Chapter 2
Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

Migration of people in search of employment has been taking place for several centuries. However, with the onset of industrialisation in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, there have been large scale migration of people who left their ancestral places to work in regions where industries were established. These industrial centres attracted a lot of people, especially workers and their families, which further resulted in urbanisation. The large movements of people to urban centres generated a lot of interest in trends in migrations.

The literature on labour migration provides various perspectives on labour migration and its impact on migrants and their households. I would first dwell on literature on labour migration in general and later dwell on studies done on social networks of labour migrants and the construction labour market.

2.2 Labour Migration

In the early nineteenth century, some scholars like Dr. William Farr felt that issues related to migration was not worth studying as patterns of migration was random and did not follow any definite law. However, Ernest George Ravenstein endeavoured to disprove this prevailing understanding by initially studying the British census data of 1871 and 1881. He was one of the earliest scholars who used census data in migration research. His findings resulted in his formulation of the "Laws of Migration" (Ravenstein, 1885), which were basically certain patterns of migration he discovered while studying the census data. He further studied census data from America as well as several European countries, where he found that the principal cause of migration was "overpopulation in one part of the country, whilst there exist elsewhere undeveloped resources which hold out greater promise for remunerative labour" (Ravenstein, 1889). He discovered patterns to show that most men migrate for economic reasons to seek employment in more industrialized regions or in areas where uncultivated productive land generates demand for labour. Though Ravenstein's insightful conclusions of his studies on migration in Europe and
America were very rudimentary in nature, it has stood the test of time and has proved to be the starting point for several theories on migration (Lee, 1966).

2.2.1 Classical Theories

Classical Economists view migration as a result of fluctuations in the demand and supply of factors of production. Adam Smith himself believed that there should be free flow of labour based on individual utility maximization just as there is a free flow of goods and capital. The movement of labour would result in migration within the country as well as between countries. But this was an ideal situation which may not be achieved due to various reasons. Ravenstein was a strong votary of free flow of labour, but he suggested that various factors may influence labour migration such as proximity to their native place, spatial considerations and the level of development and transport facilities between the place of origin and place of destination (Cataneo, 2008). According to Malthus, the population increases in geometric progression while food production increases by arithmetic progression, and therefore, a rapid increase in population create a situation of distress. At the same time, a fast growing population results in surplus labour, which Malthus calls redundant population. This “redundant population needs to move to ‘uncultivated’ areas where there is greater demand for labour” (Malthus: 1967). These theoretical approaches presented the migration phenomenon as a voluntary movement of people from one place to another and consequently it was regarded as a voluntarist perspective. The other approach to understanding the phenomenon of migration had a structural perspective, the seeds of which were sown in the Marxist theory which refers to the cycles of expansion and contraction of the capitalist economy creating the availability of cheap and dispensable labour, which Marx called ‘reserve army’. These people are either the floating surplus population, workers laid-off in times of recession or marginalized workers. This ‘reserve army’ offer cheap labour wherever there is demand for labour resulting in migration of workers in search of employment (Papastergiadidis, 2000).

Karl Marx (1976) also conceived the law of capital accumulation, in which he describes how the process of capital accumulation results in two simultaneous processes, namely the spread of capitalist modes of production and the inclusion of a huge numbers of wage labourers to fuel the process of production. Labour migration is a consequence of
the process of capital accumulation which leads to urbanization of the proletariat due to geographical concentration of the means of production. In the Marxian analysis, capitalists keep searching for means for cutting costs and increasing profits, thus making them exploit labour or opt for cheaper labour. The cost of labour of native workers tend to be higher than that of migrant workers, who are naturally preferred over native workers, thus triggering migration especially into sectors with a high proportion of casual labour.

Some theories of migration use economic models such as the Dual Economy Model of Arthur Lewis (1954) who focused on agriculture-industry relationship as a two-sector model. According to him, sustained economic growth fuelled by industrial expansion will result in a large number of underemployed and virtually unemployed workers living off the family farms, working at low marginal productivity, moving at some point to the industrial sector (Bardhan et al: 1999).

2.2.2 Neo-Classical Theories

Neo-classical economic theories view migration as an individual decision for income-maximization. They focus on differentials in wage and employment conditions between countries. The neo classical economic theories may be further classified into Macro Theory and Micro Theory.

