

RESEARCH REPORT

Continuum of Incremental Housing Solutions for Urban Migrant Populations

Prepared by



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Affordable Housing Scenario

India is one of the fastest growing developing countries in the world. The indicators on which it has been rated include urbanization, industrialization, innovation, infrastructural developments, international trade, to name a few. Increasing development and other factors compel people to migrate from rural to urban set ups. Continuous inflow of rural population to the urban areas, for a populous country like India, makes it difficult to manage and provide the necessities vis-à-vis livelihood, health facilities, and education; and shelter being the most important as it requires maximum sum of resources. Importantly, migration to urban areas keeps increasing at faster rate compared to the resources for a decent life for migrated families.

In 2004, UN-Habitat estimated that 940 million people—over 30% of the world urban population—were living in slums. Since the population currently grows faster in slums than in other urban areas, this figure could reach 1.7 billion by 2020, and 2.8 billion by 2030 (Lopez Moreno, 2003). In case studies in developing countries, usually between 20% and 90% of a city's population live in informal or illegal settlements (Durand-Lasserve, Selod, 2007, p. 3). In the year 2009, 28% of the Indian population lived in urban areas. This number will increase to 41% of the total population living in urban areas by 2030. Furthermore, 80 million poor people live in cities and towns, of which 61.8 million live in slums, representing 23.7% of India's total population. (India Poverty Report, UNDP, 2009)

Many developing countries have to “cope with massive quantitative and qualitative housing deficits” confronting national and local authorities “with a major task of accommodating their citizens.” In most developing countries, governments focus on solving housing shortage for the middle-income groups, leaving a big gap between supply and demand of affordable housing for the urban poor. (Bredenoord & van Lindert, 2010)

An important factor is that it is taking place in developing countries that are least able to cope: in terms of the ability of governments to provide urban infrastructure; in terms of the ability of urban residents to pay for such services. The inevitable result has been the rapid growth of slums and squatter settlements – often characterized by deplorable living and environmental conditions.

Good news is that there is an upsurge in the developments of affordable housing in India. The government of India has come up with schemes such as Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) and Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) to alleviate poverty and get people their basic right of shelter and housing. These schemes are especially emphasizing on the urban poor and making the country slum free. People are showing interest in such houses which they can call home and are coming up with their demands. More importantly, the efforts are taking place both at central and state government as well as local government.

Urban Housing in India – Historical Perspective

The regional structure of urban settlements and spatial layouts in India today has its roots in the *'development dynamics that prevailed during the colonial period'* which were based on the needs of the imperialist regime of the British. The flow of goods and resources from rural areas and production centres created and subsequently reinforced a flow of population towards 'key ports and administrative towns.' Several authors describe a shift from a 'bi directional movement of goods between the core and the periphery' to 'major urban agglomerations and ports serving as focal points for extraction of surplus goods.' Kundu observes that unlike UAs in developed countries, Indian agglomerations were not products of economic development.

Because the entire mechanism for urban growth was not linked to economic development but was rather focused around the draining of resources and goods out of the country, cities by 1947 followed variations of a distinctly set pattern that included

1. Urban centres with well-built infrastructure and public facilities for the ruling class that were exclusive and absolutely out of the reach of the poor [the first world]
2. A peripheral region for the local populace that supplemented the activities of the ruling class i.e. the government clerks, police officers, military installations with basic services and infrastructure necessary for existence [the second world]
3. The industrial areas for the processing of the raw resources pouring in from the countryside
4. The areas inhabited by the labour and the workers in the factories and in the ports with minimal infrastructure and services [the third world]

This is a uniform pattern that is present in some measure or the other across all cities in India. The major shift in this pattern came with independence in 1947, when the system shifted gears from draining of resources to the economic development of the local people.

After independence, the overall activity in the country became centred on the five year plans. The development of the nation would be achieved through plans by following and achieving targeted objectives.

The first five year plan was focused on development of the primary sector with the key areas of investment being irrigation, energy, agriculture and transport.

The first recognition of slums as urban housing happened in the 1950s. The government passed the Slum Areas (improvement and Clearance) Act in 1956. The Act enabled a slum clearance and rehabilitation scheme to clear the slum areas and resettle the slum dwellers in tenements that would be highly subsidized. Under this Act, slums were defined as *"buildings are in any respect unfit for human habitation, and which are by reason of dilapidation, over-crowding, faulty arrangement of streets, lack ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors they are detrimental to safety, health or morals."* Several states then enacted their own versions of these acts.

Across the first, second and third five year plans, several large scale investments in selected pockets helped to restructure the urban hierarchy from the model that had developed under colonial rule. The public sector continued to direct investment towards 'backward' regions but this could not solve the regional disparities. Kundu states that this is because 'apex centres did not create a viable system of urban settlements' and 'assumption of percolation and diffusion of growth impulses from the centre to the periphery... proved to be invalid as the multiplier effects got impounded within the large agglomerations'. The broader result of the high pace of urban growth during this time was the 'greater informalisation of the urban economy and to growing deprivation in terms of basic services'.

As a result of this growth in urban populations and other related aspects such as infrastructure, land allocation etc. not keeping pace with this growth, a large proportion of urban population has ended up living in unregulated and informal housing.

Research Design and Methodology

1. Secondary research comprised of study and analysis of:
 - a. Data from Census and NSSO 64th round (2007-08), and
 - b. Literature on migration and its effects on urbanisation.
2. Primary Research
 - a. City level exploratory research was undertaken to develop the migration profile of each city. This entailed the following steps:
 - i. Research Team: In each city, local researchers were recruited and orientation-cum-training sessions were held. The objective was to ensure that all team members understood the concept of migration, including the reasons for migration and its local context. Further, the main indicators were discussed and elaborated for deeper understanding of the migrants and their housing. All members of the research team were also migrants themselves – who have either migrated for livelihoods, with families or due to marriage.
 - ii. Meetings and Discussions were held with local NGOs who were working with migrants in order to identify broad areas where migrants were living in large numbers and to understand their views on migration.
 - iii. Initial field work: Team members undertook reconnaissance visits to different parts of the city as identified in interviews with the NGOs.
 - iv. At each location where migrants live, personal interviews and group discussions were held.

Migration Profile – India

There are 2 major statistical sources that provide data on migration in India. These are the National Sample Survey Organisation which conducted a survey on migration in its 64th round in 2007-08, and the Census of India 2011, which has published provisional data on migration as captured in the census survey at the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011.

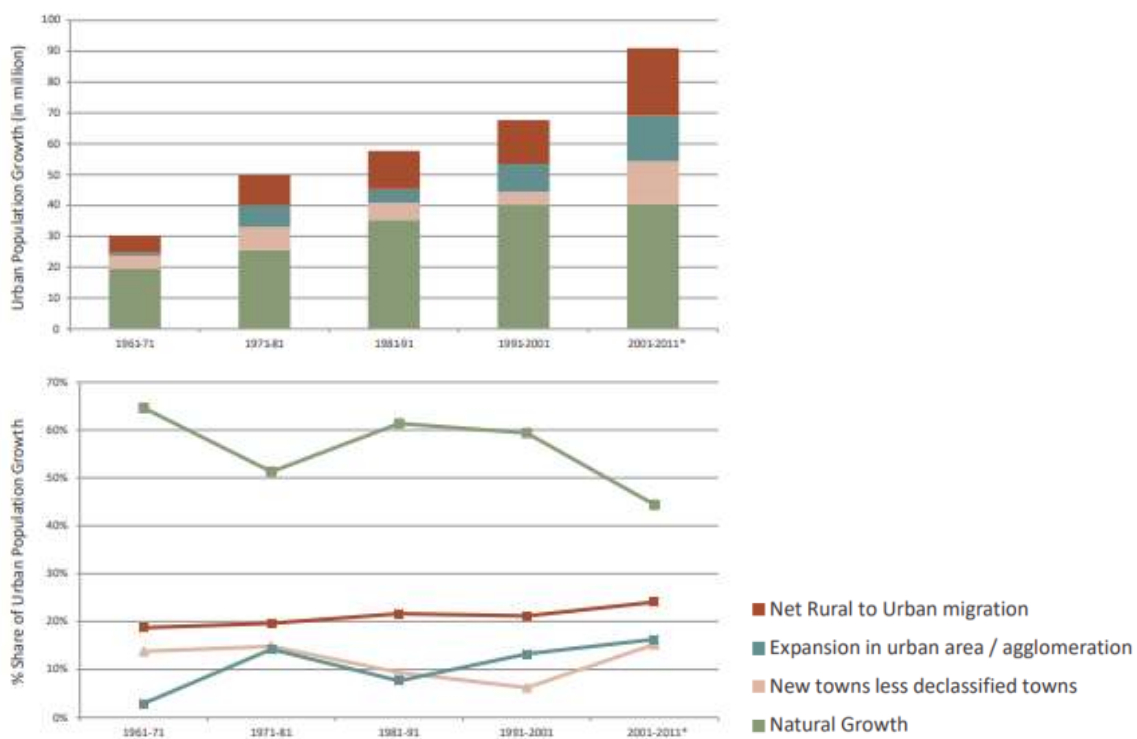
In both these sources, “Migration” is understood to mean:

- a person whose **place of enumeration** is different from his/ her **last usual place of residence**
- This means that a person is treated as a migrant if he was enumerated or surveyed at a place other than the place where he had been residing more or less permanently prior to coming to the place of enumeration

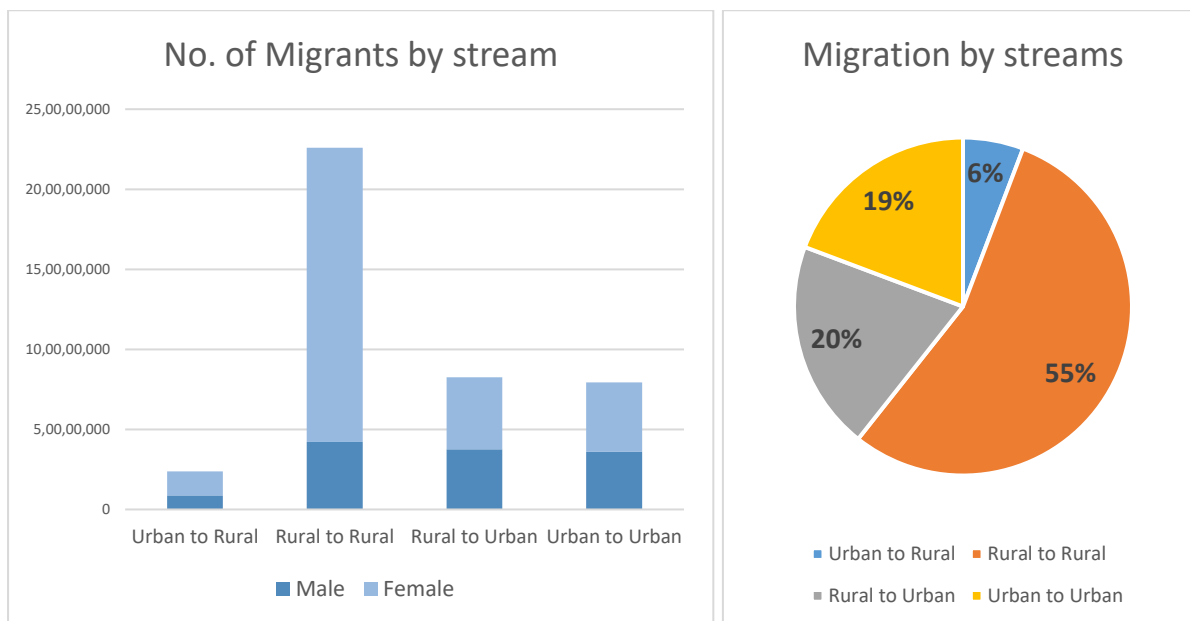
Migration is assumed to be a primary cause of Urban growth. As per the census, migration has contributed about a fifth to the population growth in cities.

