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A THREE-WHEELED ATTRACTION: AN ANALYSIS OF THREE-WHEELER DRIVERS IN SRI LANKA'S LABOUR MARKET

BY THISALI DE SILVA



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Thisali de Silva is the first recipient of the Saman Kelegama Memorial Research Grant, awarded by the IPS for her study on three-wheeler drivers in Sri Lanka. As a Research Assistant at the IPS, Thisali worked on education and health policy research. She is currently pursuing her postgraduate studies in the UK.

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THISALI DE SILVA

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Abbreviations

DCS Department of Census and Statistics

LFS Labour Force Survey

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1. Introduction

The existing labour shortage in Sri Lanka has been inflicting high economic pressure not only on agricultural and industrial sectors but also on labour supply for domestic activities countrywide. Manufacturing sector industries such as apparel and construction, and service sector industries like tourism suffer from labour shortages that the country is currently experiencing. The shortage of people in some industries, such as the construction sector, is attributed to the reluctance of youth to take up this type of employment (Praveen et al. (2016)).

The labour shortages in the market have resulted in the importation of labour by some companies such as the China Harbour Engineering Company (CHEC), which hires workers from China. Amidst the above-mentioned labour shortages, many have entered the labour market as three-wheeler drivers. It is questionable why these people have chosen employment as a three-wheeler driver. This study attempts to identify the attractions of the three-wheeler market over employment in other industries.

Why are youth attracted to the three-wheeler sector? What is special about the sector? The answers to these questions can provide insights into some prominent facets of the labour market challenges faced by the country. Policymakers have attempted to intervene and restrict expansion of the three-wheeler market by imposing a minimum age criterion on three-wheeler drivers.

However, this proposal to restrict the hiring of people below 35 years of age as three-wheeler

drivers was rejected, as promoters of economic freedom criticised the age limit including a former Minister of Finance. Thus, the President and the Cabinet of Ministers revoked the gazette notification that was issued.

Ginige (2018) argued that three-wheeler drivers are the most efficient self-employers without being a burden by not depending on the government for jobs. However, reasons such as the high number of road accidents and complaints on undisciplined driving practices of three-wheeler drivers were cited as primary reasons for the need for such regulation.

Another main concern was the lack of interest in young people in obtaining vocational training in other industries, thereby not acquiring skills that make them eligible for employment opportunities that are in demand.

This paper argues that all citizens should have the freedom to choose the occupation of their choice. Any attempts to lure workers to other prospective sectors should be carried out by making those sectors more attractive to the employees and the demands of the job market.

The focus of this study is to identify the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of three-wheeler drivers and to identify the factors that attract young people to choose the three-wheeler sector.

2. Research Problem

There is an ongoing discussion that the expansion of the three-wheeler transport market and high youth participation in this field can divert labour away from other industries in Sri Lanka. In other words, when the three-wheeler transport is considered as lucrative or a reasonable option for youth, they choose this sector as employment. The government has tried to restrict youth engagement in three-wheeler transportation pointing out various issues related to road safety, as most road accidents and deaths are related to three-wheeler transport. However, the three-wheeler market continues to attract a large number of workers. This study attempts to identify the factors attracting workers to the three-wheeler market.

2.1 Research Questions

- 1) What are the socio-economic characteristics of three-wheel drivers at the national level?
- 2) Why do individuals choose to participate in the three-wheel market?
- 3) Should the three-wheel market be regulated?

3. Literature Review and Motivation

Three-wheelers have become very popular as a mode of transport all over the country in the past decade. Even though there are many media articles that discuss reasons for the expansion of the three-wheeler market with regards to labour market issues, systematic research has not been conducted on the specific issue. In this backdrop, research findings and journal articles related to this subject of study are very limited.

Job Satisfaction and Income Level of Three-wheeler Drivers

Somasundaraswaran, Kumari and Siriwardana (2005) conducted a study of three-wheeler drivers in Sri Lanka which evaluated the operational characteristics of three-wheeler drivers in small cities. A questionnaire was used to collect data from five towns in the Southern Province and a descriptive analysis was presented. The researchers concluded that the education and income levels of this particular group are reasonably high, though the job satisfaction level is low. In another study, Kumarage, Bandara and Munasinghe (2010) revealed that there is a positive correlation between job satisfaction and income level in this occupation.

For this study, primary data was collected from a sample of 200 three-wheeler drivers and 100 passengers using face-to-face interviews at different locations. Triangulation (interviews, observation and literature survey) methodology was used to ensure the validity of the findings. A case study by Sampath and Fonseka (2010) collecting primary data with an interview administered questionnaire method in the Panadura urban council area, indicated some important statistics about the educational status of three-wheeler drivers; it revealed that 52% of drivers were educated up to grade 6-10, 42.3% drivers had sat for G.C.E Ordinary Level and they earned a median monthly income of LKR 18,000.

Negative Social Perceptions of Three-wheeler Drivers

Negative social activities of three-wheeler drivers were highlighted by Somasundaraswaran et al. (2005) and showed that the industry itself is not appreciated by its users, i.e. passengers and others who seek three-wheel transport services. The uncivil behaviour of drivers and their unruly driving practices are major reasons for this discontent. Smoking and alcohol usage have been noted among most drivers. Three-wheeler drivers are seen as a unified sub-cultural unit of the mass culture demonstrated by their distinctive fashion, vehicle design, music selection and speech (Kumarage et al, 2010). In certain instances, non-regular passengers were being charged higher rates resulting in price discrimination in the three-wheeler industry. As such, this situation adds another crucial factor to widen negative social perception of the industry.

Importance of Three-wheeler Drivers/Hiring Market

Harding et al. (2016) indicated a similar situation regarding three-wheeler drivers in India. These researchers have used secondary data sources and discussed critically the criticisms received from the public, media and policymakers on three-wheelers and their drivers. In this study, researchers have tried to emphasise the positive contribution of three-wheelers in the urban transport system. Somasundaraswaran et al. (2005) stated that three-wheelers could facilitate Sri Lankan transportation in many positive ways. Kumarage et al. (2010) considered this mode of transportation a good alternative wherever other public transport modes have failed.

Most of these studies proved that it is possible to implement proper regulations to develop the three-wheeler transport market. The Department of Census and Statistics of Sri Lanka (DCS, 2014) in

their report on informal non-agricultural economic activities identified that the transport services provided by three-wheelers generated a direct output of LKR 144,163 million, out of which the Western Province accounted for 49% of the total profit as an economic activity.

Issues of Three-wheeler Drivers and the Necessity of Regulating the Market

The national policy on three-wheelers highlighted the need to limit and ultimately stop three-wheeler imports (Daily News, 2016). It stressed that many road accidents occur due to young, inexperienced three-wheeler drivers, some of whom are even unlicensed. Further, Sampath and Fonseka (2010) discussed the high road traffic accidents associated with three-wheelers. The industry, including hire fares, is mostly unregulated regarding vehicle registration while driving license and vehicle insurance are the only instruments of government regulation. However, most operators belong to unions, a loose collective of operators found in a given locality. There are informal barriers and external elements that control parking areas of three-wheelers for hire in a given locality unless permission from these unions is obtained (Kumarage et al, 2010).

According to Somasundaraswaran et al. (2005), not having job security or a stabilised governing body to regulate three-wheeler drivers who are employed full time in hiring three-wheelers, are the main issues faced by this industry. Harding et al. (2016) revealed the hazards faced by three-wheeler drivers in India, such as poverty. Their recommendations on policy measures stressed the necessity of technical involvement to stabilise the market.

Age of Three-wheeler Drivers

The proposal to approve three-wheeler licenses only to those aged 35 years and above in Sri Lanka was discussed some years ago (Daily News, 2016). According to the sample survey by Sampath and Fonseka (2010), the mean age of three-wheeler drivers is 33.3 years. This survey also revealed that entering the three-wheeler market is an easy way for youth to get out of unemployment. Kumarage et al. (2010) have found out that most of the drivers had entered the market two to three

years after leaving school; among the reasons for choosing the occupation were difficulties in finding another job, whereby three-wheeler driving was considered as an easy job or because it generated high incomes, etc.

Labour Shortage in Sri Lanka

The motive of this study is related to the current labour shortage in booming industries in Sri Lanka. Labour is the most abundant factor in Sri Lanka compared to other production factors similar to many other developing countries, as it is the primary source of household income. Thus, labour market issues directly affect the economic development of the country. According to Holt et al. (2010), labour shortages occur when employers struggle to fill labour vacancies because of insufficient labour applying for jobs. In other words, the labour shortage is the gap between demand and supply for particular skills, job, role or occupation.

There is an excess demand for labour in a shortage, but the supply is low. Abeyratne (2018) stated that "Sri Lanka would soon be faced with a shortage of labour - more of 'skilled' than 'unskilled' labour," according to a study conducted for the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2011. Additionally, with many other explanations, the writer mentioned that young people engage too much in the three-wheeler market. The author suggests that improvements of better transport modes can weaken the three-wheeler market, hence over the years, it can be less lucrative.

The labour market of Sri Lanka is identified by many as a market with high and prolonged unemployment and under-employment. Using a countrywide sample survey of enterprises, Ranasinghe et al. (2016) found empirical evidence that the manufacturing sector in Sri Lanka is facing a severe labour shortage problem. The extent of labour shortage is measured in terms of the presence of unfilled vacancies, the longevity of vacancies and the relative size of unfilled vacancies. Labour shortages in the manufacturing sector, particularly in the apparel sector, are becoming increasingly undesirable. Youth have shifted career aspirations from routine-manual jobs such as factory workers and non-routine manual

jobs (such as security guards) towards non-routine-cognitive jobs (such as computer-based jobs) that require higher skill and interaction.

With the general increase in average wage levels of Sri Lankans, toiling in factories for poor wages and engaging in manual tasks that provide limited scope for career progression, are no longer desirable. Lack of interest in these jobs and social perception too are reflected in the current labour shortage, especially with the vacancies which are hard to fill as per the 'Labour Demand Survey' (Weerasekera, 2018). Sectors such as the apparel industry face this issue due to comparatively low wage levels, unattractive working conditions and poor social image (Madurawala, 2017). Three-wheeler hiring, on the contrary, attracts youth, having a low social recognition but a less strenuous job with a better income than the above-mentioned job vacancies in the country.

Thus, one of the biggest issues that Sri Lanka faces today is the labour shortage. Even after offering a reasonable salary with other benefits such as subsidised meals, transport and medical facilities, etc., it is hard to find workers, especially for retail businesses, construction and apparel sectors. Even if a few workers are recruited, they are difficult to retain. As a result, many workers are brought from China and India, while opportunities are opening up to recruit workers from Nepal and Myanmar as well (Abeyratne, 2018).

Praveen et al. (2016) carried out a study through a mixed methodology survey. An importance severity index is used to rank the data drawing on the expertise of engineers, architects, and other such professionals. This particular study directly focussed on the objective of analysing the skilled labour shortage in the construction industry. According to the study, the labour market demand is not being met by the limited number of trained individuals passing out from reputed educational/training institutes. This revealed the effect of 'time over-run' of construction projects. Furthermore, the study identified low wages in local markets, leading skilled labourers to migrate to foreign markets as the main reason for this shortage.

Many such articles address the matter of labour shortage in the construction industry and the manufacturing sector. However, this study is mainly associated on the three-wheeler drivers' occupational choice and its impacts on the formal labour market of Sri Lanka. The labour market shortage can be identified as a consequential factor that can be related to the three-wheeler market.

