Of Labour Migration, Gender and Work:

Post Migration Employment Patterning and Mobility in Urban Maharashtra

Introduction

Upward mobility in terms of location (rural-urban), occupational and industrial (sectoral) move and consequent rise in income and well-being has been the core to structural transformation, which leads to economic development (Kuznets 1966). Migration is a strategy that assists individuals to undergo such a transformation and experience some form of mobility. Urban areas are the most lucrative locations for migrants as the opportunities for livelihood are much wider compared to the rural areas and the relatively backward urban areas. Though the 'over-urbanization'[1] hypothesis has been strongly rejected in case of the third world countries and particularly for India[2], the magnitude of urbanward migrants in India cannot be overlooked. The probabilistic models[3] contend that such upward mobility in terms of income and occupation are fulfilled in two stages: in the first stage, the migrants join the informal urban labour markets and in the second, with increasing duration of stay, they climb up the ladder and enter the formal labour markets. However, the nature of upward or downward mobility among urbanward migrants depends largely on the characteristics of migrants. Migration has a positive link with economic status in Maharashtra as well as in India as a whole implying that majority of the migrants is better off which corroborates with many earlier findings (Bhagat 2011). However, it has also been observed that stark differences exist between the nature and quality of men and women labour migrants, who participate at work in the urban destinations in Maharashtra. Income and employment mobility have been studied in the context of India, but has been touched upon little from a gendered perspective.

The present paper seeks to answer the hitherto unravelled questions of whether women migrants undergo upward employment mobility and how are their experiences different from that of the men. It also throws light on the determinants affecting employment mobility among migrants by culling out a categorization of the nature of work of migrants based on their activity status and occupations, which may be taken as the closest possible proxy of formal and informal employment from the given data source (that is,

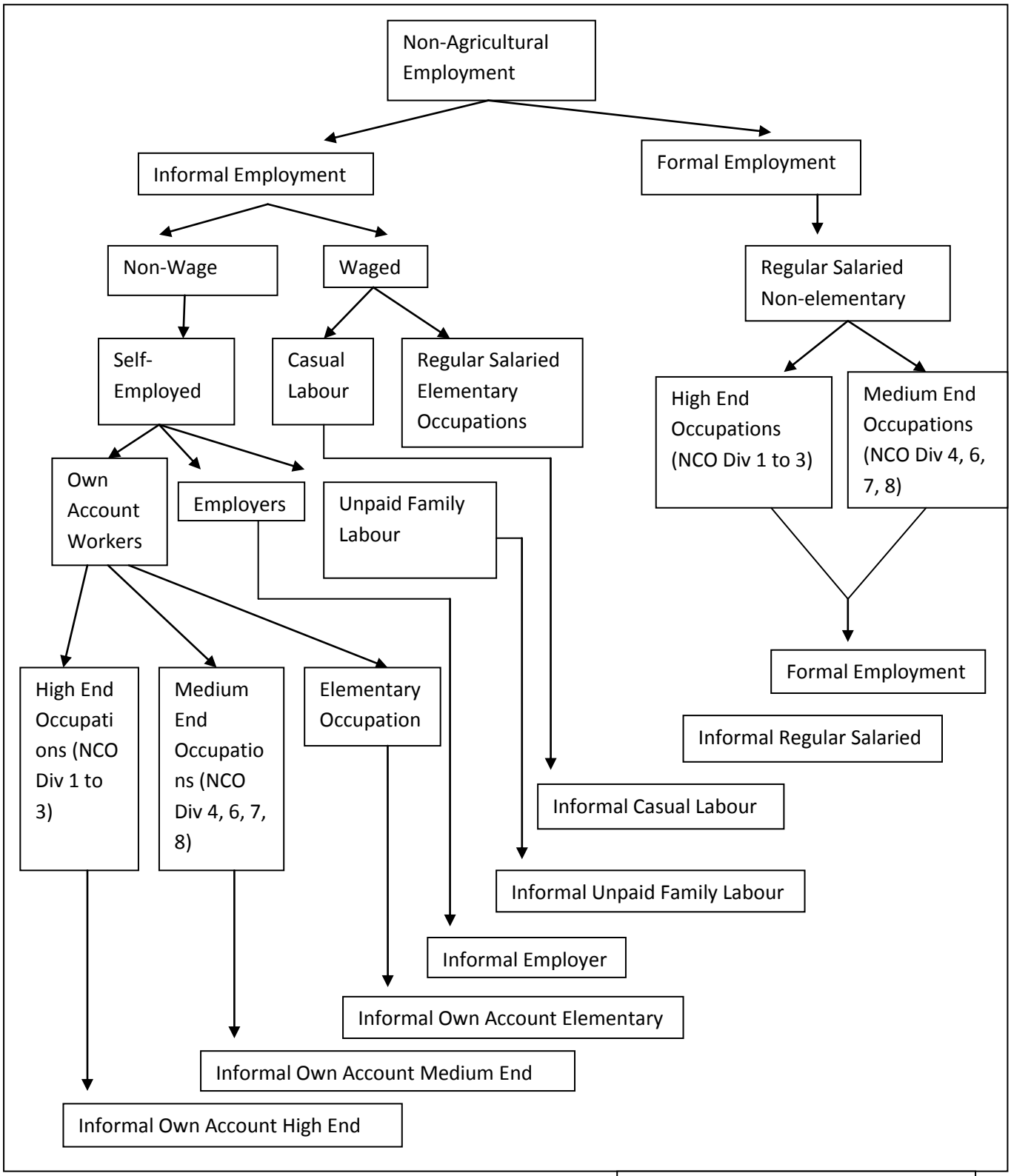
NSS 64th Round). This chapter is divided into four broad sections. The *first* section highlights the work participation of migrants over varying durations of stay at urban destinations separately for men and women. This is examined across categories of migrants like continued workers and fresh entrants. The *second* section discerns the changing sectoral and occupational concentration and segregation of migrants' work. This has been done in order to unravel whether there is a widening of employment opportunity post migration and how far the present composition of migrants differs from those who were older. The *third* section culls out a methodology to estimate formal and informal employment through the NSS Round 64th and compares the proportions of the same across duration of stay. The fourth section identifies the determinants of changing informality of employment with duration of time.

Database and Methodology

There are two major sources of data on migration in the Indian context. One is the Census of India, provides the most extensive data on a decennial basis on trends and patterns of migration and urbanization at district level as also for Class I cities, for which comparable data are available from 1971 to 2001. Second, National Sample Survey also collects and publishes data on internal migration in its various rounds from 38th NSS Round (1983) to 64th NSS Round (2007-08). The present study is mainly based on the latter for multiple reasons: *first*, the purpose of the study is to look at the post liberalization scenario upto the most recent time as there has been ample work on the pre liberalization regime and also the current scenario becomes intriguing due to changing relations of space owing to changing modes of accumulation. *Secondly*, the NSSO data provides individual (unit level) level data and hence permits a greater depth of analysis. *Thirdly,* and related to the earlier point, NSS data provides a large number of variables thereby ensures that the interfaces between migration, labour markets and gender is possible. *Fourthly*, though the NSS data does not provide migration data on the six different types of urban centres based on population size classes but it does provide a classification of urban centres into million-plus and rest of urban centres, which is also our purpose of study.

Since the NSS 64th Round does not give data for formal and informal employment, an attempt have been made to cull out these two broad categories and sub-categories to analyse employment mobility of migrants. This categorization is partly based on the exercise done by Unni and Rani (2000) and partly on the conceptualization of informal employment by ILO (2002) using the activity status and National Classification of Occupations (NCO 2004) as available from unit level data of the NSS Round 64. This involves only informal and formal employment and not sector or economy. Informal employment is defined as "the total number of informal jobs, whether carried out in formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises, or households or the total number of persons engaged in informal jobs during a given reference period" (ILO 2002: 121-129Expert Group on Employment Figure shows the categorization of formal and informal employment as used in the dissertation.

