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Life and Policy Disconnect of Construction Labourers in Ludhiana City (Punjab, India)

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Abstract

Rapid urbanisation and industrialisation have fuelled the growth of informal labour markets in Indian cities, with the construction sector absorbing a significant share of unskilled migrant workers. This study explores the living and working conditions of construction labourers in Ludhiana City, Punjab, and examines their living and work conditions and their disconnect from policies. Using the snowball sampling method, primary data were collected through a field survey and personal interviews with 120 construction labourers across three identified streams of employment: labour chowks, large-scale construction project sites, and private building sites. Focus group discussions were first conducted to map the channels through which labourers enter the job market, followed by structured interviews with key open-ended questions. The results reveal that the surveyed labourers earn an average monthly wage of only US$ 113.19, with 79.16% residing in rented accommodations. A majority (62.5%) lack any formal training in construction work, 69.16% do not possess identity proof with their current address, and none of the surveyed labourers was registered under the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996. The labourers remain almost entirely unaware of welfare schemes designed for them. The study concludes that construction labourers live and work in distressful conditions, systematically excluded from social security frameworks, and calls for urgent policy interventions, including grassroots outreach, mandatory registration mechanisms, and employer accountability to bridge this welfare gap.

Keywords: *construction labourers, growth of cities, living conditions, Ludhiana, public policy*

Introduction

Cities worldwide have seen enormous changes due to the dynamic rising landscape of urban expansion and accelerated industrialisation, changing the way society functions and further develops (Ogunbode *et al*., 2025; Mehdipour & Nia, 2013; Seto *et al*., 2011). One of the critical repercussions of such urbanisation is the emergence of an informal labour sector, a population often overshadowed by bustling urban life. The economy of cities runs through two components: the formal sector and the informal sector. The term informal was first discussed by Hart (1973), who designated the people in informal work who are "denied success by the formal opportunity structure; these members of the urban sub-proletariat seek informal means of increasing their incomes". In continuation of this urban concern, several reports and studies regarding informality from the global agencies have emerged and widened our understanding of the nature of informality. The informal sector has been understood as the "productive or 'work' activities that are hidden from or ignored by the state for tax, social security and/or labour law purposes, but which are legal in all other respects (Williams & Windebank, 1999). In the broader sense, informal sector workers can be understood as individual workers taking up economic activities without any institutional or organisational engagement or commitment and remain fragile to the market of the construction industry. Construction labourers are an important part of the informal economy in the cities. Buckley (2014) believes that "the construction trades have always been integral to processes of city-building". The construction sector in India and similar developing countries shows a significant dual nature; at the higher level of contractors, engineers, etc., it is highly organised, but the flow of ground labourers working at the construction sites is unorganised and informal in nature. However, these construction labourers seem to be silent builders, remain ignored or 'overlooked' in the local urban policy and the planning frameworks that function in everyday life. Overlooking can be understood as the "multifaceted process, reflecting different power relations, political economies, knowledge networks and resource allocations unique to each individual city" (Ruczczyk *et al*., 2021). An overlooking is not limited to cities as a whole; it is important to look for the sections of societies or communities which have been missed or ignored in the process of urbanisation, urban economic progress and overall urban society. Buckley (2014). has viewed that "Construction labour markets are crucial to processes of urbanisation, yet they have been largely overlooked as sites for research and theory at the nexus of urban and migration studies".

The industrialisation, modernisation, and economic development of people have often created a huge demand for the construction of buildings and infrastructure in the country.

The construction sector is a highly labour-intensive industry. In India, the construction industry is the second largest employer next to agriculture (Meena *et al*., 2013). It is a rapidly growing industry in the country. Maran *et al*. (2020) noted that "the construction industry plays a vital role in the socio-economic development of the country, and the construction industry is one of India's fastest-growing sectors". This has led to a high demand for labourers at construction sites. The unskilled labourers see it as an opportunity for continuous work being available, and survival is seen to be a smooth process. Discussing the informal construction sector of India, Sengupta (2007) reflected that "it contains mostly Below Poverty Line (BPL), vulnerable, uneducated and migrant workers. Unorganised workers in India are facing various kinds of deprivation in terms of inadequate employment, low earnings, low health and educational status."

