Freedom to Move, Barriers to Stay: Migrants' Claims to Urban Citizenship in India

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1. Introduction

By the year 2030, 590 million Indians will become urban residents, a figure twice the size of the United States population today. This means an addition of approximately 300 million to the current size of India's urban population in a short span of 20 years; much of which will be a result of rural-urban migration. Undoubtedly, prospects of Indian cities are greatly tied to migrants' ability to transition into productive urban citizens. But this depends not only on economic opportunities in urban areas but also on cities' ability to deliver on social rights that importantly include public services and infrastructure. Social rights are not only central to the standard of urban living, but also to the quality of urban citizenship. This paper places migrants at the center of an exploration of urban inequality with an aim to examine the success of internal migrants as urban citizens in India, specifically in the capital city of Delhi. It broadly engages with of three bodies of literature, namely, the sociological scholarship on urban citizenship and the right to the city framework; the empirical work on multiple dimensions of wellbeing in urban contexts; and demographic literature on migration and urbanization.

2. Motivation and Research Questions

Unlike neighboring China, there are no formal barriers to rural-urban migration in India. But governments of Indian cities, especially metropolitans, have been criticized for being largely unresponsive to planning for urbanization and hostility towards rural-urban migrants (Kundu, 2009, Bhan, 2009). At the beginning of the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012), there was an urban housing shortage of 24.7 million in the country. 99% of this shortfall pertained to the housing for economically weaker sections and lower income groups that include rural-urban migrants. Indian policymakers largely view migration as synonymous with urban poverty and as a problem to be contained rather than a positive trend that can be harnessed for its developmental potential. In the absence of state responsiveness towards planning for current or future levels of urbanization on one hand, and increased hostility towards rural migrants in urban areas on the other hand, the benefits of urban citizenship for migrants to cities are unclear.

While Indian and international social scientists have generated a large body of knowledge on social inequality as well as demographic outcomes within the Indian context, experiences of migrants in urban India have been less studied and represent an scholarly oversight of a key axis along which urban inequality in developing countries is likely to be organized. This is especially the case for India, where the urban transition has been slow in its take off. India is only 30% urban but the contribution of urban India to the national GDP is close to 70%. The shrinking share of agricultural contribution to GDP and the tremendous potential for urban transition is likely to have important effects on increasing the impetus of rural populations to move to urban areas and lead to the creation of new urban areas. Further, while natural increase has dominated the growth of urban population in India since independence, its contribution to the urban population growth has began declining since the 1990s. In the

decade of 1990-2000, the average contribution of natural increase to population growth was approximately 60%. The corresponding average contribution in the decade of 2000-2010 has been 45%. At the same time, contribution of rural-urban migration, hovered at about 20-22% in 1980s and 1990s, began showing an upward trend in 2000s, generating an average contribution of close to 28% by 2011. In addition to this, even though India's urban transition lacks pace, it is important to remember that its magnitude is tremendous. For example, in 1992, Delhi's urban population was 8.7 million and by 2011, it had almost doubled to 16.3 million. Growing importance of urban populations is also likely to amplify urban developmental challenges in the Indian context where development policies have predominantly focused on rural areas and an anti-migration sentiment prevails among urban governments.

Given this backdrop, I argue that the emerging sociological literature on urban citizenship and transformations within urban global south (Heller and Evans 2010; Guha-Banerjee 2010; Houtzager et al 2008, Holston 2008; Appadurai, 2002) would gain additional theoretical traction by including migration as a lens to view new forms of urban inequality manifesting not only along the axes of class or caste in India, but as politics of exclusion of new entrants to the city. Demographic literature too would be well served by an empirical examination of migrant settlement, as urbanization becomes a central demographic phenomenon in the coming years. Enabled by these motivations, this paper attempts to gain a better understanding of migrant settlement and socio-economic inequality in urban India using the a combination of spatial and migration survey data from the Indian capital city of Delhi, by asking three related questions:

1. Do migrants and non-migrants face deprivations along the same dimensions of wellbeing in the urban destination?

2. How do migrants compare with non-migrants in terms of their wellbeing in urban destinations net of other characteristics?

3. How does migrant wellbeing change relative to the host population as their time in destination increases?

In other words, how successfully are migrants transitioning into urban citizens in the case of Delhi?

Delhi presents a good case not only because of the availability of unique spatial data sources that allow us to stretch the limits of survey data beyond consumption measures, but also because it is projected to become the largest city in India and the second largest in the world by 2025 (UNDP, 2009). Further, since the 1990s Delhi began cultivating the image of a "world-class city" driven predominantly by middle class interests. This has meant intensification of slum evictions using highly selective criteria for resettlement to the peripheries of the city using a rhetoric of "clean and orderly" environment needed to encourage foreign investment (Bhan, 2009, Schenk, 2003). Between 1990 and 2003, 51,461 houses were demolished in Delhi under slum clearance schemes (Government of Delhi, 2004). Urban poor (especially, rural-urban migrants) are increasingly seen as the outsiders illegitimately claiming space in the globalizing city. An urban developmental vision predicated on exclusionary reasoning in a rapidly urbanizing context is a fertile ground for the production of durable inequalities that are likely to affect migrants' success, making Delhi a suitable case study from theoretical and policy perspectives.

3. Migrants in the urbanizing Indian context:

In 1971, well-known geographer and migration scholar Wilbur Zelinsky argued that mobility transition that occurs during periods of economic transformation not only changes the overall national population distribution, but also leads to an increase in the population of urban poor. This raises an important question whether the conditions and structures of the migration process are likely to contribute to the creation of a migrant urban underclass that is different from the non-migrant or urban resident poor. Essentially, if challenges of urban livability are central to long term sustainability of cities (Evans, 2002), we need to understand the nature, composition and mechanisms of exclusion and marginalization festering in migrant neighborhoods that may fall at the bottom of the "hierarchy of places" (Logan, 1978) within a city. This view of urban livability necessarily takes into account deprivation liked to the structural forces of exclusion that are not purely economic in nature.

