

URBANISATION AND LABOUR MARGINALIZATION: AN ANALYSIS ON SLUM EMPLOYMENT IN POST- REFORM INDIA

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Abstract

While the 'Urban Workforce Marginalization' portrays an ongoing process of general economic exclusion in the urban areas of developing countries like India, slums are visible sites of exclusion in cities, providing refuge to a precarious labour force. In this context, this paper seeks to understand the changing pattern of employment opportunity and degree of marginal employment of the slum residents relative to that of urban India. It also reviews the supply and demand factors influencing such a change in relative employment opportunity and relative marginality of employment. The study has been done using employment and population data of the slum and urban residents from census of India for two years, 2001 and 2011. The study finds that both relative employment opportunity and relative marginal employment of the slum residents are increasing over time, signifying the growing incidence of marginal employment for the slum residents. Moreover, higher marginal employment elasticity of the slum residents due to one unit rise in output denotes increasing marginal work by the workers of slums. The study also finds that the increase in the share of the slum population to urban, as a supply-side factor, has influenced both relative employability and marginality of the slum dwellers more effectively than the demand-side factors. On the demand side, the study finds that economic growth and manufacturing sector growth influence the marginal employment of slum residents. Finally, a model abstracting the findings of this study

outlines that total labor engagement in slums is determined as a result of supply-demand interaction.

Keywords: slums, employment, workforce marginalization, marginal work, relative employability, India

1. INTRODUCTION

The recent trend of 'urban workforce marginalization' indicates increasing workers' engagement in casual and temporary contractual work, portraying ongoing economic exclusion in many developing countries across the globe. The proliferation of temporary employment positions for the growing city-working-classes inflicts 'precariousness' [34], evident in a labour-intensive developing country like India [27]. In the post-reform period (post-1991), the country witnessed a considerably flexible labour market in the cities and helped private enterprises employ temporary and casual labourers at low wage rates [4]. In this period, urban India witnessed a rise in the casual workforce from 11.8% in 2004-05 to 14.2% in 2009-10 [29]. Moreover, a large number of temporary workers eventually became self-employed during this period.

Slums are visible sites of exclusion in cities. A considerable portion of the precarious labour force lives in urban slums and struggles for daily sustenance with an uncertain future. This reality compels us to doubt the capacity of Indian cities to become inclusive. Achieving inclusive urbanization has been an essential concern for the government, yet the growing slum population in the urban areas of India make the situation difficult [14]. Slums are the demarcated places of the cities where people suffer poverty and are engaged in low-quality employment. Hence, the employment conditions of slum dwellers are one of the most critical aspects that determine their economic well-being, resulting in economic inclusion.

To what extent and why there are a growing number of temporary/irregular workers in the urban slums are two essential questions that have not attracted much attention to date. The working population of the urban slums are mostly an informal labour force. Many of them are considered residuals of the prevailing informal labour market. They lack the technical skills to get better employment and have low productivity [26] [33]. Moreover, studies revealed that they have insufficient capacity to make a significant investment and cannot manage capital formation, pulling them down into a vicious circle of poverty [24]. These are the supply-side weaknesses that are generally considered as obstacles to developing a competent labour force. However, apart from the supply-side limitations, exclusionary urban processes, inappropriate distribution of economic growth benefits, skewed demand for labour due to the adoption of a transformed production system, and distorted market forces are certain demand-side factors weakening employment conditions. Both supply-side inadequacy and demand-side bottlenecks could conceivably influence the employment conditions of the slum residents in urban India. So, from the analytical viewpoint, the changing conditions of employment of slum dwellers and their determining factors could be vital for assessing their advancement and, in turn, for evaluating inclusive urbanization processes.

The paper has been organised into seven sections. In the next section, the literature review and the gaps are presented. The third and fourth sections deal with the objectives and hypothesis of the paper. Next, the methodology and data sources are discussed in detail. Findings from the analysis are presented in the sixth section.

Finally, the summary findings of the paper and a hypothetical model abstracting the findings of the study are mentioned in the concluding section.

2. REVIEW OF SOME RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1. Slums, its workers and inclusive urbanization: an analytical background

The growing slum population in urban locations is mainly because of the migration of the poor from rural areas or due to the reclassification of rural land into urban. Due to wage rate differential, the rural poor chiefly migrate from the 'traditional' to the 'modern sector' for a better employment opportunity [21]. On the other hand, many of them, residing just beyond the border areas of the cities, are designated as urban poor due to the reclassification of rural land into urban. Regardless of how slum populations grow, a significant proportion of their residents find employment in the low-paying informal sector [16] [24].

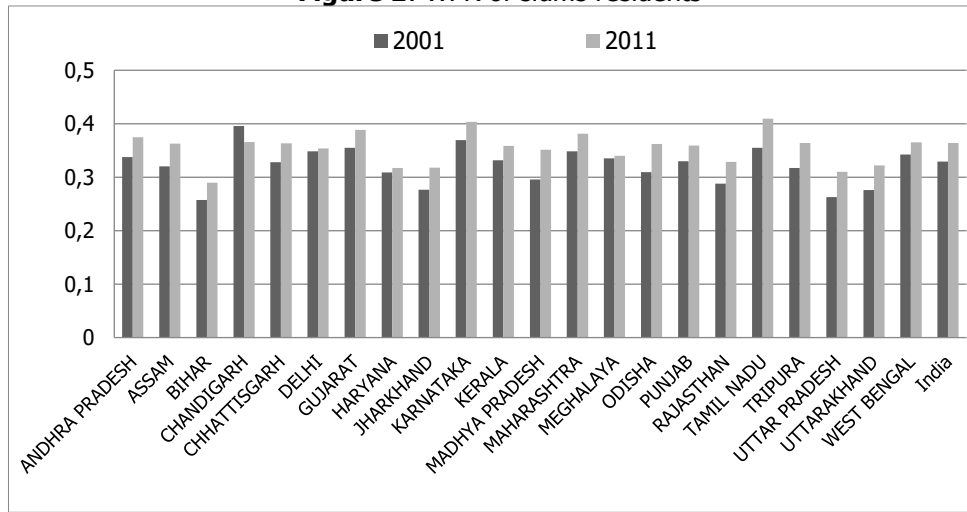
While shaping an idea about slums, we observed it as a growing space within cities where the informal sector multiplies. This is the space where poor urban residents settle for housing and engage in economic activities [35]. Due to the coexistence of complex relations among the workers, slums have been identified as a significant production place. It is also considered a community space that has generated employment opportunities. Residents of slums are engaged in various informal jobs ranging from daily wage labouring to owning their enterprises, which contribute significantly to economic growth. The figure below (refer to Figure 1 and Box 1) shows a significant rise in the workforce participation rate (WPR) of the slum residents across states in India, representing a remarkable increase in employment of the slum residents in most states and overall India (a paired t-test between the state-level values of two periods is significant). Therefore, it signifies an increase in informal employment both within and outside the perimeter of slums, which is highly collinear to the expansion of slums (see Figure 2, which shows the relationship between the share of the slum population and WPR of the slum). However, one can also see that such an increase in employment of slum residents in urban areas is a part of market-oriented inclusive growth, as this is an extended part of the market forces through which linkages are being built between formal and informal sectors. In this way, the poor will gain benefits and income, which, in turn, will include them in the mainstream growth process. Consequently, the plan for inclusive city/urbanization will be fairly achieved.

However, shreds of evidence about jobless growth in India's formal sectors do not support the above arguments assumed in favour of inclusive urbanization. Ahmed et al. [1] argued that the process of economic growth in urban areas generates socio-spatial inequality and unequal development, which takes many forms. Kundu [20] pointed out that the increase in employment among slum dwellers is occurring due to the availability of low-wage services, which reflects the challenging conditions of their employment. Mitra [26] also noted the reduction in job opportunities within the manufacturing sector, along with a drop in wage rates. Apart from a structural transformation of jobs, the employment scopes of the slum residents have turned out to be more temporary sub-contracting assignments, which has deteriorated the condition of employment at large, restraining inclusive urbanization.