From among macro theories, the "Push-Pull" framework of analysis of migration has been the most popular model of explaining labour migration as a process of development. According to this model, which has a voluntarist perspective, migration is caused by twin and counterbalancing forces: people were ‘pushed’ out of stagnant rural peasant economies, and ‘pulled’ up towards industrial urban centres. The reasons for migration from rural hinterland is a complex combination of factors which include unemployment or underemployment, lack of livelihood opportunities, low wage rate or other intervening factors that "push" people out of their native places. At the same time, industrialized urban centres have the capacity to attract large numbers of under-employed or unemployed people from mainly from rural areas with gainful employment, higher wage rate, better civic amenities or other "pull" factors. This model tends to see migration as being caused by the individual calculation of economic opportunity (Papastergiadidis, 2000).
At the macro level, the neo-classical economic theory explains migration as caused by geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour. It regards rural-urban migration as an integral part of the development process. Harris and Todaro (Todaro, 1976; Harris and Todaro, 1970) elaborated on the classical two-sector model of rural-urban migration to explain the contradictory phenomenon of continuing rural-urban migration in spite of rising unemployment in urbanised cities. They argued for the modification of the simple wage differential approach by looking "not only at prevailing income differentials as such but rather at the rural-urban "expected" income differential, i.e., the income differential adjusted for the probability of finding an urban job" (Todaro, 1969: 138).

Another perspective of labour migration views economic growth from the point of view of human capital. According to this approach, persistent growth is a result of increased investment of human capital, such as education and training of the labour force. (Becker: 1993) However, education expansion in sending areas may reinforce the cumulative migration process, which will perpetuate the imbalance in the regional distribution of human capital (Greenwood, 1985).

In the micro economic model of individual choice, individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement. Here, migration is conceptualized as a form of investment in human capital (Massey, 1993). Income inequality and relative deprivation motivates people to migrate to improve their income to other households (Taylor, 1992). Potential migrants estimate the costs and benefits of moving to alternative locations and migrate to where the expected discounted net returns are the greatest over some time horizon (Borjas, 1990; Borjas, 1994).

According to Stark and Bloom (1985), exponents of the new economics of migration, migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people – typically families or households – in which people act collectively not only to maximize expected income, but also to minimize risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures, apart from those in the labour market, such as crop insurance markets, futures markets, unemployment insurance and capital markets.
2.2.3 Modern Theories

In the modern era, the classical economic dogma of a self-adjusting market came under severe criticism. Karl Polanyi called it “stark utopia”, as economic systems are embedded in social relationships (Polanyi, 1957: p.46). Consequently, various theoretical approaches began to be explored by considering the influence of social factors in economic analysis. Modern theories on migration also developed with greater consideration given to the social processes involved.

2.2.3.1 Cumulative Causation

Migration is not just seen as an economic phenomenon but is viewed as a social one, involving collective processes and networks. One of the theoretical approaches that factor in social processes in development economics has been the theory of cumulative causation (Mrydal, 1944). Using this theoretical framework, the process of migration could be a result of cumulative causation, whereby each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional migration more likely. For example, migration may change the social definition of work in a labour market. Once migrants are recruited into particular occupations in significant numbers, these jobs become culturally labelled as “migrant” jobs and native workers are reluctant to fill them, reinforcing a structural demand for migrants for these jobs (Piore, 1979).

In the last few decades of the 20th century, economic sociologists critiqued dominant theories of migration that treated migrants as atomized individuals making migration decisions on economic factors such as wage differentials (Harris and Todaro, 1970). The contention of sociologists that poverty, indebtedness, unemployment, famines and conflicts ‘push’ rural people out of the hinterland in search of employment and a better standard of living only partially explains the migration phenomenon (Singh, 2007). Though demand for low cost unskilled labour ‘pulls’ a large number of rural masses to the urban construction labour market, the process of migration using the ‘push-pull’ model remains unexplained.

