

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

“Because the human being is the connecting creature who must always separate and cannot connect without separating—that is why we must first conceive intellectually of the merely indifferent existence of two river banks as something separated in order to connect them by means of a bridge. And the human being is likewise the bordering creature who has no border. The enclosure of his or her domestic being by the door means, to be sure, that they have separated out a piece from the uninterrupted unity of natural being. But just as the formless limitation takes on a shape, its limitedness finds its significance and dignity only in that which the mobility of the door illustrates: in the possibility at any moment of stepping out of this limitation into freedom”.

George Simmel, German sociologist and philosopher (1997:69).

Humans are perpetual wanderers. Since time immemorial people have been migrating from one place to another as individuals, families and groups for various reasons. History has witnessed substantial movements of people over vast distance for food, establish a livelihood, and find a secure home. The rise of nation-state discourse restricts their movements. As a probable and valuable outcome ‘borders’ are become strictly enforced (Ghosh, 2016:291). “Migration is one of the great global dramas of our time. It breath-taking *empirical* reality alone sets the stage” (Burgess, 2013:1) and these sets have introduced various new reasons for migration. Sometimes, these reasons are surpassing the scope and scale of our imagination. The nature, type and causes of the movement of people from one place to another have been found to be different in different places as well as different times. Though history witnessed the movement but migration became a cause for concern only since the beginning of the nineteenth century when economic development processes, political alignment, socio-cultural aspirations, and environmental conditions worked together to establish political and territorial borders around ethno-cultural communities for which purpose global population flows became a hindrance (Kuri and Chakroborty, 2013: 950-955). So, migration is not only the physical movement of individuals or groups, but it also involves a lot of strains in their cultural, social, economic and other facets of life. Hence, the interest in migration is not only limited within demographers but also to sociologists, anthropologist, economists, political scientists and geographers.

The valuable outcome of economic transformation, the migration issue has become a universal phenomenon. Society cannot claim to be an isolated social hole that defies flows of individuals from outside. Economic and structural transformation necessitated by globalisation increased the spatial mobility of groups or individuals in relation to the demand and supply for labour in any fledging economy. India has been widely discussed for its relatively low migration rate in the literatures which is expected to change by the initiation of neo-liberal economic reform and the influence of migration-urbanisation nexus. The development and growth in communication and transport, infrastructural development, growth of Indian economy and associated upsurge in aspirations have led the growth of migration in recent time (Bhagat, 2010: 27-45).

Migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, each migration stream is complex and to some extent unique. Reason behind this unique movement of people may be by force or by own choice but social scientists are usually taking interest in the post-migration consequences along with their management to survive and adaptation tempo with different values, culture and economic condition under changing situations. Social scientists firmly believe that people do not just migrate from one place to another; they also travel from one culture to other. Along with all these social juxtapose migration is a “survival instinct that drives human to seek better prospects” (Sundari, 2005: 2295). Though migration may take place for a variety of reasons but economic and other opportunities play a key role in migration decision. Prime purpose of migration, observed by the NSSO and Indian Census is the economic dualism among the states. It has also been influenced by the labour market of the nation. Theoretical literatures on migration state that migration is a consequences of social and economic transformation (positive) and individual response to job prospects and wage differentials. Marxist model (Mosse, et. al., 2002: 59-87) and the dual economic model (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan, 2003: 350) both are considering the notion of migrant labourers mostly from rural traditional agricultural sectors to urban modern sectors. Structural changes, demographic changes as well as cities lure, by providing job in the lower end of labour market, which act as a new dimension of neoliberal economy. So, migration seems plausible to be both a symbol as well as an endorsement – one of the most common alternative strategies in the post socialist world and beyond since the simultaneous collapse of Soviet Un and acceleration of globalism and fragmented capitalism (Pine, 2014: S95-S104). Some movement takes place in circular, some in the face of abject poverty are inclined towards urban low level labour market and involve in perpetual practice of comings and goings in a same place or other (Grill,

2011:79-102). The major function of the labour migration is in fact to act as a 'safety valve' in the poor areas and mostly consumed in urban unorganised/informal sector, where rather than being valorised, migrant "becomes re-inhabited by forms of punctuated time," in near future (Guyer 2007:210). Migration is known to be the strongest tool for development provided it is to be governed by humanistic migration policies (UN Global Migration Group, 2015). Whether it leads towards either upward trend of opportunities in destination areas or downward trend of vulnerability of potential depletion of the labour force in the core areas, is to be determined by the nature of the movement of people as well as the consumption nature of the host's labour market. Structural forces create a natural and unavoidable catastrophe that interjects the expected events in the political economy like colonialism conquest, occupation type, labour recruitment, communal culture (Castle and Miller, 2009; Massey et al., 1998; Skeldon, 1997). Neoliberal economy has become a nationwide system in the last decade of twenty first century, which is demonstrated in the fruition of urban informal economy. Urban informality is practice of norms that emerged through liberalisation and also promoted globalisation as on organising logic (Roy, 2005: 148; Roy and Alsayyad, 2004: 26). In India the growth of informal workforce is observed mainly towards urban destinations for reasonable identities in interstices of rapid metamorphosis of urban geographical regions. The neoliberal practice has dualistic approach: first, it creates a cosmopolitan, mobile world for the 'haves' and secondly, it commences world of barriers, managements for 'have nots'. Any form of wringing of labour is oppressively veiled by the neoliberal ideology of economic efficiency and shared propensity (Samaddar, 2018: 7). There is no doubt that the concept or process of informality creates nebulous range of activities in the lower economic zone, which generates tiring and precarious livelihood for so many people. 'Flexibility' and 'flexicurity' of labourers have been denoted as the possible solution to enhance productivity and a mechanism to accelerate employment generation, but the labour migrant (especially in informal sector) experiences provide a crucial window into the origins and institutionalisation of precarity.

In last few decades India experienced a high rate of migration. According to NSSO 64th Round (2007-08), about 287.8 million people migrated from one place to other and distribution of internal

migration in that year was 14.7% (inter-state). Economic reasons have been denoted as the most noteworthy reason for male migration in India. 28.5% of rural male migrants and 55.7% of urban male migrants gave economic reasons for migration in 2007-2008 (Srivastava, 2011: 3). In last few decades it has been realised that internal migrants are several times larger than international migration. Apart from other reasons behind migration in various streams, employment related issues go as high as 62% in male rural to urban migration (NSSO, 2010; UNESCO. 2007). The pattern and growth of interstate migration under the shade of globalisation has led the changing pattern of demand of labour and also consequent changes in the structure of labour market (Srivastava, 2011: 2). As for the present study on Sikkim's informal sector, migration seems to be of crucial importance. In all major towns of the tiny state of Sikkim, migration secures the informal labour market.

Keeping the above noted trend in mind, this research tries to examine the synergy between human migration, urban informal labourers and migration driven situations in Rangpo and Singtam towns in the East district of Sikkim state. This dissertation tries to assess on the basis of a review the state policies of Sikkim in relation to migrant informal labour issues. It also examines the physical and socio-cultural adaptation possibilities of migrant labourers in the host areas.

1.2. Conceptual Framework

1.2.1 Migration

Migration from one area to another area in search of improved livelihood is a key trait of human history. In the other way migration is a social, economic and universal phenomenon in modern times, through which human beings move from one place to another place in pursuit of certain cherished objectives like avenues of better employment, better wages, better working and living conditions, better quality of life and better livelihood. The nature and pattern of migration varies from one social group of migrants to another because of the fact that the rural migrants are not a homogenous group (Mitra and Murayama, 2008). The term migration has been used in a wide variety to denote displacement from one setting to other, from one physical settings to another, from one background, experiences and environment to others. 'Migration' itself spans categories and discourses (Burgess, 2013: 5). In the modern period new science of migration has developed to meet, explain and to understand the reality of migration. New approaches of migration evolved to show the changing factual reality. Migration study is rich and evolved through different

empirical and theoretical contributions by different people. The quantitative revolution in geography in early 1960s brought a new realisation among the geographers which inspired them to formulate theories and models. But it is not easy for them who deal with the human phenomena, because these are highly dynamic and change their spatial and temporal dimensions with unusual rapidness. So the factors associated with the movement of people are most complex. In this context Humphrey's observation is remarkable that migration was rather distinguished for its lawlessness than for having any definite laws. In spite of all difficulties, development in the field of theoretical model building with regard to migration is quite encouraging. Theory building in the field of migration is almost more than a century old if Ravenstein's attempt of 1885 is considered as the beginning point.

Migration is an inevitable process associated with economic development. O.D Duncan states that whatever effects are created by changes in structural factors of the country, the same effects are caused by migration. Thus to achieve many structural aims, migration is the functional alternative for the social change. We can say that migration studies in this way are the science of correlation, where it is concentrating and dealing with different variables of entire society. Theories on migration try to find out the causes, size, level and magnitude of migration in relation with social production, nature of wealth, environmental effects and land ownership. In capitalistic system industrial development took place which generated different reasons for population movements. This migration causes an end of one old class structure and gives birth to a new class structure that is capitalist labourers class. The Materialism theory by Standing gives the idea about the transition situation of the feudalistic to capitalistic system. Classical theories have emphasised on dualistic nature of development (Lewis, 1954: 139-191), push and pull factors (Lee's, 1966: 47-57), income variations in rural and urban areas (Harris and Todaro, 1970), which claimed migration as a smooth inter-sectoral movement of labourers, but contemporary widespread experiences portray the extensive experience of proliferation of unskilled, low and semi-skilled migrant labourers in growing informal sector and raised the question on the traditional views (Bhatt and Desai, 2010). Neo-classical economic theories expectedly explain migration flows in terms of a calculus of supply and demand of labour, natural resources, housing or food. More recent world system and migration systems theories attempt to explain migration flows by applying interdisciplinary methods and systems theoretical approaches.