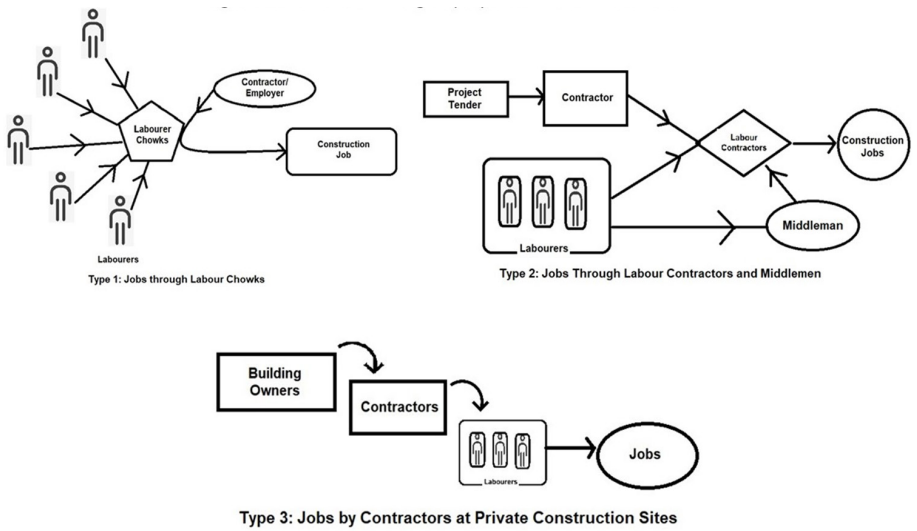
Punjab has been urbanising rapidly over the past decades. The urban population of the state was 33.9% in 2001, which increased to 37.18% in 2011, more than the national average. Ludhiana City is a prime example of a rapidly industrialising and urbanising city. City, known for its thriving machine tools and hosiery textile industries, has seen a surge of urban expansion that has seen the construction of high-rise buildings and essential infrastructural improvements in and around its environs. The construction workers bring these projects to life and contribute to urban construction. Several studies reveal that due to the informal nature of employment, the workers involved in the construction sector always remain under the trap of poverty, insecurity, irregularity, and casualty and are generally not covered under the social security net (Singla, 2015). There have been serious attempts to tackle this issue, and crucial legislation has been enacted in the past. The union and state governments have passed several laws, including the Payment of Wages Act of 1936, the Minimum Wages Act of 1948, the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, the Building and Other Construction Workers' (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act of 1996, the Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Cess Act of 1996, to regulate the employment and conditions of construction workers. The Punjab Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Rules of 2008 are the latest act made for the welfare of construction labourers. The act lays down rules and regulations for the registration and employment of labourers. Looking at Ludhiana City, this paper is an attempt to highlight the urban challenges, economic and institutional issues faced by construction site labourers. This paper addresses the following major objectives: a) To study and understand the channels and networks through which construction labourers get into the job market, and b) To explore living and working conditions of construction labourers and their possible disconnect from urban development and the welfare policies.

Research Methodology

The study has been carried out in two phases. Firstly, the focus group discussions with the labourers were conducted to understand the flow of these construction labourers in the city's construction sectors. This helped to identify the streams of flow of labourers in the construction sector. At first, the labourers from different places gather at some designated places in the city. Hundreds of labourers come to these places and wait for the contractors and owners of houses under construction to pick them up for work. These places are usually termed as '*labourers' chowks'*. The second stream is through the labour contractors. The labourers come in contact with labour contractors. This is usually the case for government and large-scale public-private partnership projects. The agency gives the project tender to project contractors who outsource the work to sub-contractors, or may directly approach labour contractors for the labour. These labourers sometimes get permanently associated with the contractors and move as the contractors move for different projects. The labourer can also approach the intermediaries or labour contractors to get the job. Thirdly, individual house builders or small project contractors have a fixed contract with some labourers, and they directly provide jobs to them.

Figure 1

Streams of Getting Employed in Construction Sector



Source: Field Survey, 2023

Figure 1 shows these three identified streams of labourers in the city. These identified streams are also reflected in previous studies. The study by Shivakumar *et al*. (1991)

observed that "the entire construction industry relies on the process of contracting and sub-contracting, which fosters the proliferation of intermediaries whose function is to provide labour for companies and members of the public". These contractors are responsible for performing the construction work and employing the labourers. Fernandes & Paul (2011) also note that "Migrant networks facilitate a constant flow of migrant labour into the construction labour market. Migrant workers not only need networks to enter the labour market, but they also require networks with the locals or earlier migrants in order to have a social support system in the place of destination".