\footnote{Cumulative causation refers to a sequence of processes, where one processes leads to another process. Chains of this nature exist in the labour market (Massey et al, 1993).}
2.2.3.2 Social Network Theory

It has been widely acknowledged that networks play an important role in the process of migration. In the Indian context, studies have found that there exist networks between contractors and the labourers he brings along from remote villages and in some circumstances skilled labourers act as bridges between contractors and rural villagers (Das, 2007). Lately migration systems theorists have vigorously applied social network theory in order to understand the phenomenon of labour migration.

Studies on labour migration acknowledge that social networks play a significant role in the flow of and functioning of migrant labour in a labour market (Massey, 1994). There exist migrant networks, which are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. These ties are embedded in the socio-economic context of the migrants (Hass, 2007, p. 11). They increase the likelihood of migration because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Network connections constitute a form of social capital. The potential costs of migration are substantially lowered for friends and relatives as they use these kinship and friendship ties to gain access to employment and assistance at the point of destination. Once the number of network connections in an origin area reaches a critical threshold, migration becomes self-perpetuating because each act of migration itself creates a social structure needed to sustain it. Networks are also a strategy for risk diversification. Self-sustaining growth of networks can be explained theoretically by the progressive reduction of risks, eventually making it risk-free and costless to diversify household labour allocations through migration. Thus, the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement, which causes the probability of migration to rise resulting in additional movement, which further expands the networks, and so on. (Massey, 1993)

Network scholars have demonstrated that many migrants continued to maintain ties to their ancestral villages to form new urban ties. The complex networks of migrants are often made up of both, rural and urban ties, which help them to obtain resources from their native village as well as their place of destination in order to meet their financial needs for a decent living.
While a large number of migrants enter the casual labour market, a very few of them stay on and move up the hierarchical organizational set-up of the construction industry. One of the survival techniques of migrants is to acquire the necessary skills to graduate from a casual labourer to a self-employed employer with a few workers brought by him from their native place to work under him. This upward occupational mobility from a casual worker to a self-employed is most likely to be facilitated by the networks of strong and weak ties he has cultivated over the years in the place of destination. In his path breaking work "Strength of Weak Ties", Granovetter (1973; 1983) suggests that it is the weak ties that an individual maintains that help him find new job openings at the right time. His strong ties are likely to put him in a disadvantaged position in the labour market as they insulate him from new ideas and opportunities (Granovetter, 1983, p. 202). Though there is a theoretical basis that 'weak ties have a special role in a person's opportunity for mobility' (Granovetter, 1983, 205), there are examples of several indentured labourers, like Munshi Rahman Khan (Sinha-Kerkhoff et al, 2005) whose upward mobility in the labour market was facilitated by strong ties.

Historically, there have been several practices of migrant workers, who used their networks from their native regions to recruit workers interested in migrating. After the abolition of slavery, the practice of recruitment of workers from India that existed between 1820 and 1917 amounted to 'a new system of slavery' (Tinker, 1993). From the colonial period of the 19th century, recruitment of migrant labour was done by professional 'arkattis' for the plantations, the 'ticcardar' for colleries or the 'maistries' for other skilled and unskilled labour (Haan, 1995: 60). They used strong and weak ties of networks from their native regions to recruit migrant labour. Vestiges of these systems exist in the recruitment of migrant labour even today.

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3 Occupational mobility is defined as "the fraction of currently employed individuals who report a current occupation different from their most recent previous report of an occupation" (Kambourov et al., 2008) Occupational mobility may take place with or without job mobility. Upward occupational mobility is defined as a worker moving from any low-wage occupation to any high-wage occupation (Gabriel, 2003). In the case of a shift of occupational status from casual migrant labourer to self-employed employer of migrant labour, an upward occupational mobility takes place without job mobility, as it is only a change in occupational status within the same job.
2.3 Migration and Indian Labour Market

The bulk of the research on migration in India is concerned with the description and analysis of patterns of internal migration in terms of streams of migration, spatial patterns, characteristics of the migrants and reasons for migration.

Of the four streams of migration, the bulk of the research on migration has been on rural-urban migration in India. There are 6 broad areas of research on migration in India. They are: (1) rural-urban migration and urban growth (2) migration streams, (3) regional patterns of migration, (4) characteristics of migrants, (5) determinants of rural-urban migration and (6) consequences of rural-urban migration. There are also studies done on female migration in India, which highlights not only survival strategies but also the cultural life of the people (Sundari, 2005). An ethnographic study of the journey of migrants highlights the interplay of history, social structure and culture during migration (Chopra, 1995).

