Chapter four: Migration pattern of the construction workers of Kolkata

Introduction:

There are not many differences between migrant and local workers regarding their working and living conditions. A large number of urban centres have emerged all around the world in the process of industrialisation and urbanisation. It has brought similar impact in different parts of India. Both the processes involve heavy construction work. Factory buildings, accessory and ancillary buildings, government offices, roads, railway tracks and entire townships need to be erected and constructed. Construction works require various kinds of skilled and unskilled workers like painters, masons, plumbers etc. These workers are spread across the width and length of the country; however, they are drawn in large numbers, through pull and push factors to the emerging and flourishing industrial and urban centres. So, these centres have a huge concentration of construction workers.

Inter-state migration in India has now become so rampant that its impact is felt in every aspect of life. Migration is a way of life to many; unskilled and semi skilled persons who find it difficult to get better jobs within their locality. These migrant workers are spread across the width and length of the country. Construction labourers are usually labourers who migrate from different regions and states leaving their native villages in search of a job. These people are nomadic in their life style and usually do not return to their birthplace. They travel from one area of work to another area along with their families and live in a place, which is either provided by the owner of the construction company or somewhere near by, building temporary shelters.169

Poverty and migration have a correlation in India. Workers migrate to another part of India from the beginning of winter season (October to November). This kind of seasonal migration has become the integral strategy of their livelihood for sometimes now. Thousands of people get migrated every year as daily wage labourers for their basic need of living or food. After the harvest, usually beginning from winter, the villagers who were engaged in agriculture become jobless.170

Several studies have recognised that people move within countries in response to the inequitable distribution of resources, development, services and opportunities. Push factors—particularly rural poverty—and pull factors—the attraction of more economically dynamic urban areas and new land tenure prospects in rural frontiers—contribute to these population movements. In India, the rural population, mainly small landholders and landless agricultural labourers, move towards urban areas in the hope of improving their socio-economic conditions. It has been observed that the migration from rural areas, whether it is permanent, seasonal or circular has characteristics that the migrants remain attached to their circuits. They continue to maintain link with their families and villages through regular visits as well as by sending remittances. The people who migrate from their native places come back after the finishing of jobs/services.

Thus, they do not migrate permanently. Migration takes place because of unemployment. The majority of the migrants leave their villages in search of jobs/service. Thus, lack of income opportunities is a major cause of rural migration. It is a matter of concern that villages are no more centers of livelihood and subsistence. It is evident that villages are no more working as an institution where a family can fulfill their livelihood requirements. In fact, unskilled workers continue to be unskilled. The level of literacy is very low in case of the unskilled category. Most of the workers are casual or seasonal workers as they come from a rural/agricultural background. They come to the construction sites after the sowing and go back for harvesting. The workers therefore share a number of characteristics of long term migratory workers. They do not work regularly for one particular employer but are forced to shift to different project sites with different employers depending on the availability of job. There is no continuity of their job with one employer. Even if they come back to the same contractor year after year, they do not become regular or permanent. The casual workers have a daily economy only and accept any wage and take up any job to make both ends meet. They are at the mercy of the gang leader or headman or Mistri (ILO: 2005: 22).

**Migration structure:**

The highest percentages of the local workers (96%) are found in the unorganised sector whereas metro and housing sectors are completely dominated by the migrant workers. In the unorganised sector, there are no female migrant workers. In the unorganised sector, there are no female migrant workers. [Table 4.1 & Fig 4.1].

**Migrant workers & age structure of workers:**

Present trend of migration (roads & flyovers, metro and housing sectors) shows that above the age of 50 years, the percentages of the migrant workers are very low. The reason

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might be that usually with increased age; physical efficiency gets decreased, so it becomes hard to sell labour in the highly competitive market of the urban places. It is a well known fact that with increasing age, the financial liabilities of the family also increase. Hence the compulsion to earn more leads to migration. So the rate of migration is found to be high among the middle aged workers (between 29 and 39 years) in the metro sector but the percentages of young (between the age groups of 18 and 28 years) migrant workers of the roads & flyovers and housing sectors are more compared to other age groups. [Table 4.2A - Table 4.2D & Fig 4.2A- 4.2D]. Young people can easily sell their labour in urban areas, since they are more adaptable to a new work culture and have many takers.

