Ethnicity, Mobility and Role of Informal Channels: Evidence from Delhi Slums

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Abstract

This study has focused on the well-being of the migrants and explored the role of informal channels among different ethnic groups and its effect on upward mobility. This was made possible by conducting primary surveys in the slums of Delhi. It was found that the extent of upward income movement seems to exceed the downward income movement though the cases of stagnancy and downward occupational mobility aren't to be ignored. We concluded that evidences in favour of upward mobility are not overwhelming but it would be equally erroneous to overlook the change that has occurred. With regard to the role of informal channels, we found that in the initial stages while entering the urban labour market, close relatives (from their regional background) matter a lot but subsequently, it is individual inspiration that keeps him going in the labour market.

Keywords: Migration, Well-being; Ethnic Groups; Informal Channels; Upward Mobility

1.   Introduction

The broader focus of this study is to establish the link between migration and well-being via the regionalism aspect, where an attempt is made to explore the role of informal channels among different regional groups and its effect on upward mobility and well- being of those groups. Various past studies have highlighted the role of informal channels operating through caste-kinship bonds, co villagers and other forms of social capital[1] (Banerjee 1986, Banerjee & Bucci1994, Mitra 2008, Munshi 2003, Kono 2006) to reflect the job market information flow and its importance for the well- being of migrants. However, the above literatures have failed to reflect the fact that different regional groups or people with different ethnic backgrounds do not have access to same social capital and therefore well- being cannot be same for all the groups. Moreover, the argument that migrants move into urban areas in the absence of rural

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[1] . Social capital, as Putnam(1993) defined are " those features of social organizations such as trust ,norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions". Therefore social capital provides the information regarding job availability to the potential migrants in the rural areas and in a way reduces the uncertainties relating to incomes, consumption and housing (Mitra 2003).

diversification and in the face of limited employment opportunities in the high productivity industrial sector in the urban areas, they continue to work in low productivity activities in the urban informal sector, seems to interpret urban poverty as a mere reflection of rural poverty. Mitra (1994) had suggested considerable overlaps between informal sector employment, slum dwelling and poverty. Therefore, the present study examines the well- being of slum dwellers and relates it with the migration of low income households from rural areas.

However, the question which remained unanswered in this context, is why migrants do not return to their rural areas if their engagement with low productive activities continues? The answer is perhaps related to them experiencing upward income mobility within the urban informal sector which may have helped them to reduce the intensity of poverty (Mitra 2006). For this purpose, the present study explores the possibility of occupational and income mobility of the workers from low income households. It would then be interesting to examine whether workers in our sample have been able to place themselves in better paid jobs in due course after migrating to urban areas. For this purpose, we would carry out a comparison of their first job in the city with their present one.

Further, based on the data on slum dwellers, we examine if the workers were able to experience a change in the occupation over time. Moreover, it also examines the change in the nature of contacts in due course of time. Therefore, it would be interesting to compare the contacts that have helped the migrants to get their present jobs with the contacts that have got them jobs in the past.

On the whole, the issue of upward mobility and the interplay of various factors that qualify a migrant to experience upward mobility is complex and rich quantitative information is required to lend support to the theoretical underpinnings. Therefore, this study has attempted to fill this lacuna by doing a primary level survey in Delhi slums, covering three groups of migrants belonging to the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan The sampling size is 364 households, out of which 129 comprise of Uttar Pradesh households, 73 belong to Rajasthan and 162 belong to Bihar. In totality, we have information on 1808 individuals out of which general caste constituted 19 percent, Other Backward classes (OBCs) and Scheduled caste (SCs) were 51 percent and 30 percent respectively. This survey covers five zones in Delhi which are north, south, east, west and central and the zone-wise distribution of households being: East zone-66, North zone-99, South zone- 80, West zone-88 and Central zone- 31. Since the available official statistics is quite limited, its usefulness can always be questioned. Moreover, the kind of data needed for our exercise has to be particularly concerned with migrants whose decision to migrate was taken individually or in consultation with other household members. This would exclude those who have arrived in Delhi as dependents or after being transferred by their employers. Therefore, the required data on migrants was collected in the form of sample survey that was carried out in Delhi slums during the period 2009-10.

The organization of the study is as follows: section 2 deals with methodologies used in the study while section 3 covers results and interpretations where various descriptive tables are generated for various variables in order to pursue our objectives, followed by broad conclusions and policy implications that are drawn on the basis of whole analysis.

2. Methodology

Wellbeing index- For constructing the well- being index, following variables are considered : Household size, child women ratio, per capita consumption expenditure (food[2] and non-food categories[3] excluding health expenditure), percentage of household members who have acquired at least primary level education, percentage of household members in the age group of 15-59 as a proxy for adult potential earners, percentage of working individuals, age of the household head as a proxy for experience in the job market, health expenditure per capita, per capita household income.

Since the above variables are heterogeneous, it may be difficult to combine them to arrive at an overall living standard of the households. Therefore, this study has used factor analysis and using factor loadings as weights, variables are combined to generate the composite index of well-being, denoted as WELLINDEX (i). This procedure is repeated for each of the significant factors (factors with Eigen values greater than one:

$$\text{WELLINDEX (i)} = \Sigma \, FL_J(i) \, X_J$$

Where FL is the factor loading, j= 1…..n corresponding to the number of variables, and i represents the ith significant factor. In the later stage, the composite indices generated on the basis of factor loadings for each of the significant factors are then combined using the proportion of Eigen values as weights:

$$\text{WELLINDEX} = \Sigma \, [EV \, (i)/\Sigma EV \, (i)] \, \text{WELLINDEX (i)} \qquad k<n$$

Where i ranges from 1 to k, the number of significant factors.

