

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE MIGRANT LABOURERS

4.1 Introduction

The movement of rural population to the urban areas in search of better livelihood prospects is a remarkable characteristic of the Indian economy. Neo-liberal economic reform also led people to search for new and better employments on the grounds that expansion of economy creates more opportunities generating aspirations for many people that prompt them to migrate (Mishra, 2016: 1-25). Migration affects every part of life, be it political, social, or economic. These make the study of migration extremely pertinent as well as complicated. Most of the time migration and poverty reduction have become synonymous with each other in this globalised world. Migration is performed as a pedestal of the poverty reduction process. In one hand migration generates the cause and consequences of poverty, and on the other, poverty can be reduced by population mobility. The relation between migration and poverty, according to Skeldon (2002: 67-82), delineates the proportional impact on each other. The entire processes have been controlled by the different stages of progress of the core area. Developing countries are experiencing high internal migration rates mostly in case of rural-urban migration. An idiosyncratic diversity of sex, age, ethnicity, marital status, education etc. is controlling the inclination of migration among different socio-economic groups ((Lee, 1966: 47-57).

Developing countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Pacific are experiencing migration as a prominent feature of their economic life cycle with the simultaneous progress of economic growth (Gurmu et al. 2000). The infrastructural improvements, transport and communication along with the possibilities of economic development have increased the probability of population migration. In India, it is evident that the total percentage of migration had reduced until the 1991 census, but the rural – urban movement has shown an increasing trend chronologically from 1971 to 2001 (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006). UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 2009 in a report entitled ‘Mobility and Human Development’ asserted that population movement from rural to urban areas is a natural process and is related to production, migration, and economic integration to promote the development of the rural people of India. The dynamic growth of Indian cities shows that migration is a very important phenomenon in terms of their structural activities. These functions may not have continued without migrants and migrant labourers. Labour migration is

complex in terms of its duration, origin, destination, and also in terms of the characteristics of migrants. An employment opportunity in the urban formal sector, which offers confined employment for certain types of skilled labourers, is what attracts the rural dwellers. But the limited prospects in the urban formal sector push a massive population into the hard core of the informal sectors of the host areas. These movements had influenced not only the migrant's but also the household's living conditions, health conditions, and life style.

This chapter explores the link between the demographic parameters of migrants and socio-economic condition of respondents, which is understandable in that it replicates the assortment of definitions and the overall consequences of migration. For example, potential migrants from various districts of Bihar and West Bengal (plain areas) used to face a stark choice: either adapt to the shrinking pool of agriculture related jobs, other low wage jobs, unemployment in the place of origin, or become possible migrants to a reasonably healthy economic area of the country.

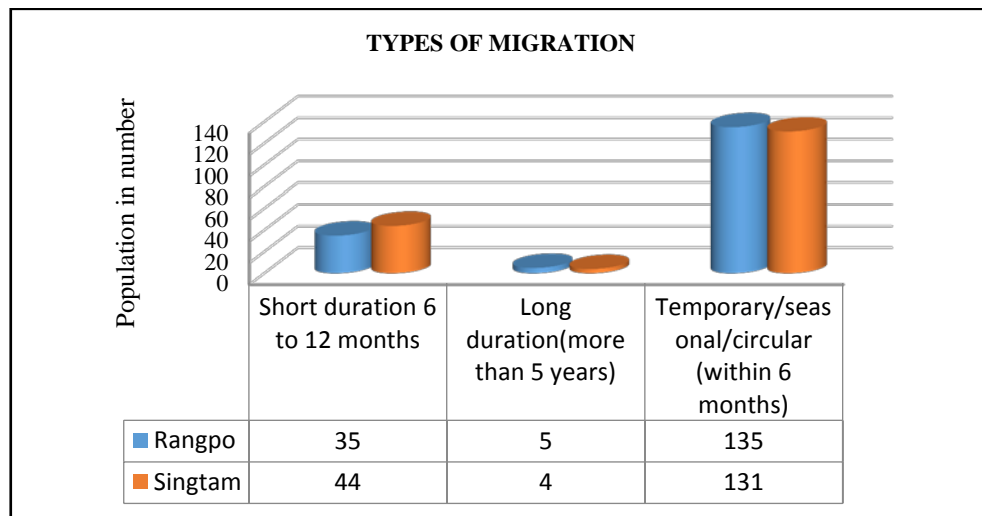
Sikkim is experiencing various types of migrations in terms of its labour influx. Like any developing country's state, Sikkim is also witnessing migrants who move in seasonally in search of livelihoods or better livelihoods.