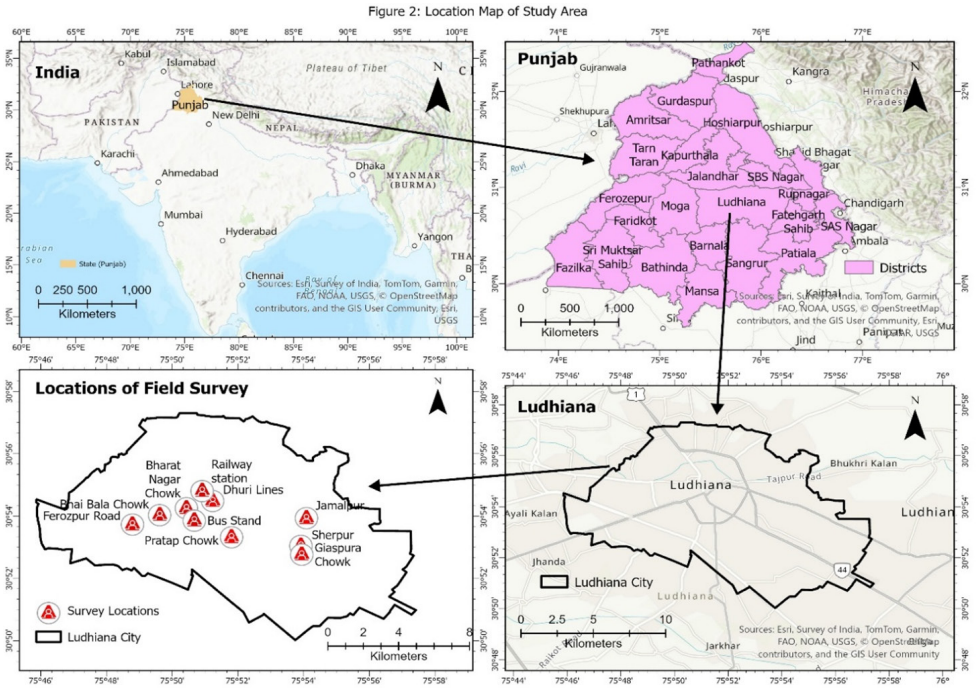
After identifying the major streams of labourers' flow in the study, personal interviews were conducted to assess the life, work conditions and disconnect from policies. Construction labourers in India constitute a 'hidden population' (Heckathorn, 1997) characterised by informality and absence of any reliable sampling frame. While probability sampling can theoretically be implemented even with unknown populations, this approach was not practically feasible in the present study for several reasons. First, the labourers are highly mobile, frequently shifting between construction sites and labour chowks, making it extremely difficult to establish even a preliminary sampling frame or conduct a systematic pilot survey. Second, conducting interviews was possible only just before their work hours or during the lunch break, severely constraining the time available for data collection. Third, most of the labourers either refused to participate in the interview for fear of their employer or left the interviews midway if any employer came to pick them up from the labour chowks. These access constraints rendered probability-based approaches impractical. The choice of snowball sampling is well-supported in the existing literature on construction and migrant labour research. Sreedevi and Gopinath (2024), in their study of migrant construction workers in Kerala, employed the snowball technique. Similarly, studies on stranded migrant labourers during COVID-19 (Rahaman *et al*., 2021) and on the demographic conditions of in-migrant construction workers (Srinivasan *et al*., 2024) also adopted snowball sampling due to the absence of a comprehensive database of informal workers. To ensure the validity and rigour of the findings, data collection in the present study continued until data saturation was achieved- that is, until no new themes, patterns, or insights emerged from subsequent interviews. Empirical research has confirmed that qualitative studies with relatively homogenous populations and clearly defined objectives commonly reach code saturation within 9 to 17 interviews (Hennink & Kaiser, 2022). The concept of information power (Malterud *et al*., 2016) was considered, which suggests that the adequacy of sample size depends on the aim of the study, sample specificity, use of established theory, quality of dialogue, and analysis strategy. The sample size of 120 construction labourers in the present study is consistent with, and in several cases

exceeds, the sample sizes adopted by comparable studies on construction and migrant workers in India.

Therefore, the snowball sampling method was used. Using this technique, a field survey was conducted in Ludhiana, and 120 construction labourers were selected for collecting data using a structured questionnaire with some key open-ended questions. To include all the categories of construction labourers, an equal number of interviews were conducted with the labourers of three key categories. First, the survey was conducted at several hotspots (Pratap Chowk, Jamalpur, Sherpur, Giaspura Chowk and Dhuri Lines) where the construction labourers gather in the morning and wait for the employers to come and pick them up for the job. These hotspots can be termed *'Labour Chowks'*. Second, the labourers were surveyed on ongoing infrastructure projects around the railway station, Bharat Nagar Chowk, Bhai Bala Chowk and Ferozpur Road, such as highway construction. Third, the labourers were approached at building construction sites owned by private individuals at several locations. The location of surveyed labour chowks and infrastructure project sites has been shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Location Map of Study Area