Moreover, Sanyal and Bhattacharya [32] recalled that a large proportion of the informal workers occupied the domestic production space in urban areas. All these workers who cannot integrate into the global or national capital sector are left out. The excessive extraction of resources by the capitalist economy from the pre-

capitalist sector has resulted in the emergence of large sections of such informal workers, making their status relatively more precarious. Those urban workers stay and rejuvenate in slums and operate at a meagre cost to survive the poor situation. These above thoughts persuade us to raise questions concerning the condition of employment of the slum residents in terms of irregularity/marginality of the workforce. Given this backdrop, this paper aims to explore the changing level of employment of the slum residents (employment opportunity) and their changing employment conditions (irregularity of work) at the sub-national level of India. We also wish to find out the probable factors that are influencing such changes. More specifically, we comprehend to observe the impact of supply and demand-side factors behind the employment of slum dwellers and changes in employment conditions. Finally, we wish to understand which sector influences the most in changing employment and its condition.

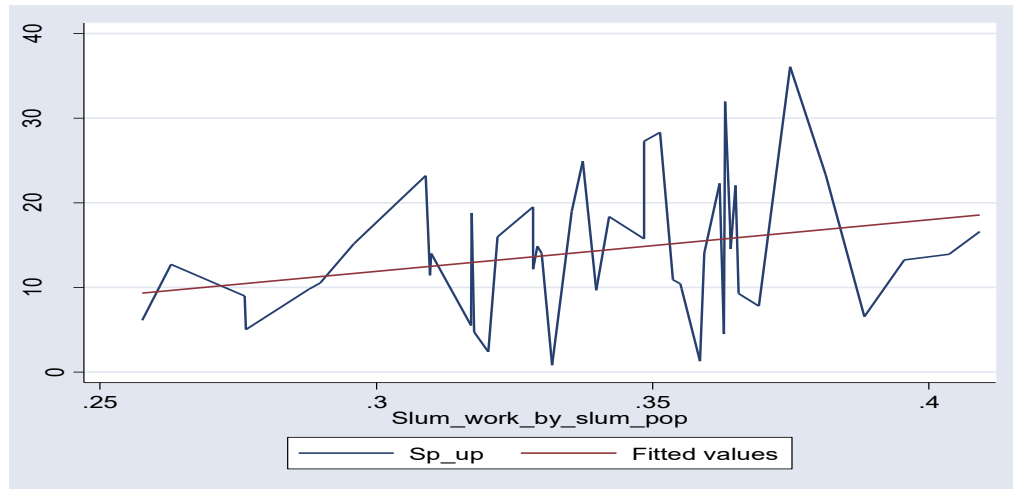
Figure 1: WPR of slums residents



Source: Census 2001 & 2011.

Box 1: WPR of Slum		
	2011	2001
Mean	35.25	32.15
SD	9.3	11.7
Sig.	0.00	

Source: Census 2001 & 2011.

Figure 2: Relationship between the share of the slum population and WPR of the slum

Source: Census 2001 & 2011.

2.2. Irregular or Marginal Workers: A conceptual understanding of urban precariat class

The term 'irregular' for the workers is often used to delineate their temporary work status. These vast sections of informal workers in urban areas are the surplus workers directly or indirectly associated with expanding mainstreamed informal sector (directly linked with formal sector growth). Compared to metropolises, their presence is highly prominent in small, medium and sub-urban areas. Many of them do not have any predefined occupation and are involved in random informal work, such as short-term employees in informal enterprises. In most cases, they collaborate with mainstream informal workers to get employed for their sustenance. In India, these categories of temporary workers are often employed to reduce labour costs. In slums, many informal enterprises keep costs low by hiring irregular workers on short-term contracts, often without job security. However, many do not even get the opportunity to be a part of such informal enterprises. They are self-employed in and around slums and become seasonal or temporary workers depending on the demand for their work. Banerjee and Duflo [2] recognised such a class as 'poor with multiple occupations. These unprivileged urban entrepreneurs sometimes play a dual role simultaneously by subsisting as shop owners and workers to other firms. They do so to earn extra income to achieve a fraction of the income of a regular worker. Many have linked them to the needs of modern 'aristocrat' workers in urban areas as domestic helpers or other service providers. So, such complex heterogeneity defines the nature and characteristics of this precariat class of urban labour force. It is a form of urban 'de-homogenisation' of the labouring class, as identified by Marx, causing 'labour segmentation' for eventual capitalistic exploitation [7]. Similarly, Bowles and Gintis [5] understood 'labour segmentation' generates scope for unequal treatment in terms of wages, quality of jobs, and work conditions. Though discovering this sector, Hart [17] did not find heterogeneity within the class. Even De Soto [10] viewed the urban informal workers as homogeneous, as he found that they had less capacity to possess productive assets for converting to fruitful capital. However, neither of them noticed the seeds of heterogeneity. Bhattacharya [3],

while explaining the 'roles of urban commons', has correctly defined the extent of diversity of this sector, denoting that 'there are self-employed and small capitalist firms; there are business activities mainly geared towards subsistence and business which are profitable and growing'. This indicates existing sector segregations within the slum horizon, and the irregular workers occupy the lowest economic strata among the segregated informal sectors in slums. Under these circumstances, the prevalence of temporary workers thus results from complex production relations and contradicting productive forces prevailing in the slum economy.

The paper remains within its scope and does not explore intra-dualism within the slum economy. Here, it is only an attempt to understand the extent of the irregular/marginal workers in slums and the issues influencing their existence and growth. In the Indian context, where urban informal employment comprises the maximum share, we presume that a significant portion of the temporary/irregular workers resides in slums. They are assumed to be the most vulnerable section within the urban territory. This means regular workers in slums and other marginal workers in non-slum areas are less susceptible. Moreover, it is not unlikely that a slum is a suitable place for the low-cost living of irregular workers, where it is easy for them to sustain themselves. Given this, we expect an increase in the proportion of marginal employment of the slum residents out of the total in urban. Furthermore, we assume the rate of comparative marginality is higher than the rate of comparative employability. These hypotheses are stated in the following section 4.

3. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Given the literature gap, we plan to study the following -

- a. The relative employability and relative marginal employment in Indian slums compared to those in overall urban areas.
- b. The employment elasticity of marginal workers in slums and for overall urban areas in the Indian context.
- c. Explore the effect of the supply and demand side factors on the relative employability and generation of relative marginal employment in urban slums.

4. HYPOTHESIS

Based on the above objectives, the corresponding hypotheses are:

- a. Relative employment opportunity and relative irregular/marginal workers
Slums are sub-space in urban areas. So, employed slum residents are a fraction of the total employed in urban areas, expressed as $\phi = (E_s / E)$. E_s and E are the expressions for the total employed in slums and urban areas, respectively. Similarly, irregular workers in slums are counted as a portion of total irregular urban workers, which can be expressed as $\beta = (M_s/M)$, where M_s and M are the expressions for irregular employed in slums and urban, respectively. The increase in (E_s / E) between an arbitrary period t_1 and t_2 will estimate the increase in Relative employment opportunity/employability of slum residents, given $\Delta E > 0$, and an increase in (M_s/M) will indicate the growth of relative irregular/marginal workers given $\Delta M > 0$, likewise. Observing an increase in relative marginal employment will aid us in understanding the marginalisation of the slum workforce in the context of changing employment opportunities for the slum residents. Moreover, our presumption could further confirm the increasing marginalisation of employment of the slum residents if we obtain $\Delta(M_s/M) > \Delta(E_s / E)$. As per the above discussions, it will not be imprudent to

expect a rise in the marginality of the slum residents because a supply-demand mismatch for employment of the slum residents is persisting.