Over 2001 – 2011, based on results of Census 2011:

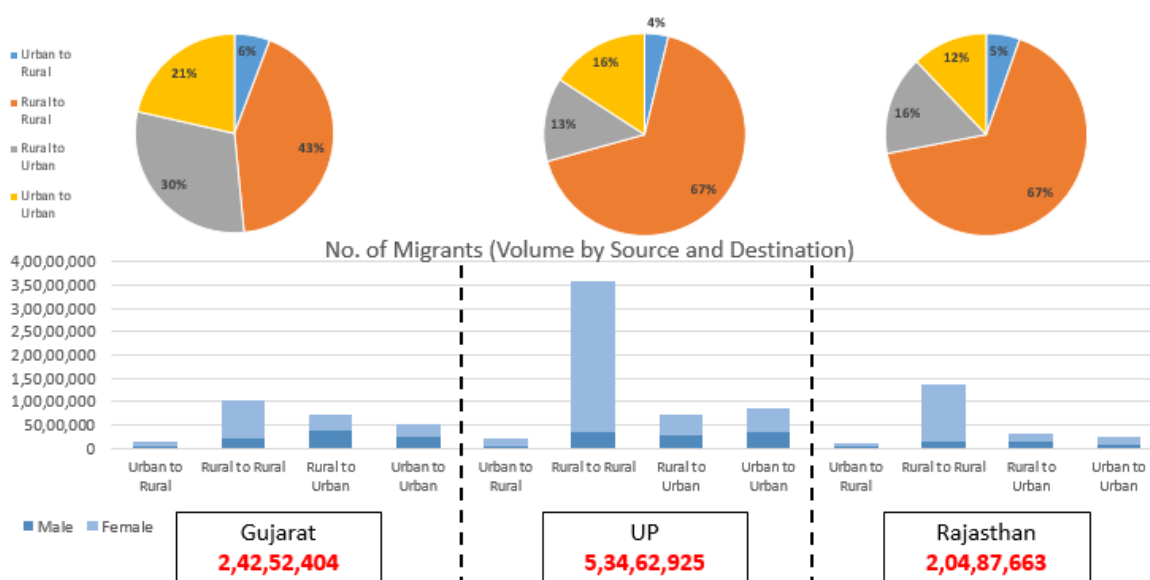
- Share of migration in net urban growth is higher
- Share of Natural growth has declined
- Reclassification and expansion of Urban areas accounted for 32% of growth



Total number of migrants as per provisional data released under census, 2011 was **41,15,95,872**. Rural to rural is the main migration stream, among which migration of women from Rural areas to rural areas is the highest in volume.



Source : Census 2011



The rural to rural migration of women is the most common in all states as well. However, as per NSSO 64th round, the proportion of migrants is slightly different. Among male migrants, the main stream of migration is Rural to Urban.

Reasons for Migrating:

The key difference among both the major sources of data is the listing of the reasons for migration. As per the census, there are 7 reasons for migration, which are listed below:

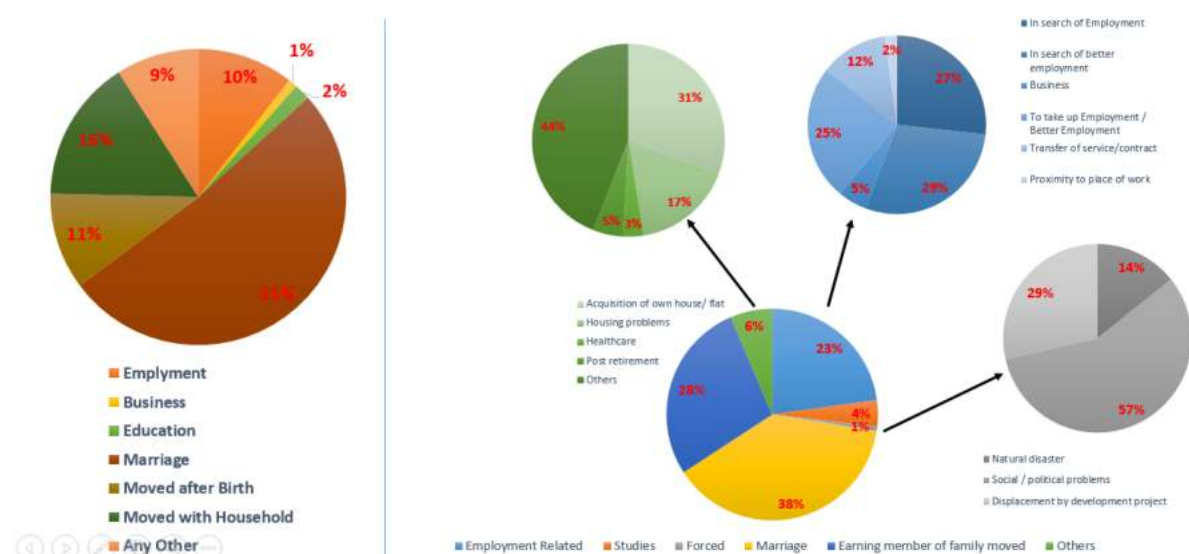
1. Employment
 - a. People who move for Jobs with an employer
2. Business
 - a. People who move for their own business
 - b. If people migrate for work where they have a direct share of the risk, it is counted as migrating for business
3. Education

- a. Even If a migrant finds a job in the same place after having migrated for education, they are counted as having migrated for education
4. Marriage
5. Moved with Household
 - a. The family members of the person who has moved for Employment / Business / Education
6. Moved after Birth
 - a. Young child who has moved with mother within a year of birth
7. Other

However, as per the NSSO 64th round, the reasons for migration are different. Broadly, they can be classified into 6 categories:

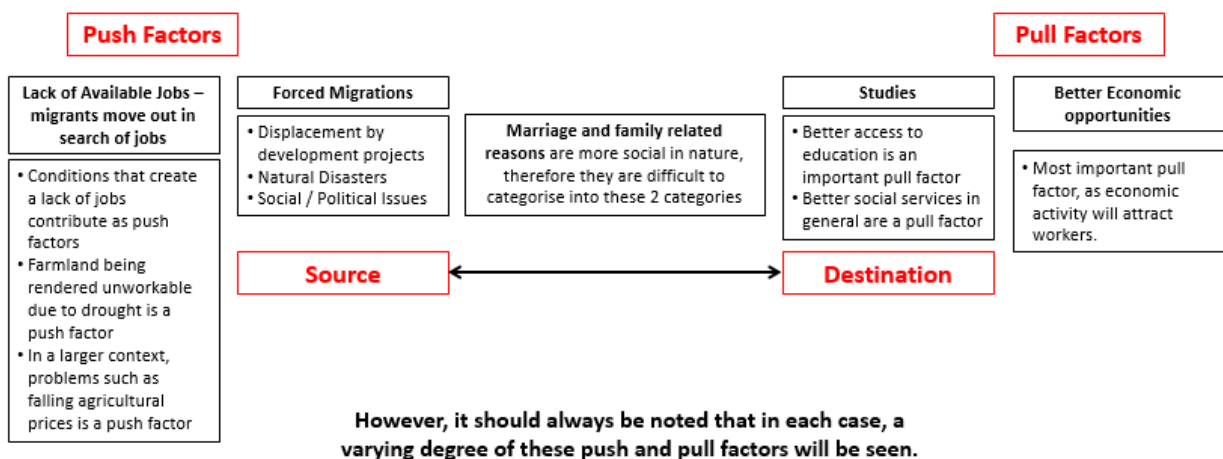
1. Employment related Reasons
 - a. In search of Employment
 - b. In search of better employment
 - c. Business
 - d. To take up Employment / Better Employment
 - e. Transfer of service/contract
 - f. Proximity to place of work
2. Studies
3. Forced Migrations
 - a. Natural disaster
 - b. Social / political problems
 - c. Displacement by development project
4. Marriage
5. Migration of Earning member of the family
6. Others
 - a. Acquisition of own house/ flat
 - b. Housing problems
 - c. Healthcare
 - d. Post retirement
 - e. Others

