

**SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LIVELIHOODS OF
MIGRANTS IN SLUMS OF DELHI**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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2018



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DECLARATION

I, Nishikant Singh, do hereby declare that thesis entitled "SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LIVELIHOODS OF MIGRANTS IN SLUMS OF DELHI" submitted by me for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY is a bonafide work and that it has not been submitted to any other university for the award of any other degree.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	i
List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	v
List of Boxes	vii
List of Abbreviations	viii
1. INTRODUCTION	1-12
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Migration and social capital	2
1.3 Migration in slums and livelihoods of migrants	4
1.4 Relevance of the study	6
1.5 Objectives	7
1.6 Research questions	8
1.7 Conceptual framework	8
1.8 Data-base and Methodology	10
1.9 Chapterisation of the Study	12
2. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LIVELIHOOD: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	13-33
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Developments in the conceptualization of social capital	14
2.3 Explanations from definitions of Social Capital	15
2.4 Types and forms of social capital	18
2.5 The dark side of social capital	19
2.6 The downsides of migrant's social capital	20
2.7 Migrant networks as social capital	20
2.8 Social capital and migrant workers	22
2.9 Getting jobs through social networks	23
2.1 Nexus between social capital, migration and economic outcomes	25
2.11 Social capital and social exclusion	28
2.12 The exclusionary dynamics of migrant networks	30
2.13 Conclusion	32
3. LIVELIHOODS AND VULNERABILITIES OF MIGRANTS IN THE SLUMS OF DELHI	35-49
3.1 Introduction	35
3.2 Slum: The spatial dimension of social exclusion	35
3.3 Condition of the slums in study area	37
3.3.1 Security of tenure and housing condition	38
3.3.2 Housing structure	39
3.3.3 Access to drinking water	39

3.3.4	Latrine facility in slums	40
3.4	Improvement in physical infrastructure since last five years	40
3.5	An unromantic truth of Delhi's slum: A livelihood approach	42
3.5.1	The community	42
3.5.2	The household	44
3.5.3	The individual	45
3.6	Conclusion	47
4.	MIGRANTS IN DELHI: MAGNITUDE AND CHARACTERISTICS	51-67
4.1	Introduction	51
4.2	Magnitude and characteristics of migrants in Delhi: Evidences from National Sample Survey Data (2007-08)	52
4.2.1	Migrants' contribution to Delhi's population	52
4.2.2	Demographic and social characteristics of migrants in Delhi	52
4.2.3	Economic Characteristics of migrants in Delhi	55
4.2.4	Determinants of migration process in Delhi	56
4.3	Migrants in slum	57
4.4	Profile of migrants in the study area	58
4.4.1	Age-Sex composition of migrants in slums of Delhi	58
4.4.2	Migrants' company at the time of migration	58
4.4.3	Migrant's place of origin	59
4.5	Reasons of migration	60
4.6	Duration of Migration	63
4.7	Social groups of migrants	64
4.8	Economic characteristics of migrants	66
4.9	Conclusion	67
5.	SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MIGRATION: A LIVELIHOOD APPROACH	69-97
5.1	Introduction	69
5.2	Social capital and process of migration	70
5.2.1	Information regarding migration	70
5.2.2	Visit to native home	70
5.2.3	Migration through migrants	71
5.3	Livelihood enhancement through migrants' social capital	72
5.3.1	Type of help from social contacts	73
5.3.2	Identity cards: An instrument for getting entitlements	78
5.4	Surviving shocks: Financial crisis	79
5.5	Role of social capital in getting job	82
5.6	Working conditions of migrants at work place	87
5.7	Social capital and occupations of migrants	88
5.8	Extent of linking social capital among migrants	90

5.9	Extent of link between social capital and work-related outcomes	92
5.9.1	Social capital and income of the household	92
5.9.2	Social capital and satisfaction with work environment	94
5.1	Conclusion	95
6.	FORMS AND DETERMINANTS OF LIVELIHOOD DIVERSIFICATION IN SLUMS OF DELHI	99-123
6.1	Introduction	99
6.2	Average income of the migrants	99
6.2.1	Socio-demographic status and average income	100
6.2.2	Social capital and average income	101
6.3	Livelihood diversification: A theoretical perspective	103
6.4	The livelihood security approach of migrants	105
6.5	Patterns of livelihood diversification	106
6.5.1	Multiple modes of livelihood participation by age	107
6.5.2	Gender and multiple modes of livelihood participation	108
6.5.3	Social status and multiple modes of livelihood participation	109
6.5.4	Religion and multiple modes of livelihood participation	110
6.5.5	Multiple modes of livelihood participation and duration of migration	112
6.5.6	Employment status and multiple modes of livelihood	112
6.5.7	Wealth status and multiple modes of livelihood	113
6.5.8	Access to credit and multiple modes of livelihood	114
6.5.9	Linking social capital and multiple modes of livelihood	115
6.5.10	Multiple modes of livelihood with making new friends after migration	116
6.6	Extent of diversification: Simpson index of diversity	117
6.7	Determinants of livelihood diversification	119
6.8	Conclusion	122
7.	SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG MIGRANTS IN DELHI	125-146
7.1	Introduction	125
7.2	Conceptualizing social exclusion	126
7.3	Social capital and social exclusion: Similarities and differences	129
7.4	Forms of social exclusion among migrants	131
7.4.1	'Gender' as a form of exclusion	132
7.4.2	Social status: Basis of distance, discrimination and disallowance	133
7.4.3	Exclusion on the basis of religious beliefs	135
7.4.4	Migration status as a form of exclusion	136

7.5	Social exclusion and social capital: An empirical understanding	138
7.6	The economic dimension of social exclusion and social capital	140
7.7	Fragmented Social Capital	143
7.8	Conclusion	145
8.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	147- 155
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	157-177

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The challenges faced by the migrants and their livelihood strategies in the cities were the key motivating factor behind this study. I have received generous help from the social capital that I've accumulated before and during the course of my research, which has made this research possible. I would like to acknowledge their support and motivation.

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Deepak K. Mishra for his valuable guidance, scholarly inputs and consistent encouragement I received throughout the research work. He had given me full freedom to work, but his critical analysis had helped me to rectify and modify my work. I consider it a great opportunity to do my research work under his guidance and to learn from his research expertise.

I am also grateful to all my teachers at the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University, particularly Prof. Puroshottam Kulkarni, M. D. Vemuri, Amitabh Kundu, Ravi Srivastava, Shrawan Kumar Acharya, Bhaswati Das, Elumalai Kannan, Padmini Pani, Nandita Saikia, Srinivas Goli and Amit Thorat for their suggestions, comments and encouragement at various stages of the work.

I have benefited immensely from stimulating discussions with Prof. Anu Kapur, Department of Geography, University of Delhi, Prof. R. B. Bhagat, Department of Migration and Urban Studies, International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai, Dr. Sumit Mazumdar, Centre for Health Economics, University of York, Dr. Navin Singh, King George's Medical University, Lucknow, Dr. Abhay Kumar, Executive Director, Lokashraya Foundation, New Delhi, Dr. Kunal Keshri, G.B. Pant Social Science Institute, Allahabad, Dr. Prashant Singh, TERI School of Advance Studies, New Delhi, Dr. Arvind Pandey, National Institute of Urban Affairs. I am forever thankful to them for giving me their valuable inputs.

I am grateful to the staff of the Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Central Library and Exim Bank, J.N.U. and the libraries of Institute of Economic Growth (IEG), New Delhi,

International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai. I am also thankful to all the writers and authors; whose work I have referred to in this thesis. I think I cannot really thank all the migrants and their families for their enthusiastic support and responses during the field survey.

My time at Jawaharlal Nehru University was made enjoyable in large part by my friends and colleagues. Needless to say, my friends became a part of my life. I would like to thank them for being with me at all times, helping me in shaping and refining my ideas with their valuable comments and constructive criticism and keeping my spirits high in the worst of my times. They provided me a happy environment during monotonous moments and their smile made my painstaking work easy.

Lastly, but most importantly, I would like to thank my family for all the love and encouragement. I will be forever in debt of my parents who raised me with love and supported me in all my pursuits.

Above all I owe it all to Almighty God for granting me wisdom, health and strength to undertake this research work and enabling me to its completion.

Nishikant Singh

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Title	Page
1.1	List of sample slums selected for household survey, NCT of Delhi	11
3.1	Brief descriptions of selected slums in Delhi	37
3.2	Distribution of type of accommodation in selected slums of Delhi	38
3.3	Distribution of type of structure of the houses in selected slums of Delhi	39
3.4	Distribution of water facility in households of selected slums in Delhi	40
3.5	Distribution of latrine facility in households of selected slums in Delhi	40
3.6	Distribution of selected slums by status of improvement in facilities during the period of last five years	41
3.7	Distribution of type of authority responsible for improvement in slums during last five years	42
4.1	Demographic and social characteristics of migrants in Delhi, 2007-08	54
4.2	Economic Characteristics of Migrants of Delhi, 2007-08	55
4.3	Odds ratios of factors influencing the migration in Delhi in the age group of 15-59, 2007-08	57
4.4	Reasons of migration by place of origin among migrants in slums of Delhi (Multiple responses)	62
4.5	Distribution of migrants by social groups in slums of Delhi	65
4.6	Distribution of migrants by religion in slums of Delhi	65
4.7	Distribution of migrants by educational qualification in slums of Delhi	65
4.8	Migrants' employment status by gender distribution in slums of Delhi	66
4.9	Migrants' type of occupation by gender in slums of Delhi	66
5.1	Sources of information for migrants	70
5.2	Arrivals of new migrants with the help of earlier migrants	72
5.3	Status of ID cards and role of social capital in getting ID cards	78
5.4	Role of social capital in getting job among migrants in slums of Delhi	83
5.5	Role of social capital in getting job among male migrants in slums of Delhi	83
5.6	Role of social capital in getting job among female migrants in slums of Delhi	84

5.7	Role of social capital in getting job by social groups of migrants in slums of Delhi	85
5.8	Role of social capital in getting job by religion of migrants in slums of Delhi	86
5.9	Role of social capital in getting job by migrants' employment status in slums of Delhi	86
5.10	Distribution of migrant workers in different occupations and their average income	90
5.11	Differences in average income of migrants associated with linking social capital	91
5.12	Determinants of household income (Log linear regression coefficient)	93
5.13	Logistic regression models of social capital variables for satisfaction with work environment	95
6.1	Distribution of average income by socio-demographic characteristics	101
6.2	Distribution of average income by social capital variables	102
6.3	Distribution of respondents on extent of diversification (SID computation)	118
6.4	Determinants of household-level job diversification (Ordinal logit model)	120
6.5	Household level determinants of livelihood diversification: job per adult person and Simpson Diversity Index	121
7.1	Similarities and differences between social capital and social exclusion	130
7.2	Per cent distribution of migrants who reported social exclusion/discrimination in the slums of Delhi	132
7.3	Logistic regression model on membership of voluntary organizations among migrants in slums of Delhi	139
7.4	Logistic regression- the ratio of probability that the respondent is employed	141
7.5	Logistic regression- the ratio of probability that the respondent is materially deprived	143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.	Title	Page
1.1	Core Domains of Integration of migrants through social capital	3
1.2	Conceptual framework for social capital, migration and livelihood	9
4.1	Percentage of migrants in India and Delhi, 2007-08	53
4.2	Percentage of migrants in slums of Delhi	58
4.3	Migrants' company at the time of migration	59
4.4	Distribution of migrants by place of origin	59
4.5	Distribution of migrants by their native states	60
4.6	Distribution of migrants by major reasons for migration	62
4.7	Distribution of migrants by duration of migration in Delhi	63
5.1	Frequency of visit to native place in a year	71
5.2	Percentage distribution of number of people coming from native place with the help of earlier migrants	72
5.3	Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by gender in slums of Delhi	75
5.4	Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by place of origin in slums of Delhi	75
5.5	Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by social groups in slums of Delhi	76
5.6	Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by income quintile in slums of Delhi	76
5.7	Source of credit in case of sudden need, by age group of migrants in slums of Delhi	80
5.8	Source of credit in case of sudden need, by gender of migrants in slums of Delhi	80
5.9	Source of credit in case of sudden need, by duration of migration in slums of Delhi	81
5.10	Source of credit in case of sudden need, by employment status of migrants in slums of Delhi	82
5.11	Working conditions of migrants at work place in Delhi	89
5.12	Membership of households in different groups and associations	91
6.1	Distribution of average monthly income of migrants by quartile	100
6.2	Migrants' livelihood security at household level	105
6.3	Multiple modes of livelihood by age of the head of the household	108
6.4	Multiple modes of livelihood by gender of the head of the household	109

6.5	Multiple modes of livelihood by social groups of the migrants	110
6.6	Multiple modes of livelihood by religion of the migrants	111
6.7	Multiple modes of livelihood by duration of migration	111
6.8	Multiple modes of livelihood by employment status of the head of the household	113
6.9	Multiple modes of livelihood by wealth index of the household	114
6.10	Multiple modes of livelihood by access to credit	115
6.11	Multiple modes of livelihood by membership of any family member in any voluntary organization	116
6.12	Multiple modes of livelihood by making new friends in Delhi after migration	117
7.1	Gender distribution of migrants reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi	133
7.2	Distribution of migrants by their social status reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi	134
7.3	Distribution of migrants by religion reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi	136
7.4	Distribution of migrants on the basis of their native states reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi	137

LIST OF BOXES

Box No.	Title	Page
1	Living in dirt and with the fear of eviction	48
2	A story of runaway choice and success	64
3	Life here is good enough	73
4	Victim of riot, welcomed by Delhi	77
5	A story of dashed hopes	88
6	Falling prey to contractor's greed	97
7	Waiting for his sorry life to end	123

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Anno Domini
BC	Before Christ
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CT	Census Town
CWL	Casual Wage Labour
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DFID	Department for International Development
DMC (U)	Delhi Municipal Corporation (Urban)
EU	European Union
HHHs	Head of the Household
ID	Identity
IHDS	Indian Human Development Survey
INR	Indian Rupees
ISMWRA	Inter-state Migrant Workmen Regulation Act
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MFIs	Micro Finance Institutions
MML	Multiple Modes of Livelihood
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita Consumer Expenditure
NBFIs	Non-Banking Financing Institutions
NCT	National Capital Territory
NDMC	New Delhi Municipal Corporation
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PCA	Principle Component Analysis
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RS	Regular Salaried
SCs	Scheduled Castes
SCT	Social Capital Theory
SE	Self-employed
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
SID	Simpson Index of Diversity
STs	Scheduled Tribes
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Migration is often discussed as an important dimension of the process of economic development. However, migration is a multi-layered and complex phenomenon with diverse patterns and outcomes. The processes through which poor migrant households come to the urban area and their attempts to survive after entering into the city have been dealt seriously in the literature on development studies. The concept of ‘social capital’ and the framework of sustainable livelihood provides a substantive basis to the understanding of the processes of migration and functioning of the urban poor migrants in developing countries. In a simplistic sense, social capital is a value of an individual’s, household’s or community’s connections. Social capital emerging as an informational resource as an outcome of interaction of rational agents required to synchronise mutual benefit. Coleman (1988) suggests closure of social norms when more than one individual realises that cooperation is for their shared interest. Social capital as a concept has been in existence for as long as social sciences themselves, in one form or another (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Low income households looking for jobs in urban destinations depends largely on their contacts in urban areas which may include family, relatives, friends and other migrants from the same village (Banerjee, 1986; Mitra, 1994; Mitra, 2008). Thus, social capital plays an important role when low income migrants plan their survival in urban areas by providing information flow and support mechanisms for job search, reducing risk associated with sources of income, consumption behaviour, combating illness and other basic aspects of life like lodging facilities, etc. In such a situation, the concept of ‘Social Capital’ offers an important framework to understand these channels highlighting their significance in the framework of development and policy planning.

Further, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework lays particular stress on the importance of social capital as means of social resources which involves forging networks for cooperation, mutual trust, and support in livelihood strategy, and placed it as one of the major component of sustainable livelihood. The livelihood approach to rural poverty reduction identifies five main categories of asset that jointly governs the status of the asset and livelihood strength that determines survival strategies of the households

(Scions, 1988). These categories include natural capital in the form of land, water and trees; physical capital in the form of irrigation canals, roads, etc.; human capital measured in terms of education, health and skill; financial capital and its substitutes including cash savings, jewellery, animal wealth; and social capital determined by networks and association.

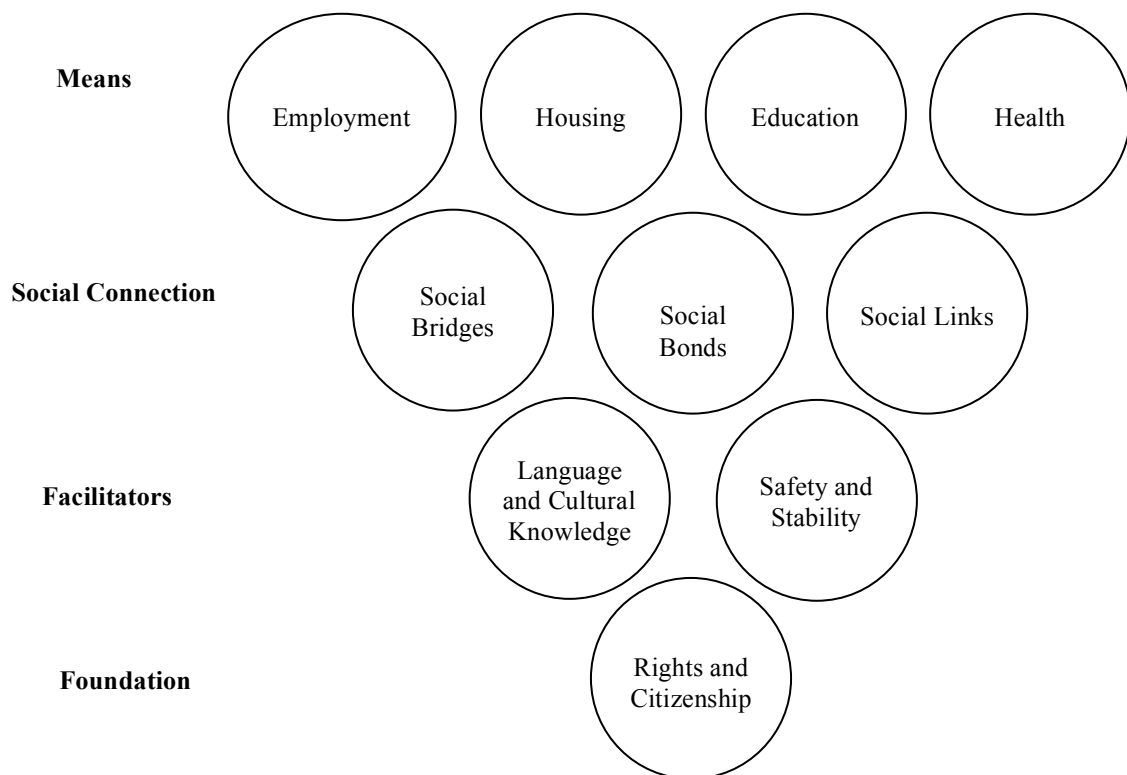
It has also been noticed by scholars, from diverse methodological standpoints, that social capital is strongly linked with livelihood but on the negative side, most generalized limitation noticed by most of the scholars is related to exclusionary nature of social capital. social exclusion can be one of the detrimental effects of social capital as the closed groups usually attain an internal cohesion as against the outsiders, who are then treated with a notion of distrust, resentment or even outright hatred (Westlund, 2006). Fafchamps (2006) points out that in case social capital bonds become too strong, it may lead to negative effects like conformity at the expense of variety. The social capital benefits are usually unequally distributed and are sometimes even exclusionary. It is also argued that in some cases highly inclusive social networks grab the freedom of individuals as it could be as it could act as a restriction on actions and choices of an individual (Wall et al., 1998). Fine (2007) marked the limitation of social capital in very bitter but true sense. He contended that “although social capital is capable of addressing almost anything designated as social, it has tended to neglect the state, class, power, and conflict” (Fine, 2007). Further, Mitra (2008) pointed that ‘social capital’ may negatively affect the progress even within the informal sector because of greater competition. Sharing of savings and other resources due to mutual obligation impedes progress. Thus, the possibility of substantial improvement experienced in living standards is lowered for both, the contact person as well as the new entrant.

1.2 Migration and social capital

Social Capital Theory (SCT) fares better than its rival explanations which are derived from Neoclassical economics and the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) when it comes to explaining the migratory behavior of the migrants. The core idea ascertained by social capital theory is of social network established between various migrants facilitates migration through information dissemination, financial help and emotional support away from home (Hirschman and Massey, 2008). Social capital theory engages with and clarifies several migration-related outcomes, including finding a job,

wage-attainment, working conditions, neighborhood formation and remittance patterns (Massey and Parrado, 1994; Aguilar 2003; Aguilar and Massey 2003). Waldinger (1999) observes that Social capital theory’s most noteworthy contribution has been the reinterpretation of the migratory process with an elegant model. Because of their advantages, people residing in specific migrant-sending communities rely on social networks to migrate to traditional destinations. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) refer to these as a ‘durable set of destinations’. The Social capital theory model fits the data so tightly that Hirschman and Massey (2008) have described migratory flows as following an ‘iron law of spatial concentration’. Key aspects, as acknowledged by diverse participants, for integrating into new society includes housing, employment, health and education. It is therefore, suitable to include them in working definition of ‘integration’. Along with these means of integration, social connections play the crucial role through various types of bridges, bonds and links.

Figure 1.1: Core domains of integration of migrants through social capital



Language and cultural similarity with pre-existing migrants facilitate to new migrants in order to find the job and shelter while government/state policy provides them to their rights and citizenship.

1.3 Migration in slums and livelihoods of migrants

Rapid urbanization which sometimes leads to infrastructure deterioration and inadequate facilities to sustain this rising urban population results in growth of slums in cities especially in developing countries. Urban slums are usually considered life threatening or in other words amongst the worst places for human habitation (Gilbert, 2007). There is a dearth of literature which enumerates and categorizes slums, while the very definition of slums and its constituents is often vague (Milbert, 2006). Common categorization of slums involves overcrowding, poverty, absence of even the basic amenities, exposure to harmful environment resulting in poor health, marginalization and social disadvantages faced by its residents. These characteristics intensifies the risk of natural and man-made hazards, resulting in decreased health and well-being of its residents (Pelling 2003, Davis 2006). Even though slums are considered to be least conducive they are the prime destination of poor migrants. UN-Habitat (2003, 2006) defines slum in terms of lack of essential characteristics of a livable household like poor structural quality and durability of dwellings, safe and clean water, basic sanitation facilities, adequate living space and security of tenure. This definition serves the purpose of initial awareness for identifying slums and recent literature has focused on its characteristic features like unsafe housing and inadequate infrastructure (Neekhra 2008, Beall and Fox 2009, Gulyani and Bassett, 2010, Arimah, 2011). Census has defined slums as residential areas where because of various reasons like dereliction, overcrowding, flawed design and arrangements of buildings and roads, poor ventilation and inadequate sanitation facilities or their combination renders them unfit for human habitation as they may prove harmful to the health and safety of its residents. There are, however, two important stipulations: (1) UN-Habitat itself acknowledges that the definition of slums permits significant variability in how unsafe a household may be and (2) this definition is household based and not place based measure for defining slum. We are particularly concerned with this latter issue in this study.

Using data from the National Sample Survey Organization and population censuses, Mitra (1988) described the contribution of migration in spread of slum and concentration of migrants in the slums of Indian cities. He argued that people from lower caste and disadvantaged communities in rural areas, taking help of kinship and village networks established in cities, migrate and settle in slums in search of better economic conditions. He also argued that lower castes come to dominate the slums and mainly

comprises of families and not a single person. Moreover, it is believed that slums have been shaped mainly by lower castes and disadvantaged section who have migrated because of strong caste kinship bonds.

Regarding to the relationship between migration and livelihood of migrants, Haan (2000) described migration as a strategy for livelihood enhancement which may be adopted by an individual, household or communities at larger scale. According to him, this strategy has been adopted throughout the history and as such is much more common than often assumed. Lund et al. (2008) described that livelihood approaches have been developed in recent times in order to comprehend the true relationship between various agencies and structures in vulnerable and disempowered contexts. It is important to identify vulnerabilities of the people to increase their access to resources and knowledge and ultimately to empower them. Structure refers to factors that have external effects, like shocks and disasters, and to economic or cultural factors determining peoples' abilities to function, and gain access to resources and establish power over them. Poverty stands out as multifaceted, within such a framework, relating not only to economic poverty but also to vulnerability and detrimental structural forces.

Going past the usual emphasis laid on income and employment Ellis (2000) defines livelihood as incorporating various assets like natural, physical, social and financial capital, the activities and access to these assets mediated through social relations and institutional mechanisms, that combine together to govern the living gained by an individual or household. He thus argues for the role played by social institutions in determining the limitations and alternatives of individuals and households. However, despite the fact that altering structures, facilitating processes, agencies and organizations emerge in all livelihood frameworks, there is a trend within livelihood studies to downplay these structural features and instead reorient focus towards capitals and activities (de Haan and Zoomers 2005). The criticism of livelihood studies on the basis of predominant role played by language of "multiplier effect" in discussing livelihood choices, as though expanding people's asset pentagons is possible, in a generalized and incremental fashion (Murray 2001). Heterogeneity of interests, within and among local communities as well as structures of power and powerlessness are not inefficiently documented. Although much stress has been given on 'participation' in most of the literature, 'community' concept that is implicit in such discussions fails to accommodate

the mutually inconsistent interests of distinct social groups (Mishra, 2004). Both the access to and utilization of crucial resources, which are deeply rooted in the local social and institutional structures, plays a central role in the survival of households.

1.4 Relevance of the study

The social networks of migrants generate social capital or resources implanted in social structure and can be used and devoted by individuals for realizing their ends (Coleman, 1990), which helps migrant workers to minimize the costs and risks associated with migration and search for jobs, and affects their settlement patterns (Korinek et al., 2005). Thus, social capital is important for the success of civil society (Johnston et al., 2013). economic reforms in India have led to large scale rural to urban migration in the last two decades. The unique institutional arrangements have rendered this migration more complex as compared to standard demographic movement and have consequently resulted in social divide among rural and urban populations. The rural urban migration in India as always would be voluntary and will generate new category of labour which will not only be more skilled but would also receive higher wages. This new category of labour will experience positive social mobility (Todaro, 1977; World Bank, 1995). More often than not in underdeveloped countries, rural-urban migration was a result of what is described as push factors. And the inquiry into these causes revealed the gravity of rural poverty and lack of employment opportunities as the major push factors forcing out migration (Vijay, 2005). Being socially and economically disadvantaged, rural-to-urban migrant workers in developing countries tend to rely on social networks for their migration, employment and settlement after arrival at their destinations (Wang et al., 2002 and Zhao, 2003), just like those found in other settings (Massey, 1986; Massey and Espinosa, 1997).

The sociological literature has widely developed the role performed by social capital in the job market, but its practical application is still restricted. Moreover, the theoretical difficulties faced in social capital quantification and limitations faced in measurement of social capital in existing data, there are limited economic studies on the effect that social capital has on labour market outcomes. While many scholars recognize the significance of social capital to migrant workers (Korinek et al., 2005), recent theoretical developments on the concept demands careful analysis of minute details of impact that social capital have on migrants' work and employment in India. Moreover,

the darker side of social capital in terms of social exclusion in India is neglected in previous studies. Despite, being a capital of India, where a number of migrants come to Delhi in livelihood search and forced to live in slums of cities, NCT of Delhi has not much has been accomplished in studying NCT of Delhi within the vast literature on social capital. Therefore, application of social capital theory on migrants in Delhi in terms of livelihood strategy demands careful examination and also looking at whether social exclusion induced by social capital. The present study follows an interdisciplinary approach to the study of livelihood strategy among migrants and the interlinking of social capital and social exclusion. Although, the study followed the broad livelihood concepts in terms of education, health, income and occupation and linked to social capital and social exclusion framework in a sense that these are the major decisive factors in livelihood, yet by the limitations of time and resource, this study has not ventured into the detail analysis of sustainable livelihood in urban setting.

1.5 Objectives

The present research demands analyzing pattern of migration observed in slums of Delhi, focusing mainly on the role of social capital in the process of migration and how social capital helps the migrant's survival strategy, livelihood options and how social capital hinder the process of development of an individual in urban setting. Further, study also tries to explore the livelihood diversification among migrants living in slum of Delhi. However, the specific objectives are as follows:

- To explore the urban vulnerability and assessing the life of migrants in slums with urban livelihood approach.
- To identify the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of migrants in the slums of Delhi.
- To evaluate the role of social capital in subsidizing the cost of living, migrants' access to health, education and employment opportunities, and reducing risk associated with migrants in slums of Delhi.
- To understand the different earning activities and livelihood diversifications among migrants of Delhi's slums.
- To examine the extent and causes of social exclusion of migrants and the role of social capital in accentuating or mitigating the social exclusion of migrants.

1.6 Research Questions

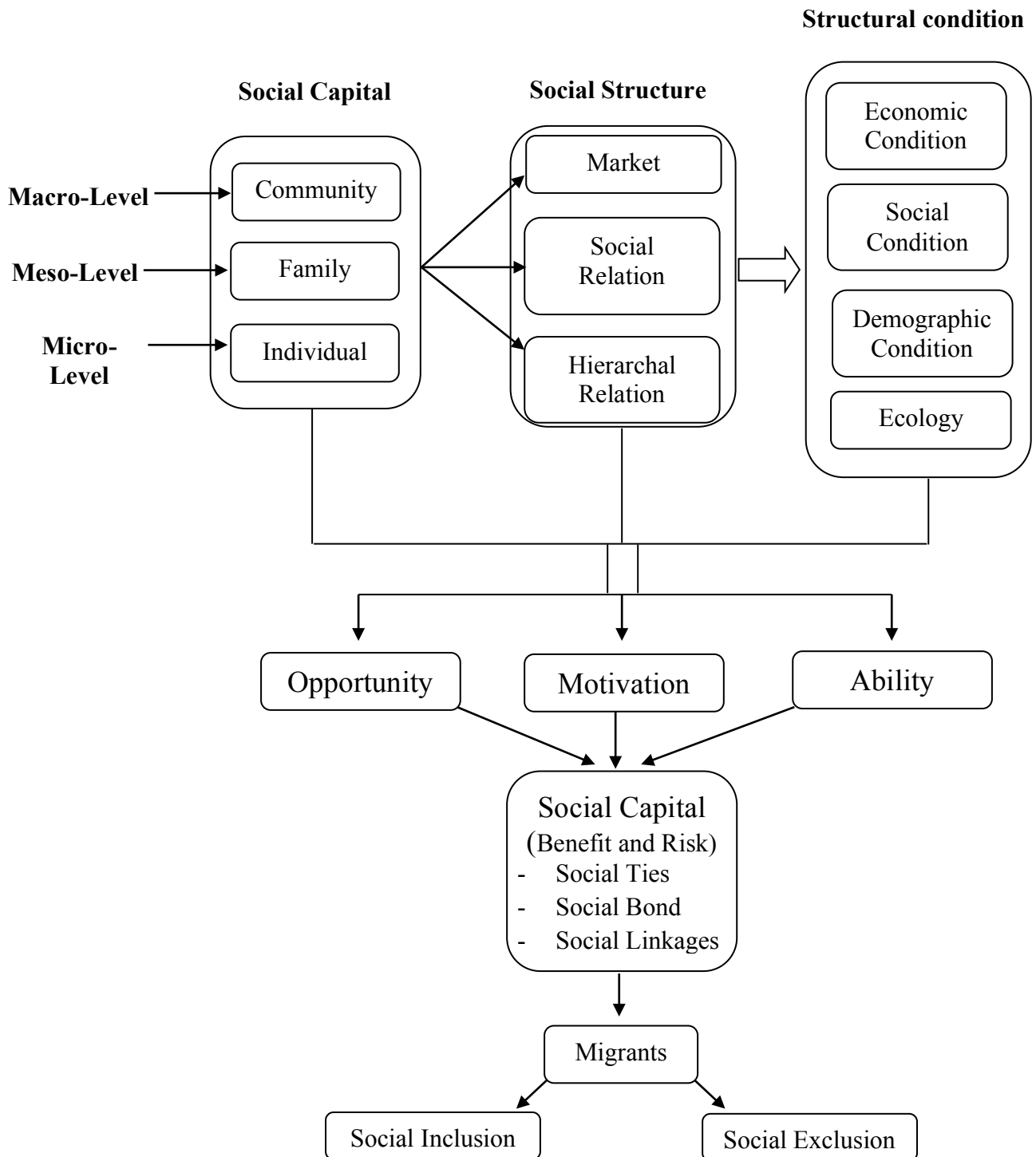
Following research questions have been advanced in this study and examines the established ideas while doing so.

- Why migrants choose slums for their stay in the city and how slums are vulnerable for slum dwellers in terms of livelihood and quality of life?
- What is the current pattern of migration in Delhi? Does social capital facilitate the process of migration and provide the survival strategy and livelihood options in urban settings?
- On which grounds, migrants are discriminated and excluded and how social capital is associated with social exclusion?

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The idea that social relations give rise to social capital is puzzled and doesn't confirm with specific aspects of social relations. Most of the research related to social capital can be divided into two branches, the first that identifies the source of social capital in formal structure of the ties that builds the social network and second focusing on the content of those ties. Similar kind of ties can fulfil multiple purposes and thus can reasonably be grouped together. Literatures suggest that social capital is a product of relationship between people and it is a collective asset, which operates from macro to micro level. Moreover, the role of implicit or explicit collective identity in the creation of social capital and role of institutional structure either formal or informal in the shaping of the nature of social capital are also crucial for social capital as a resource. Therefore, using this concept regarding to social capital as resource for getting employment and better economic outcomes, we developed the conceptual framework showing social capital and migration relation, presented in Figure 1.2. The first level of this framework refers to the levels at which social capital starts work i.e. community as a resource at macro level, family as resource at meso level and an individual actors/migrants at micro level. People from these groups establish the relationship with new coming migrants through certain social structure, exhibited in second level of orientation.

Figure 1.2: Conceptual framework for social capital, migration and livelihood



Market relation refers the goods and services for money and barter to migrants provided by those people who already settled in urban areas. They provide social and economic security in urban areas through hierarchical relations and give favor and facilitate help them through social relations. The next level of framework i.e. structural condition refers the to various aspects revolving around the social, economic and demographic characteristics of migrants that affect their status of employment and overall economic outcomes in urban area. The social capital, social structure and structural condition collectively facilitate the opportunity, motivation and ability to migrate and again social capital works through social ties, social bonds and social linkages with some beneficial aspects and some risk. Migrants, who get benefited through social capital, can come under the social inclusion categories that provide the different livelihood options and on the other hand, those migrants who are not benefitted to social capital, they are reflecting the dark side of capital by the means of social exclusion induced by social capital.

1.8 Data-base and Methodology

The comprehensive data on migrants' household combined with information on socio-economic, social capital and social exclusion was needed to achieve the objective of study. Therefore it is essential to conduct primary survey for better explorative study. Subsequently, multi-stage sampling was performed for obtaining the desired sample of 500. In the first stage, it has been decided to identify the concentration of poor migrants living in of slums in each district of Delhi. The selection of slums cannot be arbitrary in nature as this could under or over represents the sample. Thus, it has been decided to arrange the entire slum based on three indicators taken from Census 2011:

- a) Proportion of Scheduled Castes (SCs) Population
- b) Proportion of Female Illiteracy, and
- c) Proportion of Marginal Workers

It is worth to mention here that the three variables mentioned above were not random, rather purposively selected. It has been argued in many studies that for any given area, literacy among women along with presence of the SCs population tends to provide much better understanding of the area as compared with other indicators. Further, in case of urban areas the spatial distribution of the population considerably based on income or occupation structure. A better income household tends to involve in organized sectors

with better income and thus form a much homogeneous settlements in urban areas. However, marginalized workers or households that mainly depends on daily wages/labour prefer to settle in areas that are economically feasible.

A composite index based on three indicators is developed using Principle Component Analysis (PCA). The factor scores were generated in Stata 12. These scores actually represent how a specific slum stands in terms of SCs population, female illiteracy and occupational structure with comparison to others. Based on factor scores obtained for each slum, ranking of the slum for each district separately has been done from highest to lowest in order. There were several slums that were less number of households and in those slums also affects the factor score value. Thus, a cut-off point 1000 households were set to identify wards that have enough number of sample households. From each selected slum, 100 migrants' households were decided to include in the household survey (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: List of sample slums selected for household survey, NCT of Delhi.

Factor Score	Zone	District Code	Sub-district	Name of Place	Total Population	Total Household	Household Sample
2.2	North	90	431	Sultan Pur Majra (CT) WARD NO.-0037	59898	10686	100
3	East	93	441	Dallo Pura (CT) WARD NO.-0210	59678	11171	100
1	Central	94	443	Takia Kala (NDMC) WARDNO. -0003	5818	1111	100
3.4	West	96	450	Shakur Basti (DMC) WARD NO.-0059	10377	2495	100
3.6	South West	97	453	Kusum Pur (CT) WARD NO.-0171	17028	3782	100
Total					585083	113726	500

After selection of slums, systematic random sampling was employed for obtaining the desired sample. Field survey was conducted through structured questionnaire during the period of February to April 2017. Migrants living since the past 25 years in Delhi were covered in the study. Those who have stayed for more than 25 years in Delhi were considered as native population. The present study follows an interdisciplinary approach to understand the process of migration and its inter-linkages with livelihood of migrants within the framework of social capital and social exclusion. However, pressed by the

limitations of time and space, this study did not venture into the historical aspect of migration processes and their livelihood strategies in the area under study. Further, Stata 13 statistical software package was used to carry out data analysis. Specific methodologies adopted in different chapters are discussed in respective chapters of the study.

1.9 Chapterisation of the study

There are total 8 chapters included in the study and organized as follows. After a discussion on the need for the study, conceptual framework, methodology, sampling design, database, objectives and research questions in the first chapter, a synoptic review of the previous studies related to social capital has been discussed in the second chapter. The objective of the second chapter is to bring out the conceptual aspects of social capital and its linkages with livelihood studies. The third chapter focused the unromantic truth of Delhi's slum in terms of urban vulnerability and quality of life, which ultimately decide the livelihood of slum dwellers. This chapter is based on mix method approach i.e. quantitative as well as qualitative data from field survey for describing the conditions of slums in Delhi in terms of livelihood analysis. The fourth chapter deals with the process of migration and its pattern in NCT of Delhi. This chapter is constructed on analysis of both the primary as well as the secondary data. 64th Round of data on NSS has been used as secondary data in this chapter. Further, the fifth chapter describes the role of social capital in migration process and discusses how it can reduce the risk faced by migrants in urban setting. The sixth chapter deals with occupation and earning of migrants along with livelihood diversification among migrants in Delhi. The seventh chapter throws light on the process of exclusion of migrants of Delhi and the gloom of social capital on social exclusion in economic terms. Finally, summary and concluding remarks along with major findings combined with policy implications of the study are discussed in the last chapter.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LIVELIHOOD: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

Although the term ‘social capital’ comes from western lexicon, but it has been used in several forms in India. It has enjoyed an impressive upsurge across the social sciences, development studies and policy-making discourses. Along with recent literature review, this chapter provides a brief introduction to the origin of the term with Indian and western connotations along with recent theoretical backup and links between social cohesion, quality of governance, economic performance and human welfare. Despite some limitations of social capital, the literature indicates that it makes an unquestionable input to economic development and overall wellbeing. The advent of social capital theory grounded serious sound academic research in social sciences and established the link between social economics and mainstream economics. This paper argues that social capital cannot be separated from social and political contexts for meaningful economic activities.

Social capital as a concept has become one of the most popular exports from sociological theory to every stream of social sciences. In recent years it is often seen as the glue that holds democratic societies together. Various international organizations, government and non-government agencies advocate the role of social capital via knowledge transfer and mutual cooperation in achieving social and economic development. This social and economic development ranges from enhancing employment, education and skill development through formal and informal support. Both theory and empirical researches suggest that social capital may be considered as an indicator of the effectiveness of a society through collective and mutual determinations and cooperative actions. Social capital is not only about the deep feelings, but covers varieties of paybacks through cooperation, information, reciprocity and trust associated with people living in a society. Social capital makes visible the productivity of the social sphere, that is, it contributes to recognition that the social sphere both influences and is influenced by the distribution and character of other forms of capital (Healy and Hampshire, 2002). Despite the increasing importance of social capital, its complex and ambiguous concept, and use in various disciplines with varying meanings poses several

challenges towards its understanding. Therefore, this paper addresses the conceptualization of social capital with the help of previous literature.

2.2 Developments in the conceptualization of social capital

Emphasizing the need of mutual networking, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) precisely said, “It is hardly possible to overrate the value... of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar...Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress” (1848, p. 581). This statement reflects the need to capitalize the collective efforts of human into such resources, which contribute social and economic welfare of the world. Perhaps Mill was the first known and recognized scholar who triggered the concept of social capital, although the term was first used by L. J. Hanifan, a State Supervisor for Rural Schools in Virginia (US) in 1916. He used it in the context of the community’s involvement in the successful running of schools and it has become widespread since the 1980s (Farr, 2004; Wallis and Killerby, 2004).

The essence of social capital has been used by civilizations across the world but the term came from western lexicon in the 20th century. India too has a long history in using this concept in various forms across the different times. The tradition of voluntary actions, generosity, professional bodies and cooperative system has a long history in India. Rigveda refers to some elements of cooperative social entrepreneurship, which reflect in the form of duty and accountability of a conscious human being. Maurya and Gupta periods (4th century B.C. to 5th century A.D.), and even later also patronize the concept of social capital across the country for social cohesion, good administration and human welfare through village community and sabha etc. After the decline of conventional institutions of ancient and medieval periods, independence struggle marked the revitalization of interest in these institutions under the strong influence of Gandhian principles with advocacy of voluntary action and self-government. “A government builds its prestige upon the apparently voluntary association of the governed” said by Mahatma Gandhi (Duncan, 2005) reflects the idea and importance of Gandhian principles in public administration and established the modern concept of social capital in India.