Figure 1Categorization of Formal and Informal Employment



Source: Developed by the Author

Methods and Tools

Simple statistical, cartographic and pictorial tools have been used which include co-efficient of variation, exponential growth rates, location quotient, rates and proportions etc. Methods and Tools for calculation of sectoral and occupational concentration and segregation of migrants' work based on gender are as follows in Table 1.

Table 1: Variables Used for Patterning and Segregation of Employment

Concept and Description	Statistic	Mathematical Definition	Level of Consultation
Occupational or Employment Patterning			
Extent to which Occupation is Feminized	**% female in occupation i**	**Females in Occupation i divided by all workers in occupation I *100**	**1-digit level for NIC/NCO and activity Status**
Extent to which females are concentrated in occupations	**Representation Ratio for women in occupation i**	**% female in occui / % female employed**	**Same as above**
Concentration/Diversification Indices			
Herfindahl's Index	**$H=\sum S_i^2$** **Where, S_i is the share of male or female in occupation i**		**1) NCO= 3digit level with 113 occupations** **2) NIC=2digit level with 62 sectors and also at 5digit level**

		3) 4 Activity statuses
Entropy Index	**$E_x = \sum X_i \log (X_i/P_i)$** **Xi is occupation i's share of total migrants** **Pi is occupation i's share of total population**	**Same as above**
CR_4& CR_8Ratios	**Concentration Ratios (or percentage shares) of top 4 or 8 occupations**	**Same as above**
Segregation Indices		
Size Standardized Index of Dissimilarity	**$= ½ \sum \left\| (qi/\sum qi) - (pi/\sum Pi) \right\|$** **qi=percent female in occupation I at time t** **pi= percent male in occupation I at time t**	**Same as above**
Decomposition of Index of Dissimilarity into **1) Sex composition of occupations (SEX)**	$$SEX = \frac{1}{2}\left[\sum_i \left\| \frac{q_{i2}T_{i1}}{\sum_i q_{i2}T_{i1}} - \frac{p_{i2}T_{i1}}{\sum_i p_{i2}T_{i1}} \right\| - \sum_i \left\| \frac{q_{i1}T_{i1}}{\sum_i q_{i1}T_{i1}} - \frac{p_{i1}T_{i1}}{\sum_i p_{i1}T_{i1}} \right\|\right]$$	**Same as above**

2) Relative size or distribution of occupations (OCC)	$$OCC = \frac{1}{2}\left[\sum_i \left|\frac{q_{i1}T_{i2}}{\sum_i q_{i1}T_{i2}} - \frac{p_{i1}T_{i2}}{\sum_i p_{i1}T_{i2}}\right| - \sum_i \left|\frac{q_{i1}T_{i1}}{\sum_i q_{i1}T_{i1}} - \frac{p_{i1}T_{i1}}{\sum_i p_{i1}T_{i1}}\right|\right]$$ **qi=percent female in occupation I at time t** **pi= percent male in occupation I at time t** **Ti= Total Number of Workers in occupation I in time t**	
Classification of Occupations By Relative Measures:		
1) Gender-Dominated	**% female in occui>1.5 times %FWPR***	**Same as above**
2) Gender-integrated	**0.5 times % FWPR<% female in occui>1.5 times %FWPR**	**Same as above**
3) Gender-	**% female < 0.5 times % FWPR**	**Same as above**

underrepresented		

Source: Developed by the Author

Note: FWPR* is Female Workforce Participation Rate

Methods and Tools for Relational and Causal Analysis

Correlation matrices have been extensively used in the present analysis to capture the causal relations between male and female occupational levels and so on and so forth explained in details in the chapters, using the following formula

$$r = \frac{(\sum xy) - \left(\frac{\sum x \sum y}{N}\right)}{\sqrt{((\sum x2) - ((\sum x)2/N))) \dots ((\sum y2) - ((\sum y)2/N)))}}$$

Multivariate Models

Logistic regression has been used to determine the odds ratios. Twenty-eight logistic regression models have been used to examine the determinants of migration and employability of migrants. The odds ratios have been calculated using the following equation:

$$Log \frac{p}{1-p} \; sex = \alpha \; sex + \beta demographic + \beta_1 social + \beta_2 economic + \beta_3 pre\ migration\ employment + \beta_4\ migration\ related + \beta_5\ space$$

The independent variables vary with the models in consideration. Any value of the odds ratio below 1 suggest that the probability of being poor is lesser than the reference category and any value of odds ratio above 1 indicates that the probability of occurrence of that event is greater than that of the reference category. Different logistic regressions have been executed with various dependent variables and selective independent variables.

Cox Regression and Survivorship functions

To analyse the impact of duration of stay at urban destinations on the employability and employment mobility of migrants ***Cox regression*** has been employed (Joe, Samaiyar and Mishra 2011). This regression model allows the risk determination of being in informal employment to depend not only on time component but also on the personal characteristics of the individuals. Formally the ***hazard function*** can be written as:

$$\emptyset(t) = \emptyset_0(t)\exp(\beta.z)$$

Where β is column vector of parameters and z is the row vector of covariates. The hazard function is the product of an underlying duration dependent risk $\emptyset_0(t)$and another factor $\exp(\beta.z)$ that depends on covariates. The duration dependent risk $\emptyset_0(t)$is calculated for a baseline or reference group. The hazard function enables one to estimate the relative risks of other groups in relation to this baseline group. The ***survivorship function*** based on the above equation may be written as:

$$S(t;z) = [S_0(t)]^{\exp(\beta.z)}$$

Where, $S_0(t)$ is the survivorship function for the baseline or reference group. Each exponential of the coefficients in the above equation represents the effect of the covariate on the hazard function for the reference group. When there are no covariates present, $\exp(\beta.z)$ reduces to unity. Corresponding survivorship function of being in informal employment for individuals with characteristics varying from the baseline group are found by raising $S_0(t)$ to the appropriate power.

Analytical Discussion

Urbanization, Migration and the Economy

As the third richest state in India, only after Punjab and Haryana, Maharshtra draws most of its state domestic product from Mumbai, which is the industrial and commercial capital of the state. It is the second most urbanized state in India, after Tamil Nadu with an urban population of about 42.42 percent and has the largest

number of million plus cities, which are six (Khullar 2009). About 16 percent of India's urban population resides in Greater Mumbai, which is the largest urban agglomeration. In Maharashtra, the non-agricultural sectors play a crucial role with the shares of SDP of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors are 17 percent, 26 percent and 32 percent respectively. It is largely the tertiary sector that drivees the growth of Maharashtra (Banerjee 2007). However, what concerns the most is the widening inequality within Maharashtra and the increasing rural-urban divide. Also, the per capita product of Mumbai is 2.5 times higher than that of rest of Maharashtra. The state is often described as "islands of urban prosperity in a sea of rural poverty" (Maharashtra State Development Report 2005, page 165).