Migration from India has taken place from very dawn of civilisation. In ancient time it used to be limited within merchants and sailors but over the past two centuries it has acquired different magnitude and pattern. “The presence of the British and the demand for cheap labour in other parts of the empire lay at the root of the phenomenon of migration in those days, a phenomenon which has continued till date” (Rajan and Kumar, 2010: 2). In this respect Fei-Ranis present a process of rural-urban migration, especially for the surplus labour from agricultural segments to industrial segment in underdeveloped countries. The neo-classical equilibrium theory by Revenstien also deals with the general statements unconnected with any actual migratory movement and emphasises tendencies of people to move from dense to sparsely populated areas or from low to high income areas or link migration to fluctuations in business cycle. But these ‘general’ theories are not able to establish all possibilities of migration. Thus, neo-classical model is far from historical reality and has little explanatory value (Borjas, 1989: 5). It seems better to analyse labour migration as a movement of workers propelled by the dynamics of the transitional capitalist economy, which simultaneously determines both the ‘push’ and the ‘pull’ (Zolberg, 1981).

Modern migration is having its own characteristics, where we can observe that it is a free-standing phenomenon. It has always emerged as a part of a larger system, a larger logic, big set of condition as well as in big associations. Tilly states that, labour migration has always been a factor of emergence of a capitalist world market. Earliest form of labour migration was slavery, which evolved at the time of colonisation and the opening up of the new world. As a consequence, a class of wage labourers emerged. In this way the ‘free proletarian’ was born, a class unfettered by traditional labourers’s bonds or ownership of the means of production. Apart from international movement of labourers, they also migrated within the states and inter-state also. This type of migration takes place mostly from rural areas to urban areas in high magnitudes with the structural and functional development of urban space, technology, network and communication.

1.2.2 A Short History of Informal Sector

The word ‘informal’ has been used lengthily in academic and policy context but without any clear consensus about its meaning. If the term is considered as ‘informality’ related to different kinds of networks, activities, arrangements and providers, the fuzziness of the term increases rather than creating a concrete meaning. When (irregular) economic activities (Hart, 1973: 61-89) are practiced by workers of any kind, not insulated by formal arrangements, are termed informal

economy (ILO, 2002a, 2011; Hussmanns, 2005: 1-25). Urban in-migrants in the informal labour market are by and large perceived as a remnant of quite a lot pre-modern mode of production that unwaveringly disappear into the modernisation of societies (Geertz, 1963; Gilbert, 1998: X+ 190). The ever-increasing growth of the width and breadth of the informal labour market across the Global South does warrant a work-out of re-theorisation of such attempt (ILO, 2011; Williams et al., 2013).

There have been various attempts to define informal sectors in a meaningful way. The concept of 'informal sector' came into development around the early 1970s. This term originates from a research-based work on Ghana (Breman, 2016:26). The term 'informal sector' has been discussed much during the last two decades in order to have universal acceptance. Numerous issues relating to the concept and definition of the unorganised/informal sectors were discussed in the 15th International Conference of Labour Statisticians - held in January 1993 (ICLS, 1993) at Geneva and resolution related to the statistics of employment in informal sector was also adopted. Later on, the System of National Accounts (1993) advised by the United Nations also approved this resolution with regard to the concept of informal sector. ILO defines informal sector as "informal units comprise small enterprise with hired workers, household enterprise using family labour and self - employed persons. Production processes involve relatively high levels of working capital as against fixed capital, which in turn reflects low level of technology and skills involved" (ILO World Employment Report, 1998: 34; Government of India, Ministry of statistics and programme implementation, 2017-2018: 1-4).

It is often termed as the 'residual sector'; it provides employment avenues for a large number of people in urban and peri-urban areas as well as in rural agriculture domain. Sethuraman (1976) has defined informal sector consisting of small scale units engaged in production and distribution of services and goods with the primary objective of employment generation and income to the participants notwithstanding the constraints on capital, both physical and human (Swaminathan, 1991: 1-39), but the most accepted definition of informal sector is the one presented by ILO in UNDP Report in Kenya as "a sector to which entry by new enterprises is comparatively easy; enterprises in this sector rely on indigenous resources and are family owned; they operate on a small scale in unregulated and competitive markets, are labour intensive and use adaptive technology; their workers have skills acquired outside the formal schooling system" (Breman, 2016: 27). "Informal would then be the whole gamut of economic activity consisting of small-

scale business with quick returns, low capital intensity, low productivity, inferior technology, mainly family labour and property, no skill formation or merely training ‘on the job’, easy entry, and finally, a small and poor clientele” (*ibid*, 2016: 28).

1.2.3 Re-theorisation of Informal Economy

Earlier, conceptions of informality were elucidated to distinguish between formal and informal sector as regulated and large scale versus unregulated and small scale sector (Hart, 1973; ILO 1972; Moser, 1994: 11-29). International Labour Organisation (ILO) has differentiated formal/informal sector on seven criteria (Table 1) that clarifies that informal sector is a marginal sometimes independent activity devoid of any association with formal counterpart (Chen et al., 2006: 2131-2139; Chen, 2012; ILO, 2007). It can be progressively influenced by capitalism (Meagher 1995: 259-284), which further controls agglomerated market-migrant nexus in different geographical locations – a possible extension of the Harris-Todaro framework of rural-urban migration (Raychaudhuri and Chatterjee 2006: 83-100).

Table no. 1.1 **ILO Proposed criteria of formal and informal sector**

Formal sector	Informal Sector
Large scale	Small scale
Difficult in accessibility	Easy accessibility
Capital intensive	Labour intensive
Use of imported resources	Use of indigenous resources
Enterprise: Corporate entities	Enterprise: individual ownership
Formal skills	Unskilled
Operate under regulated markets	Operate under unregulated market

Source: ILO version of seven criteria. Adapted from Ypeij, A. (2000)

In case of India “the terms ‘informal sector’ and ‘unorganised sector’ are taken to be synonymous” (NSS, 1999-2000). But there is conceptual difference between these two, especially in the context of India. In India, informal sector is a part of unorganised sector. Unorganised sector is the sector, which is basically unincorporated sector, not covered by the Annual Survey of Indian Industries (ASI) and even it is not included in Factory’s Act 1948. Informal sector is the subset of unorganised sector where workers are generally low-paid and low-skilled and outside of any social security coverage. “Highlighting their vulnerability due to the lack of institutional protection, the NCEUS has also opted for a definition of the informal sector as framed by a wide diversity of firm-like

microenterprises: ‘The informal sector consists of all unincorporated private enterprise owned by individuals or households engaged in the same and production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten workers’ (Breman, 2016: 31). The emergence of political economy discourse also predominated research on the informal economy till the first part of the millennium. It has tried to transcend the earlier dualistic depiction of the binary opposite of the formal/informal economies as separate sections, where, it puts informality forward as a component of capitalism. It is enriched with subcontracting, outsourcing practices under deregulated national/transnational capitalism (Williams,2012: 895-915, 2017) which creates a profound interdependence between migration and urban informal labour market.

It has been considered that the concept of informality had drawn attention to the unclear range of activities, divergent, unorganised and practiced in the lower circuits of the economy which provide a strenuous and precarious livelihood for many people. This sector can attract and consume uprooted, unskilled/semiskilled and poor people. In Sikkim, the arena of this fieldwork - based research, the new economic policy of neoliberalisation had already started after the merger with India (1975). From the last decade of 20th century onwards, the neoliberal scenario became a nationwide phenomenon, it promoted lure private capital investment for foreign (sewage plant in Singtam, Sikkim) and local (various pharmaceutical and liquor plants at Rangpo and Singtam, Sikkim). The space of migrant labourers in this new economic era established one critical, fundamental and problematic relationship between migrant labour and give their impacts on emergent small towns. So, it has become essential to know the background of this new economic structure to understand its influence on everyday life of migrant labourers.

1.2.4 History of Neoliberalism

The term neoliberalism was coined at a meeting held in Paris in 1938. The epistemology of neoliberalism can be traced back to “multiple beginnings, in a series of situated, sympathetic critiques of nineteenth-century laissez-faire” (Peck 2008: 3). The starting point would be the event when a group of twenty-six prominent liberal thinkers, including Friedrich Hayek, Michael Polanyi, Louis Rougier, Wilhelm Röpke, and Alexander Rüstow met in Paris to discuss on Lippmann’s (1937) book, ‘The Good Society’. They aimed to discuss on reviving classical liberalism and its impact on individual economic freedoms. They proposed names for the new philosophy of liberalism as ‘positive liberalism’, which eventually became ‘neoliberalism’ by consensus (Mirowski and Plehwe 2009). It subsequently gained political mileage that used to

propagate each year from the World Economic Forum at Davos in Switzerland at global level.

The genesis of neoliberalism is perceived by an ‘Anglo-American-anchored trans nationality across the Atlantic, that ascended from a historical gestation; embedded in the welfare capitalism and the post-war conjuncture’ (Mudge, 2008: 403-431) and as ‘a *sui generis* ideological hegemonic project’ – that facilitates to project and circulate a kind of coherent program of interpretations of the world of market deregulation, competitiveness, economic self-sufficiency, rescinding welfare, controlling inflation, pushing marginalised peoples including migrants into a flexible low-wage labor market regime devoid of unionisation and bargaining (Peck, 2001: 445-455; Peck and Tickell, 2002: 380-404) on to others. Geographers primarily through the seminal work of David Harvey (Harvey 2005) have validated this construct. Inhuman geography, the term ‘neoliberalism’ refers to a new, modified political, economic, and social arrangement which explains market minimal state intervention and individual responsibility. Neoliberalism has also been criticised because it is suffering from ‘promiscuity’ (involved with innumerable theoretical perspectives) (Springer, 2015: 153-163), ‘omnipresence’ (being treated as a global phenomenon), and ‘omnipotence’ (driver of social, political and economic changes) (Clarke 2008: 145-147).