3. Results and Interpretation

3.1 Upward Mobility

In this section, we discuss the upward mobility aspect for the workers. Table 1 and Table 2 classify workers as per their present and past employment categories and as per present and past occupation categories respectively. Since the workers included in the survey have different time patterns of entering into the urban labour market, the question of both upward and downward mobility has been gauged from the most important activity or employment that they held in the past.

It is observed from Table 1 that for majority of the workers, their present employment categories match their past employment categories. This is clearly visible from the fact that, among those who are presently engaged in casual, regular wage and self employment, a large majority (61 percent, 72 percent and 37 percent, respectively) were in the same employment category in the past as well. Among those who were working as casual labourers in the past, 19 percent and 30 percent shifted to regular wage and self employment respectively. Similarly, for the workers who were earlier engaged in regular wage jobs, 27 percent and 33 percent shifted to casual and self employment respectively. Lastly, for the workers who were engaged in self-employment, 12 percent shifted to casual employment and 9 percent moved to the regular wage employment.

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[2] .Only a subset of expenditures on food items would be considered: rice, wheat, pulses, milk, fish, meat and eggs, vegetables.

[3] .Non food items includes expenditures for transport, fuel, electricity charges, house rent, expenditure on pan, bidi, alcohol, education, communication ,entertainment, religious and social expenditures.

Table 1: Cross classification of workers as per their present and past employment categories

Present Employment	*Past Employment (in percent)*			
	Causal or daily wages	*Regular/wage salaried*	*Self employed*	*Total*
Casual or daily wages	61.15	27.3	12	100
Regular /wage salaried	18.62	72.4	9	100
Self employed	30.26	32.9	37	100
Retired persons	50	50	0	100
Total	37.64	46.7	16	100

Note: the percentages are given to the row total
Source: Auther's Calculation,   Delhi slum survey 2009

Another interesting feature of this table has been the proportion of people who preferred self employment in their present employment category over casual and regular wage employment. This is evident from the fact that, among those who shifted from their past employment categories, large proportions (30 percent from casual and 33 percent from regular wage) shifted to self employment. On the whole, there is evidence of change in the nature of employment over time.

However, the issue of upward mobility is questionable in our analysis if regular wage jobs are given the top priority. Mitra (2006) has given top rankings to regular wage jobs though confessing to the fact that average earnings accruing to workers in regular wage jobs are not necessarily higher than those in casual or self employment. However, jobs with a steady and secure flow of income may be preferred to those with fluctuating income. The percentages (37 percent) of those who were earlier engaged in regular wage jobs but now moved into either casual or self-employment is found to be higher than the percentages that were in casual and self-employment earlier but is presently occupied in regular wage jobs. Therefore, the extent of downward movement seems to exceed the upward movement. Hence, the workers in our sample have experienced downward occupational mobility if regular wage jobs are given the top priority.

Table 2 describes the occupational categories which have been formed on the basis of detailed listing of economic activity pursued by the individuals. For almost all categories, at least 30 percent workers are engaged at present and were engaged in the past as semi-professional (75 percent), sales (39.2 percent), trade (62 percent), personal services (61 percent), manufacturing (73.3 percent), repairing (69 percent), commercial (66.7 percent), security (45.8 percent), transport (54.7 percent), tailoring (88 percent) and construction (60.4 percent). Moreover, large numbers of sales workers shifted to trade (9.5 percent) and transport (10.3 percent). Around 34 percent of the total sales workers actually moved from manufacturing and construction. Similarly, greater proportion of construction workers shifted to personal services (20.5 percent) and transport (16.1 percent) whereas in the transport sector, 32 percent of workers shifted to repairing and commercial sector. It is quite evident from above that although considerable change in the occupational structure has taken place, to discern the changes that are favorable (or unfavorable) in terms of occupational mobility is difficult at this stage.

Table 2: Cross classification of workers as per their present and past occupational categories

present occupation   *past*

	Smp	sls	trd	Prsl	mnft
Semiprofessional	75	0	0	0	0
Sales	0	39.2	4.1	6.8	13.51
Trades	0	9.52	62	9.5	0
Personal Services	0	4.55	0	61	9.09
Manufacturing	0	0	6.7	0	73.33
Repairing	0	7.69	0	7.7	0
Commercial	0	0	0	17	0
Security	0	4.17	4.2	13	16.67
Transport	0	10.3	4.6	4.6	5.75
Tailoring & Knitting	0	0	0	0	0
Construction	0	7.55	3.8	7.6	3.77
Total	0.82	13.2	6.9	13	12.91

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total
2 smp-semiprofessional, sls- sales, trd- trades, prsl- personal services, mnft- manufacturing, rep- repairing, com
Source: Auther's Calculation, Delhi slum survey 2009

The next question that arises is regarding the types of contacts which workers have used to get their present as well as their past jobs. This question has its importance in understanding the dynamics of information flow pertaining to the job market. Table 3 suggests that people have used informal networks or contacts operating through relatives and other caste kinship bonds to access their present occupations. However, 18 percent of the currently employed individuals stated that they were self sufficient in finding jobs for themselves, which is the maximum for any group. Moreover, one cannot ignore the high percentages of self help in almost every occupation. This is not surprising, as people tend to learn about labour market conditions as their stay in the urban labour market becomes longer. The remaining workers however, have sought help from others in finding jobs in the urban labour market. The most dominant contacts are brother/sister, parent's relatives, co-villagers and friends.

Though the nature of contact varies across occupations, certain broad patterns are quite evident. Among the sales workers, immediate relatives (parents, brother/sisters and parents relatives) turn out to be the most important source of supplying job market information followed by co-villagers, basti-people and friends. Similar patterns are observed for trade workers, where immediate relatives are followed by co-villagers. For personal services, the most important sources of supplying job information are friends and immediate relatives. Among manufacturing workers, parent's relatives, friends and colleagues at previous workplace are the dominant contacts used to find jobs. In the construction sector, co-villagers, friends and immediate relatives turn out to be the significant contacts.