Choosing Employment

The first 'Labour Demand Survey' (2017) conducted by the DCS showed that half a million vacancies (labour demand) exist in the country. Nevertheless, unemployment is noticeable. The survey suggested the need to improve skills and vocational training to fulfil the gaps in private sector employment. 'Why people choose to participate in the informal sector in Sri Lanka' by Arunatilake and Jayawardena (2010) indicated several factors related to individual preferences, location characteristics, and labour market conditions affect the occupational choice of individuals. The study was conducted using a multinomial logit model household survey data from two time periods. The study findings on informal sector participation showed that disadvantaged individuals who have less opportunity are largely confined to Sri Lanka's informal sector.

The ILO Asia-Pacific working paper series includes a study about the informal sector in Sri Lanka. It suggests that 66% of total employed people are employed in informal work arrangements. Non-agricultural informal employment accounted for 39% of total employment. The gender bias in informal employment appeared to be in favour of males (69% of total employment) rather than of females (61% of total employment). Males are more likely to be informally employed, as are young people and older workers. Better educated and skilled employees are less likely to be in informal employment than in formal employment. Only the service and agricultural workers are more likely to be employed in the informal sector (Gunatilaka, 2008).

Three-wheeler drivers in Sri Lanka too fall into above mentioned categories; male dominated, mostly young or retired people with a low level of

education. These individuals tend to work in the three-wheeler market which is an informal service sector.

Even though three-wheelers have become a very popular mode of transportation in Sri Lanka, an in-depth analysis has not been conducted with regard to the labour supply of three-wheeler drivers. Additionally, it is worth examining three-

wheeler drivers' profiles in-depth and the youth engagement in this particular market. There is a lack of literature that addresses the occupational choice of youth as three-wheeler drivers. Apart from these, there is a necessity to explore and analyse the factors which attract youth into this market rather than that of other sectors. This research is intended to fulfil the empirical gap in the available literature.

4. Current Context of Sri Lanka's Three-wheeler Market

The share of three-wheelers as a form of transportation in Sri Lanka has increased tremendously over the last few years. The number of registered three-wheelers has increased from 766,784 to 1,139,524 (by 372,740) during the period 2012-2017. The registered number of three-wheelers in the year 2017 was 1,139,524 (Ministry of Transport & Civil Aviation, Statistics, 2018). The registered number of three-wheelers by the year 2018 was almost over a million. Even though there is no particular database that shows the exact number of three-wheeler taxis, the 2014 final report on Non-agricultural Economic Activities by the DCS had estimated that only 47% of registered three-wheelers were used for hiring. On this basis, one can estimate that there are more than half a million three-wheeler drivers in the country, equivalent to around 5% of the national labour force. This indicates that a considerable proportion of the country's labour force and possibly the most energetic (considering their young age) are employed as three-wheeler drivers.

Evidence suggested that the three-wheeler culture attracts young persons, mainly school leavers, as it seems to be an easy way of making a living. Another study showed that 67% of three-wheeler drivers are in the age group of 19-38, which is considered the prime group in the labour force (Kumara, Bandara, & Munasinghe, 2009). It further emphasised that some three-wheeler drivers are under-aged and even have not obtained driving licenses. In cities and suburbs, three-wheelers have become a very popular mode of transport.

Wherever public transportation becomes inadequate, people tend to rely on three-wheelers among many types of transport needs. This is despite three-wheelers being considered as an unsafe transport method. This notion is supported by the fact that three-wheelers are involved in the second highest critical road accidents (16% of critical road accidents) with 365 deaths out of 3,097

deaths in 2018, according to the National Council for Road Safety.

“There are more than half a million three-wheeler drivers in the country, equivalent to around 5% of the national labour force.”

4.1 Regulations on Three-wheeler Hiring

According to the Gazette on Motor Traffic (Motor Tricycle) Regulations, No. 1 of 2017 published by the authority of the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation: 1) three-wheeler drivers are to behave in a civil and orderly manner; 2) they should not smoke; 3) they should not terminate the hire prematurely; and, 4) should carry passengers to their destinations by the shortest possible route within the shortest time, unless otherwise requested by them, at all times while on duty.

Further, this gazette contains certain regulations related to the physical condition of three-wheelers such as having a speedometer, electrically or electronically operated windscreen wiper, pneumatic tires and at least one spare inflated tire, properly fitted cover, etc. Although it may not be feasible to comply with all the gazette requirements, where the motor tricycle is used to carry persons or goods for a fee or rewards, mandatory information must be displayed behind the driver's seat so that it is clearly visible to the passenger. These include the registration number, name and driving license number of the driver, a photograph of the driver, and telephone numbers of the

respective police stations where the vehicle is registered to inform in an emergency. Further, fixing a meter is mandatory and it is the duty of the three-wheeler driver to issue a receipt for the hire fare.

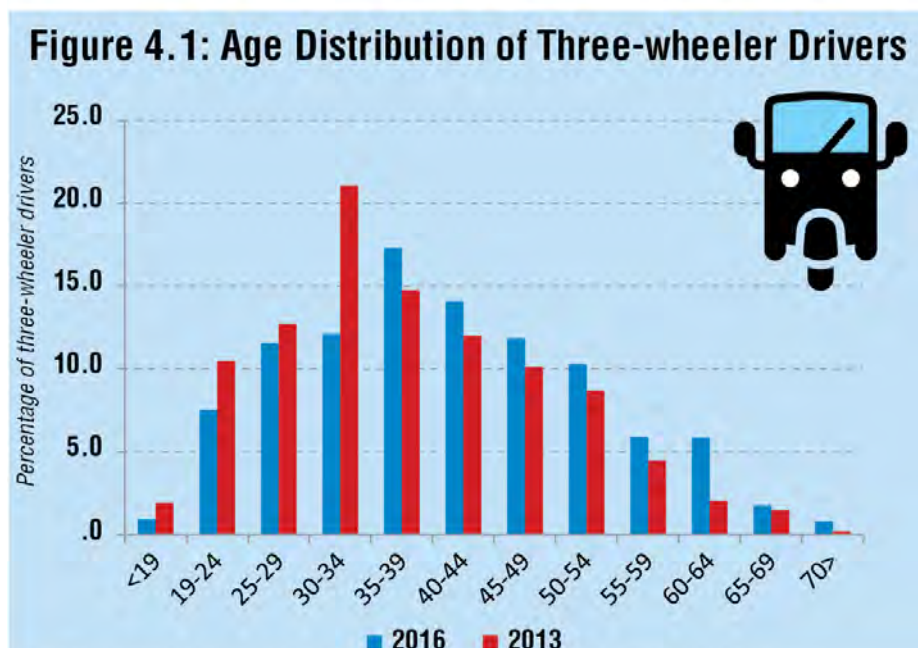
4.2 Profiling Three-wheeler Drivers

Three-wheeler drivers were categorised under the sub-major group of 'Drivers and Mobile Plant Operators' in Sri Lanka Standard Classification of Occupations (SLSCO) since 2011. In recent years, three-wheeler taxis have become a major economic activity in Sri Lanka. According to the 'Labour Force Survey' (LFS) 2016, 204,909 three-wheeler drivers were reported in the country whose main economic activity is operating three-wheelers for hire. Another 30,362 operated three-wheelers for hire as a secondary economic activity. In total, 235,271 three-wheeler taxi drivers were reported out of 7,947,683 employed population which amount to 3% of the total employed population. In 2013, a total of 212,618 three-wheeler drivers were reported out of 8,417,674 (2.5%) total employed. The 2013-2016 period showed a 10.7% increase in three-wheeler drivers.

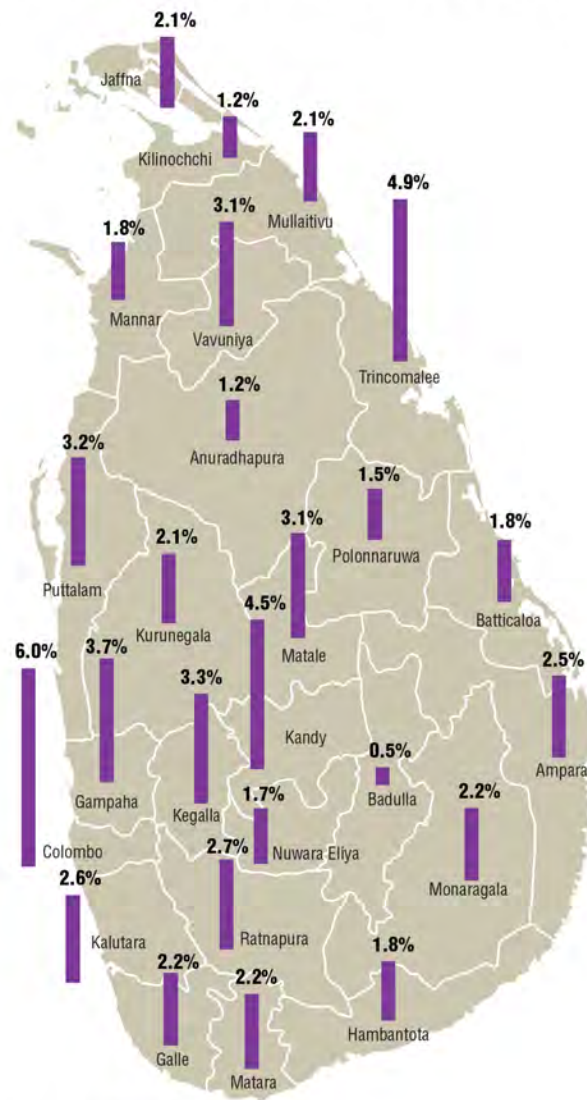
In 2016, according to LFS data, three-wheeler drivers were ranked as 11th most occupied job out of 520 occupations (considering main economic activity) in the country without any filtering. This is

“In 2016, according to LFS data, three-wheeler drivers were ranked as 11th most occupied job out of 520 occupations (considering main economic activity) in the country without any filtering.”

a male dominated occupation where 98.3% out of full-time three-wheeler drivers were males. The mean age of three-wheeler drivers has slightly increased from 2013-2016. In 2016, the mean age of the three-wheeler drivers was 40.6 years and the highest percentage of 17% belonged to the age group 35-39. However, a rightward skewed distribution of the age of three-wheeler drivers indicated 39,138 (20%) where many three-wheeler drivers were youths in age groups 19-24 and 25-29. The mean age in 2013 was 38 years and the age group 30-34 reported the highest frequency (20%). This indicated that young adults and middle-



Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Surveys 2013 and 2016 data.