Census of India and National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) provide a great deal of data on migrants in India. Therefore, several studies have focused on the demographic aspects of migration to the cities, relying heavily on the decennial censuses of population. A lot of studies cover spatial patterns of migration, such as rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban. A great deal of attention, however, has been given to rural-urban migration to find out the effects of neo-liberal economic policies on patterns of migration. The content and methodology of these studies range from descriptive to those aiming to develop explanatory models, or evaluate applicability of existing models to India. However, most of the models of migration have emerged in the context of international migration, which do not take into consideration the peculiarities of internal migration in the Indian context. For example, according to the theory of dualism, migration from rural areas is considered as a prime indicator of development as it will lead to a new labour that is more skilled and receive higher wages resulting in upward social mobility. This phenomenon may not exist in the Indian situation as the rural migrants do not enter the modern working class but are absorbed in the informal sector and are called the ‘urban poor’ (Vijay, 2005). The outcomes of rural-urban migration are not favourable for all migrants.

Migrant workers in the construction industry are largely unorganised workers. They constitute that segment of unorganised labour force which is the bottom layer of the
working class in India. They are 'highly vulnerable on account of their lack of physical assets and human capabilities coupled with their initial conditions of extreme poverty and low social status'. They are driven from their homes in search of means of earning a livelihood and end up in occupations in the unorganised sector, such as construction workers (NCEUS 2007: p. 93). In its 1969 report, the National Commission on Labour (NCL) in India incorporated contract labour, construction workers and casual labour in the purview of the unorganised sector (Singh, 1991: 1).

Informal sector involves work “which takes place outside the formal wage-labour market” (Munck, 2003: p. 112). They largely consist of self-employed or casual wage labourers. Self-employed persons are categorised as own-account workers, employers or helpers in household enterprise. While own-account workers are those who ran their enterprises without hiring any labour, self-employed employers are those "who worked on their own account or with one or a few partners and who, by and large, ran their enterprise by hiring labour” (NSS Report 522, p. 13). The self-employed persons categorized as 'helpers in household enterprise' were generally family members engaged in household enterprise without any wages for the services they rendered. Further, a casual wage labourer is defined as "a person casually engaged in others' farm or non-farm enterprises (both household and non-household) and, in turn, receiving wages according to the terms of daily or periodic work contract" (NSS Report 522, p. 14).

Many industries and informal enterprises employ migrant workers as casual wage labourers, who are hired by labour contractors, also known as self-employed employers. In his study on migrant cane-cutters working for sugar factories in Bardoli, Gujarat, Bremen (1978) mentions his encounters with mukadams, who were in charge of recruiting migrant cane-cutters and supervising their work. These mukadams played an important role in the labour market of the sugar industry, where they acted as a link between the officials of the factory and the migrant cane-cutters. However, the network linkages of migrant cane-cutters in the labour market were not analyzed though there is an acknowledgment in studies such as these that migrant networks exist.

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4 The terms 'self-employed employer', 'self-employed worker' and 'contractor' have been used interchangeably in this thesis.
2.4 Construction Sector in India

Construction sector is an integral part of the nation’s development process. The development of a country’s infrastructure and industry is intimately linked to the construction industry. Construction activities include building schools, hospitals, houses, offices, townships, highways, roads, ports, airports, railways, power projects, irrigation projects, and so on. Besides being the basic input for economic and industrial development of the country, the construction sector provides a lot of employment opportunities to the poor people especially from the rural areas as unskilled labourers as well as skilled labourers. It also generates seasonal employment for women as well as poor peasants, who often work at construction sites to augment their farm income. Construction sector has been growing at a very rapid rate and has registered the highest growth rate in generation of jobs in the last two decades.