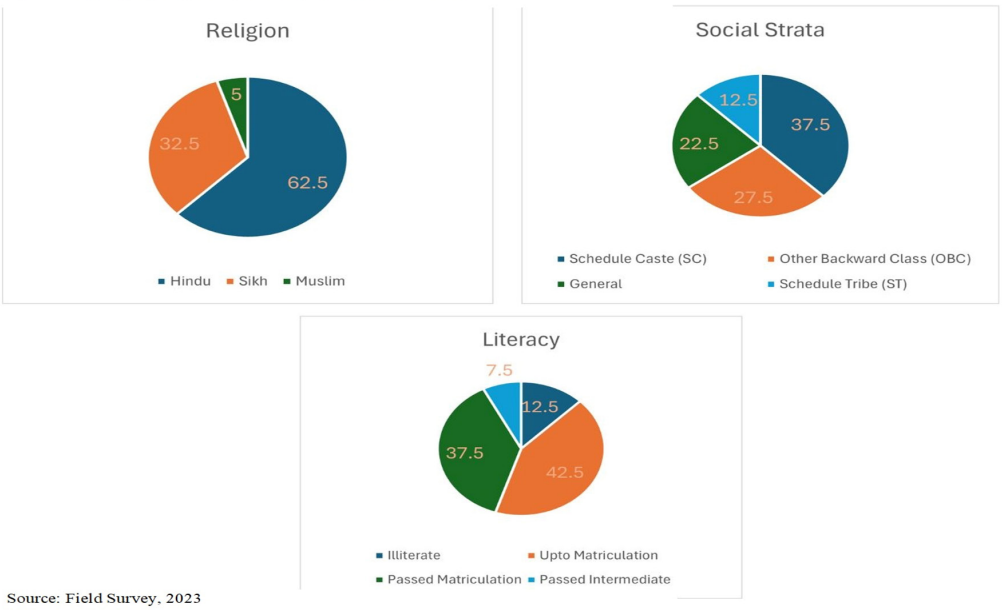
Source: Prepared by the Authors (Field Survey, 2023)

Results

The survey revealed that the average age of surveyed labourers at construction project sites is lowest at 31.3 years, whereas the average age at private sites remained at 33.6 years, and labourers' chowks, it is 36.1 years. Considering the total labourers across all types of sites, people from Uttar Pradesh dominate with the highest percentage share at 32.5%. Those from Punjab remained prominent with 30%, securing the second-highest share of total labourers. Bihar maintained a significant presence, contributing 25% to the total labour force. Meanwhile, Haryana had the lowest percentage share of total labourers, accounting for 5% of the overall count. The analysis of religious composition among the workers reveals a predominance of Hindu followers, who constitute 62.5% of the workforce, followed by Sikhs at 32.5% and Muslims at 5% (Figure 3). In terms of social stratification, Scheduled Caste workers represent the largest demographic group, accounting for 37.5%, followed by Other Backwards Classes at 27.5%, the general category at 22.5%, and Scheduled Tribe workers at 12.5%. Among these, 12.5% of labourers were found illiterate, 42.5% people were literate up to matriculation, 37.5% people have passed matriculation, and only 7.5% passed their class 12th examination.

Figure 3

Demographic Structure of Construction Labourers



Source: Field Survey, 2023

The survey also revealed that most (42.5%) of the people working at construction sites moved to Ludhiana more than 6 years ago. 7.5% labourers had moved to the city within a year, 32.5 within one to three years and 17.5% within three to six years. These labourers

are also not skilled. Among these labourers, 62.5% lack any training in construction work, while 22.5% reported having acquired a few skills while working on the site.

Table 1 shows the workdays and wages of labourers. The workers at labour chowks experience an average of 18.6 days of work in a month. Conversely, labourers at construction project sites have a slightly higher average of 23.5 workdays per month. For labourers at private sites, the highest average number of workdays is observed at 24 days per month. On average, across all categories, workers engage in around 22 days of work each month.

Table 1

Workdays and Wages of Labourers in the Construction Sector in Ludhiana City

Location	Labour Chowks	Construction Project Sites	Private Sites	Overall
Average Number of Workdays	18.6	23.5	24	22
Average Per Day Wage (In US$)	5.06	5.15	5.23	5.15
Average Monthly Wage (In US$)	93.14	120.59	125.55	113.19

Source: Field survey, 2023 (US$ 1= ₹91.56)

Taking into consideration both the average number of workdays and the average per day wage, labourers at labour chowks have the lowest average monthly wage, amounting to US$ 93.14. Comparatively, labourers at construction project sites receive a higher average monthly wage of US$ 120.59. Labourers at private sites, however, enjoy the highest average monthly wage, with a total of US$ 125.55. The overall average monthly wage, considering all categories, is US$ 113.19.