The concept of social capital in social science literature was marked by two groundbreaking works of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988), establishing a milestone

in developmental discourse. It rapidly assumed economic implication and came to be accepted as a factor of production in development theory. However, the work of Putnam (1995, 2000) promoted this concept for policy makers. He was acknowledged in the 1990s to be the single most cited author across the social sciences (Fine, 2007). He has figured it centrally in contemporary debate (Farr, 2004). Later on applications of social capital are well recognized throughout the social sciences in economic performance, health and well-being, crime, education and governance (Halpern, 2005). Subsequently, social capital emerged as an important component of livelihood which was promoted by Frank Ellis in 2000's (Scoones, 2009). There are various explanations for healthy recognition of social capital as it mentions those institutions, relationships and customs that outline the quality and quantity of a society's interaction. Moreover, it encompasses trust, reciprocal understanding, shared values and behavior that binds together the members of a particular community and make possible cooperative action. In both formal and informal interactions, social links and norms and the values associated with them play a very important role. Fundamentally, such characteristics of social capital enable people to form communities to pledge themselves to one another, and to intertwine the social fabric. Concrete understanding of social networking and amazing sense of belonging to a network (and the relationships of trust and acceptance that evolve) can fetch great benefits to people.

2.3 Explanations from definitions of social capital

With the above discussion, it would be necessary to understand the definitions given by various scholars. They are many as the concept itself comprises multidimensional aspects covering different subjects with different meanings. However, some definitions are rendered here which reflect some basic insights towards understanding the concept of social capital.

“Social capital cannot be acquired by individuals acting alone; it is created and transmitted through cultural mechanisms like tradition, religion, or historical habit, which created shared ethical values and a common purpose.” (Fukuyama 1995, p. 26-27)

“Social capital is a self-organizing system with many actors connected in an amorphous web or network.” (Wilson 1997, p. 747–748)

“Social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures.” (Portes 1998, p.6)

“Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together.” (World Bank 1999, p. 44)

“Social capital refers to the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively.” (Woolcock & Narayan 2000, p. 226)

“Physical objects constitute physical capital and the properties of individuals constitute human capital; social networks and the norms of tradeoff and credibility that arise from connections among individuals comes under social capital. Social capital in that sense is closely connected to what might be called “civic virtue” by some. There is one difference though. Civic virtue when rooted in a sense network of reciprocal social relations is most powerful and thus social capital calls attention to this fact. Even if a society of isolated individuals have lots of righteous people it is considered rich in social capital.” (Putnam 2000, p. 19)

“Social capital is defined as social, non-formalized networks that are created, maintained and used by the networks’ nodes/actors in order to distribute norms, values, preferences and other attributes and characteristics, but which also emerge as a result of actors sharing some of these attributes.” (Westlund 2006, p. 8)

“Social capital can be envisaged as a revolving mutual fund of traded and un-traded interdependencies.” (Anderson et al. 2007, p. 265)

“Social capital consists of social relations among agents combined with social institutions that allow for co-operation and communication.” (Lorenzen 2007, p. 801)

Abundant reflections emerge from above definitions. Although different experts have defined social capital in different ways, most commonly it can be called as the outcome of social relations. Thus, the first and most general reflection of social capital is that “relations matter”. Social ties form social capital. It is not about what you have, it is about whom you have. Social capital provides the platform to foster interactive culture

amongst people to share outcomes of economic productivity (Malecki, 2012). But this one is not only insight from this concept as it is unfair to social economist especially. However, social relation is very fundamental to social economics. But it is clear that social capital explicitly represents the overlay within the social and economic spheres of human life. Second, the nature and magnitude of social capital is not the same when it is barely present and when it is found in abundance. Third, social capital can act as resources if it focuses on the group rather than an individual. But the biggest problem with this understanding is on which scale or level of analysis we should focus. For instance, in some cases a group of people can do a work and a community cannot do the same level of work and vice versa. Fourth, social capital has been defined earlier as a result of the sum total of the actual resources and those that can act as a potential, which are accessible and can be derived from various relationships of an individual or a social unit (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). Metaphorically, one can describe social capital having a dual quality of both a 'glue' as well as a 'lubricant'. Like a glue, it helps in holding the three aspects together: transactions, cooperation and learning in a world full of uncertainties (World Bank, 1999; Cappellin, 2004, 214; Fountain, 2001) but it does act as a hindrance towards social change (Paldam, 2000). On the other hand, like a lubricant it helps in the cooperative flow of social capital within a group (Healy and Hampshire, 2002). Thus, Social capital acts as an instrument of risk reduction and ultimately trust and associational behaviours are the instruments of social capital.

Identification of the three basic factors that have an immense contribution in shaping the economic growth, assets like labor, land and physical capital that generate a mode of income, had been done by classical economists. Earlier, in the 1960s, neo-classical economists like T.W. Schultz and Gary Becker had introduced the idea of capital collected by humanly efforts. They raised an argument based on the notion that attributes of a society such as education, training and health of the workers determined the productive utility of the orthodox factors (Woolcock, 1998). In the so-called field of "new economic sociology", many eminent personalities like political scientists, sociologists and also some economists, have initiated a discussion on social capital as a broad term including all the norms and networks that would facilitate a collective action aiming for mutual benefit. *Ceterius paribus*, there would be one's expectations to have a blessing in the form of living in communities having increased social capital stocks resulting into a safer, hygienic, financially stronger, higher literacy rate, better governed, and thus, a

happier place as compared to communities with low stocks. Members of such a community have better employment opportunities, can enforce contractual agreements, efficiently utilize the existing resources, initiate projects with the aim of serving the interests of the public, causelessly keep a check on each other's behavior, sort out the disputes in a more amicable manner and promptly respond to the concerns of the citizens. This was at least concluded by Putnam's seminal research, where it was self evident that the implications of economic development theory and policy are: establish, nurture and support social capital (Woolcock, 1998)

2.4 Types and forms of social capital

Diverse definitions and explanations of social capital has triggered the construction of typologies to demarcate the distinct features of social capital. Interestingly, it also evolves in a similar fashion like concept of social capital. Putnam (2000) suggests two types of social capital, i.e., 'bonding social capital' and 'bridging social capital'. This classification marks the first attempt towards the typology of social capital. He coined the term 'bonding social capital' for forming those social ties in which people are associated with similar socio-economic position like association with immediate family members, friends and neighbours. Contrary to this, bridging social capital implies those social ties in which people are associated with different socio-economic positions like ties with more distant colleagues and associates. As Putnam puts it in his research, specific types of social capital can be illustrated by these two concepts. Some result due to choice or an inward necessity that strengthen the homogenous groups and exclusive identities. Other types have an outward view that encloses people across multiple social cleavages (Putnam, 2000). Contrary to this, Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2002) provide distinct kinds of structural and cognitive forms of social capital. The social structural network enables sharing information, cooperative action, and decision-making through customary roles and social networks supplemented by precedents, rules and regulations. rules and regulations. In this regard, it can be seen as an outwardly objective phenomenon. On the other hand, cognitive social network has its roots in shared norms, beliefs, values, attitudes and trust. Like its components, it is relatively subjective and intangible. Another landmark work done by Woolcock (2004) who gave the most widely acceptable typology of social capital. He accounts for three kinds of relational assets that are accessible to the people in varying degrees. Firstly, the bonding through social capital that includes close family relatives, friends and their neighbors. Secondly,

social capital bridge that encompasses colleagues and associates having a distant kind of relationship. Thirdly, linking social capital that implies having connections with the authoritative people.

2.5 The dark side of social capital

It would be unjust if we do not highlight the dark side of social capital which produces negative outcomes and is also termed as negative social capital. Problems related to the concept of social capital can be both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative issues relate to empirical issues in which social capital is difficult to operationalize whereas qualitative limitations comprise issues related to conceptual clarity. The most generalized limitation noticed by most of the scholars is related to exclusionary nature of social capital. Social capital has an undesirable effect that can be termed as social exclusion implying that many groups obtain internal cohesion, taking advantage of outsiders who are mistreated, subjected to suspicious and hostile environment resulting in an outright hatred (Westlund, 2006). When there is too much bonding social capital, it has a negative outcome of generation of a conformity rather than variety, as specifically mentioned by Fafchamos (2006). There is an unequal distribution of the social capital benefits and even exclusionary. It is also argued that in some cases highly inclusive social networks grab the freedom of individuals as it could be a hindrance to the choices and actions of an individual (Wall et al., 1998). Fine (2007) marked the limitation of social capital in very bitter but true sense. He contended that “although social capital is capable of addressing almost anything designated as social, it has tended to neglect the state, class, power, and conflict” (Fine, 2007). Another dark side of social capital is that it has potential of corruption, perhaps for profit rather than support of individuals and communities as they network. For instance, any organization, association or specific community, which is government supportive has more tendency to receive financial support and benefits that are not possible for non-supportive associations. Because of the strong connectivity between the organizations and government, there is an unbiased treatment achieved. Social capital has been described as a ‘double-edged’ sword by Woolcock and Narayan (2000). It acts as a valuable asset for both economic and wellbeing improvement, yet it can adversely affect the benefits of a community because of its exclusive strong ties and strict sense of obligations. There is a need for immediate call to address these limitations for a stronger concept of social capital. Progressive academics and activists should care about social capital.

2.6 The downsides of migrant's social capital

The migration of group members is possible when the social capital takes the form of strong kinship and social bonds but the disadvantage is that such groups do not allow the outsiders to migrate, specifically those belonging to relatively poor communities as their social organization and trust are rooted on the kinship ties and 'bonding' social capital. This directs towards the 'downside of social capital', a concept that has been intricately explained by Portes (1998). Portes (1998) had attempted to criticize the fashionable and uncritical applications that had an intention of celebrating social capital as a 'key to success and development' by putting forward at least four negative possible implications:

- (a) Restricted access to opportunities through exclusion: The outsiders are denied of the same strong ties that are beneficial and accessible to the group members.
- (b) Excessive claims on group members: By forcing tight social networks, obligations and excessive claims on successful individuals, it results into sabotaging his/her economic initiatives which were supporting the family as well as community members.
- (c) Restrictions on individual freedom: Demand for the conformity by a community or group membership deprives individual spirit and personal freedom.
- (d) Downward leveling norms: Successful stories of an individual weaken the group cohesion if the unity between the members of a group arises due to a common experience of misfortune and discrimination by the mainstream society 'because group cohesion is precisely rooted in the alleged impossibility of such occurrences' (Portes, 1998).

2.7 Migrant networks as social capital

The network of a migrant is a location-specific form of social capital (Massey et al.,1998). Thus, the volume of social capital of an individual depends on the dimensions of the connectivity between the networks and the capital volume (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed by each of those to whom the individual is connected. Social capital can be classified as a 'capital' as this resource can be transformed into human, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). The networks of a migrant have been conceived in the form of a location-specific that helps the people to gain an access to resources present elsewhere (Massey et al. 1998). As a result, the migrant networks have a tendency to decrease the costs of migration on the economic,

social and psychological fronts. Hence, apart from the financial and human capital, it is necessary to give a recognition to the social capital as the third crucial factor that helps in determining the motivation and ability behind the migration of the people. It has already been established that the migrants' function as 'bridgeheads' (Bocker, 1994), resulting in a reduction of the risks and costs of subsequent migration. Hence, the settlement of a migration community at a particular destination increases the likelihood of subsequent migration to the same place.

The term 'social capital' has been used quite often to capture the benefits born from the social interactions (Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2001; Adler and Kwon, 2002). In accordance with the research of Putnam (2000), bonding social capital is a result of the dense and close friendly networks comprising of homogenous groups of people. On contrary, bridging social capital results from the sparse and open friendly networks comprising of heterogeneous groups of people (Burt, 2000). It has been commonly conceptualized that migrant's social capital acts as a resource of information and assists individuals to gain through their social ties with the prior migrants. This has resulted into the reduction of cost and the potential chances of migration. Several studies show how an increase in individuals' likelihood of migrating results due to the access of household or community ties over migrant social capital (DeJong et al., 1996; Davis et al., 2002; Garip, 2008). the process of cumulative causation which makes migration flow self-sustaining is initiated by migrants' social capital accumulation (Massey, 1990). To study migrants network relationship Massey et al. (1987) use both the quantitative as well as the ethnographic data and come to the conclusion that most of the relationships are friendship based or kinship based and particularly the feeling of belonging to a community having common origin.

The theoretical effects that social relationships have on participation of labour force and the process of searching for jobs within job matching models has been analyzed in some of the existing economic literature (Montgomery, 1991; Cahuc and Fontaine, 2002). The problem of mobility of workers in terms of wages and status of employment has been given due consideration (Calvó-Armengol and Zenou, 2005). Variety of social networks helps in smoothening the process of finding work, as they reduce the cost incurred in searching the job and also produces better quality of job match. Models suggest job offers coming through networking are usually more accepted (Holzer, 1987),

reports greater satisfaction with job (Xue, 2008) and reduces the probability of quitting the job (Datcher, 1983), although doesn't guarantee higher salary (Granovetter, 1974) or new externalities (Fontaine, 2004). Social networks are expected to facilitate migrants' integration at destination. A study by Kunz (2005) shows that better economic well-being doesn't necessarily yields positive outcomes of integration, but social capital plays a fundamental role in the process of immigrant's integration (Kunz, 2005). In developing countries, economic development has routinely preceded or concurrently propelled the development of social systems (Cutright, 1965; Palmer and Xu, 2013). When formal social systems evolve slowly, informal systems have been critical in responding to and meeting the needs of individuals, families and communities (Palmer and Xu, 2013). Social capital has been developed with the help of work done by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam et al. (1993), as a multidimensional construct that often includes mutual trust as cognitive component and social networks as structural components. That is, in terms of social relations, what people feel and do (Harpham et al., 2002). As Munshi (2003) found that he expects to receive assistance in multiple ways from well-established member of the community when he arrives in United States because of preexisting social ties.

2.8 Social capital and migrant workers

Different types of social networks, each generating a different kind of social capital have been differentiated by researchers of social network (Lin, 2001). One form of social capital, network brokerage, comes from a social network that is rich in 'structural holes' (Burt, 2005). 'Holes' in a network structure indicate gaps between groups of individuals, who are only connected via a small number of bridging ties (Burt, 1992). Since information gets channeled through social ties, and social contacts that are not closely linked together tend to possess novel information, individuals who have ties that bridge two otherwise unconnected parts of a social network occupy a brokerage position in which they can enjoy the benefits of speedy, novel and non-redundant information (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992). Following this logic, migrant workers who maintain a loose network structure of different and less connected social contacts can thus benefit from having such information advantages and get ahead of competitors in the labour market (Burt, 1992).

By contrast, another form of social capital can be generated from network closure (Burt, 2005). Dense networks, consisting of closely linked members, tend to promote norms, values, trust and social support within the group (Coleman, 1988, 1990). In a study done by Chang et al. (2011) explored that many migrant communities in China and elsewhere comprise tightly knit networks based on strong ties with family members and close friends from the same villages. Dense networks tend to facilitate social sanctions against anti-normative behaviors, thereby reducing risks associated with trust; they may also provide members with access to exclusive supports, as well as reliable and high-quality information (Coleman, 1990). In order to make the process of migration easier including settlement, jobs or other entrepreneurial activities traditionally migrant workers have drawn resources from their community networks (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993).

On one hand, the different network structures of these two different kinds of social capital seem to imply a potential trade-off for their benefit. Migrants who are closely linked to their community networks might not be able to enjoy brokerage advantages, as the latter would come from personal networks that maintain a loose structure with ties to others outside the community such as non-migrants or native urbanites (Chang et al., 2011). Yet, on the other hand, social network researchers have demonstrated that it is possible for individuals to maintain an integrated network that balances the two network structures, thus allowing individuals to reap both kinds of social capital benefits (Uzzi, 1996).

2.9 Getting jobs through social networks

There is strong evidence that migrant workers get their jobs through social networks (Portes 1998, Roberts 2001, Zhang 2001, Aguilera and Massey 2003, Zhao, 2003). Researchers have demonstrated that social capital generated from migrants' networks provides important resources beneficial to their job search and work outcomes. Such resources may be concrete, such as monetary assistance, or intangible, such as valuable information (Portes, 1998). The latter is particularly crucial in the labour market. Some scholars suggest that familial and friendship networks increase both the quality and quantity of labour market information, improve migrants' access to employment opportunities, reduce job search costs, and lower job-related risks for migrant workers. Presumably, all these benefits associated with network-based job searching contribute to better employment outcomes in terms of job satisfaction and work compensation (Bailey

and Waldinger, 1991, Waldinger 1994, Aguilera and Massey, 2003; Chang et al., 2011). For migrant workers, job searching is often an evolving process of sharing knowledge and gaining experience. In this process, newcomers take advice from friends and relatives who have migrated before them. They can help them with questions like where to find jobs? How to prepare for jobs? What salary to ask for? And most importantly what kinds of worksites and jobs to avoid? (Aguilera and Massey, 2003).

However, some other studies present conflicting evidence that locating jobs through networks of family and friends is likely to lead to less desirable employment outcomes for migrant workers. Wang et al. (2002) has found that in Shanghai, while personal networks are the primary channels for migrants to find jobs, the networks have not helped migrants find jobs in desirable occupations. They have also found that jobs acquired through personal ties have tended to pay less than those found through public institutions (Wang et al., 2002). A German study has also reported that jobs found through personal ties are more likely to involve demanding manual labour and harsh work conditions (Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008).

Although evidence is not readily available to explain the link between the use of personal ties for job searching on the one hand, and sub-optimal employment outcomes on the other, this observation is not necessarily surprising given the unique network features of many migrant communities (Chang et al., 2011). Economically driven migrants tend to settle in self-enclosed urban migrant enclaves, largely based on ethnicity and original nationalities, distinguished and spatially segregated from the larger society (Wilson and Portes 1980, Wen et al. 2009). Migrant networks that consist mainly of kinsmen and fellow villagers resemble a structure of network closure. Although these migrant communities provide resources, such as housing compounds and ethnic businesses, that may be helpful for migrants' initial settlement and employment, they may, for at least four reasons, exert constraints on migrants' development in cities in the long run due to their social, spatial and economic segregation from the larger society (Chang et al., 2011). New migrants obtain information and knowledge about specific jobs and employers from their friends and family, and, as a result, are channeled into particular occupations (Roberts, 2001). With the majority of rural migrants taking low-level jobs in the informal sector, the information circulated within the migrant community is likely about jobs that pay less, and that involve hardship and a less desirable working

environment. This is similar to the ‘occupational circuits’ of those nineteenth-century Eastern European peasant immigrants, who were continually fed into a set of low-mobility jobs in US steel mills (Morawska, 1985).

Two dimensions of social capital have been differentiated by scholars of social capital. The first one gives attention to close bonds between people who are connected through community or kinship ties which is often termed bonding capital. The second dimension focuses on members belonging to different communities sharing a weak bond – commonly known as bridging capital (Granovetter, 1973). These capitals serve various purposes in the study on access to jobs. The capability of an individual increases due to bridging capital as knowledge gained about job markets can help them to negotiate complex situations by developing required skills. They can exploit reciprocal ties where employers provide benefits expecting potential benefits in return from its employees closely tied network. Using the data from Indian Human Development Survey, 2005 (IHDS-2005), Desai and Noon (2007) focus on these social capital dimensions using various indicators; the diversity of network ties known as bridging capital the household membership in a different associations and organizations such as caste organizations, festival committees, self-help groups, etc. Measuring the occupational, educational and marital alliance along with political alliance of households gives us the strength of network ties which define bonding capital. Using these indicators from IHDS data, Desai and Noon (2007) found that, regarding bonding capital, the chances of holding a salaried or white collar job are greatest when the head of household’s father also held a white collar or professional position (40.1%) and the least when the head’s father was an unskilled laborer (8.5%). Having more well-educated family members also increases the likelihood of holding a salaried or white-collar position. Bridging social capital is also associated with access to good jobs. Their measures show that respondents in households with a medical, educational, or government social network tie are more likely to hold a regular salaried or a white-collar position (Desai and Noon, 2007).

2.10 Nexus between social capital, migration and economic outcomes.

The social capital theory can be applied to diverse like including banking, education, immigration, labor markets, and nation building (Massey et al. 1987; Coleman 1988; Uzzi, 1999; Fernandez et al., 2000; Putnam, 2000). Social capital is often measured in respect of remunerations, formal employment and tenure of job within the labour

market. (Mier and Giloth, 1986; Donato et al., 1992; Aguilera, 1999, 2003; Phillips and Massey, 1999; Aguilera and Massey, 2003). Social capital is often related to the migratory process, outcomes of labour market, and attaining citizenship, within the immigration field (Massey et al., 1987; Baker 2000; Aguilera and Massey 2003; Fussell, 2004).

One of the fields of research, which is still not well established in the literature on labour market, is the relation between the social capital and the outcomes of its labour market. In a study on Mexican migrants, Aguilera and Massey (2003) discovered a positive relation between the social capital and the hourly wages earned.

Relationships with other people generally shapes the social capital (Coleman 1990; Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Portes, 1998). It carries with it an economic value and is therefore quantifiable (Fernandez et al. 2000; Aguilera and Massey, 2003). It aids individuals in realization of their goals (Coleman, 1988). In order to enhance their economic well-being these relationships are of invaluable help to the individuals (Portes, 1995). Several aspects of social capital have been delineated by Coleman (1988, 1990). Transfer of information regarding economic prospects can be disseminated quickly using information channels, which can be helpful in realizing economic goals (Aguilera, 2005). The gap in accessibility to job-related information may lead to employment related advantages for workers (Coleman, 1990). Workers may miss out on job opportunities if they don't have access to information channels (Aguilera, 2005). Formal channels have no access important internal information which is available mainly through personal networks (Uzzi, 1999).

Employment outcomes are greatly influenced by individuals' access to information. Thus, missing out on information can hinder a worker's labour market outcomes (Concoran et al., 1974; Holzer, 1996). Involvement in local labour markets or staying in a particular region for good enough time can help in accessing information relevant to employment. However, social capital can prove to be helpful in gaining this information quickly and cheaply and with less trial and error. Hagan (1994) and Aguilera and Massey (2003) pointed out that in a friends and relatives gives priority to people who are part of their network when they come to know of any suitable job. Thus, workers have access to jobs comparatively easily and corresponding to their skills and preferences.

Many migrants move because others associated with them migrated beforehand (Arango, 2000), making migration a self-perpetuating occurrence. Migrants network influences not only potential migrants' intentions but also their decision-making behavior, serving as an important informational channel between the origin and destination. It also affects migrants' capability to acclimatize to new living and working conditions. In the words of Portes (1998), migration can be conceptualized as a process of network building, which depends on and, in turn, strengthens social relationships across space. As a form of social capital, social networks have three basic functions that is it acts as a source of social control; family support; and as a source of assistance through means of extra-familial networks (Portes, 1998). Network resources are critical to the more socio-economically disadvantaged groups (Roschelle, 1997). Indeed, research in developing countries has shown how important personal networks are in the migration of rural workers with limited resources and lack of access to the services provided by formal institutions (Portes and Bach, 1985; Stark, 1991; Curran and Saguy, 2001). Labour market outcomes among the migrants is greatly improved through networks. These networks prove to be of immense help in finding new jobs for its participants. These networks also channelize its participants in to higher paying non-agricultural professions. Providing recommendations for jobs is not the only role that these networks play; they also help its members by giving them financial support and housing support (Munshi, 2003).

In migration literature, social capital understood in term of help or information that present migrants can gain from former migrants in order to cut back the costs of migration (Massey and Espinosa, 1997). Prospective migrants can access these resources through migrant networks, connecting migrants and non-migrants, which are constructed on set of interpersonal ties which in turn are based on kinship, friendship, or shared origin (Massey et al., 1993; Garip, 2008). Massey et al. (1987) established that social networks sustain and modify migration processes. However, not all studies suggest that social networks have a feasible effect on labour markets. Some scholars even question whether social capital is linked with superior labour market outcomes (Bridges and Villemez, 1986; Mouw 1999). However, Morris (1998) used the macro level indicator like (number of newspapers, number of youth clubs active per block, number of Mahila Samitis, number of Balwadis/nurseries operative per block, marriage distance, female rural-to-rural migration, etc.) from various round of NSS survey and find out that the states which

were well endowed in the beginning with the social capital, were also more efficacious at decreasing poverty in India.

2.11 Social capital and social exclusion

There is an increasing application of social exclusion concept for study of social inequities and disadvantage, especially in terms of economic outcomes. From 1970s onwards French social discourse have established the genesis of this concept (Silver, 1994, 1995; Yopez de Castillo, 1994; Martin, 1996; Spicker, 1997). European Union's social policies and programmes popularized the term. European Union's documentation substituted the term poverty by social exclusion (European Commission 1992, 1993). For identifying the mechanisms and processes of exclusion and understanding the hindrances and inequalities faced by some groups, social exclusion model can be a very useful. Diverse scientific and national discourses have many paradigms of social exclusion embedded within them (Silver, 1994; Room, 1995; Cousins, 1998). Different conceptions of social integration, citizenship and connection between the individual and society forms the basis of each paradigm.

The notion of solidarity, which is emphasized in this study, is associated with that fact that people living in a society share responsibilities towards each other and are dependent on each other (Spicker, 1997). During a person's life she/he are interlocked in a complex web of relations, in which some always persist like family, whereas others alter somewhat rapidly as for friendships, and relationships at the workplace. People can find support for themselves and support other too if they participate in these networks. But not everyone is a part of a social network of relationships. Spicker (1997) differentiates two groups which are often excluded: first group, includes people falling outside the precincts of social groups that is those who are denounced and socially rejected and second group comprises of those who are not part of any cohesive networks. As we will discover in the following sections, stigmatization (Lazaridis, 2001) was an important constituent of exclusion of Albanians in Greece.

Individuals are bound in a society through many bonds (Yopez de Castillio, 1994). Therefore, concept of exclusion has many aspects and expressions. Migrants can be at a loss for not having access to an informal network of relationships, because such network not only provides information, but also mutual help in the form of housing, security, care.

Barry (1998) had given a definition for social exclusion, where he had described it as ‘a handicap with multiple dimensions depriving the individuals and members of groups from major socially-active processes and prospects embedded within a society, including employment opportunities, standard living conditions, citizenship and housing, and may be expressed in different forms, at different period of time and within huge sections of population’. The emphasis of this definition primarily laid on the inter-dependence of the diverse kinds of exclusion and their probable cumulative effect. It also puts a stress on the dynamical and situational characteristics possessed by social exclusion. Furthermore, exclusion has been considered as a structural dynamic process and thus, attention should be directed towards the existence of the role of different social factors involved (for instance, when people migrate, the role of various entities like state, media, anti-racist organizations, employers and enterprises, criminal circuits and migrants’ association come into play). Thus, not only are the migrants considered as the passive victims of exclusion but are also treated as dynamic actors who have the capability of struggling and securing ‘spaces of control’ (Phizacklea, 1998).

Social exclusion has multiple dimensions: (i) in terms of the affected victims that is, encompasses any kind of group or an individual who had undergone some kind of discernment as well as disadvantage (Spicker, 1997). (ii) Established itself through different kinds/forms; these types are all inter-related to each other. For example, political rights exclusion specifically the right to organize and mobilize can cut off an individual or group members from any kind of opportunity aiming to improve their legal status; employment and welfare schemes exclusion deprive one from having proper standards of living resulting into poverty. (iii) Numerous structural processes including complex and various other kind of processes leading to the exclusion of a particular group; as seen in the case of migrants, economic labour market structures and how they act as a ‘substitute labour force, policies related to state, bias and radicalization, amongst other factors that result into their exclusion.

Critics have highlighted that the notwithstanding declarations possessed by the multiple dimensions of social exclusion stress has been put on the inclusionary power of employment (Rodgers, 1995; Levitas, 1996, 1998; Atkinson, 1998), hence pointing out to the integrative work function and disguising the inequality among paid workers as well as

gender and class. Unemployment is not the only kind of exclusion present in the labour market. As Rodgers (1995) had highlighted the fact that there is an evident exclusion within the labour market. Also the segmentation theory of labour market shows that there are certain sections of population trapped in segments where there is job insecurity, part-time employment, feebly paid and low-skilled secondary labour market. On the contrary, there are some who have well-paid employment, job security, highly-skilled working opportunities e.g. primary labour market (Piore, 1979; Ryan, 1981). Hence, it can be concluded that having employment in secondary labour market is considered as a form of exclusion too. Other forms of exclusion are sub-employment and casual precarious employment. This holds particular importance in Indian setting, where the majority of the migrants are involved in the informal sector of the economy. 'labour market segmentation is reinforced by normalization, which in turn incorporates compartmentalization and isolation of diverse migrant groups in distinctive niches within the labour market of the host country. While several pragmatic works advocated that the people who have migrated from the rural and urban areas have not been essentially included in the modern working class but had become an integral part of the so-called 'informal-sector' (Breman, 1996). Several other works recognized that these migrants were caught well below the poverty line (Sharma, 1988). They were considered as the 'working poor'.

Thus the concept of social exclusion does not direct towards a dual society, meaning that the majority of people are included whereas minority of them face ignorance. Hence, it is observed that there are various degrees of exclusion or 'differential exclusion' implying that the excluded section may be partly or fully included in certain areas and not in other areas (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007). This concept is valuable for understanding migrants' situation in the Delhi.

2.12 The exclusionary dynamics of migrant networks

A careful observation shows that 'social capital' for one group of people may constitute 'social exclusion' for others: for instance, some 'good jobs' may have become the domain of a particular ethnic group/caste or class and this class or caste affiliations have influenced the labour market. Others are deliberately excluded and they are in this manner subjected to 'social exclusion', partly because of the vital role of the social capital, or the strength of the bonds within the other group. This is only one specific instance as to

how individual interests may be organized against the wider social interest (Harriss, 2001).

Social capital in the form of migrant networks tends to be seen as pure blessing enabling more migration. However, if access to migration networks is based on kinship or ethnicity ties, it entails that, although current migrants may undeniably act as 'bridgeheads' for group members, they may concurrently act as 'gatekeepers' for outsiders. Societies tend to be socially and ethnically stratified so, migration often does not diffuse throughout entire societies, and while it may facilitate migration from group members, such crescendos tend to exclude non-members. This demonstrates that networks are a double-edged sword which includes some groups, but at the same time excludes others. Or, in the words of Portes (1998), 'sociability cuts both ways'.

In India, social exclusion is thought to be an outcome of social process, mainly Hindu Varna System, which excluded, segregated, and isolated population on grounds of caste, ethnicity and religion. In effect, the Varna System once decided the nature of work for an entire group of population, known as caste. There are numerous such groups that have been recognized in the literature. Out of these, two are identified on the basis of their caste, that is the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) (Dubey, et al., 2006). Highlighting the social exclusion in market outcomes, Panini (1996) finds that occurrence of caste grouping in urban areas, including the informal sector, where higher caste dominate in many modern vocations in the industrial sector. One of the reasons for the presence of such caste clusters is that employers are more likely to ask their existing employees to find new recruits, and existing employees would recommend individuals of their own caste. Grounded on field-work conducted in Kolkata and Mumbai, Bagchi (1975) observes that many factory owners use existing workers to find suitable employees, and that these people use their caste links to convince individuals from their villages to migrate to cities for employment. Therefore, lower caste individuals may not have access to the relevant networks that can help them find jobs in cities, and consequently are less likely to migrate in the absence of access to such networks (Dubey et al., 2006).

2.13 Conclusion

An attempt has been made in this chapter to provide a theoretical perspective of some of the theories and applications regarding social capital, based on a selective review of the literature on the related concepts of social capital and social exclusion. Social capital, as a concept, has attracted the attention of scholars of different social science disciplines. It has emerged as an influential research theme in a number of disciplines in the past twenty years as measured by the exponential growth in social capital literature throughout the 1990s and the early 2000s. Many developed and developing countries apply the concept of social capital in policy making and governance. For instance, Article 19 of the Constitution of India explicitly allows the freedom of assembly and association to Indian citizens as well as foreigners. Moreover, Directive Principles of State Policy reflect on social capital for larger public interest. The key institutions that can be said to contribute to the development of social capital range from grass roots level community based initiatives like Residents' Welfare Associations and Self-Help Groups, Waqfs and Endowments, and cooperatives of various types to voluntary organizations, charitable societies and trusts as well as self-regulating professional bodies such as the Medical Council of India, Bar Council of India, etc. (Administrative Reform Commission, 2008).

However, the concept of social capital has been criticized by some scholars as well. These limitations, however, point to the necessity of refinement of the concept rather than abandonment of the concept itself, which allows dynamic spiral of development for any region (Lorenzen, 2007). The web of social or network relations and the wider social context together shape the way in which collective learning and innovation takes place (Westlund, 2006; Rutten and Boekema, 2007). Networks, norms, trust, reputation and goodwill are central processes in a global economy in which competition is largely based on knowledge. Literature recognizes social capital as important to the efficient functioning of modern economies and stable liberal democracy (Kenworthy, 1997; Fukuyama, 2001) as an important base for cooperation across sector and power differences, and an important product of such cooperation (Brown & Ashman, 1996). Rich stocks of social capital have amazing potential for people in a society to become healthier, wealthier and happier. Despite some problems with its definition, some limitation with its execution as well as operationalization, and despite its (almost) metaphorical character, social capital has facilitated a series of important empirical investigations and theoretical debates which have triggered re-examination of the

significance of human relations, networks, organizational forms for the quality of life and developmental performance.

CHAPTER III

LIVELIHOODS AND VULNERABILITIES OF MIGRANTS IN THE SLUMS OF DELHI

3.1 Introduction

The gradual and increasing concentration of population in urban unit is called as urbanization. However, the increasing pace of urbanization combined with worsening infrastructure and limited facilities to cope with increasing urban population is resulting in the creation of slums in many cities of the developing world. Today, the urban age is unfolding, with more than half of the world population now living in cities and urbanization set to increase by a further 2.5 billion people by the year 2050 (UN-DESA, 2014). Although the urbanization in India low and one of the less urbanized country in word. This country suffers from grave crisis of unplanned urban growth. While the cities considered as the growth of engine in any economy, the increasing base of slums showing the grim situation of such growth where the socio-economic inequality is pervasive. The impulsive scale of the urban population growth along with unsystematic growth of urban areas, and a despairing lack of infrastructure are the main causes of such conditions.

Rapid urbanization along with growing number of slums as well as huge level of disparity in terms of employment opportunity and other essential services that are very important for livelihood of urban population residing in slums warrant us to understand the vulnerability of slum dwellers. Therefore this chapter deals with the conditions associated with the livelihood of migrants living in the slums, identifying both the causes of vulnerability for households and individual members. The study utilizes both, qualitative and quantitative approach to understand the vulnerability of slums in Delhi.

3.2 Slum: The spatial dimension of social exclusion

The distribution of socio-economic development takes place unequally in spatial terms, which are often ignored in development discourse (Dholakia, 1985; Bhattacharya and Sakthivel, 2004; Chakravorty, 2006). Such spatial specificities tend to override socio-cultural determinants of inequalities (Sopher, 1980; Raju, 1991; Nuna, 1993; Alam, 2007). In order to address the spatial dimension of social exclusion, the empirical context of this chapter is the slums of Delhi, where poor are not only socially and economically

poor but are also institutionally and politically much less empowered than the others in the capital of India. Moreover, urban amenities and services are privatized, and labor reforms are undertaken to benefit corporate capital (Bhagat, 2017). Further, rapid urbanization along with growing number of slums, miserable communities with increasing rates of long-term unemployment, the feminization of casualized labor force, huge level of disparity in health, education and other essential services warrant us to examine the vulnerability of the poorest part of urban society. Therefore it is imperative to understand that how the poor migrants residing in the core of capital can be socio-economically excluded and denied to their legal entitlements.

About the spatial dimension of social exclusion, a significant school of thought argues that 'excluded spaces' (Kristensen, 1997) are another dimension of social exclusion, interacting and intensifying the effects of individual social exclusion and contributing to a 'spiral of decline' (Atkinson and Davoudi, 2000). Berghman (1995) drew an attention and advocated that 'the notion of spatial exclusion referring not so much to spaces where there are poor persons but to "poor spaces" themselves'. Slums are such places in the city, which are avoided, viewed and treated with apprehension by the outsiders. Such observations itself attached with the sense of segregation and tend to find spatial expression with acute forms of poverty and disadvantages. Thus, the major part of urban society excludes, disregards and disallowed because of the place/geography in which they live. Further, the geography of poverty and social exclusion beg the question of whether they simply signify a concentration of individual poverty and social exclusion in certain places or whether, additionally, place itself becomes an important site of exclusion (Madanipour et al., 2015). Silver (1994), Geddes (2000) and Adaman and Keyder (2006) focused on 'Urban exclusion' and identified small-scale neighborhoods, deprived outer suburbs and slum areas of large cities in urban areas are the sites of exclusion. People living in these areas can be termed as the segregation of poor and excluded people into declining parts of cities (Cars, 1998; Madanipour et al., 2003) is the result of two processes: "a land and property market which sees space as a commodity and tends to create socio-spatial segregation through differential access to this commodity, and a town planning and design tendency to regulate and rationalize space production by the imposition of some form of order" (Madanipour, 2011). These two processes reflect the picture of exclusion that leads to the spatial segregation between rich

and poor. This may be further exacerbated by processes of “territorial stigmatization” (Wacquant 2007).

3.3 Condition of the slums in study area

NCT of Delhi considered to be having a glorious past, ambitious present and a bright future. It is one of the most preferred investment hubs in the country henceforth, one of the favorite destination for migrants across all socio-economic strata. While some people here enjoy high-end and luxurious life with numerous facilities, slum clusters in Delhi that are even situated in posh areas of the city expose to challenges at multiple levels. Lack of hygienic space in slums described the grim reality of Indian cities. Selected area of study is not exception to these vulnerable conditions. Therefore this section is based on the field survey that characterizes the conditions of slums.

Table 3.1: Brief descriptions of selected slums in Delhi

Zone	North	East	Central	West	South West
Area of Slum	Sultan Pur Majra (CT) WARD NO.- 0037	Dallo Pura (CT) WARD NO.-0210	Takia Kala WARD NO.-0003	Shakur Basti WARD NO.-0059	Kusum Pur (CT) WARD NO.-0171
Total Population	59898	59678	5818	10377	17028
Number of Households	10686	11171	1111	2495	3782
Average Household Size	5.60	5.34	5.24	4.16	4.50
Average Distance from Slum (in Km.)					
Police Station	1.50	2.50	0.60	1.00	0.60
Post Office	1.20	3.00	1.00	1.50	1.00
Bank	1.00	1.50	2.00	0.70	1.00
Metro Station	1.50	4.00	1.00	1.20	6.00
Railway Station	0.40	2.00	1.60	3.00	7.00
Bus Station	0.30	0.50	0.50	2.50	0.40
Primary and Higher Secondary School	0.70	0.70	1.00	1.00	1.00
College	4.50	7.00	7.00	7.00	3.00
Government Hospital	6.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	7.00
Aaganwadi Centre	0.50	1.00	0.40	4.00	0.30

Source: Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board and Filed Survey, 2017

The brief description of selected slums in the study area is presented in Table 3.1. Questions were considered to be concern for livelihood security of migrants in the slum. It can be observed that the slum of north zone experience the highest household size followed by south west, east, central and west zone. In case of accessibility to relevant services, on an average, the distance for police station post office and bank facilities from the selected slum is in the range of 1.0-1.5 Km. Further, the average distance for metro

station and railway station were observed in the range of 2.5-3.0 Km. Services of education for the children and Aanganwadi centers are almost near to the slums and even in case within the slums. However, government hospitals for general health checkups and colleges to avail higher education were comparatively far as compare to other services. During the field survey, it was observed that due to lack of support from local government, the slum clusters have their own alternative mechanism particularly for health services that include private health care providers and even quack doctors.

3.3.1 Security of tenure and housing condition

Security of tenure is essential, particularly in urban development interventions that place stress on building people’s endowments of assets so they can deserve sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, distribution of type of accommodation in selected slums were asked form the respondents. Results show that the encroachment is very high in these slums (Table 3.2). It can be observed that more than 64 per cent of migrants in these slums are staying in the encroached land. While about 85 per cent households of Kusum Pur area is having very high encroached accommodation than the other slums, the slum in central Delhi is the only slum which is having less encroached accommodation with 13 per cent.

Table 3.2: Distribution of type of accommodation in selected slums of Delhi

Name of the Slum	Transfers of Occupancy		Rented		Encroachment	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Sultan Pur Majra	10.7	9	20.0	19	22.4	72
Dallo Pura	14.3	12	26.3	25	19.6	63
Takia Kala	11.9	10	31.6	30	18.7	60
Shakur Basti	54.8	46	13.7	13	12.8	41
Kusum Pur	8.3	7	8.4	8	26.5	85
Total	16.8	84	19.0	95	64.2	321

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Further, whereas Kusum Pur slum recorded as the highest percentage for encroached houses in the slum. In case of transfer of occupancy, the slum in West Delhi is the only slum, which is showing comparatively satisfactory result while comparing to other slum area. On the other hand about 8 per cent of occupants in Kusum Pur slum have transfers of occupancy. The NDMC slum among all the selected slums shared highest rented accommodation.

3.3.2 Housing structure

Shelter is an important asset that reinforces many other components of positive livelihoods options. Housing structure along with the availability of space provide the opportunities to work at household level. Such conditions allow households to diversify their income portfolios. Moreover, it also offers security to the members of households and eases in expand of human capital investment if it is adequately conducive for study. The structure of the house in the surveyed slums were categorized into three types i.e. pucca, semi-pucca and kutcha (Table 3.3). Results show that, overall, semi-pucca houses have the highest share followed by Kutcha houses and pucca houses.

Table 3.3: Distribution of type of structure of the houses in selected slums of Delhi

Area of the Slum	Kutcha		Semi-pucca		Pucca	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Sultan Pur Majra	20.7	36	19.2	45	20.7	19
Dallo Pura	14.4	25	27.8	65	10.9	10
Takia Kala	16.7	29	25.2	59	13.0	12
Shakur Basti	17.8	31	21.8	51	19.6	18
Kusum Pur	30.5	53	6.0	14	35.9	33
Total	34.8	174	46.8	234	18.4	92

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Overall, Security of tenure in slums of Delhi is in grim situation. Sustainable livelihood can be achieved when migrants in slums can cope with, and recover from stresses and shocks related to security of tenure. Property rights to land and house, thus one of the most powerful resources could be for migrants to increase and extend their collection of assets.