4.2 Types of Migration Among the Migrant Labourers

Crossing the national or international borders in search of better livelihoods is the fundamental feature of human civilisations (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003: 1). These movements may vary ranging from short to long durations and also short to long distances (Massey, 1990: 3-26). There have been numerous evidences from the available studies that temporary and seasonal types of migration are widespread in developing countries (Hugo, 1982: 59-83; Mberu, 2006: 509-540; Brauw, 2007 and Lam et al., 2007: 117-144). Temporary migration has become a discourse to justify the poor rural labour movement towards urban informal sector. It is a changing of economic activity rather a movement of the usual residence of a person (Bilsborrow et al., 1984), which is largely predominant in Sikkim because of the state's Sikkim Subject Regulation Act 1961. There are different opinions on the definition of temporary migration on the basis of the length of stay, but there are some agreements - one important condition of temporary migration necessitates that provisional movement should be related to the uninterrupted absence from the place of residence (Zelinsky, 1971:219-249; Hugo, 1982:59-83). Another criterion is that temporary migration is made for short time duration with the intention of returning to the original place of residence. On

the other hand, large number of circular migrants also consists of seasonal migrants, who are employed in combined activities in various places depending on seasonal labour requirements. Considering the duration of temporary migration, six months is normally recognised as the maximum time frame for temporary movement (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003; Mberu, 2006: 509-540; Pham and Hill, 2008: 57-75). Large scale intra or inter-state temporary migration of labour has been observed in various parts of India. According to National Sample Survey (NSS, 1999, 2000), Sikkim is experiencing 16.6 per 1000 temporary and seasonal migration rate. In India temporary migration is influenced by the seasons; so here the terms ‘temporary’ and ‘seasonal’ migrations are superimposed and interchangeably used for further analysis. Hypothetically, it is assumed that the poor and less literate or illiterates are more disposed to migrate temporarily.