Table 2

House Type and Average Monthly Rent Paid by Labourers in Ludhiana City

House Type	Labour Chows	Construction Project Sites	Private Sites	Total
Rented	87.5	77.5	72.5	79.16
Owned	12.5	22.5	27.5	20.84
Average Monthly Rent (In US$)	11.98	22.23	28.29	20.83

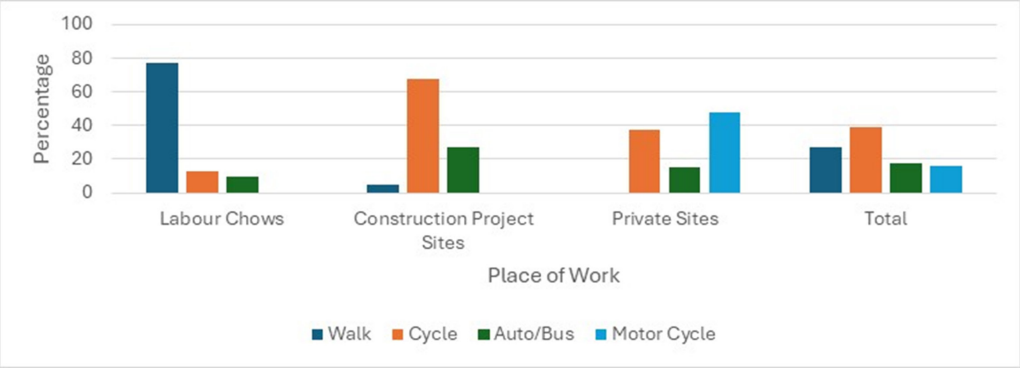
Source: Field survey, 2023 (US$ 1= ₹91.56)

Table 2 shows house type and average monthly rent paid. The highest percentage of labourers,79.16% reside in rented houses, while 20.84% live in owned houses. For labourers living in rented houses at labour chowks, the average monthly rent is US$ 11.98, at construction project sites, it is US$ *22.23,* and for private site labourers face

the highest average monthly rent, amounting to US$ 28.29. Considering all categories, the average monthly rent for labourers is US$ 20.83.

Figure 4

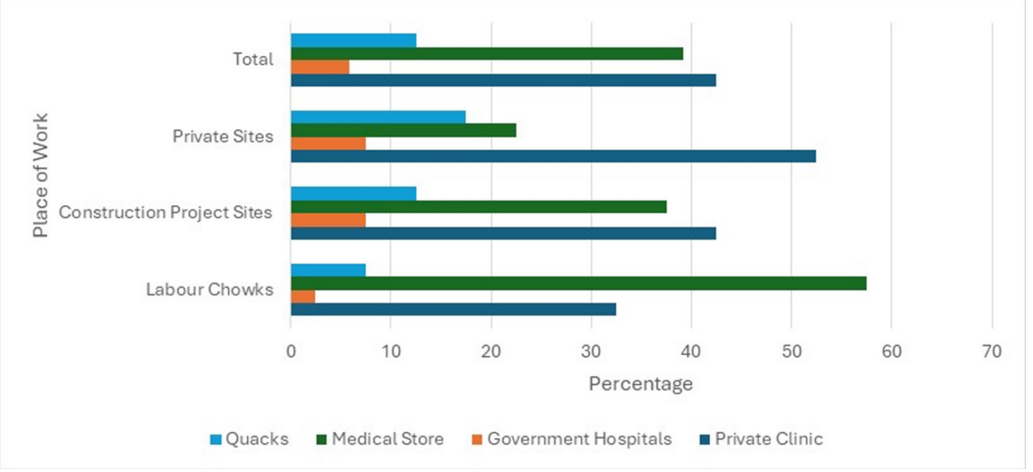
Percentage Share of Workers' Mode of Transport Used to Reach Workplace in Ludhiana City



The labourers visiting the labourer chowk for work usually live in proximity to these chowks and usually travel an average of 3.35 km to reach their workplace. The labourers working at project sites and private construction sites travel on average 9 km and 5.5 km respectively (Figure 4) to reach their workplace. Most labourers depend on cycles (39.17%), followed by walking (27.5%), auto rickshaws/buses (17.5%), and motorcycles (15.83%).