3.3.3 Access to drinking water

Owing to numerous issues, the problem of drinking water accessibility is still a multi-million challenge for households living in the slums. Therefore this issue had to be explicated in scientific research through gauging water issues that affect the livelihoods. During the field survey, it was found that several households remain far from drinking water facility despite interventions that local governments, NGOs and other agencies have put in place. Results from Table 3.4 show that, on an average, 34 per cent of households are getting water from community tap, whereas 31.4 per cent of households are getting water from the tanker. The water facilities for the household with the individual tap is highest shared by the slum of NDMC otherwise majority of the

households in other slum areas were dependent either on community tap or tanker facility.

Table 3.4: Distribution of water facility in households of selected slums in Delhi

Area of the Slum	Individual Tap		Community Tap		Tanker		Other Sources	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Sultan Pur Majra	14.0	17	26.3	45	18.5	29	17.6	9
Dallo Pura	16.5	20	12.9	22	29.3	46	23.5	12
Takia Kala	16.5	20	30.4	52	14.0	22	11.8	6
Shakur Basti	37.2	45	16.4	28	11.5	18	17.6	9
Kusum Pur	15.7	19	14.0	24	26.8	42	29.4	15
Total	24.2	121	34.2	171	31.4	157	10.2	51

Source: Primary Survey, 2017

3.3.4 Latrine facility in slums

Nearly 63 per cent of household in these slums are using public/community latrine, whereas, only 14.6 per cent of the household have their private latrine in their house. The 9.6 per cent of the households are without any latrine facility. Households in DMC slum have highest share of private latrine facility while Sultan Pur Majra have lowest share in this category. Further, household from Kusum pur slums have highest share of shared latrine facility and slums of Dallo Pura have lowest share of shared latrine facility.

Table 3.5: Distribution of latrine facility in households of selected slums in Delhi

Area of the Slum	Owned		Shared		Public/Community		No Latrine Facility	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Sultan Pur Majra	12.3	9	19.7	13	18.8	59	39.6	19
Dallo Pura	19.2	14	16.7	11	20.1	63	25.0	12
Takia Kala	13.7	10	19.7	13	23.3	73	8.3	4
Shakur Basti	37.0	27	10.6	7	20.4	64	4.2	2
Kusum Pur	17.8	13	33.3	22	17.3	54	22.9	11
Total	14.6	73	13.2	66	62.6	313	9.6	48

Source: Primary Survey, 2017

3.4 Improvement in physical infrastructure since last five years

In order to assess the change in the quality of civic amenities provided to the people living in slums i.e. the improvement in physical infrastructure, the questions has been asked with regard to improvement in water supply, electricity, street light, latrine, drainage, sewerage, garbage disposal, approach road to slum, road with in the slum, education facility at primary level and medical facility over the last five years. Further, if improvement was done, then what are the sources of improvement were also addressed in

the survey. Overall, it can be observed that the incidents of deterioration of most of the existing facilities in slums during the last five years were quite low. It may be observed from the Table 3.6 that civic facilities had considerable improved in in terms of several facilities such as water supply, electricity, street light, drainage, approach road to slum and education facility at primary level. However, indicators related to sanitation like garbage disposal, latrine facilities and drainage are not satisfactory in terms of improvement since last five years. While improvements were noticed in several indicators, a considerable amount of responses were recorded for the category of ‘neither existed earlier nor existing now’ i.e. no change particularly for latrine facility, garbage disposal and drainage system. It is surprise to note that despite the interventions of Swacchh Bharat Abhiyan, the condition of sewerage in slums was even deteriorated since last five years. Further, road within the slum was also deteriorated, reported by migrants.

Table 3.6: Distribution of selected slums by status of improvement in facilities during the period of last five years

	Improved	Did Not Change	Deteriorated	Neither existed earlier nor existing now
Water Supply	67.80	11.30	4.40	16.50
Electricity	88.79	0.00	1.10	10.11
Street Light	56.60	23.50	2.00	17.90
Latrine	43.00	7.80	8.50	40.70
Drainage	47.00	20.20	6.40	26.40
Sewerage	19.90	44.00	11.30	24.80
Garbage Disposal	38.50	23.00	5.70	32.80
Approach road to the slum	72.30	3.00	2.50	22.20
Road within the slum	52.50	26.80	18.40	2.30
Educational facility at primary level	86.80	3.60	0.00	9.60
Medical Facility	59.60	18.60	3.00	18.80

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Information regarding to improvement in any facility during the last five years were also asked along with the source of the improvement: whether it had been brought about by the government, by NGOs, by the residents, or by others. Whatever, the improvement was done since last five years, it can be observe that most of the improvement facility was carried out by the government. In case of electricity, streetlight and approach road to the slum, the government contributed 100 per cent. It is also interesting to note that residents of slums also contributed in improvements of the civic facilities in slums, reflecting the sense of social capital in slums.

Table 3.7: Distribution of type of authority responsible for improvement in slums during last five years

	Government	NGO	Resident	Others
Water Supply	87.2	-	12.8	-
Electricity	100	-	-	-
Street Light	100	-	-	-
Latrine	77.9	3.4	18.7	-
Drainage	95.5	-	4.5	-
Sewerage	83.4	-	16.6	-
Garbage Disposal	66.1	5.5	28.4	-
Approach road to the slum	100	-	-	-
Road within the slum	86	-	14	-
Educational facility at primary level	76.2	14.8	9	-
Medical Facility	78.5	21.5	-	-

Source: Field Survey, 2017

3.5 An unromantic truth of Delhi's slum: A livelihood approach

Urban slums are generally classified as one of the world's most life-threatening environments. The urban slums are characterized by unhygienic conditions, poverty, and lack of basic health care, social pathological issues and social exclusion. According to Angotti (2006) and Gilbert (2007), most studies that examine the livelihood situations of slum communities (either positively or negatively) often assume that slums are homogenous and static, and have failed to compare the subtle differences within slum communities. In particular, livelihood strategies relating to mobility have not been extensively examined within the context of slums. Since most of migrants residing in Delhi's slums came from rural areas due to push factors at their place of origin, they are forced to live in slums as it provides affordable housing in the cities. The hostile political economy necessitate the discourses regarding to livelihood of migrants who came for livelihood enhancement in cities and living in slums, appear at three levels namely community, households and individuals level. In each level, migrants faces number of obstacles and challenges for sustaining themselves. Therefore, this section discuss the problems and challenges faced by migrants residing in study areas of slums, which have direct effects on households' vulnerability, livelihoods strategies and outcomes.

3.5.1 The community

The impression of community is exceedingly problematic in slums of Delhi. It is presumed that urban communities living in the slums to be uniform in terms of population

character, physical infrastructure and basic services. However, analyses of the field data and other studies on Delhi's slums show that this unique setting of urban settlement challenged the assumptions of single characterization, and instead stipulates the distinct picture of poverty, wealth, social groupings, and community identity. Communities may be labeled as a place, which exemplifies the contrasting face of poverty in the capital of India. Class, ethnicity, gender and amounts to a socio-geographical conception of exclusion in the communities. This has therefore demands a consistent with a locational, physical capital response in policy terms. Further, the adverse condition of most of the slum dwellers rendered the hindrance in building social capital among the migrants in many instances. In such conditions, migrants largely depend upon households and individuals on personal social resources. On the issue of belongingness with slum communities, migrants especially youth living in slums find themselves at disadvantageous position in terms of getting job in the city and prone to enter in unwanted activities. According to an in-depth interview (38-year-old female stationary shop owner and resident of slum).

Many young people in this JJ Colony are being frustrated on the job market and denied jobs simply because they are from JJ. Sometimes, many have to change their addresses before being employed. This is very unfair as all should be given equal opportunity and not to be discriminated against on the basis of residential location. This is the price we pay for the 'bad' locality. This, however, contributes to hopelessness, and hence, the negative practices of the youth.

Further on the subject of stigmatization associated with being a member of slum community, a 50 years old construction worker and resident of slum recounted a personal life experience which he had with a Delhi Police.

Two years ago, I was wrongful accused of stealing. A woman claimed to have left her belongings at a place myself and others were sitting chatting at teashop. She left her things without informing anyone and we also did not pay any attention to them. When she returned, her belongings were nowhere to be found. The woman accused us of stealing her belongings. I had no idea about the said missing items. At the police station I was asked where I live, and I named my slum locality. Because I live in slum, I was wrongly accused of stealing and beaten up.

In response to above account, I asked to one of the key informant (35 year old male) about the reason why institutions like police station badly treat the people of slum. He said that,

.... People outside slum have a wrong perception about the JJ colony. Further, he added that the high rate of illiteracy here, the government agencies and others feel that the people do not know their rights . . . So I think they keep neglecting JJ colony or abandoning us because they think we do not know our rights.

The respondents' narratives on stigmatization may be described as representing one face of slums. Based on these narratives, it can be argued that stigmatization among slum dwellers of Delhi is based on 'where one lives?' rather than 'what one is?'. This implies that the stigmatization here is geographical, and forms the basis of the causes of various dimensions of stigmatization such as ecological, socio-psychological, socio-cultural, economic, and political causes. These dimensions of stigmatization have direct effects on households' vulnerability, livelihoods strategies and outcomes. Thus, in a broader 'rights and responsibility' context, the perceptions of those outside the slum among the middle classes, who influence policy and resource allocation, are significant. The urban middle classes themselves feel highly threatened by the presence of the poor among them despite the fact that they need them as domestic servants, service providers, petty traders and small factory workers. By characterizing slums as 'dens of iniquity' they reduce the government's propensity to commit resources to remove these vulnerabilities.

3.5.2 The household

The livelihood approach at household level is at the core of development. Family member may be engaged themselves in various social and economic activities as an individuals, but it is at the household level, which reflect the real impacts of those socio-economic activities. The employment of poor people is itself a major dimension of vulnerability at household level. Without employment, they cannot generate the income and hence dependent on relatives, friends, moneylenders and sometimes even relying on begging. Combined with low level of nutrition and absence of any social protection, people force to do job when they are sick, tired through long hours. Further, there is very minimal opportunity for skill upgrading in labour market to gain more safe, secure and higher return employment.

The sickness of any household member present the direct and indirect cost in the form of health expenditures on one hand and opportunity cost of care time for other household members on other hand. Further, due to weak social capital and social network, poor migrants have unambiguous queue problems. In such conditions, migrants have to pay more access money to overwhelm that weakness for fulfilling the health services. Moreover, the sickness of primary earner in a household mount to additional costs as he/she would not able to work and earn money due to illness. In this context, household's vulnerability is thereby considerably enlarged by their dependency upon local moneylenders that charged high interest of loans. In addition to these listed problems, there seems to be much evidence of drug abuse in the study area, which might be attributed as a reaction to other conditions, a way of coping psychologically.

A 43-year-old respondent noted that excessive use of alcohol and drug abuse also promoted risky practices among men, including casual sex. A middle-aged casual laborer told that on some days when he is not able to find work to buy food for his family he goes to drink alcohol (hooch) to forget his sorrows. He knows that excessive drinking hurts his health, and noted: 'Here in the shums, daily wage labourer drink a lot because of many problems. We drink to forget our problems. Sometimes I go out and can't find work to feed my children.'

Another 36-year-old respondent also noted: "We have many problems here so we drink so that we can sleep, but sometimes it makes you get into fights, get hurt, or hurt others. It also makes you sickit is not that we do not know that drinking heavily is bad ...but we have problems."

Such abuses are more prevalent among men migrants, probably on account of unrealistic claims to masculinity under conditions, which challenge their role of provider in the society.

3.5.3 The individual

Several issues of vulnerability for migrants were discussed above at the level of communities and households. How the household can be difficult area for the pursuit of livelihoods when we talk about gender discriminatory behaviour in allocating resources within the household. It is the household that produces gender discrimination, especially for female members, in terms of immediate diet, health care, or education. Under these

conditions, cultural attachment to gender norms increases individual's vulnerability. The counter-argument is that daughters will leave the natal home, so that any investment is lost. But sons marry the daughters of others. Thus, one can sense the collective fear of free-riding, in which no-one invests in daughters and everyone loses. Unfortunately, in each circumstances, female members systematically at disadvantageous and vulnerable positions in a household. They make dietary sacrifices and lose their employment before men. They work even more than men, as they have to perform household activities without any recognition with low level of nutrition and human capital investment. It is important to note here that women's vulnerability is a function of households' norms, which is guided by the existing culture and society. Further, being migrants particularly belongs to specific reason, is also a major cause of vulnerability at individual level. This problem further exacerbate in case of female migrants. A timid 36-year-old female migrants who hails from Bihar discloses that,

"When we seek work, why are we first asked about where we come from? Does being a migrant from Bihar, Jharkhand or Uttar Pradesh make us different from other migrants?" She uses to worked as maid outside the slum. Once, she was locked up by a family after being accused of attempting to steal money and was rescued by neighbors when she shouted for help. The other participants explained her predicament as arising from the bias about workers from certain states and districts.

Moreover, in case of female migrants of minority status are even more vulnerable. A 39-year-old Muslim woman who hails from Uttar Pradesh nervously reported that,

She came to Delhi as a young wife, and the responsibility of bringing up her children pushed her into joining the unorganized workforce of domestic helps. The challenge lay in her name — Mehrunisha (name change). House after house turned her down, she said, because her name identified her as a Muslim. Finally, on the advice of some kindly neighbors, she assumed the name of Kusum. Sure enough, she got hired. "Aaj main jin chaar-panch ghar mein kaam karti hoon woh mere kaam ke liye mujhe jaante hain (The four-five families I work for now know me for my honest labour)," she says.

From the above discussion, one can sense the extent of vulnerability of migrants particularly who are female and hails from under developed states and belongs to particular religious group. An interview with a female migrant exhibits the grim reality of migrants living in the slums of Delhi. Poor migrants are reportedly denied from their rights despite the fact that every citizen have right to live and work in anywhere in India, which is guaranteed by the Constitution of India. These kinds of vulnerabilities further limit the scope of livelihood options for the migrants as they feel fear, ignorance and psychological pressure. The problems of migrants and even overall urban poor who are living in the slums are further exacerbating due to the problematic and irresponsible institutions which are suppose to be take care of these poor people.

People live in slums not as a matter of choice but due to unavoidable circumstances. They are ready to fight and take risks, as they have nowhere else to go. They create a safety wall around themselves and turn suspicious towards outsiders (Box-1).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the urban vulnerability of migrants with special focus on slums in terms of exclusion, discrimination and lack of infrastructural services that results from the problematic institutional responsibilities. Migrants' vulnerabilities at various levels such as at community level, at household level, at individual level were also discussed with informed interview and personal observations in the slums of Delhi. The results from this study call for urgent need of policy intervention that should aim at improving access to basic amenities and services such as access to clean drinking water, health services, educational facilities, improved employment opportunities through skill development and improving the environment of the slums especially the condition of drainage and sewerage system. As the various government programs have failed to improve the quality of life up to the desired level in the slums of Delhi, it is suggested that efforts to improve the condition of the slums should involve awareness creation and greater community participation wherever applicable. Community participation would also ensure a more fulfilling social life and conducive environment to live in slums.

Box-1

Living in dirt and with the fear of eviction

A 43-year female migrant, Shanti from Pratapgarh, Uttar Pradesh, lives with her husband and their three children in a Nangloi slum in a small room covered with a tin roof, which provides barely enough space for two people. A single brick wall separates the living space from the street outside, where an open drain runs parallel to it. During the rainy season, the surrounding area gets flooded. She said that it is better to live in this miserable condition compared to her village, as she is happy to be together with her husband. Her husband works in the capital, and she also earns some money working as a maid. Although their living condition is poor, she considers that she has better opportunities in the city than those in her village.

She narrated the story of eviction issue that she and her neighbors had to face last year. 20 households in the same slum faced the fear of eviction as those households were adjoining a factory, which was shut down around 10 years back. 2 years ago the factory owner sold his property. The new owner forcefully wanted to evict the households from that area. Police is also supporting the new owner as per the official documents. In response to that, these households collectively went to a lower court and won the case against the new owner. Unfortunately, this did not end there. The new owner filed a case in the appellate court. Now, the problem of raising money and hiring an advocate was faced by these slum dwellers. She told that one day a lawyer came voluntarily to help them and asked to arrange 20000 rupees for expenses from all the households. Slum dwellers collected 20000 rupees and gave it to that lawyer, but the lawyer ran away with the money. This incident faced by slum dwellers including the narrator sparked hatred for strangers. Even during my field visit I had to face their suspicion and rude behaviour, and none of them was willing to answer my questions. They even doubted that I am associated with the owner of the property.

-Name: XX, Female, from Uttar Pradesh, Age: 43 years

Migrants came to cities in hope of better income and livelihood options that are supposed to give them a better life but it is very unfortunate that they are forced to live in slums with a number of associated urban vulnerabilities that gives the feeling of unromantic truth. Despite the number of government interventions, the condition of the slums and migrants residing in these slums are not satisfactory in line with other development. Data analysis and in-depth interviews combined with field observations signposts numerous avenues where improvements can be achieved by awareness, community participation and policy interventions. While the local government can provide the basic facilities and infrastructure, state and central government can play the crucial role in providing the skill training and job opportunities along with conducive environment for 'right to city' for migrants.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRANTS IN DELHI: MAGNITUDE AND CHARACTERISTICS

4.1 Introduction

Migration is the hallmark of modern times closely linked with the process of development. People migrate from one geographic location to another location for various motives. The concept of mobility or migration concerns the movement of persons from one place to another mainly because of enhancing their livelihood. Historically, the process of migration was considerably low (Davis, 1951), however, the current scenario particularly after the economic liberalization is quite different. Further, the increasing gap between the rural and urban areas along with low profits in agriculture and high returns from industry has largely encouraged the process of migration to cities. As result, the capital of India is seeing augmented inflow of people from other regions. A significant amount of migration is incidental to carrying on the several activities of everyday life including doing job, travelling in the form daily commuters and marketing etc. However, such movements need to be differentiated from the nature of mobility that encompasses a sustained or permanent residence in the place of destination. It is this latter type of mobility that is envisaged by the concept, migration. Change of residence after marriage – mainly in case of women, migration to cities and towns for employment, migration (displacement) due to construction of dams, roads, etc., migration of refugees from Pakistan after independence and illegal migration from Bangladesh are some of the considerable reasons for migration in cities like Delhi.

Since 1951, the average decadal growth in Delhi's population has been 45.8 per cent, exceeding 45 per cent in every decade except 2001-2011, when it increased by 21 per cent (Census of India, 2011). This was far higher than the national average decadal growth rate. More crucially, migration accounts for more than 23 per cent of the total increase in population. This is calculated as the additional increase in mid-year populations in each year between 2001 and 2011, over and above the natural increase (difference between birth and death rates). In the absence of migration, Delhi's decadal growth rate during 2001-11 would have been lower than the national average of 17.64 per cent. According to the last available granular numbers (Census of India, 2001), Uttar Pradesh accounted for almost half (43.1 per cent) of Delhi's migrants. This has increased

to 47 per cent, as per the recent Perceptions Survey (2013) conducted by the Institute for Human Development for the Delhi government. Bihar's share has also risen to 31 per cent from 14 in 2001. Owing to above account with regard to migration in the capital of India, an attempt has been made to highlight the pattern and processes of migration and the socio- economic profile of the migrants in this chapter. 64th Round of National Sample Survey (NSS, 2007-08) data has been utilized to understand the process of migration in Delhi and data from field survey has been used to understand the process of migration in slums of Delhi.

4.2 Magnitude and characteristics of migrants in Delhi: Evidences from National Sample Survey Data (2007-08)

Due to dynamic nature of Delhi, it always represents herself as favorite destination for migrants across the various states of India. Undoubtedly, it is the migration that triggered the pace of urbanization in Delhi, especially after the economic reforms has been taken. As a result Delhi's population also increasing substantially and the pressure on natural resources reaches on alarming situation. Therefore, the process of migration is crucial in understanding the migrants' livelihood. Further, it also explains the spatial and demographic growth of Delhi over time.

4.2.1 Migrants' contribution to Delhi's population

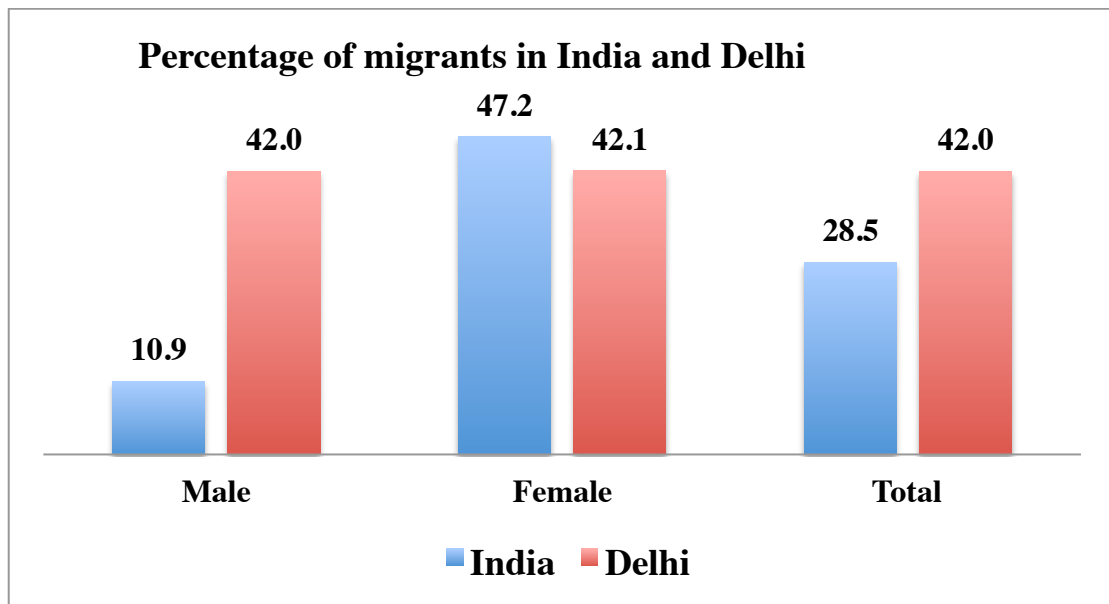
Overall, there is a considerable variation in internal migration between India and its capital. Data from national sample survey, 2007-08 (Figure 4.1) revealed that, there is the difference of about 14 per cent in internal migration of India and its capital. Moreover, at national level female migration is much higher than their counterpart but in case of Delhi, the difference between male and female migration is not much higher. This attributed the fact that being Delhi as a capital of India produces immense economic opportunities for labourers including both skilled as well as unskilled workers. So people working with low wages in rural area forced to move in urban areas like Delhi.

4.2.2 Demographic and social characteristics of migrants in Delhi

The available information on demographic characteristics of migrants is based on age, sex and place of residence of migrants in Delhi. Table 4.1 suggests that, the highest share of male migrants in Delhi is in the age group of 25-34, which is a working group followed by the age group of 15-24, 35-44, and 45-59. The lowest share of migrants

belongs to the age group of 60 years and above. In case of female migrants, the similar trends exhibits in age distribution of female migrants. Surprisingly, the percentage of male and female migrants is equal in case of migration to Delhi (Figure 4.1), although the reasons for migration may definitely vary for entering into Delhi. Expectedly, almost all the migrants reside in the urban area. Very few migrants are residing in rural areas, as about 92 per cent area of the capital is itself constituted by urban areas.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of migrants in India and Delhi, 2007-08



Source: Computed from National Sample Survey, 2007-08

Migration in India is mostly influenced by social structure and patterns of development (Singh et. al., 2016). The distribution of migrants by their social group revealed that, migrant belongs to Scheduled Tribes (STs) are much lower than other social groups. Not even one percent of total migrants belong to this category in the capital. Although the representation of male STs migrants are little higher than female STs migrants, but this quantity is highly scattered while comparing to other social groups. The highest share of migrants belong to ‘others’ category of migrants. Scheduled Caste (SCs) and other backward caste migrants share equal amount of population in Delhi. In case of marital status of migrants, more than double migrants belong to married category in case of both male and female. Religious distribution of migrants shows that most of the migrants belong to Hindu religion.

Table 4.1: Demographic and social characteristics of migrants in Delhi, 2007-08

Characteristics	Male	Female	Total
<i>Age</i>			
0-14	9.5	8.4	9.0
15-24	22.8	16.3	19.9
25-34	27.4	29.7	28.4
35-44	19.2	22.3	20.6
45-59	14.0	14.1	14.0
60+	7.1	9.3	8.1
<i>Place of Residence</i>			
Rural	4.9	7.3	6.0
Urban	95.1	92.7	94.0
<i>Social Group</i>			
Scheduled Caste	21.9	22.8	22.3
Other Backward Class	21.9	23.2	22.5
Others	54.9	53.5	54.3
<i>Marital Status</i>			
Single	38.8	21.4	31.0
Married	61.2	78.6	69.0
<i>Religious Status</i>			
Hindu	85.4	85.2	85.3
Muslim	10.8	10.5	10.7
Others	3.8	4.4	4.1
<i>Educational Attainment</i>			
Illiterate	11.0	34.1	21.4
Literate but below middle	22.1	16.1	19.4
Middle but below secondary	17.0	16.8	16.9
Secondary or higher secondary	32.5	21.6	27.6
Graduate and above	17.4	11.4	14.7
<i>Reasons for Migration</i>			
Employment	60.9	2.4	34.6
Marriage	0.2	32.7	14.8
Studies	3.0	0.0	1.7
Others	36.0	64.9	48.9

Source: Computed from National Sample Survey, 2007-08

Several migration studies have found a positive relationship between education and migration, particularly in urban areas (Todaro, 1997). Education, though qualitatively is a very significant social factor and the wide-ranging impact of education is possibly the most important matter to be considered in inducing rural-urban migration. However, the linkage between migration and education is very context specific (Harttgen and Klasen, 2011). It not only helps people to migrate for better job opportunities, it can also improve access to education and educational outcomes in urban areas. Distribution of migrants by

their educational attainment shows that the highest share of migrants belong to secondary or higher secondary category of education followed by illiterate, literate but below middle and middle but below secondary category of education. Reasons for migration for migrants shows that among male migrants the employment is the major reason for migration. It is nearly 61 per cent of the total male migrants came to Delhi for employment purposes. In case of female migrants, merely 2.4 per cent of total female migrants came to Delhi for employment purpose. Most of the female migrants are the result of post-nuptial migration.

4.2.3 Economic Characteristics of migrants in Delhi

In economic parlance, migration takes place when a person is likely to engage in a remunerative activity in a place where he or she is not a native or national (Singh, et. al., 2016).

Table 4.2: Economic characteristics of migrants of Delhi, 2007-08

Characteristics	Male	Female	Total
<i>MPCE</i>			
Lowest	5.1	6.9	5.9
Lower	9.9	14.5	11.9
Medium	19.6	25.4	22.2
Higher	30.6	26.4	28.7
Highest	34.8	26.9	31.3
<i>Work Status</i>			
Self employed	17.2	0.2	9.5
Regular salaried	16.8	1.3	9.8
Casual labourers	6.2	0.2	3.5
Non working	59.9	98.4	77.2

Source: Computed from National Sample Survey, 2007-08

Data on monthly per capita consumer and expenditure are taken as proximate information of income status of migrants, which provided by national sample survey. Data (Table 4.2) suggests that with the rising of income status the share of migrants is also increasing in case of both male and female migrants. Undoubtedly, working status of migrants is highly gendered, as huge disparity exists between men and women migrants in their current work status. Moreover, a large amount of migrants belongs to non-working category. Workforce is highly skewed towards male workers. But, there is an increasing proportion of migrants that gives 'education and training' as the reason for migration. According to Delhi's Human Development Report 2013, among those who

migrated to Delhi a decade ago, about three quarters said they came looking for jobs or better salaries, while only 18 per cent came for education. But among those who came to Delhi within the last one year, 40 per cent said that they were studying while 57 per cent came for job related reasons.

4.2.4 Determinants of migration process in Delhi

The observed characteristics of migrants are a product of the selectivity of the migration process, reflecting behavioral mechanisms and the influence of personal, household, and socio-economic variables on migration decisions and outcomes. They are the first determinants of internal migrants' impacts on both origin and destination places. Results of multivariate analysis are presented in Table 4.3 to examine the association of key socio- economic factors with migration in capital of India. Since migration in Delhi is highly dominated in urban areas, hence urban monthly per capita has been taken into consideration. Results suggest that migrants belonging to age group of 25-34, 35-44 and 45-59 have higher probability to migrate as compared to the reference age group i.e. the migrants belonging to age group of 15-24 after controlling all other explanatory variables, as their odds ratios are more than one. Female migrants are less likely to migrate in Delhi as compare to their counterpart. In case of social group, Scheduled Caste, other backward caste and other category of society are more likely to migrate as compared to Scheduled Tribes.

As expected, married migrants are more like to migrate compared to single migrants. This is also revealed by the bivariate analysis. Muslim and other religious group of migrants are less likely to migrate as compared to migrants belong to Hindu religion. Coming to educational attainment, illiterate migrants have highest probability to migrate as compared to remaining categories of educational status. Moreover, the probability of migration is decreasing with increasing educational status. In case of income status measured through monthly per capita consumer expenditure, migrants belong to highest quintile of MPCE have highest probability to migrate in Delhi as compared to lowest quintile of MPCE. Lower and medium quintile of MPCE are also more likely to migrate as compared to lowest quintile of MPCE, after controlling the other explanatory variable.

Table 4.3: Odds ratios of factors influencing the migration in Delhi in the age group of 15-59 years, 2007-08

Explanatory Variables	Odds Ratios
Age	
15-24	1
25-34	1.91***
35-44	1.69***
45-59	1.39***
Sex	
Male	1
Female	0.91**
Social Group	
Scheduled Tribe	1
Scheduled Caste	0.23***
Other Backward Class	0.44**
Others	0.27**
Marital Status	
Single	1
Married	2.20***
Religious Status	
Hindu	1
Muslim	0.58***
Others	0.48***
Educational Attainment	
Illiterate	1
Literate but below middle	0.62**
Middle but below secondary	0.38***
Secondary or higher secondary	0.29***
Graduate and above	0.26***
Urban_MPCE	
Lowest	1
Lower	0.62**
Medium	0.81*
Higher	1.01
Highest	1.70**
Log likelihood	-2250.0841
Pseudo R2	0.0991

Notes: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$, ® = Reference category

Source: Computed from National Sample Survey, 2007-08

4.3 Migrants in slums

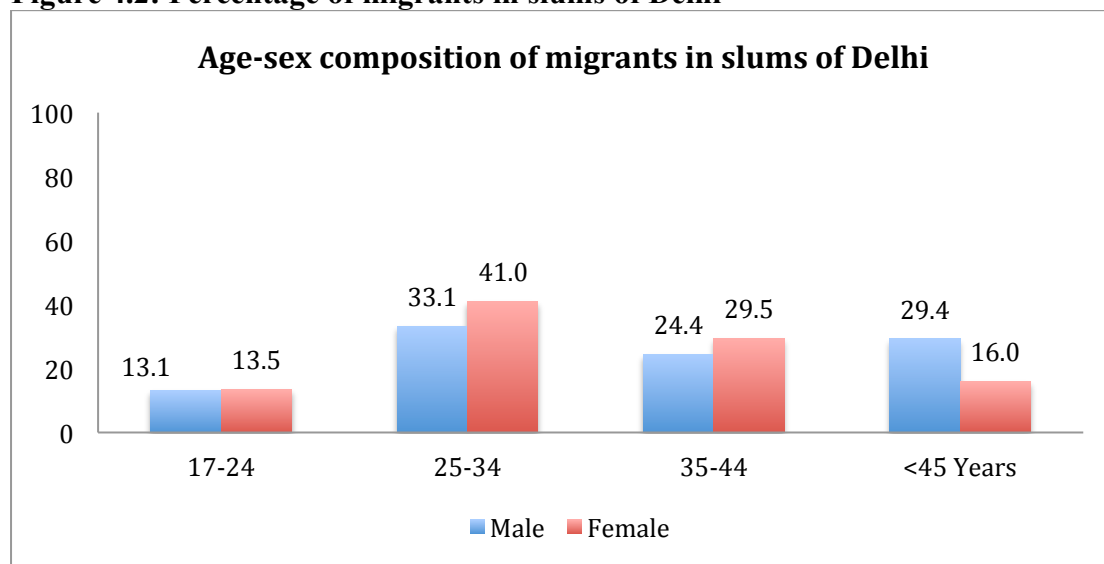
After the economic reforms, there was a huge demand of labour in urban areas because of industrialization and increasing importance of service sector. At the same time, increasing inequality between rural and urban areas also triggered the pace of urbanization. As a result of such structural changes along with inadequate housing availability expand the base of slums in Indian cities. The study carried out by Bockerhoff and Brennan (1998), reflect the fact that megacities like Calcutta, Mumbai and Delhi live in slums under conditions of multiple deprivations.

4.4 Profile of migrants in the study area

4.4.1 Age-Sex composition of migrants in slums of Delhi

The process of migration is selective i.e. majority of the migration guided by age and sex of the migrants. Age-sex composition of migrants in slums of Delhi has been presented in Figure 4.2. Data shows that the migration of male and female population in the age group of 17 to 24 years is less as compared to other age groups i.e. around 13 per cent in these slums of Delhi. In the slums of Delhi around 57 per cent of male and 71 per cent of female are in the age group of 25 to 44 years of age. Whereas, in the age group of above 45 years, only 16 per cent of females are migrants as compared to 29 per cent of male are migrants in these slums in Delhi.

Figure 4.2: Percentage of migrants in slums of Delhi

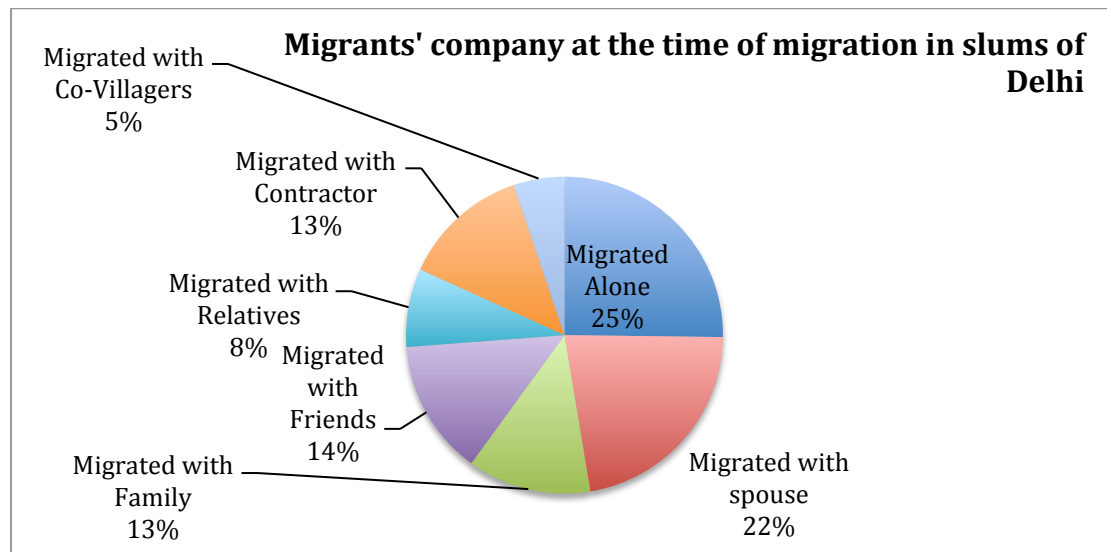


Source: Field Survey, 2017

4.4.2 Migrants' company at the time of migration

The migrants from these slums choose Delhi as their destination because of various means but one of main mean is the social capital these migrants have. Around 30 percent of migrants choose Delhi as their destination because of their friends who are in Delhi. About one-third of migrants in these slums came to Delhi because they got information from the previous migrants from their village (Figure 4.3). The family/relatives are the next important social capital; they provide information or helped them to come to Delhi. Only 11.2 per cent of the migrants end up Delhi as destination by middleman/contractor, from an impression of work availability, and had migrated earlier.

Figure: 4.3 Migrants' company at the time of migration

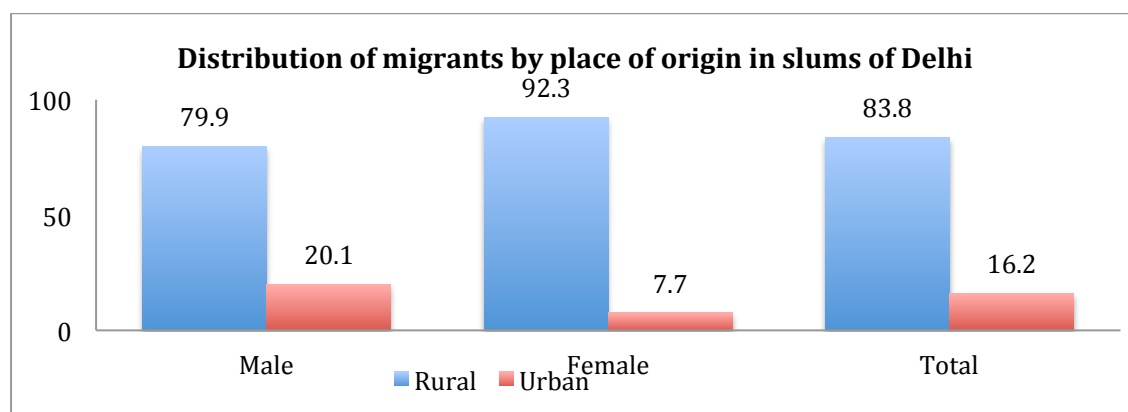


Source: Field Survey, 2017

4.4.3 Migrant's place of origin

The migrants from rural area's is very high as compared to migrants from urban areas in these slums of Delhi, i.e. only 16 per cent of migrants in these slums are came from urban areas whereas, 84 per cent of the migrants are from rural areas. In these slums the male migrants from urban areas are higher than the female urban migrants, but the proportion of urban migrants from both sexes is less than the rural migrants, i.e. 20 per cent male and 8 per cent female are migrating from urban area's to these slums of Delhi (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Distribution of migrants by place of origin

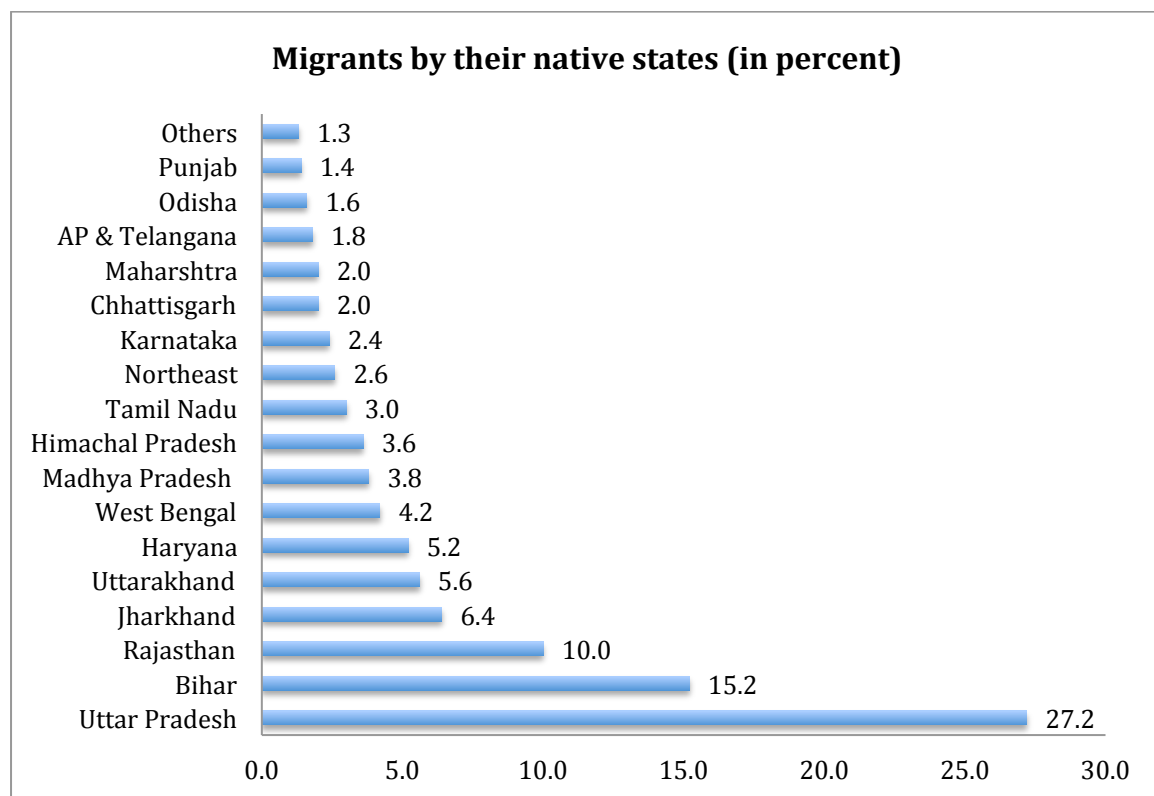


Source: Field Survey, 2017

Distributions of migrants' native state were presented in Figure 4.5. It can be observed that while distribution of place of origin is commonly even among migrants (e.g. majority of the migrants from rural areas across all states), there is uneven

distribution of migrants in terms of their place of native states. Majority of the migrants arrived in Delhi from the Northern part of India, especially dominated by the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand and Haryana. About 70 per cent of the migrants constituted from these six states only. This result reflects the fact that there is lack of intervening opportunities for the migrants from these states. There is no major center except Delhi for these migrants that can provide opportunities of work, employment and better livelihood. On the other hand, migrants from Southern part of India are very less in Delhi, possibly because of the presence of major cities like Chennai, Bengaluru, Hyderabad and Mumbai that provides substantial base for migrants to work there.