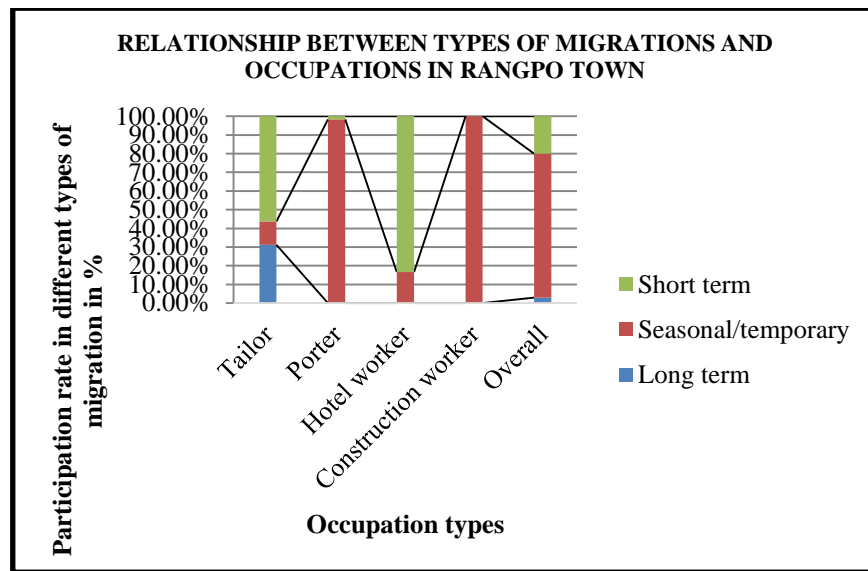
Fig no. 4.1



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

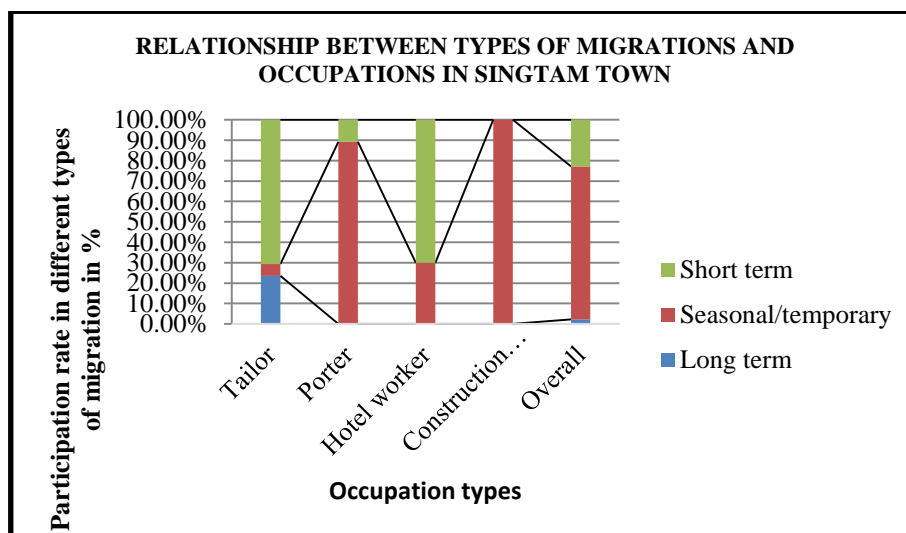
Figure number 4.1 frames the common facts of temporary migration trend in the study area. Most of the migrant labourers - 77.14% in Rangpo town and 74.86% in Singtam town - are temporary/seasonal/circular type. I have shown short duration of migration (6 to 12 months) because many migrations can also exist beyond the descriptions of seasonal/temporary/circular migration. The second leading type of migration is short duration migration. 20% and 24.14% of the migrants are short duration migrants in Rangpo and Singtam respectively. Newland et al. (2008) discussed this in the following way: “While circulatory is not built into all programs, the time-limited contracts and the limited opportunities in the home country often mean that temporary workers go back and forth repeatedly” (Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua, 2013: 01).

Fig no. 4.2



Source: Field Survey 2016-17.

Fig no. 4.3



Source: Field Survey 2016-17.

Figure no 4.2 and 4.3 represent the relationship between migration types and occupations. Among various types of occupations porters and construction workers are having high participation rate in seasonal/temporary migration in both the towns (77.14% in Rangpo and 74.86% in Singtam town). Another important type of migration is short term migration popular among the hotel workers and tailors. The long term migration is inconsequential except in case of tailoring profession. Therefore,

there are significant differences in the participation rate of various types of migrants in different informal occupations.

4.3 Migration History for Multiple Movers

The migration history of the informal labourers establishes the reality of various types of migration in Rangpo and Singtam.

Table no. 4.1 **Migration History for Multiple Movers**

Migration Particulars	Number of respondents	
	Rangpo	Singtam
Migrated more than once (present destination)	122 (69.71%)	119 (68%)
Migrated once (present destination)	12 (6.86%)	18 (10.28%)
Migrated first time (in life)	41 (23.43%)	38 (21.71%)

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

Table no. 4.1 shows that out of 175 respondents in Rangpo town 69.71% have come to the same destination more than once and 23.43% of the respondents have migrated for the first time in their life from their native places. On the other hand, Singtam town (175 respondents) has 68% of repeat migrants and 21.71% new migrants. All 350 respondents in Rangpo and Singtam got job in various informal sectors and none was unemployed. Newcomers are also employed; clearly, previous migration history has not influenced the employment opportunities.