Figure 5

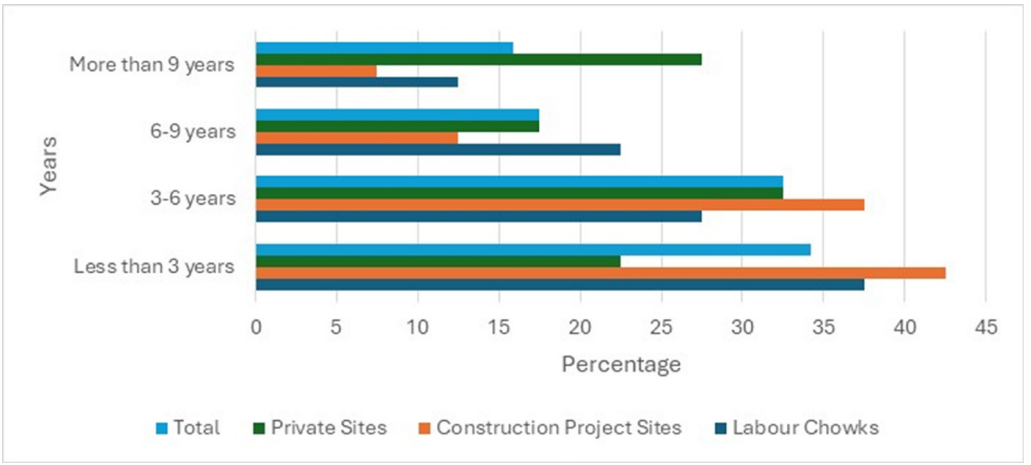
Percentage Share of Preference for Treatment of Health Issues in Ludhiana City



The survey data reflect that most of the labourers rely on direct shared public tap water. Most labourers have access to tap water as their main water supply at labour chowks, construction sites, and private sites, with percentages of 92.5%, 87.5%, and 82.5%, respectively. Among construction labourers working, private clinics remain the most favoured option, with a total of 42.5% of construction labourers, followed by chemist shops (39.17%), government hospitals (5.83%) and quacks (12.5%). The lack of government hospitals and dispensaries makes them inaccessible to construction labourers, as the labourers feel that visiting a government hospital will waste their work hours (Figure 5).

Figure 6

Percentage Share of Workers' Duration of Workers in Construction Sector in Ludhiana City



The construction labourers also lack the documents related to their present address. Among all the surveyed labourers, the majority (69.16%) of construction labourers do not possess identity proof with their current address. The government of Punjab has mandated the registration of labourers at buildings and other construction work under the building and other construction workers (Regulation of employment and conditions of service) Act, 1996. Interestingly, none of the surveyed workers reported themselves as registered worker during the survey. Most of the labourers are not aware of any registration process for them. Under the same act, the government has also launched several schemes for the benefit of these construction labourers. These schemes include the stipend scheme for children of labourers, Bhagat Puran Singh Sehat Bima Yojana (Health Insurance Scheme), Shagun Scheme (For the marriage of girl child), General Surgery Scheme (To support financially in case of any surgery), reimbursement of

expenditure for dangerous ailments, maternity benefit scheme, grant for cycle scheme for construction workers, grant for cycle Scheme for children of construction workers, free toolkit scheme, skill upgradation and vocational education scheme, pension scheme, etc. The survey revealed that the construction labourers on the ground are completely unaware of these schemes for them. The only two schemes regarding which a few of these surveyed workers were aware are the health insurance scheme (5.83%) and the Shagun scheme (11.6%). None of the construction labourers has availed of any scheme available for them.

Figure 6 shows the duration of workers at construction sites. At labour chowks, a substantial percentage (37.5%) of labourers have work experience of fewer than 3 years. This suggests a notable influx of relatively newer labourers to this setting. A similar trend emerges at construction project sites. A substantial share (42.5%) of labourers has worked for less than 3 years, suggesting a substantial influx of newcomers. The 3-6 years' work duration bracket encompasses 37.5% of labourers, highlighting a significant presence of labourers with moderate experience.

Figure 7

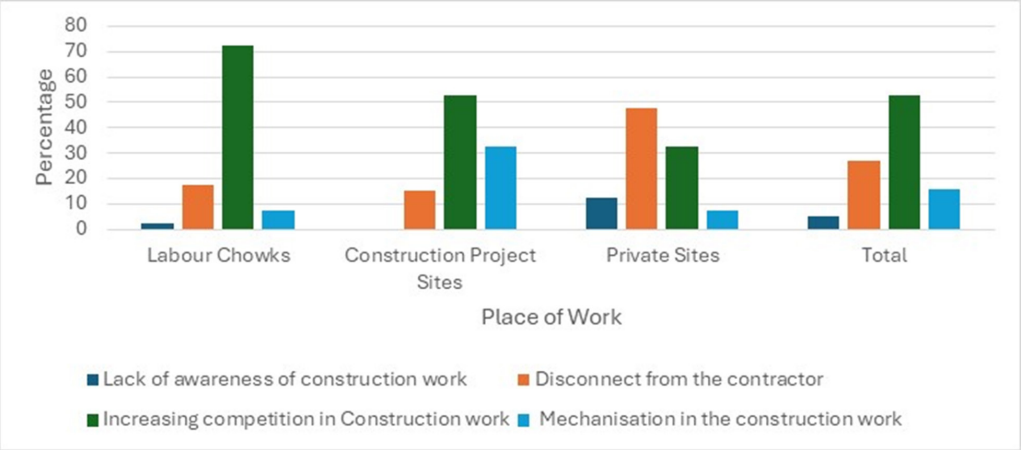
Change in Number of Workdays of Construction Labourers in Ludhiana City