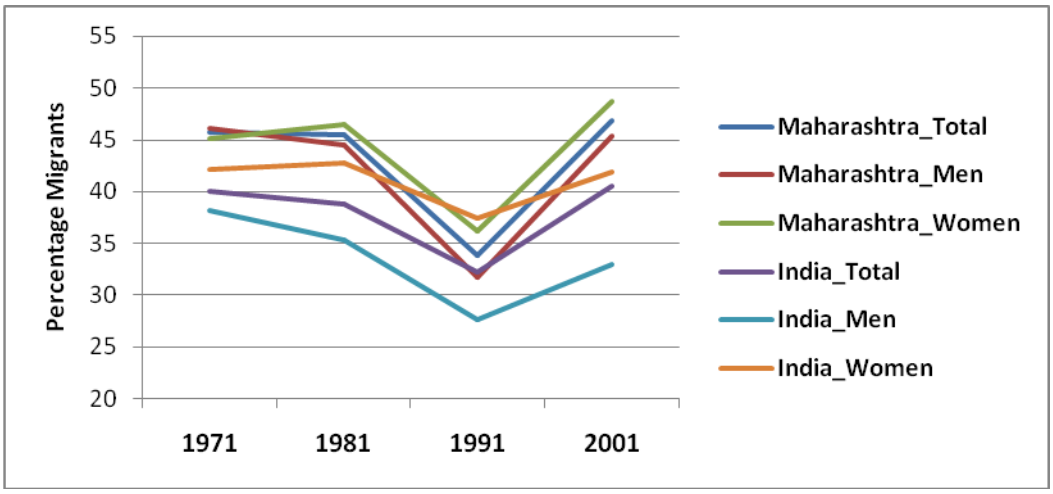
An overwhelming share of the urban population (47 percent) in Maharashtra is migrants. It has been noted in chapter 3, that women migrants in Maharashtra have experienced the highest decline in the sectoral concentration of work between pre and post migration period. Gender segregation in sectoral composition of work among migrants has also registered the highest decline in the state. These presage an expectation of upward mobility in terms of employment among the urbanward migrants in this state. However, there are also evidences of increased casualisation and informalization of women work force. The concept of pay based on "jodi" or "gang" has become very widespread among the migrants in general and female migrants in particular in the state of Maharashtra (Maharashtra State Development Report 2005, page 189). Hence, the women migrants in the unorganized sector, very often are not paid separately according to their work but as a lumsome to the 'jodi' (pair of migrants), either the husband and wife or pair of two women. This creates a worsening of conditions among the migrants, especially the women migrants as mostly the decision to spend money are in the hands of the men (Maharashtra State Development Report 2005).Thus, the study of the women migrants towards urban areas of Maharashtra and their employment outcomes needs scrutiny.

Migration in Maharashtra

A comparison of the migration India and Maharashtra reveals interesting insights. Though both Maharashtra and India have experienced a steep dip in their urban migration rates during the nineties, the decline has been much sharper in case of the former than the latter. It is worth mentioning that the urban migration rates in

Maharashtra have been higher than that of India throughout the Seventies and the Eighties, the rates of women urban migration went below the India average in the Nineties but increased again in 2001 (Figure 2). This decline in the Nineties are partly because of erroneous reporting of the duration of stay at the place of enumeration by recent migrants, understandably due to certain benefits relating to tenurial status, access to amenities etc. being linked to the date of arrival particularly in case of urban areas (Kundu and Sarangi 2007). The other probable reasons related to the earlier point for such a steep dip in urbanward migration may be attributed to the increasing antagonisms created by regionalist attitudes and a rising competitiveness for survival and livelihood between natives and migrants, which reached its peak during the nineties (Kundu 2009 and Rajan, Korra and Chyrmang 2011). Such resentment from the recipient region reduced the in-migration, as a response from the migrants' side.[4]

Figure 2 Urban Migrants in India and Maharashtra by Sex, 1971-2001



Source: Computed from Census of India, 1971 to 2001

Since the overall migration is a crude measure of labour migration and does not properly account for labour migration, the trends and patterns of migrants aged 15-59 and those in labour force are considered. It may be stated that there is a slight dip in migrants aged 15-59 during 1999-2000 from 1993, which again soared in 2007-08 among men migrants in million plus cities (Table 2). It clearly emerges that in 1999-2000, while million plus cities experienced a decline in the rates of urban male migration, rest of the urban centres experienced a rise. This may probably be explained through the exclusionary urbanization hypothesis that states that during the nineties the million plus cities had become exclusionary in nature leading to

peripheralisation of migrants to the medium or small towns, leading to a rise in the migration rate in rest of urban centres (Kundu 2009). Since most women migrate for marriage, considering women migrants aged 15-59 in labourforce at destination would be a better proxy for female labour migration[5]. A similar picture emerges in case of women migrants aged 15-59 in labour force, thereby confirming the hypothesis for women labour migrants.

Table 2 Percentage of Migrants and Migrants in Labour force at Destination (15-59 years), Urban Maharashtra, 1993, 1999-2000 and 2007-08

	Men		Women	
	Million-plus Cities	Rest of Urban Centres	Million-plus Cities	Rest of Urban Centres
Migrants (15-59 years)				
1993	47.5	43.8	47.6	74.7
1999-2000	46.6	44.0	48.9	66.0
2007-08	48.3	38.3	52.3	68.4
Migrants (15-59 years) in Labour force				
1993	52.7	46.2	41.5	76.8
1999-2000	50.9	46.8	38.4	66.0
2007-08	52.4	40.7	43.9	73.2

Source: Unit Level Data from NSS Round 49th, 55th and 64th

Streams of Migration

The temporal data on migration over the years 1999-2000 show a decline in R-U movement amongst men as far as million plus cities are concerned whereas the U-U migration shows almost stagnant trends. The latter situation is also seen in case of women. The mobility amongst both men and women seems to confine within the state. Million plus cities continue to attract women migrants. The rural-urban growth differential has been widening over the years in case of India in general and Maharashtra in particular[6]. Under such a circumstance, the decline in R-U migration goes against the notion of neo-classical economics which claims that migration takes place from relatively backward areas to advanced ones and continues until the economic standards, especially wages, equalize (Thirlwall 2006). This seems to be inappropriate not only at the macro scale but also for Maharashtra.

Table 3: Streams of Migration by Men and Women and Types of Urban Centres, 1999-2000 and 2007-08

	Men		Women	
	1999-2000	2007-08	1999-2000	2007-08
Million Plus Cities				
Intra State R-U	31.8	25.8	34.5	37.1
Intra State U-U	17.8	23.7	23.6	28.9
Inter State R-U	39.3	38.6	29.1	21.4
Inter State U-U	11.2	11.9	12.7	12.7
	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban Centres				
Intra State R-U	36.7	36.1	45.5	45.6
Intra State U-U	36.4	37.9	37.4	38.7
Inter State R-U	19.9	17.9	10.7	9.4
Inter State U-U	7.0	8.1	6.4	6.3
	100	100	100	100

Source: Unit Level Data from NSS Round 49th, 55th and 64th

Reasons for Migration

Reasons for migration are not only important to analyse what drives individuals to undertake migration, but also to assess the nature and types of migrants and their implications. It may be observed that the largest shares of men migrants in million plus cities as well as in rest of urban centres are speculative followed by assured employment-oriented migrants (Table 4). In case of women urbanward migrants, marriage migration is the most dominant. Interestingly, the shares of male assured employment-oriented migration have been increasing in million plus cities as well as rest of urban centres. Whereas the million plus cities experience a sudden decline in the shares of men speculative employment-oriented migration by about 7 percentage points, the rest of urban centres have registered a slight increase from 1993 to 1999-2000. However, the shares of speculative employment oriented men migration registered an increase in 2007-08. This decline in speculative men migrants in the million plus cities may be attributed to the peripheralization programmes as the speculative migrants are those belonging to the lower echelons of the economic strata. It may further be deduced that the speculative migrants who were peripheralized from million plus cities have moved to rest of urban centres in search of jobs. Marriage migration among women has registered an unprecedented increase from 1993 to

2007-08 both in million plus cities and rest of urban centres. One of the reasons cited in the literature for such burgeoning trend of marriage migration is the increased difficulties in localized commons based subsistence activities in some areas and the agrarian crisis leading to search for grooms who are settled in urban areas and relatively more developed rural areas (Agnihotri, Mazumdar and Neetha 2011).