Religious structure and migrant workers:

Unorganised migrant workers are Hindus. On the other hand, in the roads and flyovers sector only 39% Muslims migrant workers are found: However it is seen that the migration rate is found to be higher among the Muslims in the metro (79%) and housing sectors (63%). [Table 4.3A - Table 4.3D, Fig 4.3C & 4.3D]. The reason behind higher migration rate among the Muslims might be awareness and the information about the destination to migrate and lack of subsistence due to marginal landholdings/landlessness. In fact, Hindus suffer from a social opposition to change of occupation. The Muslim societies do not suffer from this restriction except to a very limited extent. In fact, they are far more mobile in the matter to change of occupation. The Muslim craftsmen can regulate their number according to demand. For the Hindu caste - bound craftsmen, this response is inelastic. As a result the numbers of artisans among the Muslims have always been higher compared to their population.

Migrant workers & caste structure:

Mainly migrant workers of the roads & flyovers and metro sectors are from the rural areas where caste is an important determinant of occupation, education and social status in the community and therefore, it may be one of the important factors responsible for migration differentials. Migration percentage is higher among the upper castes compared to Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe workers. The reason might be that the upper caste's social and economic conditions are usually better than the untouchables, so they can migrate anywhere they find better opportunities for their total development. On the other hand, the highest percentages of the housing sector workers (46%) belong to the Scheduled Caste. Scheduled Caste workers are economically poorer than the upper caste workers so their rate of migration is higher than the upper caste workers.[Table 4.4A - Table 4.4D, Fig 4.4A, Fig 4.4B & 4.4D].

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174 Ibid, pp. 337-351.
175 Ibid, pp. 337- 351.
Migration and marital status:

The migration decision of an individual is influenced by marital status also. It is observed that the distance moved by migrants found to be closely associated with the marital status and depends, to some extent on his /her responsibilities towards the family and dependents. Singh (1981)\(^{176}\) reported that married persons usually migrate shorter distances in order to visit their family frequently. Some studies have also reported that highly educated married migrants are mostly accompanied by family members, as compared to less educated or illiterate migrants (Sharma: 1984).\(^{177}\) 50% migrant married workers are found in the unorganised sector. The percentages of the unmarried migrants among roads & flyovers workers (55%) and housing workers (51%) are higher compared to the married migrant workers as under the age of 18 years or between the age groups of 18 and 28 years migrant workers dominate this sector. On the other hand, the percentages of the married migrant metro workers are higher compared to the unmarried migrant workers as in villages, people prefer migration after marriage since they feel more family responsibilities after marriage.\(^{178}\) [Table 4.5A - Table 4.5D & Fig 4.5A - 4.5D].

Migrant workers & educational structure of workers:

Among migrant workers of roads & flyovers most of them (45%) are secondary passed followed by illiterates (35%) and primary passed (10%). Metro sector is mainly dominated by the illiterate migrant workers (61%). The similar percentages of the illiterates (44%) and secondary passed (42%) workers are found in the housing sector. 50% illiterate workers are also found in the unorganised sector. [Table 4.6A - Table 4.6D & Fig 4.6A - 4.6D].

Types of migration:

Migrant workers are mainly found in construction and related industries. Three different types of migrant workers are mainly found: partial; total and seasonal workers. Partial workers are those who return to their original homes after 15 days or a month. Total migration means those migrant workers who left their original place forever and never return to their villages or have dependent family members there. The employment of seasonal workers is mainly restricted to agricultural work.\(^{179}\) In Kolkata, there are no total migrants.

177 Sharma, L, A study of the pattern of out-migration from rural areas, Banaras Hindu University, India,1984.
178 Yadav, K.N.S, 1988; Detreminants, patterns and consequences of Rural-Urban Migration in India, Independent Publishing Company, Delhi, India.
94% partial migrant construction workers are found in Kolkata. Few seasonal workers are found in the roads & flyovers (11%) and housing sectors (6%). In the unorganised sector all workers are partial migrants. [Table 4.7(I)]

**Place of origin:**

From Table 4.8(I) it is clear that, in the unorganised sector there are no workers who migrated from outside Bengal. In the roads and flyovers, only 6% construction workers migrated from Jharkhand and 17% are from Uttar Pradesh whereas 32% have migrated from Bihar. The highest numbers of non Bengali migrants are found in this sector. Only 3% metro maintenance workers are from Assam. Unorganised workers are all local workers. They are usually commuters. Most of the unorganised workers are from North 24 Parganas and Kolkata itself whereas, roads and flyovers sector is mainly dominated by the migrant workers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and its neighbouring state Jharkhand. In fact, Bihari workers are mainly found in the roads and flyovers and in the housing sectors. [Table 4.8 & Fig 4.8]. Most of the metro maintenance workers (91%) and housing workers (43%) are also from Murshidabad. In short, construction workers of Kolkata are mainly from the districts of Murshidabad and North 24 Parganas of West Bengal.[Table 4.8(I)].