Figure 4.5 Distribution of migrants by their native states



Source: Field Survey, 2017

4.5 Reasons of migration

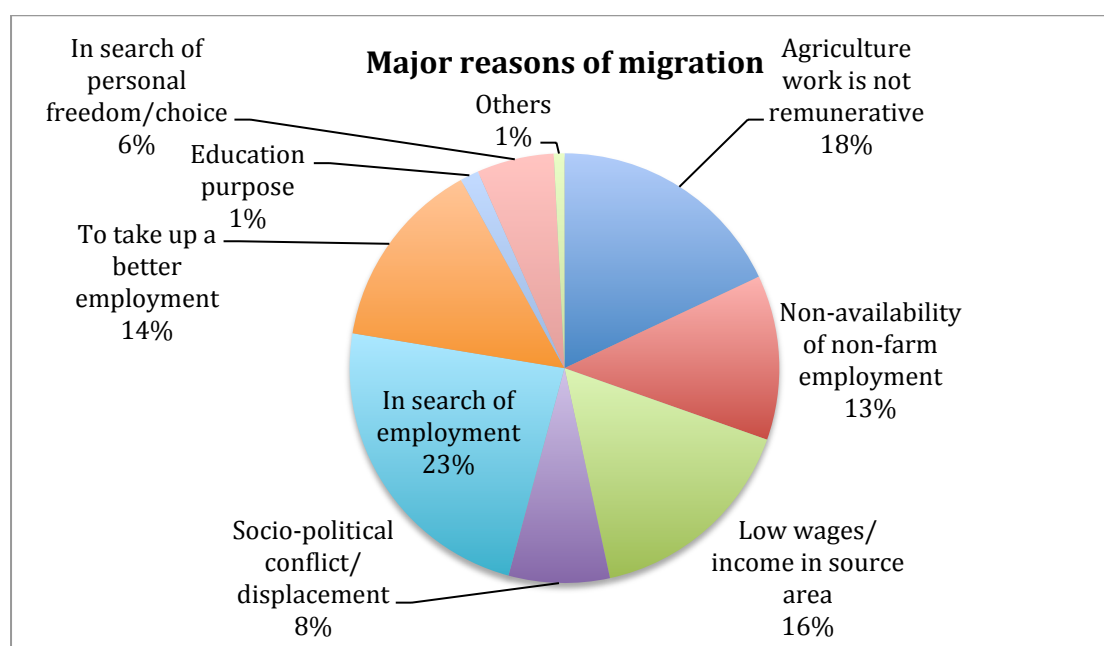
The population distribution of any area is largely influenced by the migration that arising out of numerous cultural, social, economic or political reasons. Country like India, which is geographically vast and having most of the part as rural character, witness the

movement of people since its civilization. Several part of the countries including metro city and especially capital of India experiencing faster economic development. As a result, people attract to these cities because of the rural distress, and existence of manufacturing, information technology or service sectors. The recent economic survey of 2017 sought some more interesting fact about the migration situation in India what traditional data like NSSO, 2007 could not reflect in their survey. Census of India, 2011 along with rail traffic data shows that migration of population by different age categories is much larger than what has been showed in earlier survey. More prominently, there seems to have been surge in migration for economic reasons in the recent decade across states (Economic Survey, 2017).

Reasons of migration can be categorized as push factors and pull factors. Since movement of people could not capture through a single reason, as there is a number of possibilities behind the migration, therefore, reasons for migration was addressed through multiple responses. However, the major reasons for migration were presented in figure 4.6 which suggest that considerable amount of migrants leave their place of origin because of in search of better employment and non-remunerative nature of agricultural work. Further, low wages and non-availability of non-farm employment is also guiding the substantial movement of migrants. Further, for multiple responses, migrants were asked to choose any three reasons if it is there, on priority basis. The results of reasons of migration are presented in Table 4.4.

The decisions on whether to move, how, and where to move are complex and could involve a variety of actors in different ways. The push and pull factors are two factors which made these slum dwellers to migrate to Delhi. About 41 per cent of migrants stated agriculture work is not remunerative is one of the reason for their migration. The non-availability of non-farm employment is the next important reason to migrate from their place of origin, i.e. around 30 per cent. Around 25 per cent of migrant's state that low wage/income in source area is one of the reasons to migrate. Only 11 per cent of the migrants from these slums state socio-political conflict or displacement due to some project as their one of the reasons of migration. The migrants from rural and urban areas are having almost same percentage of response as the reason for migration in all the push factors.

Figure 4.6: Distribution of migrants by major reasons for migration



Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 4.4 Reasons of migration by place of origin among migrants in slums of Delhi (Multiple responses)

Reasons of Migration	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
<i>Push Factors</i>						
Agriculture work is not remunerative	40.9	170	40.7	33	40.9	203
Non-availability of non-farm employment	29.3	122	30.9	25	29.6	147
Low wages/income in source area	24.0	100	27.2	22	24.6	122
Socio-political conflict/displacement due to some project	10.6	44	12.4	10	10.9	54
<i>Pull Factors</i>						
In search of employment	39.7	165	27.2	22	37.6	187
To take up a better employment	24.0	100	22.2	18	23.7	118
Education purpose (Studies)	12.0	50	22.2	18	13.7	68
Health/treatment	11.8	49	9.9	8	11.5	57
In search of personal freedom/choice	16.4	68	18.5	15	16.7	83
Total	208.6	868	211.1	171	209.0	1039

Source: Field Survey, 2017

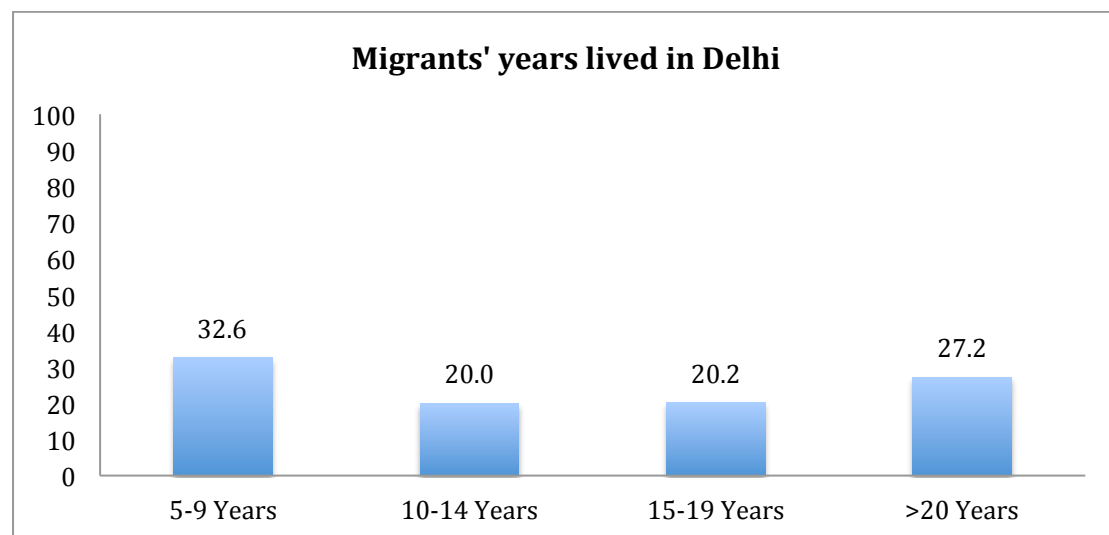
In search of employment 39 per cent of rural and 27 per cent of urban area people stated one of the reasons for migration to Delhi. To take up a better employment is one of the reasons to migrate to Delhi i.e. 24 per cent from rural area migrants and 22 per cent from urban area states the above mentioned reason for migration. For education purpose only 12 per cent of rural people migrated on the other hand 22 per cent of urban people are migrated for education purpose. Health/treatment is one of main reasons for the

migration from rural (12 per cent) and urban areas (10 per cent). Further, some migrants came Delhi by their choice irrespective of identified push factors at place of origin. In search of personal freedom/choice 18 per cent of urban area people and 16 per cent of rural area people stated one of their reasons for migration to Delhi.

4.6 Duration of Migration

Years lived at place of destination typically reflect the strength of survival capacity of the migrants. It can be observed that about 33 per cent of the migrants lived in Delhi since last 5-9 years, whereas 40 per cent of these slum dwellers are living between 10 to 20 years. Migrants who are living more than 20 years in these slums of Delhi are around 27 per cent only (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7 Distribution of migrants by duration of migration in Delhi



Source: Field Survey, 2017

Some migrants who ran away from responsibilities at home realized the value of hard work after experiencing the harsh city life. Some of them find escape routes while some make up their mind to work hard. The latter type can sometimes become successful and lead a good life. An in-depth interview with a migrant from West Bengal who migrated by choice reflects the successful story of migration and how a city can deliver on promises of livelihood (Box- 2).

Box 2

A story of runaway choice and success

46 years old male migrant narrated his story of migration to Delhi who came from West Bengal. When he failed in Class 12 at the age of 18, he decided to run away from his home along with his friend. He was afraid to face his parents and wanted to do some work on his own. He came to Delhi looking for work. He had to spend many nights at the railway station without food and shelter after he reached Delhi. He could not find any work for days as he didn't possess any skill. He didn't know anyone in the city which made it really hard for him. After some time, he got work in a garage at Karol Bagh, where he worked hard for 3-4 years and learnt auto repairing work. Gradually, he managed to save some and arrange some to buy a second-hand auto. He worked with that auto for a couple of years, and decided to buy a new one on EMI basis and gave one of the autos to his friend on daily wages for further income. He worked really hard in this city to make himself financially independent and stable. At present, his living condition is far better in the city. He visited his native place after 5-6 years. His parents were happy to see him independent and earn good enough in a city like Delhi. He got married when he was home. Now he stays in Delhi with his wife and two children. He managed to buy a house in one of the slums of Delhi. Now, he owns three autos. His family is living a good life and his kids are going to school. Further, he is planning to buy a car and tie up with Uber to further supplement his income.

-Name: XX, Male, from West Bengal, Age: 46 years

4.7 Social groups of migrants

Migration in India is mostly influenced by social structure and patterns of development. In order to assess the role of social status in influencing migration, the percentage of migrants by cast, religion and educational status has been calculated. Social group of migrants is a position of individual migrants in a society, which could be based on attributes or affiliation to a group or family. Table 4.5 suggests that about half of the male migrants (48.8 per cent) belongs to Scheduled Caste, while 55.1 per cent of the female migrants belong to Scheduled Caste. Migrants from Schedule Tribes have the lowest share among the migrants in slums of Delhi across male and female both. Among

OBC communities, about 30 per cent are male migrants while 22.4 per cent female from these communities. Further, 7.3 per cent of male migrants and 6.4 per cent of female migrants belong to ‘Other’ category of social status. In case of religious distribution of migrants, Table 4.6 shows that overall, 69 per cent of the migrants comes from Hindu religion in the slums of Delhi. Further, 18 per cent of migrants constituted by Muslim community. Migrants from Christian community have the lowest share among the surveyed migrants in slums of Delhi.

Table 4.5 Distribution of migrants by social groups in slums of Delhi

Social Status	Male		Female		Total	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Schedule Caste	48.8	168	55.1	86	51	254
Schedule Tribes	3.2	11	7.7	12	5	23
OBCs	29.7	102	22.4	35	27	137
Others	18.3	63	14.7	23	17	86

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 4.6 Distribution of migrants by religion in slums of Delhi

Religion	Male		Female		Total	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Hindu	64.0	220	80.8	126	69.2	346
Muslim	22.4	77	8.3	13	18.0	90
Christian	6.4	22	6.4	10	6.4	32
Others	7.3	25	4.5	7	6.4	32

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 4.7 Distribution of migrants by educational qualification in slums of Delhi

Educational Attainment	Male		Female		Total	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Illiterate	31.5	108	43.2	67	35.1	67
Primary	15.5	53	11.6	18	14.3	18
Secondary	37.3	128	35.5	55	36.8	55
Above secondary and higher	15.7	54	9.7	15	13.9	15

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Education is one of the important social indicators that play vital role in the process of migration. Further, economic success and livelihood enhancement of the migrants is very linked with educational status of the migrants in terms of getting quality job and higher income return. Data from Table 4.7 suggests that about 35 per cent of the migrants are illiterate, among which 31 per cent shared by male migrants while 43 per

cent shared by female migrants. Further, 14.3 per cent of the migrants reported their educational status at primary level, among which 15.5 per cent shared by male migrants against to 11.6 per cent shared by female migrants. The percentage of migrants with secondary educational level was 36.8 per cent among which 37.3 per cent shared by male migrants and 35.5 per cent shared by female migrants in slum of Delhi. The percentage of migrants from above secondary and graduate level of education is very low in slums of Delhi. Only 14 per cent migrants comes under this category of educational level, among which 15.7 per cent shared by male migrants and 9.7 per cent shared by female migrants.

4.8 Economic characteristics of migrants

Economic characteristics of migrants such as employment status, household income, deprivation situation, occupation, ownership etc. depict the performance of migrants at place of destination, labour market and their general economic well being. The data show that there are substantial differences in economic characteristics among migrants in slums of Delhi.

Table 4.8 Migrants’ employment status by gender distribution in slums of Delhi

Employment Status	Male		Female	
	Percent	N	Percent	N
Main Workers	74.2	158	25.8	55
Marginal Workers	68.1	128	31.9	60
Non-Workers	58.6	58	41.4	41
Total	68.8	344	31.2	156

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 4.9 Migrants’ type of occupation by gender in slums of Delhi

Type of Occupation	Male		Female		Total	
	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N
Skilled Work	27.3	78	9.7	11	22.2	89
Semi-Skilled Work	52.8	151	55.6	64	53.6	215
Unskilled Work	19.9	57	34.8	40	24.2	97

Source: Field Survey, 2017

During the survey, there were about 43 per cent migrants who reported that they are engaged in the category of main workers i.e. they are able to get job and work whole year while 37 per cent of the migrants comes in the category of marginal workers and about 20 per cent of the migrants report that they haven’t involved in any economic activities and termed as non-worker. However, the distribution of employment status of migrants by sex

has been presented in Table 4.8. Data show that about 74 per cent of male migrants and 26 per cent of the female migrants comes under the categories of main workers. On the other hand 68 per cent of the male migrants from marginal worker and 32 per cent of the female migrants from marginal workers were in the slums of Delhi.

Migrants' type of occupation has been reported in Table 4.9. Results show that overall, only 22 per cent of the migrants worked as skilled worker among which, 27.3 per cent shared by male migrants and 9.7 per cent shared by female migrants. In case of semi-skilled economic activity, it was observed that more than half of the migrants were involved in semi-skilled activities. Further, 24.2 per cent migrants were involved in unskilled work among which 20 per cent shared by the male migrants while 35 per cent shared by their counter parts.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the magnitude and characteristics of migrants with the help of secondary data from the National Sample Survey (2007-08) for the state of Delhi and primary data collected during the field survey in 2017 in the slums of Delhi. Starting with an illustration of changes in migration at macro level reveals that migration of men is lower than that of women. Migration from rural to urban is more dominating than urban to urban streams, which is also the main reason of urbanization. One significant finding that emerges from this study is that factors such as low income and low literacy are the major causes of migration in Delhi as suggested by secondary data. Result from field survey suggest that majority of the migrants belong to Schedule Caste communities with low level of education. Religious distribution of migrants show that majority of the migrants belong to Hindu religion, followed by Muslim, Others and Sikh religion. Further, there is dearth of skill capacity amongst the migrants and about half of the migrants involved in semi-skilled kind of occupations and about one-fourth of the migrants engaged themselves in unskilled kind of occupation. Migrations in Delhi are guided by both push and pull factors. Results show that employment/livelihood was the primary motive for migration. Since, the causal factors behind migration do not operate in isolation of one another, there could be the multiple reasons. Therefore, reasons for migration in multiple responses were also covered in the study, which broadly shows that agrarian distress, and non-availability of non-farm employment is the major reasons for migration.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MIGRATION: A LIVELIHOOD APPROACH

5.1 Introduction

Migrants' social capital is usually conceptualized as informational resources that one can attain through their social links to former migrants. Such information has potential to diminish the costs and risks associated with the process of migration. There is a wealth of study that mostly related to U.S. and Mexico migration flows suggest that how migrants utilize their social ties in the process of migration. (Massey and García-España, 1987; De Jong et al., 1996; Winters et al., 2001; Davis et al., 2002; Curran et. al., 2005). Several literatures suggest that the enlargement of migrants' social capital triggered the process of 'cumulative causation' that helps in the flow of migration in self-sustaining way (Massey, 1990). For instance, migrant can attract the number of migrants from their native place through their bonds and expand the base of social capital. However, this mechanism indicates that migrants' social capital can eventually reduce the effects of other socio-economic aspects on migration. These results were confirmed by the empirical evidences in earlier studies. (Dunlevy, 1991; Massey, Goldring, and Durand, 1994; Massey and Espinosa, 1997). Contemporary research finds that the effect of migrants' social capital on the process of migration is not necessarily identical across the various settings. Migrants' social capital can work in diverse ways for different people or different groups of people in diverse settings.

Migrants' social capital can be demarcated as direct support and information given by earlier migrants to those people who have potential to migrate. This information can be, for instance, about work opportunities at place of destination, which can enhance the incomes of those persons who likely to migrate. In the same way, prior migrants can provide help with staying and transportation to potential migrants, which can reduce the expected costs associated with migration. On the basis of above accounts with regard to social capital and migration, this chapter deals with identifying the mechanisms through which migrant social capital can generate differential migration outcomes for individuals and how migrant social capital affects migration and livelihood of migrants after migration.

5.2 Social capital and the process of migration

Decision to migrate is guided by several factors. We have seen that there is many push and pull factors, which directed the process of migration. Usually, wage difference in place of origin and place of destination considered as the major driving factor pertaining to economic reason for migration that especially concern about migration for better livelihood options. However, along with push and pull factors, the contact of potential migrants always matters in order to take the decision to migrate. Most of the time, social ties among migrants and potential migrants facilitate the process of migration.

5.2.1 Information regarding migration

There are numerous literatures which suggest that the presence or absence of absorptive social networks strongly influences choice of destination by migrants (Banerjee, 1983). The choice of destination of migrants is influenced by sources of information to migrate, depicted in Table 5.1. It is observed that migrants' social capital (migrated friends, previous migrants from village and previous migrants' relatives) are the major decisive factors in choosing the destination as Delhi. About 33 per cent of migrants got information through previous migrants from their village to migrate in Delhi, while 28 per cent of migrants got information through their friends who migrated earlier. About 26 per cent migrants came through their relatives, contributed the considerable amount of migration process.

Table 5.1: Sources of information for migrants

Source of Information	Freq.	Percent
Middleman/Contractor	29	5.8
Migrated friends	140	28.0
Previous migrants from the village	163	32.6
Previous migrants relatives	128	25.6
From an impression of work availability	32	6.4
Had migrated on earlier occasion	8	1.6

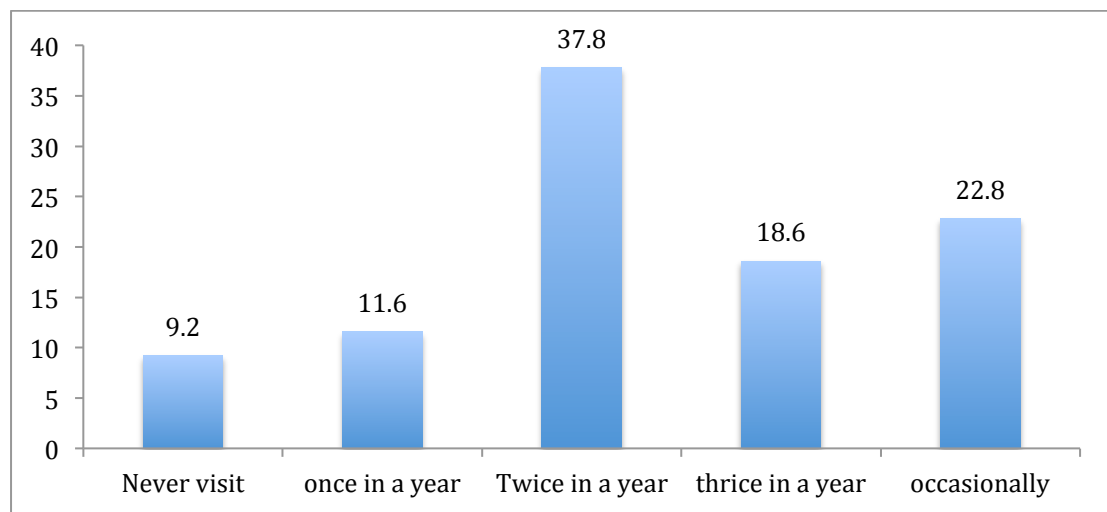
Source: Computed from Primary Survey, 2017

5.2.2 Visit to native home

Frequency to visit their native place may be the reflection of migrants' social capital, which in turn act as the resources in migration process. Visiting native places also deliberate the motive to visit in terms of remittances and attachment to their native places.

Fortunately, migrants of Delhi have considerable amount of tendency to visit their native places. Figure 5.1 displayed the tendency to visit native places of migrants. Majority of migrants (37.8 per cent) visit twice in a year to their native places. About 29 per cent of migrants visit their native place occasionally. Occasionally means during any major festivals like Holi or Diwali or any ceremonial events. However, about 10 per cent of migrants never visited to their native places.

Figure 5.1 Frequency of visit to native place in a year



Source: Computed from Primary Survey, 2017

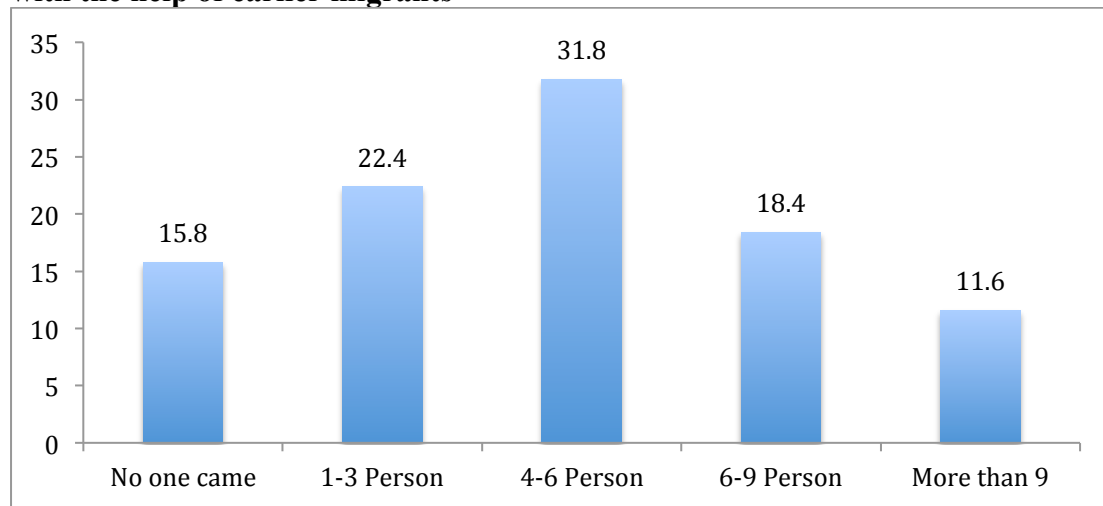
5.2.3 Migration through migrants

Shah and Menon (1991) founds that there are several instances that present the evidence of social contacts in facilitating the migration process. All ready migrated person further facilitates the process of migration. The question has been asked to respondent that ‘how many persons came to Delhi with your help?’ and ‘who are they?’ Figure 5.2 demonstrate the distribution of persons came through migrants and table 4.2 displayed the character of new migrants. About 32 per cent of migrants helped to 4-6 persons in their migration process. Only 15.8 per cent migrants are those migrants who do not helped in migration process.

In case of characteristics of new migrants, results show that about 81 per cent of the migrants in the sample indicated that they had relatives or co-villagers and friends, living in Delhi at the time of their arrival (Table 5.2). Virtually all these migrants received some form of assistance from their contacts on arrival. It is observed that relatives and friends

had pulled considerable amount of migrants in Delhi. This is true in case of international migration too. In Kerala, India, Nair (1991, 1998) reported that a large majority of the returnees had arranged Middle East jobs through friends and relatives, and about one-third had received help from friends to finance the move.

Figure 5.2: Percentage distribution of number of people coming from native place with the help of earlier migrants



Source: Computed from Primary Survey, 2017

Table 5.2: Arrival of new migrants with the help of earlier migrants

New Migrants	N	Percentage
Family Member	116	27.5
Friends	48	11.4
Relatives	83	19.7
Person from same caste	94	22.3
Person from same village	80	19.0
Total	421	100

Source: Computed from Primary Survey, 2017

During the field survey I came across a migrant from Northern part of Rajasthan who although resides in Delhi but goes back home every year for a number of days to supplement his income (Box-3).

5.3 Livelihood enhancement through migrants' social capital

Community members, families, relatives, and friends with their migration experiences can deliver initial contacts and information or truly sponsor the move by a succeeding kin, friend or community member. According to Hugo (1994), in an LDC

“whenever a person migrates, every individual that they know acquires social capital in the form of a contact at the mover’s destination”. Social ties at place of destination reduce the psychological costs of the process of migration by the means of providing a helpful relationship during the migrants’ initial period at place of destination. Sometimes, social contacts also lessen the monetary costs by delivering the information regarding to employment opportunities and even material assistance at the place of destination.

Box- 3

Life here is good enough!!

A migrant from Rajasthan has a fruit stall where he sells fresh fruits every day. He has lived in the slum for 12 years, ever since deciding to move to Delhi from his home village, where opportunities for work are next to nothing. When he came to Delhi he was helped by his friends from his native village. They asked him to join a chit fund where everyone pools fixed amount of money and the needy one’s can borrow from this pool. This has helped him economically as he can rely on this pool in times of need. He says that his juice stall is not permanent so he plays drums during the wedding season. He still goes home four or five times a year to drum at weddings and festivals. No one wants to miss out on going back home for these occasions more so because they can earn some bucks there, he tells me.

Asked about his health, he replies that they are a healthy lot. His perception doesn’t seem to extend to his children, who all died in childhood, or are under the constant threat of serious infections.

When asked if would ever consider moving back to Rajasthan?

No, he says. Life here is “good enough”.

-Male XX, from Rajasthan, Age: 37 years

5.3.1 Type of help from social contacts

The social capital of migrants provides the vehicles for migration, integration, and development. Although, the belief that social capital can play a vital role in one’s life may seem quite obvious, the significance of social capital of the migrants in affecting the outcomes for migrants, their families, and their communities cannot be understated as it

has multiplier effects in facilitating further migration process and potential to improve migrants' livelihood in various terms such as staying arrangement for migrants after immediate migration, searching for jobs, monetary help, educational help of migrants' children and help associated with health services for migrants and their family members.

Type of help received by migrants were asked in terms of multiple responses in terms of 6 categories *viz* staying arrangement after coming to Delhi, searching for jobs in Delhi, monetary help, health and educational help for family members, availing entitlements like voter Id, ration card, Aadhar card, and no help. Across the gender distribution of migrants, it can be observed that male migrants have higher propensity to receive help as compare to female migrants (Figure 5.3). Type of help provided by social contacts of migrants by place of origin in slums of Delhi has been presented in Figure 5.4. Overwhelmingly, migrants from rural origin have higher tendency to received help as compare to their counterpart. It can be observed that about 58 per cent of migrants from rural areas were benefitted from the help of staying arrangement followed by searching for jobs, educational and health related help for family members, monetary help and availing entitlements. It is interesting to note that majority of migrants were helped by non-monetary kind of help. Contrary to rural migrants, majority of migrants (43 per cent) who came from urban areas in Delhi benefitted from the help of searching job followed by staying arrangement.

Social status of a person always played crucial role in establishing social contacts, especially in Indian context, which further facilitated the different kind of social capital and hence providing help. In case of migration, when migrants came to the destination, the social capitals that are mostly governed by their cast facilitated them. Figure 5.5 presented the type of help provided by social contacts of migrants by their social status in slums of Delhi. Data suggest that about 76 per cent of migrants from 'others' category of social status received the help related to staying arrangement followed by the migrants from Other Backward Classes (60 per cent), Schedule Tribe migrants (56.5 per cent) and Scheduled Caste migrants (47 per cent). It can be observed that migrants from OBC communities have higher tendency to receive help for job search by their social contacts. Further, in case of monetary help, migrants from STs communities have highest propensity as compared to other social groups. Coming to migrants' income distribution, it can be observed from Figure 5.6 that comparatively richer migrants i.e. migrants from

income quintile 4 and 5 have higher tendency to receive the help for staying arrangement after coming to Delhi, whereas migrants from 1st and 2nd quintile of income have highest share of help for job search. Overall, it can be observed that help for staying arrangement is the major kind of help received by migrants followed by job search and monetary help across all the socio-economic group of migrants.

Figure 5.3: Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by gender in slums of Delhi

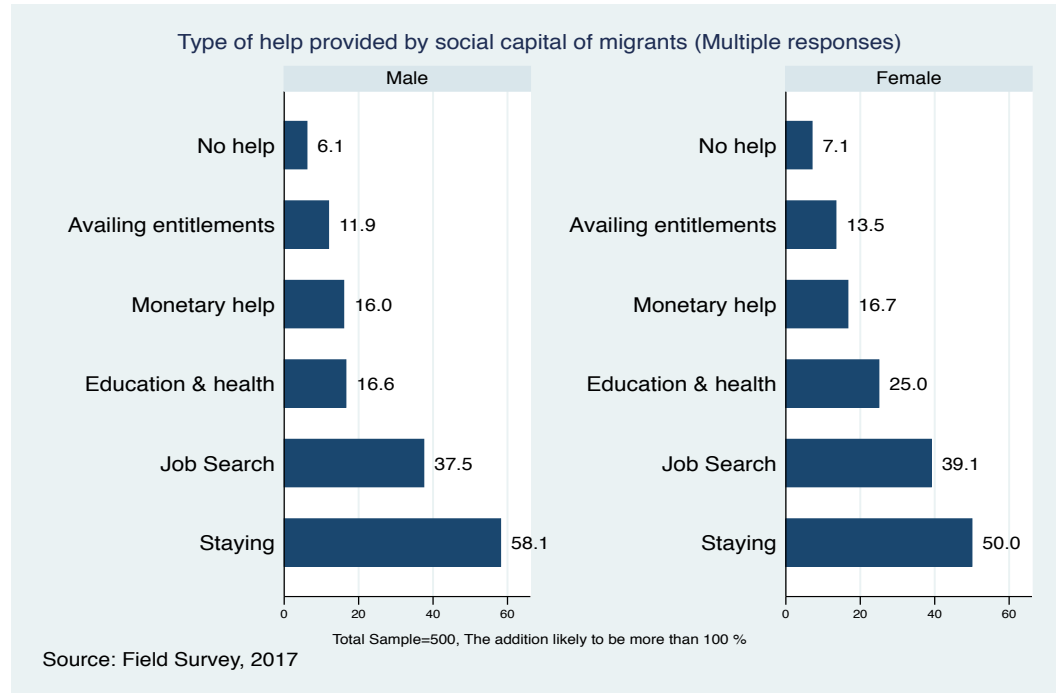


Figure 5.4: Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by place of origin in slums of Delhi

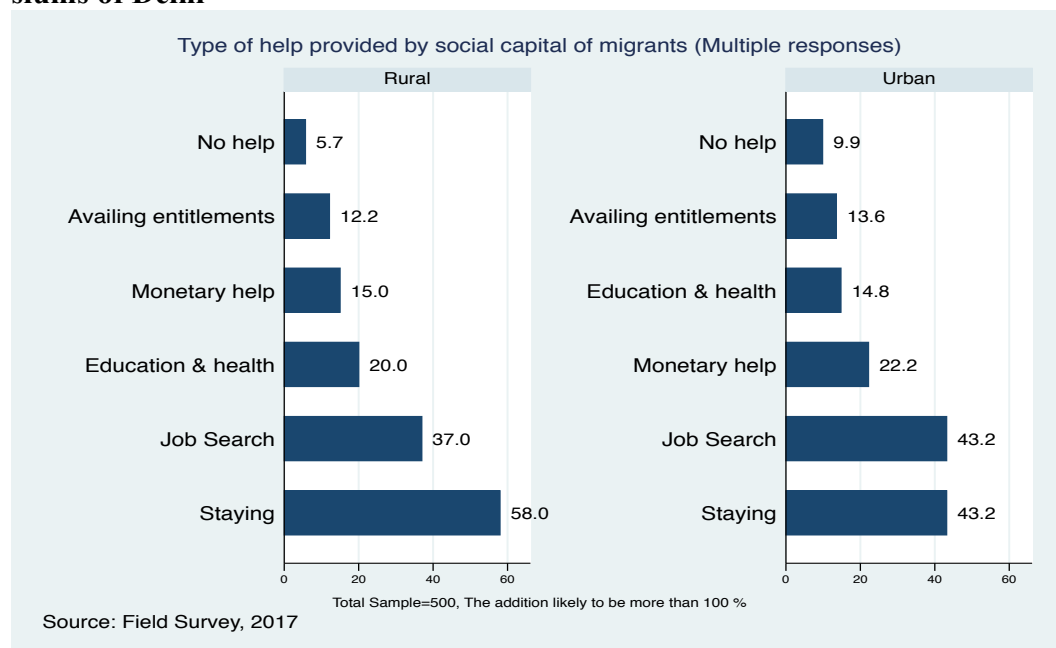


Figure 5.5: Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by social groups in slums of Delhi

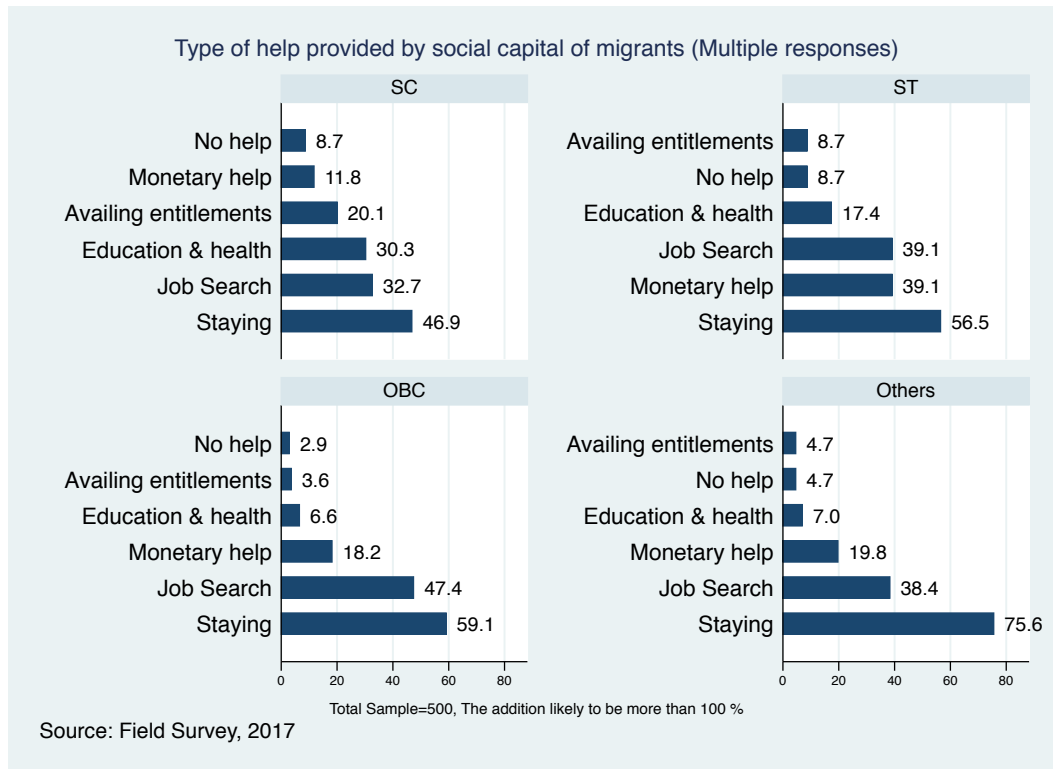
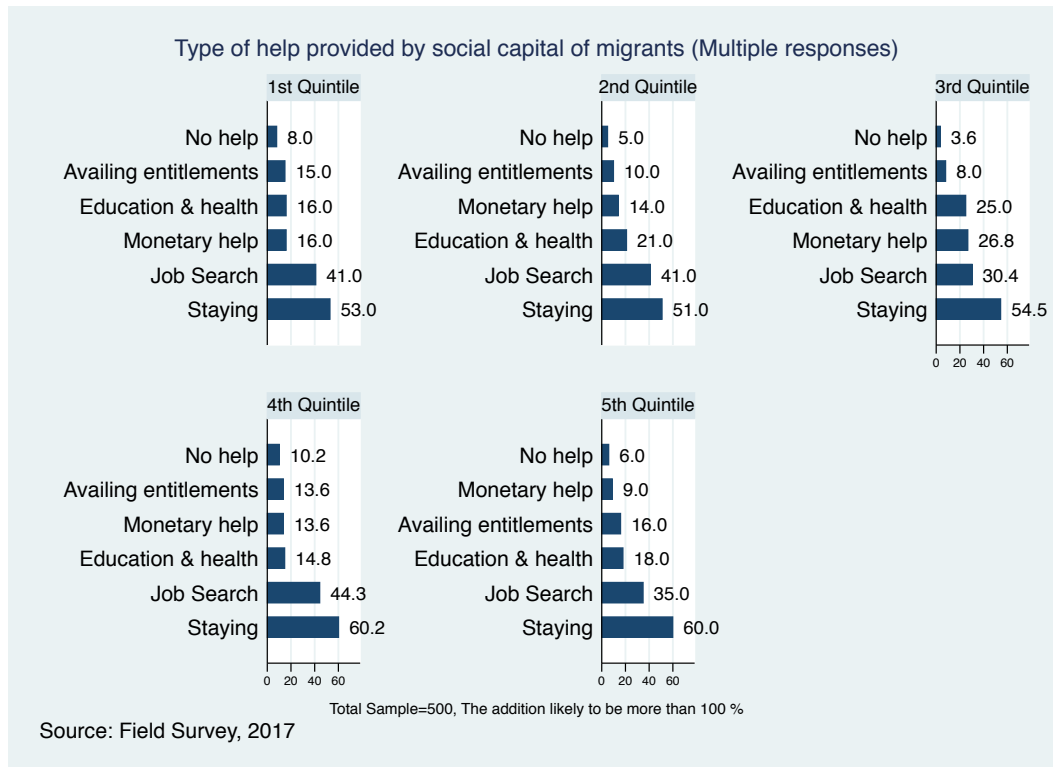


Figure 5.6: Type of help provided by social capital of migrants by income quintile in slums of Delhi



During the field survey, it was found that considerable amount of migrants arrived in Delhi through their strong social capital. Moreover, social capital also played vital role in terms of providing different kind of helps. A migrant from Uttar Pradesh, who was forcefully migrated, said that he received enormous help during his hard times (Box- 4).

Box-4

Victim of riot, welcomed by Delhi

“My parents, siblings, and I have been living in a town of Mau District (Uttar Pradesh). My father used to sell tea and snacks in a rented shop in the town and my mother worked as unpaid helper in that shop only. Selling tea was although not desirable work for my father, but still it was important as we were able to sustain in the town selling tea. I was the eldest one of my siblings and therefore I always felt my responsibilities towards my family. I had to set an example for the younger ones and had to take care of them. It was the time of Dussehra in the year of 2005 when Hindu-Muslim clash started. In that riot, our tea stall was vandalized. We were totally helpless and hopeless, as situation was getting even worse. We didn't have enough money to rebuild the shop and in case if we could, nobody could come there because of curfew for a long time in the area. Therefore, we decided to move to Delhi as some of our relatives were already settled there. Left with limited set of belongings and countless aspirations, we left the town when I was 19 and came to Delhi. Here we stayed with my uncle for a month and took a room on rent in this slum. My father started selling tea again with the help of our relatives and I had to leave my studies and help him. My younger brother and sister enrolled themselves in a government school for further education. Four years ago my father died due to illness and then the whole responsibility of my family was on my shoulders. Despite living in the slum, I am happy that my family is living here without any fear of riots and my siblings are getting education.” God knows what would have happened if we had not moved to Delhi. The city provided us with work. Now our family is better off and we have money for basic necessities.

-Male, XX, from Uttar Pradesh, Age:29 years

5.3.2 Identity cards: An instrument for getting entitlements

Majority of the migrant workers face uncountable challenges at their place of destinations. Such challenges could be limited access to basic needs such identity cards, social security benefits, various kinds of entitlements, and most importantly financial services. Many migrants even face the discrimination, exclusion at the level of individual and community. For political, economic, and social integration of migrants, identity card entitled to migrants are very crucial that influenced the livelihood of migrants in place of destination. Documents like identity card are important to bring about improvement in the livelihood of migrants, when they move to any new places. This problem can continue for many years after their migration. Identity cards are the legal documents certified by the state, which guaranteed secure citizenship for migrants and provide the number of benefits in terms of their livelihood and protection against the unavoidable circumstances after entering in new places.

Table 5.3: Status of ID cards and role of social capital in getting ID cards

<i>Problems faced by Migrants in getting ID Cards</i>	N	Percentage
Yes	336	67.2
No	164	32.8
<i>Kind of Problems in getting ID Cards</i>		
How to approach	176	52.4
Lack of Necessary Documents	84	25.0
Not able to pay fee or bribe asked	52	15.5
Others	24	7.14
<i>Help Provided by Migrants' Network</i>		
Friends	105	31.2
Relatives	93	27.7
Employer-Contractor	33	9.8
Intermediaries/Fixers/ <i>Pradhans</i>	86	25.6
Others	19	5.6
Total	336	67.2

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Status regarding ID Cards is presented in Table 5.3. Results show that huge amount of migrants, about 67 per cent, faces various problems in getting ID Cards. This is very unfortunate that migrants are struggling for their legal entitlements due to unavailability of ID cards. The question has been asked that what are the problems faced by migrants in getting ID card and result show that about half of the migrants (52 per cent) face the problems of lack of awareness which includes how to approach, where to

approach, to whom approach etc. as they are new to cities arrangement, mostly illiterate and unaware. One fourth of the migrants do not have necessary documents to claim their ID. cards in the city. About 16 per cent of migrants have not enough money required to pay the fee for getting ID cards. Moreover, there are some cases where officials ask for bribe to issue ID card.

5.4 Surviving shocks: Financial crisis

The worthiness of social capital for migrants' livelihood sustainability in the face of surviving shocks is further explored in this section through an analysis of self-described financial crisis and the importance of social capital in dealing with this. Question was asked that if you suddenly needed a small amount of money (say INR 10000), how would you raise money? The responses were considered in form of multiple responses with top 3 priority among the provided categories of- from relatives/friends in Delhi; from relatives/friends in other places; from savings; selling durable goods/equipment; from moneylender; from employer; from any MFI/cooperative/NBFI.