Table 4 Percentage of Migrants (15-59 years) by Reason for Migration, Type of Urban Centre and Men and Women in Maharashtra, 1993, 1999-2000 and 2007-08

	Men			Women		
	1993	1999-2000	2007-08	1993	1999-2000	2007-08
Million-plus Cities						
Speculative	67.4	60.7	68.0	3.7	1.4	4.1
Assured	9.0	9.4	20.7	0.7	1.3	3.2
Educational	6.6	3.1	4.5	0.7	0.4	1.7
Marriage	0.4	0.3	0.1	60.9	56.9	86.7
Rest	16.5	26.5	6.7	34.0	40.0	4.3
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of urban Centres						
Speculative	39.1	40.1	43.2	2.9	2.0	1.2
Assured	23.5	24.0	27.6	0.9	1.6	1.5
Educational	6.7	5.0	8.8	0.5	0.8	2.6
Marriage	0.7	0.7	1.3	60.5	56.6	87.4
Rest	30.0	30.3	19.1	35.1	39.0	7.4
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Unit Level Data from NSS Round 49th, 55th and 64th

Autonomous and Associational Migrants

Autonomous women migrants reveal increasing trend overtime though the overall shares remain very low. Million Plus cities in Maharashtra account for a higher share of the autonomous migrants than that of the rest of urban centres in case of women (Table 5).

Table 5 Compositions of Autonomous and Associational Migrants by Men and Women and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 1999-2000 and 2007-08

	Men		Women	
	1999-2000	2007-08	1999-2000	2007-08
Million Plus cities				
Autonomous Migrants	69.5	70.9	5.1	6.9
Associational Migrants	30.5	29.1	94.9	93.1
	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban Centres				
Autonomous Migrants	73.2	67.1	3.7	5.9
Associational Migrants	26.8	32.9	96.3	94.1
	100	100	100	100

Source: Unit Level Data from NSS Round 55th and 64th

Work Participation and Duration of Stay at Urban Destinations

Although duration of stay does not emerge significant in determining the work participation of migrants, it is the only variable that captures the impact of destination area on migrants' workability and employment mobility. Migrants' duration of stay at the destination is useful in assessing the net gains accruing to migration, which is often overlooked in literature (Joe, Samaiyar and Mishra 2011). Assessing the net outcome of duration of stay on work participation of migrants involves many convoluted processes. While some migrants continue working post migration, some discontinue work and yet some enter the urban labour market freshly (called fresh entrants) after migrating. Thus, the three categories of migrants namely, continued workers, fresh entrants and migrants discontinuing work affect the relationship between duration of stay and work participation, as different groups enter into and exit from the labour market at different durations of stay. In order to assess the net impact of duration of stay on migrant's workability, the work participation as a whole across duration of stay has been analysed.

Table 6: Work Participation of Migrants at Destination by Gender, Duration of Stay and Type of Urban Centre, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Million Plus Cities		Rest of Urban Centres	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<1 year	98.9	10.6	74.2	15.1
1-4 years	84	19.2	77.0	8.4
5-9 years	89.9	15.7	84.3	18.0
10-20 years	92.3	20.7	89.7	23.3
>20 years	91.6	12.4	93.4	21.8
Total	90.2	19	83.8	17.8

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Work particpation of men migrants shows a fluctuating trend in the million plus cities across duration of stay at destination while it increases consistently in the rest of urban centres. Women migrants' work particpation does not follow any fixed pattern in either million plus cities or rest of the urban centres across duration of stay.

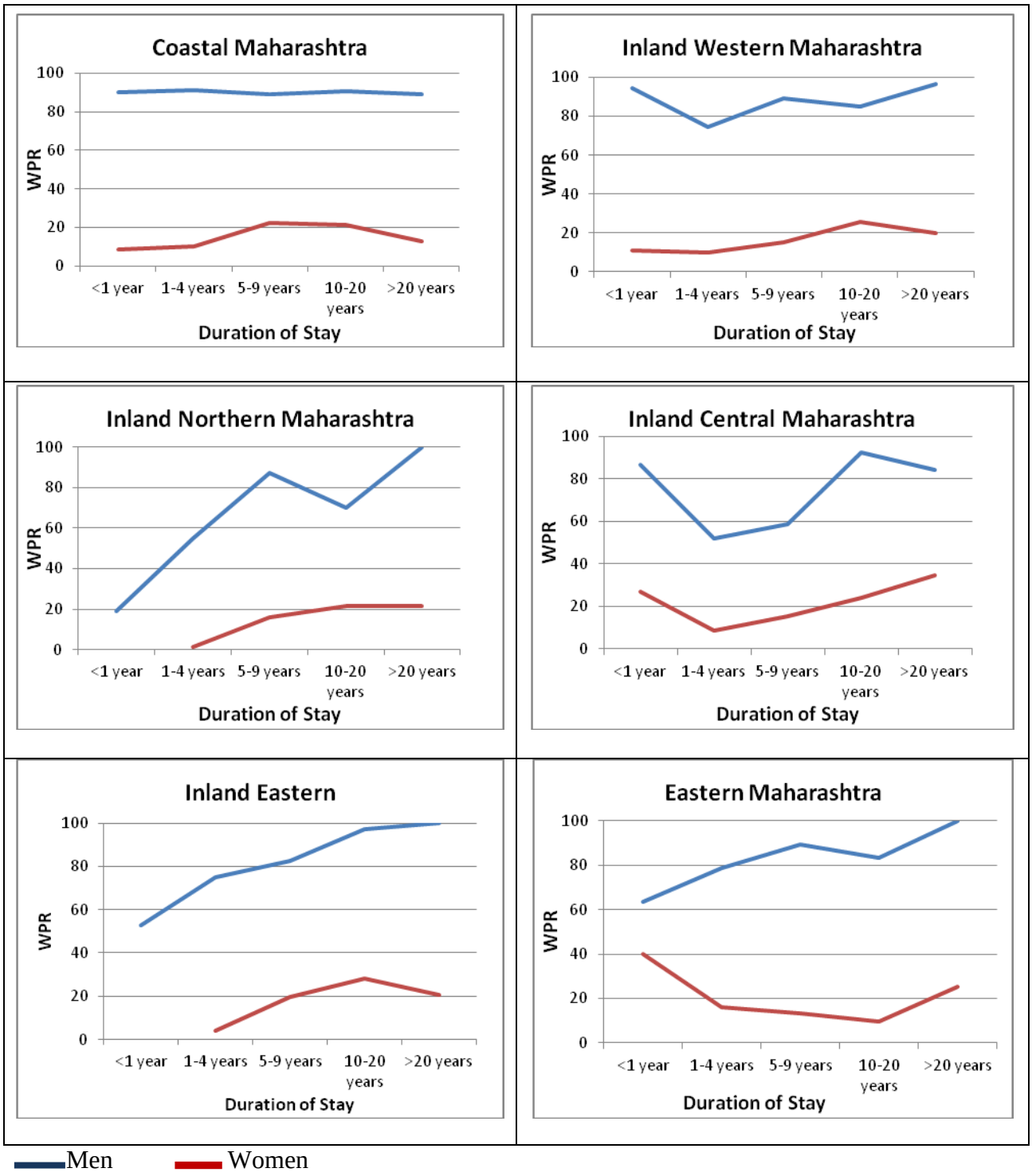
As the duration of stay increases the share of fresh entrants increases and that of the continued workers decreases in case of men migrants in urban areas.[7] In contrast, women migrants have no fixed pattern in this regard. This may be owing to the fact that women's work participation is inetermitat and truncated due to their reproductive roles and some may enter the labour market freshly after their reproductive age gets over while others in between, which ususallly does not have any relation with the duration of stay (Anker 2001).