**Place of origin & age structure:**

The highest percentages of roads & flyovers workers are young (between 18 and 28 years) who are mainly from Uttar Pradesh (4%), Bihar (23%), Jharkhand (8%) and Murshidabad (53%). Unorganised migrant workers are mainly from North 24 Parganas. [Table 4.9A & Table 4.9A (I)]. Metro maintenance workers (95%) are mainly from Murshidabad between the age groups of 29 and 39 years. [Table 4.9B (I), Table 4.9C (I) & Fig 4.9C]. Like the roads & flyovers sectors, housing sector is also dominated by the young migrant workers from Murshidabad and Bihar. [Table 4.9D, Fig 4.9B & Fig 4.9D].

**Place of origin & religious structure:**

Unorganised Hindu migrant workers are mainly from North 24 Parganas. [Table 4.10A]. Very few workers of the roads & flyovers and metro sectors from the districts of North 24 Parganas, Nadia, Bardhaman, Jalpaiguri, Hugli and Howrah of West Bengal are Hindus. 14% Hindu migrant workers from Assam are found in the metro sector. Hindu workers of the metro sector are mainly from North 24 Parganas. [Table 4.10B -Table 4.10D & Fig 4.10B - Fig 4.10D]. Muslim migrant workers from Murshidabad dominate the roads & flyovers, metro and housing sectors but the percentages of Hindus from Bihar (47%) and Uttar Pradesh (24%) are also high in the roads & flyovers sector. 19% and 6% housing workers from Bihar and Orissa are Hindus and 22% Bihari Muslims workers are also found here. A negligible number of Muslim workers from Puruliya and Howrah are also found in the housing sectors.[Table 4.10B(I) -Table 4.10D(I)].
Place of origin & caste structure:

Roads and flyovers and housing workers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are mainly upper caste Brahmins. [Table 4.11B, Table 4.11D, Fig 4.11B & Fig 4.11D]. All Scheduled Tribe roads and flyovers workers are from Jharkhand. Upper caste metro workers are mainly from Murshidabad (50%), followed by North 24 Parganas (17%), Nadia (17%) and Assam (17%). On the other hand, most of the Scheduled Caste metro workers (44%) are from North 24 Parganas. [Table 4.11C(I)]. But all Scheduled Caste workers of metro are from the same district (Murshidabad) of West Bengal. [Fig 4.11C]. The highest percentages of the upper caste (62%) as well as Scheduled Caste (44%) workers are from Medinipur in the housing sector. All Scheduled Tribe workers are coming from North 24 Parganas in this sector. [Table 4.11D(I)].

Place of origin & educational structure:

Unorganised migrant workers are from North 24 Parganas and they are either illiterates or graduates. [Table 4.12A]. Most of the Bihari roads & flyovers workers (42%) are illiterates. In fact, the percentages of illiterate workers are higher in Bihar (47%) compared to its neighbouring states Jharkhand (5%) and Uttar Pradesh (5%). Workers from Murshidabad in this sector are the highest (54%) who are educated till primary level. [Table 4.12B(I)].

In fact, roads & flyovers workers are mainly from Murshidabad. [Fig 4.12B]. On the other hand, migrant workers from Assam working in metro are mostly secondary passed. [Table 4.12C & Fig 4.12C]. The highest percentages of metro maintenance workers are from Murshidabad (84%) who are secondary passed. Workers from Orissa (18%) are primary passed. [Table 4.12C(I)]. The housing workers hailing from North 24 Parganas are more educated than workers from other districts. [Table 4.12D & Fig 4.12D]. The percentages of illiterate workers are from Murshidabad (50%) followed by Bihar (20%), Medinipur (16%), North 24 Parganas (7%) and Puruliya (7%) in this sector as workers from those places are from a poorer socio-economic structure. [Table 4.12D(I)].

