

FORWARD AND BACKWARD LINKAGES OF MIGRANTS TO SLUMS IN DELHI

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Linkages with the native place as well as integration within the city constitute backward and forward linkages of slum dwellers. Remittances are important part of these linkages. The paper explores the existing linkage and role of remittances of migrants staying in Delhi's slums within the city and region. It also explores the impact of resettlement on the socio-cultural and economic ties of slum dwellers.

INTRODUCTION

Earlier Migration has been seen as having negative influence on a city (UNICEF 2011). It has been proved later that it affects positively with remittances contributing in both backward and forward linkages. People move to urban areas due to economic opportunities followed by cultural, social, environmental factors (Nair 2011, Singh 1994). Migrants contribute to the development of their place of origin by sending remittances, which diversify risk, increase consumption capacity, provide financial support and knowledge (Dev 2011). The migrants stay largely in slums, which are environmentally unsustainable habitats (Kumar 2006, UNFPA 2007). The present study analyses the linkages between migrants' place of origin and destination, based on primary survey data of Delhi.

STUDY AREA

Delhi is one of the fastest growing cities in the country, accounting over 47% decadal growth from 1991-2001, more than double the national rate (RGI 2001). A large part of this rapid growth has been due to high level of migration. The same trend continues in the recent Census where Delhi is showing maximum increase in population (38%) as a result of migration from the neighboring states (RGI, 2011). States adjoining to the cities account for a large part of inter-state migration. Delhi attracts large-scale movement of people from the states surrounding Delhi, and also from outside; Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Haryana, followed by Rajasthan and Punjab in terms of their contribution (92%) to Delhi's total population growth (GoI 2001, 2007) (Figure 1).

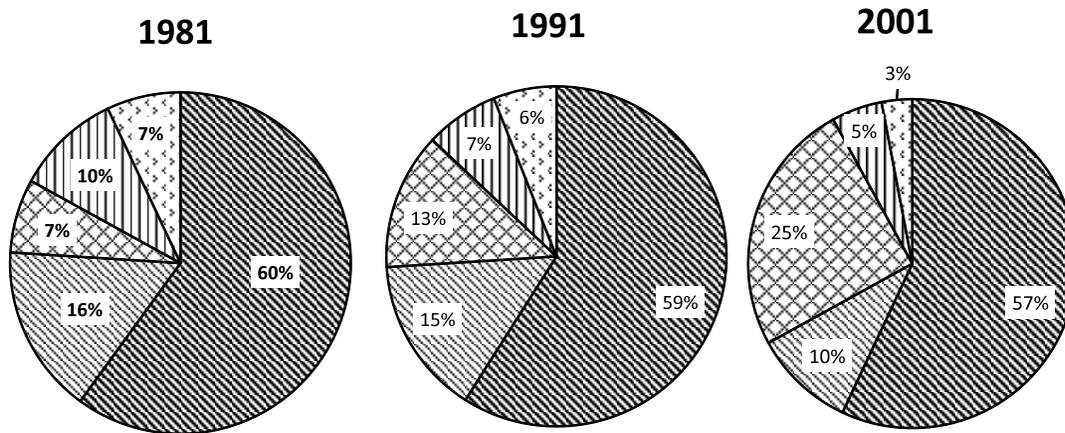
Among the major urban agglomerations, Delhi is the only state having highest (16%) concentration of in-migrants to the total population in 2001 and in 2011 (Mukerji 2011, Mukherji 2011). It has smallest geographical area (0.04%), but has high slum population density (2133 persons per sq. k.m.). Delhi is divided into nine districts, out of which, significant concentration of Jhuggi-Jhompri (J.J.) clusters are found in South Delhi (31%) and North West (18%) districts. The slums are created on the land belonging to agencies such as Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB), forest dept., railways, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) etc. Among the land owing agencies, DDA and DUSIB are having 58% of their area under J.J. clusters. These clusters are situated on the vacant land along railway lines, roads, drains and river embankments. The clusters are surrounded by different types of land uses, such as residential, industrial, commercial etc. Around 55% of squatters are near the residential areas and 40% along the road (Ali and Singh 1998). Population residing in J.J. clusters vis-a-vis resettlement colonies is distinct in its characteristics. Two J.J. clusters i.e. Okhla J.J. cluster and

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Bawana Resettlement J.J. colony have been selected for detailed study. Hundred households are equally distributed among the case studies and are selected randomly for conducting the questionnaire surveys.