Table 7 Continued Workers and Fresh Entrants across Duration of Stay by Gender, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Men			Women		
	Continued Workers	Fresh Entrants	Total	Continued Workers	Fresh Entrants	Total
<1 year	78.8	21.2	100	34.4	65.6	100
1-4 years	65.6	34.4	100	45.4	54.6	100
5-9 years	64.5	35.5	100	38.4	61.6	100
10-20 years	45	53.5	100	34.8	65.2	100
>20 years	35.4	64.6	100	29	73.1	100
Total	54.6	45.4	100	35.5	64.5	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Figure 3 Work Participation of Migrants across Duration of Stay by Gender and NSS Regions, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08



Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

The pattern of work participation across duration of stay varies spatially in urban Maharashtra. Work participation of men migrants remains constant in Coastal Maharashtra across duration of stay while it increases consistently in Inland Eastern Maharashtra and Eastern Maharashtra and follows a fluctuating trend in Inland Western Maharashtra and Inland Central Maharashtra. . The work participation of women tends to increase over duration of stay in most regions upto 10 years of stay except in Eastern Maharashtra (Figure 3).

Sectoral and Occupational Concentration and Segregation of Migrants by Duration of Migration

This section tests the possible impact of migrant's duration of stay at the destination on their employment patterning. Such a proposition is based on the risk-proneness of mobility in the first place and a relatively longer duration of stay serving towards reducing such risks (Joe, Samaiyar and Mishra 2011). Over time, the labour market conditions can increase the probability of receiving a gainful employment and a widening of employment opportunities. Such widening employment opportunities may be captured through the diversification of economic activities including both sectoral or horizontal and occupational or vertical diversification. It is logical to think that with increasing duration of stay at the destination after migration there might be a better search for jobs and hence an upward mobility. Location, space and gendered encodings are core to differential mobility patterns as some areas have better opportunities than others and the experiences of mobility vary by gender.

The present analysis aims to look at the crude effect of duration of stay and the concentration and segregation of migrants as it is difficult to calculate the net effect owing to the entry and exist of migrants to and from the urban labour markets at different points along the duration of migration categories.

Table 8 Horizontal / Sectoral Concentration of Urbanward Migrants by Duration of Migration, Sex and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay after Migration (in Completed Years)	Million Plus Cities		Rest of Urban Centres	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<1	0.269	0.231	0.155	0.217
1to 4	0.172	0.134	0.115	0.150
5 to 9	0.157	0.123	0.125	0.147
10 to 20	0.155	0.149	0.135	0.133
>20	0.157	0.214	0.161	0.159

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Sectoral or Horizontal Concentration

It may be noticed that the concentration in certain sectors of work has been very high for both men and women with less than one year of stay at million plus cities and relatively low in rest of urban centres (Table 8). This, may be because social networking is predominant at the early stages of migration and hence the migrants end up joining same sectors of work, which were being communicated to them through networks (Gupta and Mitra 2002). But with increasing duration of stay, with improved contacts, they find more diverse types of work in different sectors and move on, thereby reducing the sectoral concentration. Evidences of reducing concentration in the million plus cities substantiate such process (Table 3). The fact that sectoral concentration in rest of urban centres is found to be low among both men and women migrants, further corroborates the fact, as social networking is found to be dominant in the large towns and million plus cities compared to the rest of urban centres (Iversen, Sen, Verschoor and Dubey 2011). The rest of the urban centres also show a declining trend of sectoral concentration with increasing duration of stay after migration both for men and women migrants. It may, therefore, be stated that the economic opportunities tend to widen with increasing duration of stay in the urban centres.

Table 9 Vertical / Occupational Concentration (NCO 1-digit) of Urbanward Migrants by Duration of Migration, Sex and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay after Migration (in Completed Years)	Million Plus Cities		Rest of Urban Centres	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
<1	0.159	0.234	0.150	0.235
1to 4	0.149	0.194	0.148	0.219
5 to 9	0.153	0.292	0.140	0.243
10 to 20	0.146	0.226	0.133	0.243
>20	0.165	0.256	0.127	0.361

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Occupational or Vertical Concentration

Unlike the trends and patterns of sectoral concentration, vertical or occupational concentration shows a fluctuating trend with increasing duration of stay for both men and women in million plus cities (Table **9**). The occupational concentration tends to reduce as one move from less than one year of stay category to 1-4 years but again rises with further increase in the years of stay at the destination. This holds true for both men and women. However, among men migrants, in rest of urban centres the occupational concentration tends to decrease with increasing duration of stay at the urban destinations. Women migrants in rest of urban centres experience a declining occupational concentration between less than 1 year of stay and 1-4 years of stay at the destination and then again an increase, that continues with increasing years of stay. Hence, unlike sectoral concentration, occupational concentration of migrants does not show any fixed pattern. It has to be kept in mind that this kind of obscure picture might arise because the present analysis considers both migrants who continue work (before and after migration) and those who are the fresh entrants in the urban labour markets. This may be further elaborated that, in case of men migrants, the shares of fresh entrants tend to increase with increasing duration of stay in the urban centres owing to a number of probable reasons. *Firstly*, many men migrants who were not in the working age group (mostly migrated with families) during migration fall in the working age-group with time and therefore join the urban labour markets. *Secondly*, many speculative men migrants who come to urban destinations in search of jobs do not end up getting work immediately after arriving and as time passes they

manage to get work. In case of women, the shares of fresh entrants initially decline and then tend to increase after 1-4 years of stay in the destinations (Table 2). The case of women is slightly different from that of men and may be explained as follows. Very few women continue work after migration as majority of them are marriage migrants and accompany their husbands, hence discontinue work after migration for household and reproductive responsibilities. Thus, the share of fresh entrants among women migrants with less than 1 year of stay is higher than that of those continuing work after migration (Table8). The shares of women migrants who enter freshly in the urban labour markets tend to rise after 1-4 years probably because of similar reasons as that mentioned for men.

Gender Segregation: Horizontal and Vertical

It may be noticed that the sectoral segregation by gender tends to increase between less than 1 year and between 1-4 years of stay, though it reduces as the duration of stay advances in the million plus cities (Table 10). In the rest of urban centres sectoral segregation remains more or less constant though it reaches a low for migrants with 5-9 years of stay.

Table 10 Gender-Segregation of Sectors of Work (NIC 1-digit) of Urbanward Migrants by Duration of Migration and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay after Migration (in Completed Years)	Million Plus Cities	Rest of Urban Centres
<1	0.731	0.623
1to 4	0.830	0.653
5 to 9	0.562	0.398
10 to 20	0.559	0.637
>20	0.422	0.623

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table 11 Gender-Segregation of Occupations (NCO 1-digit) of Urbanward Migrants by Duration of Migration and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay after Migration (in Completed Years)	Million Plus Cities	Rest of Urban Centres
<1	0.222	0.328
1to 4	0.299	0.589
5 to 9	0.352	0.299
10 to 20	0.510	0.409
>20	0.364	0.441

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Occupational segregation tends to increase with increasing duration of stay in million plus cities and follows a fluctuating trend in the rest of urban centres. Such a burgeoning trend of occupational segregation with increasing duration of stay indicate that as the migrants arrive at the million plus cities men and women tend to get engaged in similar occupations as most of the women who participate at work are in the medium end occupations like clerk (Table 11).

The degree of concentration and segregation needs to be analysed by studying the actual distribution of migrants across activity statuses, sectors of work (NIC categories) and occupations (NCO categories).

Composition of Migrant Workers and Duration of Stay

The shares of self employed men migrants increase and that of the regular salaried decrease with increasing duration of stay, except those with less than 1 year of stay, in million plus cities as well as rest of urban centres (Table 12). It is interesting to note that the shares within self employed tends to increase for the professionals[8] and decline among 'plant and machine operators and assemblers'[9] (Tables 13). However, one important point needs to be mentioned. It must not be confused that a shift is taking place from low-end occupations like plant operators and assemblers to high-end occupations like professionals; rather it must be viewed as an improvement in the overall distribution of the self employed within occupational categories with increasing duration of stay. The decline in the regular salaried are high among those in elementary occupations, further corroborating an improvement over duration of stay at the urban areas as elementary occupations are basically the unskilled ones(Table 12).