In India, the economic reforms of the early 1990s can be conclusively attributed as a central factor that promoted high rates of economic growth (Deaton and Kozel, 2005). One manifestation of such growth has been in the shift within India's economy from being agriculture-based to one classified as a transforming economy over the past 15 years. Rural areas in India have been facing strong demands of market forces and an impetus towards diversification by rural landed elite. Simultaneously, population pressures continue to mount on declining farm sizes. Following conventional demographic wisdom, this is likely to continue putting huge stresses on rural jobs, primarily for those employed as wage laborers (World Bank, 2008), leading to an increased impetus for rural-urban migration. Rural to urban migration is a key demographic response to population pressures and economic opportunities distributed unequally across space, especially within economies in transition.

While the literature exploring new dynamics created by increased urban growth urbanization and its consequences for rural population is rife in India (e.g. Guha, 1983; Kaviraj, 1988; Varshney, 1995), it has mainly focused on the nature of political struggles for power amongst landed elites, rich capitalists and poor farmers. Little insight from empirical studies in India is available on the strategy of rural-urban migration undertaken as a response by households to navigate the ripple effects of the country's economic growth. Even outside the Indian context where examinations of migration and its developmental impacts exit, there is an almost exclusive focus on remittances by migrants to rural households. But there is little existing examination of the host of dynamics arising from such population mobility that lead to the creation and reproduction of socio-economic inequalities faced by rural-urban migrants in the destinations. While a large scholarly tradition of immigrant incorporation exists in international migration literature, especially in the context of Western cities, the deprivations and inequalities faced by internal migrants are little understood in urban destinations of developing countries like India.

Further, as Mamdani (1996) in his detailed analysis of the legacy of late colonialism in Africa has shown, the question of rural-urban migrants' settlement in urban areas is not simply an economic one. Rather it is essentially a socio-political one. In cities like Delhi, with strong global aspirations, label of a 'migrant' conjures up images of the poor and destitute, predominantly rural-urban movers, as opposed to the well off who also move to cities for better economic and educational opportunities (Dupont, 2008; Bhan, 2009). There is a certain unsaid understanding about an ideal city dweller as belonging to a certain social and economic class, who is conceived as the 'rightful citizen' around whom the bulk of urban planning and development is focused. While rural-urban migrants immensely contribute

towards the smooth functioning of the urban and are indispensable to its economy, there is little that goes towards actively facilitating their transition to become fully productive urban citizens by city governments. Much of the migrant workforce is labeled and stereotyped as *bahari* or outsider by the state and society. The "othering" of the migrants happens through acts of labeling (such as 'outsiders', 'enchroachers', 'illegal', 'criminals' etc.) thereby creating an artificial distinction between 'us' and 'them' that allows legitimacy to the acts of symbolic and physical violence and exclusion of the state and society towards them. Instances of such exclusion are rife in the Indian context and often reported by the media. For instance, the anti-migrant agenda has been a hallmark of the 'sons of soil' politics practiced by a prominent party of Mumbai called Shiv Sena, which has continued to identify migrants from other Indian provinces as the source Mumbai's social, economic and infrastructural problems through 1980s and 1990s. This mandate has been so popular with the Marathi speaking poor (natives to Mumbai and surrounding areas), that the party has maintained a stronghold on Mumbai Municipal Corporation since 1980s to present day. Delhi is no different in this regard even though the discrimination against migrants is not as systematic. Home Minister P Chidambaram, in December 2010, speaking of law and order in Delhi, claimed that "these migrants who settle in unauthorised colonies, carry a kind of behaviour that is unacceptable in any modern city so crimes do take place."[1] More recently, the Chief Minister of Delhi, Shiela Dixit, in a press conference regarding the rape of a young girl (who was also incidently a migrant from the state of Manipur) by 'unidentified men', claimed that migrants from other states were "Delhi's biggest problem" and responsible for such crimes.[2]

4. Urban citizenship and right to the city:

These struggles for legitimacy that form the backdrop of migrants' claims to reside within the urban space lie at the heart of the scholarship on urban citizenship and the right to the city framework. Recognizing the growing importance of cities as the strategic spheres of contestation of citizenship rights, scholars have attempted to develop the citizenship framework first formulated by T. H. Marshall in 1950 to make it relevant to localized sub-national contexts (Hoslton and Appadurai, 1996; Sommers, 1993; Holston, 2003; Banerjee-Guha, 2010). The third dimension of citizenship in Marshall's original formulation, namely access to social rights, is key to developing these accounts of urban citizenship. For Marshall (1950:149), the natural progression towards full citizenship lay in the eventual fulfillment of the social dimension of citizenship. According to him, this encompassed "the whole range of right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society." In addition, Marshall identified the provision of social services as most closely connected to realization of social rights in modern societies. Simultaneously, he also saw the lack of realization of social rights as the main cause of blatant inequalities within a society, alongside economic inequality. The importance of these rights and in turn, that of a state that enables the provision of these rights, becomes crucial in the urban context within urbanizing societies when urban residents demand the rights of citizenship as essential for living fully human lives (Hoslton and Appadurai, 1996).

Dynamics of migration to cities, resulting in reterritorialization of different groups within the compact urban space, compel us to not only localize the notions of urban citizenship but also to engage with a theory of urban spatiality and spatial transformations. As Harvey (1973)

[1] http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/chidambaram-blames-migrants-for-delhi-crimes-72289

[2] http://www.ndtv.com/article/cities/migration-a-problem-in-checking-crime-in-delhi-sheila-dikshit-169481

argues, urban spatial forms are not simply inanimate containers of social processes but rather manifestations of social processes. In this view, which borrows from the work of Henry Lefebvre, urban space is a principle of geographic organization and reflects the power of ruling groups and institutions in society. Hence, the importance of place-based inequalities is especially important in the study of urban citizenship, especially with regard to migrants, as these new urbanizing residents lay claim to the urban neighborhoods that symbolize the turf on which contestations of urban citizenship unfold. By the virtue of being urban citizens they have "rights to a minimum standard of living that which does not depend on their relative economic or market worth but on their absolute rights as citizens" (Hoslton and Appadurai, 1996: 197). The realization of these rights, however, depends not only on the will of state actors, who are prone to influence from various societal groups, but also on state capacity as well as an institutional vision for urban planning that does not view migrants in a negative manner.