b. Employment elasticities

Employment elasticities, both total and marginal/irregular employment elasticity of slum and urban areas could help us in understanding the process of slum marginalization. This simple method explains employment change with economic output/growth [18]. So, the study seeks to analyse the total employment elasticities and elasticities of irregular/marginal workers of both urban and slum areas to compare changes in total and marginal employment in those areas due to one unit increase in output. If 'O' is the total output in the economy, then total and irregular employment elasticities of slums and urban can be expressed as follows:

$$(1) \text{ Employment elasticity of slum} = (\Delta E_s / E_s) / (\Delta O / O)$$

$$(2) \text{ Employment elasticity of urban} = (\Delta E / E) / (\Delta O / O)$$

$$(3) \text{ Irregular/Marginal employment elasticity of slum} = (\Delta M_s / M_s) / (\Delta O / O)$$

$$(4) \text{ Irregular/Marginal employment elasticity of urban} = (\Delta M / M) / (\Delta O / O)$$

The increasing marginality of slum employment can be verified if we find $(\Delta M_s / M_s) / (\Delta O / O) > (\Delta M / M) / (\Delta O / O)$

c. Supply and demand side effect

We have considered a few probable supply and demand-side determinants to examine their effect on the employment opportunities of the slum dwellers and their employment conditions. As supply-side aspects, we consider the excess supply of labour in slums (S), associations of slum dwellers (A) and extent of illiteracy among the slum dwellers (I) which could be the contributing components influencing employment opportunities of the slum dwellers and their employment condition.

The excess supply of labourers in slums opens up a gamut of additional labour force, and those workers do not have the slightest experience finding work. In such mayhem, they become vulnerable and try to find another way to engage themselves for their sustenance [6]. Some of them build irregular low-cost establishments with their initiative and through common pooled resources. However, such action generates an overload of competition among the members. The condition of work deteriorates as excess competition increases, which may generate only temporary opportunities, and, therefore, irregular workers would sprout. So, we assume that variables related to the excess supply of workers in slums affect both the employability and condition of the slum workers.

Besides, we consider associations of the slum dwellers as one of the supply-side variables, as associations play a vital role in generating employment opportunities. It boosts employees' voices and encourages them to demand better terms of employment. Thus, we presume that the association may influence the employment generation of slum dwellers and may be involved in changing the working conditions of the slum dwellers.

Finally, we have taken into account the illiteracy rate of the slum dwellers to define their inability to generate human capital, which can affect their opportunity to get employment and their employment conditions [12]. The illiteracy rate of the slum dwellers considers those residents who have failed to acquire a minimum level of education for achieving better employment. So, there is a high possibility that relative marginal employment in slums is a function of illiteracy.

Apart from the supply-side factors, we choose economic growth (X) and the share of the outputs of service (Z) and manufacturing (Y) sectors as demand-side

determinants. It examines their influence in generating employment for the slum dwellers and their ability to affect employment conditions. It seems an obvious explanation for a hypothesis that economic growth increases the employment of the slum residents and improves employment conditions. However, there are other reasons to prove it differently. In India, it is evident that the economy is suffering from jobless growth. This kind of economic growth could result from using labour-replacing production methods to accumulate growth, which represents growth through a transformative production system. This kind of production system uses a higher capital-labour ratio to accelerate growth. So, it reduces the chance of hiring workers in formal sector employment and even possibly cuts down the duration of work for the employees or keeps employees temporarily ('informalization' in the formal sector). Moreover, such growth processes are capable of creating a marginal workforce, even in the informal sector. So, in that case, economic growth would either negatively affect the employment of slum residents or have no influence. Growth could have a positive or no impact on generating irregularity of work for the slum residents in such a situation.

In contrast, we considered the production share of the services and manufacturing sectors to identify which sectors are creating more employment opportunities for the slum dwellers and bringing change in the condition of employment of the slum dwellers due to the sector-wise pull. The transformed production system and process within the informal economy may bring structural change in the nature and status of employment of the slum residents. The informal urban manufacturing sector in slums is becoming more enthusiastic about employing sub-contracting labourers to reduce cost, which, in turn, may increase the marginalization of the informal labour force residing in the slum.

So, based on the above supply and demand factors, econometric models can be built to see their effect on the employment opportunities and conditions of employment of the slum residents. From the above conceptual understanding, we can examine the effect of the probable factors on the relative employment opportunity (E_s/E) and relative irregularity/marginality of employment (M_s/M) of the slum residents. Thus, the model can be illustrated as follows:

$$(E_s / E) = f (S, A, I, X, Z, Y, T) \text{ ----- (1)}$$

Where we assume, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial S} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial A} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial I} < 0$, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial X} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial Z} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial Y} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(E_s / E)}{\partial T} > 0$

And,

$$(M_s / M) = f (S, A, I, X, Z, Y, T) \text{ ----- (2)}$$

Where we assume, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial S} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial A} < 0$, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial I} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial X} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial Z} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial Y} > 0$, $\frac{\partial(M_s / M)}{\partial T} < 0$

Where in both equations, T is the time Dummy

5. METHODOLOGY:

The study is based on the census data, Government of India for two years, 2001 and 2011¹. The analysis has been done taking the Indian state-level data. Here, we have considered the data of 22 major states and overall India for each year. Census data segregates the total workers of slums and urban into 'main' and 'marginal workers'. The classification has been ensured based on the slum or urban resident's period of engagement for work. The 'main workers' are engaged as workers for 6 to 12 months in a year, while the 'marginal workers' are tagged as workers who work for less than six months a year. So, in this study, we have considered the data of the 'numbers of marginal workers in slums' (as M_s), 'number of marginal workers in urban' (as M), 'total number of workers in slums' (as E_s) and 'total number of workers in urban' (as E) to understand the condition of work of the Slum residents. The main target/dependent variables are given below in Table 1.

Table 1: List of dimensions and dependent variables

Dimensions	Dependent Variables	Expression	Data Source
Relative employment opportunity/Relative employability	Share of employment of the slum residents out of the total employment of urban areas.	E_s / E	Census 2001, 2011
Relative irregularity of workers/ Relative marginality of employment	Share of marginal workers in slums out of total marginal workers of urban	M_s / M	Census 2001, 2011

Apart from studying the change in the share of total and marginal slum workers, the study will look into the total and marginal employment elasticity of the slum dwellers using the above target variables and variables of Net State Domestic Products (NSDP).

The above exogenous variables that have been considered for examining the effect of supply and demand factors are described below in Table 2.

Table 2: List of dimensions and independent variables

Dimensions	Independent Variables	Expression	Data Source
Excess supply of reserve labour in slums	Share of Slum population out of the urban population	S	Census 2001 & 2011
Associations in Slums	Percentage of slums have associations out of the total slum	A	NSSO 58 th , 69 th Round on slum
Rate of illiteracy	Number of illiterate in slums out of total slum population	I	Census 2001 & 2011

¹The last census in India was conducted in 2011. The detailed data on the slums in India are available till 2011.

Economic growth	Per capita net state domestic product	X	RBI
Proportion of production by the manufacturing sector	Share of net state domestic product of manufacturing	Z	RBI
Proportion of production by Service sector	Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	Y	RBI
Output	Net State Domestic Product	O	RBI
Time Dummy	Year Dummy	T	

The analysis has been done using tables, graphs and correlations. To examine the supply-side and demand-side effects on the employment opportunities and changing conditions of slum dwellers the OLS regression has been applied.

6. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

6.1. Relative employability and relative marginality:

As shown in the table below (see Table 3), the *relative employment* (E_s / E) of slum dwellers has increased in most states and India (on average). It shows that the relative employment opportunity of the slum residents has increased ($\Delta[E_s / E] > 0$) on average by 37.35% from 2001 to 2011. The t-test results also confirm that the employment opportunities for slum dwellers have significantly increased over time in India. However, relative employment has declined in some states like Jharkhand and Meghalaya, including economically advanced states such as Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana and Maharashtra. Studies show that in Gujarat, Haryana, and Maharashtra, the slum population is declining or stagnant, which is primarily due to inter-state migration, extensive urbanism in rural areas, and rural industrialisation. This could have led to decline in the number of employed slum dwellers in those states.