Thus, neoliberalisation is being viewed as a plural set of ideologies proceeding from both ‘everywhere’ and ‘nowhere’ within diffused loci of power (Plehwe & Walpen, 2006: 27-50). There are no ‘pure’ or ‘paradigmatic’ ideas of neoliberalism (Springer, 2015, 153-163) It is a series of geopolitical dissimilarity and institutionally originated hybrids (Peck, 2004: 392-404), plays a significant role to understand the discourse on a conceptual definition of ‘neoliberalism in general’. Regional variation in per capita income has increased in the era of post-reform. Large studies conclude that in the period of rapid growth of the Indian economy, spatial inequality, captured through interstate variation has increased significantly. So, in contrast to emphasis on ‘convergence hypothesis’ that has been one of the cornerstones of the neoclassical optimism on market-led growth, various empirical studies suggest that there is hardly any move towards convergence of any kind, most of studies remark that inter-regional disparities, as measured by interstate differences in growth performance have increased in the post-reform (Baddeley, McNay and Cassen, 2006, Dasgupta et al, 2000) time and as post-merger time in case of Sikkim. “Dynamics of neoliberalism are underpinned by commonsense” (Mudge, 2008: 703-731), meaning quite literally, a sense held in common for different understanding (Ward and England, 2007: 1-22), a kind of political formation specific to market-centric ‘politics’ (Mudge, 2008: 703-731). It

would be interesting to observe that that labour migration has been a highly politicised issue in Sikkim and due to Sikkim's special status in relation to the Union of India (Article, 371F) different areas of Sikkim's socio-economic opportunities are managed to keep in view the concerns of the Sikkimese and non-Sikkimese people. The situation shows that the working class population is consumed in the urban informal sector in Sikkim but it is susceptible to be very less important if they are non-Sikkimese and also are not in possession of the official or administrative shield – state citizenship (RC and COI or Sikkim Subject), part of union and other policy benefit.

1.2.5 Neoliberal Urbanisation – Related perspective of Migration

Other structural approaches related to migration are those of globalisation, neoliberalisation and global city perceptions, which intersect each other and also with migration development nexus. Global capitalism can penetrate into every part of the world through flows of capital and networks. Scholars designated “globalization as the unfortunate manifestation of a ‘neo-liberal’ ideology and neo-liberal policies” (*ibid*: 72).

Since the mid-1990s, migration has become an increasingly essential component of inter-state relations and due to the rapid process of globalisation, the interconnectedness between economic, political, social, and cultural spheres has drastically increased. Spatial development – as a process of structural transformation of the rural backward sector into the urban modern sector (Lewis, 1954:139-92) has become considered as a dynamic controlling factor for the movement of people as well as generating the job space for them. Different research proposed that we are living in a political-economic era where neoliberal urbanism is hegemonic ideology (Peck et al. 2009: 49-66, 2013: 1091-99, Jessop, 2002: 452-472.). It has included privatisation, market rationality, individualism, enterprise and competitiveness (Harvey, 2005, 2006: 145-158; Peck, 2010; Peck and Tickell, 2002: 380-404, 2006: 26-50). In the field of human geography, the term ‘neoliberalism’ is denoted as a new economic, political and social preparation which considers market relation, states reforms, policy revision and individual responsibilities (Springer, 2010: 1025-1038). It was Emiliano Zapata's series of ‘encounters’ with neoliberalism in Mexico, during the North American Free Trade Agreement that placed the term at global circulation.

Geographers are willing to examine the relations between neoliberalism and the vast array of conceptual varieties, such as, cities (Hackworth, 2007; Kundu, 2014; Mitra, 2018: 47-73), citizenship (Spark, 2006: 151-180), labour (Jha and Kumar, 2018: 123-146; Aguiar and Herod,

2006; Peck, 2002: 179-220), race (Haylett, 2001: 351-370), development (Power, 2003; Hart, 2002: 812-822), migration (Mitchell, 2004; Lawson, 1999: 261-276) and others. The relationship between neoliberal urban cities and migrant labour has focused on the locational space of the migrant labour and also assesses migrants as a critical element for the transformation of towns/cities to supports knowledge-based economy and rental outlet.

Normally, the neoliberal dream has a dualistic approach. On one hand it creates a cosmopolitan, mobile world for the 'haves', and on the other, it perpetuates a world of barriers, and management for the rest. The relationship between labour migration and various layers of urbanisation in post-liberal time in India is not concerned about its historical foundation. Historical frameworks have been closed by various macro and micro level Census data analyses, commenting on the trend and volume of migration etc. but neoliberal studies try to look into the links between government polity/policy and migration decision. Neoliberal ideology believes in flexible, competitive, open and private markets. It is actually going through a new form, which is beyond the state interference. The late 1970s and early 1980s were the times when neoliberalism gained its most widespread importance. Different scholars named this ideology as a strategic political response to solve the global recession problem. This concept elaborates the planned role of the urban centers in the present reshaping of political-economic dynamics. Adequate understanding of a definite and obtainable neoliberalism must be explored in the contextually accurate interactions between inherent rigid landscape and the newly emerged neoliberal, oriented market structure at a large geographic scale. The neoliberal restructuring of concepts in the last decades were not able to establish a rational platform for sustainable capitalist enlargement. It is important to discuss the role of urban space in this contradictory and constantly unstable global market to identify the actual existence of neoliberalism. The most defining characteristics of neoliberal thoughts of accumulation is inequality. Towns and cities are becoming the centers of capital accumulation, especially in a developing world, as well as a place where maximum people are projected to live. Urban spaces are increasingly interlinked in this globalised era; it allows huge flow of resources and locational displacement of labour market through the rapid growth of urban informal sectors. It creates inter-regional labour relationship to a greater extent. In this sense the 'migrant sits at the heart of the city in neoliberal time' (Samaddar. 2016). On the other hand, urban space has become a site of extraction and thereby a rental site of survival by extracting all possible resources including labour. Neoliberal urbanisation integrated social challenges of contemporary capitalism

processes, where towns and cities symbolize infrastructural sovereignty. Moreover, it has been also characterised by high commodification of land creating a new form of socially marginalised group of people and high precariousness among the migrant labourers. Sassen (1991), contributed a lot to the 'world city' concept (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982), arguing that nation-state migration from poor to rich areas is not possible without the development of global cities and that migrants are also responsible for the evolution and development of the cities. Sassen (1996) observed that the presence of huge pool demand of migrants is shaping the labour market of any host cities, here, Sikkim as a case.

1.3 Theoretical Discourse of Labour Migration

Migration is an important study in various fields, which not only considers population movement from one area to another, but also focuses on its influence on livelihood aspects of individuals as well as on mass. There is a growing intellectual attention to the field of international and internal migration, which helps the evolution of different literatures in this field. But theorisation of migration is not very strong as compared to that of the other branches of national and international transaction. It is believed that migration is an important determining factor leading to population change. Migration study helps in understanding the dynamics and the level of the society in different economic configurations. In other words, migration is a process of out-of-place-ness, a concept of change, evolution and modernization (Burgess, 2013:3). There is no doubt that migration is the most important phenomenon in history, which, to an extent, sets in motion new chains of events that perhaps shapes our present ways of life and thinking (IOM, 2004). Migration study has always had an interdisciplinary approach with contributions from a broad variety of the researchers, enriching it from the fields of demography, sociology, economics, social psychology, geography etc. (Krieger, H. 2004: 80).

The mainstream literature on migration portrays the subject as a foreseeable and also useful outcome of economic transformation. History has witnessed these activities from a long past. Migration is a key human response to environmental, social, political and economic changes. The world system analysis, primarily defined by Wallerstein (1974) and others, explains that the rise of capitalism evolved with the constant interaction of the entities with cultural transformations across geographic distance. Hence, globalization is not a modern concept rather an extension of the old processes. In the present era of globalisation - distant places have become more connected, courtesy digital revolution, and migration has become easier, cheaper, and faster which is an

important facet.

1.3.1 Migration Theories in Geography

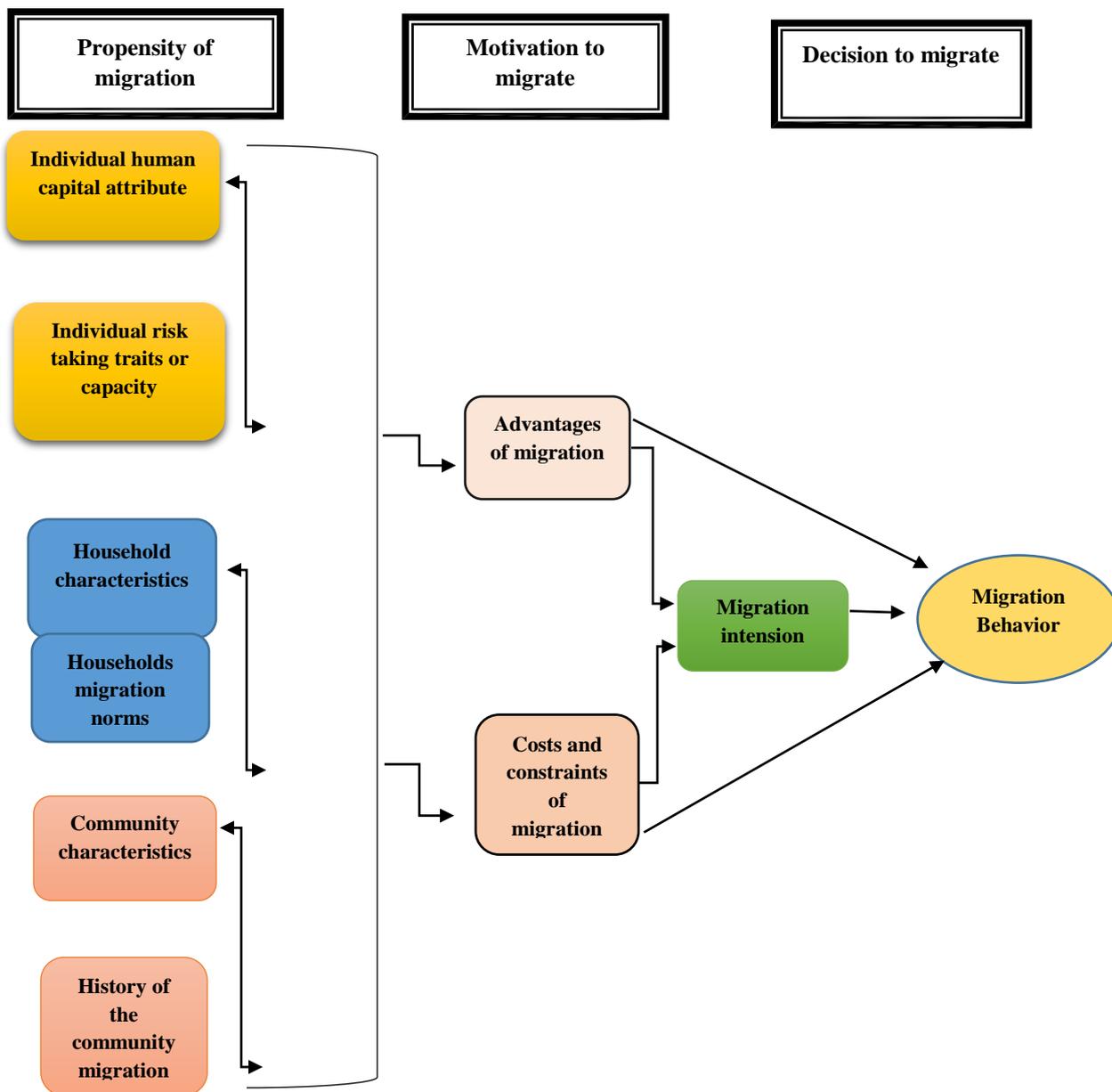
Geography has a tradition of diverse scholarship and its subfield of migration studies is no exception. Russell King's paper in the conference named 'Re-Making Migration Theory', Brighton, U.K (2009), (Mayer and Hammerli, 2016: 15-40), has tried to conceptualise geography's contributions to migration theories, present trends and the upcoming opportunities for migration research in geography. It also indicated that migration itself is particularly suited to interdisciplinary study. Indeed, the interdisciplinarity of both migration studies and geography make them a good match. This chapter builds expressly on the outcomes of my field work of migration study in geography. Situating migration theory in Geography, identifying the current trends in the discipline, and showing where Geographers can continue to make vital contributions to migration studies in the near future are important.