4.4 Relation of Educational and Economic Status with Various Types of Migration

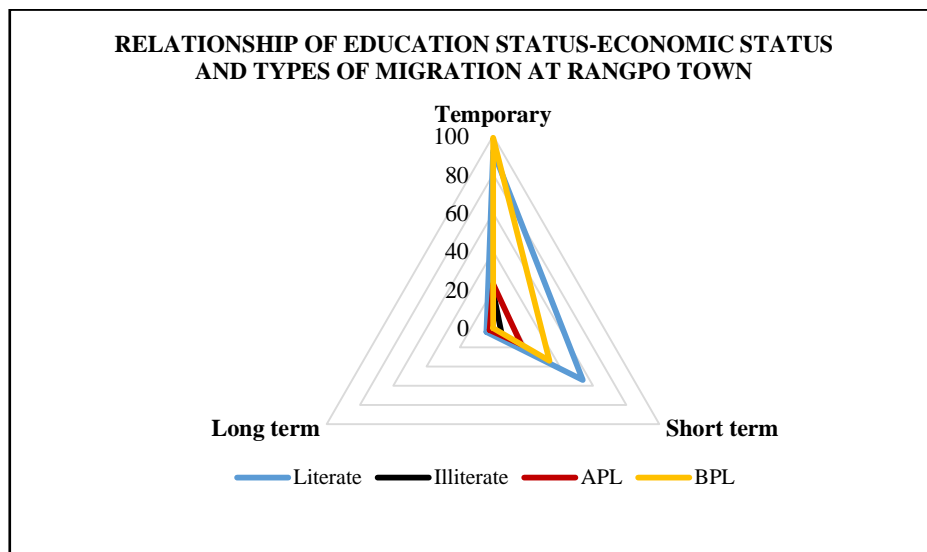
India is the second highest populous country in the world with extensive socio-economic and geographical diversity which is reflected on the types and patterns of migration. There are also direct and indirect relationships of the educational status, skills, and economic status and the migration pattern. In Rangpo, I observed that the maximum inclination of migrants is towards temporary migration, irrespective of their being literate or illiterate and APL or BPL. As evidence of temporary/seasonal/circular migration is scarce and also because empirical study is limited it is not possible to portray macro perceptions in this regard. Temporary, seasonal migrations are the

consequences of liberalisation, but due to limited evidence of the overall livelihoods of the migrants it is difficult to identify whether the proliferation of migrant labourers has impacted on the processes and patterns of migrations and also on development.

The figure number 4.4 shows that literate, illiterate and BPL respondents are more (77.14%) inclined towards temporary/seasonal type and partially inclined towards short term migration (20%). Percentage share of long term migration is almost negligible (2.8%).

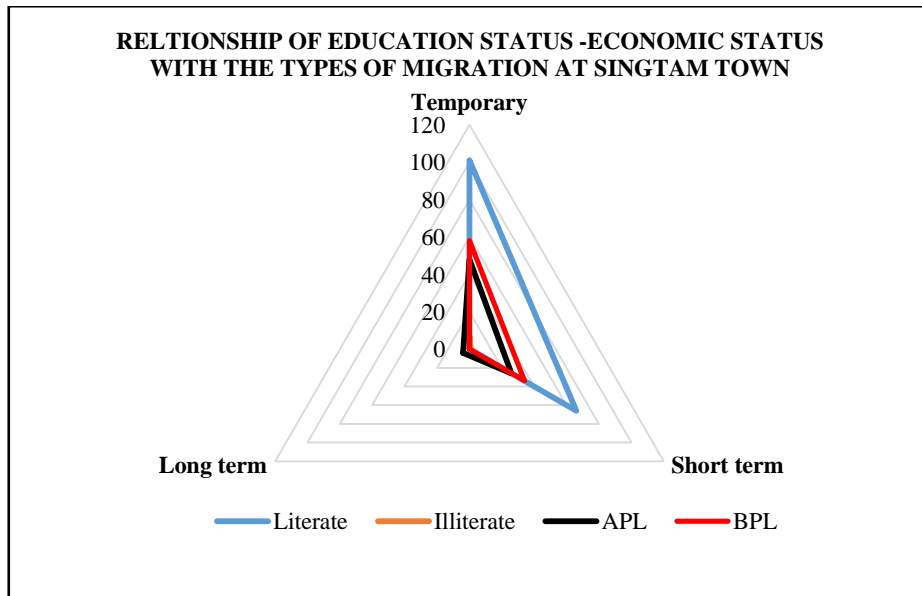
Figure number 4.5. reveals the fact that in Singtam town maximum literate migrants are temporary/seasonal (74.86%) while 29.94% literate migrants prefer to stay for short duration. The NSS 64th round estimated that around 12.24 million people lived away from their usual place of residence (UPR) for seeking work or work purpose between two to six months. This purpose and length of migration have also been studied in Rangpo and Singtam. Singtam being a commercial town attracts more (5.14%) stable migrants than Rangpo.

Fig no. 4.4



Source: Field Survey, 2017.

Fig no. 4.5



Source: Field survey, 2016-17.

Opportunities and availability of different occupations are also other determining parameters which induce different types of migration. The following table shows the minimum and maximum stay of migrant labourers with their deviation value and range.