As far as the *relative marginal employment* of the slum residents (M_s / M) is concerned (refer to Table 3, column 2), it has increased in most states and India (on an average). However, it has decreased in Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, and Meghalaya. As mentioned above, the fall in the relative marginal employment in Gujarat, Haryana and Maharashtra could be due to decline or stagnation of the slum population.

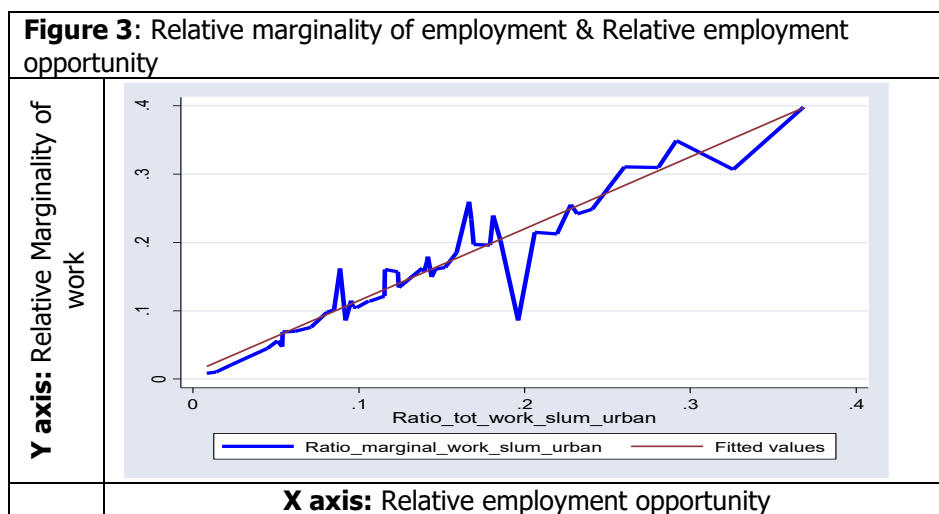
The *average relative marginal employment* of the slum residents has increased remarkably by 43.65% from 2001 to 2011 in India, as shown in Table 3. The result of the t-test verifies the significant increase in the relative marginal employment of the slum residents ($\Delta[M_s / M] > 0$). Moreover, the average growth rate of the relative marginal workers is higher than the growth rate of relative employability of the slum residents ($\Delta[M_s / M] > \Delta[E_s / E]$). The results indicate that the employment conditions of the slum dwellers have deteriorated because of their irregular working status, even though their employment opportunities have increased. Such results suggest an on-going structural shift in the employment of slum dwellers, where regular employment opportunities are declining.

Table 3: Share of employed slum residents out of total employment in urban areas & Share of Marginal Workers residing in slums out of total marginal workers in urban

State	Share of employed slum residents out of total employment in urban areas			Share of Marginal Workers residing in slums out of total marginal workers in urban		
	2001	2011	Growth	2001	2011	Growth
Andhra Pradesh	0.26	0.37	41.44	0.31	0.40	28.14
Assam	0.02	0.04	93.72	0.02	0.05	118.37
Bihar	0.06	0.11	72.96	0.07	0.11	62.26
Chandigarh	0.14	0.09	-37.11	0.17	0.16	-5.62
Chhattisgarh	0.21	0.33	57.96	0.21	0.31	42.93
Delhi	0.17	0.12	-30.55	0.26	0.16	-38.25
Gujarat	0.11	0.07	-33.00	0.11	0.08	-33.93
Haryana	0.23	0.18	-20.55	0.26	0.24	-6.34
Jammu & Kashmir	0.10	0.17	74.18	0.11	0.23	121.05
Jharkhand	0.05	0.05	-5.71	0.07	0.06	-18.30
Karnataka	0.08	0.14	75.35	0.10	0.18	82.65
Kerala	0.01	0.01	67.44	0.01	0.01	23.31
Madhya Pradesh	0.15	0.29	99.39	0.16	0.35	117.02
Maharashtra	0.28	0.24	-14.26	0.31	0.25	-19.63
Meghalaya	0.20	0.09	-53.09	0.09	0.09	-0.06
Orissa	0.12	0.23	100.69	0.12	0.24	99.15
Punjab	0.14	0.14	2.10	0.16	0.17	6.57
Rajasthan	0.10	0.12	29.62	0.11	0.16	36.82
Tamil Nadu	0.10	0.17	71.50	0.10	0.20	88.51
Tripura	0.05	0.14	168.53	0.05	0.15	217.45
Uttar Pradesh	0.12	0.14	12.41	0.13	0.16	17.89
Uttaranchal	0.08	0.16	87.23	0.10	0.19	82.50
West Bengal	0.19	0.22	18.34	0.20	0.21	5.01
India	0.15	0.18	17.88	0.16	0.20	20.12
Mean	0.13	0.16	37.35	0.14	0.18	43.65
SD	0.07	0.09	55.61	0.08	0.09	61.79
t-stat (value)	2.25			2.86		
Sig	0.03			0.01		

Source: Author's Calculation

Apart from this, the relationship between *relative marginal employment* and *relative employability* of the slum resident (see Figure 3) reveals an interesting result. The line diagrams with the regression fit below depict a positive relationship between the variables. The sorted values of relative employment opportunity are treated as the values on the X-axis, and the relative marginality of work has been calculated on the Y-axis. Moreover, the correlation (see Table 4) shows that the two variables are significantly and positively related. We can substantiate the above result by indicating that growing employment opportunities for slum dwellers are marginal/irregular.



Source: Census 2001, 2011

Table 4: Correlation between relative employment opportunity and relative marginal work of the slum residents

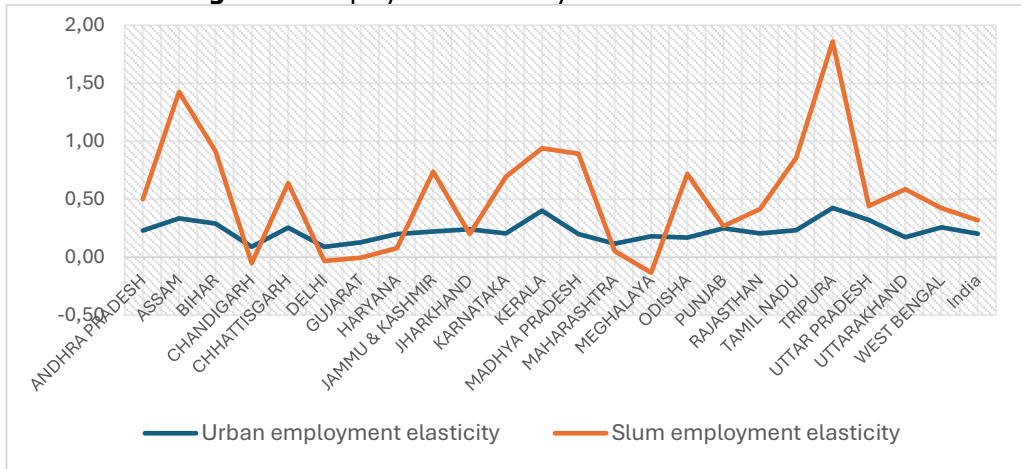
	Relative employment opportunity (E_s / E)
Relative marginality of work (M_s / M)	0.9460*