Source of credit in case of sudden need by age group of migrants in slums of Delhi has been presented in Figure 5.7. When asked whether they had ever had to borrow to survive a crisis, majority of the migrants across all age groups reliable on moneylender for borrowing money. The possible reason behind this high per cent for moneylenders could be the fast cash providers, however, loan from moneylenders can be one of the most expensive ways to borrow because of high interest rate. Further, majority of migrants are not aware about where to approach for money borrowing in case of sudden need. Contrary to this, only 5 per cent migrants across all age groups rely on any micro finance institution or non-bank financial institution to borrow money in case of sudden need. Further, about 35 per cent migrants from age group of 17-24 years, 37 per cent from age group of 25-34 years, 41 per cent migrants from 35-44 years and about 52 per cent migrants from 45 years and above rely on relatives/friend in Delhi for borrowing money. Similarly, more than 21 per cent migrants from age group of 17-24 years and 25-34 years, 27 per cent migrants from 35-44 years and about 25 per cent migrants from 45 years and above rely on relatives/friend residing outside of Delhi for borrowing money. The share of requirement for money from savings is quite low across all age groups. Source of credit in case of sudden need by gender distribution of migrants has been presented in

Figure 5.8. The results for gender distribution are more or less similar to the age distribution of migrants with reference to source of credit.

Figure 5.7: Source of credit in case of sudden need, by age group of migrants in slums of Delhi

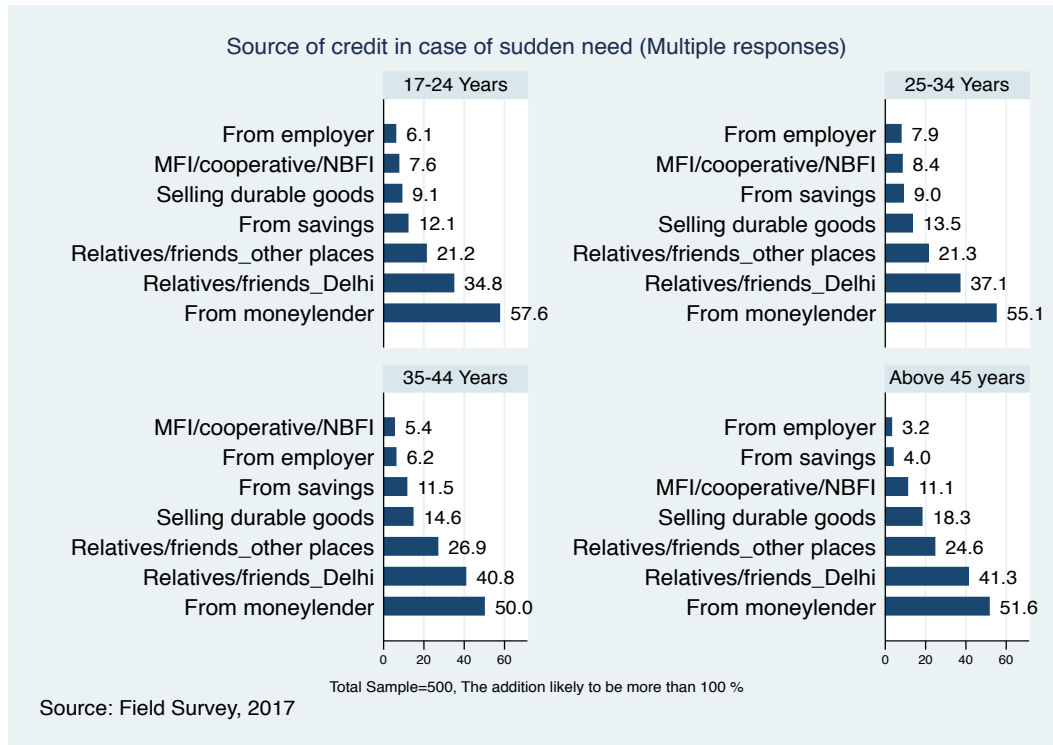
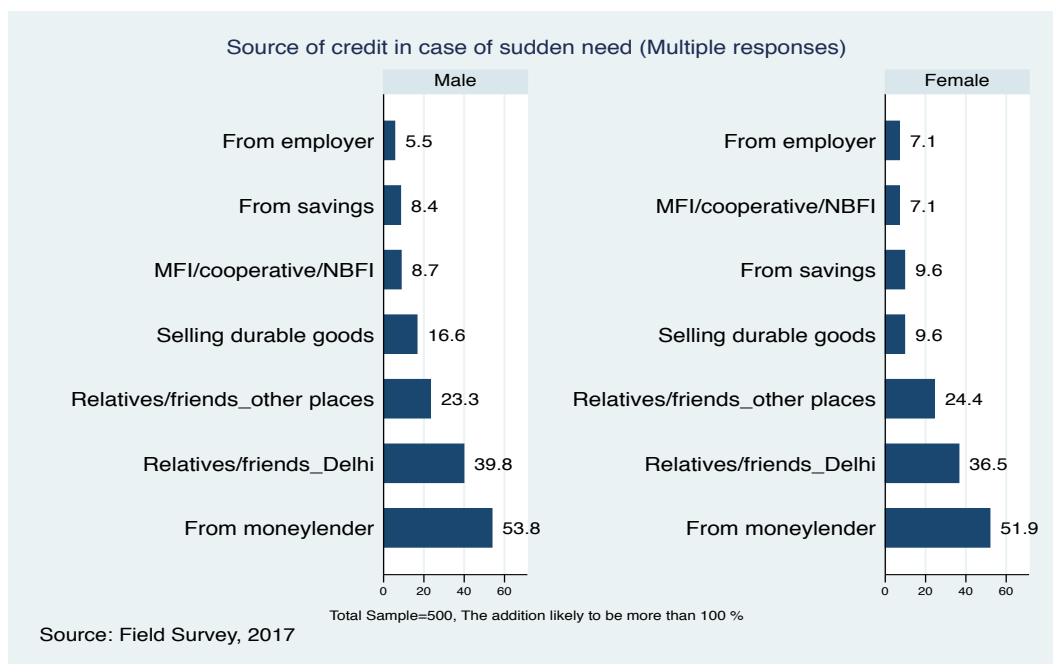


Figure 5.8: Source of credit in case of sudden need, by gender of migrants in slums of Delhi



In case of duration of migration, about 49 per cent of migrants who lives in Delhi since 5-9 years, 62 per cent of migrants who lives in Delhi since 10-14 years, more than 57 per cent of migrants who lives in Delhi since 15-19 years and about 57 per cent of migrants who lives in Delhi since more than 20 years, rely on moneylenders for fulfilling the sudden need of money in case of financial shocks (Figure 5.9). It is interesting to note that about 12.5 per cent of migrants from highest duration of migration category depends upon MFI/cooperative/NBFI, which are comparatively satisfactory results while comparing with age group and sex of the migrants. Coming to employment status of migrants (Figure 5.10), expectedly, main workers highly rely on family/friends in Delhi, while marginal workers highly rely on moneylenders. Overall, majority of migrants rely on moneylenders followed by relative/friends from Delhi, relative/friends from outside of Delhi, and selling durable goods/equipment for borrowing money in case of financial crisis.

Figure 5.9: Source of credit in case of sudden need, by duration of migration in slums of Delhi

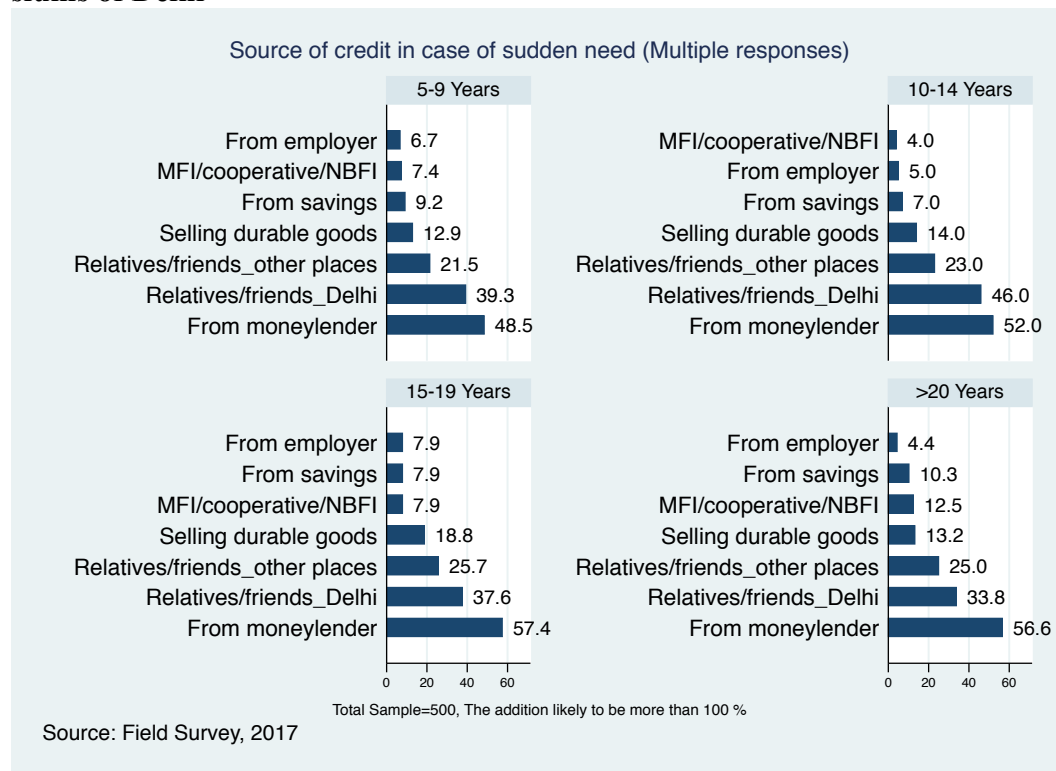
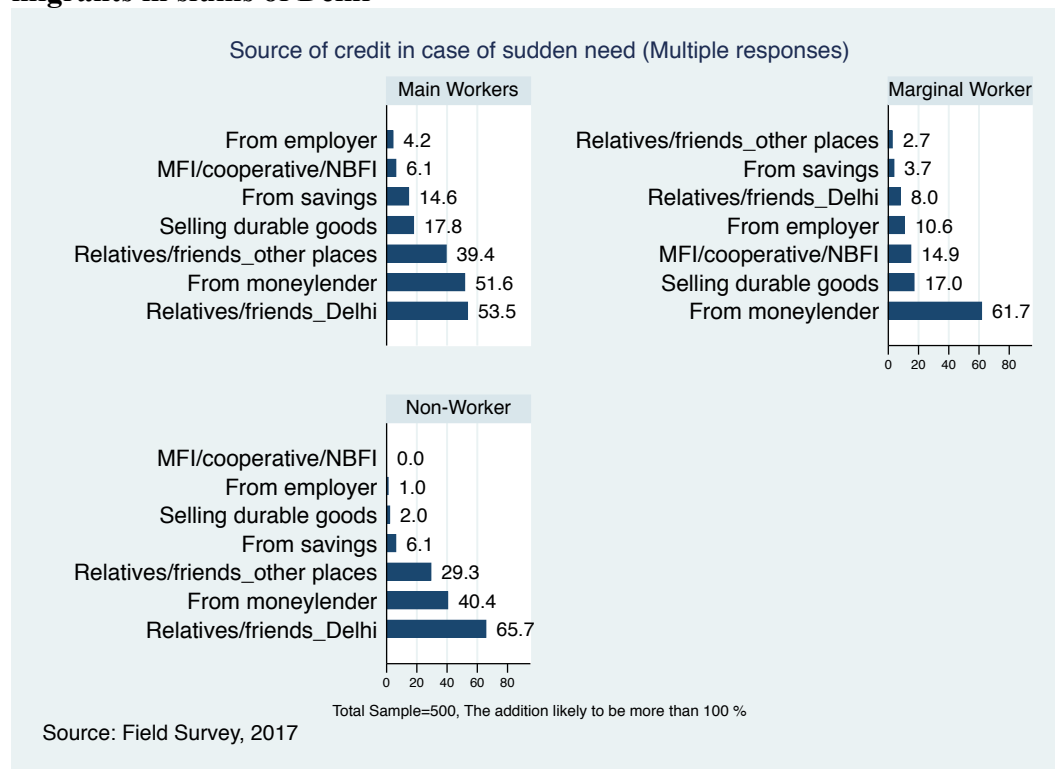


Figure 5.10: Source of credit in case of sudden need, by employment status of migrants in slums of Delhi



5.5 Role of social capital in getting job

Family relations, or inherited social capital, played a critical role throughout peoples' entering in employment market, or in supporting mobility within it. They were critical in enabling migration to the big city. Earlier literatures strongly advocated that in many parts of the world, migrants get their jobs through social networks (Portes, 1998; Roberts, 2001; Aguilera and Massey, 2003; Zhao, 2003). Studies confirmed that social capital produced from migrants' networks offers important resources in the form of concrete (e.g. monetary assistance) and intangible (e.g. valuable information), which is beneficial to migrants' job search and work outcomes. The intangible resources such as valuable information is very crucial in labour market, particularly among poor migrants as we saw that majority of the migrants received non-monetary kind of help. Moreover, some scholars suggest that familial and friendship networks increase both the quality and quantity of labour market information, improve migrants' access to employment opportunities, reduce job search costs, and lower job-related risks for migrant workers (Chang et al., 2011). Apparently, all these benefits associated with network-based job searching contribute to better employment outcomes in terms of job satisfaction and work compensation (Bailey and Waldinger, 1991, Waldinger, 1994, Aguilera and Massey,

2003, Zhou, 2003). For poor migrants, searching job can be considered as an evolving process that require knowledge sharing and gaining experience. In this course, friends and relatives who have migrated earlier usually guide to newcomers with valuable instructions such as ‘where to look for jobs, how to present themselves to employers, what wages to ask for, and which sorts of jobs and worksites to avoid’ (Aguilera and Massey, 2003).

Data on slum migrant in Delhi have consistently shown migrants’ reliance on family and friends for job searches in both, present job as well as one job previously. Overall, it can be observed from Table 5.4 that among 401 employed migrants either as main worker or marginal worker, about 39 per cent of migrants got their present job through bridging social capital i.e. friends followed by 21.5 per cent of migrants got job through their bonding social capital i.e. through family and relatives. About 10 per cent of migrants got their present job with the help of their linking social capital i.e. through being a member of any political organization, association or NGO. Further, similar trend for one previous job was also observed among migrants in slums of Delhi.

Table 5.4: Role of social capital in getting job among migrants in slums of Delhi

Help from social capital	Present job		One job previously	
	Percent	N	Percent	N
Family/relatives	21.5	86	30.4	99
Friends	38.9	156	35.9	117
Associational	09.7	39	08.9	29
Self/no help	29.9	120	24.9	81
Total	100	401	100	326

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 5.5: Role of social capital in getting job among male migrants in slums of Delhi

Help from social capital	Present Job		One job previously	
	Percent	N	Percent	N
Family/relatives	20.6	59	30.6	71
Friends	39.5	113	36.6	85
Associational	10.5	30	8.2	19
Self/no help	29.8	84	24.6	57
Total	100	286	100	232

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Table 5.6: Role of social capital in getting job among female migrants in slums of Delhi

Help from social capital	Present Job		One job previously	
	Percent	N	Percent	N
Family/relatives	23.5	27	29.8	28
Friends	37.4	43	34.0	32
Associational	7.9	9	10.6	10
Self/no help	31.3	36	25.5	24
Total	100	115	100	94

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Role of social capital in getting job among male migrants and female migrants has been presented Table 5.5 and Table 5.6. Among 286 male migrants who reported for present job, about 40 per cent got job through family/relatives followed by 20.6 per cent got present job through friends and 10.5 per cent through associational contacts. About 30 per cent of migrants got job through contractor or advertisement or without any help. Similarly, in case of one job previously, 36.6 per cent migrants reported that they got previous job through the help of friends followed by 30.6 per cent through family and relatives. About 8 per cent male migrants got previous job through linking social capital and 24.6 per cent male migrants got previous job without any help. Role of social capital in getting job among female migrants in slums of Delhi shows the similar picture except in case of self/no help category. It can be observed that 31.3 per cent of female migrants got their present job without any help while 25.5 per cent female got previous job without any help.

How social groups of migrants influences the job opportunities through social capital has been addressed in Table 5.7. Results show that migrants belong to Schedule Caste have strong social capital by the means of finding present job through friends and family/relatives as compare to other social group. However, across all social status of migrants, bridging social capital i.e. through friends seems to be more effective for job search and labour market outcome. Among SCs migrants, about half of the migrants finds their present job with the help of friend followed by 22.2 per cent through the contacts of family/relatives. In case of Schedule Tribes, 39.1 per cent of migrants got present job through friends followed by 34.8 per cent without any help, 17.4 per cent through family/friends and 8.7 per cent through the help from being a member of any association. Surprisingly, half of the migrants from 'others' category of social status found their

present job without taking any help from their social contacts. Coming to one previous job, overall, social contacts of friends is the major beneficial resources for migrants in finding the jobs.

Table 5.7: Role of social capital in getting job by social groups of migrants in slums of Delhi

<i>Present job (401)</i>					
Help from social capital	SCs	STs	OBCs	Others	Total
Family/relatives	22.2	17.4	24.6	16.3	21.5
Friends	51.3	39.1	32.8	25.6	38.9
Associational	08.9	8.7	11.9	8.1	9.7
Self/no help	17.7	34.8	30.6	50.0	29.9
<i>One job previously (N=326)</i>					
Family/relatives	31.3	44.4	27.3	29.8	30.3
Friends	35.9	27.8	40.0	31.3	35.9
Associational	08.4	00.0	09.9	11.9	08.9
Self/no help	24.4	27.8	23.6	26.8	24.6

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Role of social capital in getting job by religion of migrants in slums of Delhi has been presented in Table 5.8. Among Hindu migrants, 39.1 per cent got present job through friends, 32.1 per cent got present job without any help of social contacts, 21.9 per cent got present job through family/relatives and only 6.9 per cent got present job through associational help. Further, in case of Muslim migrants, 37.3 per cent got present job through friends, 26.7 per cent got present job without any help, 21.3 per cent got present job through the help of family or relatives and 14.7 per cent got present job through associational help. The associational help received by Muslim migrants reflect the fact that, Muslim communities have higher tendency to involve in any group or association as compare to Hindu migrants. Religion wise distribution of getting job through social capital show the more or less same trend as in case of finding present job as shown in Table 5.8.

How migrants' employment status is influenced by the social capital in finding job has been presented in Table 5.9. Results show that in case of present job, 36.6 per cent migrants from main worker category got present job through friends whereas 42.2 per cent migrants from marginal worker category got present job through friends. Further, the percentage of family/relatives and friends is 24.9 per cent and 17.6 per cent

respectively. About 28 per cent of migrants from main worker got their present job without any help and 32.6 per cent migrants from marginal worker got their present job without any help from social contacts.

Table 5.8: Role of social capital in getting job by religion of migrants in slums of Delhi

<i>Present Job (401)</i>				
Help from social capital	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Total
Family/relatives	21.9	21.3	19.2	21.5
Friends	39.1	37.3	40.4	38.9
Associational	6.9	14.7	17.3	9.7
Self/no help	32.1	26.7	23.1	29.9
<i>One job previously (N=326)</i>				
Family/relatives	31.7	27.6	27.3	30.4
Friends	36.2	34.5	36.4	35.9
Associational	8.5	8.6	11.4	8.9
Self/no help	23.7	29.3	25.0	24.9

Source: Field Survey, 2017

In case of one previous job, 42.4 per cent and 32.9 per cent of migrants from main worker category got previous job through the help from family or relatives and friends respectively. Similarly, about 39 per cent and 19.5 per cent migrants from marginal worker category got previous job with the help of friends and family/relatives. More than 33 per cent of migrants from marginal worker category got their previous job without any help.

Table 5.9: Role of social capital in getting job by migrants' employment status in slums of Delhi

<i>Present Job (401)</i>			
Help from social capital	Main Worker	Marginal Worker	Total
Family/relatives	24.9	17.6	21.5
Friends	36.6	42.2	38.9
Associational	11.3	7.9	9.7
Self/no help	27.7	32.6	29.9
<i>One job previously (N=326)</i>			
Family/relatives	42.4	19.5	30.8
Friends	32.9	38.9	35.9
Associational	8.9	8.9	8.9
Self/no help	15.8	33.3	24.8

Source: Field Survey, 2017

5.6 Working conditions of migrants at work place

To understand the association of social capital with migrants' satisfaction at work place, it is necessary to investigate the working environment of migrants' work place. Therefore, this section deals with working conditions of migrants in the slums of Delhi (Figure 5.11). Results suggest that about 30 per cent of the workers were worked in movable work place that comprises mainly rickshaw puller, auto drivers, and moveable vending shops. On the other hand, about 70 per cent of the migrants worked at one place only. Similarly, conditions with regard to work place, about 78 per cent of migrants reported that they worked in shaded place and about 22 per cent of migrants worked in open work space. Proper ventilation and lightening facility at work place is crucial for migrants' health and productivity. Results suggest that about 45 per cent of the migrants reported that they do not have proper ventilation facilities while about 13 per cent suffers from absence of proper lightening at their work place. Regarding to toilet facility at work place, the condition is even more deprived. Majority of the migrants reported that they do not have the toilet facility at their work places. So that most of the times they use open spaces for toilet purpose.

Migrant workers are relegated into low-wage economic activities that not able to provide ample opportunities for upward mobility. Moreover, they are the one who targeted for the most hazardous and unhealthy job profile at low level of wages. During the survey, it was observed that majority of the migrants do not aware about minimum wages in Delhi. Some migrants reported that they face long duration of working hours worked day and night both with some time for rest in between and doing extra works on weekend. Furthermore, female migrants commonly exposed to sexual harassment at the workplace. The hindrances of overall growth of the migrants exhibits the huge challenge for labour market policies in the cities. An indepth interview with a migrant exhibit the grim realtiy of working condition and struggling story. There are a number of migrants who even after migrating to Delhi haven't been able to improve their livelihood conditions and have lost all hope for a better life. One such migrant's story is given in Box-5.

Box 5

A story of dashed hopes

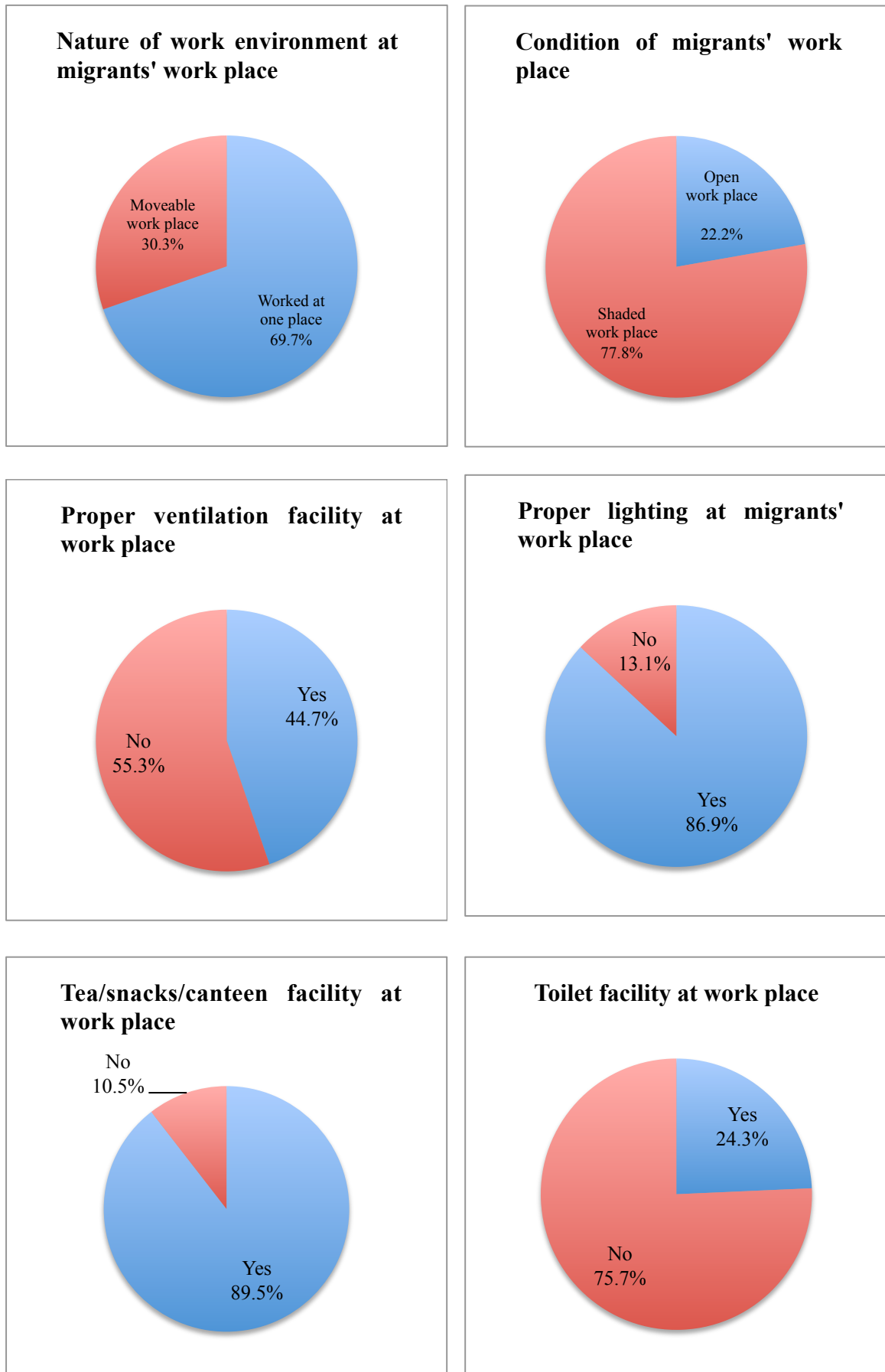
A young migrant aged 24 came to Delhi from Supaul district of Bihar in an attempt to improve his family's financial condition. He dropped out of the tenth grade and migrated to Delhi at a young age of 16. "From toothbrushes, shoes and toys, to pen-drives, sweaters and clothes – I used to sell everything," says a young migrant, who spent the first few years on Delhi's streets. After that, he entered into construction sector with the help of his friend on meager daily wage of 250 rupees in predominantly unskilled work with a negligible annual increment of 20 rupees. About working condition at construction sites, he never got full safety kit such as gloves, helmets, safety glasses, or earplugs etc., however, sometimes he got helmet. He works for long hours non-stop, day and night. Sometimes he must meet strict weekly deadlines. The Contractor doesn't allow anyone to take a break or even speak at construction site, as per the instructions given by the company owner. His life is wholly restricted to the site premises. "We are grateful to God for gifting us nights, otherwise how else could we have taken the much-needed rest" says young migrant. After spending more than 5 years as a construction worker, now he finds himself in a dilemma. Seeing no future in his present occupation, he wishes to return home, knowing that he may not find any other work even if he tries.

-Male, XX from Bihar, Age:24 years

5.7 Social capital and occupations of migrants

Based on the comprehensive listing of various economic activities/occupations performed by the migrants at the time of survey, there are eight occupational categories has been identified namely: semi-professional, sales and trade, personal services, manufacturing, commercial services, transport, tailoring and knitting, and construction. The detailed description of activities indicates that most of migrants were engaged in the informal sector, which is characterized by small size, lack of union, low capital-labour ratio and the inapplicability of government regulation (Mitra, 2008).

Figure 5.11: Working conditions of migrants at work place in Delhi



Further, some of the migrants were engaged informally in formal sector. Table 5.10 suggest revealed the detail description of migrants in different occupational categories along with average income. It is evident that majority of the migrants involved in construction, transport, sales and trades, personal services, and manufacturing sectors. Semi-professional and commercial services absorb very less number of migrants. However, those migrants who involved in commercial services earned highest income. Migrants providing personal services have the lowest income among all the occupations.

Table 5.10: Distribution of migrant workers in different occupations and their average income

Occupational Category	N	Percent	Average Income (INR)
Semi-professional	24	06.0	16838
Sales & trade	65	16.2	17218
Personal services	58	14.5	14804
Manufacturing	50	12.8	18256
Commercial services	29	07.2	21441
Transport	68	17.0	19621
Tailoring & knitting	39	09.7	18887
Construction	68	17.0	16601
Total	401	100	17746

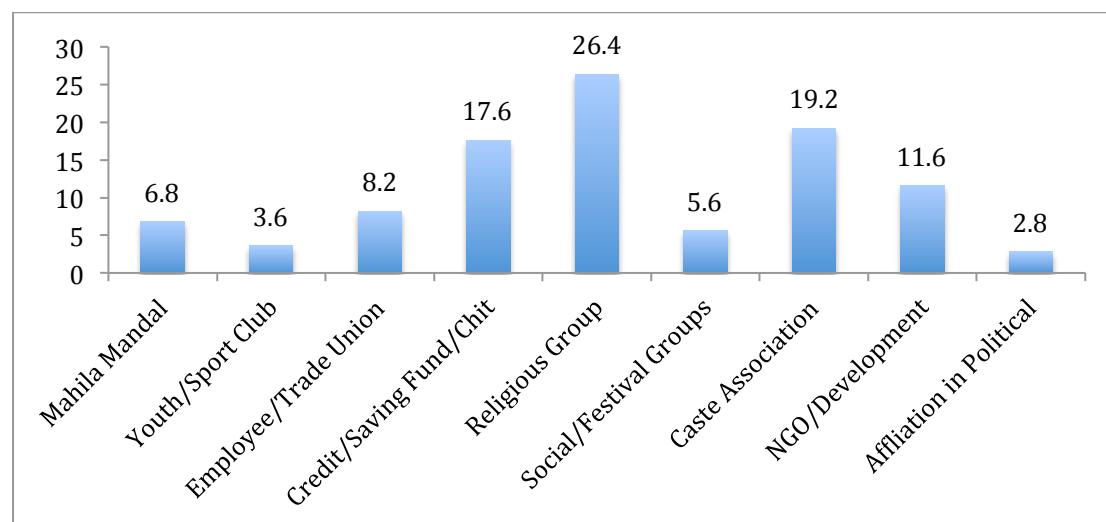
Source: Field Survey, 2017

5.8 Extent of linking social capital among migrants

Various kind of typology could be there depending upon the relations among migrants to people. However, in general, Woolcock (2004) gave the most widely acceptable typology of social capital. He accounts for three types of relational assets that people have access to in varying degrees: (a) Bonding social capital – immediate family, friends, and neighbours; (b) Bridging social capital – more distant colleagues and associates; and, (c) Linking social capital – connections to people in positions of authority. In this section, the third kind of social capital in terms of migrants’ livelihoods has been discussed.

After entering into Delhi, number of migrants reported that some members of their family are associated with some kind of organization or association, reflecting the extent of linking social capital among migrants in slums of Delhi. It is hypothesized that, migrants whose family members are not associated with any organization or association, their livelihood will be in better condition.

Figure 5.12: Membership of households in different groups and associations



Source: Field Survey, 2017

In context of city of Delhi and especially slums, the question has been asked that ‘whether any member of the household belongs to- mahila mandal; youth/sport club; employee/trade union; credit-savings funds group, chit fund; any religious group; social/festival groups; caste association; NGO or any development group; or affiliation in any political parties’. The results of this information are presented in Figure 5.12.

Table 5.11: Differences in average income of migrants associated with linking social capital

Members in Different Groups/Association	Yes	No
Mahila Mandal	19815	17795
Youth/Sport Club	21200	17811
Employee/Trade Union	19407	17801
Credit/Saving Fund/Chit Fund	18519	17807
Religious Group	18692	17660
Social/Festival Groups	20400	17786
Caste Association	18570	17781
NGO/Development Group	18505	17857
Affiliation in Political Party	22329	17806

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Very involvement of migrants is observed in these organization or associations. About 26.4 per cent of migrants are associated with any religious group while the lowest amount is shared by those migrants who are affiliated to any political parties. In order to investigate the impact of linking social capital, differences in average income of migrants associated with linking social capital are presented in Table 5.11. Clearly it can be

observed that average income of those migrants are considerable high, who are associated with any group or organization while average income is low of those migrants who do not associated with any organization or association. Moreover, apart from income gain, these migrants also raise various kinds of help such as getting entitlements to migrants, necessary document like opening bank account, getting job opportunities, getting ID cards etc. through these links.

5.9 Extent of link between social capital and work-related outcomes

While many scholars recognize the significance of social capital to migrant workers (Korinek et al. 2005), recent theoretical developments on the concept imply a need for a detailed analysis of social capital's impacts on migrants' work and employment outcomes in India. Further, distinction between 'new social capital', embodied in newly established friendship ties with native urbanites along with using social network sites in the destination city, and 'pre-existing social capital', generated from familial and kinship ties among migrants is also taken into concern in this section.

5.9.1 Social capital and income of the household

To understand that how social capital is related to income of the household, this section focuses on factors related to income of the household with the help of log linear model. The log linear model has been employed to understand the effect of social capital and other determining factors on household's income. The log of household's income is treated as the dependent variable for this model. Further, two model has been performed separately; one for social capital variables and another for relevant explanatory variables (Table 5.12). In model 1, the increasing value of social capital indicates the increase in household's income as the regression coefficient for social capital index reflect the likelihood of increasing income with social capital by 0.8 per cent $[(\exp(0.008)-1)]$. Similarly, the likelihood of household's income again increases by 6 per cent $[(\exp(0.408)-1)]$ with those migrants who made new friends after migration. However, contacts with friends reflects not any significant factors for determining the household's income.

Table 5.12 Determinants of household income (Log linear regression coefficient, N=500)

Explanatory Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	95% CI	Coeff.	95% CI
Social Capital Index ¹	0.008**	0.003-0.013		
Contact with friends				
More often than once in a month	0.001	-0.087-0.09		
Less often than once in a month	0.018	-0.095-0.13		
Use of Social Networking				
Yes	0.057	-0.028-0.142		
Made new friends after migration				
Yes	0.408***	0.329-0.486		
Head of household's Age				
35-44 Years			0.104	-0.015-0.223
25-34 Years			-0.002	-0.119-0.115
17-24 Years			0.163*	0.008-0.317
Place of Origin				
Urban			0.111	-0.014-0.236
HH Size				
5-7 Members			0.023	-0.146-0.192
Less than 5 members			-0.024	-0.197-0.149
Social Group				
SCs			0.167	-0.038-0.372
OBC			0.200	-0.006-0.406
Others			0.164	-0.057-0.384
Religion				
Muslim			-0.018	-0.142-0.106
Others			-0.046	-0.184-0.091
Educational Attainment				
Secondary			0.038	-0.098-0.175
Illiterate			0.014	-0.122-0.151
Type of Occupation				
Skilled Work			0.508***	0.375-0.642
Semi-skilled Work			0.244***	0.135-0.353
Duration of Migration				
10-14 Years			0.220**	0.089-0.352
15-19 Years			0.197**	0.071-0.322
>20 Years			0.032	-0.085-0.148
Adjusted R ²	0.1864		0.1721	

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Coming to model 2, in case of age of the head of household, 17-24 years of migrants have 18 per cent more probability $[(\exp(0.163)-1)]$ as compare to those migrants who are aged 45 and above. Expectedly, results show that type of occupations is significant and major driver of household's income. It can be observed that as comparison to unskilled workers, skilled workers have 66.2 per cent have higher probability $[(\exp(0.508)-1)]$ and semi-skilled workers have 27.6 per cent have higher probability $[(\exp$

¹ Index of social capital has been constructed on the basis of Likert Scale which includes (i) how many people would be willing to assist you in case of emergency (ii) people who live in this slum/neighborhood can be trusted (iii) most people in this slum/neighborhood are willing to help if you need (iv) do people generally not trust each other in matters of lending and borrowing money in the slum (v) over the last five years, what is the level of trust in this slum (vi) how well do people in your slum help out each other.

(0.244)-1] in increase the household's income. Further, years lived in Delhi i.e. duration of migration is also significant for household's income. In comparison to migrants who lived in Delhi for 5-9 years, migrants living for 10-14 years have 24.6 per cent [(exp (0.220)-1] more likelihood to earn income. Similarly, migrants who lived in Delhi since 15-19 years have 21.8 per cent [(exp (0.197)-1] higher probability to earn income as compare to those migrants who lived in Delhi since 5-9 years.

5.9.2 Social capital and satisfaction with work environment

This section deals with the factors affecting the satisfaction with work environment with the help of binary logistic regression. Question for the satisfaction with work environment was asked in line with Likert scale in terms of strongly disagree, disagree, unsure, agree and strongly agree. Further, strongly disagree, disagree and unsure was coded as '0' and agree and strongly agree responses were coded as '1' and treated as dependent variable for the binary logistic regression model. The strategy for inclusion of independent variables is same as discussed in case of ordered logit model.

Odds ratio produced for social capital variables for satisfaction with work environment has been presented in Table 5.13. Results from model 2 suggest that migrants came from urban areas in Delhi are more likely to satisfy with their work environment as compare to those migrants who came from rural areas. Further, household size with less than 5 members is significant for satisfaction with work environment in both models. Not surprisingly, education and type of occupation are very crucial in connection with satisfaction with work environment. Results from both model show that migrants belong to primary, secondary and higher education are more likely to satisfy with work environment as compare to illiterate migrants in both models. Similarly, it is surprising to note that skilled migrants have considerable high probability to satisfy with work environment as compare to unskilled workers. Moreover, duration of migration is also significantly associated with work environment satisfaction in both models. Coming to social capital variables, there is not too much contribution of social capital in terms of satisfaction with work environment. Only, migrants who got present job through their relatives or family members are significantly associated with work environment satisfaction.

Table 5.13: Logistic regression models of social capital variables for satisfaction with work environment (N=401)

Explanatory Variable		(1)	(2)
Gender	Female		
	Male	1.23	1.17
Age	45 years and above		
	35-44 years	0.75	0.73
	25-34 years	1.27	1.37
	17-24 years	0.91	0.98
Place of origin	Rural		
	Urban	1.57	1.83*
Household Size	Above 7 members		
	5-7 members	0.56	0.50
	<5 members	0.45**	0.37**
Social Groups	Others		
	OBCs	0.99	0.96
	STs	1.27	1.26
	SCs	0.83	0.80
Religion	Others		
	Muslim	1.06	1.10
	Hindu	1.44	1.49
Education	Illiterate		
	Primary	2.02*	2.04*
	Secondary	1.78*	2.00*
	Above secondary and higher	2.3*	2.31*
Type of occupation	Unskilled		
	Semi-skilled	1.88*	1.94*
	Skilled	4.66***	5.78***
Duration of Migration	10-14 years	1.71	1.86*
	15-19 years	1.55	1.75
	>20 years	1.19**	1.30
Contacts with friends	Once in a month		
	More than once in a month		1.74
	Almost on daily basis		0.88
Membership in voluntary organization	No		
	Yes		0.94
Using social media	No		
	Yes		1.53
Have made friend in Delhi	No		
	Yes		0.92
Help in Finding job	Self/without help		
	With associational help		1.07
	With help of friend		1.04
	With family/relatives		0.467*

Source: Field Survey, 2017, *Significant at 10 per cent; **significant at five per cent; ***significant at one per cent.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter is concerned with interactions between migrants and their urban-based contacts in the migration process in Delhi. An overwhelming amount of migrants were assisted by their contacts on arrival in Delhi. It can be observed that there is a tendency among new arrivals to rely mainly on relatives even though co-villagers were also present, reflect the fact that new migrants considered kinship bonds to be stronger

than co-villagers. The pattern of help received by migrants who relied mainly on relatives was quite similar to that received by those who relied mainly on co-villagers. Migrants who received assistance from both relatives and co-villagers, however, preferred to approach the latter mainly for aid in job search and to rely on the former for board and lodging. However, migration through social capital has huge implications for the contribution of migration to urban unemployment and low level of wages. The findings of this chapter have implications for development theory. Migrants' social capital could be augmenting or substituting for other forms of capital, such as financial capital. This highlights the fact that particularly vulnerable groups among the migrants, such as households in case of death of breadwinner, with no formal job security or who have been financially shocked, are particularly dependent on their social capital and social links and on the associations and institutions that support it.

As far as the working conditions of migrant workers is concerned it is directly related to migrants' livelihood. It can be concluded that migrants are still struggling for better livelihood options, as they are forced to work at low level of wages in unhygienic and unpleasant working conditions. Supply of low-cost labour operates through various modalities like contract labour, subcontracting and informalization of labour, and the replacement of employment relations with market relations. They all demonstrate the various forms of wage labour and most of them exhibit the same basic features of Marx's 'sweated labour', described as an outcome of the weak class position of sections of the working class. In case of Delhi, majority of the migrants engaged in different sectors such as construction, industries, factories, and service sectors that are primarily oriented towards domestic market shows dominance of unfreedom. Moreover, considerable number of workers engaged as informal labour in formal sectors. Contractor (and in some cases employer through middleman) raises labour for various sectors in the form of bondage labour based on yearly advance loans which are then paid back either at the end of same year or over a period of years. Further, the brief case studies during the survey opened up some cases that are specifically attributed to the specific sectors of employment. For instance, for housekeeping services at airports and malls, contractors used to hold the labourer's wages of 2-3 months in advance with themselves, so that labourers cannot leave the job as per their wish. Apart from that, contractors also used to take a fixed per cent of labourer's wage as commission. These unlawful exercises in labour markets exacerbate the bargaining capacity and freedom of labour in favour of middlemen or contractors. Thus, it is quite possible that degrees of unfreedom can vary in

variety of ways in different sectors in which labour is employed. In today's world, the analysis involves contextualizing class struggle from above as part and parcel of neo-liberalism which includes both wider pro-capital and anti-labour policies and initiatives, and changes to the labour relation in order to cheapen labour and make it more docile (Lerche, 2011). This results in labour being forced to cede a part of their 'normal wage' to the contractor, leading to 'sweated labour' who work hard for very low wages. It reflects one of the conditions associated with precarious employment which is characterized by lower wages, no job security, lack of access to social protection and benefits (which are usually associated with full-time standard employment) and lack of or limited access to basic rights at work place. Some of the migrants engaged in informal sectors are conned and consequently face some kind of loss especially financial. One such mineworker narrated his story (Box-6) of being cheated by a contractor who refused to pay their dues.