There are different perceptions of classification of migration theories. Some of them are related to the casual analysis of the behavior of the migrants and the migration processes (Massey, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor 1993: 431- 466), some consider real theoretical insight into migration behaviors, which also gives typologies as well as tautological descriptions of migration as a whole and of individuals. Faist (2000) introduced different levels of theories and nucleated them into three distinctive levels - macro, meso and micro level. There is no single comprehensive model, theory, or conceptual work frame for international or internal migrations, because of its complex nature, which embraces demographic, environmental, political, cultural, economic and other factors. To overcome these complexities there are limited approaches to be used for the illustration of the factors behind people's choice to migrate.

To unfold the underlying mechanisms that lead to migration, we have to understand the phases of migration decision making processes. These processes are not restricted within any spatial-social circumferences. The three-stage model of migration decision making is based on the theory of planned behavior (Kalter, 1997, Kley, 2011: 469-486). The following model gives us an overview of an important area of migration in understanding the conceptual model of De Jong and Fawcett (1981: 13-81), revised by De Jong (2000) in Weeks (2008: 274). The process of migration is thought to having three main stages:

The first and pre-decisional stage has been termed as *considering migration* when subjects are not sure to relocate. *Planning migration* is the second stage of migration decision making processes when decision is in favor of movement, and the third phase is called *realizing migration* or the actual behavior in action stage. These stages mostly work in case of voluntary migration, when people are not forced to displace due to some unavoidable circumstances. However, it can generate and regulate various social relations.

Fig. no.1.1 A Conceptual Model of Migration Decision Making



Source: Weeks. J.R (2008, 274)

These three stages of migration decision making processes may not be experienced by the quasi-forced migrant labourers because a transitional shifting of economic practices generates a massive displacement of people (Breman.1996, 2012) with creating an epistemological gap between formal and informal employment; it creates a ‘compulsion’ based migration among labourers.

The first step in throwing light on the question of why people migrate is methodical in its reviewing of the theoretical literature for the reason of migration in this chapter, mostly on economic and social literature. The ground-breaking paper by Massey et. al. (1994) on migration literature discusses and unifies different migration theories. Migration is a movement of group or individuals from one geographic unit to another for multiple reasons ranging from better life possibilities to persecution.

Table no. 1.2 **Theories of Migration Defined by Their Level**

Micro level	Meso level	Macro level
<p>Migration cause:</p> <p>Individual values/desires/ Expectancies.</p> <p>Scope for phenomenological analysis/ lived experience</p>	<p>Migration cause:</p> <p>Collectives/social networks</p> <p>Scope for qualitative and quantitative analysis.</p>	<p>Migration cause:</p> <p>Macro level opportunity structure</p> <p>Scope for qualitative and quantitative analysis.</p>
<p>Main theories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lee’s push/ pull factors ➤ Neoclassical micro-migration theory ➤ Theory of social model ➤ Behavioral models ➤ Gravity model 	<p>Main theories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Social capital theory ➤ Institutional theory ➤ Network theory ➤ Cumulative causation ➤ New economics of labour migration 	<p>Main theories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Dual labour market theory. ➤ Migration as a system ➤ Neoclassical macro-migration theory ➤ World system theory ➤ Mobility transition

Source: Faist (2000), Jessica Hagen-Zanker (2008).

The early surveys of migration theory in geography starts with the eminent work of Ernst Georg Whenever we are going to discuss the migration theories, we observed different levels of perceptions. Some theories focused on individual migration decisions, whereas other theories look at cumulative migration trends. The following table no. 1.2 gives us a broader overview of the theories along with different levels and table no. 1.3, which will help us to categorised the

motivation behind migration in a nutshell.

Table no. 1.3 **Theories of Migration Based on Initiation or Perpetuation of Migration**

Initiation of migration	Perpetuation of migration
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Neoclassical macro-migration theory ➤ Migration as a system ➤ Dual labour market theory ➤ Mobility Transition ➤ World systems theory ➤ Lee’s push/ pull factors ➤ Neoclassical micro-migration theory ➤ Theory of social systems ➤ Behavioural models ➤ New Economics of Labour Migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ World system theory ➤ Migration as a system ➤ Social capital theory ➤ Institutional theory ➤ Network theory ➤ Cumulative theory

Source: Faist (2000), Jessica Hagen-Zanker (2008).

Social science researchers have hardly ever mixed their models in terms of individualistic and historical perspectives. (Castles and Millar, 1993, Samers, 2010:80). King (2012) tried to reach and establish significant areas of the migration research in Geography and related fields. By accepting the fact that Ravenstein’s basic laws of theories are still playing a significant role in contemporary migration research in Geography, I want to discuss other relevant theories on migration to obtain a broader overview of the “drivers” of migration. Here, “drivers” refer to the factors that direct people to migrate, involuntarily or voluntarily, for a short term or long term, that perpetuate the movement of the people.

In the historical-structuralist model, migration has been referred as “flight from misery” (Hass, 2010: 227- 264) due to the global capitalist growth, but in the other way Papademetriou (1985: 211-212) argued on behalf of sending areas as “the evolution into an uncontrolled depletion of their already meager supplies of skilled manpower – and the most healthy, dynamic, and productive members of their populations.” Therefore, pessimistic views actually fit into the ‘cumulative causation theory’ (Myrdal 1957), where the capitalist development is rightly noticeable through

spatial wellbeing of inequalities. Optimistic or neo classical views of migration look for optimum benefit of migration-sending and receiving areas. Transformation of labour force from rural agrarian to urban industrial sectors is considered as a precondition of economic growth and also an entire development processes (Todaro, 1969: 139). Massey (1990: 3-26), while explaining 'cumulative causation' has pointed out that the reasons of social and economic effects on population movement make added migration likely.

Majority of migration studies and empirical works have been subjugated by positive economic approaches, which are mostly associated with quantitative survey methods. Recent studies witnessed that there has been a growing interest in different components related to migration phenomenon, which are tinted and investigated under qualitative methods and researchers are considering individuals' preferences of conciseness towards migration processes as well as to choose the destination (Hass, 2010: 227-264). New researches are based on the lived experiences or bodily experiences, along with these they lay emphasis on migration decision making (family and individuals) and identity formation through various socio-economic changes. According to Guilomoto and Sandron (2001: 135-164), migrant networks affect themselves because of institutionalisation but also get affected by external factors, such as labour market changes in the contemporary time scale.

Further advancement in micro modeling approach, 'the new economics of migration' gives more emphasis on family decisions, which act as agents. There is a widespread debate on the factors which cause population to move, from those that put an emphasis on individual sagacity, family behaviour and various structural logic of the process of capitalist development (Haan, and Rogaly. 2002: 48). In this contemporary approach structural processes and family decision can maximise the household utility function by reducing risk factors that are associated with traditional subsistence agrarian sector. (Stark and Bloom 1985: 173-178; Banerjee 1983: 239-257; Tailor,2006). If I consider different theories in one circumference, I can relate these with Welfare Pentagon (Neubourg, and Weigand 2000: 401-412), which represents the special five institutions that individuals or households may use to satisfy or increase their present as well as future economic status. These perform as important motivational pull factors in the migration processes. Even though geographical and historical appearances differ, these core five areas are found to be beyond time and space.