The construction industry adopts an organizational form that is 'quasifirm', where construction projects are undertaken by general contractors, who in turn use the services of special occupation subcontractors (Eccles, 1981). Special occupations include carpenters, plumbers, electricians, painters, masons, tile-fitters and so on. This type of organization is preferred over unified governance with vertical integration of these trades in order to reduce transaction costs of construction technology. The organization of the construction projects involves relationships between the owner, the general contractor and various special occupation contractors. At times, the owner and the general contractor are the same party. The general contractor, who is often a construction company, either undertakes some tasks of the construction projects by their directly employed workers or enters into contracts with special occupation subcontractors, who hire workers to accomplish the tasks of these special occupations. These workers at the bottom of the organizational structure of construction projects are largely skilled and unskilled migrant labourers employed by special occupation subcontractors, who are also known as self-employed employers of migrant labour.

In India, a large number of migrant workers enter the construction labour market as casual labourers, who form part of the informal or unorganised sector. Their entry into the causal labour market, one of the segments of unorganized sector, is facilitated by self-employed employers of migrant labour, who in most instances were casual labourers.
earlier. But the conditions of casual labour is characterized by long working hours, poor living conditions, social isolation and inadequate access to basic amenities. According to Breman's four-fold classification of the urban working population, they largely constitute the lowest category of workers, which he calls "paupers" (Breman: 1976). Since they are ready to accept any distress wage, they undercut prospects of local labour and bring down the wage rate (NCEUS, 2007: 97)

Some enterprising migrant workers, who enter the construction labour market as a casual labourer acquire skills and develop networks that helps in making him a self-employed employer of migrant labour. His occupational mobility catapults him to a crucial position in the labour market, where he becomes an important link between the construction companies and migrant labour.

The studies conducted on construction workers in India have been basically to study their profile and working conditions (Singh, 2007; Noronha, 1998). These studies have found that construction workers are invariably migrant workers. They belong to marginalized sections of society and are often underpaid and exploited. They live in unhygienic conditions at construction sites and are often denied any rights (Mukhopadyay and De Souza, 1997). Most of the construction workers are employed through contractors, who play a major role in bringing the workers into the construction labour market. A study of construction workers in Guwahati, Assam, revealed that labour market information flows through kinship ties of migrant workers. Besides, migrant workers enter the construction labour market with the help of labour contractors (Das, 2007). The study on the recruitment practices of migrant labour in the construction industry in Bangalore found several network linkages in the process of contracting and subcontracting in the construction industry, where an important role is played by the maistry or mukadam, who provides migrant labour for construction industries (Shivakumar et al., 1991). All these studies admit the presence of network linkages involving migrant workers in the construction labour market.

2.5 Migrant Workers in the Construction Labour Market in Goa

Migrant workers constitute a majority in the construction labour force in Goa (Noronha, 1998). The migrant workers’ entry into the construction labour market is understood using the theoretical framework of cumulative causation (Mrydal, 1944).
There are two inter-related processes of cumulative causation at work in the construction labour market in Goa. In the first process, entry of migrant labour into the construction sector makes the native workers label the job as “migrant” job. Natives look down on this job and feel that it is culturally unacceptable to join the construction labour force. The withdrawal of native labourers only increases the demand for migrant labour in the construction labour market (Piore, 1979).

This process is intimately connected to another process of cumulative causation, wherein the availability of surplus migrant labour brings down the wage rate (NCEUS, 2007). The native labourers are not ready to work for a low wage rate and they move out of the construction labour force. The absence of any competition in the labour market from native labour opens the construction labour market entirely for migrant labour.

The flow of migrant labour into the construction labour market is assisted by migrant networks. Once the migrant worker enters into the construction labour market, his continuance in Goa or his duration of residence depends not only on migrant networks, but also networks with locals or earlier migrants, who share information, develop friendships and form a social support system for the migrants in the place of destination. Moreover, the migrant worker maintains links with friends and family members in their places of origin through communication or home visits or by sending remittances.