Table 3: Cross classification of workers as per their present occupation and contacts used

present occupations	pnt	bro/s	pntr	Spr	ger	covil	jtw	bstw	frnd	clge	prte	Pree	prd	genp	Self	Oth
						Contacts (in percent)										
Semiprofessional	0	0	0	25	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
Sales	1.4	12.2	22	4.1	1.35	8.11	1	8.11	8.1	1.4	0	0	2.7	1.4	28	0
Trades	4.	9.5	24	0	0	23.	0	4.7	4.	0	0	0	0	0	29	0

	Pnt	bro/s	pnt r	sp r	gen r	covil	jtw	bstw	frnd	clge	prt e	pre e	prd	gen p	self	oth
	8	2				8		6	8							
Personal Services	9.1	11.4	14	4.6	0	11.4	0	6.82	16	0	0	2.3	0	6.8	18	0
Manufacturing	6.7	10	23	3.3	0	13.3	0	13.3	17	6.7	0	0	0	3.3	3.3	0
Repairing	15	7.69	0	0	0	7.69	0	7.69	15	7.9	0	0	0	0	38	0
Commercial	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	16.7	17	0	0	0	0	0	33	0
Security	0	12.5	8.3	8.3	4.17	16.7	0	8.3	13	4.2	4.2	0	0	4.2	13	4.2
Transport	2.3	13.8	15	5.8	2.3	13.8	0	8.05	17	4.6	1.2	2.3	4.6	0	6.9	2.3
Tailoring & knitting	12	25	0	0	0	12.5	0	12.5	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Construction	9.4	11.3	11	3.8	1.89	13.2	0	5.66	11	5.7	3.8	0	0	0	23	0
Total	4.9	11.8	15	4.4	1.65	12.9	0.3	7.97	12.9	3.3	1.1	0.8	1.7	1.7	18	1.4

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total   .

2.Pnt- Parents, bro/s- Bother/ sister, pnt r- Parents relatives, sp r- Spouse's relatives, gen r- General relatives, covil-covillagers , jtw-Jatwalle (caste group), bstw- Bastiwala (neighbours), frnd- Friends, clge- Colleagues at previous/ present workplace, prt e- Present employer, pre e- Previous employer, prd- Pradhan/ dalal, gen p- General public/ strangers, self- on my own, oth- Others

Source: Auther's Calculation, Delhi slum survey 2009

Lastly, it is interesting to note the absence of immediate relatives as contacts in the commercial sector, which are dominated by co-villagers, friends and basti-people. On the whole, other then self help, which includes accessing job market information directly or pursuing economic activity independently as own account workers, immediate relatives, friends and co-villagers have played an important role in seeking urban employment opportunities. Secondly, basti-people and colleagues at previous workplace also prominently feature as the contacts used by the workers. General relatives, kin (people of the same caste), present and previous employers, pradhan and NGO's do not seem to have offered significant help in this respect. The next concern would be to examine if the same pattern of contacts prevailed in the past as well. Table 4 gives an insight into the workers past occupations (first job in the city) and contacts through which they obtained their jobs. As expected, the percentage of self help in finding their first jobs declined significantly which came down from 18 percent (Table 3) to 5 percent (Table 4). Again, immediate relatives, co-villagers and friends have prominently featured as contacts for every occupational category. The most dominant contact used is the parent's relatives for almost all categories. Another point to note is the increased percentages (in comparison to Table 3) of general public and others as contacts used by the workers for their first jobs. The plausible reason for this could be the fact that many individuals arrived in Delhi without having any urban based contact. This must have led them to use general public and others as contacts for their first job. Therefore, the major difference between the present and past means of job search is that self help turns out to be most important component of job search process in the present employment

categories, whereas in the past, it was the immediate relatives which were the most effective contact, not to mention, very few people relied on self help. This suggests that in the initial stages while entering the urban labour market, close relatives matter a lot but subsequently, it is individual motivation that keeps the job seeker going in the labour market.

Table 4: Cross classification of workers in their past occupation and contacts used

past job	Contacts (in percent)										
	Pnt	bro/s	pnt r	sp r	gen r	covil	bstw	Frnd	gen p	Self	Oth
Semiprofessional	0	0	33	33	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sales	4.17	22.9	38	6.3	2.08	12.5	2	8.33	2.1	2.1	0
Trades	12.5	12.5	38	0	0	16.7	0	4.17	0	8.3	8.3
Personal services	18.75	18.8	21	8.3	0	8.33	2	6.25	8.3	4.2	4.2
Manufacturing	8.33	25	25	13	0	18.8	0	2.08	4.2	2.1	2.1
Repairing	13.33	6.67	13	0	0	3.33	0	13.3	6.7	13	0
Commercial	12.5	12.5	13	0	0	37.5	0	0	0	13	13
Security	5.56	11.1	17	0	5.56	33.3	6	11.1	0	5.6	5.6
Transport	6.06	18.2	26	9.1	3.03	19.7	0	15.2	0	0	3
Tailoring & knitting	11.11	22.2	22	0	0	11.1	0	11.1	0	0	22
Construction	7.79	13	17	6.5	1.3	23.4	5	13	1.3	9.1	2.6
Total	9.07	17.3	24	6.9	1.65	19	1.92	9.34	2.47	4.7	3.6