Table: 12 Activity Status of Migrants by Duration of Stay, Gender and Type of Urban Centre, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08

	Duration of Stay after Migration (in Completed Years)				
	<1	1to 4	5 to 9	10 to 20	>20
Million Plus Cities					
Men					
Self Employed	5.7	13.0	27.4	34.1	34.1
Unpaid Family Labour		1.6	1.8	2.5	0.9
Regular Salaried	90.1	73.4	59.3	57.9	57
Casual Labour	3.1	10.5	8.7	5.1	7.0
Unemployed	1.1	1.6	2.8	0.4	1.3
	100	100	100	100	100
Women					
Self Employed	0.0	7.3	39.8	19.0	24.1
Unpaid Family Labour	0.0	9.5	0.5	7.2	11.1
Regular Salaried	40.5	74.1	50.4	43.7	50.2
Casual Labour	15	8.1	5.4	27.4	11.6
Unemployed	43.0	1.0	3.9	2.7	3.0
	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban Centres					
Men					
Self Employed	14.8	14.3	24.0	31.1	30.8
Unpaid Family Labour	4.6	4.6	5	3.1	1.9
Regular Salaried	75.0	63.2	54.0	52.0	55.1
Casual Labour	5.5	15.4	13.8	11.6	12.2
Unemployed	0.1	2.4	1.7	2.3	
	100	100	100	100	100
Women					
Self Employed	1.3	5.1	28	22.5	20.5
Unpaid Family Labour	1.1	24.2	12.9	14.6	20.4
Regular Salaried	73.5	33.3	33.1	34.6	25.9
Casual Labour	18.8	29	24.0	28.1	33.2
Unemployed	5.2	10.5	3.2	0.1	0.1
	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table: 13 Occupational Distribution of Regular Salaried Men Migrants at Destination, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08

NCO Categories	Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)					
	<1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-20 years	>20 years	Total
Million Plus Cities						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9.0	7.1	3.6	10.2	10.1	8.1
Professionals	14.3	4	9.0	4.1	8.3	7.0
technicians and associate professionals	3.3	8	9.1	4.2	5	3
Clerks	8.5	9.8	8.8	19	17.9	13.0
Service workers and shop & market sales workers	15.2	23.8	19.6	19.5	18.8	20.6
Craft and related trades workers	21.1	15	19.8	17.8	15.4	17.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	24.7	19.1	15.1	18.1	15.4	17.8
Elementary occupations	3.9	10.5	15.0	9.1	7.6	9.9
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban centres						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	10.5	1.4	1.8	4.1	1.8	2.7
Professionals	10	11.7	19.2	5	7.4	11.5
technicians and associate professionals	5.7	11	5.9	11.1	4.1	10.5
Clerks	8.9	11.9	20.8	20.5	21.2	19
Service workers and shop & market sales workers	22.6	29.6	17	17.0	24.0	23.0
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.0			0.9	0.2
Craft and related trades workers	15.9	8.7	11.3	20.7	15.5	13.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.2	6	20.3	12.5	13	12.0
Elementary occupations	15.0	13.9	4.1	7.6	8.7	9.8
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table: 14 Occupational Distribution of Self-employed Men Migrants at Destination, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08

NCO Categories	Duration of Stay (In Completed Years)					
	<1	1-4	5-9	10-20	>20	Total
Million Plus Cities						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	97.6	2	3.4	17.2	7.1	10.8
Professionals		40.7	48.2	45.0	71.7	52.6
technicians and associate professionals	2.4	3.0	9.5		2.5	2.9
Service workers and shop & market sales workers		2.8	6	9.0	4.1	1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers			0.6			0.1
Craft and related trades workers			3.1	9.7	0.9	4.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		41.5	20	15.0	5.0	17.7
Elementary occupations		5.9	2.6	4.1	8.8	5.5
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban Centres						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	37.1	17.2	19.6	17.4	35.1	22.3
Professionals	22.6	44.2	38.0	50.1	25.8	40.2
technicians and associate professionals		2.1	9.7	0.6	8.1	4.5
Service workers and shop & market sales workers		15.7	9.2	15.2	4.8	11.3
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		9.4	0.6	5.7	5.6	5.2
Craft and related trades workers	13.9	2.8	4.8	1.2	9	3.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	9.7	5.0	8.4	9.2	4.1	7.1
Elementary occupations	17	3.6	9.7	0.6	9.7	5.6
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

In case of women migrants, fluctuating trend persists in the million plus cities in terms of distribution by activity status across durations of stay. In rest of urban centres, there is a decline in the regular salaried women migrants across duration of stay. A further probe into the structure of occupations across regular salaried women migrants is limited due to lack of proper sample size at such a disaggregated level. However, the sample size is sufficient to explain the case of rest of urban centres at a disaggregated level. It may be highlighted that the shares of elementary occupations

(mostly household helpers) are found to increase with increasing duration of stay at the rest of urban centres (that is the nature or urban labour market). The shares of elementary occupations are found to remain constant across duration of stay in rest of the urban centres, implying that upward mobility is much limited in case of the women domestic labour migrants (Table 10). The same tends to decline initially but again rises as one crosses 10 years of stay. This is ambiguous but may be accruing to the discontinuation of work by women with increasing years of stay after migration as they enter the reproductive age and only those who are in the lower economic echelons work, thereby raising the shares of elementary occupations at higher duration of stay. Clearly, recent migrants are more professional which tells about the recent opportunities in the labour market. *Earlier the cities had a more diversified opportunity structure – people could move in and find some job but now the migration is somehow regulated and only more qualified people are moving to the cities – that appears to be in sync with the elitist argument regarding urbanisation processes* (Table 14).

Table 15 Occupational Distributions of Regular Salaried Women Migrants at Destination, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08

	Duration of Stay in Completed Years					
NCO Categories	**<1**	**1-4**	**5-9**	**10-20**	**>20**	**Total**
Million Plus Cities						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.0	21.1	2.7		5	9.8
Professionals		25.9	32.4	18.3	7.0	21.0
technicians and associate professionals	23.7	2.9	13.1	10.0	2.0	5
Clerks	48.4	18.4	8.0	18.8	9.6	15.9
Service workers and shop & market sales workers	27.9	18.5	43.8	5.7	20.1	19.5
Craft and related trades workers		0.1		7.0		1.9
Elementary occupations		13.0		40.2	54.8	25.5
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban centres						
Legislators, senior officials and managers	23.6					1.5
Professionals	2.1	27.5	43.3	18.6	4.8	20.9
technicians and associate professionals	42.4	18.2	17.3	21.9	7	18.4
Clerks	15.6	9	5.8	7.4	3.0	5
Service workers and shop & market sales workers	0.5	37.2	13	19.8	17.9	19.8
Craft and related trades workers	7.9			2.1	9.9	3.5
Plant and machine operators and assemblers				3.4		1.2
Elementary occupations	7.7	10.2	17.4	29	57.7	28.2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Duration of Stay and Formal and Informal Employment

That the nature of migrants is heterogeneous has already been accepted and their presence in both formal and informal sectors is well documented (Agnohotri, Mazumdar and Neetha 2011). The hypothesis that the urban informal sector acts as a 'vestibule' for transition to the formal sector has been highlighted time and again (Gupta and Mitra 2002). At the same time, it has been widely accepted that informal employment is a heterogeneous category including highly skilled as well as unskilled workers (Unni and Rani 2000, Sachdev 2006). It is again this backdrop, that the present section seeks to answer the questions as to whether there is a shift or mobility across formal and informal employment with increasing duration of stay after migration and what determines such mobility patterns[10]. In order to do so, an approximation of the formal and informal employment and categorizations within them has been culled out.