Source: Author's calculations

6.2. Total and marginal elasticity of employment of the slum dwellers

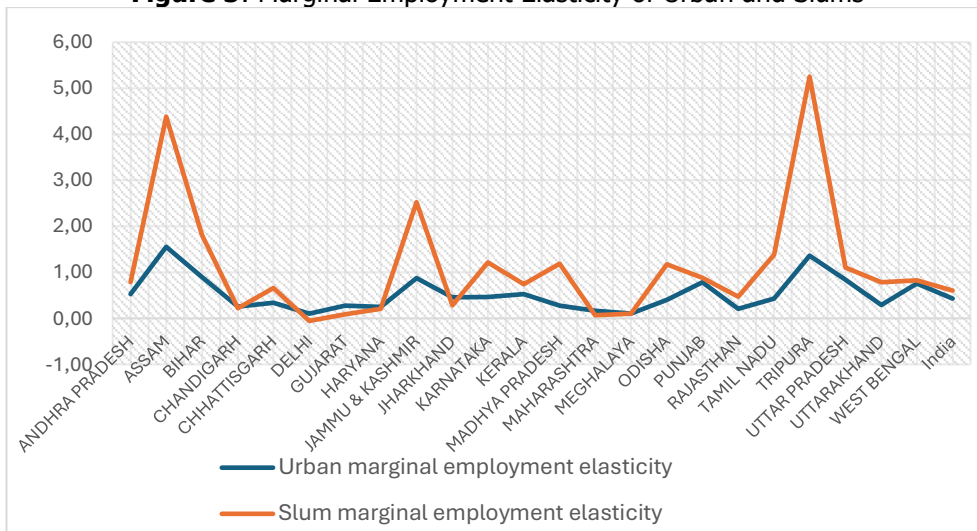
The figure below (Figure 4) reveals that the *employment elasticity* of slums is higher than that of urban areas in most states and India overall. The average employment elasticity of slums (0.53) is more than two times the average that of urban (0.23). That means the rate of employment generation for the slum residents is higher for a unit production of output in the economy. However, the following figure (see Figure 5) shows higher *marginal employment elasticity* in slums than in urban areas, indicating higher marginal employment creation for slum residents due to the production of an extra unit of national/subnational output. This higher marginal employment of the slum residents starkly demonstrates that the economic growth process tends to generate more marginal informal employment. On the other hand, comparing the total and marginal employment elasticity of slums (Figure 6), the marginal employment elasticity is more than double the total employment elasticity of slums. Moreover, the marginal employment elasticity of slums is more than one (i.e. 1.11), indicating more than the required employment of marginal workers of slums for one unit output growth. Such a level of marginal employment elasticity of slum residents, in turn, demonstrates negative productivity from such employment, or there is a tendency to get involved in self-employment. This is possible because the disoriented and unemployed labour forces living in slums engage in trivial occupations, contributing little to economic growth.

Figure 4: Employment Elasticity of Urban and Slums



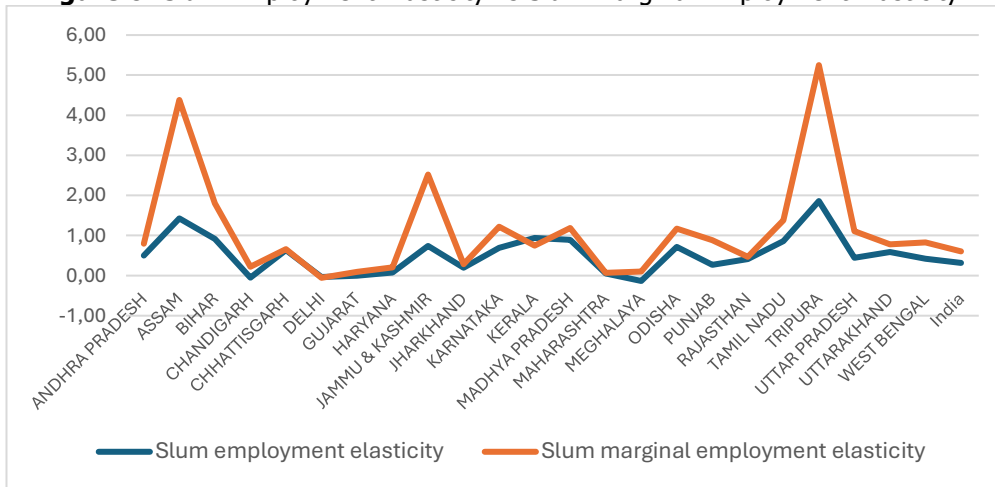
Source: Census 2001, 2011

Figure 5: Marginal Employment Elasticity of Urban and Slums



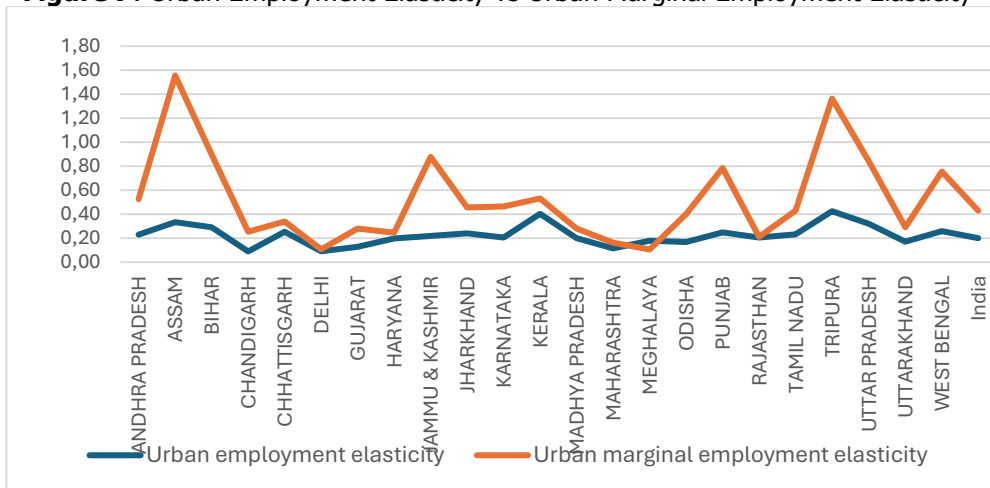
Source: Census 2001, 2011

Figure 6: Slum Employment Elasticity vs Slum Marginal Employment Elasticity



Source: Census 2001, 2011

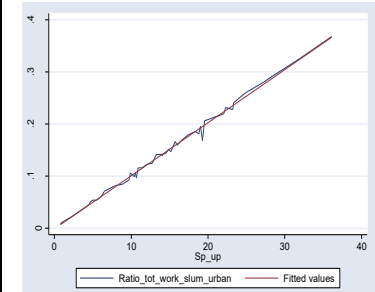
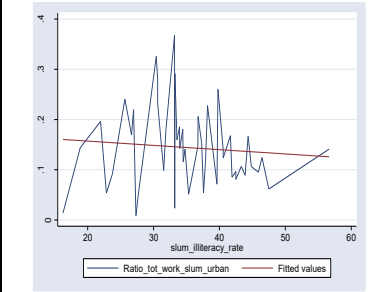
Figure 7: Urban Employment Elasticity vs Urban Marginal Employment Elasticity



Source: Census 2001, 2011

6.3. Relationship between probable factors and relative employment opportunity of the slum residents

This section explores the possible relationships between the *relative employment opportunities* of the slum residents and *relevant probable factors* as mentioned above (in hypothesis section). The supply-side factors, except for the share of slum population to urban, other supply-side indicators (i.e. slum illiteracy rate and percentage of slums have associations) have no relationships with relative employment opportunity of the slum residents. From the figure and correlation result (see Figures 8-10 and Table 5), we find the relationship between the share of slum population to urban and relative employment opportunity is highly positive (as, $r = 0.9971$). Such a high correlation might illuminate that the increase in employability is primarily supply driven. However, the figures (see Figure 11 and 13) show that per capita NSDP and share of NSDP services have no association with relative employment opportunities of the slum residents on the demand side. In contrast, the percentage of NSDP manufacturing (Figure 12) is positively related to the relative employment opportunities of the slum residents, which signifies that the employment opportunities of the slum residents are generated mainly by the manufacturing units located within or outside the perimeter of the slums.