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total

2.Pnt- Parents, bro/s- Bother/ sister, pnt r- Parents relatives, sp r- Spouse's relatives, gen r- General relatives, covil- Gaonwalle (villagers), jtw- Jatwalle (caste group), bstw- Bastiwala (neighbours), frnd- Friends, clge- Colleagues at previous/ present workplace, prt e- Present employer, pre e- Previous employer, prd- Pradhan/ dalal, gen p- General public/ strangers, own- on my own ,oth- Others
Source: Auther's Calculation, Delhi slum survey 2009

The conclusions drawn above regarding occupational mobility would be incomplete, if not substantiated with a discussion on income mobility. In Table 5, workers are cross-classified by various size groups formed on the basis of present and past incomes (associated with the first job in the city). Entries along the leading diagonal give the proportion of workers whose income remained in that class both in the past as well as in the present. In other words, these workers did not experience any income change and therefore remained in the same income class. The entries below the leading diagonal show the percentage of workers whose income in the present is higher than the income in the past. However, the opposite holds for the entries above the leading diagonal. Some of the entries in particular show significant changes in income of the workers. In the present income category of Rs.6001-7001, 60 percent have moved from income class of Rs.0-500 and another 20 percent have moved from income class of Rs.1001-2000. Again, the present income class of Rs.5001-6000 and Rs.4001-5000 are dominated by people who were

earlier in lower income classes.

Though there are evidences in favour of upward income mobility, we cannot ignore the cases showing stagnancy and downward mobility. In the income class Rs.1001-2000 and Rs.2001-3000, 46 percent and 13 percent remained in that bracket itself. Moreover, around 13 percent and 4 percent of the people in the income class Rs.1001-2000 and Rs.2001-3000 respectively came from relatively higher income categories. Therefore, it can be said that higher income mobility is mainly confined to very low levels of past income, while some of those in higher income brackets in the past have experienced a decline. But what is noteworthy is that by and large, the percentage of that experiencing downward income mobility over time is much less than those who underwent an increase. Hence, the number of workers in totality, where improvement in income is observed is much larger than the number of workers whose income actually declined.

Table 5: Cross classification of workers as per their present and past incomes

present income	(in percent)								past income
	0-50 0	501-10 00	1001-2 000	2001-3 000	3001-4 000	4001-5 000	5001-6 000	6001-7 000	above 7000
0-500	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
501-1000	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1001-2000	17.9	23.2	46	11	1.05	1.05	0	0	0
2001-3000	24.6	22.5	36	13	3.14	0.52	0	0	0
3001-4000	27.3	10.9	27	29	3.64	0	2	0	0
4001-5000	36.4	18.2	27	18	0	0	0	0	0
5001-6000	50	25	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
6001-7000	60	20	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
7000 above	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	24.7	20.9	37	15	2.47	0.55	0.27	0	0

Note: the percentages are given to the row total
Source: Auther's Calculation, Delhi slum survey 2009

Lastly, as we gather all the information on past and present occupation and employment, contacts and income of the slum workers, we found that the workers have been able to experience substantive income improvements over time. But at the same time, they have faced downward occupational mobility. However, we cannot judge improvements only in terms of change in occupation categories; intra-occupational upward mobility in terms of income cannot be ruled out. From this point of view, we can infer that their decision to migrate may not have been irrational at all even though they may be working within the informal sector their entire life.

Hence, we can say that urban informal sector provides a good source of livelihood to depend upon, as it opens up the scope for substantial changes to take place in future as these workers combine their self effort and with other sources of informal networks or social capital.

3.2 Well-being Index and Migration

We now construct a well-being index for each group to analyze the fact that different groups, though living in the close vicinity may have different well-beings. The following variables are considered for constructing the well-being index: Household size, child women ratio, per capita consumption expenditure (PCCE), percentage of household members who have acquired at least primary level education (prim level), percentage of household members in the age group of 15-59 as a proxy for adult potential earners (per15-59), percentage of working individuals (WI), age of the household head as a proxy for experience in the job market, per capita health expenditure (PCHE), per capita household income (PCHI).

Variables such as household size, child women ratio are likely to reduce the well-being of the household. However, health expenditure per capita on a priori basis may reduce or raise the well-being of the household. The reason being, higher medical expenses mean increased illness and larger numbers of days for which the workers may be absent from work, which in turn reduces household incomes and well-being. The other way would be to envisage the positive effect of heath investment on the capabilities of household members to pursue productive activity which results in higher incomes and well-being (Gupta and Mitra, 2002). For rest of the variables, one can expect a positive relationship with the well-being of the household. The above exercise is further augmented by linking the well-being index with the duration of migration to reflect the gains associated with migration per se or to check for the linear association between the two. Mitra and Tsujita (2003) did not find any linear association between the two variables in their case study of Delhi.The results of the factor analysis using varimax[4] rotation suggest the presence of one significant factor which has an Eigen value of 3.917; rest factors have Eigen value less than one (Results not shown). Moreover, the description of variables and factor loadings generated for the significant factor suggests that the per capita household income and per capita consumption expenditure have the highest factor loadings, followed by percentage of working individuals and percentage of persons in the age group 15-59 to total household size. Factor loading for the per capita health expenditure is positive which indicates the beneficial effect of health spending on well-being. Variables such as household size, child women ratio and surprisingly, age of the household head have taken negative factor loadings. The plausible reason for the negative factor loading on the age of household head could be the fact that most of our respondents were engaged in manual jobs through out their urban labour market experience and here, one cannot ignore that such manual jobs thrive on one principle that is, survival of the fittest where older persons tend to succumb.