Figure 7 shows the change in the number of workdays. At the labour chowks, none of the labourers reported an increase in the number of workdays, suggesting that their workload hasn't expanded significantly in terms of days. A substantial majority (52.5%) of labourers at labour chowks, however, experienced a decrease in the number of workdays they are getting. Considering the overall distribution across all work settings, the data reveal that a minority (3.33%) of labourers experienced an increase in the number

of workdays. A notable 40.83% observed a decrease in workdays, while a significant proportion (45.84%) reported erratic variations in their workload. Across all work settings, the most dominant factor impacting the work of labourers is the behaviour of the contractor or owner (Figure 8). Across all settings, 65.84% of labourers acknowledge the pivotal role played by the behaviour of the contractor/owner in influencing their work dynamics. The influence of co-workers emerges as another notable factor affecting labourers' work experiences. At labour chows, 22.5% of labourers recognise the impact of co-workers on their work. Overall, 26.67% of labourers across all settings highlight the influence of co-workers as a significant factor in their work environments.

Figure 8

Cause of Decline in Number of Workdays of Construction Labourers in Ludhiana City



Discussion

The study reveals distinct variations in the average age of labourers across different types of construction sites. Labour Chowks often serve as entry points into the construction sector. The labourers here experience equitable chances of selection by contractors or builders, which encourages a natural influx of new, often younger, labourers. Over time, as labourers gain experience and build networks, many transition from Labour Chowks to direct engagement with contractors or builders. The present study shows that most labourers belong to the Scheduled Caste and Other Backward classes of the society. Deshingkar & Start (2003) have shown that migrants are predominantly from the lower social strata of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, and most of them are illiterate, landless labourers and marginal farmers.

The labourers' distribution across site types demonstrates notable demographic patterns. The survey data indicate that native Punjabi labourers primarily occupy Labour Chowks and private construction sites. In contrast, large-scale construction project sites tend to attract labourers from other states, particularly Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This trend suggests a recruitment network wherein labourers at project sites often encourage peers from their native regions to join them, facilitating a workforce predominantly tied to specific contractors. Conversely, individuals lacking such social connections often seek work independently at Labour Chowks.

Labourers experience the fewest workdays due to high competition relative to job availability, which results in reduced workdays per labourer. This competition is exacerbated by exploitative conditions, such as abusive treatment and delayed or partial wage payments. Labourers at project sites benefit from more stable employment, often remaining on-site for the project's duration. Similarly, labourers engaged at private sites enjoy relatively regular work, facilitated by broader networks and direct contacts, which also yields comparatively higher daily wages. At Labour Chowks, high competition depresses daily wages, as many labourers accept lower wages to avoid being jobless, ultimately increasing workdays but lowering average monthly income. Those unwilling to accept these lower wages often struggle to secure consistent work, rendering them more vulnerable to economic precarity. Several studies (Hira, 2022; Maran *et al*., 2020; Shewale *et al*., 2018) have also found that the construction labourers are paid less and there is inequality in wage distribution. Tiwari *et al*. (2012) note that the workers were poorly paid in Kolkata with very low average monthly income.

Housing conditions further reflect the income disparity among labourers at different sites. Most labourers reside in rented, single-room accommodations. Desai (2025) in the study of Ahmedabad city noted that, "Workers recruited from the city's labour chowks live predominantly in informal rental housing, squatter settlements and homeless settlements, while those recruited as part of labour gangs in villages live predominantly in temporary employer-provided labour colonies, aka worksite housing". These workers lack access to private sanitation facilities, sharing common toilets with multiple individuals, which poses further health challenges. Healthcare accessibility is severely limited, leading labourers to rely primarily on over-the-counter medications suggested by pharmacists for minor ailments while only seeking medical assistance from private clinics for serious issues. This agrees with the study by Kalita *et al*. (2023), where they noted that "patients choosing private pharmacies because of convenience and better drug stocks; reported higher satisfaction and lower out-of-pocket expenditure with private pharmacies than with other providers." Despite the launch of the e-Shram portal in 2021 to create a national database of informal workers and link them to social security schemes, field-level evidence suggests that awareness among construction workers remains abysmally

low. Several structural barriers, including Aadhaar-linked mobile number requirements, language barriers, and digital illiteracy, continue to impede effective registration and benefit delivery (Sinha & Shalaka, 2024).