Figure 4.2: Three-wheeler Drivers as a Percentage of Employed Population

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

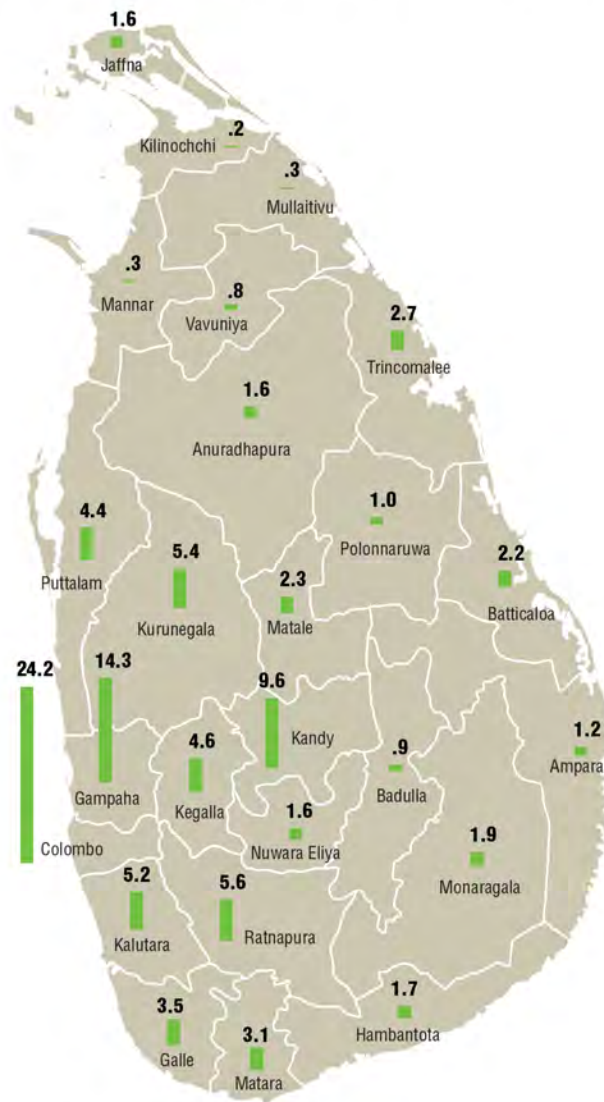
aged workers are more occupied as three-wheeler drivers, and over time, the average age of a three-wheeler driver has increased.

Geographic and demographic characteristics of three-wheeler drivers have not considerably changed during the 2013 to 2016 survey years. Most three-wheeler drivers were from rural areas. In 2016, about 70% of the three-wheeler drivers were from rural areas, while 27% were from urban areas and the remaining (3%) from the estate sector. However, as a share of total employed, more three-wheeler drivers were from the urban sector. In the same year, 5% of the total employed in the urban sector were three-wheeler drivers while only 3% and 2% of the employed were three-

wheeler drivers from the rural and estate sectors, respectively.

The three-wheeler transportation is more popular in suburban and urban cities but there are three-wheeler drivers from rural areas as well (temporary migrants to Colombo from other districts) who hire three-wheelers and operate in cities.

Figure 4.2 illustrates the percentage of three-wheeler drivers in the total employed population in each district. The Colombo district includes 53,866 three-wheeler drivers (considering both primary and secondary three-wheeler drivers) which are around 6% of the total employed population of 904,255 in the said district. The other

Figure 4.3: Geographical Distribution of Three-wheeler Drivers in Sri Lanka

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

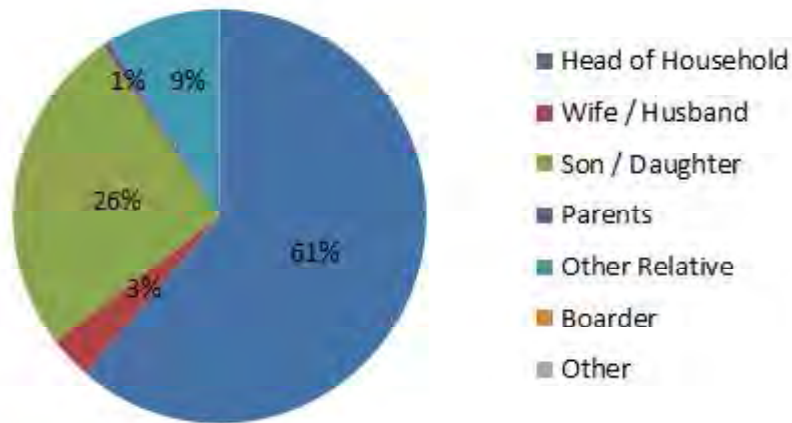
districts with a high share of three-wheeler drivers include Trincomalee, Kandy and Gampaha.

When considering the geographical distribution, three-wheelers mostly operate in urbanised districts such as Colombo, Gampaha and Kandy. In comparison, the proportion of three-wheeler drivers from Mannar, Mullaitivu and Killinochchi districts is very small.

The majority of three-wheeler drivers carry the burden of the family either as the head of the household or as a son who is taking care of parents (almost 87%). About 144,306 (61%) out of the total three-wheeler drivers are heads of their households, while 60,901 (26%) are sons of the households (as most three-wheeler drivers are

males). There are some other relatives, spouses and parents operating as three-wheeler drivers but the other two categories (boarder and other) are insignificant. When considering the marital status of three-wheeler drivers, 82% were married, 17% were unmarried and notably, there were very few cases of divorce and separation. Three-wheeler drivers' position and responsibility towards family were again reflected through marital status. This information indicates that three-wheeler operators are the main income earners for their families.

Three-wheeler drivers are mainly a male dominated occupation in Sri Lanka. Apart from this, three-wheeler driving can be identified as a low skilled job that does not require high education or professional qualifications. The majority of three-

Figure 4.4 Three-wheeler Drivers' Position in the Household

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

wheeler drivers (75.5%) have not completed their secondary education (have not passed G.C.E. Ordinary Level) though 47.2% had completed up to Grade 10. When comparing the general education attainment of men with that of three-wheeler drivers, 0.06% of men who have not completed their secondary education are three-wheeler drivers (94,064). Only about 12% (24,068) out of the total three-wheeler drivers have reached tertiary education. There is no considerable

difference in the education level of three-wheeler drivers in 2013 as well.

Over 90% of three-wheeler drivers have not successfully completed formal professional/technical training relevant to an occupation. More than 80% of them have cited reasons such as that they did not feel the need for such training to find a job or the need to do so, and hence had to carry on with this job.

5. Methodology

5.1 Data Sources

Primary data: A qualitative approach was used in this study. Fourteen in-depth interviews were conducted from purposively selected three-wheeler drivers. The interviews focussed on the following aspects: a) choice of becoming a three-wheeler driver; b) work as a three-wheeler driver; c) process of becoming a three-wheeler driver; d) future expectations and the lifeline containing occupational and educational experience along with some background information.

All interviews with three-wheeler drivers were conducted in the Sinhala language with those who consented to be interviewed. Interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the respondent, transcribed verbatim in the local language and then translated into English. Respondents were selected purposively based on availability.

Ten respondents were from the Colombo district (urban, rural or suburban) and four respondents were out of the Colombo district (two each from Galle and Kegalle districts). The other two districts were chosen based on convenience, but it allowed unique information to be gained due to the tourism industry being popular in the Galle district. Those with some rural level experience were chosen from Kegalle. Two Muslims and a Tamil respondent have been chosen to reflect the ethnic diversity. Respondents with different experience levels and from various age groups have been selected to identify different opinions. Traditional park drivers, moving taxis, drivers that only go for call hires/regular hires as well as a PickMe driver have been interviewed (See Table 2 in Appendix I for details of respondents).

Secondary data: LFS nationwide data for 2013 and 2016 were obtained from the DCS to analyse the characteristics and occupation of three-wheeler drivers. Data were analysed for three-wheeler

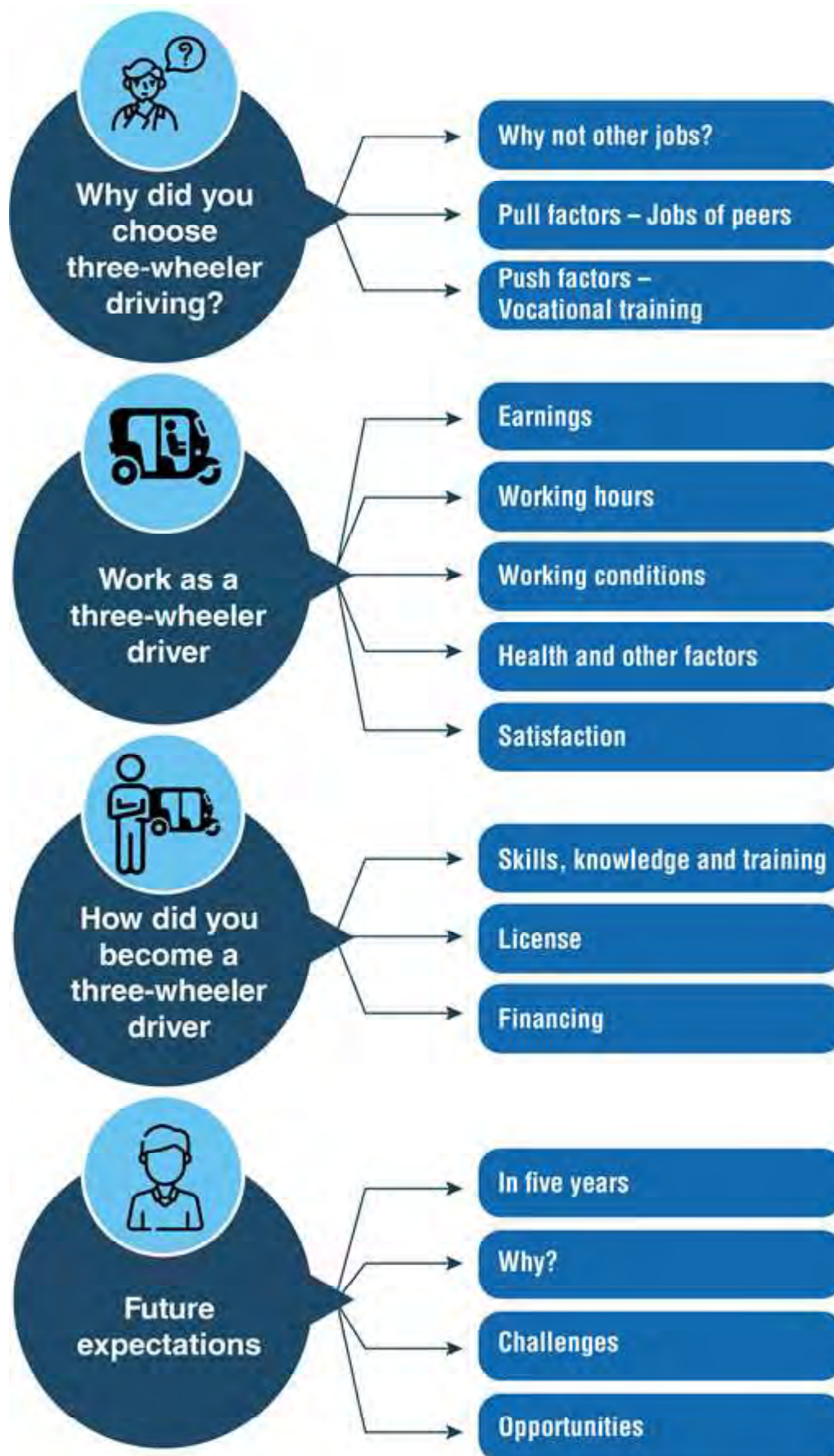
drivers, as well as for low skilled (those who have a G.C.E Ordinary Level education or less) males of 35 years or below. This group was selected as the long-term occupational choice occurs at a young age and the contemporary discussion indicates that the younger generation is attracted to the three-wheeler market, creating some labour market issues in the country. As mentioned previously, currently, three-wheeler driving is considered to be a male dominated job (98.3% males), thus, the analysis excluded females. The justification to select age 35 as the minimum age criteria was also inspired by the government proposal to restrict hiring of three-wheeler drivers below this age.

5.2 Data Modifications

The secondary data were analysed on the subset of 'three-wheeler drivers' firstly, to profile the overall characteristics of the population of three-wheeler drivers (from both 2013 and 2016 LFS data sets). Single and bi-variate graphs were used to illustrate and discuss the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of three-wheeler drivers. Secondly, another subset of observations has been filtered out from the main data set of LFS 2016 including the targetted group of males, who are less than 35 years of age and with a low level of education (up to G.C.E Ordinary Level).