In this regard, Zerah (2010) argues that urban services and access to public infrastructure form valid tools to analyze the configurations of power, state will and inequalities in Indian cities. She argues that the geographic distribution of urban public services gives an insight into the modalities of power that define development of urban neighborhoods within which urban citizens derive direct benefits of urban livability. This paper takes this discussion as the theoretical point of departure to examine the extent to which migrants in India are able to fully incorporate as urban citizens with access to residential spaces in the city that offer them capability-enhancing opportunities, which includes public service provision such as sanitation and water infrastructure. The operationalization of this view, attempting to place importance on both economic and non-economic aspects of wellbeing in the urban context to understand the social aspects of urban citizenship, borrows from the literature that views poverty and deprivation as essentially multidimensional (Alkire 2008; Chakravarty, and D'Ambrosio, C. 2006; Anand and Sen 1997; Bourguignon and Chakravarty 2003, to name a few). In order to gain a full understanding of migrant wellbeing in urban destinations of the global South, we need to understand how various dimensions of deprivation and social exclusion function as collective structures of constraints on individuals. This includes both economic dimensions of wellbeing as well as dimensions such as access to public service provision highlighted above.

This discussion forms the basis of the descriptive and multivariate analyses presented in this paper, in which I try to analyze migrants' access to urban social citizenship by operationalizing wellbeing and by extension poverty, in a multi-dimensional manner. The analysis presented here not only moves away from uni-dimensional conceptions of urban poverty but also demonstrates that rural-urban migrants face higher levels of deprivation along both economic and non-economic dimensions.

5. Data and Methods

To examine the nature of migrant wellbeing in Indian capital city of Delhi, I use a combination of survey data and linked spatial data sources that have not been previously exploited to answer these questions. First, I carry out an analysis of migrants' economic wellbeing as compared to non-migrants in urban Delhi, taking into account key socio-demographic characteristics. Data for this analysis is obtained from the urban sample of the 64th Round of the National Sample Survey Organization's (NSSO) nationally representative survey carried out in 2007-08 on migration in India. The basic design for urban areas followed is stratified two-stage sampling. Urban blocks are the smallest area units taken as first-stage sampling units (FSU). Each block contains approximately 100-200 households,

and in this sense, it can be considered the immediate neighborhood context. The second or ultimate stage-sampling units (SSU or USU) are households. 8-10 household samples are drawn randomly from each block (or FSU) using a sampling scheme that ensures an adequate number of migrants in the sample (more details are provided in the full paper). Both FSU and SSU identifiers are anonymized in the dataset that is made public. The 2007-08 survey on *Migration in India* oversampled for migrant populations. Given the complex survey design, NSSO provides weights for the data that are recommended for use when carrying out analyses from this data.

The survey contains questions on individuals' migration history, including duration of stay in the destination, and other key socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, caste, marital status, education, employment etc. I begin with using non-parametric methods to describe the patterns of poverty across migrant and non-migrant populations. The migrant population is divided into rural-urban migrants and urban-urban migrants for these analyses. This allows us to engage with the question of whether migrants and non-migrants face deprivations along the same dimensions of wellbeing in the urban destination or not (Section 7.1). I then move on to multivariate regression models to provide insight into the socio-demographic characteristics of individuals that are positively or negatively associated with measures of migrant wellbeing (Section 7.2).

As mentioned above, in the urban sample of NSSO's socio-economic surveys, the FSUs are blocks generated using the Field Divisions Office's (FDO) Urban Frame Survey (UFS) maps. The Delhi sample of the NSS data utilized 141 blocks that constitute the sample list of the surveyed blocks for the 64th survey round. In order to create a geo-referenced survey dataset at the UFS Block level, I procured the hand-drawn base maps of the Delhi's UFS blocks sampled at the first stage (within which individuals were sampled), and digitized and geo-referenced using Google Earth, Wikimapia and Delhi Road Maps to identify the block boundaries as accurately as possible. Following this, I exported the digitized UFS block to ArcMap as a polygon layer. I then obtained a special permission from the Ministry of Statistics, India to access the de-anonymized identifiers of these 141 blocks within the survey data in order to be able to attach the spatial information of UFS block level indicators to every record in the survey data. In doing so, I was able to generate a spatial picture of socio-economic and demographic distribution of the 64th round survey sample of Delhi that includes 6,164 individuals across all ages, of which 2,235 are migrants.

Spatially enabled socio-economic survey information at UFS block level was further combined with relevant cadastral layers of the newly constructed Delhi Government's urban GIS, in order to obtain a range of information about public utilities, health and education institutions and details about service provision in Delhi. Permission for this access within a secure data room was facilitated by Mission Convergence project of Delhi Government. This is the first empirical analysis to utilize this GIS data source.

To combine the two datasets, I first calculated the centroid of each of the digitized UFS block polygons using ArcGIS. I then buffered the area around each of these centroids to generate three neighborhood level buffers of radii 100m (corresponding to immediate neighborhood), 200m (proximate neighborhood), 500m (surrounding neighborhood) and further four buffers of 1,2,3 and 4 Km. Each of the buffered layers around UFS block polygon centroids was spatially joined on the relevant cadastral layers of the Delhi GIS and summary statistics generated for each buffer area of each of the 141 block centroids. For example, when joining the buffer layers on the cadastral layer for health facilities, I was able to calculate the number

and type of hospitals falling within a particular buffer of a particular FSU block. This information was attached to all the individuals associated with that FSU block in the survey data to add neighborhood level spatial dimensions of wellbeing, in addition to the consumption expenditure information and other socio-demographic characteristics available in the survey data.

6. Descriptive statistics:

The Sample:

The Delhi urban sample contains 5,435 individual observations. Of these 42.65 % are migrants based on the criteria of having lived in a different place of residence for six months or more. However, when we restrict the sample to those aged 15 and above, the proportion of migrants increases to 52.54% of the total sample of 3,960 individuals in urban Delhi aged 15 and above.

Dependent variable:

The primary dependent variable is a measure of wellbeing. I generate three indices that serve as proxies for measuring wellbeing that are used as dependent variables in three linear regression models respectively (Table 2). These indices are generated using Principal Components Analysis (PCA) by grouping:

- Food items household consumption in last 30 days (6 items)
- Non-food items household consumption in last 30 days (4 items)
- Public service provision (2 items)[3]
    - Sanitation (per capita density of sewage manholes in a neighborhood)
    - Water (per capita density of water pipelines in a neighborhood)

In addition to this, I take advantage of the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) based on the Alkire-Foster method (Alkire and Foster 2011) used in the descriptive analysis in Section 7.1 to specify a binary category of Non-Poor and Poor to be used in a logistic regression as an additional sensitivity check on the three indices above. This binary specification of poor and non-poor can also be seed as a combined measure of poverty that includes all the individual components specified by the indices above. This method is described in detail in the following section and designates a person as poor or non-poor based on his/her depth and breadth of deprivations experienced. In other words, the method takes into account the level of poverty in each of the multiple dimensions specified by the researcher and then further takes into account the number of dimensions that a person in deprived in to jointly classify a person as poor or non-poor. The population is then split into Poor (those experiences N or more deprivations across all dimensions) and Non-poor. This is coded as a binary (0,1) variable where 1 describes those who are Poor. As will be further discussed in Section 7.1, the specification of poor used later in the logistic regression analysis requires that a person must be deprived in three or more of the selected dimensions to qualify as poor.