Types of migration & place of origin of workers:

95% roads and flyovers workers are partially migrants workers and the rest (5%) of the workers from Uttar Pradesh are seasonal migrants. In fact, they are farmers. In the slack season of agriculture they migrate to Kolkata for getting jobs. Most of the partial migrant of this sector are from Murshidabad and Bihar. [Table 4.13B & Fig 4.13B]. Similarly metro sector is completely dominated by the partial migrant workers from Murshidabad. [Table 4.13C & Fig 4.13C]. 6% seasonal workers from North 24 Parganas are only found in the housing sector. Most of the partial migrant workers of housing sectors are from Murshidabad, Bihar and Medinipur. [Table 4.13D, Table 4.13D(I), Fig 4.13D].
Period of migration:

The migration periods are divided into three groups (Before 2000, 2000-2005 and after 2005). Unorganised workers mainly migrated to Kolkata before the year 2000. [Table 4.14 & Fig 4.14]. On the other hand, the highest percentages of construction workers migrated to Kolkata after the year 2005 are found in the housing sectors (72%) followed by roads & flyover sector (68%) as the rate of construction has become very high particularly in the roads & flyover sectors followed by housing sector after 2005 at Kolkata. Most of the metro maintenance workers migrated to Kolkata before the year 2000 when metro railway was set up. Only a few housing workers migrated to Kolkata between the years 2000 and 2005 whereas in the metro sector only 14% migrated to Kolkata between the years 2000 and 2005 and after 2005. [Table 4.14(I)].

Period of migration & place of origin:

All unorganised migrant workers are from North 24 Parganas who came to Kolkata before 2000. [Table 4.15A]. The highest percentages (50%) of roads & flyovers workers from Murshidabad migrated after 2005 followed by Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh etc. [Table 4.15B(I)]. Most (93%) of the metro workers migrated from Murshidabad to Kolkata during 90s. 3% and 4% migrant metro workers from Nadia and North 24 Parganas before 2000 are also found. [Table 4.15C(I)]. Very few metro workers from Assam and Murshidabad migrated after the year 2000. [Fig 4.15C]. Most of the housing workers migrated to Kolkata from Murshidabad followed by Bihar, North 24 Parganas etc after the year 2005 like the roads & flyovers sectors. [Table 4.15D, Table 4.15D (I) & Fig 4.15D].

Reasons of migration:

Construction workers are mostly from North 24 Parganas, South 24 Parganas, Nadia, Kolkata, Purulia, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Hooghly, Howrah, Jalpaiguri and Medinipur districts of West Bengal. They are mainly villagers. Villagers of these districts cannot rely totally on agriculture as their income from land is insufficient. Mainly, they are agricultural labourers who migrate during slack season of agriculture to Kolkata. Many villages of these districts do not have electricity and other infrastructural facilities for the development of industries. The migrant workers from other Indian states are mainly from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa and a very few from Jharkhand and Assam. Poverty, lack of job opportunities etc. are the major reasons behind this pattern of migration. In fact, in some states, agricultural production is very low and agriculture is the backbone of any region's economy. Small size holdings, lack of modern technology including use of HYV seeds; fluctuation in the price of rice, tradition bound farmers, low standard of health and overall poverty are some of the problems which hinder the agricultural development in this region.180

After green revolution, modern technology and modern tools have been used in this area. So the manual labourers are not used nowadays like before (Raju: 1991). Now unemployment has increased as a big problem and outmigration of unemployed farmers started. Over population, unemployment and insufficient job opportunities are the reasons behind the migration of the construction workers. To improve economic conditions farmers have the tendency to move to urbanised and industrialised places like Kolkata where construction industry is a booming industry and the demand of construction workers is very high.

**Occupation before migration:**

Most of the workers (32%) were engaged in agricultural activities before joining this work while the maximum workforce were unemployed (24%). Most of the migrant workers were from agricultural background. They either had some land, or were sharecroppers. Some of them (13%) are involved in their caste bound profession, i.e, dairying, fishing etc. A significant aspect of this migration of labour from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and other places are that it enabled the industry to replace their Bengali workers by their "cheaper" substitutes to save expenses. [Table 4.16 (I) Table 4.16 & Fig 4.16].