Observations of the top 14 occupations (which cover 50% of the group) were copied into a new datasheet to carry out comparisons between occupations. Actual numbers and as a percentage of the total employed population were taken into account to highlight the significant trends and features of the analysed group. All the values were weighted for the total population of the country, to depict a national wide validation. Newly computed variables from the original data set are shown in Table 1 (Appendix I).

Figure 5.1 Dimensions of the Qualitative Study



5.3 Methods of Data Analysis

Thematic/template analysis was used as the main data analytical technique to examine the qualitative data. As its name implies, thematic analysis involves organisation and analysis of textual data according to themes. The effectiveness in reducing large amounts of interview text to simple categories is a key advantage of thematic analysis (King, 2004). The template of this study is illustrated in the diagram below. Questions for the in-depth interviews were aimed to identify these specific themes; reasons for their occupational choice, labour market experiences, working conditions as well as challenges and future expectations. The important sub-themes were identified and coded qualitatively.

The first two dimensions (why three-wheeler driving and work as three-wheeler driver) were covered from the descriptive analysis using the LFS data

as well. Income levels, working hours, vocational training/education were analysed as push and pull factors including background information pertaining to three-wheeler drivers in Sri Lanka, which were obtained using the LFS data. The comparisons on engagement in secondary occupations, income levels and working hours to identify the occupational choice (why three-wheeler driving) were conducted using LFS data.

All the dimensions were covered in the qualitative analysis. Gathered information from in-depth interviews was sorted and analysed thematically to fulfil the dimensions of the study. The interview schedule was included with background information and a lifeline (including all the training and labour market experiences) other than the above-mentioned dimensions to identify the occupational choice of the three-wheeler drivers. The detailed interview schedule is given in Appendix II.

6. Results and Discussion

The targetted group of the study consists of males age 35 and below with a low level of education (secondary level or lower). The main justification for selecting this particular group is that they have been affected by the formally proposed policy by the government to implement a minimum age criterion for three-wheeler drivers. Accordingly, it was proposed to limit the age of three-wheeler drivers to 35, thus, the targetted group was taken as age group 35 or below. Generally, the choice of occupation occurs at a young age and this group includes around 33% of three-wheeler drivers. Notably, three-wheeler driving is a male dominated job. Approximately 1,115,502 workers are in this group (35 and below males with low education level) and around half of them are concentrated in economic activities in 14 occupations as per weighted LFS data 2016. These occupations can

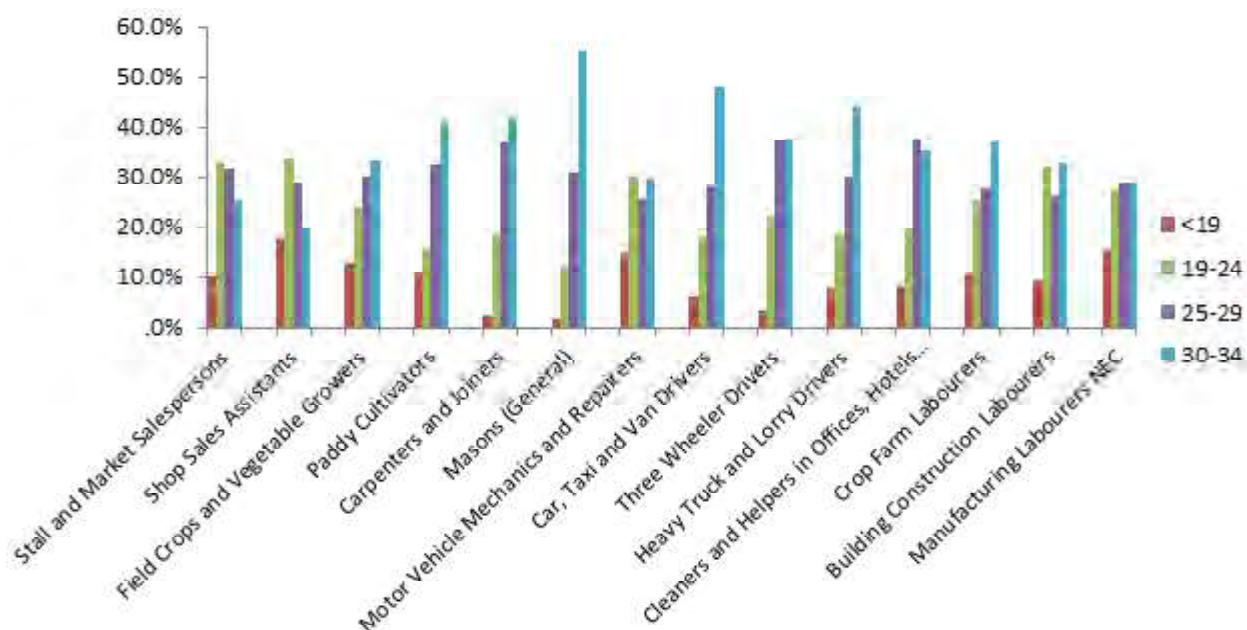
be identified as the main choices available for young males with low education attainment in Sri Lanka. Three-wheeler driving is the third highest occupied job among this group, where close to 9% of age 35 and below are employed as three-wheeler drivers. However, in-depth interviews were carried out for three-wheeler drivers in all age groups as opinions of elderly drivers could vary and be more prudent than those of younger drivers. A mixed group offers a wide range of information and opinions with diverse experiences, and helps to cover the study objectives.

Out of these occupations, masons (general), motor vehicle mechanics and repairers, carpenters and joiners can be identified as industrialised and professional skilful occupations. Field crops and vegetable growers, paddy cultivators, crop farm

Table 6.1
Occupation Choice of 35 and Below Males with Low Education Attainment

Occupation	Number of Employees	Percentage from the Total Employed People in this Category
Building Construction Labourers	79,109	12.40
Crop Farm Labourers	58,494	9.17
Three-wheeler Drivers	56,442	8.85
Manufacturing Labourers NEC	48,182	7.55
Heavy Truck and Lorry Drivers	44,011	6.90
Masons (General)	41,688	6.54
Stall and Market Salespersons	37,445	5.87
Shop Sales Assistants	34,429	5.40
Field Crops and Vegetable Growers	30,961	4.85
Paddy Cultivators	28,250	4.43
Motor Vehicle Mechanics and Repairers	27,057	4.24
Cleaners and Helpers in Offices, Hotels and Other Establishments	25,822	4.05
Carpenters and Joiners	24,551	3.85
Car, Taxi and Van Drivers	24,234	3.80
Total	560,676	

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

Figure 6.1 Age Group Distribution of Selected Occupations

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

labourers are agricultural occupations that need experience while most of the remaining jobs fall under the service sector.

According to Figure 6.1, the skilled occupations such as masons, carpenters and joiners, heavy truck and lorry drivers as well as car, taxi and van drivers contained a large proportion of employees from the 30-34 group. Most of the 30-34 group workers represent agricultural sector occupations. According to Figure 6.1, both age groups of 20-29 and 30-34 constitute 37% of three-wheeler drivers. The percentage of three-wheeler drivers in the 25-29 groups is higher than in some other occupations such as crop farm labourers, building construction labourers, motor vehicle mechanics and repairers, heavy truck and lorry drivers which are below 30%.

Out of 14 interviews conducted, only four drivers have directly been involved in three-wheeler hiring after schooling, whereas others had gained some sort of other occupational experiences. Older drivers have had longer life/work experiences as expected while young drivers have not been much exposed to other employment.

6.1 Becoming a Three-wheeler Driver

Owning a three-wheeler or finding one to hire and obtaining the driving license are the two basic options to start up as a three-wheeler driver. In this study, only one respondent hired a three-wheeler from his friends. Four respondents had leased three-wheelers; out of them, two experienced drivers had already used a few vehicles and they purchased a new three-wheeler on a regular basis after using one for about 3-4 years. All the other respondents have their own three-wheeler. Older respondents who had hired three-wheelers from others were able to buy their own after sometime or buy from their savings from earlier occupations.

All 14 respondents had obtained their driving license before the mid-twenties. However, three respondents revealed that they have hired three-wheelers even without the license for a certain period (around 1-3 years). One driver said that because of the civil conflict, the national identity card was more than sufficient and check-ups were not conducted much for driving licenses during this period. But a couple of drivers stated that several very young drivers operate around suburban areas without obtaining a driving license. This happens

due to their young age or their inability to pass the written test.

Regarding the skills and knowledge needed to become a three-wheeler driver, almost all the drivers agreed that having good knowledge about roads and shortcuts is necessary for this job. Even the PickMe driver stated that this knowledge about roads is essential, as sometimes the map shows wrong settings; apart from this, issues on locating (roads, places) are on the rise because some commuters do not know how to use the app properly. About six respondents emphasised the importance of safe driving and following rules and traffic signals. Four others responded that anyone can do this job without any skill other than obtaining a driving license. The remaining four stated it is vital to improve very good qualities such as patience to work as a three-wheeler driver.

"Needs to be intelligent and knowledgeable. Without sensible thinking, it is difficult to carry out this job because people from various levels of society take services from us. As such, we as drivers need to know how to behave properly with them. Need to know about the society as a whole."

- Driver, 20 years of experience

"One must talk politely with customers and support elderly commuters by helping them with their bags likewise. If we scold a customer today, then he will never come back to us tomorrow."

- Driver, 10 years of experience

However, building up a customer base is more important for drivers operating out of Colombo, as both the above respondents are from areas out of Colombo such as Batapola and Kegalle areas. Even though this kind of customer satisfaction is important in some sub-rural areas within Colombo, mostly in urban areas, it is not the same type of community seeking the service. Having patience and faithfulness are the qualities needed according to both Colombo and out of Colombo respondents.

It was revealed that registering with a three-wheeler association is not a necessity to become a three-wheeler driver. About six respondents have

no any/such type of networking with these associations. However, three-wheeler parks have their own informal associations but some are not functioning. Only two respondents from permanent parks stated that their respective associations are registered under the National Three Wheel Drivers' Association. Some other respondents, especially the drivers operating out of Colombo had no linkage with the National Three Wheel Drivers' Association based in Colombo.

"Now we don't allow three-wheelers into our park. There were issues as well because retired people from the government come here and take hires. So now we have decided to allow them to work after 8.30pm. Two vehicles do not have space in the park, so every day, two are out of work."

- Park driver, 39 years old, 10 years of experience

Three-wheeler drivers who have the membership of these associations allow them with some controls to operate in parks. Nevertheless, in some places, certain aspects are not strictly considered. For example, Godagama park has more than 50 vehicles while Anguruwella junction park has more than 100 registered vehicles. However, moving taxis or PickMe and Uber services do not come across this obstacle. One from Malabe is working independently only for call hires.

6.2 Pull Factors

The freedom, reduced responsibility, sufficient time for family commitments, self-employment without being under the control of someone were the main reasons cited by respondents for selecting three-wheeler hiring/driving as a job. Additionally, some have compared this job with former occupations in terms of low salary and high responsibilities. Respondents from outstation areas have identified this job as a better way of earning in urban cities. In fact, three out of 10 respondents interviewed in the Colombo district have migrated from outstation areas (Embilipitiya, Monaragala and Bandarawela).

"A man has his own willingness to do a job of his own. For me, it was three-wheeler driving."