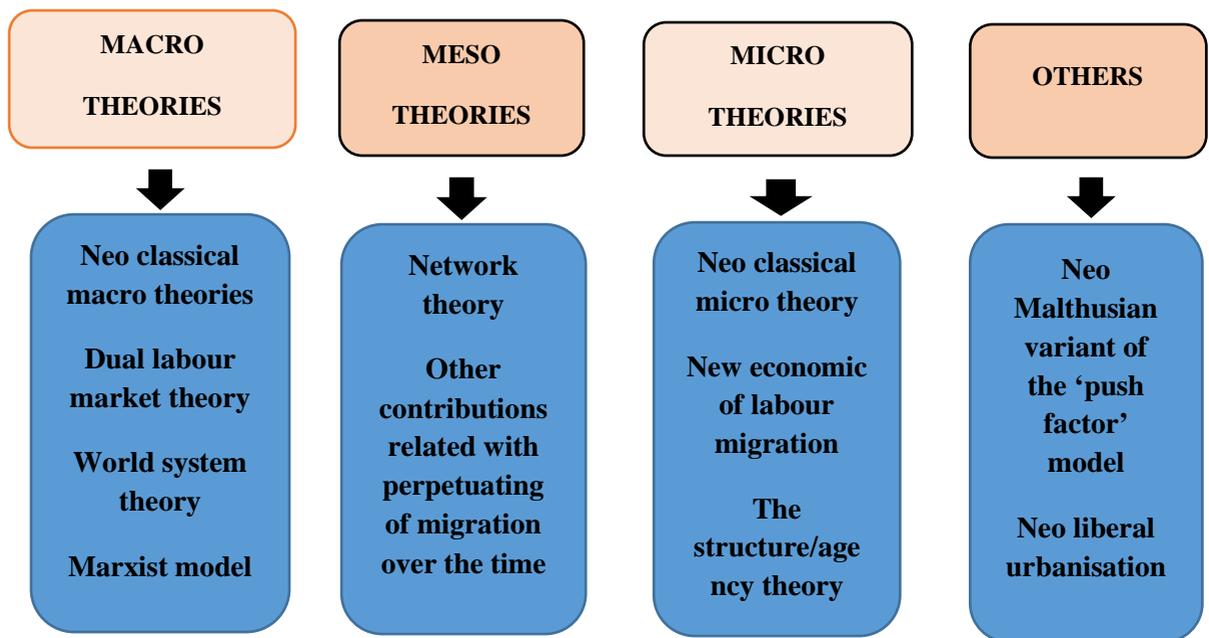
In this way, with the help of various institutions, migrants create a specific network in the destination region with minimum risk factor. These can also minimise migration cost and hence it encourages more other migration flows to the destination place. (Bhattacharjee, 1998 and Mitra,2003), While discussing migration, we should consider or refer to at least two regions because it always tries to elucidate either the cause of an individual, family or mass movement. Recently the disequilibrium perspectives of migration theories have been challenged by the equilibrium perspective theories which identified that the spatial differences in wages are compensating and not reflecting the opportunities for utility gain. The human capital approach is the neoclassical micro level theory proposed by Sjaastad (1962: 80-93), in this theory, migration has been treated as an individual acuity for the increase of productivity of human capital. It also focuses on the labour market and explains the selectivity of heterogeneous migrants. Fischer, Martin, and Straubhaar (1997) also proposed advanced version of this approach, where different cost (travel cost, psychological cost etc.) risks and asymmetric information assumptions are very low. Wolpert's stress-threshold model (1965: 159-169) tries to describe behavioral model of internal migration where he discusses the ex-ante and ex-post factors for the selection of the destinations. Crawford, (1973: 53-65), Jong and Fawcett (1981), also deal with especially non-economic factors and social control. Among other social system theories of migration, the dual labour market theory by Hoffmann-Nowotny's (1981) approach is very popular. There have been different reasons and processes behind migration in different spatial places. In this framework, migration can be referred to as one of the many options in the livelihood portfolio decisions of households. Along with this entire premise, the aspiration and ability to migrate are also very important aspects (Carling, 2002:5-42). So, while discussing the conceptual perceptions behind the reasons as well as processes of migration, we are not able to generalise any one of them. "Individual" and "collective" are always controlling the movement of population.

1.3.2 Genesis of labour migration

Contemporary research on labour migration has undergone a significant and exciting transformation since last few decades. Theories proved that migration literature has prolonged the important variables - which have been dominated and affected by spatial demand and supply of the labour. In other ways, it also played various roles of social entities and established a relationship among in-conditioning migration behavior. This perception has recognised a link between the desire/need of migration as a labour market phenomenon and an important part of the processes of economic

betterment and development. It has also identified the key behavioral parameters – most of them are even important ingredients of present ongoing debates on the connection of migration related with public policies domain. The large majority of global mobility occurs domestically within countries, with an estimated 763 million internal migrants worldwide, including persons displaced internally according to UNDESA, *Cross-national comparisons of internal migration: An update on global patterns and trends*, 2013. The definition of internal migration refers to the movement of population across a political or administrative boundary, which involves an alteration of usual residence (Bilsborrow, 1998). The concept of labour migration refers to changes in the location of labourers/workers in terms of physical, geographical and also occupational mobility (EFILWC, 2005). The theoretical impression of labour migration is mostly scrutinised under the light of economic perceptions. Labour migration actually moves together with capital mobility and the economic efficiency; it also gets affected when the free movement of production is not hindered. Apart from economic perspective, labour migration also embraces the human factors, which create a complex theoretical background to frame the broader migration debate. I am trying to assemble different significant theories to identify ‘drivers’ of labour migration in terms of broader and regional perspectives. We know that migration is a “survival instinct that drives humans to seek better prospects” (Sundari, 2005: 2295). The prime purpose of migration, recorded by NSSO and Census, is a significant indicator of how migration processes are influenced by the state of labour market of the nation. Scholars have identified different perspectives of labour migration. Structural changes, demographic changes act as driving forces as well as the lure of the cities, by providing job in the lower end labour market, acts as new dimensions of neoliberal economy. Migration may start for various reasons. Although the obvious truth remains that the economic and other opportunities normally play a key role in migration decisions, which individually cannot explain the root causes, or patterned and regionally gathered morphology of migration. Structural forces – the natural and inescapable catastrophe that interrupts the expected course of events – in the political economy such as colonialism, conquest, occupation, labour recruitment, communal culture and geographical proximity frequently play a vital role in the labour migration processes. (Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. 2009; Massey, D. S.; Hugo, G.; Kouaouci, A.; Arango, J. Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. E.1998).

Fig. no. 1.2 **Theoretical Framework for Approaching the Labour Migration**



Source: own elaboration

The structure of the economy has been characterised by either capital intensive or labour intensive nature. Specifically, in the lower bottom of the jobs layer – low wage or informal jobs need migrant labourers. Piore explains this fact with various possible interpretations. The dual labour market consists of two sectors – primary and secondary, where primary sector is dominated by native people with better working environment, high wages etc. and the secondary sector is subjugated by migrant people. He reveals that the lower zone of the job hierarchy always needs to be filled by the migrant labourers and as a general labour storage. ‘The dual economy model’ claims maximising labour movement from less paid traditional/rural sector to better paid modern/urban sectors. Dual economy in microeconomic ground explains a beneficial relationship through growth processes within the population distribution in terms of growth- poverty nexus. Traditional dual economy (Lewis, 1954: 139-191) analysed a long term transformation and development of two specific economic sectors – agricultural and industrial. He also predicts that capital supply increases over time, the marginal product of labour will also increase, until and unless the state of equilibrium is introduced in the traditional and modern wage market. This thought has been criticised by the neoclassical school, because wage is not determined or controlled as “equilibrium value in general equilibrium model”. (Lombardo. V. 2012: 3). On contrary, this model has become suitable to encompass the structural transformation of the societies with an

enormous number of the marginalised poor. Lewis's perceptions have been reframed after Harris and Todaro's ideas (1970: 126-142). Based on HT (Harris & Todaro) model, several assumptions have been proposed in research especially on agent heterogeneities and market imperfections.

Sjaastad (1962: 80-93) also pointed out that the migration decision acts as a human capital investment problem, where the migrant tries to assess the benefits and costs of migrating. Hence, individual participants decide to move for achieving expected positive net return through cost-benefit calculation. Sjaastad nicely denoted differences between the wage related factors and differentiated certain elements in some non-wage related factors. The newly formed Lewis model proposed urban informal sector as a source of seemingly "reserve army labour" of Marxian insights. Rauch (1993: 901-918) analysed that in the HT model the urban informal sector overlaps with other two sectors (viz. urban formal and rural economy). However, three dominating wage classes have emerged – the rural, the urban formal, and urban informal - which create a perfect competitive structure in the capitalist market. Thus under the light of dualistic model of migration, decision is based on relative migration benefits and attraction power of wages. Banerjee and Newman (1998: 274-298) studied that the insinuation of community effects, high productivity gap between traditional and modern sector and the relationship between development and income distribution also generate the possibilities of migration.

Marxist studies of migration are very relevant in order to discuss and identify fundamental platforms and processes of labour migration. Amin (1974), Meillassoux (1975), Amselle (1976), and Rey (1976) analyse and explain migration focusing on the social structure and large extent of motivational reasons and individual perceptions of potential migrants. Amin analysed the methodological individualist approach of migration (Binsbergen and Geschiere, 2011: 1-336). Marxist model viewed the contemporary liberal society as a blend of different economic sectors, various modes of productions, or a modern sector vs. traditional sector. We know that capitalism creates a specific mode of production, along with a border line between producers and means of production. It also generates different types of market economy in the society.

Meillassoux stated his ideas on migration were based on domestic community with their economic practices. He said that capitalist sector always depends on traditional or domestic sectors for labour reproduction. In this modern economic structure, migration is the important way to secure the required supply of labour force in capitalist economy. Amselle too portrayed migration as an

expansion of capitalism. According to him migration is a process, which gradually leads to separate migrants from rural means of production. He accused that capitalism is the only underlying factor for migration and other factors – land security, conflict etc. are secondary to capitalism.

Rosa Luxemburg (1967), also holds their ideas on labour migration based on the consequences of capitalism. They viewed that mobilisation of labour is always for the benefit and the expansion of the capitalist sector. Historical development of capitalism is therefore viewed by the Marxist as the foremost explanation of migration; they disagree as to the precise ways in which migration reflects and furthers this growth. Marxist view explains that the capitalism is the process which transfers the traditional economy to modern one and creates different possible social, political reasons for migration. More over, Welfare Pentagon framework (de Neubourg, 2002) hypothesize that individuals that are unemployed and underemployed in the source area' local labour market, may migrate.

1.4 Informalisation and Migration

The classic Lewis-type migration that assumes a smooth transfer of labour from agriculture to industry has not been found in developing countries, including India. Most of the migrants to urban centres instead got employed in the urban informal sector. The expanding informal sector has drawn a great deal of attention in past decades. It is increasingly recognised that informal sector, far from being a residual or transitory sector is, in the fact, the core of the economy in terms of its contribution to output and employment. Given the slow expansion of employment in formal or organised sector, in general and organised manufacturing, in particular, the informal sector attracting migrants from smaller towns and rural areas, alike. Effects of globalisation and growth of a particular kind, the informal sector has not been replaced by the formal sector, rather new changes in production organisation has given new lease of life to several informal sector enterprises. Most of those working in the urban, non-agricultural, informal sector are migrants. Some sector, like construction, hotel stuffs are heavily dependent on informal labourers drawn from distance places.

