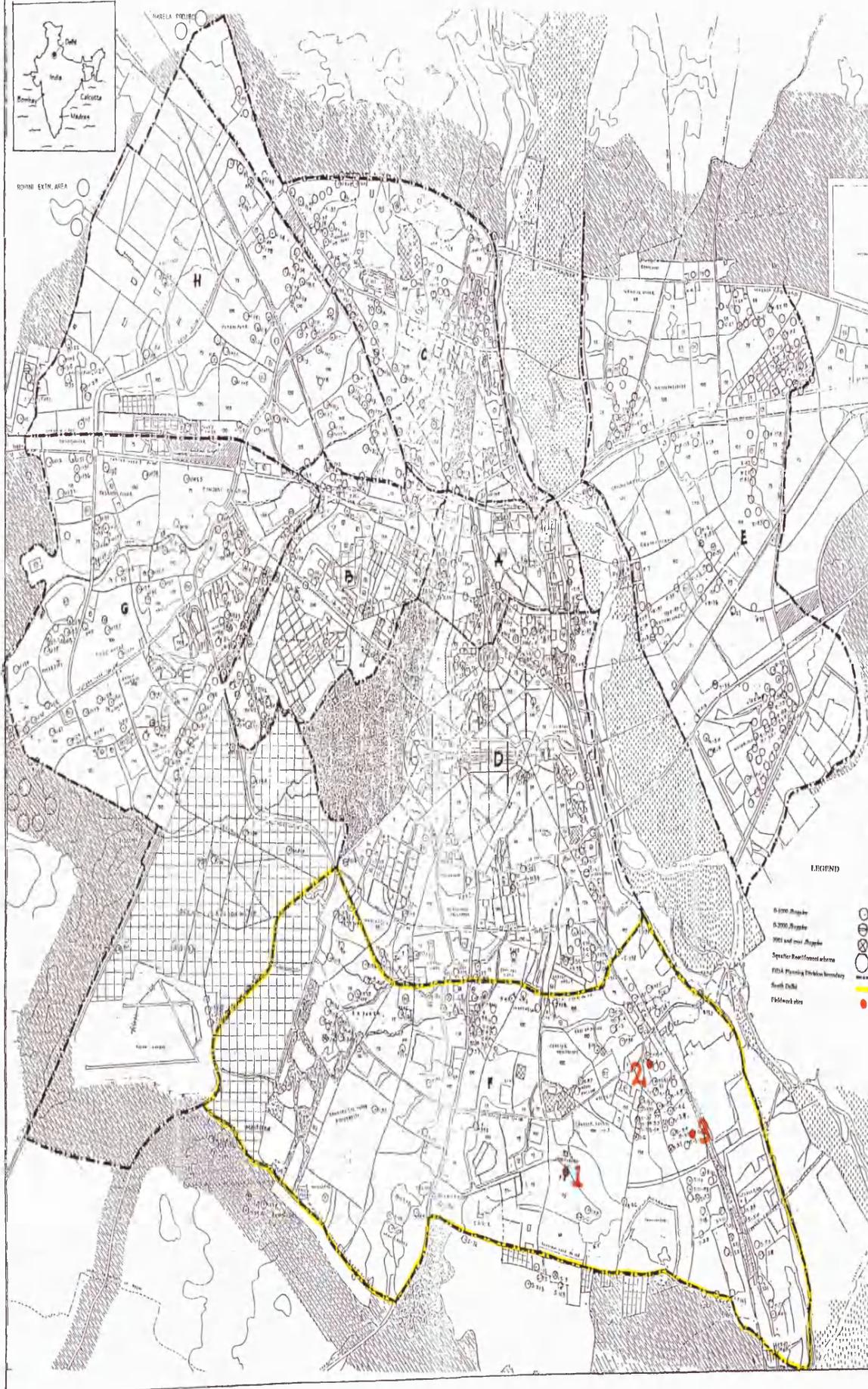
Label:

Socio-economic Status, Channels of Recruitment and the Rural to Urban Migration of Labour: A case study of the squatter settlements of Delhi, India (*by Himmat Singh Ratnoo*);

Thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements for the PHD degree;

Development Planning Unit, University College London, University of London, 1994.

Study area: Delhi Urban Area, DDA Planning Divisions and Squatter settlements
where the sample survey was conducted



Label: Socio-economic status, Character of Residences and the Status of Urban Migration of Labour: A case study of the squatter settlements of Delhi. India. Thesis submitted to IITD for the award of the M.Tech. degree in Urban Planning, Development Planning Group, University College London, University of London, 1994.

Map 3.1

See the Notes to Map 3.1