- Moving taxi driver, 17 years of experience

“Freedom, reduced responsibility, sufficient time for family commitments, self-employment without being under the control of someone were the main reasons for selecting three-wheeler hiring/driving as a job.”

6.2.1 High Income

Table 6.2 shows the average monthly income of many types of three-wheeler drivers (i.e., exclusive three-wheeler operators, three-wheeler operators with another secondary income source, and three-wheeler drivers who operate three-wheelers to earn an additional income). People who drive three-wheelers as a secondary occupation earn a higher income than the income earned by main occupational three-wheeler drivers. Further, a higher average earning is possible with three-wheeler taxi operators as a secondary occupation against other secondary occupations. Although the calculated monthly mean income of all three-wheeler drivers is approximately LKR 26,500 in 2016, 10% of three-wheeler drivers have stated that they have been engaging in a secondary occupation. However, in 2013, only 7% have been engaging in a secondary economic activity. The main secondary economic activities of three-wheeler drivers are skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, elementary occupations including agriculture forestry labours, craft and related trade workers, services and sales workers. Therefore, a significant number of three-wheeler drivers do engage in the agricultural sector as their secondary economic activity.

Respondents emphasised that the income from this three-wheeler job can vary substantially. All respondents indicated an average value range. Respondents who indicated their average income range to be above LKR 3,000 per day stated that in certain instances they can earn even more. On the contrary, certain respondents whose average income was LKR 1,000-2,000 stated that this amount may not be possible every day. On average, they can earn around LKR 2,500-3,000 per day which can increase to above LKR 5,000. Apart from this, the fuel cost differences align with the profits in the range of LKR 500-1,000. These daily earnings are higher than that of other available jobs in the industrial sector but the variability too is high.

"Difficult to set a daily target for this job. Cannot earn the same amount every day."

- Park driver, 47 years old, 14 years of experience

"Cannot tell properly... there are days we can earn around LKR 2,500 as well as some days only LKR 500."

- Driver for calling hires, 42 years old, 7 years of experience

High earning drivers are usually located in urban spots and usually work during peak hours. Moving taxis too seem to be a high earning method. Tourist destinations, hospitals, schools, markets and similar places are three-wheeler oligopolies that have entry barriers and secure earnings for drivers. In the meantime, heavy traffic and congestion in Colombo require more time to carry out hires. On top of this, if daily rentals or lease instalments are added, then the net earnings can become much lower. The PickMe driver and a park driver (non-meter) from the Godagama area had to bear extra costs. The park driver had rented a three-wheeler for LKR 500 per day. The PickMe driver stated that the company charges LKR 75 per day and in addition, 5% commission from every hire whereas he has a lease instalment of LKR 20,000 per month. However, the PickMe driver stated that they get more hires through the app. Still, it is difficult to generalise the income levels of three-wheeler drivers even within this small group.

Table 6.2
Average Monthly Income of Three-wheeler Drivers

Types of Occupation	Average Monthly Income from the Main Economic Activity (LKR)	Average Monthly Income from the Secondary Economic Activity (LKR)	Total Average Monthly Income (LKR)
	2013		
Three-wheeler taxi only	18,207	-	18,207
Three-wheeler taxi as main income source	13,349	8,983	21,041
Three-wheeler taxi as secondary income source	16,042	9,174	24,481
	2016		
Three-wheeler taxi only	27,137	-	27,137
Three-wheeler taxi as main income source	21,501	11,116	31,272
Three-wheeler taxi as secondary income source	26,493	11,791	37,402

Source: Own calculations based on LFS data.

When considering the total average monthly income from each occupation, 2016 data show a maximum of LKR 30,765 for carpenters and a minimum of LKR 15,715 for crop farm labourers. Three-wheeler drivers earn an average income of LKR 23,923 which means that their income levels fall into the middle range among this selected group of occupations. Figures 6.2 also includes income from secondary sources if applicable.

Earnings are the main pull factor for three-wheeler hiring. When considering national data, three-wheeler drivers earn a better total income compared to other low skilled occupations.

Most of the agriculture sector occupations are seasonal, labour intensive and the average monthly income is relatively very low. Construction and manufacturing labourers' jobs are sometimes temporary and therefore average earnings become lower. The range of earnings for these jobs is comparatively low. Jobs such as masons, motor vehicle mechanics and repairers need specialisation on field and experience to earn more. Sales sector jobs are much harder work than jobs in other fields and income varies with the volume and the type of customers. Without much

field experience or hard work, three-wheeler drivers earn almost near to masons, motor vehicle mechanics and repairers and even near to salespersons.

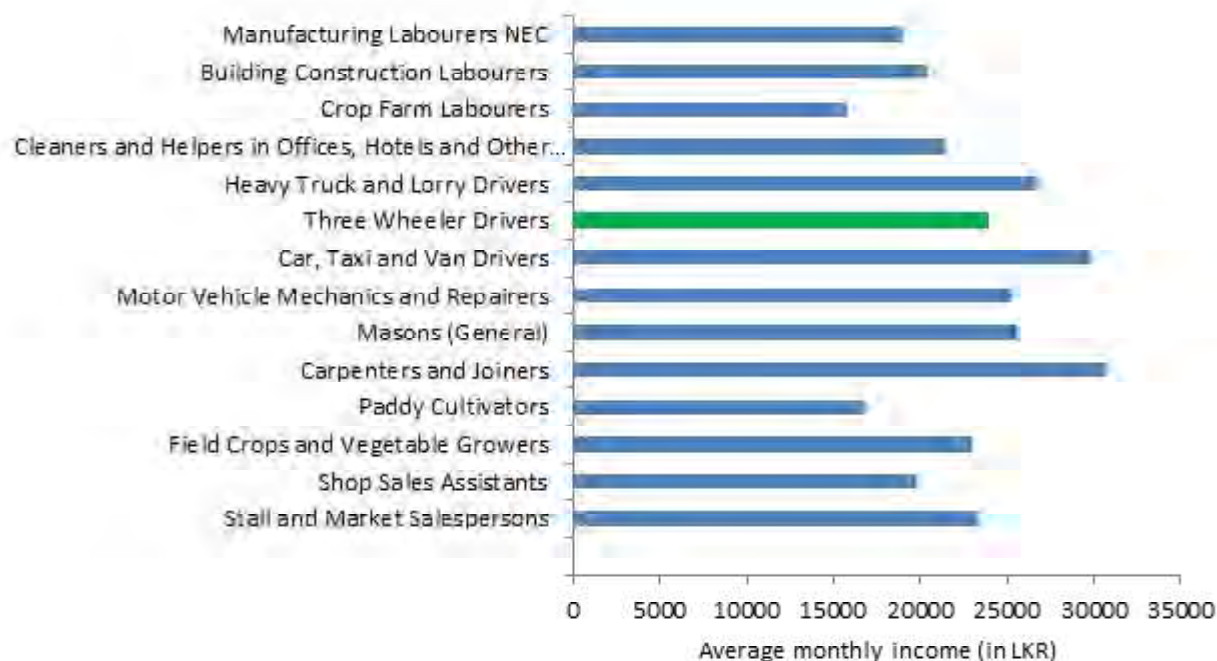
6.2.2 Flexible Working Hours

The working hours from early morning till late evening were common for respondents. However, they go home for meals or to take care of children and related work. Three respondents stated that they work during the night as well, as such, they have a break in the afternoon. One park driver (ID_05) works till midnight but he stated that there is no difference in the charge during the night as they do not use meters to calculate the taxi fare. The moving taxi driver (ID_01) stated that even though he does not work during the night, meters charge higher rates during this time.

"Sometimes I do not work every day. On certain days I work only in the morning and some days, I do not work in the morning but work from the afternoon onwards. I do as I wish."

- Park driver, 39 years old, 7 years of experience

Figure 6.2 Average Monthly Income of Selected Occupations



Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

Table 6.3
Total Average Monthly Income of Low-skilled Occupations¹

Occupation	Average Monthly Income			
	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation
Stall and Market Salespersons	28,668	650,000	600	49,406
Shop Sales Assistants	22,286	250,000	1,500	18,374
Field Crops and Vegetable Growers	16,943	150,000	250	15,258
Paddy Cultivators	17,437	348,000	292	17,817
Masons	27,800	400,000	3,000	18,573
Motor Vehicle Mechanics and Repairers	28,785	140,000	500	16,509
Crop Farm Labourers	14,566	65,550	200	7,577
Building Construction Labourers	20,621	80,000	2,000	8,393
Manufacturing Labourers	17,165	65,000	900	8,579
Three-wheeler Drivers	27,572	320,002	1,200	18,591

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

¹ Secondary income was also added if applicable.

"Sometimes, I can go home after a continuous single hire with a satisfactory amount."

- Park driver, 26 years old, 8 years of experience

The working hours are very flexible in this occupation for all the drivers and they have leisure time as well. Profitable working hours depend on the place/location of the park. A park driver (ID_04) from Kottawa stated that more hires start from the fish market nearby, so 9.30-11 am are the most profitable hours. Two park drivers (ID_13 and ID_05) said that they have more school hires during 12-2 pm. Another park driver from Kegalle (ID_14) has more hires during clinic days as the hospital is nearby. Generally, early mornings and late evenings are the peak hours for three-wheeler hiring, similar to any other transport method in Sri Lanka.

A large variation can be noted in the number of hours work per week for three-wheeler drivers as per the LFS data. Statistics reveal an average of 56 working hours per week in the range of 5-99 working hours, which was almost the same in both survey periods.

Compared to other occupations, three-wheeler drivers have a better variation and flexibility in terms of working hours. Three-wheeler drivers have the highest average weekly working hours among these occupations. However, they also experience the highest variation, as the number of hires can be very low on certain days. In all three transportation jobs; car, taxi and van drivers, three-wheeler drivers and heavy truck and lorry drivers have a range of 93 working hours per week indicating a significantly high variation.

Table 6.4
Distribution of Working Hours

Occupation	Working Hours			
	Mean	Median	Range	SD
Stall and Market Salespersons	56.4	54	89	15.7
Shop Sales Assistants	52.6	50	73	10.8
Field Crops and Vegetable Growers	44.6	40	70	12.8
Paddy Cultivators	40.3	40	62	10.8
Carpenters and Joiners	50.3	50	83	11.4
Masons (General)	48.5	48	58	9.3
Motor Vehicle Mechanics and Repairers	52.5	52	54	9.3
Car, Taxi and Van Drivers	50.6	48	93	14.2
Three-wheeler Drivers	57.9	56	91	16.7
Heavy Truck and Lorry Drivers	53.2	50	91	13.5
Cleaners and Helpers in Offices, Hotels and Other Establishments	49.6	48	64	10.2
Crop Farm Labourers	45	45	74	10.6
Building Construction Labourers	47.6	48	56	9.1
Manufacturing Labourers NEC	51.4	48	80	10.8
Total	50.1	48	95	12.8

Source: Developed by the author using Labour Force Survey 2016 data.

6.2.3 Issues of Former Jobs

Almost 12 drivers out of 14 had tried other jobs before becoming a three-wheeler driver. Running a business is risky and complex due to regulations, and some respondents who operated small/medium businesses shifted to three-wheeler hiring. They had used the three-wheeler for their business work and started hiring part-time, and after sometime, moved to full-time three-wheeler hiring because of problems and low returns from their business. A couple of respondents had worked abroad (Middle-East), which generally involves hard work and working long hours (even up to 16 hours per day).