Source : NSSO 64th
Round | Census 2011



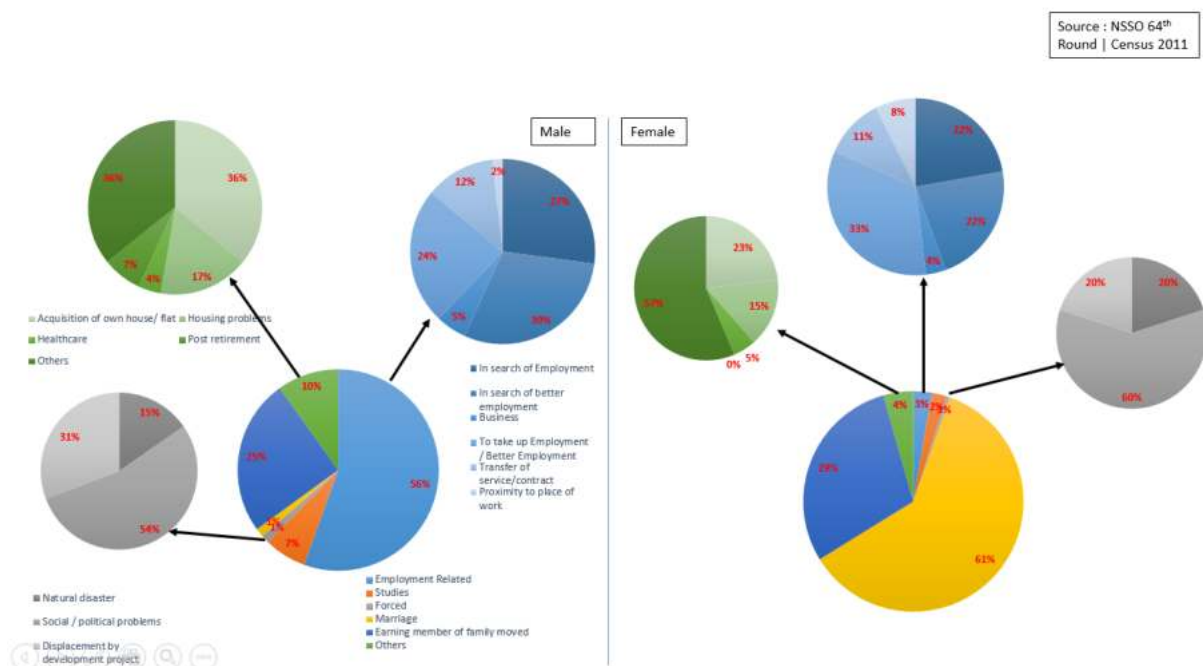
These reasons can further be classified into 2 categories i.e. push and pull factors. Push factors are conditions within the hometown of a migrant that cause them to move out of it, whereas pull factors

are conditions at the destination which attract a migrant to that place. The following chart can be studied to get an understanding:



It is a combination of these push and pull factors that makes up the reasons and the circumstances of any person's migration.

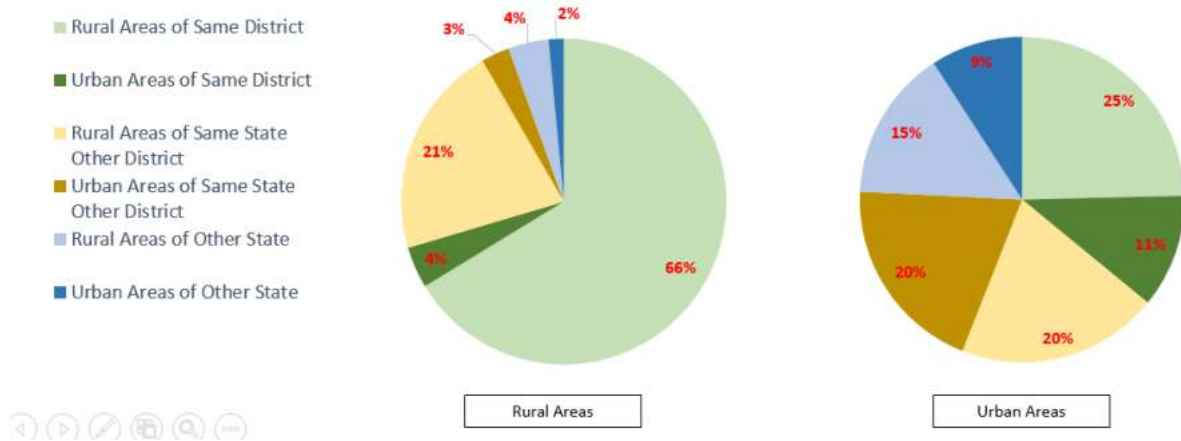
- Women migrating for marriage from rural to rural areas is the largest volume among migrants
- Only 1 % of males migrated for marriage,
- 56 % of males migrated for employment related reasons, and amongst there 56%, the largest component migrated in search of work (57%)



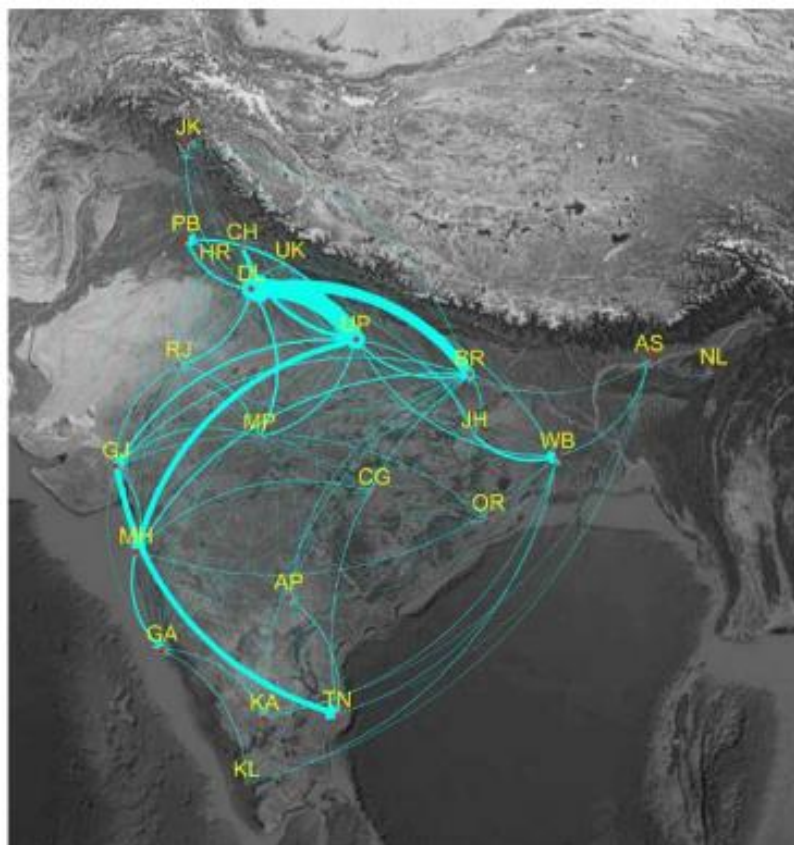
Migration Streams:

Proportions of interstate v/s intrastate migration as per NSS 64th round

1. For Urban Areas, migration from same district is less 36 % (including both Urban and Rural Areas), much lesser than rural areas
2. Rural to rural migration within the same district is very high



1. Estimated Top 50% of Rural to Urban Migration
 - a. **Source states** : UP, Bihar, TN, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh
 - b. **Destination states** : Delhi, Maharashtra, Karnataka



Migration and Related Social and Economic Indicators

As written earlier, urban growth is driven largely by natural growth which is the birth rate minus death rate in the city. As an analysis of the census data shows, migration is not the key driving factor behind urbanisation. The analysis of census data by Prof Amitabh Kundu focuses on the “Urban rural Growth Differential” which is the difference between the rate of increase of urban population and the rural population. His analysis indicates that contrary to the popular idea that India is experiencing “rapid urbanisation”, Urbanisation is actually slowing down.

However, analysis of number of people from the census is indicative of large-scale demographic changes and irrespective of low Urban Rural Growth differential, the reality on the ground remains that cities are expanding rapidly. Cities are facing challenges in housing the increasing population, whether migrated or natural.

Tumbe (2014) states in his analysis of migration data from census and NSSO data from 2007-08 refers to the “Great Indian Migration Wave” as a “male-dominated, semi-permanent and remittance-based”. Even though the highest volume of migration as per the surveys is females migrating for marriage among the rural to rural migration stream, Tumbe points out that this is a reciprocal migration – women migrating out from one village are cancelled out by women migrating into that village and therefore the impact of this stream is not as significant as other streams.

Whether or not migration to urban areas is “male dominated” cannot be completely established in terms of numbers from the provisional data released by census. Number of women migrating to Urban areas is more than number of men migrating whether the source is Rural or Urban. However, what can be seen is that primary reason for migrating among the women are family related, where in the case of men, the primary reason for migrating is work related. In the Urban to rural migration stream, it can be seen that the number of women is almost twice the number of men, and therefore we may consider that migration for employment is male dominated, but in terms of overall volume, it is difficult to estimate whether net migration is male dominated.

Reason for Migrating	Rural to Urban			Urban to Urban		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Work	1,95,81,563	1,75,04,972	20,76,591	1,26,79,742	1,08,48,400	18,31,342
Business	14,38,217	12,08,259	2,29,958	15,06,891	11,49,015	3,57,876
Education	24,22,337	15,36,064	8,86,273	19,88,739	11,82,338	8,06,401
Marriage	2,44,67,383	8,30,948	2,36,36,435	1,91,99,121	6,54,835	1,85,44,286
Moved after Birth	64,79,051	38,77,634	26,01,417	1,05,12,474	60,75,046	44,37,428
Moved With Household	2,16,09,300	89,83,801	1,26,25,499	2,15,30,801	95,01,952	1,20,28,849
Others	66,13,352	37,21,432	28,91,920	1,19,00,236	65,39,432	53,60,804
Total	8,26,11,203	3,76,63,110	4,49,48,093	7,93,18,004	3,59,51,018	4,33,66,986

Further comparison of sex ratios across major source and destination districts needs to be done in order to validate this claim but this is not presently possible in absence of district level migration data from 2011 census.

The second claim in as per Tumbe is that migration is “remittance based.” As an evidence, an analysis of migrant households in rural areas receiving remittances is done, showing that in each MPCE (Monthly per-Capita Expenditure) Quintiles, significant percentage is HHs who have reported out migrants who have migrated for economic reasons (almost 20% in each). However, very small percentage of this have reported that they are receiving no remittances.

A detailed analysis of migration data from various NSSO rounds over time by Mahapatro, 2012, shows some interesting trends. She states that although overall volume of migration is increasing, male migration in rural areas has declined consistently since 1983 (38th NSSO round). Between 1999-00 and 2007-08, distinct variation was seen in distance migrated, as can be seen in table below.