It may be observed that a little more than half of the men migrants are in formal employment[11] in both million plus cities and rest of urban centres. While 42 percent of the women migrants are in formal employment in million plus cities, only about a fourth of the women migrants in rest of urban centres are in formal employment (Tables 16 and 17). A predominant share (29 percent) of the women migrants in rest of urban centres are informal casual labour. There is also an overwhelming presence of women unpaid family labour migrants in rest of urban centres. On the contrary, informal regular salaried women migrants (mostly domestic workers) have a large share in the million plus cities.

Table 16 Composition of Migrant Workers across Formal and Informal Employment Categories by Gender and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

	Million Plus Cities		Rest of Urban Centres	
Employment Categories	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Formal Employment	58.1	42.3	52.9	24.3
Informal Casual Labour	7.7	15.4	13.4	29.1
Informal Regular Salaried	4	14.4	5.8	9.5
Informal Unpaid family Labour	1.7	7.6	4.2	15
Informal Employer	4.7	4.3	4.7	0.7
Informal Own Account High End Jobs	12.9	11.9	11.3	7.9
Informal Own Account Medium End Jobs	7.1	2.5	4	8.8
Informal Own Account Elementary Jobs	1.4	1.7	1.3	3.2
	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Roun

Table 17 Migrant Workers by Formal and Informal Employment, Gender and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Employment Categories	Million Plus Cities		Rest of Urban Centres	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Formal Employment	58.1	42.3	52.9	24.3
Informal Non-Elementary	24.7	18.6	22.4	17.3
Informal Elementary	17.2	39.1	24.7	58.4
	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Categories of employment across duration of stay reveal a few interesting insights of the labour market. Firstly, men who migrated earlier could get in through a variety of job options which were essentially in the informal sector which is increasingly shrinking in recent years and secondly, the kind of jobs which are becoming available are in informal non-elementary sectors. Hence the changing nature of job market is reflected here.

Table 18 Distribution of Migrants across Employment Categories by Duration of Stay, gender and Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Men					Women				
	<1	1to 4	5 to 9	10 to 20	>20	<1	1to 4	5 to 9	10 to 20	>20
Million Plus Cities										
Formal Employment	87.5	68	51.9	53.0	53.1	71.1	65.1	52.5	29	23.4
Informal Casual Labour	3.1	10.6	9.0	5.1	7.1	28.9	8.2	5.6	28.2	11.9
Informal Regular Salaried	3.5	7.8	9.1	5.3	4.4	0.0	9.7	0.0	18.0	28.4
Informal Unpaid family Labour	0.0	1.6	1.8	2.5	0.9	0.0	9.6	0.5	7.4	11.4
Informal Employer	4.9	0.6	3.2	7.7	7.2	0.0	0.2	15.7	1.9	5.0
Informal Own Account High End Jobs	0.9	0	14.0	14.1	21.4	0.0	5.9	16	15.7	11.5
Informal Own Account Medium End Jobs	0.0	5.8	10.2	10.9	3.0	0.0	1.3	9.2	1.9	0.0
Informal Own Account Elementary Jobs	0.0	0.8	0.7	1.4	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban Centres										
Formal Employment	63.8	55.7	52.7	49.2	50.3	71.6	33.5	28.3	25.9	11.0
Informal Casual Labour	5.5	15.8	14.1	11.8	12.2	19.9	30.0	24.8	28.7	33.2
Informal Regular Salaried	11.3	9.0	2.2	4.1	4.8	0	3.8	5.9	9.5	14.9
Informal Unpaid family Labour	4.6	4.7	6	3.1	1.9	1.2	27.0	13.3	12.8	20.4
Informal Employer	1.3	1.6	4	5.6	8.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Informal Own Account High End Jobs	7.5	7.7	10.5	12	12.9	0.7	0.9	23.4	5.9	2.7
Informal Own Account Medium End Jobs	3.5	4.8	5.1	9.9	5	0.6	3.3	4.2	13.2	9.7
Informal Own Account Elementary Jobs	2.5	0.5	2.4	0.2	3.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	3.9	5.7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table 19 Formal and Informal Employment of Migrant Workers across Duration of Stay by Gender and Million –plus and Rest of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08

	Men					Women				
Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	**<1**	**1to 4**	**5 to 9**	**10 to 20**	**>20**	**<1**	**1to 4**	**5 to 9**	**10 to 20**	**>20**
Million Plus Cities										
Formal Employment	87.5	68	51.9	53.0	53.1	71.1	65.1	52.5	29	23.4
Informal Non-Elementary	5.8	12.4	27.4	32.7	31.5		7.4	41.5	19.5	15
Informal Elementary	7	20.8	20.7	14.3	15.4	28.9	27.5	1	53.6	60.1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rest of Urban Centres										
Formal Employment	63.8	55.7	52.7	49.2	50.3	71.6	33.5	28.3	25.9	11.0
Informal Non-Elementary	12.3	14.2	22.0	31.6	27.8	1.4	4.2	27.7	19.1	14.8
Informal Elementary	23.9	30.1	25.3	19.2	21.9	27.1	62.4	44.0	55.0	74.3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Employment Mobility of migrant Workers at Urban Destination: An Explanatory Framework

To analyse the determinants of employability of migrants in formal and informal employment and mobility over duration of stay, cox regression has been applied. This model allows the risk determination of being in the informal employment to depend not only on time component but also on the personal characteristics of the individuals (Joe, Samaiyar and Mishra 2011). This gives the hazard co-efficient and survivorship function with respect to a baseline or reference category[12].

The hazard co-efficient for men and women migrants show that educational levels, MPCE levels, characteristic of migration and location (type of urban centres) significantly determine the attainment of formal employment of men migrants (Table 20). Women migrants' status of being in formal employment is found to be significantly affected by marital status, type of migrants based on reason for migration, origin area (rural or urban) and location (NSS Regions). Education is positively related to the attainment of a male migrant in formal employment and the likelihood of being in formal employment is higher for secondary/HS educated and above school educated compared to illiterate and below primary educated. Economic standard has a positive link with formal employment in case of men migrants. Women migrants' status of being in formal employment is higher for unmarried women with reference to married ones. Interestingly, the likelihood of being in the formal employment is significantly higher for those who were from urban areas (U-U migrants) compared to those from rural areas. Also, migrant women in Eastern Maharashtra have a higher propensity to be employed in formal employment compared to those in Coastal Maharashtra. Thus, unlike men migrants two distinctly identifiable factors affecting women migrants' employability in formal employment are marital status and location both at origin and at destination.