The inter-linkages between the three aspects of the economy – the agrarian context, the linkage between uneven development, poverty and migration and finally the informal economy – are crucial for understanding contemporary issues in migration. There are several sector and region-specific issues within migration. The context of specific nature of migration (plains areas to high

altitude areas), its diverse underlying causes and outcomes undoubtedly required more nuanced and desegregated methods of analysis. In the upcoming chapters, we try to find out the reasons and the socio-economic condition of migrant labourers in Sikkim's informal sector.

1.5 Political Economy Approaches on Migration

According to Swing (2015), there are 750 million internal migrants worldwide. It is stated that one out of every seven people and one of every four persons of the working class is a migrant (ILO, 2015a). Labour migration related approaches are schematic, evocative, and divided by various disciplines – limiting the root cause of migration and also its dialectical relationship with development. Marxist political economy tried to provide a conceptual as well as methodological framework to understand the fact in historical and structural perspectives. Neoliberal and liberal institutionalism arguments give emphasis among domestic/international interest on social, economic and political actors (Milner.V. Helen. 1997: 33-66), since this perception incorporates economic and political analysis – also named as international political economy [IPE] (Hollifield, F, James. 2006). One of the important arguments derived from neoliberal theory is that states are often keen to take risk by open economic trade and by extension of migration if they have some hegemonic power to control these human flows and to solve free rider glitches (Mosley, and Singer. 2015: 283-301). Whereas, I observed – there is no particular regime to control migration for political economic reason, especially post-cold war era. Though, it is a global perception but domestic approach is nothing but the microcosmic views of global context. This contemporary critical thinking constitutes an alternative reality to understand neoliberal capitalism and the role of migration to transform the labour market from formality to informality. Structural changes and demographic changes as well as the lure of the cities played an important role by providing jobs in the lower end of the labour market thereby acting as a new dimension of neoliberal economy. Structural changes are unavoidable catastrophe and expected course of events of political economy –capitalism conquest, labour recruitment, economic practices, communal culture, and geographical proximity often plays vital roles for in the migration of labourers (Castles and Miller.2009; Massey eds.al. 1998; Skeldon. 1997). Marxist political economy considers the phenomenon of migration at its highest level of concept. At the core of the Marxist political economy, capitalism has a dynamic power and performs an inevitable role of expansion through accumulation. It addresses the relation to the dynamic of capital on the basis of original accumulation and surplus population. Actual accumulation is linked with the transformation of feudalism to capitalism in

sixteenth century. This situation separates the producers from the means of production; the demand of the situation was to sell individual's labour to the newly born capitalist sectors as a means of production (Marx, 1975). Harvey (2007: 22-44), states that in contemporary capitalism or in neoliberal restructuring approach, the employment characterised as liberal/flexible labour force and the accretion of power has been limited to few elite capitalists – termed 'accumulation by dispossession'.

1970s and '80s were the time when scholars intended to focus on labour migrations from poor countries to richer countries (Latin America to US, France, Germany to northern Europe etc.) in respect to "political – economic inequality, and the 'development of underdevelopment' through international capitalism." (S. Michael. 2010: 67).

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Migration is a basic instinct practiced since Paleolithic time and is also one of the essential features of the 21st century. It is stated as a probable and valuable outcome of economic transformation. Structural transformation increases spatial movement in response to the uneven demand and supply of labour. Under the processes of globalisation, the volume, geographical scope and other complexities of migration have been largely affected. Development practices followed by the state in colonial as well as independent India have concurrently resulted in displacements, landlessness, unemployment and impoverishments of people. The changing pattern of land use and ownership, erosion of resources in rural areas, increased dependence of rural household on agricultural wage labour, privatisation of common property resources, shrinking spaces for landless livelihoods and its differential impacts on people's lives and livelihoods have become focal in the migration process (Chakraborty and Kuri, 2017: 94-104). It has been expected as a result of increased economic growth. Macro approaches project relatively low migration rate in India in recent past but neo-economic reform tries to change the migration pattern and creates economic opportunities and aspirations for many. Desire for livelihood/economic improvement has induced many to migrate. Now people move beyond the social, cultural and physical barriers. That is why the labourers from plains migrate towards hills in search of better livelihood options (Mishra, 2015: 1).

The conventional literatures on migration depict migration process as a beneficial outcome of economic transformation (*ibid*: 2). Normally migration has been denoted as a tool to reduce 'inter-sectoral gaps in living standards' but the "question is whether, and to what extent, migration has

been able to play this role in Indian context” (Srivastava, 2012: 2). To understand contemporary trends and patterns in migration, it has become essential to focus on various perceptions which help to find out the real picture of migration and related socio-economic transformations on a macro canvas. The relationship between livelihood choice and migration has various dimensions. Kaur points to the broader canvas of understanding migratory decisions beyond pull and push factors to include various socio-cultural, political and economic dimensions adding importance to the question of mobility and agency. Yet, the decision to migrate may emerge from larger household livelihood assessments and not just as an individual decision (Arya and Roy, 2006: 38). There is a close association between migration and job generation in internal migration system of India. Major three areas have been discussed articulately in different contexts crossing disciplinary boundaries. The agrarian questions of labour, uneven development, poverty reduction and migration, informalisation and migration are the major areas that historically had strong root and also becoming an important domain to understand contemporary migration in India.

Since the collapse of Soviet Union and emergence of globalism and fragmented capitalism (Pine, 2014: S95-S104), migration has become a strategic policy to promote development-migration nexus and occupational opportunities under the shade of the liberal economy. On economic front, better employment opportunities in any urban sector attract workers/labourers from any area of the country. But in reality very few of the migrants are able to manage secure jobs, others get absorbed in the urban informal sector. “Under the new mode of profit maximization, labour was massively redundant and more than willing to become footloose, but the problem was lack of access to regular jobs elsewhere and in other branches of activity” (Breman, 2013: 2). India too is experiencing seasonal/temporary movement of people in response to limited options for livelihood, lack of employment, wage differential policies with expansion of technological revolution, improved communication networks and overall demand of casual labour in informal sector. There is a strong interdependence between wage labour migration and mass opportunities in informal sector of the globalised South (Breman, 2013: 70).

There have been various attempts to define informal sector in a meaningful way, but the difficulty arises due to its heterogenic nature. National Commission on Labour (Report of India’s National Commission on Labour, 2002) pointed out the major works to identify or define informal sector. National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) is engaged to estimate the size and proximity of informal sector in India. In their 55th round during July 1999 to June 2000, they clearly

distinguished the difference between informal sector and unorganised sector in the Indian context. According to it informal sector is the subset of unorganised sector. Informal sector is that part of unorganised sector which is more vulnerable and depressed sector and involved in petty low skilled productions (Sarvekshana, 2005). NSSO have used two stages of processes to estimate the informal sector in India. In the first stage, the 55th round covered the enterprise survey and in the second stage, the 56th and 57th rounds covered manufacturing and service sector excluding trade and finance (Sarvekshana, 2000, 2001, 2005).

Urban informality has not only become a part of informal sector and poor societies but has become a continuum 'way of life' (Neema, 2009: 1614-1628). The area of concern is that the discourse of informality underscores the imbrications between 'everyday life' and 'way of life' for the unfortunate people being deported from the other sectors of the economy (Breman, 2013). In Global South (*i.e.* India), the hike in informal workforce has been considerably towards urban destinations [NSSO 61th (2004-05), 66th (2009-10) 68th (2011-12) and PLFS (2017-18)] for reasonable identities in interstices of rapid metamorphosis of urban geographical regions (in this study, Singtam and Rangpo towns in East district of Sikkim). Furthermore, rapidly growing influx of informal labour force impacts the rate of urbanisation but with no corresponding course of industrialisation. Instead, migrant labourers find a niche in the informal service sectors as waged, casual workers (Breman, 2013: 45) in Sikkim's informal economy. There is no doubt that the concept processes of informality create nebulous range of activities in the lower zone of economy, which offer tiring and precarious livelihood, especially for migrant labourer. The lower zone of work pyramid always has large radius accumulating various types of occupations. In Rangpo and Singtam, there are at least four individual domains (of tailor, porter, hotel workers and construction workers) of works which are dominated by the migrant labourers from the neighbouring plains areas. This dissertation seeks to examine the inter-related causes behind migration from convenient plain areas to ecologically fragile mountain areas, especially toward small expanding towns like Rangpo and Singtam. This research also tries to find out the impact of migration in terms of migrant's livelihood option, security option and the adjustment process to be a part of Sikkim.

1.7 Literature Review

There is a vast body of literature on the impact of international relocation, while internal migration has not been studied in considerable note. The majority of literature on internal migration on the

determinants of the move (Kamble (1983), Parida and Madheswaran, (2010), Awad (2009), Acharya, (2010), Jessica-Hagen-Zanker, (2010), Shah, (2012), Sing and Shandilya, (2012), Dwivedi, (2012) Burgess (2013) etc.). Most works analysed the conditions or impacts on the family left behind (Schüttler, Goutam, Narain). Migration is a product not of separate or unconnected factors in context of host as well as the source areas rather historical connections between these two. Chattopadhyaya (1987), stated different historical connections with special reference to Bengal and other states in India during second half of the 19th century to 1931. The concept of internal migration at present connotes much dimension that varies from daily commuting to nearby places on one hand, to short term and permanent shift of residence to distant place on the other. Internal migration is defined as the population movement across a political or administrative boundary, which entails a change of usual residence (Bilsborrow, 1998). The concept of internal migration especially from rural to urban - attracted the attention of both policy makers and academicians only after the seminal work of Lewis (1954). The agricultural unemployment, low agricultural wage, poverty and the transformation of agricultural land are the major responsible factors to motivate (Inderjit Gill, 1984, P. Duraisamy and S. Narsimhan, 1997, Indrani Gupta and Arup Mitra, 2002) whereas, higher wage, better infrastructure etc. act as an important attraction to do migrate (Harris and Todaro, 1970, Barro and Sala-i-Martin, 1991, Gupta, 1993, Pekkala and Tervo, 2002, Joshi and Lobo, 2003). Lewis (1954), Rains & Fei (1961) and Harris & Todaro all contributed to the evolution of classic macro migration model which explain migration as result of geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour.