Type of Migration	Urban Migrants (Percentage) 1999-2000		Urban Migrants (Percentage) 2007-08	
	M	F	M	F
Intra District	37.77	43.47	27.71	38.32
Inter District	37.47	38.67	39.31	42.51
Interstate	23.57	17.46	31.9	18.72
International	1.19	0.4	1.08	0.45

Source : (Mahapatro, 2012)

Sharp increase in interstate male migration was seen in this time. This information can be compared with change in proportion of MPCE quintiles of urban migrants as per following table. In urban areas, percentage of male migrants in lower MPCE quintiles is much higher in 2007-2008 than 1999-2000. This massive increase (from 3.3% to 22.47%) means that there has been large increase in number of poorer male migrants in cities in this short time.

MPCE Quintiles	Urban Migrants (Percentage) 1999-2000		Urban Migrants (Percentage) 2007-08	
	M	F	M	F
Q1	3.30	5.81	22.47	14.27
Q2	3.94	7.51	10.12	11.23
Q3	5.53	8.96	7.88	10.45
Q4	6.98	10.52	7.09	9.81
Q5	12.62	13.24	8.03	10.80

This can be further analysed in context of employment before and after migration. Percentage distribution of employed migrants by MPCE quintiles remains more or less constant before and after migration. This indicates that majority of migrants are migrating for a similar income to what they were earning before migration. This can then be further analysed in context of the type of work that migrants are doing before and after migration as per the following table. Key increase was seen in the highlighted fields before and after migration -

Activity	Percentage of Urban Migrants, Before and After Migration				Major increase seen in migrants working in manufacturing, Trade and Commerce. Marginal increases in construction workers, trasportation and workers in private households among males. However, among females, major increase was seen in pvt household workers, education workers and trade and commerce.
	Male		Female		
	Before Migration	After Migration	Before Migration	After Migration	
Agriculture and Allied	26.27	2.53	35.3	6.08	
Manufacturing	13.91	28.53	18.69	26.28	
Construction	9.47	10.13	5.87	7.75	
Transport & Communication	8.15	10.89	1.38	1.62	
Trade and Commerce	21.47	28.69	12.57	21.08	
Public Administration	11	8.25	3.66	3.50	
Education	4.24	4.13	11.83	15.37	
Health	1.54	1.90	6.4	6.91	
Workers in Pvt Households	0.53	1.37	1.29	7.91	
Others	3.43	3.58	3.02	3.48	

State Wise Variations in Employment Before and after Migration

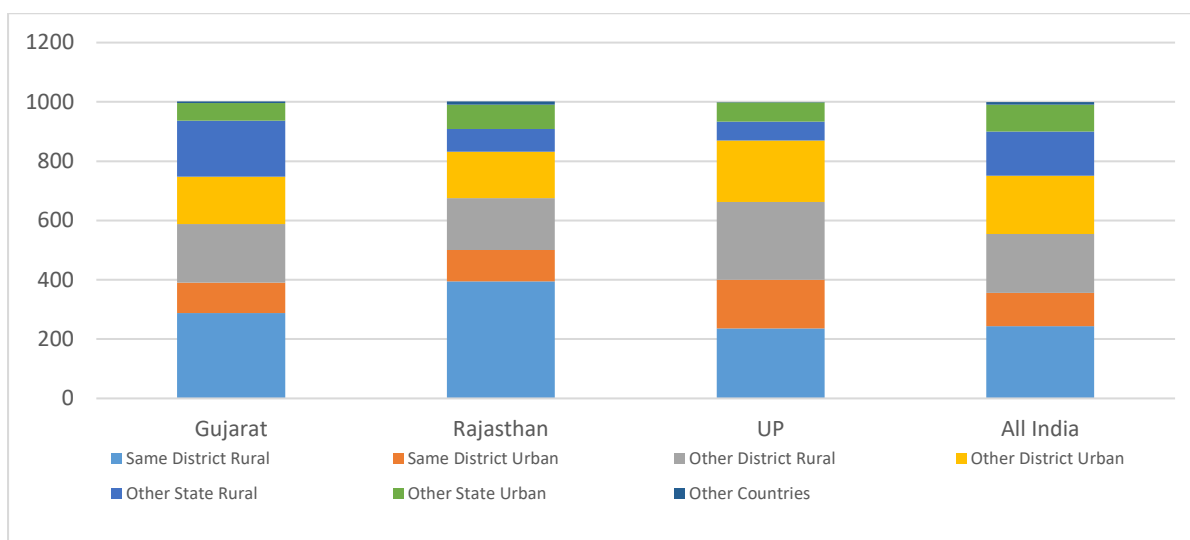
State wise variations among urban migrants before and after migration were studied from NSSO 2007-08 data. The following table shows the percentage increase in migrants by type of employment after migration, compared to before migration. It is clear that in all states, desire to convert to a regular wage/salaried employee is a primary driver behind migration, and among the states, while Gujarat is higher than the national average, Rajasthan and UP are lower than the national average. Among females however, all 3 states are lower than the national average. In Gujarat, it can be particularly seen that compared to before migration, large shift in people from casual labour to regular wage / salaried employees can be seen.

Type of Work	Male				Female				Male + Female			
	Gujarat	Rajasthan	UP	All India	Gujarat	Rajasthan	UP	All India	Gujarat	Rajasthan	UP	All India
Self Employed	2.9	8.9	-1.5	5.5	1.6	-0.3	1.4	2.2	2	2.7	0.5	3.5
Regular wage / salaried	24	14	18.2	20.7	3.4	3.6	2.2	4	11.4	7.2	6.7	10.4
Casual Labour	-10.5	1.5	0.8	-3	0.5	0.5	0.4	0	-4	0.8	0.5	-1.2
Total employed	15.4	24.4	17.6	23.3	5.5	3.7	4	6.1	9.5	10.8	7.7	12.7
Unemployed	-4.5	-5.3	-5	-11.6	0	0	0.2	-0.2	-1.8	-1.9	-1.3	-4.6
Not in Labour Force	-10.9	-19	-12.6	-11.5	-5.6	-3.7	-4.2	-5.7	-7.8	-9	-6.6	-8

We can further compare this with the proportion of in state and outstate migrants in each state. National average for urban areas indicates that 76% of migrants are from within States whereas 24% are from outside states. Among the 3 subject states, percentage of migrants depending on state are seen in the following table. Several trends can be noted:

- Level of migration within the state is much higher in Gujarat than in other 2 states and is higher than national average in each case
- Among Females Areas, intra state migration is much higher than interstate migration
- Interstate Migration is Male Dominated
- Comparison with data of in migration shows that majority of in migrants to cities are from rural areas, whether from within the state or outside the state. This presents challenges in terms of cultural changes since moving from the village to the city involves a major change in way of life.

With data available from NSSO 64th round, it may be hypothesized that then, migration to urban areas in India was largely Long term, driven by search for employment and carried out over short distances.



Distribution (per 1000) of out-migrant by present place of residence for subject States.

Source Location	Destination	Male				Female				Male + Female			
		Gujarat	Rajasthan	UP	All India	Gujarat	Rajasthan	UP	All India	Gujarat	Rajasthan	UP	All India
Rural	Same District	298	201	79	173	667	629	551	614	581	495	365	452
Rural	Other District	607	240	185	293	287	257	304	276	361	252	257	282
Rural	Other State	63	500	700	458	38	113	139	102	44	234	359	233
Rural	Other Countries	30	56	32	72	8	1	5	7	13	18	16	31
	Total	998	997	996	996	1000	1000	999	999	999	999	997	998
Urban	Same District	185	121	76	143	429	515	416	425	364	416	312	332
Urban	Other District	388	371	309	356	443	319	398	372	429	332	371	367
Urban	Other State	195	362	563	333	77	155	181	176	109	207	297	228
Urban	Other Countries	230	146	51	159	50	10	5	27	98	44	19	71
	Total	998	1000	999	991	999	999	1000	1000	1000	999	999	998
Rural + Urban	Same District	266	189	79	168	608	607	531	578	526	480	358	430
Rural + Urban	Other District	545	260	198	303	326	269	318	294	379	267	272	298
Rural + Urban	Other State	101	478	685	438	48	121	145	116	61	229	351	232
Rural + Urban	Other Countries	87	70	34	86	19	3	5	11	35	23	16	38
	Total	999	997	996	995	1001	1000	999	999	1001	999	997	998

Learnings from secondary source data

- Census data is largely “historical” in the sense that it captures the total number of migrants in 2011
- It does not capture the details of migration as a process
- NSSO 64th round provides **more in depth data**
- It captures details of the migration as a process but **does not capture the details of the housing of the migrants**
- Neither NSSO nor census data captures the **seasonal or short term labour migration** effectively
- Migration, depending on the reason, is a continuous process for any individual, which demands analysis based on continuous monitoring of migration

Sampling: Identification of Migrants

In each city, areas with presence of migrants had to be identified and selected for detailed survey. Type of houses occupied by migrants also needed to be studied. Therefore, an exploratory approach was taken towards identifying locations where migrants could be found. A set of parameters and questions which would be explored was established by discussing with the research team. The methodology adopted was

- Broad regions of the city which would be covered were selected based on interviews with NGOs working with migrants
- Team members went to the areas and would identify the 3-4 instances of the following:
 - Small scale commercial establishments such as tea stalls, pan vendors etc.
 - Informal settlements
 - Formal settlements
- At each location, team would enquire whether there were any nearby areas where large numbers of migrants lived
- Team members would go to these areas and enquire about number of migrant families, place of origin, occupation, type of housing, availability of services, etc.

The following tables shows the areas in each city which were visited and where interviews and group discussions were conducted.

Sr. No.	HRC Location	Rented Areas	Open Spaces	Construction Worksites
1	Behrampura	Dhobi Ghat	Chandola Talab	Nakshatra Karnavati - 4
2	Vadaj	Odh nu Tekro Ara Shukla Ni Chali Babunagar	Umiya Hall Sabarmati Torrent Power/Jail Road	
3	Odhav	Lallu Govardhan ni Chali Shakti Nagar Char-Maliya	Pashupati Nath Takshashila Road Char Maliya	Girivar Heights PVR Cinemas
4	Juhapura	Gupta Nagar Sorai Nagar	Sorai Nagar Shreyas Bridge Prajapati Garden Ratnam Flats	Rajyash Rise Bakeri City
5	Jawahar Nagar	Jawahar Nagar Kathputli Colony Amagarh	Rana Basti Ganeshpuri	
6	Sona Talab	Konia Mawaiya Amarpur Pulkohna Baghwanala Paigamberpur Ramrepur	Jalalipura	

Image 1 - Discussion with Migrant workers at Construction Site, Discussion at informal basti



Parameters for Understanding Migration

For the purpose of understanding migration, the following 4 parameters were identified:

1. Source – The source location from where migrants have come. In state/ outstate migrants were identified
2. Trade – what is the occupation that the migrants are employed in?
3. Tenure – How long have they been in the city and how long are they going to stay? Do they go back to the source frequently or cyclically? Do they still have economic ties to their source location?
4. Destination – What location within the city and what type of housing do they occupy?