There have been very little studies done on migration in Goa. Due to biased perceptions of migrant workers in Goa, most of the studies focus on their health, prevalence of HIV/AIDS and their involvement in sex work, sex tourism and human trafficking. Studies on construction workers identified their unhygienic living conditions in construction sites as the main reason for the spread of the malaria epidemic in the 1990s (Mukhopadyay and De Souza, 1997). Using the push-pull model for analysis, one study gave a description of the profile of 100 construction workers in Goa and concluded that construction workers are almost entirely migrant in nature. According to this study conducted in 1998, the high demand for casual labour in Goa had been attracting migrants as they were assured of getting some employment almost round the year. The lack of competition from locals for jobs in the construction sector had also made the jobs in this sector the preserve of migrants. This study claimed that the working conditions of migrant construction workers in Goa were better than what they got in the states of their origin. Besides, the daily wage they got in Goa was higher than their native states. The minimum
wage fixed by the Government of Goa in the 1990s was Rs. 58. The daily wage of skilled male workers was Rs. 100 - 150 and unskilled labourers got Rs. 50 –100. However, the wage rate of women casual labour was less than Rs. 50, which was below the minimum wage (Noronha, 1998).

2.6 Summary and Observations

The literature review reveals that there are several unexplained areas of research which needs attention. First of all, a large number of theories on migration have been based on studies on international migration rather than internal migration. Though both involve movement of people, there are several differences between international migration and internal migration. Issues related to visa regime, illegal immigrants and refugees that are related to international migration is not a matter of concern for internal migration. Besides, it is the highly skilled who normally migrate from developing countries to more developed countries. However, while similar trends do exist in internal migration, the bulk of the internal migrants are poor and unskilled. They migrate out of distress in search of employment and a better livelihood. It is often assumed that there is a positive outcome due to migration. While this may largely true in case of international migration, it may not be true in case of internal migration as migrants in urban areas often live in poverty in ghettos and slums. A great deal of theories related to international migration has been applied to internal migration, though the issues and circumstances often differ. The focus of research on migration needs to include issues related to internal migration. Besides, since the current models on migration are related to the context of foreign countries, they are unable to explain the peculiarities of migration in India.

Secondly, a large proportion of research on migration in India focus on rural-urban migration, with little attention paid other streams of migration. Besides, there are specific regional characteristics that either induce migration or attract migrants and therefore it may not be appropriate that results from particular regions be generalized to the rest of the country. Therefore, region specific studies are necessary.

Thirdly, the Harris-Todaro model and the Push-Pull model are predominantly applied to migration research in India. Consequently, there is a dearth of studies on migration using other approaches such as the new economics approach or the social network approach.
Fourthly, most of the studies deal with the descriptive analysis of patterns of migration using Census and NSSO data, in addition to the characteristics of migrants, the reasons of migration and the consequences of migration. However, such an analysis is inadequate to comprehend the complexities of the phenomenon. Other types of analysis, such as social network analysis, needs to be explored to understand the phenomenon of migration from a different perspective.

Finally, great deal of studies focuses on the effects of migration on the place of origin. Consequently, the issues related to migrants in the place of destination are often not given due attention. In many instances, migrants are denied their basic rights and even basic civic amenities. These issues are often ignored as they are considered as “outsiders” by the native population. Therefore, a rights-based approach to migration research needs to be explored.

In addition to the theoretical lacunae in migration research, there is a lack of serious research on the dynamics of the construction labour market, which has the second largest labour force in India after agriculture. Various labour institutes in India have conducted studies on construction workers, but a lot more needs to be done. For example, the ILO has evolved the concept of decent work, to ensure that all workers, especially those in the informal sector, get decent working conditions, social protection, workers' rights and an opportunity to engage in a dialogue to negotiate work-related matters with employers as well as concerned authorities (Ghai, 2003). A great deal of research needs to be done in this area in order to help policy makers to help migrant workers, who are the most vulnerable section of workers in the informal sector.

Most research on migrant labour consider a migrant worker as an atomised individual who acts rationally in his own interest and the focus of research is generally on his wages, basic amenities, working conditions, and so on. However, the dynamics of the labour market cannot be captured with such an approach. Therefore, there is need for collecting relational data of migrants, which will help researchers to analyze the dynamics of the labour market and the influence of migrant workers in it.

A great deal of studies on construction workers focus their attention on casual wage labourers and therefore, the crucial role played by self-employed employers of migrant labour has not been studied. Besides, the dynamics of the labour market which is often exhibited through occupational mobility of workers is totally ignored.
In Goa, there is hardly any research done on construction workers. Though there have been some studies conducted on the health status of construction workers and the characteristics of migrant construction workers, they have been published over 10 years ago and have not taken into consideration the recent developments in the construction labour market.