Independent variables:

I specifically assess the effect of *(a) migrant status (rural-urban migrant, urban-urban migrant and non-migrant) (b) individual's age (c) household size (d) religion (e) caste (f) education (g) sex, and (h) employment status*. This analysis allows us to compare categories of migrants compare with non-migrants in terms of their wellbeing in urban destinations after controlling for other socio-demographic characteristics. Additionally, I also estimate the

[3] These two items generate similar results when used individually as well.

effect of *duration of stay in destination* on migrants' wellbeing. Some of descriptive characteristics of the overall sample (across all ages) are provided in Table 1 below.

A comparison of descriptive statistics across the migrant and non-migrant groups is given in Table 1 below. To highlight a few of these comparisons, we can see that the mean age of the two populations is in mid-30s, the samples are similarly split between men and women and across levels of education. As expected there are more Hindus than Muslims but the proportions of Muslim are similar to what one would expect based on Census 2001 data. Interestingly, both migrant and non-migrant household size is approximately 5, despite the commonly held assumption in India that migrants prefer to maintain their families in the rural homes. That said, this may also be an artifact of household based data collection survey design that only sampled people living in built structures (formal or informal). The survey excludes people living in shelters or other communal residential locations such as working women hostels etc.

Table 1: Descriptive characteristics of the urban Delhi sample of 2007-08 national level NSS data for individuals aged 15 and above

Individual Characteristics	**Migrant**	**Non-Migrant**
Mean age (SD)	36.70 (SD=14.12)	32.09 (SD=15.05)
Sex		
Male	54.39 %	57.77 %
Female	45.61 %	42.23 %
Caste		
Scheduled Caste and Tribes	20.05 %	16.42 %
Other Backward Caste	21.75 %	21.90 %
Other (not historically discriminated)	58.20 %	61.68 %
Religion		
Hindu	84.86 %	78.04 %
Muslim	11.23 %	15.82 %
Other	3.92 %	6.14 %
Marital Status		
Never Married	19.35 %	42.79 %
Currently Married	75.83 %	53.45 %
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	4.82 %	3.75 %
Employment Status		
Currently working (including self employed, formal and informal sector)	49.86 %	41.09 %
Unemployed	0.42 %	1.79 %
Not in Labor Force (including students, pensioners, housewives, beggars etc.)	49.72 %	57.12 %
Education Category		
Below Primary	22.78 %	12.34 %
Between Primary & Secondary	26.27 %	28.04 %
Between Secondary & Graduate	29.95 %	39.67 %
Graduate and above	20.99 %	19.95 %
Mean Household Size (SD)	4.55 (SD=2.29)	5.52 (SD=2.33)
Monthly per capita expenditure in Rupees		
Mean	1888.51 (~$36) (SD= 1260.96)	1722.15 (~$33) (SD=1091.46)
Median	1500.5	1359.37

7. Results:

7.1 Describing deprivations across three sub-groups:

While there is increasing work on micro-level dimensions of wellbeing in rural developing country contexts, little empirical work examines parallel dimensions in urban areas. This is especially the case in India, where rural poverty has dominated academic and policy discussions of poverty, given the sheer size of rural population base. Existing studies of poverty in the Indian urban context have been restricted to analyses of income or using aggregate monthly/weekly/yearly per capita household consumption expenditure measures without an understanding of which dimensions of consumption may be more relevant than others for understanding poverty, and by extension wellbeing (Kundu and Sarangi, 2008, Sen and Himanshu, 2004). In addition to this, poverty and wellbeing are necessarily multi dimensional concepts that go beyond purely economic measures of wellbeing.

To address these concerns, I generate a multi-dimensional index of wellbeing using a method proposed by Alkire and Foster (2011). The Alkire-Foster methodology (AF method, hereon) provides a way to identify the poor population using a "dual cutoff" method. First, a cutoff is applied to each dimension below which a person is considered deprived. In this paper, each of the 13 dimensions described below were applied the first cutoff at the bottom quintile to identify those deprived in each of the dimensions. Following this, a second cutoff is applied to specify the breadth of deprivation i.e. on how many dimensions should a person be deprived on to be considered poor or not well-off. This allows us to specify an identification function that assigns a value of 1 if a person is poor, or 0 otherwise. Alkire and Foster (2011) suggest beginning with a breadth of two dimensions and moving up from there. Here I explore poverty in *two and three dimensions respectively* in the analysis below. This procedure allows for the specification of weights for each of the dimensions. However, given the lack of an available theory to decide the relative importance of consumption dimensions, or adjudicating between the importance of consumption and service provision, I assign equal weights for all the dimensions in this analysis. In the results presented below, I focus mainly on describing poverty and deprivation faced by rural-urban migrants as compared to non-migrants.

The reason for carrying out this analysis is twofold. One, this investigation allows us to understand the level and distribution of wellbeing (and by extension, of deprivation) across the three subgroups. This is derived by first calculating each dimension's censored headcount ratio i.e. percentage of the overall population of a subgroup who are both poor and deprived in the given dimension and then calculating the weighted average of the dimensional headcounts within a subgroup to get the *adjusted headcount ratio* (M_0), which provide us with a sense of overall poverty across sub populations. Two, and more importantly, it allows us to answer the question whether *migrants and non-migrants face deprivations along the same dimensions of poverty?* In other words, I attempt to decompose the constituent dimensions that contribute to the overall lack of wellbeing for each of the three populations in order to better understand (a) the nature of urban poverty and (b) the uniformity or non-uniformity of its constituent components across these sub populations.