It was observed from the discussions and interviews that these 4 parameters are interdependent. Various combinations of each of these were observed, but a few common patterns have emerged from interviews in multiple states.

Findings: Ahmedabad

The key reasons identified for migrating to the city are:

- Migration to Ahmedabad starts out as short term, but tends to become longer as migrants try to earn more.
- Pull factors in their villages/ hometowns strongly influence migrants' desire to not settle permanently in the city such as
 - Land/ Assets
 - Rest of the family since only part of a household has migrated
 - Adjusting to urban environments taking time
- Migrants want to earn for increasing their savings and then return to their 'homes'.

Aajeevika Bureau – an NGO working with migrant labourers at source as well as destination have identified relationships between sources of migration and certain trades as follows:

1. Construction Industry: Tribal belt of MP, Rajasthan, Gujarat, etc.

2. Steel related work: West Bengal, Jharkhand
3. Hotels: Rajasthan, West Bengal, North-East/ Nepal
4. Industrial Labour: Orissa, Bihar, UP
5. Loading/ Unloading/ Casual Labour: UP, Rajasthan

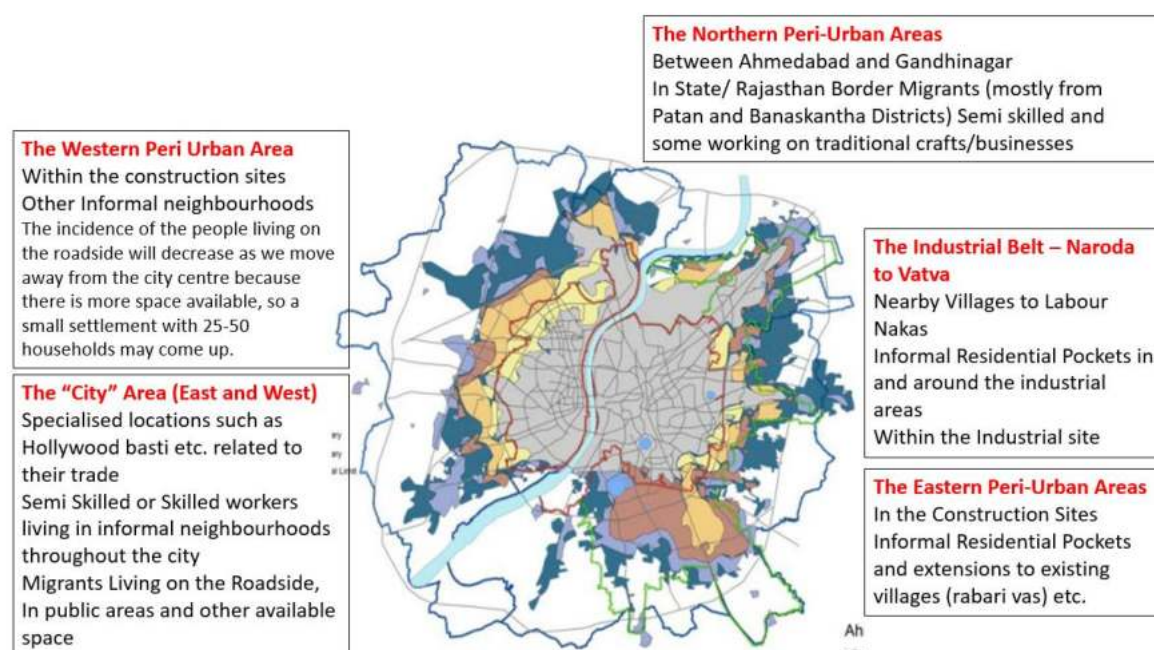
Based on the group discussions and interviews, Trade-Source-Tenure-Destination relationship for Ahmedabad can be seen as follows:

Table 1 - Trade-Source-Tenure-Destination relationships observed in Ahmedabad (Source: Authors)

Trade	Source	Tenure	Destination
Construction, Manual Labour, Goods Carrying	The Tribal Belt of Gujarat, MP, Rajasthan May Possess assets at source but Face economic insecurity at source – reducing incomes	Mostly Seasonal living on construction sites Return for 4-6 months to hometown	sites throughout Ahmedabad Daily basis from nearby towns to labour nakas/ chowks in peri-urban areas
Construction – Helpers in Plumbing/Carpentry, Engineering and Electrical Work, Commerce	UP, MP, Rajasthan, Bihar	Length of stay depends on job and level of skill Skills are usually gained by working the job over time	Informal Neighbourhoods Find work at Nakas, may have regular workplaces
Diamonds, Textile and Power Looms, Construction, Engineering and Electrical, Driving, Domestic Work	UP, MP, Rajasthan, Bihar, WB	Longer Tenure Higher incomes Complex tenure patterns	higher aspirations Rented housing/ Worksites/ Even in open spaces

The following map gives a spatial understanding of the spread of migrants across Ahmedabad city.

Image 2 - Spatial Spread of Migrants and Trades Observed in Ahmedabad (Source: Authors)



Findings: Varanasi

Varanasi is the name of the area between 2 rivers, and they are 'Varuna' and 'Assi'. They are both tributaries to the Ganga, which binds the city in the east. However, by now the city has stretched well and beyond the area between the 2 rivers that give it name. Varanasi is characterised by an Inner City – Old, poor quality but legally owned housing in Colonies/Mohalla in the old town and Interstitial “Slum” Settlements near vacant pockets of land within these Mohalla, as well as villages that have been engulfed by the city expanding around them.

The main Economic Activities that take place in Varanasi which are attracting Migrant workers are

1. Construction
2. Industrial Activity (This is less prevalent)
3. Small Scale Industry
4. Tourism
5. Operating Boats
6. Street Vending
7. Hotel and Food
8. Weaving

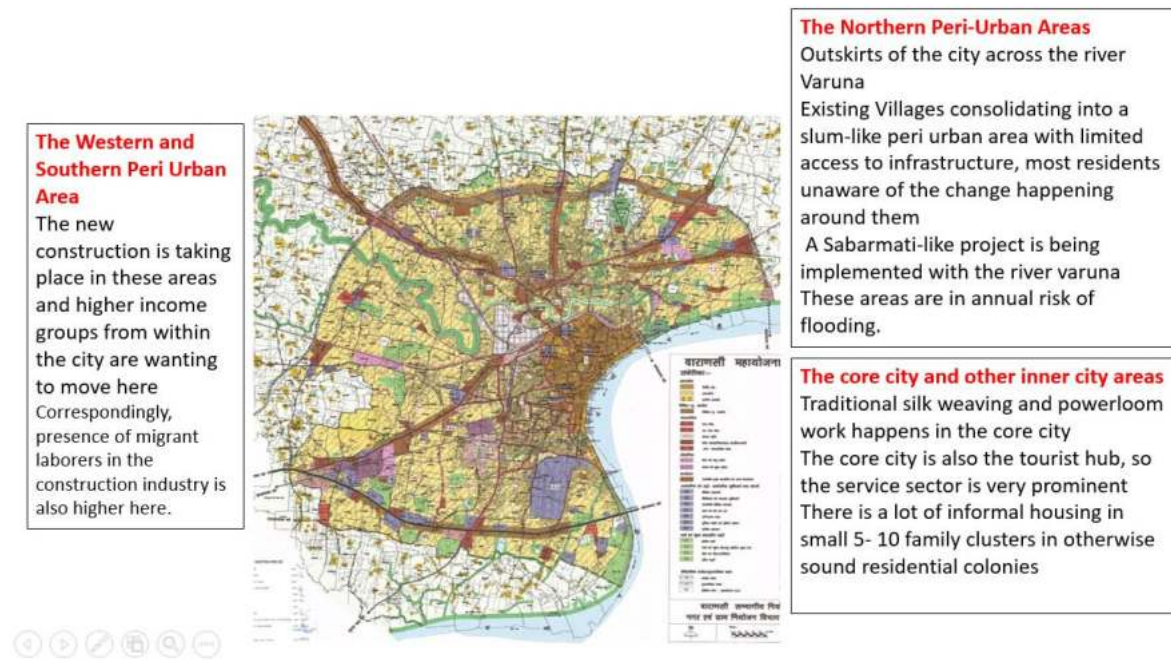
The results indicate that migration to Varanasi starts out as short term, as traditionally joint families break up into nuclear units and migrate while maintaining strong ties with the hometown. Out migration is also prevalent in Varanasi. Out migration will take place to Gujarat, Delhi, Mumbai or other places that offer greater economic opportunities. Skilled labour is able to migrate out of Varanasi to these areas while Varanasi itself acts as a local catchment area for unskilled workers from nearby villages and towns.

Table 2 - Trade-Source-Tenure-Destination relationships observed in Varanasi (Source: Authors)

Trade	Source	Tenure	Destination
Construction, Manual Labour, Goods Carrying, Rickshaw pulling	Nearby Districts Bihar Jharkhand Chhattisgarh Tribal Areas West Bengal	Mostly Seasonal living on construction sites/ Industrial sites Return for 4-6 months to hometown	On site In the open Few on/near Ghats
Construction – Helpers in Plumbing/Carpentry, Engineering and Electrical Work, Driving autos	Nearby Districts Bihar Jharkhand West Bengal	Move to Varanasi WITH their families and try to settle Nuclear elements of large joint families	Rental Housing in Informal Neighbourhoods Find work at Nakas,
Textiles and Weaving, Tourism, Hotels and Restaurants, Commerce	Nearby Districts Bihar Jharkhand West Bengal	Single male workers – seasonal Daily migration for work	Regular workplaces, rental or informally owned housing Owned housing in Urban Villages

The following map gives a spatial understanding of the spread of migrants across Varanasi city.

Image 3 - Spatial Spread of Migrants and Trades Observed in Varanasi (Source: Authors)



Findings: Jaipur

Jaipur is geographically bound on East and North by the starting of the Aravalli range. It is the capital of Rajasthan and a major tourism and economic centre. It is located midway between Ahmedabad and Delhi, which themselves are strong urban magnets attracting migrants. Slums are concentrated on the eastern and the northern boundary between the elevated portion of the hills and the flat portion of the city. Slums are also present in the interstitial spaces in the rest of the city.