Table no. 4.2 represents vast diversity among different types of migrants with dissimilar occupations. Tailoring profession shows wide difference between their minimum and maximum length of stay because both the towns have long duration migrants only in this informal sector. Most of the porters maintain an average minimum stay in Rangpo and Singtam, but Rangpo experiences larger duration of stay of the porters. My survey reveals the fact that in Rangpo town porters came when the distilleries of wine and other liquors were established, and subsequently got engaged in other occupational sectors like hotels and construction work. Their duration of stay at Rangpo has been longer because this town has more occupational opportunities owing to its location (first border town) and industrial development.

Table no. 4.2

Average Stay of Migrants (in months) at
Rangpo and Singtam Town (occupation wise)

Occupation	Minimum Stay (months)		Maximum Stay (months)	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
Tailor (R*16, S*17)	1.33±0.72 (0.00-2.00)	1.18±2.10 (0-6)	89.25±64.69 (12-216)	76.82±117.15 (1-480)
Porter (R*62, S*65)	2.55±1.29 (1.00-7.00)	2.38±.09 (1-7)	122.81±85.11 (6-120)	3.91±1.10 (2-9)
Hotel worker (R*30, S*30)	3.37±1.47 (0.00-6.00)	6.33±3.01 (0-10)	43.53±40.46 (4-192)	11.80±7.39 (4-36)
Construction worker (R*67, S*65)	1.49±1.11 (0.00-5.00)	2.03±1.11 (1-8)	34.72±60.46 (1-420)	3.82±1.76 (2-12)

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17. *R=Rangpo, *S=Singtam. Length of stay has been calculated by months, because least length of stay is less than 1 month.

4.5 Consumption of Labour in Different Informal Sectors in Rangpo and Singtam

In search of work and better livelihoods people traverse short or long distances from their native place. In India, footloose labour force has been flowing towards urban destination due to the replacement of rural agrarian society by urban industrial way of life (Breman, 2013:64). On the other hand, global changes in labour market and flexibility of labour force create a transitional retail market, the informal sector which has the maximum consuming power of unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labour. Although they find a niche employment as waged worker or as self-employed individuals, they habitually find job in an informal economy. This research has been observed that, maximum engagement of migrant labourers are in four important informal occupations, namely – tailoring, portering, hotel work and construction work, but broadly all heterogeneity is clubbed together under one umbrella and labeled as informal economy. It is understood that “the formal-informal sector dichotomy coincides with the distinction between waged labour and self-employment” (Breman, 2013: 30) and “a wide range of economic activities often brought under the common denominator of ‘self-employment’” (Breman, 2016: 165). In my study the respondents are categorised under the umbrella term ‘informal sector’ as there is still a lack of perfect word to choose for specific occupations where the concepts of self-employment and

daily wage labour meddled with each other. In Sikkim, I have not only observed day-to-day wage labourers like porters and construction workers but also several forms of long term activities – that of tailors, who are considered as long duration migrants in Rangpo and Singtam. Performance of porters in this respect is casual or daily wage based, and their migration is seasonal and cyclic. Labourers in small hotels are mostly short term or seasonal migrants.

Construction industry plays a vital role in the development of infrastructure of a country/state and also employs a large number of people in its workforce. The construction sector is also regarded as the largest employer of migrant labourers in India with 40 million migrants (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). All these sectors mostly consume seasonal/temporary migrants to do bottom end jobs. Recent studies witnessed that there has been a growing interest in different components related to migration phenomenon, which are relegated to and investigated under qualitative methods, where researchers consider individuals’ preferences of conciseness for migration processes as well as of choosing the destination. In Rangpo and Singtam, it has been observed that construction labourers are mostly temporary/circular migrants due to the absence of social and physical capital to settle down in other areas. Table no. 4.3 corroborates the above mentioned facts in a lucid way. In this study though the term ‘employee’ has been used, during field survey it has been noticed that it is not synonymous with the contract receptacle, rather it symbolises the self-employment practices. Such labourers earn their remuneration on a weekly or daily basis, and they are also free to leave their job any time.

Table no. 4.3 **Different Informal Job Pattern in Rangpo and Singtam Town**

Occupation	Employer		Employee						Total	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Salaried		Weekly Wage		Daily Wage		R*	S*
			R*	S*	R	S	R	S		
Tailor	3	4	4	3	0	3	9	7	16	17
Porter	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	65	62	65
Hotel worker	0	0	5	7	6	5	19	18	30	30
Construction worker	0	2	0	0	33	25	34	38	67	63

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17. R*=Rangpo, S*=Singtam.