I begin by decomposing household consumption to understand the contribution of each of its dimensions to overall poverty for each of the three subgroups of the sample population, namely, non-migrants (host), rural-urban migrants, urban-urban migrants. In addition, I also

add two non-consumption dimensions of deprivation linked to poverty of residential neighborhoods, namely access to sanitation and access to water provision. As mentioned before, the household consumption for the last 30 days can be divided into:

- Food items household consumption expenditure in last 30 days including consumption of cereal (and cereal products); pulses (including beans etc.); dairy and dairy products; oil; fruits and vegetables; sugar/honey; spices, condiments and processed food (6 items)
- Non-food items household consumption expenditure in last 30 day that can be divided into: cooking fuel and electricity; entertainment expenses (including fees for sports, clubs, cable television etc.); personal care items; and consumer services and conveyance costs (4 items)
- Neighborhood service provision including: Sanitation (measured as per capita density of sewage manholes in a neighborhood using 250m buffer and population) and water provision (per capita density of water pipelines in a neighborhood using 500m buffer and population) (2 items). An additional reason for using these two measure was that both these are provided by government of Delhi and not privately; therefore they also serve as good measures of structural inequality in so far as it is related to exclusion of service provision in certain neighborhoods by the state.

2 or more deprivations as cut-off

The overall poverty levels as measured by Adjusted Headcount Ratio (**M**0) in the analysis of two or more deprivations are somewhat higher for rural-urban migrants at 0.38 versus 0.35 for non migrants. They are comparatively much lower for urban-urban migrants (0.27). This means that on an average, rural migrants tend to be poorer than non-migrants as well as urban migrants.

With respect to dimensional decompositions, using poverty cut-off as 2 (i.e. a person is considered poor if he/she is deprived on 2 or more dimensions) we find that no one dimension of consumption (food or non-food) captures poverty for all three populations (Figure 1). Further, there is little variation in the contribution of each dimension for non-migrant poor. For example, while deprivation on the consumption of fruits and vegetables contributes the most to multidimensional poverty (8.66%), the contributions of deprivations on pulses, (8.40%), fuel & electricity (8.38%) and personal care (8.62%) are also similarly equally important. Perhaps this implies that non-migrant poverty encompasses multiple experiences of deprivation as compared to the other groups.

For rural-urban migrants, deprivation on dairy consumption contributes the most to multidimensional poverty (10.82%) relative to other dimensions. Also, note that as compared to other two groups, rural-urban migrants show a higher contribution of deprivation due to inadequate sanitation infrastructure, as compared to the other two groups. This is important as this dimension specifically speaks to the institutional structures and arrangements at state level and seems to affect migrants disproportionately. Interestingly, there is a lot more variation across individual dimensional contributions to overall poverty as compared to those in the case of non-migrants. This paper does not go into the reasons for why these specific variations might exist but one explanation might be that there are perhaps differences in the mechanisms that generate poverty in host versus migrant populations. For example, perhaps different types of social networks that these sub-groups of have access to, mediate the ability to access different goods for consumption differentially.

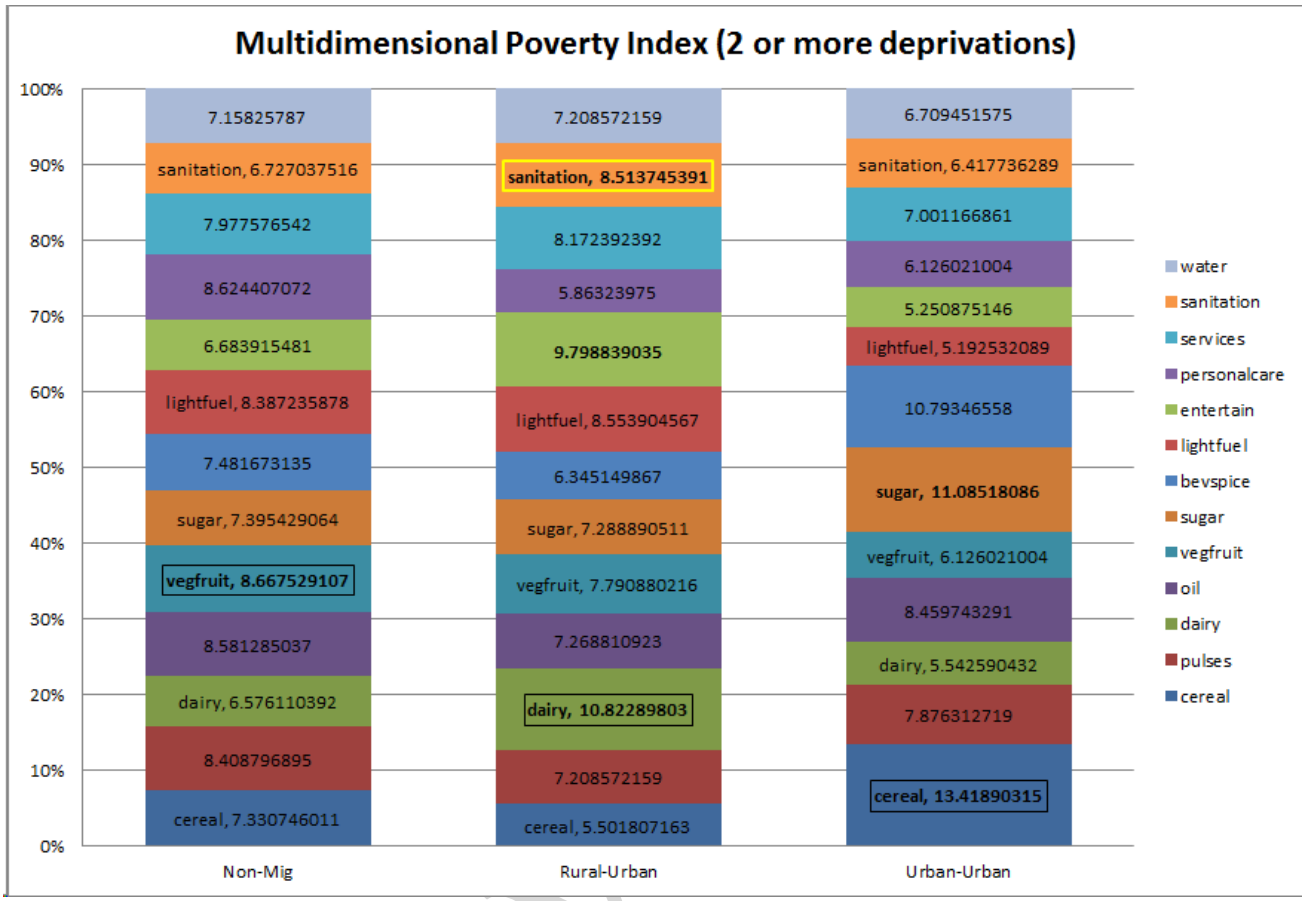

Figure 1: The percentage contribution of indicators to Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) with a specification of 2 or more deprivations to identify poor