It was found that unskilled labour coming directly to worksites migrate seasonally from their source areas. Skilled Labour want to move to Jaipur permanently and settle their rather migrate seasonally. Few relationships between trade of migrants and source of migration were recorded from interview with Aajeevika Bureau – an NGO working with migrant labourers

1. Construction Labour: Nearby Districts of Rajasthan such as Ajmer, Sikar, Dholpur, Tonk etc.
2. Rickshaw Pullers: Nearby Districts of Rajasthan, MP, WB, UP, Bihar
3. Printing Industry: UP, Bihar, Dausa
4. Head Loaders: Nearby Districts of Rajasthan
5. Hotel Industry : Nearby Districts of Rajasthan, MP, UP, Andhra Pradesh

Traditional Industries - brass and lacquer work, enamel work, gems and jewellery, granite tiles, handloom, marble statues, printed cloth and textiles, readymade garments, woollen and silk carpets tend to be within families and usually employ labour from within Rajasthan. However, recently, it is being seen that there is a tendency to employ out-of-state migrant workers as they tend to work at lower rates for longer hours and take fewer holidays to attend to family situations.

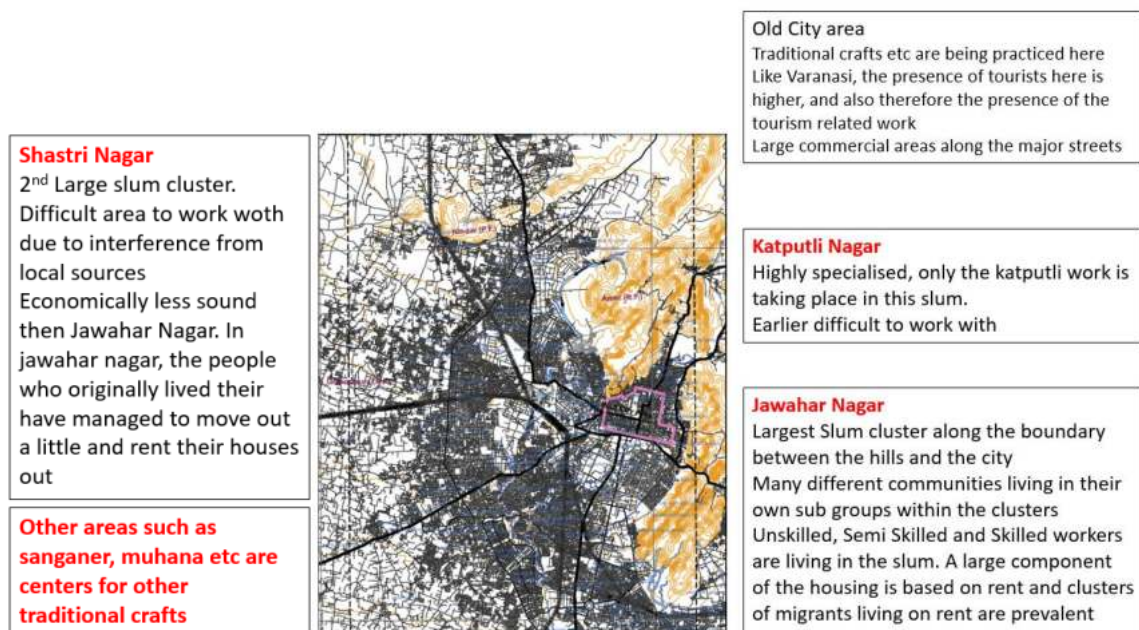
Table 3 - Trade-Source-Tenure-Destination relationships observed in Jaipur (Source: Authors)

Trade	Place of Origin	Tenure of Stay	Destination
Construction, Manual Labour, Goods Carrying	Nearby Districts UP Bihar	Mostly Seasonal	Sites throughout Jaipur Daily basis from nearby towns Variable access to basic services and quality of life

Construction – Helpers in Plumbing/Carpentry, Engineering and Electrical Work, Commerce	Nearby Districts Bihar UP MP	Length of stay depends on job and level of skill Workers try to settle in Jaipur	Informal Neighbourhoods Find work at Nakas, may have regular workplaces
Small scale industry	Within Rajasthan Few from out of state	Longer Tenure Higher incomes Frequent within Raj., less frequent outside	Sanganer, Tonk, Old City, Katputli Colony Specialised clusters
Tourism, Hotels, Restaurants	Nearby Districts Bihar UP	Length of stay depends on job and level of skill Try to settle in Jaipur	Jawahar Nagar, Old City Areas with frequency of tourists

The following map gives a spatial understanding of the spread of migrants across Jaipur city.

Image 4 - Spatial Spread of Migrants and Trades Observed in Jaipur (Source : Authors)



Housing Typologies of Migrants in Destination Cities

The following table consists of a comparative analysis of the findings across the three cities. The table compares the trade, source and tenure of the migrants with the type of housing that they were occupying in the city.

Table 4 Comparison of Housing typologies identified in 3 Cities

Trade – Source - Tenure	Ahmedabad	Jaipur	Varanasi
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unskilled Workers, from nearby, rural/tribal areas, migrating through contractors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Living on Construction Worksite in Labour colonies Colonies of ~ 20-30 HHs (Example: Bakeri City, Rajyash Rise) Shacks made from tin/metal sheets Semi Pucca houses found in 1 location (Bakeri City) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Living on Construction Worksite in Labour colonies Colonies of ~ 20-30 HHs (Example: RSR Advaita, Chitwan Residency) Shacks made from plastic/ tent type structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Living on Construction Worksite in Labour colonies Smaller colonies than Jaipur/Ahmedabad ~ 10 HHs (Example: Dinapur STP, Rudra Group Babatpur) Shacks made from plastic/ tent type structures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unskilled Workers, from nearby tribal, rural areas, migrating without contractors' connections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Temporary Shacks in Open spaces and Roadsides (also included non-migrant urban homeless families) near labour nakas (Example: Near Odhav Circle, Shivranjini Circle, Sorainagar) 1 room Rental Housing in informal areas (Example: Guptanagar, Dhobi Ghat) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open spaces, Roadsides (also included non-migrant urban homeless families) near labour nakas (Example: Near Durgapura Puliya, Jagatpura Puliya) 1 room Rental Housing in informal areas (Example: Jawahar Nagar, Shastri Nagar) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room rental Housing in informal areas and urban villages (Example: Mawaiya, Pulkohna) Homeless Hotspots but in closed commercial complexes, other buildings, near labour nakas (Example: Near Assi Ghat, Acharya Narendra Devshukla Sansthan, Durgakund)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skilled Workers, informally or self employed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room Rental Housing in informal areas (Example: Shakti Nagar) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room Rental Housing in informal areas (Example: Katputli Colony) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room rental Housing in informal areas and urban villages (Example: Konia)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Long Term Migrants- Skilled workers, Formally Employed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room Rental Housing in informal areas (Example: Pravin Nagar) Informally owned houses and Shacks in informal neighbourhoods (Example: Odh nu Tekro) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room Rental Housing in informal areas (Example: Jawahar Angar) Informally owned houses and Shacks in informal neighbourhoods (Example: Rana Basti, Amagarh, Jawahar Nagar) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 room rental Housing in informal areas and urban villages (Example: Paigamberpur) Informally owned houses and Shacks in informal neighbourhoods (Example: Ramrepur)

The following **4 broad Categories** of housing occupied by migrants can be identified:

1. Living at the Worksite
2. Rental Housing
3. Living in open spaces
4. Living in Informally Owned Housing

Each of these ways of living offers some benefits as well as some disadvantages for the people who live there. Some of the key features that define these ways of living are listed in the following sections.

Living at the Worksite:

Discussions with other NGOs working and primary study indicates that at construction sites

- A worker may be living with his/her family
- most working members of the family will be working at the same site
- This system provides security of the place to live as well as job security to the workers. Ensures that the employer has a continuous stream of workforce as per his requirement and convenience
- Most of these migrants visit home at the holidays or for the work (such as harvesting) that needs to be done in their hometown, and work in the city for the rest of the year. There are few factors that influence how often the migration of workers will take place in labour colonies:
 - Duration of the worksite (longer worksites will have labour colonies for longer periods, and they will have labour specialising in all works at all times)
 - Skills of the workers (some smaller sites will employ labour specialising in only the main construction activity that is taking place there at that particular time)

The main advantages for the migrants in choosing this housing option are:

- Little to no expense is made on shelter
- Main expenditure is on food, which can get shared amongst the people living there

The disadvantages are:

- Quality of housing that they get and other services may vary from site to site. Few sites may have properly made toilets and other facilities like crèche/anganwadis etc., whereas others do not

Living in Open Spaces

Among migrants, there is a group of people who are either not willing to spend on housing or not able to spend on housing, and are also not able to find a regular place of work where they can live at the worksite. It is this component that makes the choice to live in the open. A migrant may choose to occupy whatever public space they can find, and use public services for drinking water and sanitation.

These migrants may live with their families or alone and they may create some kind of a temporary shelter in the open space itself. These migrants may also seek shelter that has already been built such as bridges etc. They may have either their own small businesses or find work at labour nakas. Few of these migrants may also be working as domestic help.

The main advantages of living in the open are

- Families have little expense on shelter
- Main expenditure is on food, cooking fuel and sanitation

The key disadvantages in living in the open are:

- Expenditure on access to basic sanitation in pay and use toilets or else use of open areas
- Key compromise is on security of belongings, health, and access to services for children.
- The entire day has to be planned around being able to access sanitation in the morning and the time it will take to cook.

Living on Rent

Among the people who are willing to spend on their housing, living on rent is the most common form of accommodation. For these households, compared to the others, shelter has become an expense but this has happened in exchange for more security for their family and their belongings. Also, they may have improved access to sanitation depending on the location of the house and the level of services available to them. They may have access to clean cooking fuel depending on their level of documentation and awareness.

However, legal security is usually not present as a tenant as rent agreements are not always signed with the landlords. They may be exposed to unexpected rent hikes, which was a recurring theme in Varanasi. Quality of the house may not be appropriate as landlords are not always willing to spend money to improve living conditions of their tenants.