Further, the working conditions, especially the climatic conditions, were harsh though the returns were good. Heavy work and low salaries are issues faced when employed in factories compared to three-wheeler hiring. Skilled work such as carpentry, mason work, tile work etc., needs some training, and during this time, they cannot earn much, unlike an experienced worker. In addition, some skilled work is unavailable throughout the year while regulatory issues apply, such as obtaining permits to start workstations for these industries (such as opening a carpentry workstation). Only two drivers from the respondents had directly entered into three-wheeler hiring.

However, the daily income is fixed for skilled workers whenever they have work available in these construction industries. On the contrary, the expected income from three-wheeler hiring is unpredictable. Jobs in bars and nightclubs such as selling liquor bring sufficient income with commissions. Still, these jobs are considered offensive, unlike three-wheeler hiring/drivers. Night shifts, handling many types of people and strict rules are the difficulties in employment in bars and nightclubs.

Sales assistants/employees in shops also have lower income levels and are confined to a small place awaiting customers the whole day. Workplaces with better conditions like television networks, mobile networks, insurance, etc., also do not provide sufficient wages. Compared to sales promotion jobs in these places, three-wheeler

hiring allows for more freedom and time for their own needs. On the other hand, operating a school van involves high responsibility and results in unutilised or idle time from morning until school ends. Working for a cab service too can restrict freedom. However, working for defence services like the army was considered respectable even though their salary levels were low. As such, respondents have identified various kinds of weaknesses of their former jobs compared to three-wheeler hiring.

"There were only five of us. Five had to undertake all the workload. Work in the kitchen and front, work in the dining. The salary was not enough."

- Driver, 14 years of experience

"I have stopped tile working recently... money goes to the boss, not for us."

- Driver, 17 years of experience

"Cannot compare the three-wheeler hiring with the work in the army."

- Driver, 20 years of experience

6.2.4 Family Commitments

"The school hire I did was a huge responsibility, and because of two kids and their work, this was more flexible and freer."

- Driver, 3 years of experience

Almost all the married respondents with children (10 out of 14) opined that three-wheeler hiring is more aligned with their family commitments. Primarily, they had flexibility in transporting children to and from school and tuition classes.

Freedom and being their own boss were among the attractive factors.

"As I had worked in the army, I have that influence on me. Therefore, I do not like to work under someone else. It is not suitable for me. So, I had in mind doing something of my own and I bought a three-wheeler. If not, I have the opportunity to find a job in security."

- Driver, 20 years of experience

"The advantage of this job is if I feel I like work, I will work, if not I can stay at home. We can come whenever we want and can leave at any time."

- Driver, 8 years of experience

6.2.5 Influence of Friends and not Having Pursued Higher Education

The influence of friends is another main pull factor of this job. Almost all the respondents stated that they had schoolmates who became three-wheeler drivers. Three respondents further added that their father working as a driver (lorry or car) had made them choose this job.

Not having a higher education above secondary level (only one respondent had passed G.C.E Advanced Level) or any further vocational/technical qualification was common among all 14 respondents. Otherwise, having such a qualification could have been a push factor to exit from the three-wheeler hiring/driving occupation.

"Could not attend further education or any other job training. Selected this job because of financial difficulties."

- Park driver, 34 years old, 16 years of experience

The park driver (ID_05) from the Godagama area is a young three-wheel driver whose father had passed away at an early age, and after that, he had to take over the family burden. Financial difficulties, family responsibilities, and not having proper guidance were the reasons for not continuing further education. As per two respondents, their fathers had bought the three-wheeler, and the vehicle was available when they were quitting school. Another two respondents said that their parents financially supported him to buy the three-wheeler. As such, parents' support to take up this occupation which is considered relatively easy can deliberately stop young people from entering into other vocational/technical education that requires additional efforts, time, and expenses.

6.3 Working as a Three-wheeler Driver

Seven out of 14 three-wheelers considered having taxi fare meters. Still, those meters do not operate consistently and put them at a disadvantage in reliability and accuracy. This condition can create a negative impression about three-wheeler drivers without credibility among commuters. PickMe meter charges LKR 60 for the first kilometre (km) and LKR 35 from the second km onwards, further adding LKR 3 per minute of waiting. Average meters calculate LKR 50/60 for the first km and LKR 40/45 from the second, further adding LKR 2/3 per minute for waiting.

"There are frauds in meters. When 800m is complete, the meter indicates 1km. That's how they show low values. Meters are completely misleading. Drivers request to set the meter as they wish. With the current situation, running for LKR 35 is justifiable. Even LKR 30 is profitable. One petrol litre costs LKR 123, and we can run about 25km from one litre. LKR 3 per waiting minute means LKR 180 per hour... some even run for LKR 60 and LKR 45. On the news, they said the first km is LKR 50 still some run for LKR 60."

- Park driver, 32 years of experience

Price revisions to fuel such as petrol require three-wheeler drivers to reset the meter, where the revised taxi fare will be incorporated. However, according to a park driver from Borella (ID_07), adjusting meters frequently is costly for drivers, so they verbally deduct LKR 10 from the customer's total fare. Therefore, if the petrol price increases again, three-wheeler drivers do not need to re-adjust the meter. Even though the government had made the meter compulsory, most three-wheelers operating out of Colombo and sub-rural areas within Colombo do not have meters.

Ten out of 14 respondents have permanent parks, even though a couple of drivers work more for call hires. A permanent park system too has its weaknesses. There are 10-15 three-wheelers

parked at a park most of the time. All 10 respondents from parks said that usually they return to the park after completing a hire. Seven out of these ten respondents operate according to their turn in the parks. This way, sometimes three-wheeler drivers waste about one hour in the park until their next turn comes. The time they waste is less during peak hours. One driver in a park who does not take turns said that sometimes they wait for even 2-3 hours until the next turn.

"Sometimes it can be only 10-15 minutes and sometimes had to wait for one or half an hour. It depends on the luck of the day and the number of vehicles."

- Park driver, 12 years of experience

However, respondents of parks from Colombo city areas said that if they get hires on the way, they accept these. Park driver (ID_04) noted that there were days where he never returned to the park. But drivers from rural areas stated that there are more chances to get hires while returning to the park. As for the situation out of Colombo, the story is interesting.

"Here, it is different than Colombo. There they charge even for one halt. They finish one hire, and if another person signals by hand, it is another hire. In villages, it is not like that. After we complete one hire and while returning, we take any commuter on the road, even they raise the hand or not. And we do not expect money for that."

- Park driver, 20 years of experience

Park drivers (ID_13 and ID_14) responded with a similar idea regarding the return trip. Moving taxis and PickMe do not usually have return trips. Meters and waiting costs indicate the extent of commercialisation of the industry, moving out from social-friendly transport service. However, the same respondent opined that the taxi services might suit (moving system) for bustling cities.

"Taxi service may suit for towns but not for villages. If we take a patient from Batapola to Karapitiya hospital, that person calls us even

before the time. We have to stay for 2, 3 hours, as we cannot leave the patient there. If we have promised a charge of LKR 1,500 for this hire for this person from the village even if we waste 3 hours there, no one will pay that. We too cannot charge from that person as well."

- Park driver, 20 years of experience

Except for one respondent, a boarded driver, all the others take meals from home. Even the PickMe driver brings lunch from home. Another two respondents buy their breakfast outside of their homes from an eatery. Mainly, this is an advantage for drivers staying at parks. They go home for all three meals as parks are close to their homes.

Many respondents, even some of the middle-aged respondents, revealed that they had not undergone diagnosis testing for non-communicable diseases (NCDs). Only two drivers (both from the Galle district) who have tested beforehand stated that they do not have NCDs. Three have been diagnosed with diabetes, hypertension, cholesterol and cardiac attacks (one or more), and two are regularly taking medicine for similar diseases. But one respondent had discontinued medication and said that he is controlling the diet as an option.

6.4 Job Satisfaction

Only two respondents were not much satisfied with the occupation. In contrast, all the others were satisfied with the income, flexibility and freedom. Only three respondents said they like to do another job if they get an opportunity.

"This is the most satisfying and enjoyable occupation for me. There is no more happiness for me than this."

- Park driver, 59 years old, 32 years of experience

"Now almost fed-up with this job because of heavy traffic in Colombo city. Many three-wheelers from outstation areas enter daily to Colombo city, which makes things difficult for us. Most three-wheelers on Colombo roads are not from the Western province (WP).²"

² Abbreviation for the Western Province as indicated in number plates of vehicles.

- Park driver, 47 years old, 14 years of experience

Future expectations of young and old respondents indicated a mixed response. Some elderly drivers had fulfilled their life expectations from this occupation. Some middle-aged drivers were willing to educate their children well. Some drivers wish to set aside savings for the future as there are no pension or retirement benefits from this job when they age and stop working. On the other hand, some young drivers had greater expectations of building a career path or taking up more work. All in all, they were enjoying this job and did not wish to do any drastically different jobs in other sectors.

"Hoping to find some sort of government job, where employees are also free and can obtain loans as well."

- PickMe driver, 23 years old

"Father has bought another lorry, so hoping to work with that."

- Park driver, 26 years old

"Like to do some vegetable business if I get a chance to go abroad, I will go."

- Park driver, 34 years old

"Think of doing this work only. Have an idea to buy another vehicle."

- Moving taxi driver, 38 years old

6.5 Challenges

Three-wheeler drivers mainly face four types of issues during work; receiving the hire fee from the commuter, troubles associated with alcoholic/drunk people during nighttime, smuggling/robbing and risk of transporting illegal goods. Although a few drivers shared their own experiences on challenges while others stated issues, they have got to know these through their friends. According to them, some commuters argue over the price and even complain about meters saying that the three-wheeler drivers charge high amounts. In addition, some commuters cheat and escape, defaulting the taxi fare.

"One day a man asked to stop by a shop to buy something, he went in and did not come back. I went in and checked, but he had gone away from the other door."

"Young drivers had greater expectations of building a career path or taking up more work. All in all, they were enjoying this job and did not wish to do any drastically different jobs in other sectors."

- Moving taxi driver, 37 years old, 3 years of experience

Two very experienced park drivers (ID_10 and ID_08) from central areas of Colombo said that they perceive commuters through their behaviour and language. For example, if they feel uncertain about whether the commuter has money to pay for the hire, the driver would stop by a fuel station and request money for fuel. This way, they could get rid of the commuter as soon as possible if he has no money to pay for the hire.

The troubles arising from alcoholic/drunk people occur at night. Some drivers manage to avoid them. However, some commuters quarrel and shout at the drivers when drivers try to avoid them. Sometimes, drunk men will damage sun-guards and similar parts of the three-wheelers.

"Once, a drunk person hit me. I did not want to accept his hire as he behaved strangely. So, he hit me and ran away."

- Park driver, 47 years old with 14 years of experience

Well organised groups of robbers and smugglers was another problem.

"During the war, it was frightening. Those smugglers call for hires away from Colombo, which is how they do their trick. Once, someone tried to rob my vehicle. Fortunately, I was able to escape."

- Park driver, 59 years old with 32 years of experience

Narcotics, drug dealings and even ganja trafficking at night happen using three-wheelers. Hence, this type of illegal activity poses a high risk to carry out this occupation as a three-wheeler driver.

"Once, I got caught by the police transporting a person with ganja. We don't check the commuters when they get in. So, the police took us into custody. I told the police that I work in the park; luckily, a policeman knew me. They checked whether I had contact with the suspect through the phone. So I was released."

- Park driver, 39 years old, 7 years of experience

Another driver from Colombo stated that traffic and heat during the daytime make the job difficult.