Figure 8: Relation between Relative employment opportunity & Share of slum population to urban population		Figure 9: Relation between Relative Employment Opportunity & Slum Literacy Rate	
Y axis: Relative employment		Y axis: Relative employment	
	X axis: Share of slum population to urban population		X axis: Slum Literacy Rate

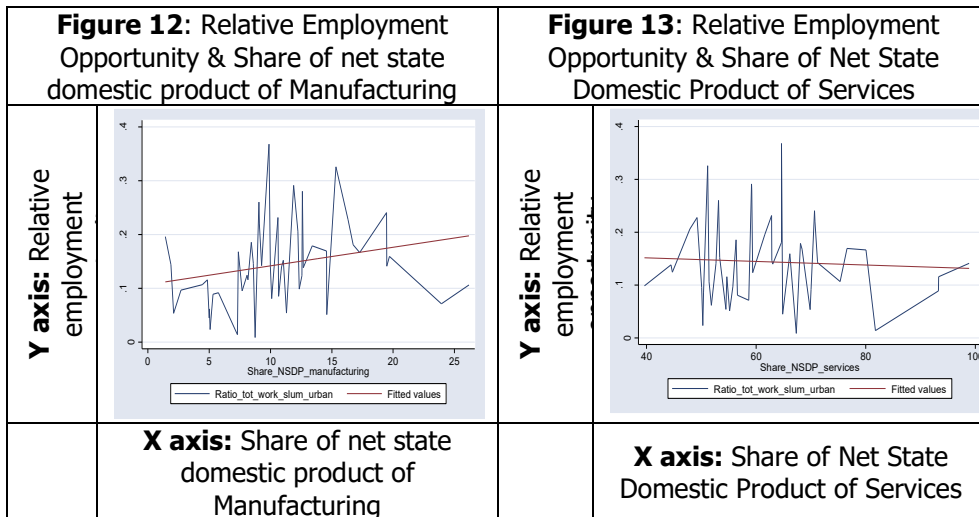
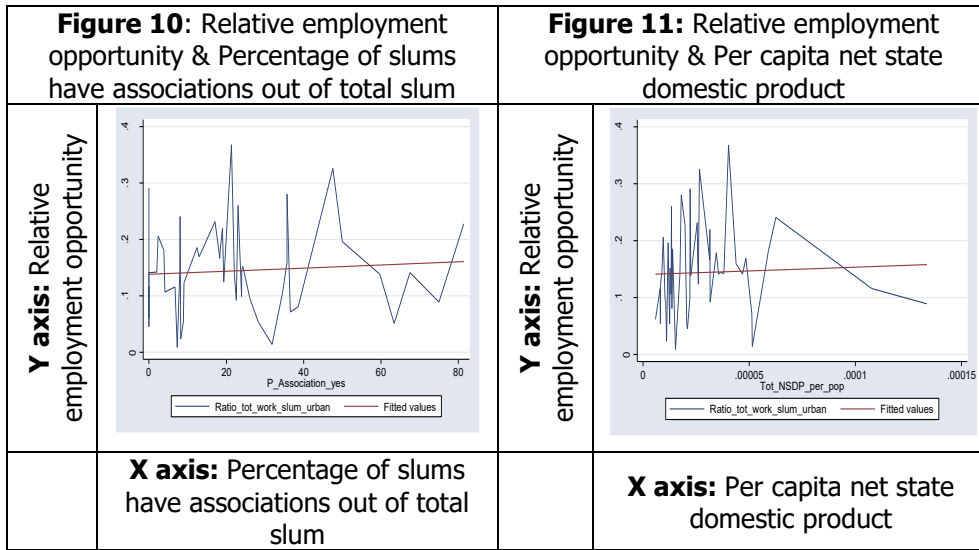


Table 5: Correlation between Relative employment opportunity and probable determinants

	Relative employment opportunity
Share of slum population to urban population	0.9971*
Slum illiteracy Rate	0.0719
Percentage of slums have associations out of total slum	-0.0848
Per capita net state domestic product	0.0404
Share of net state domestic product of Manufacturing	0.2387
Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	-0.0555

Source: Author's Calculation

Additionally, the impact of the factors on the employability of the slum residents is assessed through regression (Equation 1, derived in hypothesis section). We find that the regression is significant at 1% level (as F-Ratio is highly significant) (refer Table 6). Both supply-side and demand-side variables have positive effect on the dependent variable. The regression result shows that the R-square is as high as 0.99, revealing that the model highly fits with the data. It indicates that the independent variables can explain 99% of the variability of the dependent variable. The '*share of slum population to urban*' has positive impact on 'relative employment opportunity' at the 1% level. The highest t value (121.44) from that variable indicates that the variable has the most significant impact on the dependent variable than any other independent variables taken into consideration for the regression. Besides, the variables - '*share of manufacturing*' and '*share of services*' have positive impact on the relative employability of slum residents. This indicates that both the service and manufacturing sectors have an influence on employment generation and pulls the slum population to urban areas. The regression was verified using the tests for multicollinearity and heteroscedasticity. The value of VIF below 2 reveals no acute multicollinearity problem, and the insignificant P-value from the Breusch-Pagan test exposes no heteroscedasticity problem.

Table 6: Regression results from equation 1, depicting the impact of the probable factors on the relative employment opportunity of the slum residents

Dependent Variable →	Relative employment opportunity
Independent Variables ▼	β (t value)
Share of slum population to urban population	0.010247*** (121.44)
Slum illiteracy Rate	0.000014 (0.15)
Percentage of slums have associations out of total slum	-0.000027 (-0.81)
Per capita net state domestic product	-60.45127 (-1.52)
Share of net state domestic product of Manufacturing	0.000291** (2.12)
Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	0.000201*** (2.79)
Time Dummy	-0.001422 (-0.79)
Constant	-0.014561*** (-2.74)
R-Square	0.9972
F-Ratio	2332.15***
Numbers of Observation	46
VIF (multi-collinearity test)	1.66
Hetttest (test for homogeneity)	1.48

Source: Author's Calculation (the figures in the parenthesis are t value)

6.4. Relationship between probable factors and relative irregularity/marginality of work of the slum residents

This section explores the relationships between the *relative marginality* (marginal employment) of the slum residents and the *variables related to supply and demand* factors (Figures 14 to 19). It shows that the share of the slum population in urban is positively associated with the target variable on the supply side. On the contrary, the per capita NSDP and share of manufacturing are also positively associated with the relative marginality of the slum residents on the demand side.

However, regression analysis (see regression result from equation 2, refer Table 8) has revealed some more exciting findings. The significant F-ratio explicates the regression equation's overall significance, showing that it differs significantly from its reduced form. Moreover, the R-square of the regression is high, revealing that the independent variables can explain 94% variability of the dependent variables. On the supply side, besides the positive effect borne by the share of the slum population in urban, we find that the 'illiteracy rate' of slums has been positively affecting the employment condition of the slum dwellers at 1% level. So, lack of education among the workers could be a factor that entraps labour into a vicious circle of poverty. However, associations in slums negatively affect the dependent variable at the 5% level, exposing that the association of slum residents has a role in influencing the employment conditions of the residents. It seems associations in slums increase the workers' bargaining power to enhance their tenure period, which helps reduce their irregularity.

On the demand side, the per capita NSDP and share of manufacturing have a positive effect on the dependent variable, revealing that labour marginalization has increased with economic growth. The country's economic growth process might have been

insisting on employing more irregular labourers to reduce their involvement in the production process. Specifically, the manufacturing units have a dominant role in engaging the marginal labour force of the slum residents in their production process to curtail the production cost.