Table 6 shows that 62 percent of the sample households reside in the lowest two size classes formed on the basis of composite well-being index. However, only 18 percent of the sample households constitute the upper two size classes. Another major percentage (22.65) of the sample households is located in the size class of 801-1200. Therefore, the majority of the sample

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[4] .We use Varimax rotation to change the coordinates, generally used in principal component and factor analysis which helps in maximizing the sum of variance of the square loadings. Therefore, it helps in representing each individual by a linear combination of only a few basic functions.

households are still in the lower size classes of well-being index. Table 7 describes the well-being index based on the lines of regionalism or ethnic backgrounds. Among the workers from Uttar Pradesh, majority (92 percent) correspond to the bottom three size classes while only 3 percent lies in the upper three size classes of well-being index. The Rajasthani and Bihari workers follow similar trends with large percentages (84 percent and 78 percent respectively) of workers being located in the bottom three size classes, whereas only 12 percent and 10 percent respectively correspond to the upper three size classes.

Table 6: Distribution of Households as per Well-Being Index

Wellbeing index	Frequency	Percent
<=400	11	3.0
401-800	217	59.6
801-1200	81	22.3
1201-1600	21	5.8
1601-2000	6	1.7
2001-2500	10	2.8
2501-3000	9	2.5
>3000	9	2.5
Total	364	100.0

Therefore, the workers from all three states are placed on an equal footing based on the parameters of well-being index. The only difference that can be observed are the higher percentages of Rajasthani and Bihari workers in the upper size classes of well-being index. The plausible reasons for this are the higher percentages of Bihari and Rajasthani households (8 percent and 12 percent respectively) that have per capita household income greater than Rs1500, including the higher percentages of their working individuals.

Lastly, Table 8 explores the effect of duration of migration on well-being index. It is interesting to note that in the bottom three size classes of well-being index, as the duration of stay has increased, more and more people come to reside in these classes, however in rest of size classes of well-being index, this relation is exactly reversed that is, we observed an inverted U relationship between duration of migration and well-being index. Therefore, the conclusion that can be drawn from above is that, the more recent migrants (duration less than 10 years) are in a better off position than the migrants whose duration has exceeded ten years, hence, there are no linear relationship between duration of migration and well-being index.

Table 7: State of Origin and Well-Being Index

State of Origin	Well-being index							
	<=400	401-800	801-1200	1201-1600	1601-2000	2001-2500	2501-3000	>3000
Utter Pradesh	3.9	65.9	21.7	3.9	1.6	2.3	0.8	0.0
Rajasthan	4.1	57.5	23.3	2.7	0.0	5.5	1.4	5.5
Bihar	1.9	55.6	22.2	8.6	2.5	1.9	4.3	3.1
Total	3.0	59.6	22.3	5.8	1.7	2.8	2.5	2.5

Table 8: Household Specific Well-Being Index and Duration of Migration

Duration of migration	Well-being index							
	<=400	401-800	801-1200	1201-1600	1601-2000	2001-2500	2501-3000	>3000
< = 10 years	4.8	43.6	22.6	11.3	4.8	4.8	4.8	3.2
< = 20 years	2.1	60.0	21.4	6.4	1.4	2.9	2.9	2.9
< = 30 years	4.0	64.3	21.4	4.0	0.8	2.4	0.8	2.4
> 30 years	0.0	69.4	27.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0
Total	3.0	59.6	22.3	5.8	1.7	2.8	2.5	2.5

On the whole, majority of the workers are still languishing in the lowest size classes formed on the basis of composite well-being index. From the point of ethnicity, Rajasthani and Bihari workers have performed better based on the parameters of the well-being index and lastly, more recent migrants (duration less than 10 years) have performed better than the migrants whose duration has exceeded ten years. Hence, we do not observe any linear relationship between duration of migration and well-being index.

3.3 *Networks and Occupations*

We now deal with the issue analyzed above from the perspectives of workers originating from three specific states, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, to examine the changes in the nature of their job profiles and contacts over time. This analysis is a four step process, where each step describes the kinds of jobs and various networks, the workers have used to access these jobs. Since the workers may or may not have undergone job changes during their stay in urban labour market, this analysis will concentrate on the first four jobs (if applicable) of our respondents and will try to analyze the role of networks. The interesting feature of this analysis would be the segregation of networks according to regions and then diversifying it according to caste and kinship bonds etc.

    Table 9 describes the kinds of occupations; the workers chose to be their first job. It is very much visible that the most preferred job for the workers from all states except Bihar is the construction sector (21.2%), probably because of the boom in the construction sector in and around Delhi and the fact that it is relatively easy to enter this sector in comparison to others. The workers from Uttar Pradesh have also engaged themselves in sales (16.28%), personal services (15.5%), manufacturing (12.4%) and transport (11.6%). Among Rajasthani workers, the share of manufacturing is high, followed by transport and then personal services. Lastly, workers from Bihar preferred the transport sector (24.7%) among others, followed by construction (18.3%), manufacturing and sales. Therefore, the most preferred jobs are construction and transport with manufacturing (13.9%), sales (13.9%) and personal services (13.9%), all   equally preferable.

    Our next concern is to examine the kinds of networks that workers used to get their first jobs, which are shown in Table 10 and Table 11. It is not surprising enough to see that workers from all the three states depended heavily on people of their own region. Among the workers from

Uttar Pradesh, 88% sought the help of people of their own region; the corresponding percentages for Rajasthan and Bihar are 89% and 92% respectively. Not to mention 'Self help' and 'others' columns reflect the cases of those workers who did not have any urban-based contacts on arrival in Delhi.

Table 11 gives a much more diversified view of the kinds of networks accessed by workers. The workers from Uttar Pradesh used immediate relatives to the maximum, followed by co-villagers, and then friends. Similar pattern was followed by workers from Rajasthan and Bihar. On the whole, immediate relatives, followed by co-villagers and friends played an important role as networks, for these workers to get their first jobs. Therefore, minimum diversification of networks are observed for every states implying that, for the first job, people strongly relied on their regional networks to access information about various jobs available in the city.