**Occupation before migration & age structure of workers:**

Unorganised workers were all unemployed before migration to Kolkata. Most of the younger (between the age groups 18 and 28 years) migrant roads & flyovers workers (41%) were jobless before migration. In fact, before migration roads & flyovers workers were either farmers or labourers or unemployed. To get a better job and earn enough money for a better livelihood they migrated and work as construction workers. Metro workers were mainly farmers followed by labourers and unemployed groups. The highest percentages of the metro workers (55%) who were farmers found in the age groups of 29 and 39 years were farmers. Young (18 and 28 years) migrant workers are the highest in the housing sector who were either farmers or labourers or doing odd jobs before migration. [Table 4.17A, Table 4.17B (I) - Table 4.17D (I) & Fig 4.17 B - Fig 4.17 D ].

**Occupation before migration & religious structure:**

Unorganised unemployed migrants are mostly Hindus where roads and flyovers workers are dominated by the unemployed Hindus. [Table 4.18B (I)]. Muslims labourers also migrated for work. Hindu farmers migrate to the city during the slack season of agriculture in

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this sector. [Table 4.18A - Table 4.18D & Fig 4.18 B - Fig 4.18D]. The percentages of the Muslim workers (57%) in the metro sector who were farmers or labourers before migration are higher compared to Hindu migrant workers (50%). Muslim housing workers were doing some odd jobs or were casual labourers while most of the Hindu workers were farmers (44%) and unemployed (20%). [Table 4.18C (I) & Table 4.18D (I)].

**Occupation before migration & caste structure of workers:**

Upper caste and Scheduled Caste unorganised workers both were jobless before migration. [Fig 4.19 B - Fig 4.19D]. Upper caste roads and flyovers workers were more unemployed (41%) than Scheduled Caste workers. Scheduled Tribe workers were mostly doing odd jobs before migration. Most (64%) of the Scheduled Caste workers were unemployed before migration in this sector. Upper caste farmers (67%) dominate the metro sector whereas; Scheduled Caste farmers (57%) dominate the housing sector. Most of the Scheduled Tribe housing workers (78%) were mainly unemployed and upper caste workers (34%) were doing odd jobs. [Table 4.19A, Table 4.19B (I) - Table 4.19D (I)].

**Occupation before migration & educational structure of workers:**

Secondary passed (38%), H.S. passed (60%) or illiterates (49%) all were jobless in the roads & flyovers sectors. Illiterate metro workers were either unemployed (8%) or farmers (46%). Secondary passed farmers (62%) are also found in this sector. Illiterate workers (46%) were labourers and farmers in the housing sector. [Table 4.20B (I) - Table 4.20D (I)] & [Fig 4.20B - Fig 4.20D]. Generally construction workers were unemployed before migration. [Table 4.20A - Table 4.20D & Fig 4.20B - Fig 4.20D].

**Ancestral occupational structure of workers:**

It is clear from the Table 4.21 that the highest percentages of the construction workers had farming as their ancestral occupation and it is the highest in the metro sector (71%). 60% construction workers in the roads & flyovers sectors had farming as their ancestral occupation. In the metro sector, 71% construction workers' ancestral occupation was the same as the previous sector and in the housing sector 51% construction workers' ancestral occupation was farming. [Table 4.21 (I)]. All construction workers ancestors were casual labourers in the unorganised sector. Ancestors of the workers are also found as labourers, casual workers or unemployed. [Table 4.21 & Fig 4.21].

**Ancestral occupation & religious structure of workers:**

Unorganised and roads & flyovers workers are dominated by the Hindus and their ancestors were casual labourers and farmers. [Table 4.22A, & Fig 4.23B]. Most of the metro (76%) and Housing (43%) ancestors are Muslims and farmers by profession. [Table 4.22C(I), Table 4.22D(I), Fig 4.22C & Fig 4.22D].
Ancestral occupation & caste structure of workers:

Upper caste as well as Scheduled Caste unorganised workers ancestors were labourers in the unorganised sector. [Table 4.23A]. On the other hand, upper caste farmers dominate the roads & flyovers (82%) and metro (80%) sectors but few Scheduled Caste workers ancestors had farming as their ancestral profession. [Table 4.23B(I), Table 4.23C (I), Fig 4.23B & Fig 4.23C]. Similarly, upper caste housing workers ancestors also had the same profession (farming). The ancestors of the Scheduled Tribe workers were mainly farmers where some Scheduled Caste workers ancestors were casual labourers in this sector. [Table 4.23D, Table 4.23D ((I) & Fig 4.23D).