3 or more depravations:

I now turn to how the pattern of dimensional contribution changes when we look at those who may be identified as poorer than those in the previous specification, namely, poor in three or more dimensions. Further, for this analysis, I take out the consumption expenditure on entertainment it is not necessarily a good measure of deprivation, thus specifying 11 dimensions of deprivations instead of 13. In doing so, we notice that that the pattern changes a little but the original dimensions that dominated contributions to poverty for each of the groups in the previous analysis still dominate (Figure 1 versus Figure 2). At the same time, contributions of non-food consumption dimensions such as fuel and electricity and consumer services become somewhat more important, especially for rural-urban migrants. In addition, contribution of deprivation due to sanitation dimension continues to be more important for rural-urban migrants. Overall poverty levels as measured by Adjusted Headcount Ratio (**M**0) also remain higher for rural-urban migrants (48% of the poor) as compared to host population (43% of the poor) and urban-urban migrants (9% of the poor).

To summarize these descriptive results, the use of multiple dimensions of consumption (food and non-food) and access to state provided services, allows us to identify more poor than one would on any one dimension. Further, we importantly learn that dimensional contributions

are not uniform across the three migrant categories. A lack of knowledge about the nature of multi-dimensionality across population groups may result in under-counting poverty for sub-populations. Additionally, deprivations across different dimensions of food consumptions are likely to have different health impacts for policy makers interested in implementing nutritional enhancement programs.[4]

Finally, along with the useful decomposition of the dimensions of poverty, this analysis also provides us with a binary measure of *who is poor*, which we will utilize as a summary measure of poor for the logistic regression analysis in the following section, after carrying out multivariate analyses of poverty using three indices that combine the above dimensions in three categories of food consumption, non-food consumption and service provision.

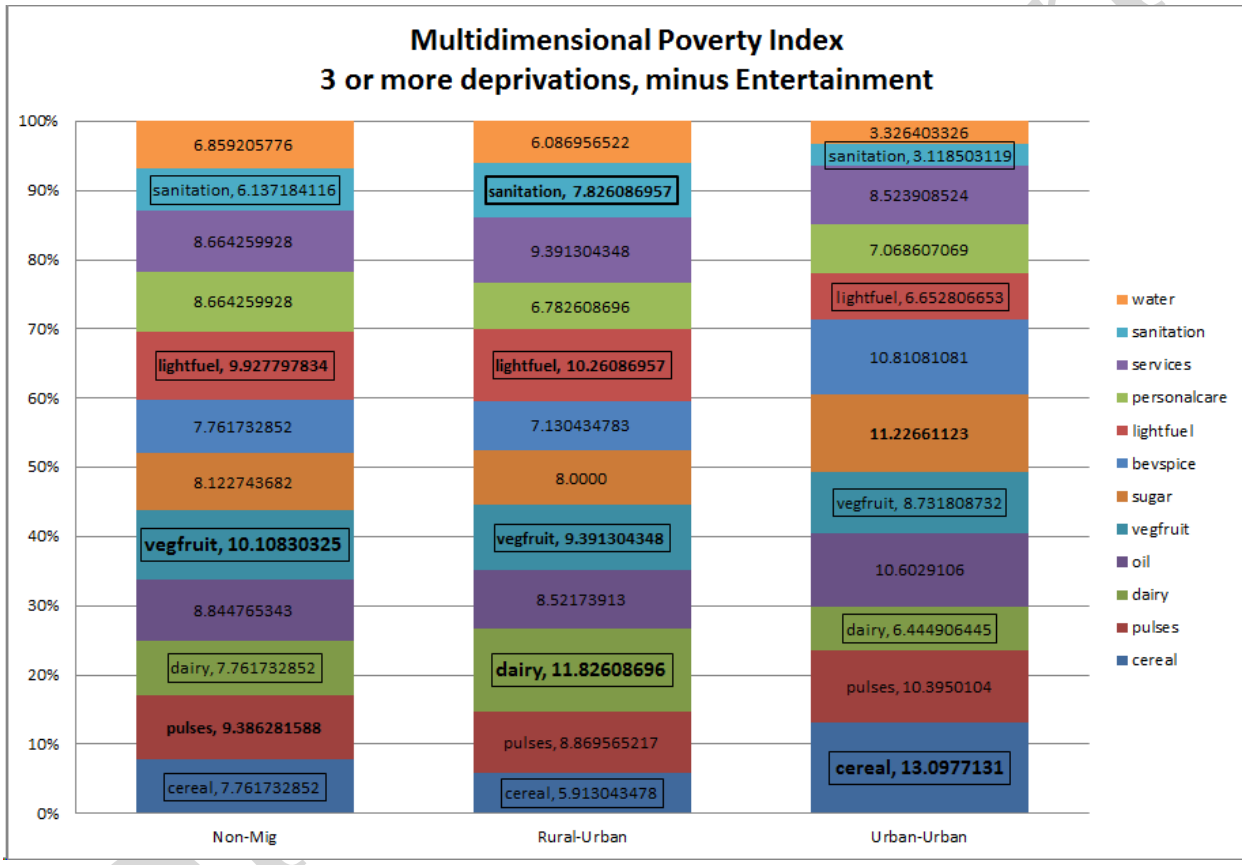

Figure 2: The percentage contribution of indicators to Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) with a specification of 3 or more deprivations to identify poor

7.2 Regression Results:

First, we begin this examination with three indices of deprivation that summarize the 11 dimensions of deprivation discussed above, namely, food consumption, non-food consumption and density of water & sewerage service provision, to analyze the wellbeing of

[4] Further extensions of this approach involve including measure such as education level and employment status as indicators of poverty, given that the adjusted head count ratios (M_0) can also be applied to categorical variables as long as achievements can be separated into deprived and non-deprived sets. For example, lack of appropriate educational achievement commensurate with age can be specified as a binary variable of basic educational fulfillment.

rural-urban migrants in Delhi. The results of the three linear regression models corresponding to each of these indices as the dependent variable are presented in Table 2.