Respondents explained that there are many challenges to the three-wheeler occupation. Most prudent respondents did not recommend young generations to enter this market. The main challenge identified was the increasing number of vehicles. Nowadays, most households have at least a scooter or a bike. Respondents with more than 10 years of experience stated that they do not get hires as much as they did in the past. The increase of the total vehicle population and the increasing number of three-wheelers for hires restrict existing drivers' earning potential and income levels. The emergence of PickMe, Uber, and other taxis have removed the entry barriers, and the commuters are attracted to these app-based methods. However, this is only applicable in the Colombo city areas, suburban areas in Colombo and probably in other big cities. Drivers from outstations have pointed out challenges such as the risk of narcotics, drugs and gangs. Further, some respondents identified the rising purchase price of a three-wheeler, high spare parts prices, and high maintenance costs as common challenges with the current economic conditions.

"Three-wheeler drivers mainly face four types of issues during work; receiving the hire fee from the commuter, troubles associated with alcoholic/drunk people during night-time, smuggling/robbing and risk of transporting illegal goods."

6.6 Opportunities

Opportunities and income are linked. According to the elderly respondents, they worked during the night when they had more family/household expenses and needed extra income. As such, the pay increases with the effort of these drivers.

"When we take people to hotels, we can receive commissions. We have broker opportunities as well where we can find people for rented houses and will get a commission from the owner."

- Park driver, 39 years old, 7 years of experience

"Hotels call us when the guests³ need to get around."

- Calling hires and park driver, 45 years old, 25 years of experience

When considering the opportunities available for newcomers and youngsters into the three-wheeler market, many respondents from outstations and some experienced drivers from Colombo shared pessimistic viewpoints. They opined that this is not a lucrative job for youngsters anymore. But young respondents and high income earning moving taxi drivers did not have these opinions.

"It is difficult to proceed with the current situation. The number of vehicles is rising day by day. Now

³ Referring to tourists in Hikkaduwa area.

there are a lesser number of hires than in the past. This will not be helpful for newcomers."

- Driver from Homagama, 12 years of experience

"This job is better for someone with children and family commitments and people after 35-40 years. Youngsters need to learn and do something more fruitful."

- Driver from Batapola, 20 years of experience

"When youngsters used to touch money daily, they will not work for monthly salaries. This job is not suitable now. It is not easy to maintain a family. Nowadays there are several things to do and hence, need to pay for many expenses. The three-wheeler driving job is better for someone older as they cannot obtain other jobs or work hard."

- Driver from Maradana, 38 years of experience

"Now, this job is difficult. After O/Ls, people buy a three-wheeler, and while roaming, if a passenger gets in, he will give some money as the taxi fare. So that youth will not be directed to any other technical course or even learn any mechanical work. In my view, he will assume that this three-wheeler driving job is easy and better."

- Driver from Kegalle, 7 years of experience

"This is not suitable for those with some kind of education as they can find a better job. It is useless to waste time in these towns. Since our

early ages, we have been here in towns so we know how to behave. But youngsters fall into the bajar,⁴ and can easily get addicted to drugs and alcohol. Going here and there in a three-wheeler with friends is a reason for more accidents as well, driving senselessly...."

- Driver from Anguruwella, 15 years of experience

"There is no benefit from three-wheeler hiring now. The number of vehicles is increasing day by day. We do not have many hires from houses now and can earn something only from guests. It is difficult to earn even LKR 1,000 during the offseason."

- Driver from Hikkaduwa, 25 years of experience

"Because of young boys of 18-20 years entering the market, this job is becoming dangerous. They do not have enough knowledge about society. If the situation improves and becomes better, then it is fine. But the younger generation these days tend to fall into harmful aspects. First, cigarettes, then, more than that. Coming to a three-wheeler park is freedom.... the mother or father get into debt and buy a three-wheeler, then the son will do unworthy things. I have seen that even older drivers drag youngsters into these. The government needs to guide these youth for free if possible, soon after schooling through some training centres..."

- Driver from Batapola, 20 years of experience

⁴ Colloquial usage for ganging in cities.

7. Conclusions

The three-wheeler market has been expanding tremendously, especially in the urban areas of Sri Lanka, providing a para-transit service for many commuters. The LFS analysis revealed a 10.8% increase in three-wheeler drivers during the 2013-2016 period, and three-wheeler drivers ranked 11th as the most occupied out of 520 occupational categories in Sri Lanka. It is a male-dominated service and one of the top three most occupied jobs for young males with low skills. While the most energetic group of the national labour force was in the three-wheeler industry, a labour shortage existed in other sectors, prompting the government to impose minimum age criteria on three-wheeler hiring. However, national statistics and this study results show that 30-40 years males primarily capture this industry but with considerable youth participation.

Over time, three-wheeler drivers' socio-economic and demographic factors have affected their occupational choice. For example, more than 75% of three-wheeler drivers have low education attainment below O/L (only secondary education) and have not completed formal or technical training. However, police stations in nearby areas are trying to provide awareness and training to three-wheeler drivers, especially on road safety and passenger transportation. In addition, most of the three-wheeler drivers carry the family's burden as the head of the household and commonly as the only income earner of the family. Therefore, they can earn a sufficient income while taking care of themselves and family commitments.

Even though three-wheeler drivers are mainly in the Colombo district, 70% are from rural areas (as per the administrative definition). District distribution shows more demand for three-wheeler drivers in developed cities. Many drivers come to Colombo from suburban/ rural areas daily to find hires to earn a better income.

High income and flexible working hours are prominent pull factors of this occupation among most other available, low-skilled occupations. According to the respondents, the income levels

“It is noteworthy that on-the-spot-cash from three-wheeler hiring attracts more youth into this market compared to industrial occupations.”

of three-wheeler drivers vary according to the time and the place they work and the method they use (moving taxis, calling hires, etc.). Average earnings of three-wheeler drivers are above the earning of industrial/agricultural labourers and stall/salespersons, but the variability is also high, meaning that they could earn very little when conditions are poor or not favourable.

Furthermore, they can earn near that of highly skilled, more labour-intensive occupations such as masons/mechanical repairers. Part-time three-wheeler hiring is a profitable secondary occupation, especially with the possibility of earning comparatively more during night hours. However, when focussing on income, it was identified that receiving money/income daily is more attractive than monthly wages, but can overestimate their profits. Even though drivers deduct daily fuel cost and lease/rent (if applicable), when determining their profits, maintenance, depreciation of the vehicle and replacement costs of vehicle parts are not taken into consideration. It is noteworthy that on-the-spot-cash from three-wheeler hiring attracts more youth into this market compared to industrial occupations.

The national-level data show that three-wheeler hiring is one of the most /highly occupied jobs for young and middle-aged males in Sri Lanka. Young

people with a low level of education (secondary level of education or lower) and not having proper vocational skills enter the labour market in Sri Lanka as depicted in the LFS data. Many such youths come from low-income family backgrounds and do not have social or political connections to secure jobs. Gaining the required skills for skilled occupations is time-consuming.

The opportunity cost of acquiring skills for such jobs is costly as well. The initial wages from many such skilled jobs are not very high, although better wages are paid/earned with experience and specialisation. In comparison, youth can enter the three-wheeler industry with little skills and earn a reasonably high income. The three-wheeler industry has the added advantage of flexible working hours.

Switching towards the three-wheeler industry as a feasible alternative after trying different labour market experiences was also observed. Study findings indicated that comparatively, the high-income level was the main attraction. At the same time, many other qualitative factors like time for family commitments, leisure, freedom, easy entry to the market etc., played a significant role in entering this three-wheeler driving/hiring market. Social experience and personal behaviour at a satisfactory level are essential to sustain as a three-wheeler driver. Technological advancements could make this market more productive, especially in the city areas; however, for rural and suburban areas, more community-based service is required considering people's needs than those of a purely commercialised market.

8. Recommendations

The qualitative analysis shows that more middle-aged, married persons with children enter this market because of their family commitments and social experience. As such, imposing an age barrier may secure this occupation for the most suitable group of individuals while releasing more youth to industrial sector occupations, thereby easing the country's labour shortage to a certain extent. Young males between 15-35 years can contribute towards Sri Lanka's economic development while working for their betterment by working more hours and taking entrepreneurial risks.

However, suddenly imposing an age barrier will create many issues and block them from better-earning avenues. Better wages and better working conditions can help attract youth to industries experiencing labour shortages. The government/regulatory authorities must adopt a strategic approach, actively directing unprivileged school leavers to proper vocational/technical training to enhance their abilities and prepare them for suitable employment.

Individuals outside of Colombo have permanently or semi-permanently migrated to Colombo and work as three-wheeler drivers. Youth who move to Colombo in search of employment are attracted to three-wheeler hiring sooner or later because they identify it as a better occupation in the city. More consideration for rural youth is necessary if the government intends to uplift youth employment.

Although labour migration into the cities in the form of three-wheel drivers exists, LFS data do not support estimating migration trends and quantity. Thus, these findings will be opportune to raise questions to address the existing issues in capturing data from LFS on migration trends.

If the government intends to regulate the market by restricting it to middle-aged and aged people, they should also provide some knowledge on revenue management for them to secure their earnings and savings.

These types of interventions will assist these drivers in managing their finances, savings practices etc., and overcome their financial problems since they do not have any pension scheme or retirement benefits.

“Youth who move to Colombo in search of employment are attracted to three-wheeler hiring sooner or later because they identify it as a better occupation in the city.”

8.1 Recommendations Based on Interviews

When considering the different modes of three-wheeler taxis, permanent three-wheeler parks are subject to much needed and timely changes, as these can hardly be considered economically practical. Three-wheeler parks are safer for daily commuters, but these often act as monopolies, sometimes with price discrimination. Furthermore, travelling back and forth from parks to a particular destination incurs an extra or doubling the fuel cost and waste of time.

Therefore, specific measures such as moving taxis are deemed more efficient while the development and usage of trustworthy app-based systems need to be facilitated to minimise time spent on the road both by the taxi driver and the passenger and the cost and human capital. This indicates the possibilities to meet the current demand for three-wheeler taxis with a lesser number of three-wheeler drivers, especially given that presently available moving methods are highly

commercialised and, most importantly, far from being customer friendly. Although a majority of these measures could be successfully carried out in busy and highly populated cities in Sri Lanka, it might be necessary to come up with suitable adjustments for suburbs and villages. More community-based system is required to address the problem of three-wheeler parks in these areas (suburbs and villages).

“Specific measures such as moving taxis are deemed more efficient while the development and usage of trustworthy app-based systems need to be facilitated to minimise time spent on the road both by the taxi driver and the passenger and the cost and human capital.”

The government could take the initiative to integrate all the existing app-based taxi services through a commercial agreement - memorandum of understanding (MOU)) and regulate the island-wide three-wheeler taxi network by registering all the three-wheeler taxis. Further an identification for three-wheeler drivers (uniform/ identity card/ taxi license) is recommended. For instance, Thailand has implemented a similar exemplary procedure where generally, it is mandatory for the three-wheeler drivers to obtain the driving license of public transportation and as per the preference of the driver, the license can be displayed at the back of the driver's seat or the rear mirror.

These three-wheeler drivers will issue a receipt and maintain a fixed pricing method as per the motor-tricycle gazette. Even sectorial/ district variations are advised to be included in policies pertaining to prices for a well-structured procedure. Further, a regularised network will ensure customers' safety leading to a reliable taxi service in the most efficient way. The careful implementation of such an identification system in Sri Lanka will support the social lives of three-wheeler drivers and possibilities will be minimal that they might fall victims to narcotics and illegal drug trafficking.