Problems of migrant workers and laws:

The majority of the migrant workers complained said employers refused to pay legally-stipulated overtime wages (to be paid for work in excess of more than eight hours a day and 44 hours a week) and cheated them of the agreed wages. Knowledge of their legal rights for redress of wage exploitation and other abuses appeared to be very limited amongst migrant workers.

Migrant construction worker's who seek redress through mediation, arbitration or lawsuits against their employers often give up due to obstacles stemming from their lack of household registration permits or a bureaucracy overburdened and largely insensitive to the migrant construction workers' problems. In Kolkata, the situations as well as plights of migrant construction workers and local construction workers are the same. Now they are becoming more aware after they spend about one year at the construction site and refuse to be exploited. They demand unique ID card on the lines of Voter's ID card. These all will make the registered/licensed contractors more receptive to various issues concerning the well being of the workers, providing a healthy and safe work environment and in following the legal requirements pertaining to minimum wages and providing social benefits including family pension, gratuity etc. Above all, implementation of The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, (Act 30 of 1979)\(^{183}\) and The Emigration Act (Act 31 of 1983)\(^{184}\) both are very important to improve the situation of migrant workers in India. But it cannot be said that all the provisions of these two Acts are implemented with its true spirit in practice.

\(^{183}\) Received the assent of the President on June 11, 1979 and published in the Gaz. Of India , Extra, Pt. II, S.1, dt. 12th June, 1979, pp. 233-05.

\(^{184}\) Received the assent of the President on Sep 10, 1983 and published in the Gaz. Of India , Extra, Pt. II, S.1, dt. 13th Sep, 1983, pp. 1-20.
Conclusion:

Construction workers are mostly from North 24 Parganas, South 24 Parganas, Nadia, Kolkata, Purulia, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Bardhaman, Hooghly, Howrah, Jalpaiguri and Medinipur districts of West Bengal. They are villagers. Mainly, they are agricultural labourers who migrate during slack season of agriculture to Kolkata. The migrant workers from other Indian states are mainly from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa and a very few are from Jharkhand and Assam. Over population, unemployment and insufficient job opportunities are the reasons behind the migration of the construction workers. To improve economic conditions farmers have the tendency to move to urbanised and industrialised places like Kolkata where construction industry is a booming industry and the demand of construction workers is very high. The migration to Kolkata increased after the year 2005. Most of the workers were engaged in agricultural activities before joining this work while the maximum workforce were unemployed. Most of the construction workers' ancestors were farmers by profession.

Present trend of migration (roads & flyovers, metro and housing sectors) shows that above the age of 50 years, the percentages of the migrant workers are very low. The reason might be that usually with increased age, physical efficiency gets decreased, so it becomes hard to sell labour in the highly competitive market of the urban places.

Most of the migrant workers are illiterates. They are economically very poor so they have to join this profession at a very early age leaving studies due to poverty and to run their families. Most of the migrant workers monthly earn between Rs.2000 and 4000.

In India, the rural population, mainly small landholders and landless agricultural labourers, move towards urban areas in the hope of improving their socio-economic conditions. It has been observed that the migration from rural areas, whether it is permanent, seasonal or partial has characteristics that the migrants remain attached to their circuits. They continue to maintain link with their families and villages through regular visits as well as by sending remittances.

The people who migrate from their native place come back after the finishing of the current contract. Most of the workers are casual or seasonal workers as they come from a rural/agricultural background. They come to the construction sites after the sowing season and go back for harvesting. The workers therefore share a number of characteristics of short term migratory workers. They do not work regularly for one particular employer but are forced to shift to different project sites with different employers depending on the availability of job.

There is no continuity of their job with one employer. Even if they come back to the same contractor year after year, they do not become regular or permanent. The casual
workers have a daily economy only and accept any wage and take up any job to make both ends meet. They are at the mercy of the gang leader or headman or Mistri (ILO: 2005: 22).