Looking at the effect of migrant status on wellbeing measured by household food consumption index (Model 1, Table 2), we find that in the weighted model, the status of rural-urban migrant as compared to non-migrant is associated with statistically significant decrease in wellbeing of 0.28 standard deviations at 0.001 level of significance, net of other socio-economic characteristics. This result holds across the non-food consumption index of wellbeing as well as the state service provision index of wellbeing. With respect to the non-food consumption index (Model 2, Table 2), the status of rural-urban migrant as compared to non-migrant is associated with statistically significant wellbeing decline of 0.20 standard deviations (at 0.001 significance level), holding other socio-economic characteristics constant. Similarly, when comparing the wellbeing of rural-urban migrants as compared to non-migrants on the index of state service provision, we find that rural migrants have 0.42 standard deviation units less of wellbeing than the non-migrants, net of other socio-economic characteristics. This result is however statistically significant only at 0.01 level of significance. With respect to urban-urban migrants, the first two consumption wellbeing models show no statistically significant relationship between urban-urban migrants and non-migrants. In the third model, interestingly, urban-urban migrant status is associated with mildly statistically significant decrease of 0.35 standard deviations to the service provision wellbeing index. *These results confirm that being a rural to urban migrant has an independent and negative effect of wellbeing for individuals, keeping all else constant.*

These results are robust to the length of stay of migrants in the urban destination. In the models presented here, duration is coded as 0 for non-migrants. Migrants who arrived in the year of the survey are coded a 1 on the duration variable. Median duration in Delhi for rural-urban migrants is 10 years and that for urban-urban migrants is 9 years. Duration has a positive and significant effect on food consumption wellbeing in Model 1 (Table 2). However, the coefficient is small and a one-year increase in the length of stay in Delhi is associated with only .008 standard deviation increases for food consumption related wellbeing index. For example, predicted mean food consumption wellbeing for a 30 year old rural-urban male living in Delhi for 10 years, who has completed secondary education, has a family size of 4, belongs to a historically non-discriminated caste and follows Hindu religion, is only 0.1 points higher than someone with same characteristics but who has spent only one year in Delhi. Further, the effect of duration on Models 2 and 3 is not statistically significant, implying that increases in time spent in the destination, do not have any influence on socio-economic mobility on non-food consumption or standard of living measured by neighborhood level service provision of sanitation and water. The lack of statistically significant effect in this case is an important result since it speaks to the lack of increases in social mobility of rural-urban migrants in Delhi over time. In other words, *the initial disadvantage for migrants in their destination persists over time spent in destination.*

Age coefficients often display a curvilinear relationship between age and socio-economic indices of wellbeing, where increasing age affects socio-economic gains at a diminishing rate. However, the sample in this model is relatively young as noted in the descriptive statistics, with an overall mean age of 27 (median age is 25) and standard deviation of 17.05. As such, it is unlikely that the diminishing effect of age on socio-economic effect will transpire within a restrictive age range. The limits of the sample size provide reason to model age as a linear effect. In doing so, we find that age has a positive and statistically significant effect across all three models, albeit with a small magnitude of the coefficient. For example, predicted mean consumption wellbeing for a 20 year old rural-urban male living in Delhi for 10 years, who has completed secondary education, has a

family size of 4 belongs to a historically non-discriminated caste and follows Hindu religion, is only 0.1 points higher than someone with same characteristics but who is 30 years of age.

The results also show statistically significant and strong positive effects of gains in education on improvements in wellbeing. For example, in the case of non-food consumption index, even those who have above primary but below secondary education have 0.15 units higher standard deviation, as compared to those who have below primary education. The effect of higher education (graduate and above) on consumption wellbeing (food and nonfood, Models 1 & 2, Table 2) is even stronger. Further investigation also shows that the gains from higher education, beyond secondary education, as compared to those with secondary education are still associated with a higher level of wellbeing. However, it is worth noting that in the service provision measure of wellbeing (Model 3, Table 2), only the gains from Graduate education and above translate into higher scores on this measure of wellbeing. *This implies that it is perhaps harder for individuals to move out of place-based deprivations in wellbeing within neighborhoods as compared to consumption wellbeing.*

Finally, the three models also account for caste and religion of the respondents, the two most common axes of social inequality in India. India's history of caste based discriminations was expected to decline in the urban context but recent studies have shown that caste still continues to be a salient feature of everyday Indian experiences in urban areas (Thorat and Newman, 2010; Munshi and Rosenzwig, 2006). The results confirm this and show strong and statistically significant negative associations of historically discriminated castes when compared to the reference category of historically dominant castes. Being from a Scheduled Caste (previously untouchable castes) as well as an Other Backward Caste (those considered lower castes but not untouchables), is associated with a lower level of wellbeing on both the consumption related indicators of wellbeing. For example, Schedule Castes are associated with 0.42 points lower index of non-food consumption as compared to historically non-discriminated castes. However, interestingly, under-privileged caste categories are not significantly associated with lower levels of wellbeing on the index measuring neighborhood levels of service provision of sanitation and water supply. Similarly, with respect to religion, being Muslim in India is associated with lower socio-economic mobility in general. The results from these models confirm this. The effect of being Muslim as compared to Hindu is associated with lower levels of wellbeing across all indices; being especially pronounced for non-food consumption measure of wellbeing.

As an additional check for the sensitivity of these results, I also examined the urban wellbeing of migrants using the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) based on the experience of three of more deprivations. As mentioned in Section 7.1, the MPI allows us to split the population into categorized as Poor (those experiences three or more deprivations across all dimensions) and non-poor with less than three deprivations. This variable is coded as a binary (0,1) where 1 is designated to those who are Poor. This model can be seen as capturing a measure of overall poverty and allows for more intuitive interpretations of regression results, namely as changes in the odds of being poor associated with each of the independent variables. The results of the logistic regression model show that rural-urban migrants are almost twice as much likely to be face a breadth of deprivations (i.e. classified as poor on this measurement) as compared to non-migrants, keeping all else constant. The result is statistically significant at a significance level of .001. Comparatively, urban-urban migrants are 0.43 times less likely than non-migrants to be classified as urban poor, albeit only at a 0.05 level of significance. This is perhaps a form of selection effect, such that migrants from other urban areas may be strategically moving to other urban areas for higher socio-economic mobility. In this model, duration in destination is not found to be statistically significant. As in the other models, educational achievement has a strong and highly significant negative effect on poverty where as being from historically oppressed castes more

than doubles the odds of being poor as compared to those from the historically privileged castes.