Fig. 1: Proportion of in-migrants to Delhi by Place of Last Residence from 1981-2001



Source: Census of India, 1981, 1991, 2001 & Provisional Statistics of Delhi 2011

BACKWARD LINKAGES OF SLUM MIGRANTS

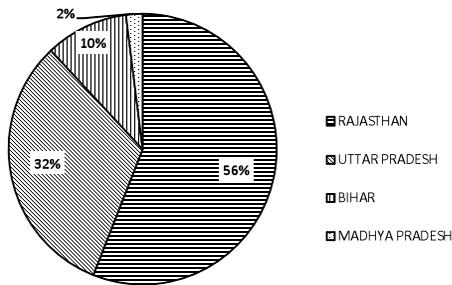
Backward linkages are important due to their contribution in the migration process. There exists a strong social and economic network between migrant’s place of origin and destination. Movements are highly influenced by social and economic reasons.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LINKAGES

The socio-economic status of slum migrants has an impact on people’s movement from one place to another (GoI 2009). Inter-district and Inter-state movements are more frequent for migrants in urban areas than those for migrants from rural areas. Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar are the top three states with 31%, 28% and 25% contribution of migrants to Delhi, respectively. Maximum in-migration happened before the year 2000 due to employment opportunities in construction and manufacturing sector after the introduction of New Economic Policy. During this period, people migrated mainly for employment (36%) followed by people moved with households (12%), marriage (10%). Less proportion of respondents migrated due to natural calamity (6%), education (4%) and business (3%). After the year 2000, only 5% respondents moved to Delhi. The forced eviction from the central and east Delhi caused many migrants to go back to their native place at the time of Commonwealth Games. The NSS 64th round (2008) report mentioned that reason for migration among male is employment whereas marriage is the most prominent reason for female migration (GoI 2010).

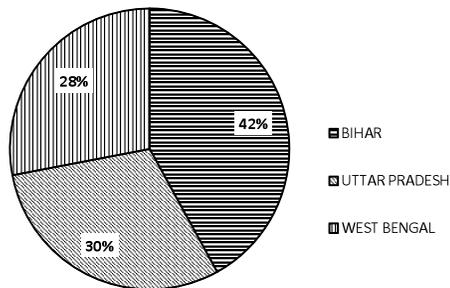
In Okhla J.J. cluster, significant concentration of migrants could be seen prior to the year 2000. Almost 74% of people migrated from surrounding areas of Delhi to this cluster, before 2000 (Figure 2). In Bawana J.J. cluster, a significant concentration of migrants came before 1990. Most of them migrated from Bihar and West Bengal due to demand for labour in Delhi for Asiad Games (Figure 3). Only 16% migrated during the period 1990 to 2000. During this period, people from Uttar Pradesh migrated, seeking employment. After 2001, only 4% of people migrated due to their marriage or presence of relatives. Over the decades, in-migration to Delhi is showing a marked decline due to the intervention of government schemes and programmes in rural areas, such as employment generation programmes, provision for affordable housing and infrastructure facilities.

Fig. 2: Proportion of in-migrants in Okhla J.J. cluster



Source: Primary Survey, February 2012

Fig. 3: Proportion of in-migrants in Bawana J.J. cluster



Source: Primary Survey, February 2012

Initiation of Migratory Move

Social network plays an integral role in migration process since majority of people migrates as a result of kinship network. Kinship network in the form of presence of family member or friends at place of destination is dominant factor for migration to the city and very less proportion of people move alone. Majority of respondents have migrated along with their relatives (40%) and friends (24%) at the place of destination and get support of accommodation and employment. About 22% people also migrated with contractors who provided them employment opportunity.