Table 20 Cox Regression Showing Determinants of Employment Mobility Between formal and Informal Employment with Duration of Stay as Time Component, Urban Maharashtra, 2007-08

Dependent Variable: Formal Employment=1 and Informal Employment=0

Variables	Exp(B) (Hazard Coefficients)	
	Men	Women
Marital Status (Ref: Currently Married)		
Rest	3.186	2.554*
Religion (Ref. Hindu)		
Muslim	.855	3.455
Christian	.440	2.904
Others	.988	.225
Social Groups (Ref.General)		
SC/ST	1.027	1.206
OBC	1.126	.652
Educational Levels (Ref. Illiterate and Below Primary)		
Upto Primary and Middle	1.329	1.506
Secondary/ HS	1.901**	2.464
Above School	2.412**	17.484
Technical Education (Ref. With Technical Education)		
Without Technical Education	1.037	.688
MPCE Quintiles (Ref. 1st)		
2nd Quintile	1.141	1.248
3rd Quintile	1.335	1.930
4th Quintile	1.698	.900
5th Quintile	1.899**	.716
Type of Migrant (Ref. Autonomous)		
Associational	1.634**	1.567
Reason for Migration (Ref. Speculative)		
Assured	1.152	.707
Educational	0.301**	1.083
Marriage	.000	0.207**
Rest	1.003	.426
Origin Sector (Ref.Rural)		
Urban	1.125	2.221**
Type of Urban Centre (Ref. Million Plus Cities)		
Rest of Urban Centres	1.279*	.903
NSS Region (Ref. Coastal Maharashtra)		
Inland Western	1.209	1.995
Inland Northern	.878	.936
Inland Central	1.233	1.101
Inland Eastern	1.045	1.123
Eastern	.969	4.274*

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

In order to denote the actual and exact effect of duration of migration on the nature of employability of migrants, the survivorship functions have been calculated by educational levels, type of migrants and type of urban centres. It shows that the proportion of men to be in the informal employment is 97 percent for men and that of women in less than 5 years of stay at destination is 98 percent. Both in case of men and women the decline in the proportion of migrants in informal employment declines faster as the educational level rise (Tables 21 and 22).

Table 21 Proportion Men Migrants Remaining in Informal Employment, Baseline Group and Men Migrants by Education Sector, Maharashtra, 2007-08 (Survivorship Proportions)

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Baseline Survival	Illiterate/Below Primary	Elementary	Secondary /HS	Above School Educated
<1 year	.974	.969	.982	.977	.957
1-4 years	.811	.890	.851	.782	.715
5-9 years	.670	.852	.686	.652	.530
10-20 years	.458	.621	.544	.406	.286
>20 years	.148	.349	.226	.095	.043

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table 22 Proportion Women Migrants Remaining in Informal Employment, Baseline Group and Women Migrants by Education Sector, Maharashtra, 2007-08 (Survivorship Proportions)

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Baseline Survival	Illiterate/Below Primary	Elementary	Secondary/ HS	Above School Educated
<5 years	.989	.996	.991	.988	.934
5-9 years	.970	.991	.984	.964	.809
10-20 years	.903	.958	.933	.886	.499
>20 years	.829	.930	.888	.827	.000

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table 23 Proportion Women Migrants Remaining in Informal Employment, Baseline Group and Women Migrants by Type of Urban Centres, Maharashtra, 2007-08 (Survivorship Proportions)

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)[13]	Baseline Survival	Autonomous	Associational
<5 years	.989	.995	.986
5-9 years	.970	.982	.965
10-20 years	.903	.889	.907
>20 years	.829	.765	.849

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table 24 Proportion Men Migrants Remaining in Informal Employment, Baseline Group and Men Migrants by Type of Urban Centre, Maharashtra, 2007-08 (Survivorship Proportions)

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Baseline Survival	Million Plus Cities	Rest of Urban Centres
<1 year	.974	.968	.979
1-4 years	.811	.794	.823
5-9 years	.670	.686	.651
10-20 years	.458	.525	.396
>20 years	.148	.214	.104

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Table 25 Proportion Women Migrants Remaining in Informal Employment, Baseline Group and Men Migrants by Type of Urban Centre, Maharashtra, 2007-08 (Survivorship Proportions)

Duration of Stay (in Completed Years)	Baseline Survival	Million Plus Cities	Rest of Urban Centres
<1 year	.998	.999	.997
1-4 years	.990	.989	.990
5-9 years	.971	.968	.973
10-20 years	.903	.890	.911
>20 years	.829	.819	.838

Source: Computed from Unit Level Data of NSS 64th Round

Based on the location of migrants (type of urban centres) it may be said that men as well as women migrants experience a sharper decline in their proportions in informal employment with increasing duration of stay in the million plus cities than the baseline group and a gradual one in case of those residing in rest of urban centres (Tables 23, 24 and 25).

Conclusion

That the composition of migrants in urban Maharashtra is heterogeneous in nature based on employability is clearly emerging from the analysis. Migrants, men and women, are employed in both formal and informal employment. Informalization of formal sector is also evident though formal sector has not been identified in the present analysis for data constraints and has been indirectly measured. The analysis of formal and informal employment shows that majority of the migrants are in regular salaried work which constitute both formal and informal employment. On the basis of occupations, the regular salaried have been divided into three categories: first, regular salaried in high-end occupations like legislators, managers, professionals, technicians etc (NIC division 1to 3[14]); second, regular salaried in medium end occupations like clerk, service and sales workers, craft and related trade workers and; third, regular salaried in elementary occupations. It is clear that major shares of migrants, men as well as women, are in the first two categories namely regular salaried in high-end occupations and medium end occupations, But, if the entire scenario is looked separately, a large chunk of women migrants are found to concentrate in regular salaried elementary occupations especially as housemaids and in care giving sectors. Education also employs a large chunk of the women migrants who are regular salaried. Interestingly, million plus cities represent a high share of migrants in regular salaried domestic work among women.

The concentration and segregation of migrants across duration of stay are found to vary by gender and space. The diversification seems to increase with duration of stay for men. This may be because of two broad reasons. Firstly, there is a widening of opportunities for livelihood partly because of increasing social networking and contact based job search after arriving at the destination with time. The other possible explanation may be that the fresh entrants, who join the urban labour markets at a later stage after migrating in diverse and varied sectors , thereby, increasing the

diversification coefficient and reducing concentration. However, women represent a fluctuating trend of concentration and diversification with duration of stay.

It is also evident from the analysis that there is a limited upward mobility among women migrants in comparison to men in terms of movement from informal to formal employment. The Cox regression analysis reveals that the transition from informal to formal employment with duration of stay varies across gender, educational levels and location of migrants. Greater the level of education, faster is the reduction in the survivorship function of being in informal employment, implying that education plays a positive role in greater decline in the proportions of migrants in informal employment with duration of stay. This holds true for both men and women. While million plus cities display a greater decline in proportion of women migrants in informal employment, men migrants undergo a greater decline in rest of urban centres. This may be because the survival in the million plus cities is more difficult for those who are in the lower echelons and since men are the primary bread earners, it is necessary for them to be in some work, which is usually in the form of informal employment, given their educational levels and skills.

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[1] Hoselitz 1955 and Bairoch 1975.

[2] Premi 1980, Kundu 198

[3] Gupta and Mitra 2002.

[4]In the name of "Mumbai for Mumbaikars" political parties used the migration issue for their political motives as their main agenda was to protect the Marathi language and demand 80 percent of the jobs for natives. On top of that there have been innumerable attacks on "South-Indian" as well as "Bihari" migrants in Mumbai (Rajan, Korra and Chyrmang 2011).

[5]For further detail see Chapters 1 and 2

[6]Study on Human Development in India at district level shows that the ranks of districts of Maharashtra in this respect range from 16 in case of Pune, which is predominantly an urban area and 210 for Chandrapur, which is predominantly rural (Maharashtra State Development Report 2005).

[7] It would have been ideal to examine the shares of continued workers and fresh entrants across duration of stay categories separately for million plus cities and rest of urban centres but the sample size is insufficient.

[8] Division 2 of the National Classification of Occupations, 2004 in Appendix IV

[9] Division 8 of the National Classification of Occupations, 2004 in Appendix IV

[10] It is not possible to estimate whether there is mobility from the informal employment to formal across duration of stay as the data only permits to capture whether the relative shares of the same changed over duration of stay at destinations.

[11] This is essentially formal employment and not formal sector and needs mention as they imply disparate things.

[12] See Chapter I for elaboration of the methodology, page 48.

[13] Due to lack of appropriate sample size for women migrants workers by education levels in the less than 1 duration of stay category, the first two classes have been clubbed including less than 1 year and 1-4 years of stay at destination.

[14] See Appendix IV

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