A significant number of labourers reported that they find it difficult to give their children a proper education and enrol them in schools. Their children usually drop out of school and take up jobs. A male labourer (Age 37) at a construction project site narrated that "*With the low income, it becomes impossible to admit kids in school. Even after trying hard, I can only afford to send one child to school. The other 13-year-old kid works at a store and supports the family*". Another male labourer (Age 31) at the labour chowk narrated, "*With this low income, I cannot bring my family here. So, they stay back in the village. My daughter, aged 9, lives with my wife and attends government school.*" The case is similar in other Indian cities as well.

Labourers also reported that they had experienced a decline in the number of workdays. They believe that this decline is due to two major factors: the continuous increase in the number of labourers and the increasing use of machines in the workplace. The increasing number of construction labourers is due to multiple factors. One of the most important factors is the perception among the labourers of other states that the city has many more jobs, and when they reach the city, they fail to get jobs in the industry. Thus, labour work becomes the obvious choice for the work. Also, the COVID-19 pandemic has added to the number of labourers as many people working in different sectors returned to their native places during the pandemic, and when they returned, they failed to get a job. Studies have shown that the lockdown triggered a mass exodus of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers from urban centres, and upon their return, many found themselves unable to regain employment in their previous sectors, thereby swelling the ranks of construction labourers (Dandekar & Ghai, 2020; Singh *et al*., 2020; Samaddar, 2020). A labourer aged 38 narrated at Labourer Chowk, "*Before the COVID pandemic, I used to work at a small shop. I returned to my village during the pandemic, but when I came back, I was not able to get a job; thus, I started coming to this place to get some income*."

The labourers also face challenges working with the contractors. They feel that the behaviour of the contractors impacts their work. One male labourer, aged 29, at Labourer Chowk, narrated, "*We are treated like animals by the contractor. We are forced to work very hard and complete the work soon. They want us to complete the work of several days in one day. We are left so exhausted after the day ends that we become unable to work the next day. To counter the fatigue, we usually drink alcohol*." It is important to note that most of these labourers work without any safety equipment. Several other labourers also reported the abusive behaviour of the contractors or the builders.

The above discussion indicates that the labourers are marginalised and have not been provided with proper facilities. Even the schemes for their welfare are not reaching them. Therefore, it becomes important to re-strategise the policies and planning for the welfare of these labourers. The contractors or the employers must be sensitised. They are crucial links to provide welfare to the labourers. The government and policymakers should be vigilant and develop a mechanism to check the registrations of the labourers. As the labourers at Labourers Chowks are the most deprived of all, there should be outreach programs, and the government should associate with NGOs and labour unions to reach these labourers and make them aware of the schemes.

Conclusion

The study reveals that construction labourers are forced to live a compromised life due to the lack of support and low wages. The lack of awareness among those who shape urban policies, coupled with the absence of an effective welfare framework, leaves these labourers on the fringes of society. This troubling scenario gains particular significance within the context of India's ongoing urban expansion and burgeoning construction sector. As the nation's cities continue to grow and evolve, the demand for labour will invariably surge. However, without a well-structured employment mechanism, guaranteed wages, and a robust welfare system, this rapid growth may inevitably lead to the exploitation of these city builders. The study demonstrates how construction labourers remain invisible not merely due to methodological difficulties in accessing them, but through a systemic neglect that operates across institutional, spatial, and informational dimensions. The three-stream typology of labour market entry identified in this study, through Labour Chowks, contractor networks, and direct private engagement, offers a conceptual framework that future researchers can adopt and test in other urban contexts across India and other developing countries. The study contributes to the growing body of literature on urban informality by situating the construction labour market within the specific dynamics of a secondary city like Ludhiana, rather than the metropolitan centres that have dominated existing research. It advocates for policy interventions that safeguard labourers' rights, guarantee fair wages, and improve access to basic amenities, thereby creating a more equitable foundation for urban development. By incorporating the experiences and needs of these overlooked communities into policy discourse, we can foster a more inclusive vision of urban progress. There is also a need for longitudinal research that tracks the life trajectories of construction labourers and their families over time. This paper aims to bring visibility to the often-unheard voices of labourers, who are instrumental in shaping the very skylines of emerging cities.

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