Box 6

Falling prey to contractor's greed

A 38-year-old migrant hails from Alwar District of Rajasthan. He migrated to Delhi in search of work. Four years ago he started working as an unskilled worker at a stone quarry in Bhatti mines along with five other friends from his village and was promised a daily wage of 300 rupees by the contractor. For a year, they received their dues on time; however soon after, the contractor began delaying wage payments. While he and his friends waited for a couple months to receive their dues, the contractor insisted that they would be paid provided he was able to earn more for himself. They persisted in their attempt to recover their wages, however, the contractor refused to speak to them over the phone and was eventually untraceable. He soon learnt that he wasn't alone. A group of workers who worked with him on the same stone quarry in Bhatti mines also found themselves in a similar quandary. The contractor owed each of them 6000 rupees for two months of work on the quarry - a collective sum of over a lakh of rupees in unpaid wages. None of the workers are aware of the contractor's whereabouts, nor are they aware of possible means to seek legal counsel and claim their hard-earned money. He wasn't able to find any other work for long since was trying to get his wages. Now he is working as a rickshaw puller and earning 300 rupees per day. He is satisfied that in this job he at least gets his wages daily in his hands and he doesn't have to depend on someone else.

-Male, XX, from Rajasthan, Age: 38 years

CHAPTER VI

FORMS AND DETERMINANTS OF LIVELIHOOD DIVERSIFICATION IN SLUMS OF DELHI

6.1 Introduction

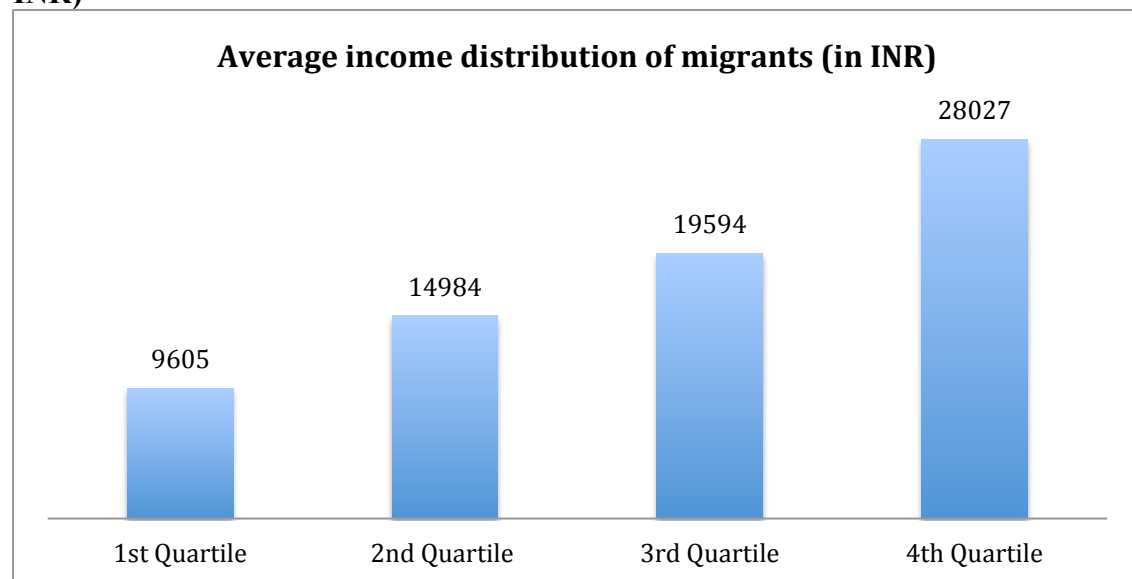
Widespread poverty in urban areas reflects the dramatic growth in the developing world that possesses several challenges for the livelihood of urban dwellers. Moreover, the livelihood securities of slum dwellers living in cities are even more deprived in context of globalization and free market competition that creates huge level of discrimination and exclusion for slum dwellers in general and migrants in particular. In line with these arguments, the problems associated with deprived city dwellers have become more persistent, that includes the issues related to the livelihood of urban poor, the ways in which livelihood is affected by indicators such as human, financial and social capital which comprises income, employment, health, education and food security etc. Therefore, this chapter deals with the distribution of income across different socio-economic strata, conceptual aspects and need of livelihood diversification, pattern of livelihood diversification among migrants in slums of Delhi, extent of livelihood diversification through Simpson Index, and finally ends with determinants of livelihood diversification along with summary and conclusion.

6.2 Average income of the migrants

Income of the household is the major indicator of livelihood condition as this measure is the decisive factor in the development of household and family members in terms of their human capital, financial capital, physical capital, and to some extent social capital. The average monthly income of the household was reported by the migrants in slums of Delhi has been reported in Figure 6.1. For showing the distribution of monthly income among the migrants, all households stratified by total income into four approximately equal-sized groups (quartile). It can be observed that on an average the migrants who belong to the first quartile of the distribution earn INR 9605 per month. Similarly, the second quartile group earns about INR 15000 per month, the third quartile group earns about INR 19600 per month and the fourth quartile group earns about INR 28000 per month. It is very ironic that the distribution of income among migrants suffers from huge inequality in terms of earning capacity,

as there is considerable difference in income between third quartile and fourth quartile i.e. the amount of about more than INR 8000. However, the difference between first to second quartile and second to third quartile is almost the same that is INR 5000. This pattern of monthly income clearly reflects the fact that migrant’s opportunities and capacity to work face huge deviation in slums of Delhi.

Figure 6.1: Distribution of average monthly income of migrants by quartile (in INR)



Source: Field Survey, 2017

Note: All households stratified by total income into four approximately equal-sized groups (quartile)

6.2.1 Socio-demographic status and average income

It can be observed that households headed by female members shares the higher amount of average income as compare to their counterpart across all the income quartile. However, the earning pay gap in terms of gender is not so vast (Table 6.1). Interestingly, head of the household with age between 17-24 years have highest share of income in second, third and fourth quartile group while comparing to other age group of migrants in the same groups of quartile, however, these younger age group of migrants do not perform the same in case of first quartile. It is surprising to note that there is decreasing pattern of average income in highest quartile group for migrants with increase in age. In case of social category, it can be observed that overall the highest amount of income is shared by Schedule Caste, followed by Scheduled Tribes, OBCs and others. Migrants from Schedule Caste (SCs) communities have highest propensity to earn in third and fourth quartile of income

groups, however, the same pattern does not hold true for first and second groups of income quartile. This pattern of income distribution can be attributed to multiple reasons. One of the possible reasons could be the work ignorance among socially higher strata of migrants as they perhaps are not willing to work in such activities which were historically not supposed to perform by them.

Table 6.1: Distribution of average income by socio-demographic characteristics

<i>Demographic Characteristics</i>	1st Quartile	2nd Quartile	3rd Quartile	4th Quartile
HHH_Male	9305	14914	19564	27828
HHH_Female	10300	15108	19654	28626
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027
HHH_Aged 17-24	9300	15088	20013	30147
HHH_Aged 25-34	9160	15145	19443	27667
HHH_Aged 35-44	10128	15023	19648	28031
HHH_Aged >45	9894	14723	19311	27503
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027
<i>Social Characteristics</i>				
SCs	9205	14986	19813	29070
STs	10080	15367	18567	28300
OBCs	10140	15009	19627	26462
Others	9707	14763	19010	27439
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027
Hindu	9649	15150	19679	27823
Muslim	9180	14081	19545	28915
Others	9840	15159	19244	27445
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027

Source: Field Survey, 2017

The income distribution of migrants by their religion depicts that Muslim migrants have higher earning capacity in case of fourth quartile as compare to Hindu migrants and other religious group of migrants. Although, this is not hold true in case of first, second and third quartile group. In first quartile it is Hindu migrants who earn more than Muslims while in second quartile, the situation is reverse.

6.2.2 Social capital and average income

Social capital often argued to be an important determinant of their economic and psychological wellbeing (Lin, 2001). To examine the relationship between social capital and distribution of household's monthly income, Table 6.2 presents the

income distribution across the selected social capital variable. It can be observed from the filed survey that results are unexpected in line with some of the previous studies (Lin, 2001; Beugelsdijk and Smulders, 2003; Zhang et al. 2011). Results show that migrants who contacted with their friends almost on daily basis have lowest propensity to earn against to those migrants who reported that they have contacted their friends less than once in a month. Further, migrants having low social capital reported highest income in fourth quartile, however this situation does not hold true in case of first, second and third quartile group. The possible reason behind these unexpected results could be the existing income inequality among migrants in slums of Delhi as we can see in Figure 1. There is an ample literature support this fact that income inequality increases, so does the level of social mistrust increase and vice versa (Kawachi et al, 1997). Further, in case of non-traditional social capital indicators, it can be observed that the new indicators of social capital have direct association with household income. Migrants who made new friends after coming to NCT of Delhi have higher propensity to earn as compare to their counterpart. Similarly, in case of higher income group, migrants who use the social networking site like Facebook also reported that they earn more income as compare to those who not using social networking site.

Table 6.2: Distribution of average income by social capital variables

Social capital Variable	1st Quartile	2nd Quartile	3rd Quartile	4th Quartile
<i>Contacts with friends</i>				
Almost on daily basis	9580	15011	19579	27628
More often than once in a month	9137	15093	19937	27090
Less often than once in a month	10547	14676	19019	31700
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027
<i>Made new friend</i>				
Made new friend_Yes	10377	14979	19634	28210
Made new friend_No	9259	14990	19494	26700
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027
<i>Using social network</i>				
Using social network_Yes	9719	15060	19806	28141
Using social network_No	9575	14951	19506	27984
Total	9605	14984	19594	28027

Source: Field Survey, 2017

6.3 Livelihood diversification: A theoretical perspective

The processes of diversification can be analyzed at two levels - the regional level and the individual or household level. Most of the studies have utilized regional level (state/district/village) data to analyze the problem (Unni, 1996). However, this chapter deals with the livelihood diversification at household level. A household can diversify in various ways by adopting the different kinds of income generation activities rather than only one kind of economic activity. Strategies for livelihood diversification rooted in the natural as well as socio-economic perspectives in which society live. People engaged in every sector have their own problems as well as their different survival strategies for better livelihood. Based on the migrants' characteristics in urban areas especially living in slums and involved in informal sectors, this chapter deals with different kinds of livelihood observed in the slums of Delhi along with major factors that decide livelihood diversification of migrants at household level. Livelihood diversification in any area to raise the income at household as well as individual level is not an innovative strategy. Because of either necessity or choice, people try to enhance their income through arrangement in various kinds of economic activities at micro as well as macro level. However, recent approaches of development geography suggest that stress experienced by the breadwinner of the household acts as a motivating factor to raise the income which acts as one of the major reasons for adopting alternative sources.

The choice of being engaged in different activities in urban areas is crucial, as the migrants were found diversifying their livelihood options and means of income with the process of migration, economic transformation and globalization. Apart from their primary activity, which generates major income for them, most of the migrants' households living in slum adopted some kind of other economic activities to sustain themselves in the city. When the economic condition of migrants worsened during any crisis, they tend to engage themselves in other economic activities for their survival. Therefore, this chapter investigates the different forms of livelihood option adopted by the migrants and the factors associated with livelihood diversification.

Ideally, diversification follows the rule in which, the member of household generates additional income without stopping the previous income activity. Rarely, a household may change their primary activity and shift to any new income activity. In

all cases, diversifications of the household require different kind of activities that can have potential to increase the income of households. For instance, if the head of the household is engaged as a casual laborer, he might adopt some other activity and assign it to any member of his family without dropping his own activities. Therefore, combination of various activities that generate the income of any household or individual called as diversification. The livelihood study draws the attention in poverty eradication and development studies in the beginning of new millennium, when the Department for International Development (DFID), the British state development cooperation agency strongly promoted the Sustainable Livelihood Framework.

In the current debate of globalization, poverty eradication continues to be the very important challenge for sustainable development and appropriate livelihood strategy is one of the important means for achieving poverty eradication, especially in developing countries like India. Diverse portfolios of economic activities and assets driven by gainful self-employment and skilled wage employment opportunities have huge potential for achieving appreciable improvement in the livelihoods of poor. Such rearrangement of economic entity in the household or even beyond the household is decided by the larger processes of changes in the political economy as well as by the micro realities of power and powerlessness (Mishra, 2007). An important characteristic of livelihood diversification is the compartmentalization of different economic activities among the members of household. The model for household diversification assumes that the member of household can make free decision in order to adopt any alternative source of income that can provide the return. Several scholars interpreted the process of diversification in different terms and objectivity. For instance, Stark (1991) suggests that diversification may occur as a deliberate household strategy while Davies (1996) argued that diversification is the response to crisis. Diversification of livelihood may occur either as voluntarily or as restraints. Voluntarily as a means of accumulation for the economically well-off people and restraints as means of safety valve for the poor. However, irrespective of its objectivity and needs, diversification helps in enhancing the living condition of poor especially in rural and developing economy through diverse portfolios of activities and social support capabilities.

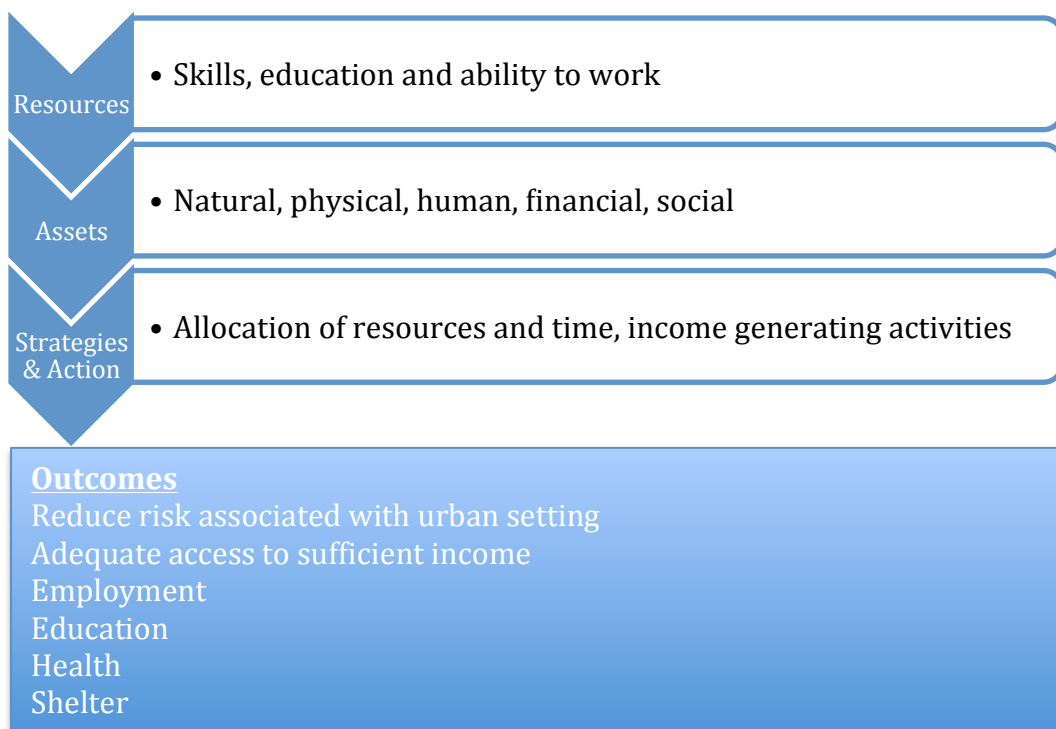
6.4 The livelihood security approach of migrants

The head of the household or household decision maker must take decision of livelihood diversification in light with the available resources in the household. How these available or limited resources can meet their minimum needs and other responsibilities. Some analysts define livelihood security in terms of outcomes—particularly sustainable access to sufficient income (Frankenberger, 1996). Chambers and Conway (1992) define sustainable livelihoods in terms of capacities and activities:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for means of [earning a] living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide . . . opportunities for the next generation.”

Factors associated with livelihood security at household level along with various outcomes are presented in very simple way in Figure 6.2. The resources at a household level will depend upon the human capital of the household’s members in terms of skill, education, and health that creates some income generating activities. These resources may turn into productive mechanism of diverse portfolios for migrant’s households. Further, assets are typically received as a capital for the household in facilitating the process of diverse livelihood portfolios.

Figure 6.2: Migrants’ livelihood security at household level



In context of the urban livelihood, it may be possible that natural capital could not play vital role, however, the other capitals such as physical capitals (e.g. infrastructure, housing, sanitation, electricity, proximity to major institutions and resource centers like hospitals and schools), financial capitals (e.g. savings, access to credit and ability to cope with financial shocks etc.), and finally social capitals which is characterized by relationship with family/relatives in terms of bonding social capital, contact with friends in terms of bonding social capital and connection with any association, organization or political parties in terms of linking social capital. The component of strategies and actions comprise the decisions what head of the household take about the allocation of available resources and what kind of income generating activity should adopt in line with family members' ability and capacity. Finally, coming to the outcomes of livelihood security approaches that taken into consideration in above approaches could be the reducing risk of associated with living arrangement, providing legal entitlements, help in getting education and health facilities of family members, information in labour market employment with regard to where to approach, how to approach, how much demand for salary etc. Moreover, in case of migration, the combinations of these resources make migrants to connect with their place of origin.

6.5 Patterns of livelihood diversification

Many development researchers have focuses on understanding the multiple modes of livelihood at macro as well as micro level which informed the number of quantitative studies about why any household participate in more than one income generating activity (Reardon, 1992; Ellis, 2000). Ellis (1998) demonstrated the difference between push factors and pull factors, which are prerequisites to diversification. Pull factors act as an inducement that offer certain opportunities through which households adopt multiple income generating activities as they are pulled by some production prospects such as to yield advantages of forward or backward business integration or to capitalize their additional income from some other worthwhile activity. On the other hand, push factors are restraints that leave a household without any other choices. In this case, push factors act as the constraint to majority of the poor households to diversify themselves.

Household of poor migrants living in the slums adopt multiple modes of livelihood (MML) approach because of the necessity not voluntarily. Multiple modes of livelihood depend upon several factors at macro levels processes such as nature of the economic activities and different sectors of economy in a country. However, in case of households' prospects for participation in multiple livelihood strategies are not equally distributed across the country. Migrants' livelihood strategies at household level depends on the infrastructural characteristics of house like size; age, sex and education of the decision makers in the household; and to a very large extent on the socio-economic status of the migrants.

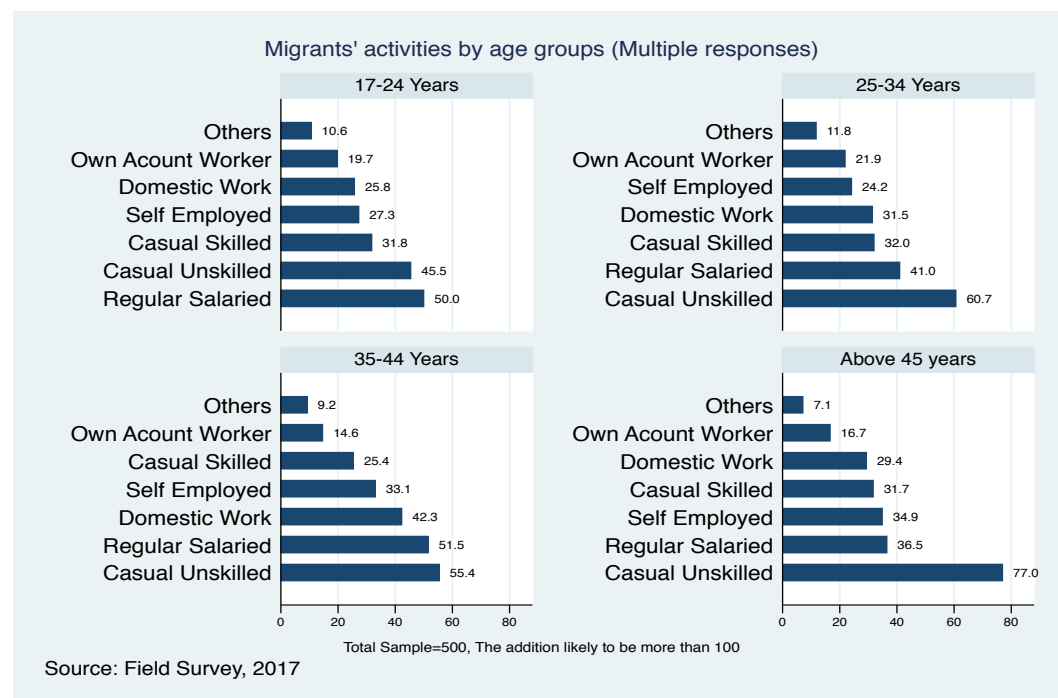
The patterns of livelihood diversification have been addressed through the question - 'name any three activities in your household performed by different family members prior to 30 days' on date of survey. Further, the multiple responses were recorded on priority basis and what is the income from each particular activity has been also addressed. On the basis of above question, the diverse livelihood portfolios are presented by age and sex of the head of the household, social status, religion, duration of migration, employment status of the head of the household, wealth index of the household, access to credit, membership in any voluntary organization and made new friends in Delhi after migration.

6.5.1 Multiple Modes of Livelihood participation by age

Age of the decision makers in household is an important predictor of adopting diverse livelihood portfolios. It can be observed from Figure 6.3 that half of the migrants from age group of 17-24 reported that they are engaged in regular salaried activities. Further, 45.5 per cent of the migrants in this age group involved in casual unskilled activities followed by 31.8 per cent in casual skilled activities, 27.3 per cent involved in self-employed activities, 25.8 per cent involved in domestic work, 19.7 per cent involved as own account workers and 10.6 per cent involved in other activities. Contrary to this, about 61 per cent of migrants practiced the casual unskilled activities in the age group of 25-34 years followed by 41 per cent involved in regular salaried, 32 per cent worked as casual skilled workers, 31.5 per cent involved in domestic work, 24.2 per cent engaged as self-employed, 22 per cent involved in own account work and 11.8 per cent engaged in other activities. Similarly, migrants from age group of 35-44 years shows that about 55 per cent of migrants

engaged in casual unskilled activities followed by 51.5 per cent involved in regular salaried, 42.3 per cent in domestic work, 33.1 per cent engaged as self-employed, 25.4 per cent in casual skilled activities, 14.6 per cent in own account work and 8.7 per cent engaged in other activities. Finally, migrants from the age group of 45 years and above reported that the considerable amount of migrants i.e. 77 per cent involved as casual unskilled followed by 36.5 per cent in regular salaried, 35 per cent engaged as self-employed, 31.7 per cent worked as casual skilled worker, 29.4 per cent in domestic work, 16.7 per cent in own account work, and about 7 per cent involved in other kind of activities.

Figure 6.3: Multiple modes of livelihood by age of the head of the household

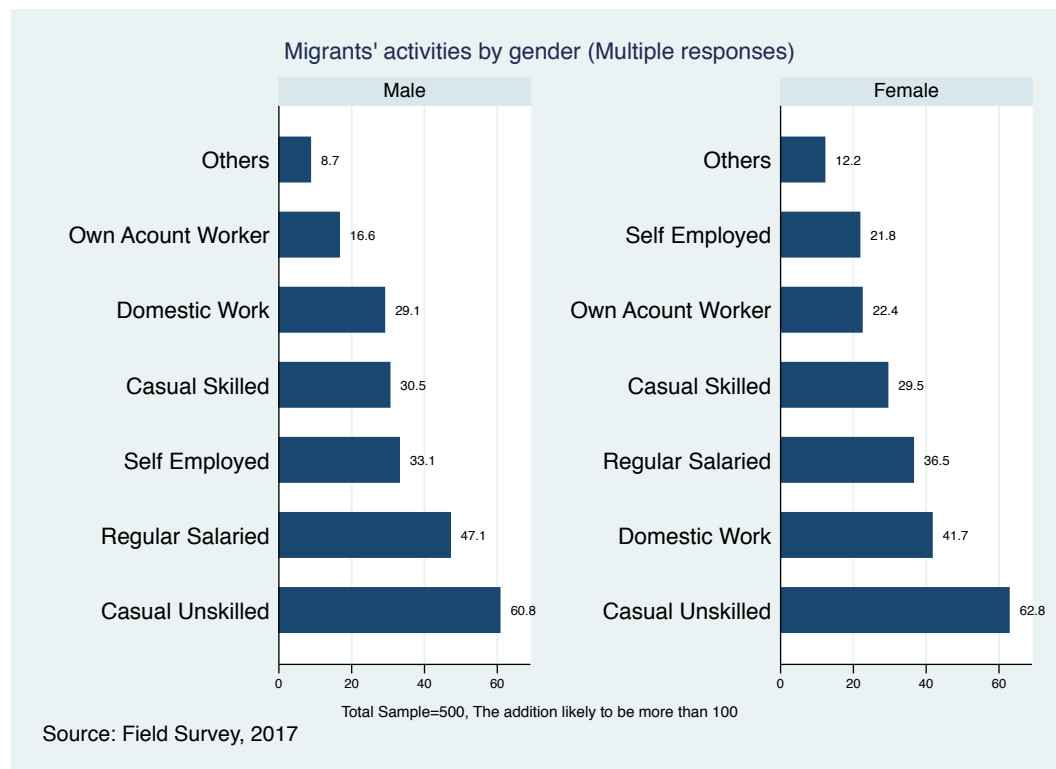


6.5.2 Gender and Multiple Modes of Livelihood participation

There are always differences among men and women with regard to decision making in many aspects. The impact of gender in adopting the occupational activities by family members has been depicted in Figure 6.4. It can be observed that households, which are headed by male, the casual unskilled work is highest with about 61 per cent of migrants followed by regular salaried (47.1 per cent), self-employed (33.1 per cent), casual skilled (30.5 per cent), domestic work (29.1 per cent), own account work (16.6 per cent) and others (8.7 per cent). Further, in case of

those households, which are headed by female member, results show that about 63 per cent activities were shared by casual unskilled workers followed by domestic work (41.7 per cent), regular salaried (36.5 per cent), casual skilled activities (29.5 per cent), own account work (22.4 per cent), self-employed (21.8 per cent) and others (12.2 per cent). Overall, it is interesting to note that although casual unskilled activities are the major occupational activity but such household, which were headed by male migrants, the propensity of regular salaried is more as compare to female headed households. On the other hand, activities of domestic work were more amongst those households, which are headed by female migrants.

Figure 6.4: Multiple modes of livelihood by gender of the head of the household

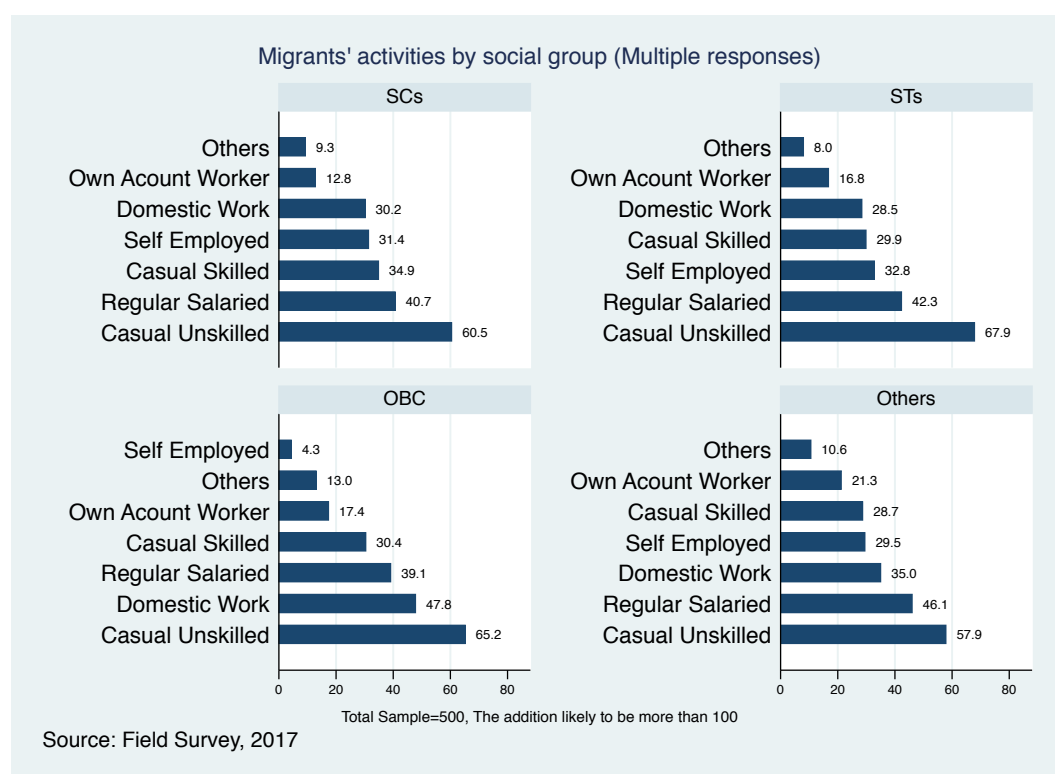


6.5.3 Social status and Multiple Modes of Livelihood participation

Social status of the population reflects such system that is elaborately stratified social hierarchy, which is in kind of unique while comparing to rest of the words. More ironically, this stratified social hierarchy practices the specific occupation that is largely guided by historical *varna* system of the society. Therefore, it is imperative to understand the migrants' activities by their social status in urban setting. Figure 6.5 present the multiple modes of economic activities by migrants' social status. Data depicts that casual unskilled activities are highly performed by all the migrants across

the social status, however, migrants from other backward communities have highest share of casual unskilled activity. Among SCs migrants, casual skilled activities were performed by about 58 per cent followed by regular salaried (46.1 per cent), domestic work (35 per cent), self-employed (29.5 per cent) casual skilled activities (28.7 per cent), own account work (21.3 per cent) and 10.6 per cent by other activities. If we see the pattern of activities, majority of the migrants (47.8 per cent) from Schedule Tribes involved in domestic work against 35 per cent from SCs migrants for the same activity. Further, the considerable amount of migrants from STs also involved in domestic work.

Figure 6.5: Multiple modes of livelihood by social groups of the migrants



6.5.4 Religion and Multiple Modes of Livelihood participation

Religion is one of the major indicators in sociality that shape people's lives in many aspects. From life style to food habit, from behavioral to practical characteristics, all the aspects guided by people's religious beliefs. Many times, lower strata of people like poor migrants used to identify themselves with reference to their religion and to some extent people's occupation becomes the mean of identification. Multiple economic activities by migrants' religion are presented in Figure 6.6. It can be observed that among Hindu migrants, 60.7 per cent of migrants practiced casual

unskilled activity followed by about 44 per cent of migrants engaged as regular salaried, 35.8 per cent in domestic work, 31.8 per cent employed as casual skilled activity, 29.5 per cent engaged as self-employed, 18.8 per cent in own account work and 8.7 per cent of migrants from other activity. On the other hand, 61.1 per cent Muslim migrants involved in casual unskilled activity followed by 40 per cent of migrants engaged as regular salaried, 32.2 per cent engaged as self-employed, 24.4 per cent as skilled workers, 21.1 per cent in domestic work, 16.7 per cent in own account work and 13.3 per cent of migrants from other activity.

Figure 6.6: Multiple modes of livelihood by religion of the migrants

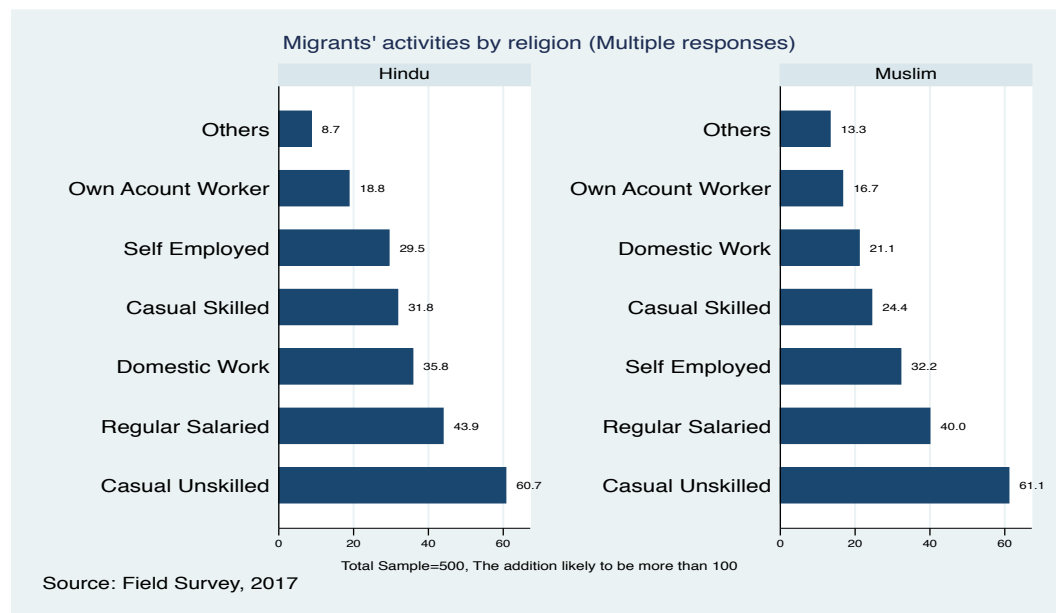
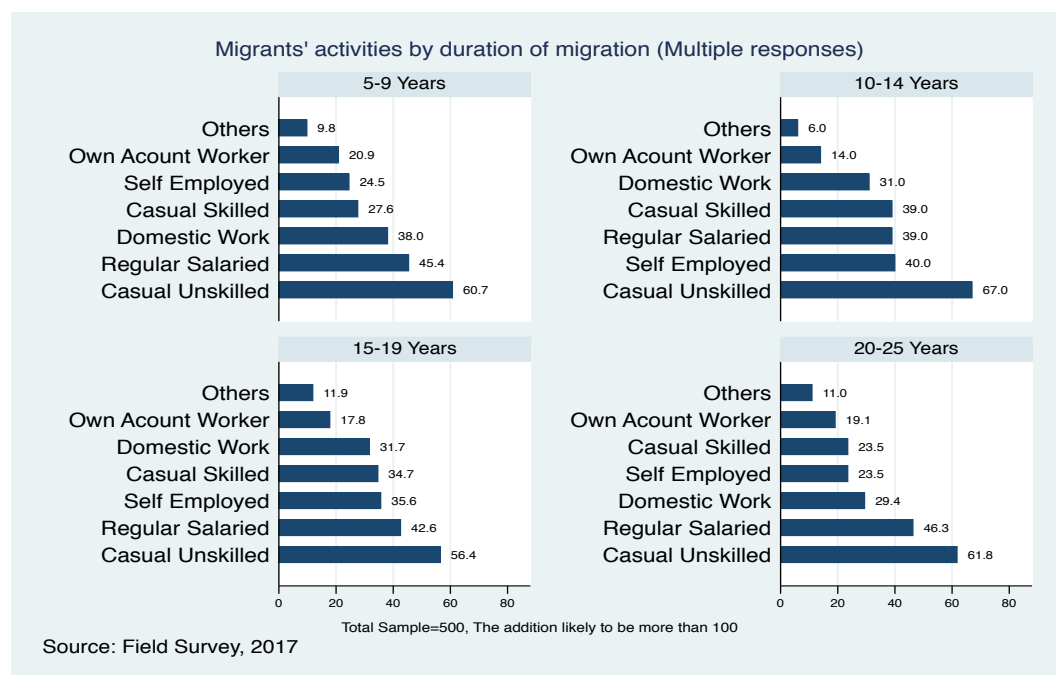


Figure 6.7: Multiple modes of livelihood by duration of migration



6.5.5 Multiple Modes of Livelihood participation and duration of migration

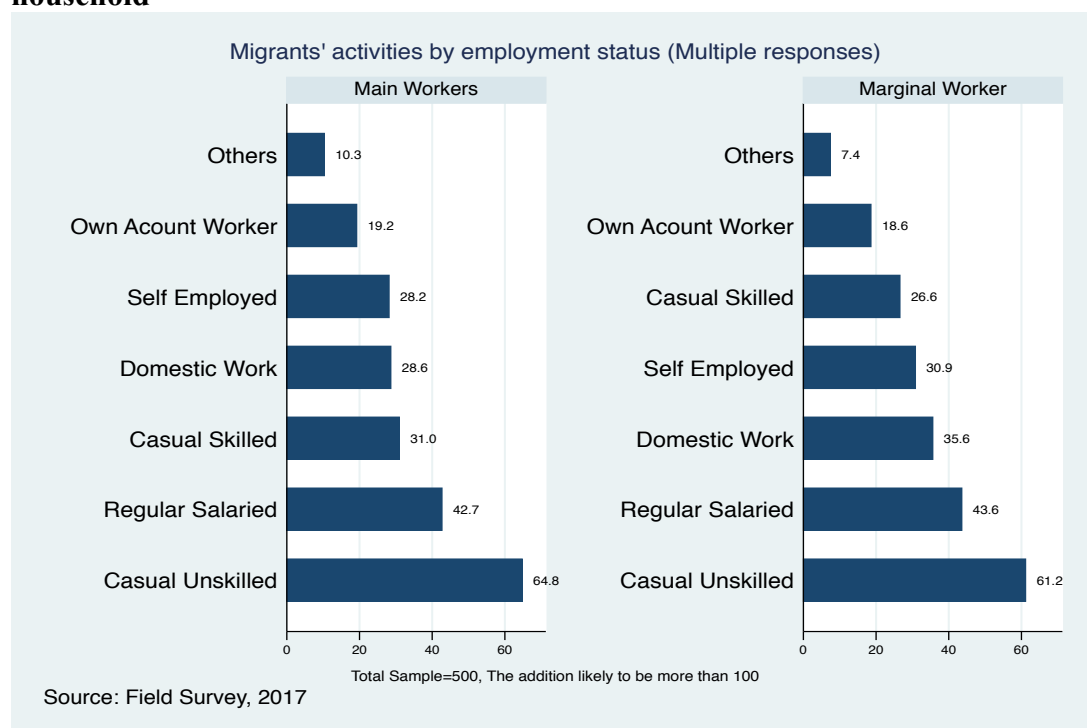
Multiple modes of livelihood activity by duration of migration is presented in Figure 6.7. Results (Figure 6.7) show that about 61 per cent of migrants who spent 5-9 years in Delhi involved in casual unskilled activity followed by 45.4 per cent of the migrants in regular salaried, 38 per cent of migrants in domestic work, 27.6 per cent of migrants involved in casual skilled activities, 24.5 per cent of migrants engaged as self-employed, about 21 per cent of the migrants worked as own account worker and about 10 per cent of migrants involved in other kind of activities. Further, in case of migrants who spent 10-14 years in Delhi after migration, 67 per cent of migrants involved in casual unskilled activity followed by 40 per cent in self-employment, 39 per cent in casual skilled activities and regular salaried, 31 per cent of migrants in domestic work, 14 per cent of the migrants engaged in own account work, and 6 per cent of the migrants involved in other kind of activities.

Similarly, in case of those migrants who spent 15-19 years in Delhi, 56.4 per cent of the migrants worked as casual unskilled workers followed by 42.6 in regular salaried, 35.6 per cent in self-employment, 34.7 per cent in casual skilled activity, 31.7 per cent in domestic work, 17.8 per cent in own account work, and about 12 per cent of the migrants involved in other kind of activities. Finally, the similar pattern of activities can be observed in case of those migrants who spent more than 20 years in Delhi after the migration.

6.5.6 Employment status and multiple modes of livelihood

The employment status of the migrants was decided on the basis of definition given by the Census of India (2011). Multiple modes of activities adopted by the migrants by the employment status of the head of the household are presented in Figure 6.8. Results show that migrants who reported themselves as main worker, 64.8 per cent of the migrants worked as casual unskilled works, followed by 42.7 per cent of the migrants involved in regular salaried activity, 31 per cent of the migrants involved in casual skilled activities, 28.6 per cent engaged in domestic work, 28.2 per cent of the migrants engaged as self-employed, 19.2 per cent of the migrants involved in own account work and 10.3 per cent of the migrants in other activity.

Figure 6.8: Multiple modes of livelihood by employment status of the head of the household



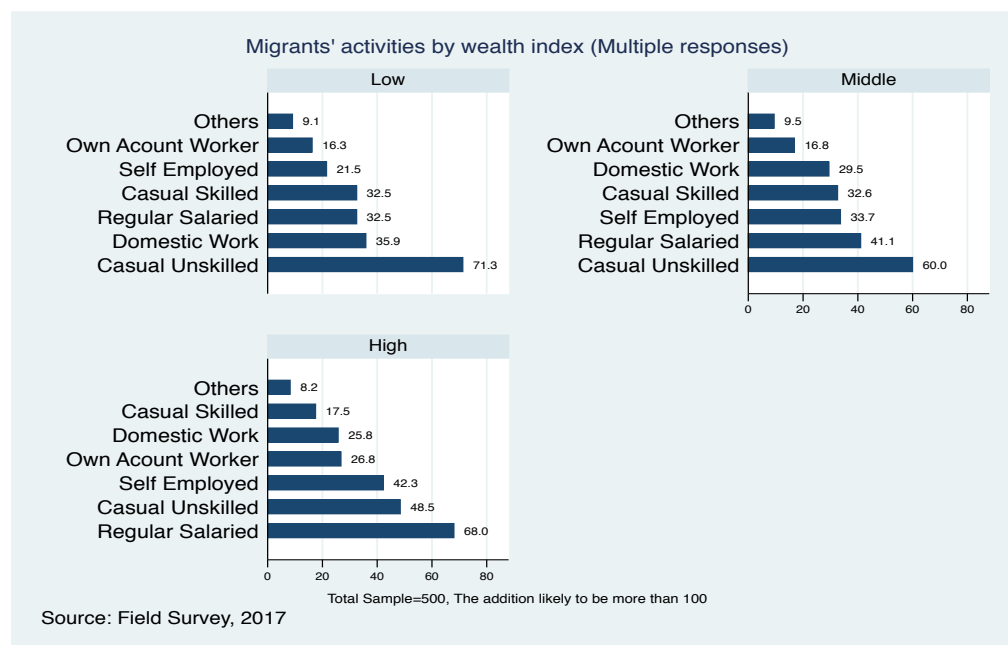
On the other hand, migrants who reported themselves as marginal workers, 61.2 per cent of the migrants involved in casual unskilled activity followed by 43.6 per cent in regular salaried, 35.6 per cent of the migrants involved in domestic work, about 31 per cent worked as self-employed, 26.6 per cent of the migrants involved in casual skilled activity, 18.6 per cent of the migrants engaged in own account work, and 7.4 per cent of the migrants involved in other kind of activity.