J. J. Thomas (2014), Majumder (2013) tried to unfold various demographic challenges and employment growth in India to discuss the changing trends toward non-agricultural labour force in India and how these changes led to migration process in rural India. The focus here is on the internal labour migrants at the new destination. There are other literatures which relate migration and human development. Priya Deshingkar and Matteo Sandi, 2012, Mallick, 2011, Ram Bhagat, 2016, Kaustav Bannerjee and Partha Saha, 2010, Darshini Mahadevia 2008, 2009, 2010, Hein de Hass, 2010 etc.) among others have tried to highlight interface between different theoretical juxtapose on migration and development related issues. From the various analysis it has been already clear that migration occurs for a variety of reasons for different groups of people and migrants are involved in different kinds of migration streams over diverse periods. Migration is also characterised by different economic and social diversity spanning socioeconomic variables (J.

Connell, J., B. Dasgupta, R. Laishley and M. Lipton, 1976, Nandini Sunder, 2001). Priya Deshingkar and Daniel Start (2012), Deepak K. Mishra (2016), Haberfeld, Y., R.K. Menaria, B.B Sahoo and R.N. Vyas (1999), Sudhir Katiyar (2005), worked on seasonal, short term and circular migration for livelihoods, rate of accumulation and also their exclusion indifferent parts of India. According to Adrienko and Guriev (2003), Jose (2013), people move from poorer and job scarce areas with less wage facilities to areas that are richer and more prospering and having maximum employment prospect areas.

The geographic dispersal of economic activities that marks urban migration in India today is a key factor feeding the growth and importance of central corporate functions. As cities increasingly take on a more corporate character, highly specialised service firms engaged in activities ranging from waste – processing, hotel business, public relations and related other small sectors, such services always call for migrant labour – Sikkim is not exceptional. Smith (2002), Joya Chatterjee (2005), Harvey (1989, 2003, 2005), Mahadi (2002), Messina, Anthony and Lahav (ed.)-(2009), The World Bank (2010), Mallick (2010), Brenner and Theodore (2011), Tripathi (2014), etc. worked on the relationship between migration and neoliberal urban structure.

Migration, especially internal migration, contributes significantly to the growth of Indian cities. Amitava Kundu (2003, 2007, 2009, 2011a, 2011b) clearly mentioned in his different literatures about the relationship between migration and urbanisation processes., Jean Luc Racine (ed.) (1997), National Institute of Urban Affairs (1983, 1998), Ranabir Samaddar (2018) are the other scholars who pointed out urban employment characteristics and possibilities of new hidden processes in the emergence of neoliberal cities. Joop de Wit (2017) and David Harvey (2013,2017) tried to focus on the different practices of space-making and permitted by State Programmes and Policies of urbanisation. Ranabir Samddar (2018), has highlighted the condition of migrant labourers in neoliberal city structure in different metro Politian cities of India. conceptualisation of urbanisation in India and its impact on knowledge-based development have also been discussed in his work. S. Irudaya Rajan and Prabhat Mallik (2010), Jayati Ghosh (2010), S. Irudaya Rajan and U.S. Mishra (2010), analyse the state response on gender empowerment and cross-border migration which are essential to identify the trends and gender participation rate in labour force.

Ravi Srivastava (1987, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2005a, 2005b, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011a, 2011b), Ram B. Bhagat (2009, 20211), Mabogunje (1970) intensively worked on the migration and labour

market in India, which provides a comprehensive and accessible view of internal labour migration and also different governmental and non-governmental efforts to protect migrant workers through a right-based approach. Their works offer new insights on the factors that motivate people to seek work outside their area of origin and on the significant development effects on both origin and destination areas. Exposing the often limited access of migration workers to their fundamental rights at their work, the scarcity of the possible decent work condition in the destination areas. Other works also deal with existing and potential governance structure, addressing linkage between labour migration and development, social protection creative practices and policies for better inclusion of migrant workers by Amrita Sharma, Rajiv Khandelwal and Divya Varma, 2012.

Migration is expected to increase as a result of economic growth. The relatively low migration rate in India always been discussed in the migration literature and was expected to be replaced by the new dynamics of urbanization and migration relations, especially after neo-liberal economic reforms (Massey, 1998, S. Mukherjee, 2013, J. Peck, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008, S. Springer, 2015, Mrtinez and Garcia. 2000). In the mainstream literature on migration always try to portrays migration as an inevitable and mostly beneficial outcome of economic transformation. In the literature on structural transformation it has been stated that increasing spatial mobility of people in response to the regional unevenness in demands for labour and supply for the same is seen as a key feature for economic changes (S. Sassen, 2002, R. Srivastava, 2012) and informal sector constitutes a pivotal part of the Indian economy. More than 92 percent of Indian workforce is accounted by informal economy. In an effort to understand the trends, pattern and ingestion field of migrant labourers, it is clearly found in the Lewis's work. He specified that most of the migrants labour to urban centers got employment in the urban informal sector. some sectors, like construction, restaurant, porter etc. are heavily dependent on informal labour drawn from distant places (K. Mehagher, 1998, A. Mitra, 2002, D. Mishra. 2016). H. Bernstein (2006) argues that in developing world like India, capitalist development is not dependent on accumulation from agriculture to a significant level and this has several implications for the way rural households survive outside the agrigarian economy.

Migration to informal sector frequently involves social networks of diverse kinds and the idea that migration often leads to more migration is not new. Other migration literatures have also highlighted the migration-facilitating role of migrant networks. Once a critical number of migrants have settled at the destination, migration becomes self-perpetuating because it creates the social

structures to sustain the process (Castles and Miller 2009; Massey 1990; Massey et al. 1998, Keshri and Bhagat 2012). Mosse et al., 2002, A. Banerjee and S. Raju, 2009, P. Kuri and D. Chakroborty, 2013 mentioned the role of caste, gender, age-structure, religion in differentiating the outcome of migration. J. Breman (2007, 2013) elaborately analyse each and every segments of labourers who are in the lower strata of the workforce. He also mentioned about their compulsion to become a part of neo-bondage system. Author has narrated precarious nature of informal workers with special reference to Gujrat, India. The resistance and insecurity among informal labour group, their neo-bondage system of commitment reflects the unreformed condition of the no-skilled or semi-skilled labourers.

There are different literatures on adaptation of people in different physical, socio-cultural environment. Different social encounters enrich the migrants about various similarities and dissimilarities of their mother culture and with the new culture (J. W. Berry, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2006). M. Mansell (1981), E. W. Taylor (1994), K. N. Tonsing (2010) are referred migration and adaptation as a microcosm of global discourse, which is related and controlled by geo-political context of the host areas. Ward and Rana (1999), Hutcheon (2006), Asikin, Waulandari and Rukmi, (2017) viewed adaptation as a bimodal process of life practices and as a product of humans.

S. Roy Chowdhury (2003), R. Agarwala (2006), S. George and Shalini Sinha (2018) discuss about labour unionism and transformation of labour space in formal and informal sector in post-liberalised India. K. Rajesh and Smita S. Nair (2018) argue about the workers' rights, inclusion of informal labourers, demand for policy reforms and social security in the post-reform period. T. Subba (1989), M. Choudhury (2006) Debnath (2009) have tried to enlighten the economic history and economic transformation of Sikkim as a state of India. Therefore, in all these context, an attempt has been made to examine the socio-economic and adaptation strategy of migrant informal labourers in Sikkim's industrial towns – Rangpo and Singtam.

1.8 Objective of the Study

Migration is plausibly both a symbol and also an endorsement of the most common alternative strategies in post-socialist world. It helps to understand the dynamics of society and social changes. Migratory movement is basically a product of economic, geo-political, socio-cultural, and/or physical circumstances in which individuals or groups find themselves (Bhende and Kanitkar, 2000:346). This process is an age old process as humanity itself. Some movement takes place in

the face of abject poverty and an inclination to urban informal labour market, some for seasonal/temporary and some for long term or complete change of birth place/last residence (Grill, 2011: 79-102). Migration affects all domains of life – which makes the study of migration most relevant and also more complex. This dissertation looks at the micro spectrum of the global practice to understand the cause and effects of migration on migrant people. It also has the aims to find out specific reasons behind the migration of the plains people to the remote state of Sikkim in the Eastern Himalayas and its consequences on the everyday life of migrants in the host area. The primary objective of this study is to assess the reasons for the movement of plainsmen, especially low-skilled informal labourers to hills, which is quite visible. The objectives of this study are outlined as follows:

1. To identify the source areas of the migrant labourers from the plains working in the informal sector in Sikkim and reasons behind their migration.
2. Work environment of the migrant labourers from the plains in Sikkim.
3. Socio-economic background and present status of migrant labourers.
4. Mechanisms and strategies adopted by the migrant labourers from the plains to adjust physically, culturally, and socially in Sikkim.

1.9 Research Questions

Who moves? Where to and from? How many? Why? And with what consequences for the areas of origin and destination? These are the questions that have sustained a huge literature in the social science on migration (Clark: 1982: 1-56, Lewis: 1982:220 and Cadwallader, 1986: 24-47). In fact, these are the fundamental questions for the study of migration.

The objectives of this study have been addressed with the help of the following questions:

1. Why do the labourers from plains migrate to Sikkim's informal sector?
2. What is the socio-economic status of the migrant labourers?
3. What are the work conditions and policy implementations for migrant informal labourers?
4. What are the patterns and trends of their social, economic and cultural adjustment?

In academia, research on host area is dwarfed in migration study. Empirical extensive research for identifying reasons of migration and also the impact on migrant's life (host area) has been dynamic

in nature. This type of research has become popular in recent past decades (Zanker, 2010:4). This research tries to provide the explanations for all objectives and gives a comprehensive depiction not only of the migration-development nexus and work environment but also migrant's strategies of adaptation in the place of work.