Living in Informally Owned Housing

Migrants who have been in the city for a longer period of time and are employed in better paying jobs may also purchase housing in informal neighbourhoods. Properties in informal neighbourhoods are sold via mutual agreements that are not registered. Such properties are more affordable than formal housing and better located than formal housing located at a similar price. Migrants who have better financial capacity will make investment in such properties. Such properties usually have their own municipal tax bills and electricity bills – meaning that they have some sense of legal security.

The advantages of living in such housing were reported as:

- No need to pay rent
- Can invest in property and expand as per their own needs unlike rental housing

The main disadvantages of living in such housing were reported to be:

- Lack of legal security – residents are aware that they are prone to eviction and that the properties are not completely legal
- Poor services in the informal neighbourhoods where such properties are located

Housing Parameters and Evaluation of Existing Housing

Existing housing condition of each target area selected around the HRC was evaluated by breaking it down into 7 essential housing parameters. Presently, a qualitative analysis of these 7 parameters has been performed for each of these areas. The 7 parameters, data covered under each and rationale is described below:

1. Shelter
 - a. No. of Households
 - b. Typology of households, i.e. no. living on rent/ in open etc. within the same settlement
2. Quality of Shelter
 - a. Quality of houses by component i.e. material and quality of walls, roofs, etc.
3. Sanitation
 - a. Number of houses having bathrooms/toilets
 - b. Type of bathrooms toilets
 - c. Degree of use and quality – availability of water, etc.
4. Basic Cleanliness and Hygiene
 - a. Solid Waste Management system – waste collection, etc.
 - b. Quality in public spaces – is there waste lying around
 - c. Stagnant water, hygiene, animal waste etc.
5. Cooking Fuel and Drinking Water
 - a. What kind of cooking fuel is used, Source and expenditure
 - b. Source of drinking water, storage system, cleanliness, filtration etc.
6. Electricity
 - a. Whether or not the household has access to electricity
 - b. Legal / Illegal connections, expenditure
 - c. Safety of connection
7. Legal Security
 - a. Documentation status of the property – Illegal / Legal / Registered ownership / unregistered and informal ownership / lease and license agreement for rented property
 - b. Documentary status of the inhabitants – do they have an address proof or other documents for this location

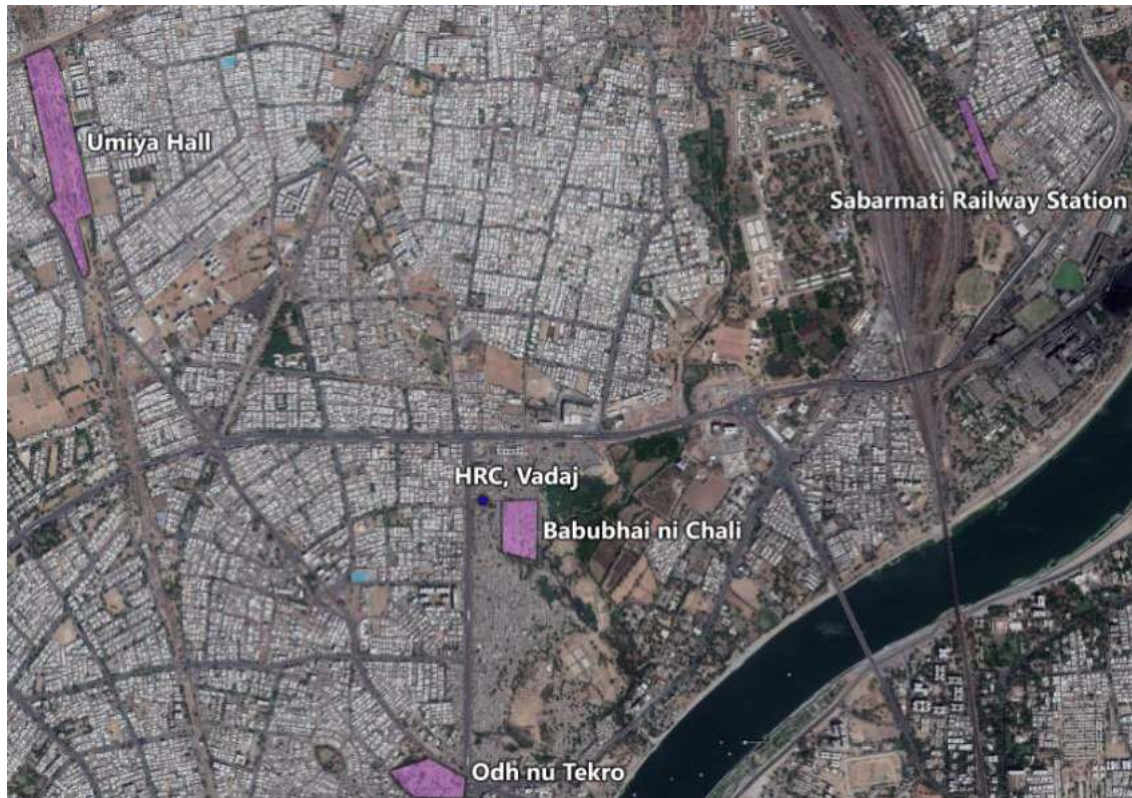
Summary of assessment of present housing conditions based on the above 7 parameters for target areas around each HRC is described below.

HRC – Behrampura, Ahmedabad



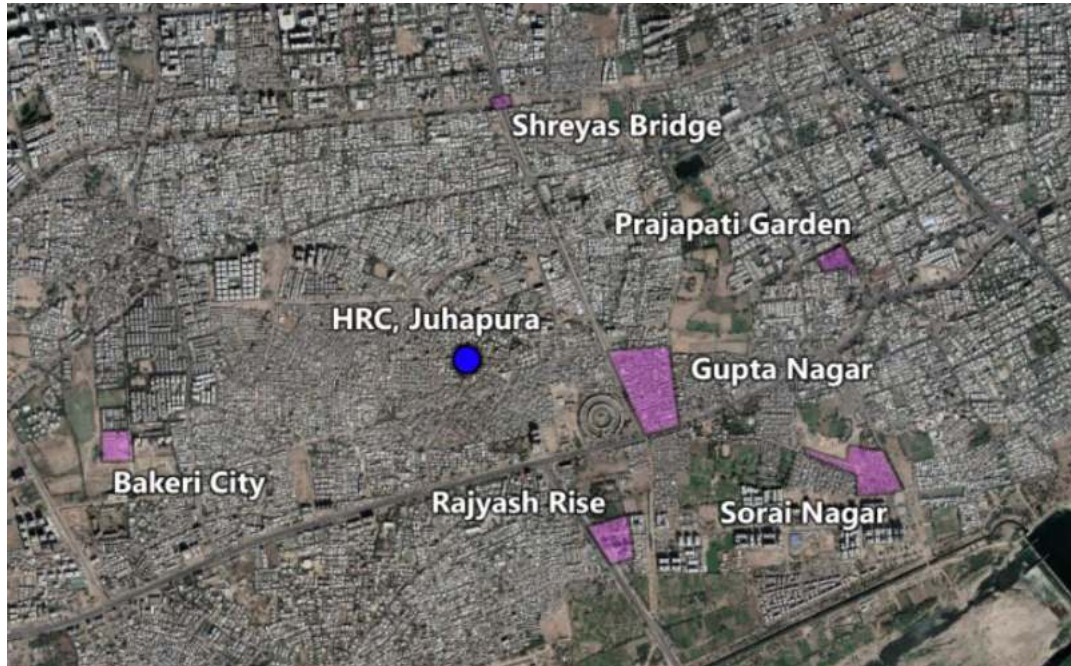
- Total areas selected
 - Rented – 1 | Open Space – 1 | Construction Sites – 2
- Field Coordinators – 2
- Shelter
 - Few families at construction sites are living in the open, otherwise all families are having at least a basic shelter
- Quality of Shelter
 - Quality of shelter is very poor in construction sites
 - Few areas in open space (Chandola Talab) have pucca structures; but quality of shelter is poor in general
 - Quality of shelter is better in rented areas, but a common issue is absence of a pucca roof.
- Sanitation
 - Other than rented areas, condition of sanitation is very poor, very few houses have access to proper toilet and bathroom
- Basic Hygiene and Cleanliness
 - General condition of solid waste management is poor in all areas
 - Areas around Chandola talab have additional hygiene problems due to presence of large, stagnant water body
- Cooking fuel and Drinking water
 - Firewood is used as fuel in construction sites
 - LPG present in other areas
 - Drinking water supply is unfiltered and un-purified – tap water is mainly used
- Electricity
 - Majority of connections are legal
 - Provision of electricity in construction sites through electric connection of building being constructed
- Legal Security
 - People living on rent are doing so without agreements
 - Legal issues regarding land on which Chadola Talab settlement is built
 - Residents of labour colonies at construction sites have no legal security