6.5.7 Wealth status and multiple modes of livelihood

Wealth status of the migrants' household is measured in terms of wealth index, which was created through the available assets in the households. It is expected that migrants who acquired high wealth index have lower tendency to involve in undesirable economic activities. Multiple modes of livelihood (MML) by wealth index of the household is presented in Figure 6.9. Results show that, migrants who comes under high category of wealth index, about 68 per cent of them involved in regular salaried followed by about 48.5 per cent of the migrants in casual unskilled activity, 25.8 per cent in domestic work, 42.3 per cent in self-employment, 17.5 per cent worked as casual skilled activities, about 29 per cent of the migrants involved in own account work, and about 8 per cent engaged in other kind of activities. In case of

those migrants who comes under medium category of wealth index the situation is different while comparing to high wealth index of migrants.

Figure 6.9: Multiple modes of livelihood by wealth index of the household

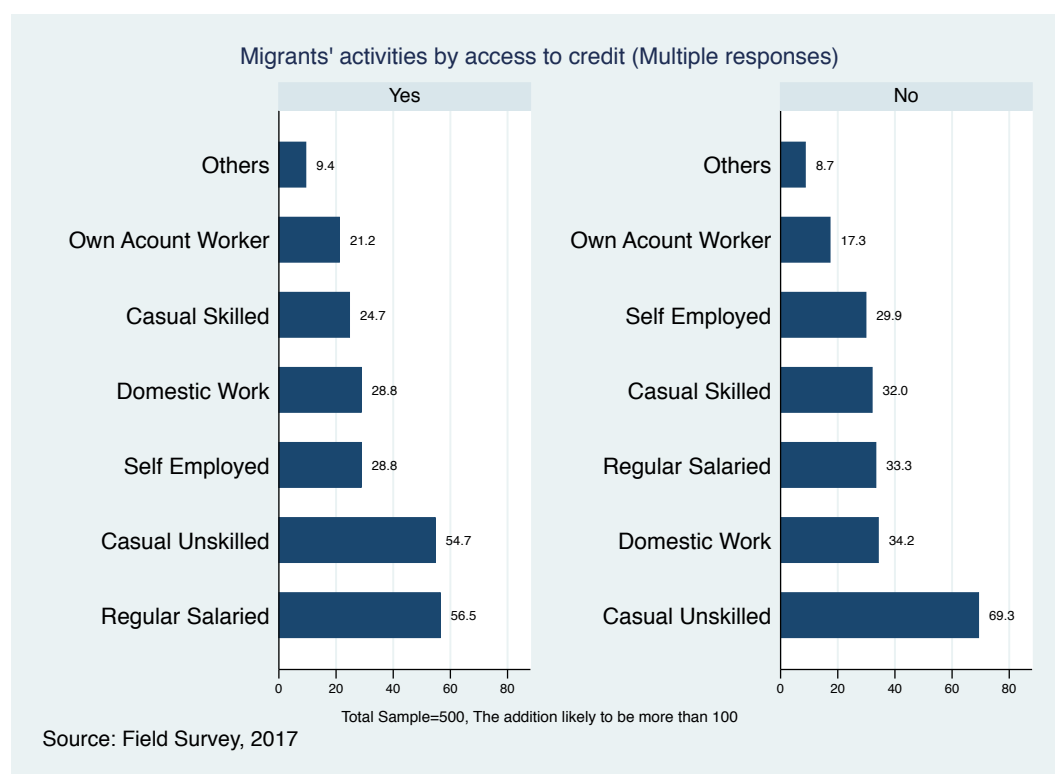


It can be observed that among medium category of wealth index, the highest percent of activities was shared by casual unskilled activities followed by 60 per cent in regular salaried, 34.2 per cent in self-employment, 29.5 per cent in domestic work, 32.6 per cent of the migrants involved in casual skilled activities and 16.8 per cent of the migrants worked in own account work. As expected, migrants from low index of wealth, a considerable amount of the migrants (71.3 per cent) reported that they are engaged in causal unskilled work.

6.5.8 Access to credit and multiple modes of livelihood

Access to credit can be the major instruments of financial inclusion of migrants. Further, it has numerous potential to enhance the livelihood of migrants as well as it could be conducive platform for diverse economic portfolios for family member in a household. Multiple modes of livelihood (MML) by access to credit is presented in Figure 6.10. Results show that overall, migrants who reported that they have access to credit from any source they have high tendency to be position in well economic activities as one can observed that about 56.5 per cent of the migrants involved in regular salaried against 69.3 per cent of migrants who have not access to credit.

Figure 6.10: Multiple modes of livelihood by access to credit

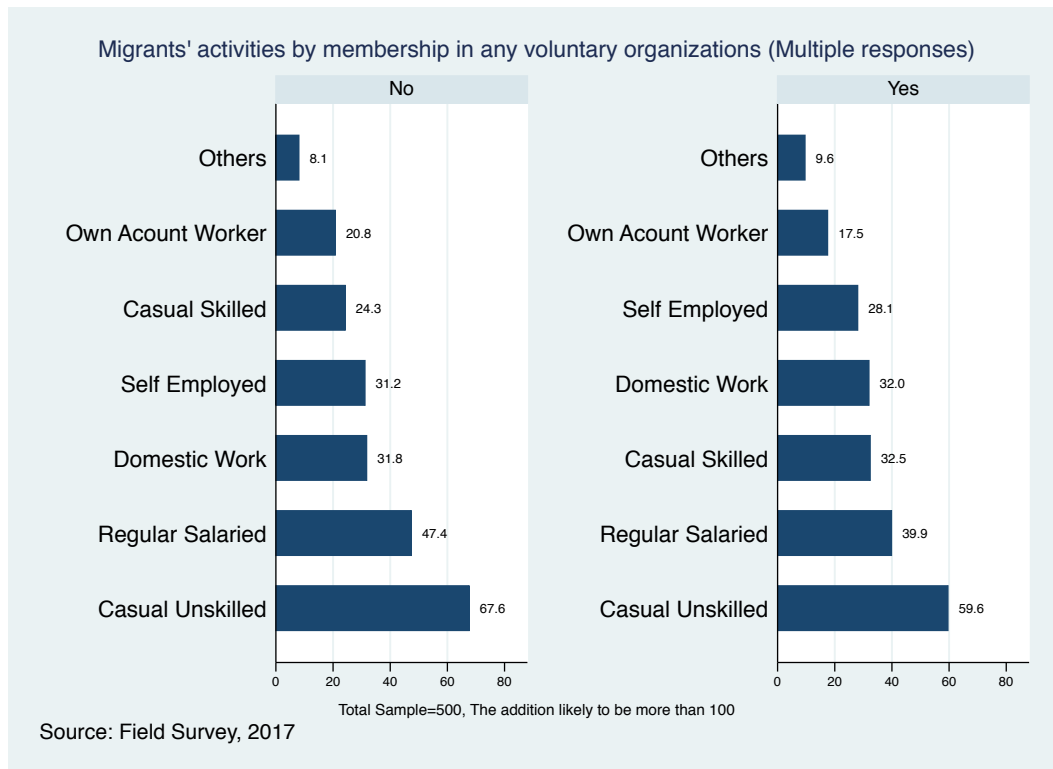


Migrants who have access to credit, about 55 per cent of migrants involved in casual unskilled, 29 per cent in domestic work, 29 per cent in self-employment, 24.7 per cent of the migrants involved in casual skilled work, and 21 per cent of the migrants involved in own account work. On the other hand, migrants who do not have access to credit, 34.2 per cent of the migrants in domestic work, 32 per cent involved in casual skilled work, 33.3 per cent in regular salaried, 29.9 per cent of the migrants in self-employment, and 18 per cent engaged in own account work.

6.5.9 Linking social capital and multiple modes of livelihood

The connection of migrants with any political party or any voluntary organization/association could be the transferrable value in terms of increasing opportunities in labour market in particular and providing facilities in allied services such as health, education and access to credit etc. in general. Here membership of any family member in any voluntary organization reflects the linking social capital of migrants. Multiple modes of livelihood (MML) by linking social capital is presented in Figure 6.11.

Figure 6.11: Multiple modes of livelihood by membership of any family member in any voluntary organization



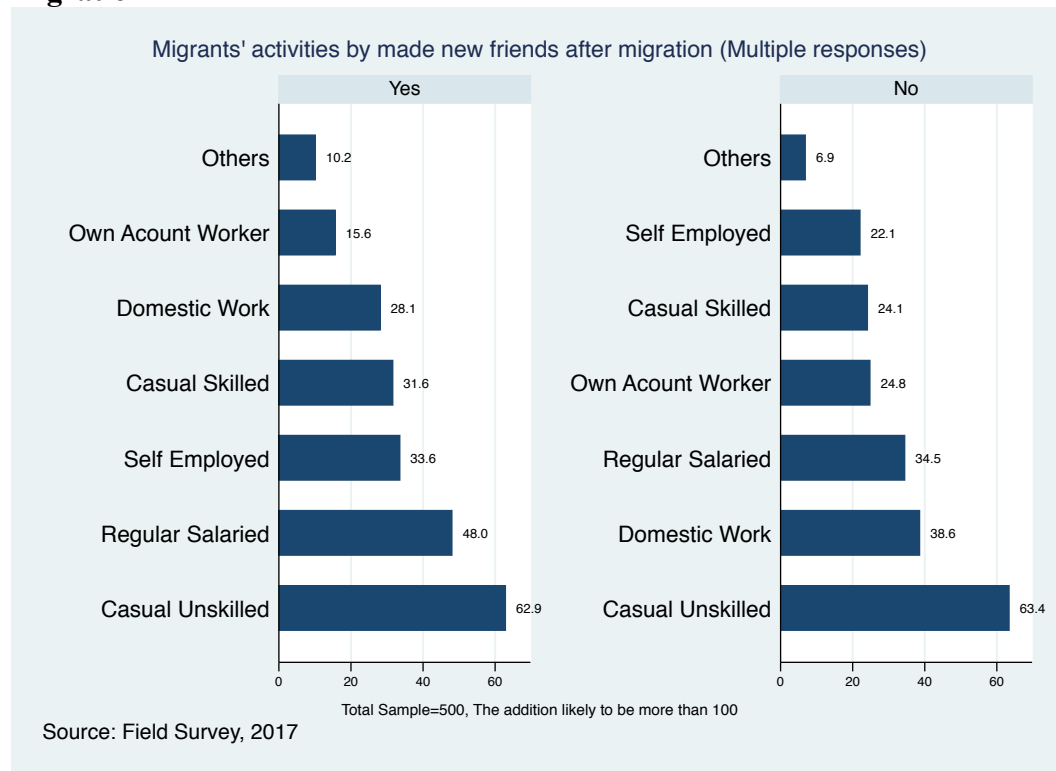
Results show that migrants who are associated with linking social capital, about 68 per cent of the migrants involved in casual unskilled activity followed by 47.4 per cent in regular salaried, 24.3 per cent in casual skilled activity and about 32 per cent in domestic work, 31 per cent of migrants employed as self-employed, 20.8 per cent of migrants involved in own account work and about 8 per cent of migrants engaged in other kind of activities. On the other hand, the percentage of casual unskilled worker is more in those migrants who were not associated with linking social capital.

6.5.10 Multiple modes of livelihood with making new friends after migration

Making new friends after migration shows the strength and tendency of building social capital among migrants. Further, it can be presumed that migrants who increase their social capital, somewhere benefitted from their network in society. Multiple modes of economic activities by making new friends in Delhi after migration is presented in Figure 6.12. It can be observed that the percentage of migrants involved in casual unskilled and regular salaried is high among those groups, which do not make friend after entering to Delhi. This result reflects the fact that people who

have a tendency to build social capital, acquire better position in labour market, however, it is not necessary that they earn more than the people who do not have the tendency to build social capital.

Figure 6.12: Multiple modes of livelihood by making new friends in Delhi after migration



6.6 Extent of diversification: Simpson index of diversity

Extent of diversification, indicated by the proportion of the households' income being derived from different economic sources. To generate the extent of diversification, the Simpson Index of Diversity (SID) has been adopted as used by Joshi et al., (2003). Originally, this index was applied to understand the biodiversity of any habitat. It considers the number of species (in this case livelihood activities) present in a habitat (in this case a household) as well as the relative abundance (in this case income generated from each activity) of the species. The index delivers clear dispersal of income generating activity and ranges between zero and one. The value of index ranges from 0 to 1 where 1 denotes the complete diversification. The index is calculated as follows:

$$D = 1 - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^S n_i(n_i - 1)}{N(N - 1)},$$

Where:

D = Simpson Index of Diversity

S = number of activities

N = total income of a household

n = Income generated from the i^{th} activities in the total income

The value of $D = 1$ means that the income of such a household is perfectly diversified while values close to 0 will imply that the household income is not diversified at all. Another simple interpretation is that the value of D is a proportion of households' involvement in other income generating activities on a scale of 0 to 1. The higher it is, towards 1, the more involved is the household in diversifying its income and vice versa.

Results of Table 4.10 show the Simpson Index of Diversity (SID) computation, which is a measure of extent of diversification. The value of SID computed, represented by D in the equation, is 0.56 (SD = 0.08; range = 0.0 to 0.70). It is observed that the households in the selected slums diversify their income activities moderately, that is the value of $D = 0.56$, is a sign of almost an equitable or even distribution of income generated from diversified livelihood activities. However, about 46 per cent (20.03 + 14.15 + 7.84 + 4.18) migrants belongs to SID range of 0.57 to 0.70 have greater propensity to diversified. This result suggests that, apart from the main activity, they pursue other activities to complement their earnings. It could also suggest that migrants are not specialized in their main economic activity, therefore could diversify into other remunerative activities. They could, however become specialized if their main activity becomes more attractive and income generative.

Table 6.3: Distribution of respondents on extent of diversification (SID computation)

SID Values	Frequency	Per cent
0.44	322	27.45
0.48	155	13.21
0.55	154	13.13
0.57	235	20.03
0.60	166	14.15
0.64	92	7.84
0.69	49	4.18

Mean= 0.56; SD= 0.08; Range=0.0-0.70

Source: Table generated from descriptive data analysis of Primary Survey, 2017

6.7 Determinants of livelihood diversification

The process of livelihood diversification, under distress as well as response to new opportunities, is not simply the outcome of decisions by individuals or households, but is a part of deeply contested process of acquiring access and utilization of existing and new resources (Mishra, 2007). There is a wealth of literature which suggests that livelihood encompassing the several kind of capabilities, assets such as stores, resources, claims and access; and various economic activities obligatory to means of living. In tuning with this comprehensive perspectives, livelihood approaches place ‘people and their priorities to choose activities as means of living’ at the center of development efforts (Rahman and Akter, 2014). Earlier literatures suggest ‘livelihoods’ as a dynamic as well as elastic term that can be associated to regional level e.g. rural/urban livelihoods, occupational livelihoods e.g. agricultural and non-agricultural livelihood, and social difference in livelihood such as gendered, educational and religious differences in livelihood options. Thus, people make their livelihood choices by combining the multifaceted web of economic activities.

Several studies sought the qualitative as well as the quantitative procedure for understanding livelihood diversification. While qualitative studies largely depend on descriptive nature of approach, quantitative study largely rely on multivariate analysis with different kind of socio-economic and demographic variables. Because of these differences in approach for livelihood diversifications, the generalize conclusion may not precise, however, methodology employed in this section will attempt to precisely pinpoint the influencing factors that are responsible for adopting particular economic activity.

Table 6.4 shows regression results of determinants of livelihood diversification at household through ordinal logit model. Kurosaki (2002) applied the similar approach to understanding the job diversification at household level. Number of activities in a household has been treated as dependent variable for the regression. In case of ordinal responses, the ordinal model is the appropriate strategy as it takes the “ceiling and floor effects into account and avoids the use of subjectively chosen scores assigned to the category (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977)”. The selection of explanatory variables for the equation is guided by the past research on factors influencing the livelihood diversification at household level.

Table 6.4: Determinants of household-level job diversification (Ordinal logit model)

Explanatory Variables		Odds Ratio	95% of Conf. Interval
Gender of Head of the Household	Male		
	Female	1.43***	0.959-2.145
Age of Head of the Household	17-24 Years		
	25-34 Years	1.08**	0.618-1.873
	35-44 Years	0.84	0.465-1.507
	Above 45 years	0.82	2.344-6.326
Household Size	Up to 4 Members		
	5 Members	2.40***	2.457-9.484
	6 Members	3.85***	0.571-1.562
	More than 6 Members	5.31***	0.475-1.313
Duration of Migration	5-9 Years		
	10-14 Years	0.94	0.556-1.408
	15-19 Years	0.79	0.664-1.766
	>20 Years	0.89	0.588-1.407
Educational Attainment_HHH	Illiterate		
	Primary	1.08**	0.304-1.661
	Secondary	0.91	0.749-1.502
	Secondary and Above	0.71	0.524-2.001
Health Problems	Yes		
	No	1.06***	0.417-1.246
Religion	Others		
	Muslim	1.02**	0.572-1.625
	Hindu	0.72	0.741-4.864
Social Groups	Others		
	OBC	0.96	0.524-1.444
	STs & SCs	1.90	0.610-9.863
Access to Credit	No		
	Yes	1.17***	0.825-1.656
BPL Card	No		
	Yes	1.89***	0.617-1.278
Asset Index	-	2.45***	0.610-9.863
Social Capital Index	-	1.01**	0.917-1.104
Frequency of Contacts	Less often than once a month		
	More often than once a month	0.91	0.519-1.602
	Almost on a daily basis	0.84	0.509-1.400
Use of Social Media	No		
	Yes	1.12	0.758-1.641
Made New Friends after Migration	No		
	Yes	1.17	0.805-1.710

Number of Observation= 500

Pseudo R²= 0.063

Log Likelihood=555.84

Note: *** significant 1%, **at 5%, *at 10%

Source: Primary Survey, 2017

The results of odds ratios by ordinal logit model presented in Table 6.4. Results suggest that female headed households (OR=1.43, p<0.001) have higher probability to diversify as compared to their male counterparts. In case of age of the head of the household, migrants between the age group of 25-34 years are

significantly associated with household level diversification as compared to migrants between the age group of 17-24 years. Expectedly, household size is the major determinants of livelihood diversification as the odds for household size are increasing with increasing members in the households. In case of human capital variable, health and education up to primary level both present the significant results for livelihood diversification and more likely to diversify. Among religion, Muslim migrants are more likely to diversify as compared to Hindu migrants. In case of financial capital of migrants, access to credit and assets of households are also the significant factors for livelihood diversification. As for the concern about social capital, results show that social capital index is positively associated with household level diversification in slums of Delhi. However, frequency of contacts is not associated with household level diversification.

Table 6.5: Household level determinants of livelihood diversification: Job per adult person and Simpson Diversity Index

Explanatory Variables	Job per adult person		Simpson Diversity Index	
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>t-stat</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>t-stat</i>
Female headed household	0.057***	2.37	0.165	2.02
Age of the head of the household	0.004	0.71	-0.038	-1.03
Age square of the head of the household	-0.007	-0.85	0.209	1.53
Household size	0.003**	0.27	0.018**	0.57
Duration of migration (10-14 years)	-0.034	-1.13	-0.037	-0.95
Duration of migration (15-19 years)	0.033	1.08	0.008	0.12
Duration of migration (more than 20 years)	-0.023	-0.82	-0.094	-1.82
Highest Education	-0.053	-1.12	0.390	1.37
Health problem	-0.006*	-0.27	0.030	0.41
Religion (Hindu)	-0.027	-0.83	-0.082	-1.09
Religion (Muslim)	0.016	0.41	-0.003	-0.2
Asset index	0.172***	2.13	0.038**	0.77
Lending Money	0.038	1.38	0.002	0.02
BPL Card	0.023	1.04	0.068	0.9
Social capital index	0.071**	-0.09	0.484	0.94
Frequency of contacts on daily basis	-0.050	-1.61	0.070	1.16
Frequency of contacts once in a week	-0.035	-1.02	0.582	0.73
Social media	0.004	0.18	0.923	0.55
Made new friends after migration	0.020	-0.88	0.631	1.41

Note: *** significant 1%, **at 5%, *at 10%

Source: Primary Survey, 2017

Linear regression has been employed for job per adult household and Simpson Diversity Index to understand the determinants of livelihood diversification in accurate way. Jobs per adult household provides the intensive understanding of

livelihood determinants as it is assumed that adults are the one who can do any economic activities and some members could be a student and some may not in working position. Here adults are defined as the household members between the age groups of 15-65 years. Results show that Female headed household, household size, health problems, household assets, households with BPL card and index of social capital is significantly associated with determinants of livelihood diversification in case of jobs per adults in a household. On the other hand, household size and assets of households are significantly associated with the value of Simpson Diversity Index for livelihood diversification.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter deals with the different forms of livelihood activities along with livelihood diversification and its determinants at migrants' household level in selected surveyed slums in NCT of Delhi. It is observed that livelihoods diversification among migrants' family in slums of Delhi is not new but rather a common practice. It was quite rare to find a household with only one income generating activity to support their income. The diversity of livelihoods is an important feature of urban survival and in a general sense, the way of improving income level. Results show that, diversified livelihood systems are able to provide more income for the household while casual wage laborer occupies a key position as their main activity. The arrangement of various kind of activities identified in the study area suggests that these activities have the potential for enhancing the capability of individuals and households to construct positive livelihoods. It posits, however, that casual wage laborer is still the mainstay of urban livelihoods in the slums of city and a significant determinant of diversification. The success of other activities depends largely or partly on success achieved in casual wage labour activity as most of the income is generated by this particular occupation. Results obtained through ordinal logit model suggest that female headed households along with human capital of head of the households were crucial for livelihood diversification. Further, household size and financial capital such as access to credit, assets of households, and social capital of the migrants are also significant factor for household level diversification. Linear regression for jobs per adult person provides the intensive picture of determinants of livelihood diversifications. Results from linear regression suggest that household size, health problems, household assets, households with BPL card and index of social

capital is significantly associated with determinants of livelihood diversification in case of jobs per adults in a household while household size and assets index are significant factors for Simpson Diversity Index.

There is the need to support development of formal and informal capacity building and training at the community level to enhance human resource base of slum dwellers and make them more adept in various income generating livelihood activities. It is important to consider how to make more opportunities available to slum dwellers through formal and informal credit and the need also for improving local economy in order to boost financial resources of the people. Finally, there should be need for homogeneousness in urban development initiatives in all communities to allow for more extensive infrastructural opportunities for different kinds of livelihoods activities in different locations in NCT of Delhi.

Box-7

Waiting for his sorry life to end

A 50-year-old migrant, who is a resident of Shakur Basti, lives with his wife and a son in a crammed one room home. He came to Delhi at the age of 32. After spending few years in Delhi, he was trained in dyeing cloth for which he was offered an initial reimbursement of 4000 rupees per month along with an average increment of around 500 rupees per year. The working conditions however were poor and dangerous and the highly toxic chemicals used for dyeing the cloth began to take a toll on his health. In spite of the low wage increment and bad working conditions, he was making enough to meet expenses and was satisfied with the work. He was working 12 hours a day, seven days a week, which put immense strain on his health. Now he is suffering from serious dermatological and respiratory problem. Eventually he was forced to quit the job. Now he is surviving with his wife, son and daughter in law. His son works in a private courier service and his wife as domestic work near the slum. Unfortunately, his son is not supporting him, so he depends on his wife earnings. His life continues to be plagued by uncertainty, misery and hopelessness. He is waiting for the end of his sorry life, although he is worried for his wife.

-Male XX, from Bihar, Age: 53 years

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG MIGRANTS IN DELHI

7.1 Introduction

India is a country experiencing fast and far-reaching socio-economic, political and cultural changes, accompanied by welfare approach in policy formulation and political goals of inclusive growth, which is deeply prejudiced by so-called 'Third Way' politics. However, the encouraging progress is not reached equally up to the mark and even more degraded among few sections of people who are paying the social and economic penalty in multi-faceted nature and not benefit from economic reforms, industrialization, and globalization. The first decade of liberalization in India has promoted enormous and uneven exclusions and further attributed to the existing deprivations (Sen 2004; Thorat 2007; Jogdand et. al., 2008; Verma, 2011; Kummitha, 2015). In such scenario, comparatively low, middle and working class mere struggled to cope up with rising costs in the event of rising unemployment, poverty and other deprivations (Thorat et al., 2007). Due to economic reforms, while income and employment opportunities are increasing for many residents, people with living in slums, particularly migrated ones are consistently facing greater challenges concerning a range of socio-economic issues. The 'filters' for preventing a specific risk (such as losing a job, illiteracy, etc.) triggered the process of social exclusion in India in both rural and urban areas. However, several studies as well policymakers advocated for social capital as a critical framework, that facilitates co-operation within or between people, and capable to overwhelm the problems arises due to social exclusion.

Social exclusion as well as social capital has the potential to be an extremely valuable concept both analytically and practically, and have a huge potential to play a crucial role in Indian society in terms of handling multiple deprivations and exclusion, experienced by people living in different socio-economic and demographic profile. While several recent studies have explored the problems of discrimination and deprivation through the framework of social exclusion, the concept of social capital for the same purpose is negligible in India's changing socio-economic landscape, particularly for migrants in slums, where increased migratory flows, rise of poor neighborhoods, traditional hierarchical models of inequality and multifaceted nature of group disadvantage persist. Therefore, this study aims to comprehend the forms of social

exclusion and further offers significant reflections on social capital and social exclusion amongst migrants living in the slums of Delhi. In tune with these perspectives and comprehensive understanding for the readers, the next sections deal with methods and material of the study and subsequently discussed ‘slum as a space of exclusion’, followed by the conceptualization of social exclusion and relationship between social capital and social exclusion. Further, the forms of social exclusion and, whether the social capital is capable to overcome the problems of social exclusion amongst migrants, has been empirically examined and finally, concluding thoughts and policy suggestions has been proposed for further development debates.

7.2 Conceptualizing social exclusion

The term ‘social exclusion’ is of recent origin (Samers, 1998), and generally recognized by the work of Lenoir (1974), where he refers to various categories of people such as "mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem householders, marginal, some social persons, and other social misfits" (Silver, 1995) in French policy discourse. Although, the poverty school of thought claims that the concept of social exclusion has been incited in France due to the unpopularity of ‘poverty’ as a concept; however, its origin has spread debate beyond stand-alone poverty remarks (De Haan, 2001). Subsequently, several literatures added new classifications to the group of excluded persons including those who have been denied “a livelihood, secure, permanent employment, earnings, property, credit or land, housing, consumptions levels, education, and cultural capital, the welfare state, citizenship and legal equality, democratic participation, public goods, nation or dominant race, family and sociability, humanity, respect, fulfillment, and understanding” (Sen, 2000). Needless to say, within a short period of time, the term ‘social exclusion’ managed the popularity in all policy discourse for development. Parkin (2006) relates his understanding about the practices of social exclusion with ‘social closure’ where he describes it as an ‘attempt by one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of sub-ordination’.

Silver (1994) identifies the three paradigms of social exclusion- solidarity, specialization, and monopoly, and provides the holistic approach to understand the concept the social exclusion. ‘In the solidarity paradigm, he focused on the relationship

between society and individual and argued that 'exclusion is the breakdown of a social bond between the individual and society that is cultural and moral, rather than economically interested' (Silver, 1994). On the other hand, under the paradigm of 'specialization', exclusion is triggered by interactions between the individuals that further produce the possibility for discrimination within the sphere of civil society. In 'monopoly' paradigm, he focused 'how 'powerful groups, often displaying distinctive cultural identities and institutions, restrict the access of outsiders to valued resources' (Silver, 1994). In his seminal work, Silver provides two useful aspects of social exclusion namely 'relational' and 'dynamic', which is later voiced by several researchers (Atkinson, 1998; Samers, 1998; Room, 1999; Trbanc, 2001; Szalai, 2002; Beland, 2007).

Berghman, (1995) explained that people might be excluded when one or more systems that should guarantee the social integration of the individual or household breaks down or malfunctions. Further, Atkinson and Davoudi (2000) draw attention to the 'chain reaction' of breakdowns and highlighted that how institutions of the state are implicated in exclusionary processes. Another influential work in the field of social exclusion was proposed by Sen (2000), who advocated the two important features of social exclusion namely 'constitutive' and 'instrumental' as the major trigger for deprivation. Under the 'constitutive' explanation, he argued that 'exclusion from some (or all) aspects of social functioning in itself, and of itself, constitutes an important aspect of deprivation' and in the 'instrumental' interpretation, 'exclusion per se does not constitute deprivation, but it is a cause of deprivation' (Sen, 2000). However, Borooah (2010) explained that some types of exclusion might be a constitutive part of deprivation, but not necessarily instrumental in causing deprivation. Further, different types of exclusion can be experienced at the institutional level (from the capitalist system of labor markets to micro-level of the family and community) in terms of social and economic benefits, were discussed by Reimer (2004).

Discourses of social exclusion are often constructed in line with poverty; therefore, it is necessary to understand the differences between these two while discussing the problems arises due to social exclusion. One needs to understand that social exclusion may derive to someone in the situation of poverty or vice versa, but it is not necessary that rich people could not be excluded. People with well economic position can be experience excluded in line with health, education, housing, gender, social class, religious

beliefs, working class or even because of their migration status on the ground of 'son of the soil' ideology. Several studies have attempted to clear the difference on these grounds (Shucksmith and Chapman, 1998; Trbanc, 2001; Paas, 2003; Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman, 2007; Bhagat, 2017). Moreover, the notion of poverty reflects distributional while social exclusion signposts the relational issues, for instance, little participation in social affairs, detachment from labor markets, social segregation and particularly the exercise of power by the individuals and institutions. Therefore, it is less about the 'victims' and more about the processes that cause exclusion (Madanipour et al., 2003; Madanipour et al., 2015). In a nutshell, Buvinic (2005) summarizes the meaning of social exclusion as "the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic, and social functioning of the society", and goes on to add that social exclusion is "the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups of society upon others".

Social exclusion in India intriguingly revolves around diversified aspects of politico-economic, socio-cultural and spatiotemporal (Sen, 2000; De Haan and Dubey, 2005; Thorat and Attewell, 2007; Thorat, 2008; Nathan and Xaxa, 2012; Oommen, 2014; Ambedkar, 2014). Moreover, due to its ambiguous underpinning, the notion of social exclusion has been broadly envisaged in Indian perspective as, western countries envisaged the concept of social exclusion in form of disadvantages, underclass, poor and vulnerability, but in Indian context, the concept of social exclusion is little different by including the exclusion in form of historical injustice in the past and denial of social justice in current. Verma (2011) stressed that, in India, ensuring social justice means not only to address poverty, distribution of material goods and social exclusion as it is in western societies but also to remove social discrimination of the ex-untouchables (i.e. Dalits- 'oppressed' or 'broken'). The social exclusion of this particular group can be viewed as an outcome of discrimination perpetuated by the faulty institutional structures in past that branded them 'untouchables'. Therefore, principles, categories and arguments on social exclusion developed in the western context have to be cautiously applied to the Indian context (Verma 2011).

Overall, 'Social exclusion' as an important framework for poverty elimination and reducing inequality, is articulated in diverse forms across the world and has huge potential to be an extremely valuable concept, both analytically and practically. However, demarcating the notion of social exclusion in the definite periphery is somewhat a tricky

task, as the number of researchers comprehended the framework of social exclusion in a wider perspective to explore the alternative ways to overcome the problems of poverty, exclusion, discrimination, and deprivation. Further, the concept of social exclusion and its implications in policy sphere as well as in social research grasps various definitions and adjusted with various nuances at different levels of concreteness and focused on this or that area of interest. As a result, this concept emerged in a multidimensional fashion with the number of difficulties in understanding the magnitude and characteristics of exclusion in development discourse.

7.3 Social capital and social exclusion: Similarities and differences

Social exclusion and social capital, both, emerged as a crucial framework in development discourse. Both frameworks can be applied theoretically as well as practically in order to comprehend the interrelation between economy and society under the dynamic society. Therefore, comparing these two frameworks will be beneficial for the further development of each. While social capital focused on the integration of society and much popular framework concept of the United States of America and developing countries, social exclusion addresses the causes of disintegration among society and became prominent in the development debates of European and Latin American countries. However, both ideas could benefit from further specification and differentiation as the causes of social exclusion and the consequences of social capital have received the fullest elaboration, to the relative neglect of the outcomes of social exclusion and the genesis of social capital (Daly and Silver, 2008). On the basis of the functionality of both frameworks, social capital and social exclusion share some substantive concerns as well. The two frameworks delve into the density and quality of social relations, and both stress the importance of active participation as against the contemporary tendency to social isolation, or “being alone,” so to speak (Daly and Silver, 2008). Even some scholars argued that social exclusion is associated with low levels of social capital (Reji, 2009) and consider greater participation in the community to be an “antidote to social exclusion” (Burden, 2000). Therefore, active participation in society has an intuitive appeal in both frameworks. The comparative overview of both frameworks has been presented in Table 7.1 below.

Table: 7.1 Similarities and differences between social capital and social exclusion

Similarities

- ✓ Both provide the outlines for re-imagining the interrelations between society and economy under the situations of social change.
- ✓ Both concepts are vague and polysemy.
- ✓ Both concepts make the orientation of self- strengthening vicious or virtuous cycles that are multi-dimensionally inter-related.
- ✓ Both concepts call the involvement as a ways of social assimilation. Participation, therefore, has an instinctive appeal in both.
- ✓ Both framework focuses on social symmetries through cooperation, civic commitment and collective wellbeing.
- ✓ Both concepts investigate into the quality and density of social associations.
- ✓ Both concepts have strong presence in policy as well as academic sphere.

Differences

Social Capital	Social Exclusion
Emerged from communitarianism, social exchange theory, and rational choice.	Emerged from the theories of French Republicanism, social Catholicism, and social democracy.
Focuses on social progress.	Focuses on social problems.
Prominent in development debates of United states of America and developing countries.	Prominent in development debates of European and Latin American countries.
Social capital multiplies social resources.	Social exclusion combats isolation and encourages economic integration.
Prominent in policy discourse.	Prominent in academic discourse.
Social capital has a strong resonance with economic sociology.	Social exclusion has strong resonance with social consequences of structural shifts in society.
Social capital stresses obligations on individuals of one’s family or group. The benefits of social capital are mainly assumed to be universal. They can be reaped in India or Indonesia, Delhi or Davos.	Social exclusion stresses obligations to ‘others’ and as society as a whole. Social exclusion generally assumed to be context-specific. E.g. people can only be excluded or included relative to others.
Desired outcomes are collective action, economic growth and democratic functioning.	Desired outcomes are inclusion of individuals and cohesive societies.

While several studies reflect that social exclusion and social capital share a common concern with dynamic social relations and effective participation, but the frameworks have some contradictory outcomes too. In case of social capital, Das (2004) explained that those who make optimistic claims about social capital often fail to consider

how the conditions under which the people feel excluded and discriminated because of social capital. People's class position in short can undermine the conditions of production of social capital itself (Das, 2004).

The undesirable effects of social capital could be social exclusion as "many groups achieve internal cohesion at the expense of outsiders, who can be treated with suspicion, hostility or outright hatred" (Westlund, 2006). Moreover, in case of too much bonding social capital, as measured by contacts amongst immediate family, friends, and neighbors, it becomes negative, creating conformity rather than variety as pointed by Fafchamps (2006). The benefits from social capital are likely to be unequally distributed and even exclusionary (Singh and Koiri, 2016). It is also argued that in some cases highly inclusive social networks grab the freedom of individuals as it could be a constraint to actions and choices of an individual (Wall et al., 1998). Further, Putnam (1993), who takes a rational choice approach to social capital, seems to suggest that the only obstacle to cooperative action is that people are self-interested.

7.4 Forms of social exclusion among migrants

In Indian society, certain sections such as women, children, elderly, Scheduled Caste (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and religious minorities experience active as well as passive exclusion from majority and mainstreams, as a result of deliberate social processes. Consequently, social exclusion becomes a multidimensional process of regressive social rupture in these certain sections of the society, that strategically detaches groups, individuals and institutions from social relations and prevents them from participating in the normal discourse or prescribed activities of the society they live in (Silver, 1994). Therefore, in this section, we have tried to explore the various forms of social exclusion in the slums of Delhi. In order to capture the socio-economic exclusion and discrimination, the questions have been asked that which four differences 'most' often cause problems? Afterward, eleven selected problems were identified to address the issue of exclusion among migrants residing in the slums of Delhi. These issues are framed through addressing the differences between men and women, younger and older generation, and differences on the ground of education, social status, wealth and material possessions, religious beliefs, political party affiliation and native states. Out of 500 samples, 409 samples responded that they have some kind of problems in either their slum or anywhere in the city including workplace, public places, and transports etc. In

this way, for the first priority, total 409 responses have been recorded and subsequently, 365, 245 and 109 responses were recorded in second, third and fourth priority of responses. It can be observed that, overall, education, gender, working status and migration status were the major issues faces by the migrants in terms of exclusion. Data suggest that about 44 per cent migrants have faced discrimination on the basis of their education followed by 41 per cent, 40 per cent and 39 per cent shared by migrants who felt discrimination on the basis of gender, working status and migration status respectively (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Per cent distribution of migrants who reported social exclusion/discrimination in the slums of Delhi

Exclusion/discrimination criteria	Frequency (N)	% of Responses	% of Cases
Education	181	16.4	44.3
Wealth/material possession	92	8.3	22.5
Social status	102	9.2	24.9
Gender	171	15.5	41.8
Generation gap	32	2.9	7.8
Migration status	160	14.5	39.1
Disability	10	0.9	2.4
Specific region	91	8.2	22.3
Political party affiliation	58	5.3	14.2
Religious beliefs	42	3.8	10.3
Working status	165	15.0	40.3
Total	1104	100.0	269.9

Source: Field survey, February-April, 2017

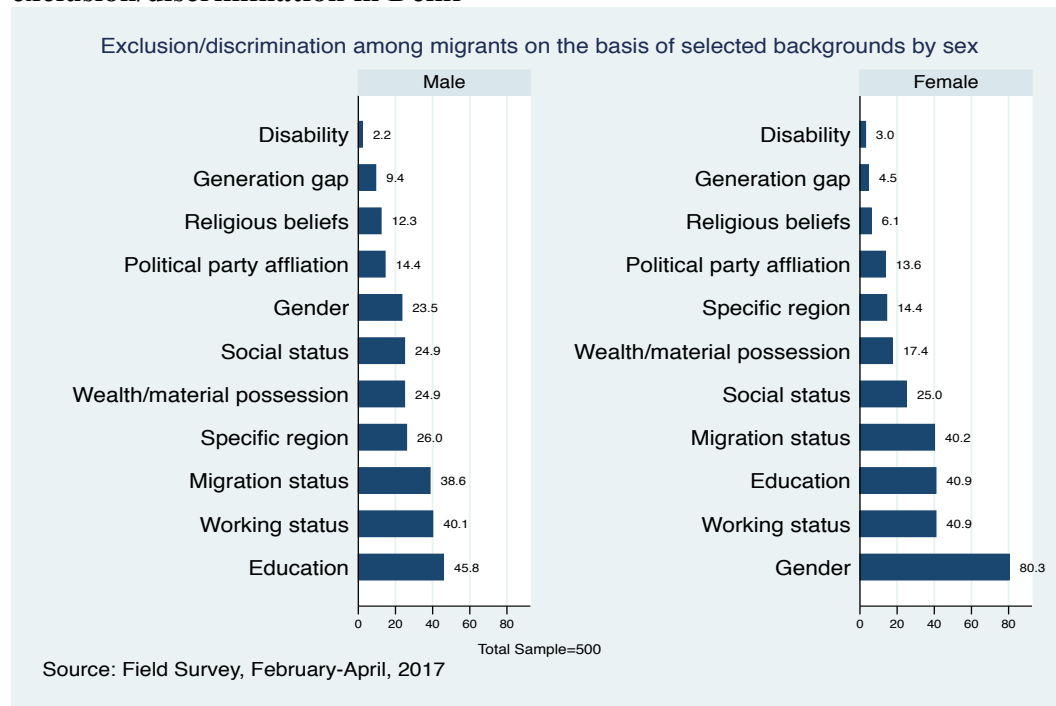
Note: Multiple responses. The Addition likely to more than 100 per cent.

7.4.1 'Gender' as a form of exclusion

Women are found to be socially excluded, discriminated and deprived in all the regions of India, traditionally as well as historically. Indian women today are doing better than their previous generations, but disadvantages remain (World Bank, 2011). Further, Women stand behind men in many indicators such as literacy (Dharmalingam and Navaneetham, 2011) and nutritional standards (Jose, 2011). Though life expediency is higher among women, quality of life that they lead during old age is even more disastrous (Bose, 2008). SCs or STs, or population living in same economic strata may acquire equal regards in their respective societies, but women do not get an equal spot across all socio-economic strata. Repeatedly and constantly, women are subjected to the experience of disadvantages and discriminated from their family, community, and society irrespective of their socio-economic profile. Moreover, particularly in slums, and in general, Indian

cities do not show gender sensitivity in urban planning and policies (Mahimkar and Gokhale 2015; Bhagat, 2017). Despite the several gender issues are exist in the sphere of exclusion, accurate figures on the numbers of women from socially excluded groups generally

Figure 7.1 Gender distribution of migrants reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi



unavailable. Therefore, we have empirically examined the form of social exclusion in terms of gender, as women migrants in the slum are also faces themselves disadvantageous at several points in their life course. Results suggest that considerable amount of women faces the problems of exclusion because of ‘being women’ only. About 80 percent of women migrants stated that they felt discrimination on the basis of gender against 23.5 per cent men for the same category. Further, about 41 per cent of migrant women reported that they felt discrimination on the basis of their working status. During the field visit, it was also observed that majority of migrant women, irrespective of their working status, discriminated and excluded not only because of being women but also because of their illiteracy, migration status, poverty and caste (Figure 7.1).

7.4.2 Social status: Basis of distance, discrimination and disallowance

Social exclusion across the social status is not only a dynamic process but also an outcome of historical injustice. The current social systems are derived from historical

context and considered as the major basis of distance, discrimination, and disallowance among certain sections of society, which has been alienated based on the caste system namely priests, warriors, traders, and laborers in hierarchical order. However, several authors stressed that there is another section of people who were never considered part of the social hierarchy and placed below hierarchy as untouchables, that is, SCs (Olivelle, 2004; Radhakrishnan, 2009). Further, STs altogether did not acknowledge mainstream caste system and preferred to inhabit in forests and mountains, away from the mainstream social life (Kummitha, 2015).