1.10 Methodology

Cartography based descriptive work on the spatial structure of migration opens up the possibilities to interpretation of different patterns by statistical analyses of co-varying factors and to the behavioral investigation, the geographer's preference lying with the collection of small-area data as well as survey work. This methodology is also popular in the contemporary world. The present work tries to explore and explain the past, present as well as the future participation of plains migrants in Sikkim. Idiographic thinking seeks to understand specific events but in my study I need to incorporate the nomothetic explanation too. Windelband also opines, the same object can be investigated with both idiographic methods and nomothetic methods. (Johansson, 2004). Due to this, the qualitative as well as quantitative approach merged together to find out the volume of migration and motivation of the same.

It has been difficult job to find out the real factors behind the aspiring migrants which may be voluntary, forced or quasi-forced. This research took one and half years to collect primary data from the selected study area namely, Rangpo and Singtam towns in East Sikkim. Each town accounts for maximum informal labour for various migration options and also with different migration streams. It is to be noted, "In any society, knowledge and understanding of migration patterns is largely determined by the quality and detail of the data available and, only after that, by the precision of the analytical approach and the insight of the theoretical concepts employed" (Woods, 1979), area-specific accuracy can be achieved. Keeping this in mind, the first part consists of those methods and techniques, which are concerned with the collection of data, both secondary and primary.

1.10.1 Secondary Sources

Indian migration data is collected from two main sources, the quinquennial migration surveys carried out by the National Sample Survey Office and decennial population census. In this research Indian Census 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 have been used to determine the decadal changes in the

field of international and internal migration status. Different rounds (especially 55th and 64th round) of NNSO reports also helped to identify the patterns, streams of migration in India. Different government reports like UNDP, NCEUS, MGNREGA etc. are also used to know the quantitative migration structure of the country as well as the state Sikkim. Government websites, gazetteers, articles, published, unpublished research reports have enriched this research work. These sources have helped to construct a simple way to understand migration options and conceptualise migration process with the help of different thoughts and theories on migration.

1.10.2 Primary Sources

In structured procedure of survey method, data have been collected through self-administrated questionnaires and one-to-one interview. As this research is a micro level study and desired updated data are not available, direct field enumeration of migrant labourers from the plains has been the most applicable procedure. This enumeration process started in the year 2016 and continued till 2018. I have structured set of questions based on my research objectives and research questions and collected first hand data from the study area directly. I have used purposive sampling method with stratified sample technique.

1.10.3 Sample Targets

This research aims to get empirical knowledge on the contemporary trends on migration. The pilot survey reveals the fact that migration flow in Sikkim labour market has been enriched by the plains people. It has also been observed that there are four important livelihood practices, namely, tailoring, portering, hotel/restaurant work and construction work - all dominated by the plainsmen migrant labourers. For my survey I have used stratified random sampling method. This stratification is based on the dominant informal occupations held by plains labourers. According to 2011 Indian Census Sikkim is experiencing 43.43% migrants [Total population in Sikkim in 2011 is 6,10,577 and number of migrants is 2,65,158 persons]. The two variables on the basis of which the total sample is to be stratified are the place of origin of the migrants (plain area) and mode of occupation (informal sector). There are one hundred and seventy-five (175) individual samples collected from each town (total sample size is 350). My sampling trait is based on native areas (neighbouring plain regions) of the migrant labourers, and nature of occupation (informal sector). There are common livelihood practices (tailor, porter, hotel/restaurant worker and construction worker) in data sets for both the towns because I have tried to fix the limit and focus only on those economic practices which have been occupied by the plains migrant labourers. It is difficult to fix the sample size from each occupation group. There are no micro level secondary

data sources to establish the magnitude of informal labourers in these occupations. I have randomly selected the number of respondents from stratified group.

1.10.4 Data Collection

In this research, for collecting the primary data interview with schedule for focused group has been the conducted. Interviews help us to know respondent's personal experiences and perspectives (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002) which may not be discussed in a group. Focus groups help to provide different social interaction (Mason, 2002) and through the interaction process it has become easy to recognise whether there is any consensus or disagreement on research topic (Creswell, 2007:1-27).

1.10.5 Data Analysis

In this research I have used thematic analysis because the topic is entirely based on primary data set and thematic analysis (Braun and Clark, 2006) helps the data to speak pragmatism paradigm. Thematic analysis can "provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (*ibid*: 5). This study shows different perspectives related with labour migration, internal migration, relationship with the transforming economic condition and informality – which are mostly data-driven and supported by various theoretical and conceptual paradigm.

After collecting the data through schedule, I transformed that into initial coding. Actually the code is "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998: 3). I have entered all coded data in MSExcel' 16. Different statistical processes have been used to understand the real facts in the field. I have used linear regression analysis to show the correlation between income and remittance of the respondents. The wage distribution of the migrant labourers has been shown through co-efficient of variance, especially for pre and post migration income structure. Mean average, standard deviation ranges have portrayed the changes in income structure of the respondents. Different hypothesis testing (X^2 , t test) is also implemented to accept or reject my hypothesis. Central tendency and deviation calculation have helped me to know the distribution nature and dispersion nature of my data. I used Seven-Point-Likert-type scale (1= not at all, 4=fairly, and 7=completely) to compute central tendency and deviation to identify various adaptive level to know the adaptive competence among the migrants (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 77-101). Different cartographic representations (bar graph, pie diagram, line graph etc.) have been used in this research work. This thesis is the product of all analytical processes created to make the research

interesting and also bring the data 'alive'. I have combined facts with enough detail to create reliable and transferable research report.

1.10.6 Software Used

Software is the integrated part of data representation in contemporary social research fields. In my research I have used IBM SPSS 16, MS Excel 16 software for data analysis. For Drainage Extraction Arc hydro tool 2.0 is used to draw the drainage lines. To prepare digital elevation model and contour, I have used Arc GIS software. The source of drainage and contour map is ASTGTM2_N27E088. This tool is installed in Arc GIS desktop. For spatial analysis tool box a tool called contour has been used to create contour map.

In this dissertation I have used the terms informal/unorganised worker interchangeably. Informal employment is also referred as unorganised sector employment in India. These concepts are in accordance with the descriptions currently followed by NCEUS (National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector) in India. The length of stay of migrant labourers has been classified into three categories – temporary/seasonal/circular (within six months/seasonally available/circulatory movement), short duration (six to twelve months) and long term (more than five years) on the basis of NSSO observation.

1.11 Limitations

- Sample is a proportion of total population. But in this research it was not possible to select sample size through the mathematical formula $n/1+n(e)^2$, where n is the total number of particular observation. Absence of micro level (town) migration data source (secondary) is the main barrier to construct the perfect sampling frame.
- In this study, sampling elements (person) are vulnerable and precarious in nature. To accrue proper data set continuous field survey has been conducted which seized maximum time duration of the research work.
- The precarious nature of the majority of the respondents has impact on the sample number of individual livelihood practices.
- Unavailability of published data sets on informal labour in Sikkim creates huge problems in identifying the macro view of the selected research questions.
- Discrimination among the self-employed informal groups has generated maximum ranges in the data set.
- Micro level migration tables in Indian Census (2011) data are not available yet.

1.12 Conclusion

Geographers are concerned to understand neoliberalism that permeates occurrences of poverty (migrants) and inequality (rich/poor dichotomy), which are experienced across multiple sites of vast swathes of Sikkim's migrant-friendly catchment areas. It could be an honest attempt to understand the reason of migration of labour in different physical and multiethnic location and also identify the processes to maintain solidarity among different ethnic people within the microcosm of the political economy at global level (Brenner and Theodore 2002: 349-379; Peck, 2001: 445-455). It has been argued that there are possibilities to integrate various perceptions of migration theories to establish the actual causes of labour migration (Massey et al., 1993, 1998), but at times it becomes more problematic to combine different theoretical perspectives to establish one fact. Different parameters determine the legitimacy of each perception. For instance, we can take the example of NELM and neo Marxist theories – they are utterly opposed to each other in their analyses. The micro theories consider an individual's perception of decision making, whereas macro concepts take into account the relation between the evaluation of societal states and global labour markets, but these structural macro factors give effect to the decision making processes on the micro/individual level. If this study has considered the coalitional between neoliberal and IPE approach to find the reasons behind raising trend of migration, then it actually need to analyse these factors – historical, ideational, cultural and structural causes. So, while discussing different migration theories, the core shares are not isolated from one another, rather are always affecting one another in terms of social capital, 'developed' and 'developing' dispersion and also cumulative causation. Migration is a dynamic practice and the motivations, decisions and reasons for 'why do people migrate' - considered as a multivariate analysis. All these approaches helped me to identify the perceptions behind the influx of plains labourers in the state Sikkim.

Anderson (1975), Polanyi (2001) and Harvey (2005) rightly stated how economic transition, structural changes and unavoidable catastrophe often playing an important role behind the demand and supply of labour. Interestingly, Sikkim buttressed its position from 'absolutism' to 'constitutional democracy' with the subsequent political transition from feudalism to progressive industrial capitalism. It carries the link with paradigm shift from the feudal economy of restricting the property rights to the ever increasing use of money and labour intensive project, thereby embedding pluralistic social relations in the entire economic system in order to accommodate pluralism into total economic dynamics. Sikkim in that sense acts as a pendulum swinging between needed and needy - if not cultural objections towards migrants. Sikkim shows a precedence of

integrating migrants into the local low-road labour market.

The foregone conclusion is that, there is a serial migration making inroad in the lap of Sikkim, not because of enjoying benefits in Rangpo and Singtam, but because of uncertainties, and grinding poverty that pushed desperate people to desperate measures. It is time to recognise that migration is good for the economy (macro level), contrary to the minimum benefit of migrant labour (micro level). History, recent experience and common sense suggest that the countries who favour a sensible approach to migration will fare better than those who try to close the door on the world. In connection to the reformed labour policy taking migrants as a part of it, Sikkimese should assert/accept the vibrancy of a migrant labour in parity.

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