This qualitative study indicates that the increasing number of three-wheelers for hire and the rising vehicle population of the country can overall deteriorate the earnings of three-wheeler drivers. In addition, the emergence of app-based taxi services has become a challenge for traditional drivers. According to respondents, these methods are not profitable for three-wheeler drivers. However, if awareness and use of functions available in these apps are popularised, the number of hires can be increased. It may be more profitable when compared to a normal on-spot pick up too.

Nevertheless, this might take away one of the primary pull factors of the three-wheeler market; flexible working hours and time for family commitments. Hence, app-based taxi services might not be satisfactory for middle-aged people, which is an important factor that the government should consider before intervening in the market.

The choice of occupation with regard to three-wheeler drivers is not a childhood dream. Some young, financially insecure drivers hire someone's vehicle. This is a profitable occupation for three-wheeler owners, but for others who hire on behalf of someone else, they earn only a handful that barely covers their cost of living. As such, educational/ vocational training should arm more unprivileged youth who desire to learn new skills. In general, three-wheeler hiring is deemed a better option as a secondary occupation. On the other hand, workers who have left/ retired from industrial fields or any other employment finally resort to hiring a three-wheeler to find an extra income that would help their families live a better life. Yet, such

“Three-wheeler hiring is deemed a better option as a secondary occupation”

choices are a waste of human capital, especially when such workers are already experienced and skilled enough to be employed in another job. A few common reasons brought forward by three-wheeler drivers that made them switch to this occupation are low responsibility, less risk, self-employability, flexibility and comparatively less hard work required to carry out the task. When considering the type of work done in most industries, these factors cannot be related to the booming industrial sector occupations, leading to questions whether the industrial sector employees are paid equally decent wages.

Therefore, the employers should be more concerned about the risk, responsibilities and hard work put in by the workers who trade their leisure for an occupation they consider worthy and thus avoid labour exploitation by paying employees the deserved wages. Hence, the wage levels need to be adjusted accordingly.

Overall, the three-wheeler culture can evolve into a more efficient mode of transportation within Sri Lanka. However, more focus should be given to

develop efficient, comfortable and easily accessible public transportation methods in the long run with economic progress. The study indicates a growth in the number of three-wheeler drivers above other occupational categories. At the same time, sufficient evidence is not available to state that the three-wheeler industry is inefficient at present.

The three-wheeler market demonstrates a higher demand since the local public transport services are hardly adequate and reliable, thus enhancing the importance of implementing successful transportation services to deliver better transport services to the public. On top of this, the total number of registered three-wheelers in the country has crossed the one million mark signifying the necessity of regulating the vehicle population, as currently, there are no restrictions to regulate private vehicle acquisitions.

Policy interventions should focus on youth employment prioritising technical/ vocational training rather than imposing sudden restrictions on entering a market with high demand, such as three-wheeler transportation. The industrial sector needs to attract workers by providing better wages, favourable working conditions and job security to ease the labour shortage. Moreover, forcing youth to work in highly labour-intensive occupations will not improve the economic status of these young people as the ultimate goal of economic development must be about providing better living standards for the people.

9. Limitations of the Study

Using qualitative data involved limitations as the results cannot be generalised. The primary data was collected based on purposive sampling according to pre-determined quotas but considering the convenience to reach.

Even though the LFS data is already verified and can be weighted to the whole population, the study focus was limited to 3% of the labour force. As such, this group may not fully represent the total population of three-wheeler drivers in Sri Lanka. Some studies estimate about half a million three-wheeler drivers in Sri Lanka, whereas LFS data puts the number slightly above 200,000.

A broader data collection on three-wheeler service has been carried out: Non-Agricultural Economic Activities - 2014 by the DCS, but thus far this microdata file has not been released.

Findings from the qualitative analysis regarding the price mechanism/meters and the inefficiency of three-wheeler parks were not verified using an observational method or further market analysis. Instead, the study relied on feedback provided by the three-wheeler drivers.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Table 1:
Computed Quantitative Variables

No	Variable Description	Data Source	Method of Computation & Questions Used
1	Age groups	LFS data set	Recording the existing variable age into a different variable. P6- Age (as at last birthday)
2	Whether employed/ not	LFS data set	Recording the relevant variables according to the definition provided by the DCS. Q07. What is the main economic activity, you are engaged in?
3	Monthly income from the main occupation	LFS data set	Adding up 3 variables related to monthly income from main occupation. Q45 (a) (i) Gross salary for last month (LKR) (including all allowances) (ii) Additional earnings during last month (LKR) (overtime payment etc.) (b) (iii) Total income (LKR)
4	Monthly income from the secondary occupation	LFS data set	Adding up 3 variables related to monthly income from the secondary occupation. Q46all the above variables
5	Total monthly income	LFS data set	Adding up the 3rd and 4th variables above.

Table 2:
Characteristics of Respondents

Interview ID	Type	Area	Age	Experience (years)	Sector	Education
ID_01	Moving taxi	Nugegoda/ Battaramulla	37	3	Urban	11
ID_02	Calling hires	Malabe	42	7	Urban	11
ID_03	Moving taxi	Maharagama	38	17	Urban	O/L
ID_04	Park (Meter)	Kottawa	26	8	Urban	O/L
ID_05	Park (Non-meter)	Godagama	34	16	Rural	O/L
ID_06	Park (Non-meter)	Homagama	35	12	Rural	O/L
ID_07	Park (Meter)	Borella	47	14	Urban	O/L
ID_08	Park (Non-meter)	Borella	59	32	Urban	01
ID_09	PickMe	Rathmalana/ Colombo	23	1.5	Urban	A/L
ID_10	Park (Meter)	Maradana	65	38	Urban	07
ID_11	Park (Non-meter)	Batapola	52	20	Rural	12
ID_12	Park & calling hires	Hikkaduwa	45	25	Urban	11
ID_13	Park (Non-meter)	Anguruwella	35	15	Rural	11
ID_14	Park (Non-meter)	Kegalle town	39	3 & 7	Urban	11

Table 3:
Training and Labour Market Experiences of Respondents

Interview ID	Training and Labour Market Experiences
ID_01	• Worked in a communication shop • Ran a school hire (school van)
ID_02	• Worked in an Ayurveda medicine shop • Topaz mining • Done cloths business
ID_03	• Trained and worked in a factory produce electric heaters • Engaged in Tile work
ID_04	• Directly into three-wheeler hiring • Tried a cab service
ID_05	• Directly into three-wheeler hiring
ID_06	• Worked in a biscuit company (in production department) • Worked in a Paper production factory (making cardboard boxes)
ID_07	• Worked in pizza huts, dining huts in Doha, Qatar • Tried to learn garage mechanical work.
ID_08	• Business (cloths), vegetable selling in Pettah • Vehicle hiring
ID_09	• Worked in a television network and a mobile network • Worked in a casino club • Worked for an insurance company
ID_10	• Worked in tea shops, glossary, hardware (labour work) • Pavement snacks selling • Operated stalls carnivals in “Gam Udawa⁵”
ID_11	• Former army soldier • Went to Doha Qatar and worked in a company (labour work)
ID_12	• Directly into three-wheeler hiring
ID_13	• Directly into three-wheeler hiring along with mason work and carpentry
ID_14	• Tried a tech course (electrical wiring) • Worked in a bar/restaurant (selling liquor) • Went to Dubai and worked in a cement factory (loading and later in the machinery section)

⁵ A project carried out in 19980s-90s to uplift development and housing facilities.

Appendix 2

Studying the Characteristics and the Occupational Choice of Three-wheeler Drivers Interview Guidelines

Introduction (guidelines for the interviewer)

- ☐ Thank the participant for his time.
- ☐ Ensure you are in a private location where no one can overhear the conversation.
- ☐ Get the verbal consent from the participant that he is willing to be interviewed.
 - The participant should be provided the opportunity to ask any questions.
- ☐ Before starting the interview, please explain to the participant: ***Please note that we are interested in knowing your opinions and experiences on three wheel hiring and, therefore, please be frank in sharing these with us. There are no right or wrong answers, but your frank opinions and actual experiences are important.***
- ☐ Turn on the tape recorder, if respondent has no objection, before starting the interview.

Why three-wheeler driving

1. Why did you choose to become a three-wheeler driver?
2. What are some of the jobs your peers are doing?
3. Why not any other job?

Work as a three-wheeler driver

1. How much do you earn daily?
2. How many days in the week do you work?
3. How many hours do you work every day?
4. At what time of the day you are working mostly?
5. What are the most profitable time slots to work?
6. How much do you spend on fuel daily?
7. What are the problems you are facing during work?
8. How do you take your meals?
9. Do you have any chronic disease?
10. If so how do you take medicine on time?
11. What happen if you get ill?
12. Do you get a sufficient income?
13. Are you satisfied with this job?

How you became a three-wheeler driver

1. What are the skills needed to work as a three-wheeler driver?
2. Did you go through a proper training programme?
3. Do you have the membership of the three-wheeler union? Any connection with it?
4. Do you have good knowledge of routes, shortcuts? Is it a necessity for a three-wheeler driver?
5. At what age you obtained the license?
6. Do you own a three wheeler?
 - a. If not to whom you are servicing? How much you need to pay?
 - b. If you own one how did find money?

Future expectations

1. What are you planning to do in the future?
2. What do you want to become in five years?
3. Why?
4. What is your ideal job?
5. What are the challenges you have to fulfil your dreams?
6. What are your opportunities?

Background Information

Finally, I would like to ask a few questions about your background.

Variable	Level
1. Name	
2. Age (in years)	
3. Birthday	Date Month Year
4. District of origin (specify)	
5. District of residence (specify)	
6. Marital status	Unmarried 1 Currently married 2 Divorced/Separated 3 Widowed 4
7. Your level of education	No schooling 00 Indicate the completed grade in two digits 01, 02, 03 13 University degree/Diploma & above 14
8. Number of members in your household (number)	
9. Relationship to the head of household	Head 01 Wife/husband 02 Son/daughter 03 Son/daughter-in-law 04 Grandchild/great grand-child 05 Mother/Father of head or spouse 06 Other relative 07 Domestic employee 08 Boarder 09 Non relative 10
10. Number of income earners in the household (number)	
11. Occupation of father (specify)	
12. Occupation of mother (specify)	

Lifeline

Please tell us all activities, trainings, or employment you engaged (with details) starting from the time you leave school giving time durations.

At what time you left school? Month: _____ Year: _____

Activity No	From		To		Activity
	Month	Year	Month	Year	
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

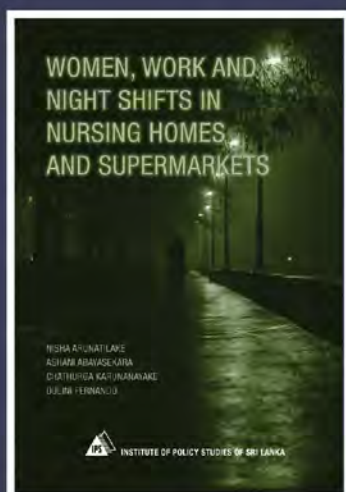
Employments

Activity no.			
Occupation			
Industry			
Sector			
How did you find the job?			
Working hours			
Income (LKR)			
Why did you leave the job?			
How was this job when comparing with Three-wheeler driving			

Education/training

Activity no.			
Education/training (specify)			
How did you find the financial support?			
Institution			
Certificates obtained			
Outcome			
Was it helpful for your employments?			

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