The strong and continuous experience of discrimination is quite noticeable and correspondingly exclusion of same has been given practiced aggressively based on untouchability, without any hesitation in the larger part of society. Further, the issue of exclusion of SCs and STs from the mainstream is even ignored by policymakers as well as researchers, since a long time. However, the recent developmental discourse recognized the adverse effect of exclusion in the formulation of the sustainable society. Moreover, another category ‘other backward classes’ (OBCs) occupy more than half of the total population of India, also faces the structural discrimination and denied to a number of opportunities, however, not based on untouchability discourse.

Figure 7.2 Distribution of migrants by their social status reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi

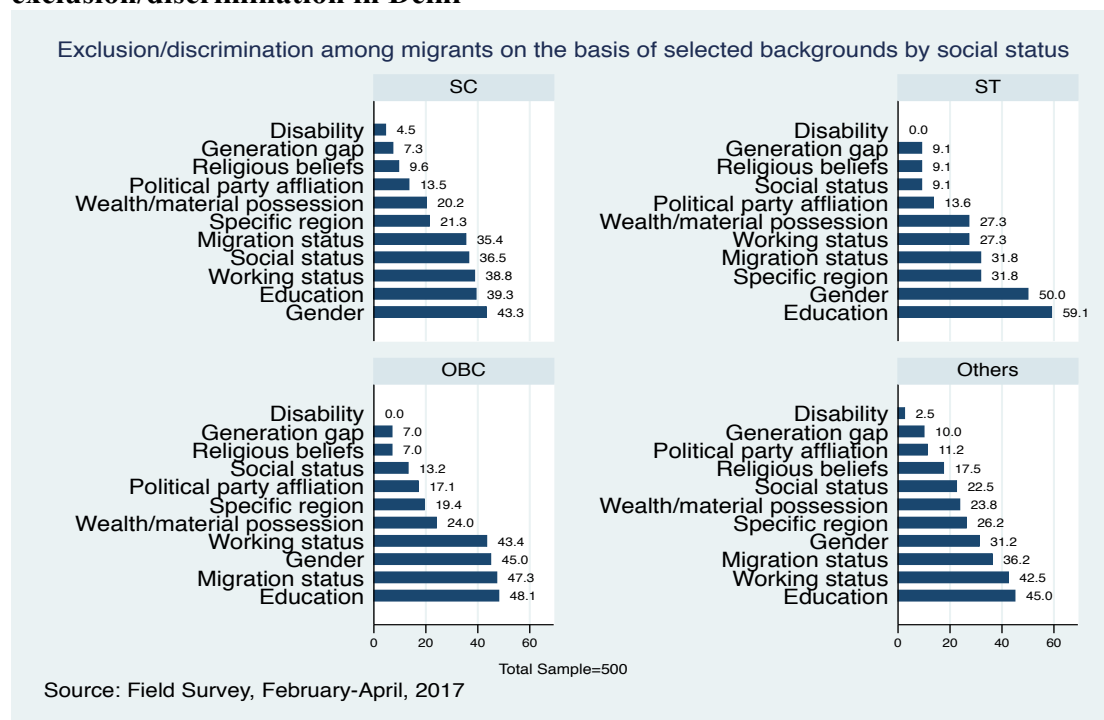


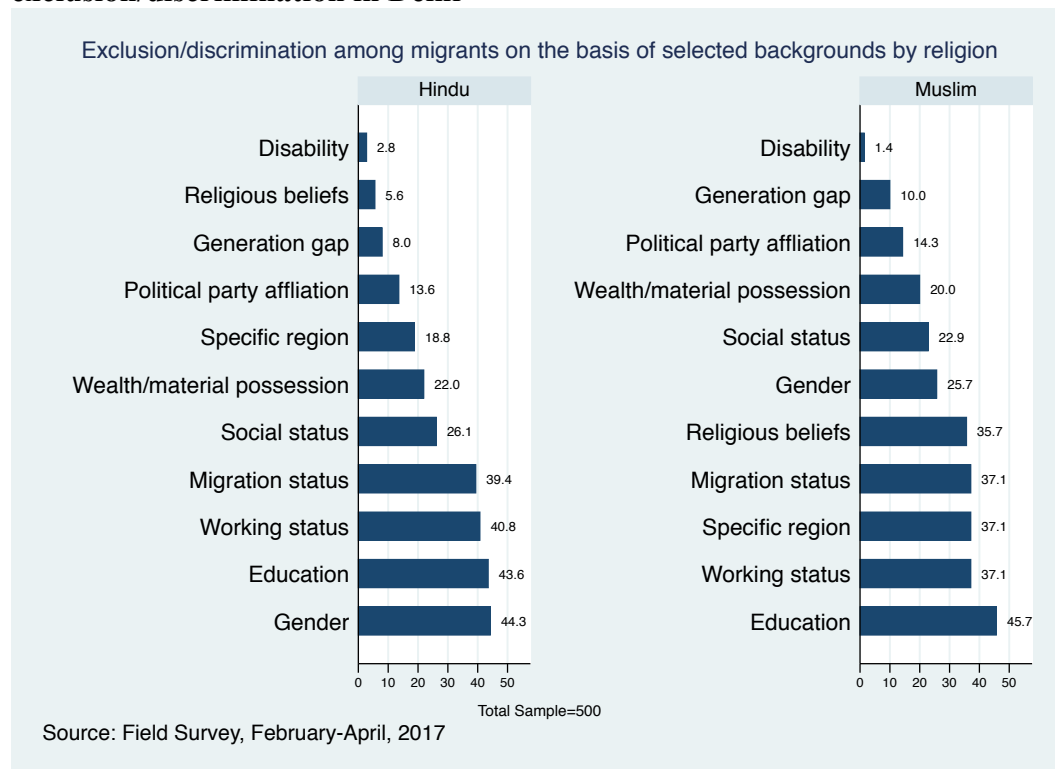
Figure 7.2 exhibits the exclusion and discrimination among migrants in slums of Delhi, across the social status. Results show that the gender is the chief cause of exclusion among SCs, followed by educational status, working status, and social status itself. If we see carefully, it can be observed that about 36 per cent SCs migrants were discriminated because of their caste, whereas about 9 percent in case of STs and about 13 per cent in case of OBCs. Unexpectedly, about 22 per cent migrants from 'others' category of social status has reported the incidents of exclusion, which is higher in comparison to STs and OBCs. The reason behind this unexpected result could be the awareness among migrants from 'others' category of social status. 'Others' category comprising mostly upper classes, are generally considered to be the most aware and educated across all societies, so that, might be they can recognize the incidents of exclusion and discrimination easily as compare to STs and OBC.

7.4.3 Exclusion on the basis of religious beliefs

Historically, religion is marked as a basis of spiritual identity; however, the current scenario is quite different as compared to the ancient era. Now a day, the number of people discriminated on the basis of their religious beliefs as numerical strength of any religion created a new class in society. In doing so, religious minorities becoming vulnerable to discrimination and exclusion in life course perspective. However, it is not always true. Sometimes, religious minorities enjoy the benefits of affirmative actions and constitutional safeguards. Nevertheless, in most cases, it is minority groups who are actually suffering disadvantage or claim to be suffering from socio-economic handicaps and seek preferential treatment from the government (Alam, 2010). Data suggests that gender status is the major contributing factor among Hindus while education is the major factor among Muslims for the basis of exclusion (Figure 7.3). Jeffery and Jeffery (1997) argued that many Muslims regarded their relative economic weakness as stemming from discriminatory practices in job hiring. Further, the belief that their children would not get jobs then led Muslim parents to devalue the importance of education (Borooah, 2010).

Moreover, results for exclusion on the basis of religion itself revealed that about 6 per cent Hindus were felt excluded because of being Hindu while about 36 per cent Muslims reported that they were excluded on the basis of religious beliefs. Alam (2010) found that, nationally, the Muslim community of India appears to be a community below average in terms of access to socio-economic opportunities in the country as a whole.

Figure 7.3 Distribution of migrants by religion reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi



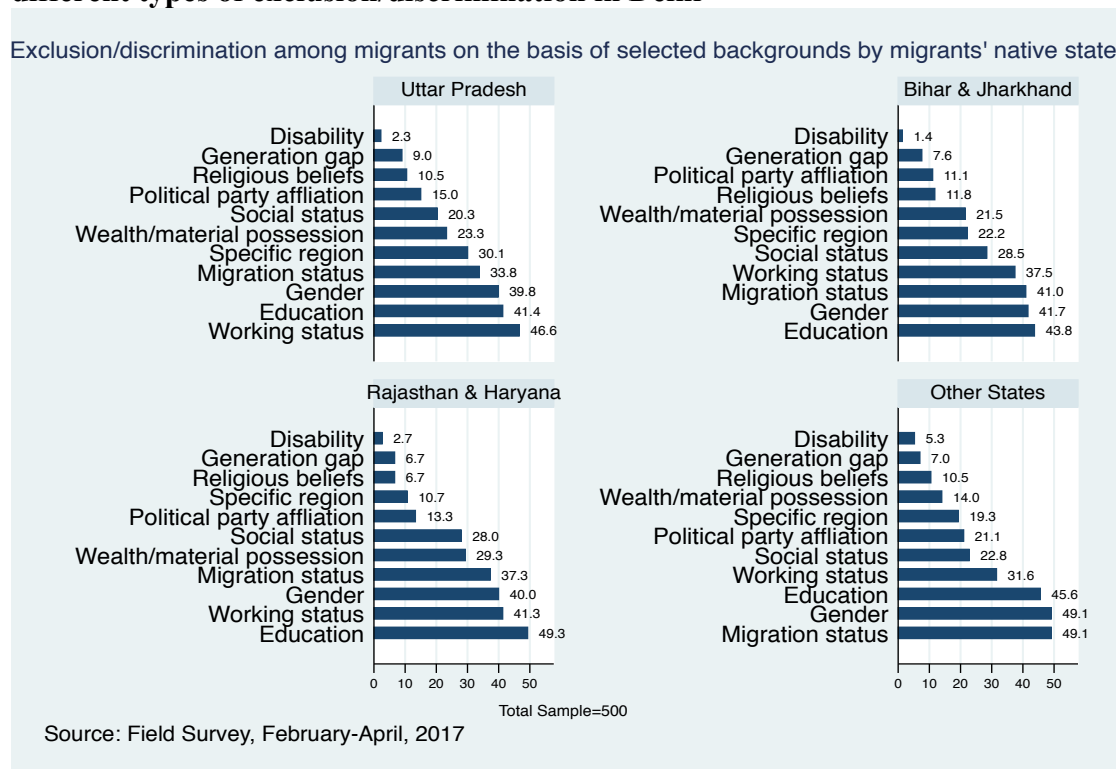
7.4.4 Migration status as a form of exclusion

One cannot imagine the success of urbanization without the integration of poor migrants living in the cities. People move in urban areas to escape hardship or in search of better livelihood opportunities. However, poor migrants generally treated as outsiders by the local governments and middle-class people of cities and making illegitimate claims to live in cities for them. An unstated segregation of poor migrants by the local government and people in Indian cities becomes the norms of urban society. In this scenario, cities are breeding fresh forms of exclusion and inequalities, which go beyond the traditional caste-based discrimination and marginalization.

In urban societies, migrants' poor socioeconomic class has become the 'new caste' despite the fact that, statesmen such as Ambedkar argued that Indians should be more mobile as mobility can be the emancipatory approach if motivated by a desire to exit caste hierarchies and to aspire to better lives. Figure 7.4 shows the grim reality of poor migrants living in the slums of Delhi. Majority of the migrants faces the incidents of exclusion and discrimination on the basis of their low level of socio-economic conditions only. Working status is the primary cause of discrimination among the migrants from

Uttar Pradesh while education is the major contributing factor of exclusion among migrants from Bihar, Jharkhand, and Rajasthan.

Figure 7.4 Distribution of migrants on the basis of their native states reporting different types of exclusion/discrimination in Delhi



Migrants from rural streams often failed to be benefitted from the existing political, social and economic rights as compared to other urban citizens. Poor migrants find themselves in uncertain low-paid jobs and forced to live in vulnerable areas such as slums and deprived housing estates, with high levels of disadvantages and criminality. Further, migration from particular regions even more suffered from the fear of exclusion. Migrants worker from eastern India, especially from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, have been subjected to an increasing mark of xenophobia along with racial discrimination, biases, and violence despite the fact that right to move is the fundamental right of the Indian citizen to settle and work anywhere inside the Indian Union guaranteed by Constitution of India. Results from the field survey indicate that about 34 per cent of migrants from Uttar Pradesh reported the event of exclusion because of their native state. Similarly, migrants from Bihar and Jharkhand also faced the problem of exclusion on the basis of particular region accounted for 41 per cent.

7.5 Social exclusion and social capital: An empirical understanding

Diverse definitions and explanations of social capital have triggered the construction of different typologies to demarcate the distinct features of social capital (Singh and Koiri, 2016). Therefore, we follow the Woolcock (1998) typology of social capital who gave the most widely acceptable typology of social capital namely (a) bonding social capital that refers to immediate family, friends, and neighbors; (b) bridging social capital which refers to more distant colleagues and associates; and, (c) linking social capital, which refers to the connections to people in position of authority. In this section, following the third typology of Woolcock, we examined the determinants of social capital and how membership of voluntary associations is related to forms of social exclusion across the different socio-economic and demographic attributes. For this purpose binary logistic regression has been employed in which membership in the voluntary organization has been treated as dependent variable with '1', the member in any voluntary organization and '0' otherwise (Table 7.3). Results show that after controlling for the other socio-economic and demographic factors, females were less likely than men to participate in any volunteer organization. Similarly, place of origin of migrants reveals that migrants coming from urban areas into Delhi have the low level of tendency in participation as compared to their counterpart. Coming to the social status of migrants, Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes, both were less likely to involve in the voluntary organization as compared to 'Others' category of social status. Further, migrants from lower economic strata defined by their income quintile suggest that relatively poor migrants have less probability of participation in any voluntary organization. These results reflect some common facts that the benefits from social capital are likely to be unequally distributed and even exclusionary. These identified section of the population were facing the undesirable outcomes of social capital in form of social exclusion.

At the same time, people who are the member of voluntary organization achieve internal cohesion at the expenses of the excluded section, which might be possibly treated with suspicion and aggression. Nevertheless, some factors such as age, duration of migration, religion, and employment status are positively associated with membership in any organization. Results suggest that migrants from younger age group e.g. age groups of 17-24 years and 25-34 years were more likely to participate as compare to the older

age group. Similarly, migrants who live 20-25 years in Delhi, they have the higher probability to involve in any organization.

Table 7.3: Logistic regression model on membership of voluntary organizations among migrants in slums of Delhi

Explanatory Variables		Model 1	Model 2
Age	Above 45 years		
	35-44 Years	0.909	0.945*
	25-34 Years	1.090**	1.071***
	17-24 Years	1.565**	1.726**
Sex of the head of the households	Male		
	Female	0.920**	0.911**
Place of Origin	Rural		
	Urban	0.958*	0.968**
Years lives in Delhi	5-9 Years		
	10-14 Years	1.190	1.131
	15-19 Years	0.858	0.839*
	20-25 Years	1.168***	1.146***
Social Status	Others		
	OBC	0.728	0.689*
	STs	0.979***	0.797**
	SCs	0.536**	0.510**
Religion	Hindu		
	Muslim	1.284***	1.178***
	Others	1.181***	1.143***
Educational Attainment	Higher		
	Secondary	1.524	1.686
	Primary	1.375	1.571
	Illiterate	1.235	1.317
Health Status ¹	Does not have health problems		
	Health problems	0.927	0.755
Income of the households	Highest		
	Middle	0.821**	0.772*
	Lowest	0.728**	0.753*
Employment Status	Main workers		
	Marginal workers	2.453**	2.514*
	Non-workers	1.593***	2.025**
Frequency of Contacts	Less often than once a month		
	More often than once a month	x	0.856***
	Almost on a daily basis	x	0.814***
Interest in civic polls	Not interested in going to polls		
	Interested in going to polls	x	3.810***
Use of Social Media (Facebook/Twitter)	No		
	Yes	x	2.609***
Model Summary	Constant	1.7630	0.9587
	Number of Observation	500	500
	Log Likelihood	-325.7252	-303.1460
	Pseudo R2	0.0503	0.1161

*Field survey, February-April, 2017, Note: p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001*

Further, it is interesting to note that, migrants from Muslim and 'Others' category of religion have the higher probability to participate in any organization as compared to migrants belongs to Hindu religion. Moreover, marginal workers and non-workers were

¹The respondents were asked about their health problems in the past twelve months prior to the survey.

also quite capable to manage social capital as compared to main workers; however, they are not benefitted from the social capital at least in context of their work status.

Coming to the model 2 of the equation, as shown in the Table 7.3, there is not much difference reflects in the results for socio-economic and demographic attributes. We therefore only discuss findings from those explanatory variables, which are added in the second model. Some interesting, as well as surprising results, can be observed with the addition of selected social indicators along with the first type of social capital (e.g bridging social capital) given by Woolcock (1998). Results show that migrants who contact with their friends almost on daily basis and more often than once in a month were less likely to involve in any voluntary organization as compared to those migrants who contacts with their friends less often than once a month. This result reflects the fact that, unexpectedly, migrant's bridging social capital has less probability for migrant's linking social capital. Further, social indicators like interested in civic polls and use of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, have the positive association with linking social capital as migrants' positive attitudes towards these social indicators showing the higher probability to participate in any voluntary organization.

7.6 The economic dimension of social exclusion and social capital

This section critically pursues the relationship between social capital and economic dimension of social exclusion and the role of various forms of social indicators at the individual level. Marginalization in labor market and material deprivation has been considered as the economic dimension of social exclusion. Sirovátka and Mareš, 2008, have used the similar kind of dimension. To recognize marginalization in the labor market we used the definition of Census of India for defining employment status. Further, material deprivation has been obtained by the building of cumulative index through 16 indicators includes both subjective and objective parameters from the perspective of the social exclusion concept that corresponds to the established definition of social exclusion (Appendix-1). The cumulative index of material deprivation is based on the multidimensional phenomenon of those migrants who live in the slums of Delhi. Income deprivation, the deprivation of basic needs (food, clothing, and vacations), deprivation related to household utilities, and housing conditions are the constituent parts of material deprivation index.

These indicators are rather well-established and broadly used to measure the scope and structure of poverty, the nature of material deprivation and social exclusion, and have been assessed by experts as relevant for international comparison (Eurostat, 2000). In addition to these primary indicators of deprivation suggested by Eurostat (2000), we recorded other supplementary indicators of deprivation that we regard as essential in the Indian context. They are nonetheless important, as they indicate access to life chances, capabilities (Sen, 1992), and thus the possibilities of functioning in a certain social structure. Further, these circumstances are concerned with the established definition of social exclusion, such as deprivation in terms of access to the institutions that determine life chances, the possibility to live up to the mainstream standard of life and the opportunity to participate in various areas of social life (Room, 1995; Atkinson, 1998; Atkinson et al., 2002).

Table 7.4: Logistic regression- the ratio of probability that the respondent is employed

Explanatory Variables	Odd Ratio
Frequency of Contacts	
Less often than once a month [®]	
More often than once a month	0.729
Almost on a daily basis	0.677***
Member of Voluntary Organization	
No [®]	
Yes	0.955***
Interested in Civic Poll	
No [®]	
Yes	2.126
Using Social Media	
No [®]	
Yes	1.226***
Health Problems	
No [®]	
Yes	0.959*
Educational Attainment	
Higher [®]	
Secondary	1.133**
Primary	0.984
Illiterate	1.046
Years Lives in Delhi	
5-9 Years [®]	
10-14 Years	0.792
15-19 Years	1.46***
20-25 Years	1.77***
Income Tertile	
Highest [®]	x
Middle	x
Low	x
Constant	14.427
Number of observations	500
Log Likelihood	-234.503
Pseudo R ²	0.058

*Field survey, February-April, 2017, Note: p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001*

The economic dimension of exclusion is addressed by using the binary logistic regression for employment status and material deprivation. Both dependent variables are treated in the form of '0' and '1' (Table 7.4). In case of employment status, migrants with strong bridging social capital defined by contact with friends on daily basis were less likely to employ as compared to those migrants who contact with friends less than once a month. Similarly, linking social capital is also showing the inverse relationship with getting full-time work. These results indicate that the 'weakness of strong ties' as migrants who enjoy strong social ties are not so much benefit from social capital as much expected. However, another social indicator in terms of social network handling shows the positive signal for getting employment as odds for social media show the higher probability for being employed. In case of human capital, health and education both shows expected results as migrants suffering from any health problems have a lesser chance of full-time work. Similarly, migrants having secondary education have the higher probability to get the job as compared to illiterate migrants.

Coming to the logistic regression for material deprivation, we coded '1' for the above median value of the cumulative index of material deprivation and otherwise '0' and treated as a dependent variable (Table 7.5). Results show that migrants with strong bridging social capital were less likely to be materially deprived as compared to those migrants who contact with friends less than once a month. Expectedly, indicators of human capital such as health and education are directly associated with marginal deprivation as migrants who reported any kind of health problems and migrants who were illiterate or have primary education, were more likely to be materially deprived after controlling the other explanatory variables. Similarly, migrants belong to lower income strata also have the higher probability to be materially deprived as compared to migrants who were relatively richer.

Table 7.5: Logistic regression- the ratio of probability that the respondent is materially deprived

Explanatory Variables	Odds Ratio
Frequency of Contacts	
Less often than once a month [®]	
More often than once a month	0.722***
Almost on a daily basis	0.621**
Member of Voluntary Organization	
No [®]	
Yes	0.958
Interested in Civic Poll	
No [®]	
Yes	2.163
Using Social Media	
No [®]	
Yes	1.041*
Health Problems	
No [®]	
Yes	1.232***
Educational Attainment	
Higher [®]	
Secondary	0.639
Primary	1.314***
Illiterate	1.942***
Years Lives in Delhi	
5-9 Years [®]	
10-14 Years	x
15-19 Years	x
20-25 Years	x
Income Tertile	
Highest [®]	
Middle	0.829**
Low	1.355***
Constant	16.595
Number of observations	500
Log Likelihood	-236.409
Pseudo R ²	0.05

*Field survey, February-April, 2017, Note: p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001*

7.7 Fragmented Social Capital

Despite a number of studies advocating for the role of social capital in development, treating social capital as unadulterated capital is not accurate or insightful. Focusing exclusively on the positive side of social capital would be injustice to those who excluded and discriminated because of social capital of others. Like other capitals such as human and physical capital, social capital can also be used for exclusion as well as for inclusion. The basic characteristics of social is that it is relational, it exists through interrelationships of individuals and collectivities. The empirical analysis presented in this chapter highlights some of the potentially negative effects of social capital, which is one of the important and emerging critiques of this concept in development discourse. Putnam's

earlier writing did recognize that shared goals might not necessarily be 'praiseworthy' (Putnam 1995: 664) and that social capital might serve to reinforce social inequalities:

"We also need to ask about the negative effects of social capital, for like human and physical capital, social capital can be put to bad purposes... Social inequalities may be embedded in social capital. Norms and networks that serve some groups may obstruct others, particularly if the norms are discriminatory or the networks socially segregated. Recognizing the importance of social capital in sustaining community life does not exempt us from the need to worry about how that community is defined- who is inside and thus benefits from social capital, and who is outside and does not. " (Putnam 1993b: 42).

Further, in more heterogeneous communities, for instance, a city like Delhi that attracts number of people from different parts of the country, it is quite possible that people are less motivated to cooperate each other. It can be observed that people usually favors those who belongs to their caste, religion, region or profession. Although this kind of favoritisms can help certain section of people and provide them with some benefits, but at the same time, certain groups could be relegated to a disadvantageous position because of what we can termed as 'fragmented social capital'. For instance, in a local market all vegetable sellers were strongly bounded through their same kind of profession. Usually, they pre-decide the rate of vegetables and no one agrees to sell any item on less than what they have decided irrespective of real price of items. Therefore, because of the presence of strong social capital among sellers who have similar interests, the bargaining capacity of customer could be fewer and most of the time customers are forced to pay the higher price against the real price of that item. In this example, one can understand that who is benefitted from social capital and who is not benefitted from social capital. It is not necessarily a win-win scenario for all the agents involved. Another dimension of negative potential of social capital could be that, people who got benefitted through social capital also face the barriers in social and economic mobility because of the lack of individuals' decision-making capacity, lack of freedom and constrain to actions. The positive or negative effects of social capital depend upon the features of sociality and socio-economic situations of society in which people lives. Focusing on the negative side of social capital, Morrow (1999), argued that,

"There is a danger that 'social capital' will become part of what might be termed 'deficit theory syndrome', yet another 'thing' or 'resource' that unsuccessful individuals, families, communities and neighborhoods lack."

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the need to further issues of integration for the sociality of migrants, their socio-religious and economic practices, and the acceptance of poor migrants in urban settings. Despite the fact that migrants living in slums enormously contribute to city's growth, they are not fully entitled to even essential services such as education, health, transportation, social security and judiciary in the city. The present study mainly focuses two issues. While in first section, social exclusion of migrants on various grounds has been discussed, second part of the study tried to exhibit the multifaceted nature of economic dimension of social exclusion and how social capital and social exclusion are juxtaposed and yet stands apart. Although, this is the little attempt to demonstrate the link between social exclusion and social capital in Indian context. Therefore, further study could be essential for furnishing the linkages between these two frameworks. This study is mainly exploratory with its primary purpose being to generate interest in existing theory and research for social inclusion/exclusion.

Finding from this chapter suggest that migrants in slums of Delhi faces number of exclusion and discrimination on number of grounds, particularly on the basis of gender, social status, religion, working status and place of origin. Results from this study call the urgent need of affirmative actions from the government, institution and civil society at various levels that can bring participatory and empowering attitude among migrants for diminishing the discrimination, marginalization and deprivation. Local government can play the vital role in this regard combined with taking several steps aimed at improving migrants' well-being, reducing poverty and promoting social inclusion by the means of both top-down and bottom-up efforts. Developing intercultural sense in city's dweller, in which interchange and interaction between people with different origins can be the strong and desirable step towards the inclusion. In promoting the sense of an intercultural approach, there should be an effort to encourage foster communication and interaction among the migrants and non-migrants in the city. Offering a free space, where people with different socio-economic backgrounds can come together for sharing the ideas, discussions, and other activities like sports especially in case of youth, could be the appropriate steps by the governments that help foster discourse and understanding among different groups who may have otherwise begrudged each other as a result of unwanted socio-economic, religious and historical forces. This can also glorify the beauty of diversification and promoting social inclusion. Further, municipality should also promote nonpolitical actors that can organize some employment related workshops time to time

and offer skill training and knowledge related to government policies for startups and provide valuable work experience and an income, and to help young people find the right track for a future in the labor market. Along with physical and urban planning, Social Impact Assessment (SIA) should also be the subject of concern for stakeholders that identifies and evaluates the social risks and potentials that are likely to result from new development activities in cities.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study sought to understand the livelihood conditions and the role of social capital in the livelihood of the poor migrants living in the slums of Delhi along with the forms of exclusion and dark side of the social capital experienced by the migrants in Delhi, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The earlier chapters covered the various issues related to migrant's living condition, slum conditions, social capital and livelihood along with objectives and methodology of the study. In this chapter, an effort is being made to put together the major findings and insights emerging in the earlier chapters. Indeed, the list of results are too long and without seeking to repeat all of them only the major findings have been taken up in this chapter, which require careful consideration in view of their long- term policy-relevance. An attempt is also made here to make a few suggestions and recommendations with regard to integration of migrants and livelihood enhancement of migrants in context of capital city of India as well as cities of other developing nations.

Population distribution of any area is largely influenced by migration that arise out of numerous socio-economic, cultural and political factors working at places of origin as well as places of destination. Results show that non-remunerative agricultural work on one hand and non-availability of non-farm employment on the other at the place of origin emerge as the major contributing factor for migration to Delhi. Moreover, Delhi's booming services and faster economic development along with its highest per capita income among states makes it the favorite destination for migrants from all parts of the country. However, majority of these poor migrants settle in slums and unauthorized colonies, which are informal in nature. These informal settlements always facilitate the process of rural to urban migration and thus, play a huge role in the process of urbanization. Further, slums offer a gateway to the cities and provide affordable living space through the social capital of migrants. It is established that Migrants in Delhi are primarily engaged in unorganized sectors working as plumbers, domestic workers, rickshaw pullers, hawkers, construction workers, electricians, security guards, masons, street vendors etc. Ironically, majority of these migrants are not able to find work for a whole year and therefore, comes

under the category of marginal workers. It reflects the fact that these kinds of informal jobs are temporary in nature and sometimes take them to distant urban destinations. Further, majority of the migrants were either unskilled or semi-skilled and worked as casual wage laborers. The degree of casualization in employment, the demand for skilled and semi-skilled work and the transaction cost of finding work and staying in it, are perhaps the most crucial factors that increases the vulnerability of migrants' household in urban setting. In terms of employment opportunities, migrants usually enter at a relatively lower level of employment hierarchy as majority of them are involved in unskilled or semi-skilled activities, and not high skill activities. However, it is clear that more and more people are successfully being absorbed into casual jobs in slums of Delhi. Low wages combined with relatively higher costs of living and low margins of employers, mean that migrants' jobs depend largely on slums providing affordable lodging nearer to the labour markets. Inclusive growth of poor migrants is judged on the basis of lower incidence of poverty, universal access to health care and increased access to educational facilities including the skill development for migrants. The distribution of basic amenities such as housing, sanitation, water, electricity, and roads should be given equal importance in the provisions of inclusive growth. It is also expected to reflect livelihood enhancement by the means of wage and employment opportunities.

At macro level, the availability of natural and physical capital is crucial for healthy and sustainable development of the migrants. The term "natural capital" refers to elements of nature that, directly or indirectly affect the livelihood of city dwellers and produce value for both migrants and non-migrants. Although, the natural capital in urban context is very limited, however, resources such as land and other common pool resources are important to migrants living in the city. However, vegetation cover, city tree cover and availability of recreational land can be a natural asset for city dwellers at the macro level that can take up substantial amounts of carbon dioxide and also cause local cooling, thereby ameliorating the urban heat island effect on the one hand and reduce pollution and improve human health on the other. Unfortunately, such capital is not found near slums. Land and security of tenure is another major issue for the city dwellers, especially migrants. During the field survey it was observed that almost 64 per cent of migrants in slums were staying on encroached lands. In such scenarios, migrants were frequently asked to vacate the land by the

owner of the land where they have been living for the past 10-15 years. Further, the policy of slum resettlement launched by the Government also pose some sort of risk for migrants because of lack of proper documents on the basis of which they can claim their rights. Although, the resettlement plan of government is a welcome step for improving living conditions of the migrants, these plans seldom take into account their livelihood options. Migrants usually settle in areas, which are in close proximity to their economic activities. But in case of resettlement, migrants are usually relocated in peripheral areas of the city, where it is difficult for them to find any suitable occupation according to their ability and capacity. In such a situation, they let go of the benefits provided by these resettlement plans. Moreover, the future of their children also plays an important role in these decisions as they find the process of finding a new school and getting their children admitted in them as additional struggle. Therefore, natural capital like city vegetation, land availability including recreational land and security of tenure plays a vital role in livelihood decisions of migrants in the city.

Physical or produced capital is defined as the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and the production equipment and means, which enable people to pursue their livelihood. The condition of slums in Delhi is highly miserable in terms of current physical infrastructure particularly in case of sanitation facilities in the slums. It was observed from the results that the improvement in the facilities such as latrine, drainage, sewerage, and garbage disposal is highly disappointing. Although, shelter is considered to be multifunctional, potentially providing income from rent as well as location for home-based enterprise but the condition of housing in terms of type of houses, tenure security, and structure of the houses were found to be highly miserable and vulnerable. One area of concern which is highly related to housing condition of the migrants living in the slums of Delhi, is directly and indirectly associated with migrant's livelihood in the city. During the survey, it was found that majority of the migrants live only with single room and separate kitchen, where the kitchen was situated in one part of the room only. In such a scenario, where the average household size is about five persons, hygienic living conditions cannot be expected. A better condition of the house can not only provide ample space for healthy living to all the household members, but also provide them household entrepreneurial activities as alternate sources of livelihood.

Further, the material used for construction of houses was of temporary nature and unsuitable for rainy and winter seasons of the year as there were no provisions for sunlight or ventilation. A collection of poorly built dwellings crowded together with poor designs having no windows and low ceilings posed higher vulnerability to slum dwellers. The study finds that overall situation with regard to physical capital of the migrants is not up to the mark, and it makes little promise for a recipe of better livelihood. Therefore, improvement in living conditions of slum dwellers should be central to the public policy for migrants in the city and mitigation of urban poverty. Slum relocation should be endorsed in rarest of the rare situations where land is essential for larger public interests like widening of roads or creating centers of basic urban services, especially for the affected area. Further, if reallocation of slums is sanctioned in such circumstances, the displaced slum dwellers should be accommodated in the nearest possible locations without adversely affecting their livelihood capabilities.

As far as social capital of migrants is concerned, the study shows that it acts as a vehicle for further migration towards Delhi through information dissemination and assistance that reduces the cost and risks for new migrants in the city. The tendency among new migrants to rely mainly on relatives even though co-villagers were also reveals the fact that new migrants considered kinship bonds to be stronger. However, migrants receiving assistance from both relatives as well as co-villagers, preferred to approach the latter for searching job opportunities and rely on the former primarily for boarding and lodging. Migration through social capital has huge implications in terms of low wages earned because of low marginal productivity of the labour and lack of competitiveness in labour market. On the other hand, the space for urban employment expands due to social capital. An investigation into financial capital for the migrants revealed that participation level in informal credit system is very high in the slums of Delhi. It was observed that an overwhelming majority of the households resort to borrowing from moneylenders first followed by their friends/relatives in Delhi. In case of borrowing from moneylenders, migrants were forced to pay high rates of interest and sometimes forced to work as bonded laborers. In order to find the determinants of household income, Log Linear Regression model was employed and it showed positive relation between social capital and household income. Further, type of occupation and duration of stay in Delhi are also major factors determining

household income. Logistic Regression Model employed to determine social capital variables for satisfaction with work environment showed that social capital is not associated with satisfaction of workers at work place but education, type of occupation and duration of migration all played crucial roles in migrants' satisfaction.

A detailed investigation into livelihood diversification among migrants shows that it was quite rare to find a household with only one income generating activity to support their income. The diversity of livelihoods is an important feature of urban survival and in general, as means of additional income. Results show that, diversified livelihood system is capable of providing additional income for the household where casual wage laborer occupies the role as their main activity. Further, to understand the extent of livelihood diversification among migrants at household level, Simpson Diversity Index was employed, which reflect that households in the studied slums diversify their income activities modestly. Determinants of livelihood diversification at household level obtained through ordinal logit model suggest that female headed households along with human capital of head of the households played a decisive role in livelihood diversification. Further, household size and financial capital such as access to credit, assets of households, and social capital of the migrants are also significant factor for household level diversification. Linear regression for jobs per adult person provides the intensive picture of determinants of livelihood diversifications. Results from linear regression suggest that household size, health problems, household assets, households with BPL card and index of social capital is significantly associated with determinants of livelihood diversification in case of jobs per adults in a household while household size and assets index are significant factors for Simpson Diversity Index.

There are a lot of possibilities for migrant's development if the positive interventions take place but this demands desirable change in the attitude of government institutions as well as civil societies. There is an urgent need for explicit regulation and schemes in urban development planning as a numbers of shortcomings can be observed in development plans for integration of migrants in the cities. Existing act named 'Inter-state Migrant Workmen Regulation Act, 1979 (ISMWRA)' that is supposed to deal with contractor-led movements of inter-state migrant labour only, is not even implemented properly and inadequate to meet the protection needs

of workers in an increasingly neo-liberal economic regime. An attempt to map the major migration corridors in the country along with capturing the information on number of migrants and their occupational streams will be a valuable starting point, which will help in designing and implementing targeted programs for migrants. Further, it was observed that majority of the migrants come to cities and find work independently or through the help of family, relatives, friends and kin, and very few come through contractors. In such circumstances, majority of the migrants could not avail the benefits of the existing schemes. Although, many schemes and programs are already in place for informal workers, which include migrants too, the migrants generally did not possess the documents required to claim the benefits of such schemes and programs. The problem of lack of documents for migrants appears again in case of another program called 'Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996' that is hampered because of problems of funds and registration of the workers. Further, treating construction worker as immobile in this act neglect the locational and even inter-sectoral mobility of the migrant workers. In 2013, the Planning Commission revealed that urban planning in India has nearly failed as it barely reflects the concerns of the migrants. Slum dwellers including migrants living in slums are not benefitted from urban planning processes. Moreover, the migrants are also criticized for the deteriorating civic amenities and held responsible for virtually all other troubles plaguing the city like crime, and law and order problems. Although, programs such as 'The Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)' and 'Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)' have explicitly focused on urban transformation as part of urban planning, the present study finds that such programs have very limited focus on the needs of the urban poor, slum dwellers and migrants. The urban planning policy must unequivocally give due consideration to crucial issues concerning migrants keeping in mind their level of skill, education, locality and inter-sectoral mobility.

Of course, the question arises why the poor and marginalized migrants living in the slums particularly STs, SCs and Muslim minorities remain at the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy. Moreover, precarious conditions of employment faced by migrants of lower socio-economic strata is a cause of concern. To understand the existing situation of the migrant workers, the macroeconomic data on the social characters of the poor in India needs to take into account the real condition of the

poor. This can provide a more appropriate approach to understand their experiences and the processes that breeds inequality. This study offers several avenues for further studies regarding exploration of different forms and degrees of unfreedom of labour. Some types of bondage labour are not even described as forced labour by the International Labour Organization; but they are undoubtedly 'inhuman' and shows the 'unfree' aspect of the labour market.

Another significant purpose of the study is to understand the exclusion of migrants and fragmented nature of their social capital in context of social exclusion. Results suggest that migrants in slums of Delhi face a number of exclusion and discrimination issues on multiple grounds, particularly gender, social status, religion, working status and place of origin. Problem of discrimination and issues of integration faced by migrants is not an accidental phenomenon, but a severe and systemic one. Such issues demand serious attention of policy makers so that slum dwellers including the migrants can live a dignified and equitable life, free from any form of discrimination and social exclusion. This will ensure their active participation in all spheres of democratic life. Therefore, there is an urgent need to carefully examine the structural deficiencies of the capitalist system that triggered the process of social exclusion, deprivation, discrimination and social inequality. The economic dimension of exclusion is further examined using the Binary Logistic Regression for employment status and material deprivation. The results indicate 'weakness of strong ties' as migrants who enjoy strong traditional social ties were not benefitting from social capital as much as expected. These results reveal that recently acquired privileged position of social capital in development discourse is misguided. Apart from the positive effects social capital, we have to understand the fragmented nature of social capital. Every features of social structure can be social capital if it produces desired results, but at the same time it could be the danger if it produces unwanted outcomes. We have to be careful how we define and use the term social capital as social capital is an 'elastic term' with variety of meanings.

Policy Suggestions

Equal opportunities and urban advantages are considerably determined by different level of government institutions and organizations. Several studies suggest that urban poor including migrants engaged in informal sectors with low level of

working skill, are neglected. Moreover, in this process, mostly uneducated poor migrants living in slums are deprived of the secure livelihood options. If these institutions become dysfunctional and pathetic, poor migrants will be exposed to the risk of discrimination in terms of opportunities. These institutions should therefore adopt strategies that ensure inclusion of this segment of population in the schemes undertaken by the state and the central government. Another dimension that needs urgent attention is the expansion of the resource base of the migrants. Two distinct but interrelated strands of policy initiatives emerge from the study. Firstly, the strengthening of the human resource-base at the household level, particularly through increasing access to health and education including skill development, that will help in reducing the vulnerability of the households. The spread of technical education and formal education, apart from its well-known positive externalities, have long-term impact on increasing human capital with the expansion of alternative sources of earnings and employment for the migrants' households and will help in reducing their vulnerability in city's context. Further, education also enhances the information base and bargaining strength of migrant workers. Secondly, the availability of formal credit mechanism for the migrants enables them to set up their own entrepreneurship at small scale that enhance their livelihood. These two initiatives will have huge potential in terms of improving migrants' productivity, civic responsibilities and the process of their inclusion.

At macro level, the policy for migrants and process of migration should not only focused on support for migrants but also have to be linked with capitalist growth of Indian economy, which implied the informalization of rural and urban economy. While Indian overseas migrants are aggressively courted and praised, it is a matter of great irony that internal migrants who directly contribute to Indian economy, remain on the fringes of public and policy attention. Despite the hard work done by internal migrants that maintain the symbols of resurgent India- the metro system, flyovers, malls etc., they remain invisible. These kinds of sheer differences between internal and international migrants reflect the contradictory and discriminatory attitude of government. Government must bring their attention towards ending this discrimination and build the sensitivities on increasing mobility of our rural population who build the foundations for India's celebrated growth. The study has posed several challenges before policy makers, civil society, governments, NGOs and

researchers around the livelihood components-natural, physical, financial, human and social- of slum dwellers in urban settings. One has to understand that livelihood is not only concerned with providing assets like natural, physical, financial, human and social capital. It is equally concerned with non-material aspects of well-being such as management with regard to identity, political and civil inclusion, labour market inclusion, legal aid and dispute resolution mechanism, inclusion of women migrants and upholding of personal significance. The journey to end the discrimination, deprivation and urban poverty in Indian cities continues; and faces a number of challenges in the context of global recession and required change over to new developmental models. Sooner or later, rhetoric's like 'Right to city' or 'My City: My pride' will become a reality.

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Appendix 1: List of items indicating material deprivation

Index (16 selected items)

Financial deprivation

Makes end meet with difficulties

Finds it difficult to pay rent/bills

Deprivation of basic needs

Milk/meat/chicken/fish every day

Can buy new cloths

Go to a concert/theater or eat out once in a month

Deprivation of human development

Afford to send children to school/college

Afford to go to hospital when required

Housing deprivation

Insufficient space in house

Damp/katcha housing

Drinking water facility

Separate kitchen

Own latrine facility

Deprivation related to the possession of durable consumables

Telephone/mobile

Motorcycle/scooter

Refrigerator

Fan/cooler