Factors Leading to Migration

A large proportion of people migrate to city from the adjoining states due to employment related reasons, followed by marriage. Earlier, the male migrants were dominant in former category whereas females dominated in the later category. In Okhla J.J. cluster, majority of people migrated due to employment related reasons (56%) followed by marriage (14%). People moving with households (8%), for business purposes (6%) and education (4%) are the other contributing factors for migration. Maximum number of migrants (12%) from Rajasthan are due to natural calamity i.e. drought. Uttar Pradesh (32%) contributes almost the same percentage of migrants in both the localities. West Bengal with 28% migrants is another major contributor in Bawana J.J. cluster. The reasons for migration of people are almost similar i.e. employment followed by marriage and natural calamity.

Social Stratification

People from varied social background reside together in the slums having the feel of community togetherness. People belonging to the same community tend to be close to each other. Community diversification determines the traditions and the way of life of the people. There is a sense of belongingness when they start living in same community, which reduces their psychological insecurity to some extent. J.J. clusters are divided into different parts based on communities. In both the case studies, social stratification on the basis of community is clearly seen. In Okhla J.J. cluster, migrants belonging to Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh community people are occupying major space whereas people from Madhya

Pradesh are located towards the corner of the slum cluster. People belonging to the same state i.e. Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, are placed close to each other because of high similarity between their tradition and way of living. In Bawana J.J. cluster, Bihar and West Bengal migrants are in majority and reside close to each other. They are the early migrant communities, followed by communities of Uttar Pradesh. These communities are located in the southern part of the J.J. cluster.

Housing Typology

In cities, people's earnings and their way of life govern housing typology, especially in slums, where people do not have much income to spend for housing and are forced to live in shanty locations. In Okhla, people have semi-pucca type of jhuggies i.e. side walls and tin roof whereas in Bawana, most of the houses are pucca. In a resettlement colony (i.e. Bawana) people have access to pucca shelter.

In Okhla, people have made double-storey jhuggies due to lack of space for horizontal area expansion. There are a few triple-storey jhuggies. In Okhla, 56% of respondents have given rooms on rent in order to earn extra income whereas in Bawana, people stay in pucca houses having double and triple-storey structures. In Bawana, 20% of people have given rooms on rent for residential purposes and ground floor for commercial purposes.

Longevity and Stronger ties between Place of Origin and Destination

Longer duration of stay in the city keeps a stronger association with the native place. They construct building and then go for purchasing agricultural land, giving it out on rent first and later on lease to earn extra money. Out of the total sample, 38% of respondents who have migrated between 6 to 10 years ago have strong linkage with Delhi and their native place. They are settled in their occupation, earnings have also improved over the years. As a result of improved economic status they own assets at both the places i.e. in Delhi and at these native place which strengthens their linkages. Similar situation has been observed in Okhla (48%) and Bawana (56%). This is because these people own assets such as land and house at native places and permanently settled in Delhi. They receive a part of their income from these assets, which is one of the main reasons for keeping the ties with native places. The people (7%) who migrated five years ago are less in touch with their native places. They are dependent on the remittances received from the native places, as in initial stages they struggle to earn their livelihood, have irregular income and work as casual labour.

Purpose of Visit to Native Place

Various reasons are responsible for migrant slum dwellers to visit their native places. A significant proportion (55%) of respondents visit their native places for ceremonial purposes (33% in Okhla and 83% in Bawana) followed by personal reasons (29% in Okhla and 11% in Bawana). People (14%) also visit either for sending remittances (21% in Okhla and 6% in Bawana) or in order to collect the rent. The Okhla J.J. cluster, being an older settlement with high income of households, 17% of people visit native places to collect rent out of their assets and 21% send the remittances back. The situation is different in Bawana, being a resettlement colony and masonry is the main occupation of people. Nearly 94% people visit only for ceremonial purpose or to meet their families. Only a few are sending part of their remittances back but are not receiving any income. In short, cultural linkages are strong for a migrant to visit his native place.