For the workers, who moved into their second job, their job profiles and associate networks are presented in Tables 12, 13 and 14. It is observed from Table 12 that the share of construction sector and personal services declined considerably (as compared to Table 9), probably because jobs in the construction sector are quite demanding and wages in the personal service are quite low. However, workers from Uttar Pradesh equally preferred the construction sector (10.9%) and transport (10.9%) to be their second job, followed by manufacturing and sales. Among Rajasthani workers, the most preferred job is sales (10.9%), followed by manufacturing, and then transport. The workers from Bihar have still gone for the transport sector (17.3%) followed by sales and then manufacturing. Therefore, the job profiles of the workers suggest that the transport sector is most preferred for the second job followed by sales, manufacturing and construction. Not to mention the 'not applicable' column refers to those workers who are still working with their first jobs. The networks associated with the second jobs as shown in Table 13 clearly indicate that the dependence of the workers on their own regional people to supply job-market information has declined to some extent, with more and more people relying on self-help and persons belonging to other states. This percentage has increased from 6% (Table 10) to 18% (Table 13). Among the workers from Uttar Pradesh, 36% sought the help of people of their own region, followed by self help (11%) and then 'others' (5.4%). The Rajasthani workers too, are dependent on their own regional people (28.7%) but their self help (13.7%) is the maximum in comparison too other states. However, their 'other' category percentage (2.7%) is the lowest among others, probably because of their language barrier. Among Bihari worker, 36% looked for regional help followed by self help (11.11%) and 'others' (8.6%), which is the maximum for any state. This indicates that workers from Bihar are most successful in going beyond the regional networks as well as in realizing their own self help motivation.

The more diversified view of the networks used for the second job is presented in Table 14, which clearly indicate that 'self help' (11.54%) has given a tough competition to immediate relatives followed by friends (10.4%), basti-people and co-villagers (5%). The workers from Uttar Pradesh relied more on immediate relatives followed by self help (10.8%) and friends (6.3%). Among Rajasthani workers, self help dominates followed by friends (9.5%). However, Bihari workers equally preferred immediate relatives and self help followed by friends (11.7%). To sum up, immediate relatives, self help, friends, basti-people and co-villagers played an important role as networks for these workers for their second jobs. General relatives, kin (same caste group), colleagues at previous workplace, present and previous employers and pradhan have not offered any significant help in this respect. Therefore, we still observe that workers have more or less relied on regional networks with more different regional players helping them in accessing job market information.

Moreover, it is interesting to note the less dependency of Rajasthani workers on immediate relative and more on self help and others. However, workers from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar more or less followed the same trend that is, counting on both immediate relatives and self help. Therefore, the major difference between means of job accessibility for the first two jobs is that the self help, immediate relatives and co-villagers turn out to be the most important component of networks for the workers from all the three states in their second jobs, whereas their networks for the first jobs was mostly dominated by immediate relatives.

For the workers, who moved into their third job, their job profiles and associated networks are presented in Tables 15, 16 and 17. It is observed from Table 15 that the most preferred jobs are transport (5.77%), construction (4.4%) and sales (5.77%). The occupation of the workers from Uttar Pradesh are dominated by sales (6.9%) and construction (6.2%), followed by transport. The point to note here is that the construction sector seems to be quite favourite with workers from Uttar Pradesh as one cannot ignore their expertise in the construction, especially in the western belt and Jaunpur region of U.P. Among the workers from Rajasthan, transport sector is the most preferred one followed by sales. Same trend is observed for Bihari workers. On the whole, transport, sales and construction are still the most desirable jobs of the workers.

The associated networks with their third jobs as shown in Table 16 indicate that the workers are still dependent on the regional support for getting job market information. This alongside with 'self help' and 'others' helped the workers to get their third jobs. The interesting point to be note comes from Table 17. Undoubtedly, the 'self help' category (7.6%) has dominated the worker's network, but the percentages for immediate relatives have come down significantly. Among the workers from Uttar Pradesh, self help followed by basti-people and friends played an important role as networks for supplying job market information. Even pradhan, general public, parents relative and colleagues at previous workplace received equal weightage for their role as networks. The Rajasthani workers build their networks through basti-people (5.4%), friends (4.11%) and self help (4.11%). Among the workers from Bihar, self help followed by friends dominated their networks. Not to mention, co-villagers, basti-people, colleagues at previous workplace, pradhan have increasingly featured as their networks. On the whole, there is strong evidence that people relied on regional networks and self help to be the engine of their job search process. However, the regional networks in earlier jobs just constituted of immediate relatives, co-villagers and friends but now some diversification in the regional networks are observed as the role of basti-people, colleagues at previous workplace, pradhan, present and previous employers have expanded, alongside the contraction of the role of immediate relatives as networks.

For the workers who moved into their fourth job, their job profiles and associated networks are presented in Tables 18, 19 and 20. Their job profiles in Table 18 suggest that sales (1.92%) are the most preferred among the workers for all three states, followed by transport (0.82%). Among the workers from Uttar Pradesh, sales are the most preferred one (2.33%), followed by transport and then construction. The Rajasthani workers too, preferred sales followed by transport, construction and security. However, the workers from Bihar equally preferred sales and trade followed by transport. On the whole, three jobs that are, sales, transport and construction still dominate the choices of workers.

The associated networks with the fourth jobs as shown in Table 19 still suggest their dependency on regional support and self help. Moreover, the diversified view of networks as presented in Table 20 tends to add weight to the conclusion drawn above that the workers have reduced their dependency on immediate relatives and been able to diversify their networks but

strictly in a regional sense as different regional people like basti-people, colleagues at previous workplace and pradhan prominently featured in their networks in later stages of their job search process.