HRC – Vadaj, Ahmedabad



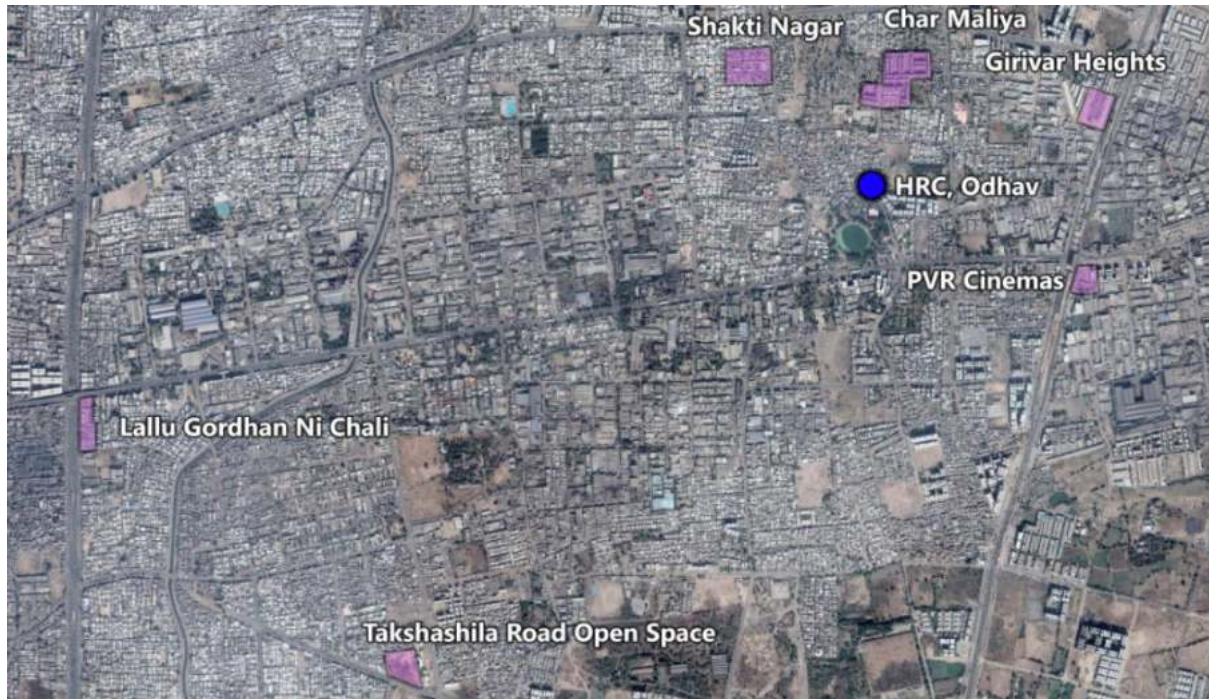
- Total areas selected
 - Rented – 3 | Open Space – 2 | Construction Sites – 0
- Field Coordinators – 2
- Shelter
 - Lack of shelter in open space area near Sabarmati Jail Road and Torrent Power
- Quality of Shelter
 - Quality of shelter is very poor in open areas
 - Rented areas have pucca walls in most shelters, roofs and upper floors are not as well made
- Sanitation
 - Sanitation facilities in open spaces are very poor
 - In rented areas, condition is better with private and public bathrooms available
- Basic Hygiene and Cleanliness
 - General condition of solid waste management is poor in all areas
 - Door to door collection is not present in any area
- Cooking fuel and Drinking water
 - Drinking water is taken from public sources, no filtration or clean storage is available
 - Firewood is used as cooking fuel in open areas
- Electricity
 - Majority of connections in rented areas are legal
 - No electricity supply in open areas
- Legal Security
 - People living on rent are doing so without agreements

HRC – Juhapura, Ahmedabad



- Total areas selected
 - Rented – 2 | Open Space – 4 | Construction Sites – 2
- Field Coordinators – 2
- Shelter
 - Other than few households living on the roadsides, most areas have some or the other form of shelter
- Quality of Shelter
 - Quality of shelter is very poor in open areas
 - Rented areas have pucca walls in most shelters, roofs and upper floors are not as well made
 - Few households in construction site at bakery city have housing provided by labour department, which is good quality construction but not liveable in hot season due to GI sheet roofs
- Sanitation
 - Sanitation facilities in open spaces and construction sites are very poor
 - In rented areas, condition is better with private and public bathrooms available
- Basic Hygiene and Cleanliness
 - General condition of solid waste management is poor in all areas
 - Door to door collection is not present in any area
- Cooking fuel and Drinking water
 - Drinking water is taken from public sources, no filtration or clean storage is available
 - Firewood is used as cooking fuel in open areas and construction sites
- Electricity
 - Majority of connections in rented areas are legal
 - No electricity supply in open areas
- Legal Security
 - People living on rent are doing so without agreements
 - People living in open spaces specially along roadsides have constant threat of eviction

HRC – Odhav, Ahmedabad



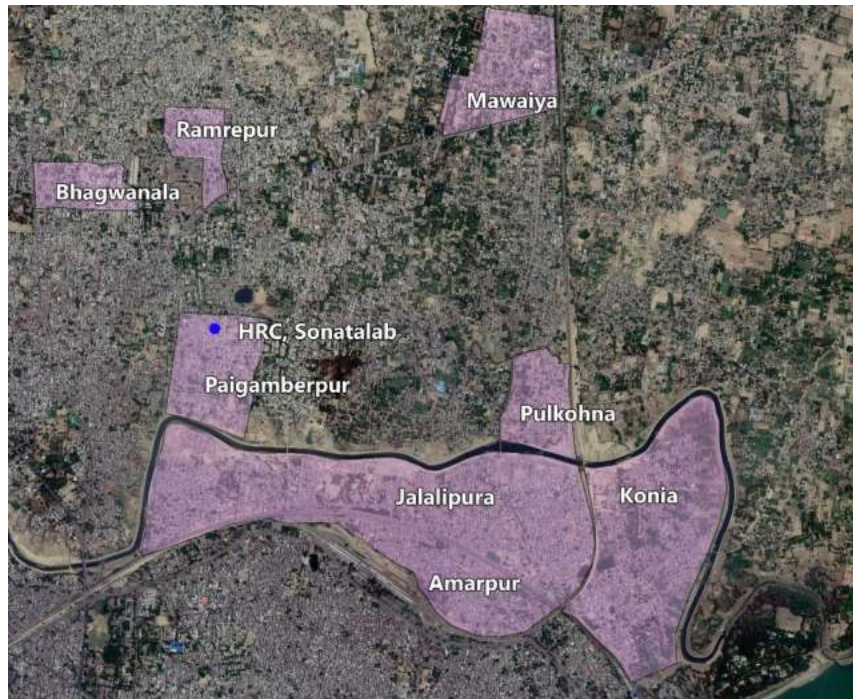
- Total areas selected
 - Rented – 3 | Open Space – 3 | Construction Sites – 2
- Field Coordinators – 2
- Shelter
 - All people have shelter in areas with rented housing
 - At construction sites and open spaces, the majority of faamilies have some or other kind of shelter
- Quality of Shelter
 - Quality of shelter is very poor in open areas
 - Rented areas have pucca walls in most shelters, roofs and upper floors are not as well made
- Sanitation
 - Sanitation facilities in open spaces and construction sites are very poor
 - In rented areas, condition is better with private and public bathrooms available
- Basic Hygiene and Cleanliness
 - General condition of solid waste management is poor in all areas
 - In open spaces in particular, solid waste remains a constant problem, as well as backflow of sewage and storm water due to inadequately provided drains
 - Door to door collection is not present in any area
- Cooking fuel and Drinking water
 - Drinking water is taken from public sources, no filtration or clean storage is available
 - Firewood is used as cooking fuel in open areas and construction sites
- Electricity
 - Majority of connections in rented areas are legal
 - No electricity supply in open areas
- Legal Security
 - People living on rent are doing so without agreements

HRC – Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur



- Total areas selected
 - Rented – 3 | Open Space – 2 | Construction Sites – 0
- Field Coordinators – 2
- Shelter
 - Very few households are living without any kind of shelter at all
- Quality of Shelter
 - Quality of shelter is very poor in open areas
 - Rented areas have pucca walls in most shelters, roofs and upper floors are not as well made
- Sanitation
 - Sanitation facilities in open spaces and construction sites are very poor
 - In rented areas, condition is better with private and public bathrooms available
 - JMC has built public toilets near every slum area, but sanitation is still not universally accessed
- Basic Hygiene and Cleanliness
 - General condition of solid waste management is poor in all areas
 - Door to door collection is present in few of rented areas, but coverage is not effective
- Cooking fuel and Drinking water
 - Drinking water is taken from public sources, no filtration or clean storage is available
 - Firewood is used as cooking fuel in open areas
- Electricity
 - Majority of connections in rented areas are legal
 - No electricity supply in open areas
- Legal Security
 - People living on rent are doing so without agreements

HRC – Sonatalab, Varanasi



- Total areas selected
 - Rented – 7 | Open Space – 1 | Construction Sites – 0
- Field Coordinators – 2
- Shelter
 - Several families are living in temporary structures in all areas
- Quality of Shelter
 - Quality of shelter is very poor in open areas
 - Rented areas have pucca walls in most shelters, roofs and upper floors are not as well made
- Sanitation
 - Sanitation facilities in open spaces and construction sites are very poor
 - In rented areas, condition is better with private and public bathrooms available
 - JMC has built public toilets near every slum area, but sanitation is still not universally accessed
- Basic Hygiene and Cleanliness
 - General condition of solid waste management is poor in all areas
 - Door to door collection is present in few of rented areas, but coverage is not effective
- Cooking fuel and Drinking water
 - Drinking water is taken from public sources, no filtration or clean storage is available
 - Firewood is used as cooking fuel in open areas
- Electricity
 - Majority of connections in rented areas are legal
 - No electricity supply in open areas
- Legal Security
 - Most of these areas are Urban Villages. This means that these areas are villages that have become a part of the city of Varanasi due to the growth of the city around them.
 - Therefore, landholdings in many of these areas are legal, but migrants living on rent are doing so without any kind of rent agreement and hence have no legal security

Conclusions

Urban housing supply is a system which is influenced by many different factors. This system has to grapple with growth in urban population of which migration is an important factor. This migration is taking place across all income groups, and while middle- or high-income groups are able to find housing in cities easily, the low income or EWS groups coming to the city face a lot of struggle in finding affordable housing.

The study has indicated that for these migrants, their housing is not a primary concern, rather their housing choice is based on what is the best option that they can get, while meeting most of their other needs. In the Trade-Source-Tenure-Destination analysis, the priority order that has emerged is as follows:

1. Source – Migrants come to the city through their social networks. This means that the place where they come from strongly affects where they will go. An example of this is migration of construction labourers, who normally come from the same village and are attached to a particular labour contractor.
2. Trade – the most important factor is where the migrant will find employment. This is usually found through the migrants' social networks, and is normally pre-decided before they come to the city.
3. Tenure – The Source and the trade of the person define what kind of tenure they have in the city. For example, unskilled labourers from tribal areas are normally seasonal migrants. This was observed in all 3 cities. Skilled workers from rural areas are often more permanent migrants.
4. Destination – a combination of the above factors defines the housing type and the location where migrant workers find themselves. Skilled construction workers normally occupy rented or informally owned housing in informal neighbourhoods, in areas where their communities have a strong presence. Seasonal construction labourers migrating through labour contractors are most likely to inhabit on site labour colonies.

This is an ever changing and dynamic system. Present housing supply system for LIG and EWS families – including PMAY and SUH schemes – is not able to supply affordable housing to migrants because these programs are not based on a thorough analysis of the migrants that are coming to the city and who need affordable housing. Therefore, these systems are not able to adapt easily to the needs of migrant families on the ground. In particular, these policies fail to address rental housing – which is one of the most widely used housing options among migrants.

The study indicates that a quantitative analysis at the city level of Source-Trade-Tenure-Destination parameters for migrants can help to draw a comprehensive picture of the housing needs of migrants for that particular city. Such analysis should be used to inform the city level policies for affordable housing for migrants.