Exchanges between Native and Destination Place

Linkages between migrant's place of origin and destination happen as a result of exchange of goods and services. There is a strong correlation in case of exchange of goods and services between migrant's native place and place of destination, i.e. 0.63 and 0.532 respectively. Exchange of household commodities (76%) seems to be significant in case studies. A person visiting his/her native place, brings household commodities such as wheat, rice, ghee, sugar, pickle etc. Migrants face difficulty in receiving ration from Public Distribution System in the absence of address proof, income proof and lack of procedural understanding to obtain the ration card. People also bring clothes when they visit their native place. The cloths are cheap and there is a level of trust between buyer and seller. Very less proportion consists of exchanges of electronic items and farm implements. People take along electronic items i.e. radio, mobile phone, toys etc. and farm implements when they visit their native places.

Perceived Change in Migrant's Lives

Social, cultural and economic changes occur when a person is influenced by city culture. Economic changes are the dominant among all changes. Out of total sample, 58% respondents reported economic changes in terms of increase in incomes and saving. About 28% respondents feel social changes, which include change in daily work schedule, sleeping habits and psychological insecurity after migrating to Delhi. Cultural change in terms of changes in food consumption habits, addiction to tobacco, smoking and drinking were reported by 14% respondents. Okhla Cluster migrants with long stay, high disposable income and assets face high social (36%) and cultural (24%) changes unlike in resettlement colony people.

Occupational Structure

The Occupational structure changes when migrants move from their native place to Delhi. The occupational change is from unskilled to skilled workforce and primary activities to secondary and tertiary activities (Bhattacharya, 1998). A weak correlation (0.34) exists in the occupation before and after migration to Delhi. Out of 53 agriculturists, only 26% settled in resettlement colony are practicing it. After migrating to Delhi, they are first engaged in unorganised sector and get relocated to Bawana from Yamuna Pushta J.J. clusters. Bawana is located at a distance of more than 30 kms from their earlier workplaces, increasing the cost of travel. Ample amount of agriculture land is available as it is located on the periphery of Delhi and surrounded by villages. Therefore, people adopted their traditional occupation agriculture as an occupation in the nearby area so as to cut down the expenditure on transportation and reduce the travel time. Rest of them are engaged as local vendor (28%), domestic servant (19%), rickshaw puller (15%), and helper (12%) whereas those who were rearing livestock (18%) in rural areas are now engaged as local vendor, mason, shop keeper and rickshaw puller.

The city is booming with construction activities resulting in an increase in the demand for mason. It is a highly skilled work and requires training. The masons are also highly paid among informal workers in urban areas. Masons have not changed their job and only 17% are now engaged as local vendors (9%) and helpers (8%). Respondents who were engaged in livestock rearing (18%) before migration have completely changed their occupation. This is because there is not enough space to rear the livestock as well as due to lack of fodder availability in the cities. They now work as local vendor (44%), mason (22%), rickshaw puller (22%) and shopkeeper (12%). The shopkeepers (5) are now working as rickshaw puller and helper whereas local vendors are now engaged in domestic activities.

In Okhla J.J. cluster, people engaged in agricultural activities (56%) and livestock rearing (16%) have completely changed their occupations. Out of total agricultural labourers (56), respondents are working as rickshaw pullers (22%), local vendors of fruits and vegetable (21%) and helpers in shops (18%) whereas

respondents engaged in livestock rearing before migration are now engaged as mason (56%), local vendor (19%), domestic servants (13%) and helper (12%).

Majority of the migrants are engaged in unskilled workforce. Significant concentration (76%) of respondents in age group of 21 years to 40 years is working mainly in unskilled occupation, i.e. as domestic servants, local vendors and agricultural labourers. They are engaged in more than one occupation. This age group people are more mobile, have stamina to do hard work as well as are willing to change the place of stay. Rest is engaged as skilled workers, such as driver (16%), helper (13%) and peon (3%). The workers in the age group of 15 to 20 years are mostly skilled workers (72%), because most of them try to maintain the balance between education and job.

Income and Savings

After migrating to Delhi, a remarkable change has been observed in the earnings and savings of slum migrants. Before migration, 78% were earning less than one thousand rupees per month, 16% between Rs. one to two thousand per month, followed by 6% earning between Rs. two and three thousand (Table 1). Since the earnings are low, only 62% could save less than Rs. one thousand per month. After migration, 84% respondents started earning more than Rs. three thousand per month due to availability of work, engagement in more than one occupation and regular wages. Majority are engaged in informal or unorganised sectors. They get engaged in more than one occupation so as to earn extra income. The per capita expenditure in Delhi is more, which reduces the savings.