The system of the employment of the migrant labour is an exploitative system. This system lends itself to various abuses. Though the recruiter promises at the time of recruitment that the wages calculated on casual basis would be settled every month, the promise is not usually kept. No working hours and living places are fixed for those workers and they have to work on all the days in a week under extremely severe working conditions. The provisions of the various labour laws are not being observed in their case and they are subjected to various malpractices. The migrant worker is generally illiterate, unorganised and normally works under extremely adverse conditions and in view of these hardships, some administrative and legislative arrangements both in the state or district from where they are recruited and also in the state or district where they are engaged for work are necessary to secure effective protection against his exploitation.

Fig 4.1: Migration structure

- **Unorganised**
  - Migrant workers, 1%
  - Local workers, 24%

- **Roads & flyovers**
  - Local workers, 0.5%
  - Migrant workers, 24.5%

- **Metro**
  - Local workers, 6%
  - Migrant workers, 19%

- **Housing**
  - Local workers, 3%
  - Migrant workers, 22%

Fig 4.2A: Migrant workers & Age structure: Unorganised workers

Fig 4.2B: Migrant workers & Age structure: Roads & flyovers workers

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Fig 4.5A: Migrant workers & Marital status structure: Unorganised workers

Fig 4.5B: Migrant workers & Marital status structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.5C: Migrant workers & Marital status structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.5D: Migrant workers & Marital status structure: Housing workers

Fig 4.6A: Migrant workers & Educational structure: Unorganised workers

Fig 4.6B: Migrant workers & Educational structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.6C: Migrant workers & Educational structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.6D: Migrant workers & Educational structure: Housing workers
Fig 4.7: Types of the migration

Fig 4.8: Place of origin

Fig 4.9B: Place of origin & Age structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.9C: Place of origin & Age structure: Metro workers
Fig 4.9D: Place of origin & Age structure: Housing workers

Fig 4.10B: Place of origin & Religious structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.10C: Place of origin & Religious structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.10D: Place of origin & Religious structure: Housing workers
Fig 4.11B: Place of origin & Caste structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

- Upper caste
- SC
- ST

% of workers

Fig 4.11C: Place of origin & Caste structure: Metro construction workers

- Upper caste
- SC

% of workers

Fig 4.11D: Place of origin & Caste structure: Housing workers

- Upper caste
- SC
- ST

% of workers

Muslims

Murshidabad, 44%

N 24 Parganas, 0%

N 24 Parganas, 2%

Puruliya, 2%
Fig 4.12B: Place of origin & Educational structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Educational levels

Fig 4.12C: Place of origin & Educational structure: Metro workers

Educational levels

Fig 4.12D: Place of origin & Educational structure: Housing workers

Educational levels

Fig 4.13B: Types of migration & Place of origin: Roads & Flyovers workers

Partial

Fig 4.13C: Types of migration & Place of origin: Metro workers

Partial

Fig 4.13D: Types of migration & Place of origin: Housing workers

Partial

Seasonal
Fig 4.15D: Periods of migration & Place of origin: Housing workers

Fig 4.16: Occupation before migration structure

Fig 4.17B: Occupation before migration & Age structure: Roads & Flyovers workers
Fig 4.17C: Occupation before migration & Age structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.17D: Occupation before migration & Age structure: Housing workers

Fig 4.18B: Occupation before migration & Religious structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.18C: Occupation before migration & Religious structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.18D: Occupation before migration & Religious structure: Housing workers

Fig 4.19B: Occupation before migration & Caste structure: Roads & Flyovers workers
Fig 4.19C: Occupation before migration & Caste structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.19D: Occupation before migration & Caste structure: Housing workers

Fig 4.20B: Occupation before migration & Educational structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.20C: Occupation before migration & Educational structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.20D: Occupation before migration & Educational structure: Housing workers

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Fig 4.21: Ancestral occupational structure

![Construction workers chart]

Fig 4.22B: Ancestral occupation & Religious structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

![Hindus and Muslims categories]

Fig 4.22C: Ancestral occupation & Religious structure: Metro workers

![Hindus and Muslims categories]

Fig 4.22D: Ancestral occupation & Religious structure: Housing workers

![Hindus and Muslims categories]
Fig 4.23B: Ancestral occupation & Caste structure: Roads & Flyovers workers

Fig 4.23C: Ancestral occupation & Caste structure: Metro workers

Fig 4.23D: Ancestral occupation & Caste structure: Housing workers