On the whole, their regional bonds are still as strong as they were at the time of entry in urban labour market and only to a small extent have the players changed. However, this is not to deny the role of self help. It has emerged as the single most important component in seeking employment opportunity. More importantly, workers still rely on regional networks to move ahead in the urban labour market and to get different jobs. Therefore, we observe minimum diversification of networks for workers belonging to different regional or ethnic backgrounds.

We further observe that, where the first job was dominated by occupations like construction, transport, manufacturing, personal services, sales and trade, but subsequently, the workers choices of occupation has declined as they have moved into other jobs, for example, the fourth job is just dominated by sales, transport only, suggesting us that there has been occupational concentration for the workers in our sample. We tend to conclude that workers in our sample have failed to go beyond their regional networks and this may have resulted in occupational concentration, ceteris paribus.

Conclusions and policy issues

Therefore, we can say that any income support and skill enhancing measures would be a welcome step from government as it can help those who are in the lower income brackets to achieve upward mobility and possibly reduce the downward mobility in relatively higher income brackets. However, one cannot ignore the fact that these workers from low income households have been able to earn their source of livelihood, without the help from any major income support policy, based on their self initiative and social capital. On the whole, we need to realize that these informal networks play an important role in the urban informal sector, without an understanding of which, any policies for the betterment of urban poor would be incomplete and misleading too. So, the framing of any policies must take into consideration these informal security mechanisms and the importance of self effort to remain cost efficient and beneficial for slum workers. Such complementarities would make the policies more effective and popular.

The issue of different ethnicity didn't help much in achieving upward income mobility but it did play some role in the occupational choices of the workers. More importantly, we have observed that workers from different ethnic backgrounds have relied heavily on regional networks and their regional bonds have remained strong as ever. Therefore, any policy regarding the provision of public goods, must take this into consideration, because it success would depend upon the joint consumption of various regional groups, which is questionable in presence of such strong regional bonds.

Table 9: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and their First Jobs

State of origin	smp	sls	trd	Prsl	mnft	rep	com	sec	Tran	tail	Cons
									First job		
Utter Pradesh	1.5	16.2	8.5	15.5	12.4	3.1	1.5	3.1	11.6	0.7	25.6
Rajasthan	1.3	9.5	8.2	13.7	16.4	6.8	0	6.8	15.1	2.7	19.2
Bihar	0	12.3	4.3	11.1	12.3	3.7	3.7	5.5	24.7	3.7	18.5
Total	0.8	13.1	6.5	13.1	13.2	4.1	2.2	4.9	18	2.4	21

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total

2 smp-semiprofessional, sls- sales, trd- trades, prsl- personal services, mnft- manufacturing, rep- repairing, com- commercial, sec-

Security, tran- transport, Tail- tailoring & knitting,   cons- construction.

Table 10: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the First Job (Region Wise)

State of Origin	Bihar	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	others	Self
			network1		
Utter Pradesh	3.8	2.3	87.6	1.5	4.6
Rajasthan	4.1	89.0	1.3	2.7	2.7
Bihar	91.9	0	1.8	0.6	5.5
Total	43.1	18.6	32.1	1.3	4.6

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total

2. self- on my own

Table 11: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the First Job

State of Origin	Network2										
	pnt	bro/s	pnt r	sp r	gen r	covil	bstw	frnd	gen p	self	Oth
Utter Pradesh	10.0	14.7	27.9	6.2	2.3	16.2	1.5	8.5	4.6	4.6	3.1
Rajasthan	12.3	12.3	30.1	2.7	1.3	21.9	1.3	10.9	1.3	2.7	2.7
Bihar	6.7	21.6	18.5	9.2	1.2	19.7	2.4	9.2	1.2	5.5	4.3
Total	9.0	17.3	24.2	6.8	1.6	19	1.9	9.3	2.5	4.6	3.6

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total .

2.Pnt- Parents, bro/s- Bother/ sister, pnt r- Parents relatives, sp r- Spouse's relatives, gen r- General relatives, covil-covillagers , jtw-Jatwalle (caste group), bstw- Bastiwala (neighbours), frnd- Friends, clge- Colleagues at previous/ present workplace, prt e- Present employer, pre e- Previous employer, prd- Pradhan/ dalal, gen p- General public/strangers, self- on my own, oth- Others

Table 12: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and their Second Jobs

State of Origin	Second job										
	smp	sls	trd	prsl	mnft	rep	com	sec	Tran	cons	na
Utter Pradesh	0	9.3	1.5	7.7	10.0	1.5	0	1.5	10.9	10.8	46.5
Rajasthan	1.3	10.9	4.1	4.1	8.2	1.3	0	2.7	8.2	5.4	53.4
Bihar	0.6	11.7	3.0	5.5	9.2	0	2.4	2.4	17.3	4.3	43.2
Total	0.5	10.7	2.75	6.0	9.3	0.8	1.1	2.2	13	6.8	46

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total

2 smp-semiprofessional, sls- sales, trd- trades, prsl- personal services, mnft- manufacturing, rep- repairing, com-

commercial, sec-

Security, tran- transport, Tail- tailoring & knitting, cons- construction.