Table 1. Change in Income and Savings of respondents after Migration

Income Level (in Rs. Per month)	Income (in%)		Saving (in%)	
	Before Migration	After Migration	Before Migration	After Migration
< Rs. 1000	78	-	100	38
Rs. 1,001 to 2,000	16	2	-	12
Rs. 2,001 to 3,000	6	14	-	20
>Rs. 3,001	-	84	-	30
Total	100	100	62	100

Source: Primary Survey, February 2012

Status of Loan

Marginalised section of society resorts to loan in order to meet their household expenditure, repayment of debt and for ceremonial purposes. Only 61 respondents have taken loan (Table 2). Before migration, only 23% people availed loan for household consumption due to crop failure, ceremonial purposes and repayment of debt at their native place too. The main source of taking loan is relatives (71%) or friends (21%). Only one person took loan from co-operative bank so as to repay the debt. After migration, 77% had taken loan for the first time. In the absence of linkage with formal institutions, people took loan from relatives (56%) followed by friends (20%), local committee members (16%). Only 8% used bank for availing the loan facility. The loan amount varies between Rs. fifty thousand to one lakh for 27% respondents, whereas 26% had taken loan less than Rs. fifty thousand.

Table 2: Status of Loan Before and After Migration

Amount	Before Migration	After Migration	Total
< Rs. 50 thousand	4	22	26
Rs. 50thousand to 1lakh	8	19	27
> Rs. 1lakh	2	6	8
Total	14	47	61

Source: Primary Survey, February 2012

High income results into high expenditure on social and economic purposes. One third of the people took loan to meet their household expenditure, followed by ceremonial purposes (29%). Only 21% people used the loan for productive purposes, like purchasing of land at their native places. People below the poverty line are in the vicious circle of poverty. People (15%) availed loan even for repayment of debt. The percentage of people as well as their reason to take loan is different from cluster to cluster. People residing at Bawana J.J. Cluster have (40%) taken loan after being evicted from Yamuna Pushta J.J. cluster for household expenditure and repayment of debt and in Okhla mostly for ceremonial purposes.

Remittances

Flow of remittances occurs between migrant's place of origin and place of destination. Primary data shows 56% of migrant's send remittances to their native place. In case of Okhla J.J. cluster, a significant proportion (92%) send remittances to native place whereas in Bawana J.J. cluster, only 20% of respondents send remittances to native place due to low income and savings after relocation. Nearly 52% of respondents send remittances once in a year, 45% of respondents once in six months and 3% send every month. There is a strong correlation (0.73) between sending remittances and saving. People save money for ceremonial purposes and hence, able to send back money for ceremonial activities once in a year. Significant proportions of respondents send remittances through bank (46%), followed by personal visit (36%) and middlemen (18%).

In Okhla J.J. clusters majority of respondents are using bank accounts for sending remittances since the wards of respondents are educated. They have awareness of availing bank facilities. Nearly 10% respondents have bank accounts in Punjab National Bank and Co-operative banks while in Bawana J.J. cluster no one has bank accounts since they do not trust government for any assistance due to eviction. In Bawana J.J. cluster, respondents prefer personal visit (60%) and middlemen (40%) for sending remittances at native place.

Asset Ownership

Primary survey data reveal that majority of the respondents have their land and house as assets. They own the assets at native place (73%) whereas less number of them own assets in Delhi (27%). Nearly 63% of respondents own assets in the form of house (60%) and land (40%). A significant proportion of respondents is earning rent out of their assets at both the place i.e. origin and destination. In Delhi, many people invest in house and earn income through renting out their property. The correlation between ownership of asset and native place is strong (0.64). On the other hand, weak correlation (0.34) exists between ownership of asset within NCT of Delhi. This reflects that migrants own assets at native places more than their current place of residence. A strong correlation exists between asset ownership and rent coming from assets located within Delhi (0.77) and at native place (0.58).