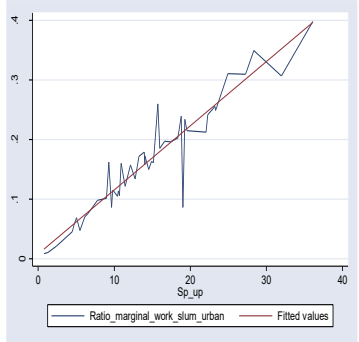
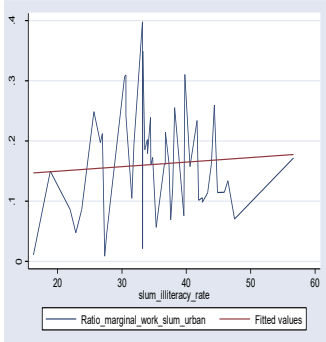
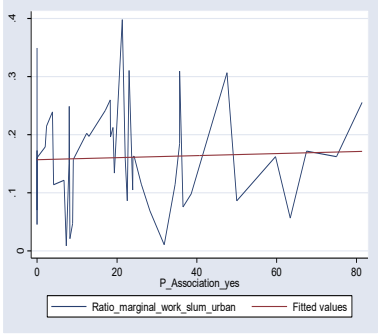
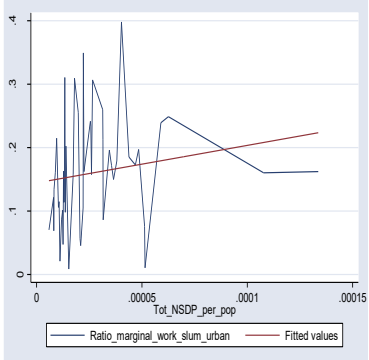
Figure 14: Relative marginality of employment and share of slum population to urban		Figure 15: Relative marginality of employment and slum illiteracy rate	
Y-axis: Relative Marginality of work		Y-axis: Relative Marginality of work	
	X-axis: Share of slum population to urban population		X-axis: Slum illiteracy Rate

Figure 16: Relative marginality of employment and percentage of slums have associations out of total slum		Figure 17: Relative marginality of employment and per capita net state domestic product	
Y-axis: Relative Marginality of work		Y-axis: Relative Marginality of work	
	X-axis: Percentage of slums have associations out of total slum		X-axis: Per capita net state domestic product

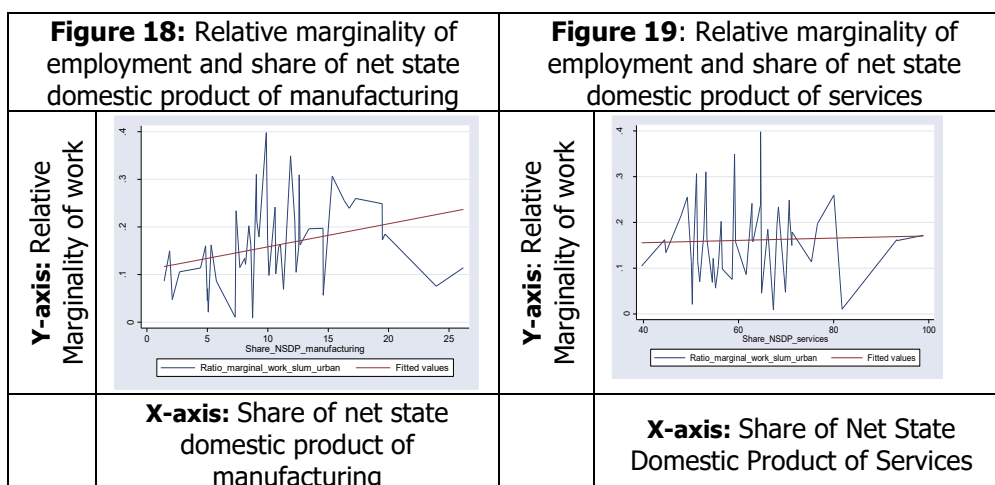


Table 7: Correlation between relative marginality (or marginal employment) and probable determinants

	Relative Marginality of work
Share of slum population to urban population	0.9472*
Slum illiteracy Rate	0.0680
Percentage of slums have associations out of total slum	0.0425
Per capita net state domestic product	0.1618
Share of net state domestic product of Manufacturing	0.3003*
Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	0.1618

Source: Author's Calculations

Table 8: Regression result 2: depicting the impact of the probable factors on the relative employment opportunity of the slum residents

Dependent Variable →	Relative marginality of work
Independent Variables ▼	β (t value)
Share of slum population to urban population	0.010851*** (25.67)
Slum illiteracy Rate	0.0017557*** (3.89)
Percentage of slums have associations out of total slum	-0.0004538*** (-2.75)
Per capita net state domestic product	459.7434** (2.30)
Share of net state domestic product of Manufacturing	0.0014174** (2.05)
Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	0.0004905 (1.36)
Time Dummy	-0.0078158 (-0.87)
Constant	-0.1001084*** (-3.76)
R-Square	0.9435

F-Ratio	108.27***
Numbers of Observation	46
VIF (multi-colinearity test)	1.66
Hettest (test for homogeneity)	2.25

Source: Author's estimation

7. SUMMARY FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS AND A MODEL

7.1 Summary Findings and Discussion

- a) From the above findings, we observed an increase in both total and marginal employment opportunities for slum residents relative to that of urban residents. However, the growth rate of the relative marginal employment of the slum residents is significantly higher than their relative employability. So, by this, we understand that the growing exclusion in urban areas persists as the irregularity of work among slum residents increases. In a study with evidence from Coimbatore city in India, Harriss et al. [16] defined the particular section of the labouring class as most vulnerable. They highlighted this class as Independent workers who occupy a labour status between wage and self-employed labour. The independent workers are both underemployed and designated working poor [11]. Plenty of such anecdotal pieces of evidence from slums across India corroborate the above result. It tells about the poor employment situation of a large chunk of the residents of slums. One such is the story about Baby Mishal:

She lives in Santosh Nagar, a slum in Mumbai, India. She used to work in a garment workshop in that slum. This so-called workshop is nothing but just a 'small rickety shed in the house of a 'household industry owner', managed to create a workspace for three more workers and the household members. Like other workers in the slum, she never had a regular income but was paid on a piece-rate basis. Now, she is unemployed because the garment industry she used to work in was closed. She said – "It is not just me; many women in this place have lost their jobs" and She also claimed – "Many factories have shut down, and there is little scope to get a Job".

- Livemint, Published on 7th March 2014, by Paramit Bhattacharya²

With her story, we may understand the depth of the increased employment problem in urban areas of India, which justifies the persistence of slums. Many like her in slums sustain the status of irregular workers, who are always vulnerable to losing employment. During the post-COVID period, the situation has worsened as many regular informal

²<https://www.livemint.com/Specials/HlrAzK2o7EMYaf06XMNdHO/Working-class-woes-in-Indias-slum-economy.html> (accessed on 24th March 2014)

workers lost their jobs and adopted the status of poor independent workers [13].

- b) Moreover, the positive relationship between relative marginality and relative employment opportunities of the slum residents in the study indicates the increasing employment scope of the slum dwellers for doing marginal work. It is a striking outcome, divulging that even the opportunity for regular informal work is declining. If the result can be analysed otherwise, this may indicate that the urban informal sector has reached saturation to absorb excess unskilled labour supply.
- c) Similarly, the higher employment elasticities of marginal workers of slums denote the marginalisation of the slum workforce with economic growth. The study finds that compared to the elasticities of urban marginal workers, the elasticities of slum marginal workers are higher, which is even more than 1, indicating lower productivity of the specific workforce. The particular finding, perhaps, verifies that 'disguised employment' persists in India's informal workspace in urban slums like the agricultural sector. Many employees are specifically part of household industries in slums. They provide their labour in family enterprises and work irregularly as a family worker. This way, they could add very little output to their extra labour unit. Moreover, many unskilled self-employed are engaged in the trade where large numbers already persist. For example, we find a large number of petty producers producing and vending similar products in tourist places or religious sites in the cities.
- d) Next, the share of the slum population to urban, a supply-side factor, profoundly affects the relative employability of the slum resident (because the t-value shows 121.44). This denotes that slum residents are taking responsibility for creating their own job opportunities. As explained in the previous section, the surplus labour force, which has no opportunity to connect with the modern sector, is engaged in small services, small trade and small production units. Although the share of manufacturing and services, from the demand side, positively impacts relative employability, the effect sizes (i.e. the t-values 2.12 and 2.79, respectively) are smaller than the size generated by the variable share of slum population to urban. This indicates that the sector-wise pull of employment cannot exhibit the labour supply in those sectors. However, in their study, Kathuria et al. [19] found that labour productivity in organized manufacturing in India has increased, but it has declined in the case of unorganized manufacturing. Unorganized manufacturing has adopted more capital-intensive technologies, which denotes less absorption of informal workers. It could be one reason that the impact of manufacturing on employment generation is significant but not so remarkable. Besides, India has observed a gradual structural change in employment, which has been triggered by service sector growth. Many informal workers in slums have linked themselves to hotels, restaurants, transport sectors, and petty services. However, the sector pull is still not adequate to absorb the supply of excess labour.