Table 2: Linear regression models for three indices of wellbeing

	DV: Food Consumption Index			DV: Non-Food Consumption Index			DV: Service Provision Index		
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Individual Characteristic	**Coeff**		**Robust Std Error**	**Coeff**		**Robust Std Error**	**Coeff**		**Robust Std Error**
Migrant status (Ref: Non-Migrant)									
Rural-Urban	-0.312	***	*0.061*	-0.244	***	*0.056*	-0.360	*	*0.147*
Urban-Urban	-0.062		*0.085*	0.023		*0.103*			
Duration	0.008	***	*0.003*	0.002		*0.003*	0.006		*0.004*
Age	0.004	***	0.001	0.008	***	*0.002*	0.006	*	*0.002*
Education categories (Ref: Below Primary)									
Between Primary & Secondary	0.136	***	*0.034*	0.149	***	*0.032*	0.043		*0.070*
Between Secondary and Graduate education	0.324	***	*0.052*	0.386	***	*0.046*	0.073		*0.094*
Graduate and above	0.625	***	*0.072*	0.975	***	*0.115*	0.338	*	*0.144*
Caste (Ref: historically non-discriminated castes)									
Scheduled Castes & Tribes	-0.322	*	*0.060*	-0.418	***	*0.069*	0.143		*0.178*
Other backward castes (OBC)	-0.405	***	*0.078*	-0.349	***	*0.072*	-0.141		*0.107*
Religion (Ref: Hindu)									
Muslim	-0.254	**	*0.087*	-0.273	**	*0.087*	-0.272	*	*0.113*
Other	0.332		*0.104*	0.472	*	*0.195*	0.444	*	*0.196*
HHSize	0.280	***	*0.009*	0.135	***	*0.022*	-0.006		*0.017*
Sex (Ref: Male)									
Female	0.099	***	0.021	0.129	***	*0.021*	0.070	*	*0.035*
Intercept	-1.777	***	0.102	-1.293	***	*0.135*	-0.148		*0.239*
Observations	8363943			8363943			8363943		
R-squared	0.603			0.412			0.103		

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05; Reference group in parentheses; Robust Standard Errors italicized

Table 3: Logistic Regression Results for Dependent Variable Poor (Odds Ratios)

Individual Characteristic	Odds Ratio		Robust Std Errors
Migrant status (Ref: Non-Migrant)			
Rural-Urban	1.934	***	*0.447*
Urban-Urban	0.564	*	*0.150*
Duration	0.988		*0.009*
Age	0.983	***	*0.004*
Education categories (Ref: Below Primary)			
Between Primary & Secondary	0.526	***	*0.080*
Between Secondary and Graduate education	0.285	***	*0.051*
Graduate and above	0.150	***	*0.040*
Caste (Ref: historically non-discriminated castes)			
Scheduled Castes & Tribes	2.189	***	*0.498*
Other backward castes (OBC)	2.729	***	*0.711*
Religion (Ref: Hindu)			
Muslim	1.726		*0.666*
Other	0.538		*0.316*
HHSize	1.206		*0.049*
Sex (Ref: Male)			
Female	1.206	***	*0.049*
Observations	8363943		
Pseudo R-squared	0.2216		
Log-Likelihood	-4197956.5		

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05; Reference group in parentheses;Robust Standard Error italicized

8. Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that rural-urban migrants face significantly more deprivations in Delhi as compared to the host population and urban-urban migrants. The central message from the regression results is that *rural-urban migrants' experience of urban settlement is fraught with challenges*. Even after controlling for all other socio-economic characteristics, including caste and religion that have known to be the dominant axes of inequality in the Indian context, migrants remain worse off than host populations. *The results*

are robust across different model specifications as well as across different formulations of deprivation- economic as well as non-economic. Particular attention should be paid to the results for the service provision index (Model 3), which maps on to a dimension of deprivation managed by the state and not directly affected by market forces. More importantly, the experience of deprivation for migrants persists even when we take into account length of stay in the destination. *The persistence of deprivation, especially on the service provision dimension, is likely to be an important cause of durable inequality in terms of social rights that are essential for urban citizenship*.

In the context of developing country urban area, informality in housing and livelihood facilitates low-income migrants' access to the cities. But it also simultaneously creates spaces where narratives of legality and illegality justify rural-urban migrants' exclusion by state institutions. The interactions between struggles of economic mobility, existence in informal housing and work spaces and the lack of a coherent urban planning agenda that plans for rural migration into cities, means that rural-urban migrants find themselves caught within the bounded categories "encroachers" versus "citizens," where migrants are seen to map squarely onto the former category. These categories do not simply exist in colloquial usage and popular media but find their way into the texts of legal documents and government reports (Bhan, 2009). These bounded categories, as Tilly (1999:6) writes, "deserve special attention, because they provide clearer evidence for the operation of durable inequality because their boundaries do crucial organizational work, and because categorical differences actually account for much of what ordinary observers take to be results of variation in individual talent or effort." This is especially important to note since the effect of inequality on an individual is not simply additive but interactive, that is, a product of interactions between nested inequalities and deprivations. As shown in this paper, migrants' experience of deprivations and urban poverty is not necessarily the same as that of the host population poor.

This paper is unable to go into an examination of the mechanism and dynamics that produce and reproduce the exclusions faced by migrants; nor does it wholly map the field of actors and the array of interactions that create a social arrangement where migrants are unable to transition easily to full urban citizens. However, it does hope to have demonstrated that the category of rural-urban migrants requires specific attention in our understandings of urban poverty and urban citizenship and it's associated exclusions, independently of the homogeneous category of the 'urban poor.' A further extension of this work would be to place India's urbanization in a comparative perspective with that of a country like Brazil where urbanization has unfolded rapidly and under very different political circumstances. In doing so, we might be able to make better sense of the politics of urbanization and its implication on the trajectories that state institutions in developing countries have taken with respect to the questions of urban planning for migrant populations and urban poverty.

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