FORWARD LINKAGES

Now a days, inter-district migration is also very common. In case of Delhi, nearly 7% of the migrants moved within the city. It has been observed that people tend to move from one place to another place within a city. Movement of people is mainly due to eviction by government, economic and social reasons, after migrating from outside the state.

Out of total households, it has been observed that 50% of slum migrants moved to other places as a result of eviction. This category constitutes of slum migrants evicted from Yamuna Pushta J.J. cluster and relocated to Bawana cluster by the government in the year 2004. Slum migrants (28%) living in Okhla cluster moved within Delhi after migrating from different states due to economic reasons i.e. change in

occupation (25%) and distance from workplace (13%). People tend to live in areas near to their workplaces in order to cut down their expenditure on transportation. Only 5% moved in search of cheaper accommodation so as to reduce their expenditure on housing and save for other purposes. People (7%) also tend to move due to social reasons, as they want to stay close to their own community in order to have psychological security.

SOCIO-CULTURAL LINKAGES

Migration is a result of social or kinship network. A strong relationship between migrant and his native place is visible in terms of his social linkages. It has been observed that when a person migrates, he tends to locate himself close to the people belonging to his own community. Majority of migrants from Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh are residing in the southern part of Delhi. In Okhla J.J. cluster, people moved from nearby place i.e. Tughlaqabad, Tigri Camp, Sangam Vihar etc. Their relatives and friends reside in these areas. This led to a strong social network since all the areas are located within a radius of five to eight kilometers. They visit their relative's place once in two weeks in general. They also gather on every festival and celebrate together.

In case of Bawana, majority of migrants from Bihar and West Bengal reside along the bank of river Yamuna. They had their social network in Laxmi Nagar, Amar Colony, Kalyan Puri, Trilokpuri, located near to Yamuna Pushta J.J. cluster eviction site. Their contact with relatives and friends is not strong as it used to be before eviction. Contacts become weaker when they were relocated to a distant place. Since the distance has increased from Bawana to Yamuna Pushta, their visits to relatives and friends get reduced.

ECONOMIC LINKAGES

Employment opportunities and distance from workplace varies between Okhla and Bawana. Okhla industrial area, Govindpuri and Kalkaji residential areas and Nehru Place commercial area surround Okhla. Majority of respondents have their workplace within 4kms. However, in Bawana, the respondents used to work in Old Delhi areas (i.e. Chawri Bazar, Chandni Chowk, Sadar Bazar etc.) at the time of migration. In 2004, they were resettled on the periphery of Delhi, i.e. Bawana, at a distance of 30 kms from their workplace owing to eviction process.

Distance from Workplace

Distance from workplace and expenditure on transportation has a positive correlation. Out of the total sample, majority of respondents (55%) travel less than 4 kms to reach their workplaces indicating very less expenditure on transportation whereas 28% travel 5 to 8 kms daily to reach their workplaces spending fifty rupees per day. Rest of them, travel more than 9 kms and spend Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 daily on transportation.

In case of Bawana only 26% of people are engaged in either agricultural activities or in domestic activities in surrounding villages such as Santho village, Bawana village are working within 4 kms radius. However, 44% people have their workplaces located at a distance of 5 to 8 kms and 30% people travel more than 9 kms indicating very high daily expenditure on transportation. The distance is more than 30 kms from their workplaces with no direct connectivity. So, the employment options are limited in such a fragile area. People tend to travel back to their earlier work places resulting into high transportation cost and travel time. Few of these people either lost their jobs or forced to adopt low paid jobs nearby (as agricultural labour and mason) affecting their livelihood adversely.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The backward linkages of slum migrants are very strong as compared to forward linkages. The relocation has restricted migrant's socio-cultural and economic linkages. A non-evicted J.J. cluster of Okhla is far better than resettled J.J cluster of Bawana. It has strong forward linkages compared to the evicted slum. The main driving force behind the weak linkages lies in the fact that the Government of Delhi has relocated them far from their community people and workplace without providing adequate connectivity. Relocation site should be chosen near the workplace of slum dwellers so that the eviction process would not impact their source of livelihood. The relocation should also include employment provision for extremely poor along with the provision for access to housing or plots.

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