Table 13: Cross Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the Second Job (Region Wise)

State of Origin	network1					
	Bihar	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	others	self	Na
Utter Pradesh	0.7	0.7	35.6	5.4	10.8	46.5
Rajasthan	1.3	28.7	0	2.7	13.7	53.4
Bihar	35.8	0.6	0.6	8.6	11.1	43.2
Total	16.5	6.3	12.9	6.3	11.5	46.4

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total
   2. self- on my own, na-not applicable

Table 14: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the Second Job

State of Origin	Network2															
	pnt	bro/s	pnt r	sp r	gen r	Covil	jtw	bstw	frnd	clge	prt e	pre e	Prd	gen p	self	na
Utter Pradesh	3.1	2.3	7.7	2.3	0	3.8	0	6.2	9.3	4.6	2.3	0	0	0.8	10.9	46.5
Rajasthan	0	0	2.7	4.1	2.7	5.4	1.4	5.4	9.6	1.3	0	0	0	0	13.7	53.4
Bihar	1.8	4.3	6.7	1.2	0.6	5.5	0	7.4	12	3.0	1.2	1.2	0.6	0	11.1	43.2
Total	1.9	2.7	6.3	2.2	0.8	4.9	0.3	6.5	10	3.3	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	11.5	46.4

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total   .
                2.Pnt- Parents, bro/s- Bother/ sister, pnt r- Parents relatives, sp r- Spouse's relatives, gen r- General relatives, covil-covillagers , jtw-Jatwalle (caste group),   bstw- Bastiwala (neighbours), frnd- Friends, clge- Colleagues at previous/present workplace, prt e- Present employer, pre e- Previous   employer,   prd- Pradhan/ dalal, gen p- General public/strangers,   self- on my own, oth- Others

Table 15: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and their Third Jobs

State of Origin	Job3											
	Smp	sls	Trd	prsl	mnft	Rep	com	sec	tran	tail	cons	na
Utter Pradesh	0	6.9	0.7	2.3	1.5	3.1	0.8	2.3	3.1	0	6.2	72.9
Rajasthan	0	4.1	0	0	2.7	0	0	1.3	8.2	1.3	2.7	79.5
Bihar	0.6	5.5	0	2.4	1.8	1.2	0.6	0	6.8	0	3.7	77.2
Total	0.2	5.7	0.2	1.9	1.9	1.6	0.6	1.1	5.8	0.2	4.4	76.1

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total

2 smp-semiprofessional, sls- sales, trd- trades, prsl- personal services, mnft- manufacturing, rep- repairing, com- commercial, sec-

Security, tran- transport, Tail- tailoring & knitting, cons- construction.

Table 16: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the Third Job (Region Wise)

State of Origin	Network1					
	Bihar	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	others	self	Na
Utter Pradesh	0	0	12.4	4.6	10.1	72.9
Rajasthan	0	15.0	0	1.3	4.1	79.5
Bihar	12.4	0	0.6	2.4	7.4	77.2
Total	5.4	3.0	4.6	3.0	7.6	76.1

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total

2. self- on my own, na-not applicable   .

Table 17: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the Third Job

State of Origin	Pnt	bro/s	pnt r	sp r	covil	bstw	frnd	clge	prt e	pre e	prd	gen p	self	oth	na
Utter Pradesh	0.7	0	1.5	0	0	5.4	3.1	1.5	0.8	0	1.6	1.5	10	0.8	72.9
Rajasthan	0	1.3	1.3	1.3	0	5.4	4.1	2.7	0	0	0	0	4.1	0	79.5
Bihar	0.6	1.2	0.6	0.6	2.4	2.4	3.1	1.8	0.6	0.6	1.2	0	7.4	0	77.2
Total	0.5	0.8	1.1	0.5	1.1	4.1	3.3	1.9	0.6	0.2	1.1	0.5	7.7	0.3	76.1

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total   .
2.Pnt- Parents, bro/s- Bother/ sister, pnt r- Parents relatives, sp r- Spouse's relatives, gen r- General relatives, covil-covillagers , jtw-Jatwalle (caste group),   bstw- Bastiwala (neighbours), frnd- Friends, clge- Colleagues at previous/present workplace, prt e- Present employer, pre e- Previous employer,   prd- Pradhan/ dalal, gen p- General public/strangers,   self- on my own, oth- Others , na- not applicable

Table 18: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and their Fourth Jobs

State of Origin	Job4								
	sls	trd	prsl	mnft	rep	sec	tran	cons	na
Utter Pradesh	2.3	0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0	0.8	0.7	94
Rajasthan	2.7	0	0	0	0	1.3	1.4	1.3	93
Bihar	1.2	1.2	0	0	0	0	0.6	0	97
Total	1.9	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.5	95

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total
2 smp-semiprofessional, sls- sales, trd- trades, prsl- personal services, mnft- manufacturing, rep- repairing, com-commercial, sec-

Security, tran- transport, Tail- tailoring & knitting, cons- construction.

Table 19: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the Fourth Job (Region Wise)

State of Origin	Network1					
	Bihari	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	others	self	na
Utter Pradesh	0	0	2.3	1.5	2.3	93.8
Rajasthan	1.3	4.1	0	0	1.3	93.2
Bihar	1.2	0	0	0	1.8	96.9
Total	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.5	1.9	95.1

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total
2. self- on my own, na – not applicable

Table 20: Cross-Classification of Workers as per their State of Origin and associated Networks for the Fourth Job

State of Origin	Network2						
	pnt r	bstw	frnd	clge	prd	self	na
Utter Pradesh	0.7	0.7	2.3	0	0	2.3	94
Rajasthan	0	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.37	1.3	93
Bihar	0.6	0	0.6	0	0	1.8	97
Total	0.5	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.2	1.9	95

Note: 1 the percentages are given to the row total   .
2.Pnt- Parents, bro/s- Bother/ sister, pnt r- Parents relatives, sp r- Spouse's relatives, gen r- General relatives, covil-covillagers , jtw-Jatwalle (caste group),   bstw- Bastiwala (neighbours), frnd- Friends, clge- Colleagues at previous/present workplace, prt e- Present employer, pre e- Previous   employer,   prd- Pradhan/ dalal, gen p- General public/strangers,   self- on my own, oth- Others

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