- e) Finally, we observe a profound positive impact of the share of slum population to urban on the relative marginal employment of the slum residents. Likewise, the illiteracy rate in slums is a significant factor influencing the increase in marginal workers in slums. This result illustrates that the self-generated employment of the poor in slums is often marginal, and their lack of education hinders their opportunity to get better work. However, we find associations/organizations in slums have a negative relationship with relative marginality, denoting that associations of slums play a vital role in improving employment conditions. On the contrary, we see that economic growth and the share of manufacturing have significantly influenced the increase in marginal workers of slums, indicating the marginalization of employment of slum residents due to economic growth. Furthermore, the manufacturing sector is trying to employ more marginal workers to reduce operational costs. The results are unlike the findings denoted by Margit et al. [23]. They demonstrate a sharp rise in wages for informal workers working in informal manufacturing. However, Mitra [25] questions the persistence of employment opportunities in the informal sector in the face of stagnant employment growth in the formal sector.

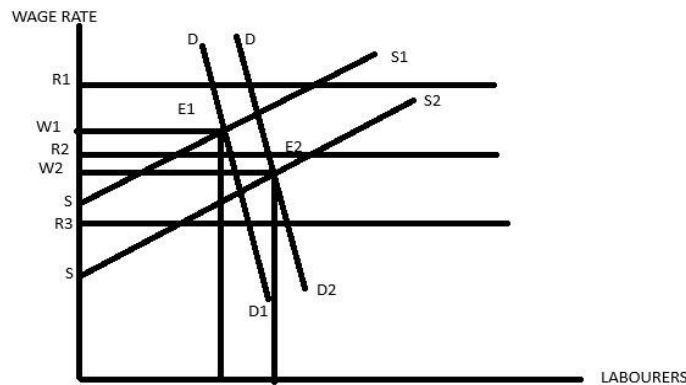
The above findings can be articulated through a hypothetical model that could explain the increase in the incidence of irregular workers in slums by showing the interaction between labour supply and labour demand in the slum.

A Model

The labourers in the slums are marginalized in terms of both wage rate and duration of work in a year. With the rise in the population of the slums, the demand for work and supply of labourers increases. On the other hand, the supply of work depending on the informal jobs created by the unorganized establishments is limited. Additionally, some informal workers earning above the wage thresholds have reservations about accepting lower wages. Any workers who are bound to work at a wage rate below subsistence level thresholds are marginalized may be both in terms of wages and duration of work.

In the graph below shows the demand for the informal labourers through the demand curve DD_1 and the supply of informal workers by the supply curve SS_1 . The demand curve is steeper than the supply curve. It is expected that demand for labourer would not increase much with the fall of the wage rate substantially. The angular length of the demand curves is assumed to be lying at more than 45 degrees. On the other hand, the supply curves are expected to be flatter than 45 degrees. Because, the number of working population in slum is so large that supply of labour would immensely increase with one unit increase in the wage rate. The equilibrium at the E_1 denotes Q_1 numbers of labourers would be hired at W_1 level of wage rate. Here, R_1 is a reservation level of wage rate lying higher than the W_1 denoting that there are many labourers within slum who would not be able to operate below that reservation wage rate. Those labourers would be bound to work at the wage rate W_1 even that wage rate is not sufficient for them to sustain. R_2 is another reservation level of wage rate below the equilibrium E_1 denoting there are labourers who are ready to receive wage below W_1 and ready to get much less wage rate till the wage rate comes down equivalent to R_2

Now if the population in slums rises, the supply curve will shift from SS_1 to SS_2 . The slight rise in the demand for the labourers from DD_1 to DD_2 would not affect much to absorb the increasing labourers to maintain existing wage rate W_1 . In that case the equilibrium would shift from E_1 to E_2 , and wage rate of the labourers will reduce from W_1 to W_2 , even below the reservation wage rate R_2 . This loop will continue, if again the increase in the working population of slum leads to the shift in the supply curve. This downfall of wage rates due to reduction in terms of real remuneration and period of engagement is the result of excess supply of working population in slums.



Summary of the model

Therefore, by looking into this model, one can comprehend that the surplus labourers in slums increase the labour supply, which in turn reduces the probability that excess labourers would get hired in full-time/regular informal jobs. Such kinds of labourers then tend to look for self-generated employment opportunities or try to get engaged in employment for a short duration. This kind of situation of employment in slums proportionately increases marginal employment, where labourers compromise on the period of engagement of work as well as the wage rate, even much below the reservation level of remuneration. Even if there is a pull from the demand side (by manufacturing or services), the supply of unskilled labourers is so huge that demand cannot supersede the supply. This oversupply of labourers is not only because the labourers are gathering in the slums due to their affinity towards getting jobs in the urban informal or formal sector, as Harris and Todaro [15] depicted, but also because there are huge sections among them being pushed to urban areas because of primitive accumulation [32]. Moreover, this kind of scenario would keep the wage-earning or income of those marginal labourers below the subsistence level, so for them, slums would be the only place where they could afford to live. This is one reason why slums or slum-like settlements will not easily disappear through slum redevelopment, making inclusive urbanization difficult to achieve.

7.2. Concluding remarks

Throughout the study we sought to understand the increasing marginalization of the poor labour force of the slums and find out the factors (both demand and supply) that could influence the increase in the marginal labour force. We observe that the marginalization of slum workers has intensified, particularly in terms of irregular employment. Moreover, the oversupply of informal workers has a profound effect, leading to labour marginalization. However, the manufacturing sector influences the marginalization of slum workers, with economic growth playing a significant role in this process.

As a result, the country's economic growth process has created an exclusionary urban system that has worsened the employment conditions of slum dwellers. This process has created opportunities for marginal employment for the underprivileged population residing in city slums. In this process, the country's economic growth leads to a peculiar kind of urban development, which only enhances the benefits for a particular elite class involved as 'immaterial labour' in the existing hegemonised structure of the city economy. The rest are the extensive informal labouring class within and across the perimeters of the Indian cities, longing to get involved in such an economic system. However, only a small fraction of that population could link themselves with the system, and a large portion is still struggling to become part of it. The marginal labourers of slums are a portion of such excluded labouring class, growing either by the city perimeter's expansion or influxes of poor rural populations in the cities. Furthermore, their numbers are rising in cities due to the neo-urban processes' failure to distribute benefits equally and foster inclusivity.

Analysis shows that both the excess unskilled population in slums and the demand for short-term informal labour in the manufacturing sectors provide opportunities for an increase in the irregular work of slum dwellers. The excess unskilled workers helplessly indulge themselves in the business of petty trade as self-employed or work as irregular wage labourers in informally managed units. The availability of such surplus labour allows unorganized manufacturing units to employ marginal workers on a short-term basis to reduce operational costs, as there are no profound labour laws in the country for informal workers. This denotes the deterioration of the overall employment condition of the slum residents.

Additionally, the growing proportion of marginal workers in slums indicates that workforce marginalization has intensified over time. This raises the question of why marginalized people are concentrating in slums. Here, the slum plays an important role of providing a low-cost space for the deprived working class, which helps them to adapt to this situation. Due to the exploitation of their wages and employment conditions, marginal workers are forced to live in informal places like slums and live in inferior conditions. Thus, this process perpetuates the existence of slums in the city, thereby hindering the progress of inclusive urbanization.

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Received: April 15, 2025

Accepted: February 7, 2026