4.6 Age Wise Participation Rate in Different Occupation

Age always plays strong roles in the migration of particular groups or individuals (Birchall. 2016: 12) in selecting the job variations and also in choosing the destination. Table no...tries to unfold the age structure of the respondents and their participation rate in four informal sectors at Rangpo and Singtam towns. As we know, the global trend of internal migration is six times more than that of international movement. Globally there are 740 million internal migrants in different age groups (UNDP, 2009). In 2015, the mean age of cross country migration was 39 and working age was between 20 to 64 years; Global South experienced higher concentration of under 20 aged migrants compared to Global North, for example, in Africa 34% migrants are below 20 and Europe has only 9% migrants under 20 years of age (Birchall, 2016: 11). There is a considerable difference between the age and gender of labour migrants across the globe.

Table no. 4.4 **Age Group Wise Participation Rate in Informal Economy**

in Rangpo and Singtam Town

Occupation	15-20 Years		20-25 Years		25-30 Years		30-35 Years		35-40 Years		40-45 Years		45-50 Years		50-55 Years		55-60 Years		Total	
	R*	S*	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S
Tailor	3	2	0	6	5	4	6	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	16	17
Porter	12	0	21	25	17	19	3	9	6	8	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	1	62	65
Hotel worker	15	22	12	7	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	30
Construction worker	9	17	23	12	0	20	23	6	6	6	5	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	67	63

Source: Field Survey, 2016. 17. R*=Rangpo, S*=Singtam.

My field survey also exposed the real fact of Global South in terms of age wise participation rate in labour migration; 54.28% of the migrants are within 15 to 25 years of age in Rangpo and 52% in Singtam town in the same age group. It has been noticed that high concentration of lower age group migrants is in hotel and construction sector. These age group migrants are less experienced and less skilled labourers compared to other age groups, and can easily enter into the arena of urban

informal economy. They are attracted to urban life mainly to earn money. Since there is no particular age span for getting jobs in informal economy, the poor, younger, and middle-aged people are easily drawn into the urban informal economy. Dropping out of school, poverty, family responsibilities also play important roles in enhancing the participation rate.

4.7 Frequency of Poverty: The poorest rarely migrate

The access to physical and human possessions regulates the entry to job markets and self-employed activities. The economic status of a labourer has been reflected in the incident of poverty in segmented or dual labour market. Informal labourers had a much higher incident of poverty (20.5%) compared to that of the organised sector (11.3%) (National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, Govt. of India. 2008: 24). Monthly per capita consumer expenditure (MPCE) quintiles have been used to show economic indicators to identify different economic positions by government of India. In this research, I have considered APL and BPL card issued by government of India as the indicator of poverty of my respondents.

Table no. 4.5

Poverty Level of the Respondents

Occupation	APL		BPL	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
Tailor	11(68.75)	15(88.23)	5(31.25)	2(11.76)
Porter	12(19.35)	10(15.38)	50(80.64)	55(84.61)
Hotel worker	6(20)	15(50)	24(80)	15(50)
Construction worker	13(19.40)	21(33.33)	54(86)	42(66.66)
Total	42(24)	61(34.86)	133(76)	114(65.14)

Source: Field Survey 2016-17. Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Table no. 4.5 establishes the fact provided by the Planning Commission for 2004-05 that estimate of poverty is high in the unorganised/informal sector. There is a striking disparity existing within the economic statuses of seasonal/temporary, short duration, and long duration migrant labourers. Most of the tailors are from above poverty group (APL) in both the towns, 68.75% and 88.23% in

Rangpo and Singtam respectively, whereas, all other migrant workers are below poverty group of people. This group of people is the most vulnerable in terms of socio-economic status. 76% of the migrant labourers in Rangpo and 65.14% in Singtam town belong to below poverty level; this percentage variation is due to the higher concentration of temporary migrants in Rangpo town, and micro-studies show that the poorer are temporary/seasonal labour migrants (Srivastava, 2012: 12) in east Sikkim.

Statistical interface refers the process and use of samples to draw a proper representative fact from the population parameter. Any hypothesis is a belief made as a basis for reasoning. The *t*-testing helped me to identify the fact whether poorer (BPL) have more tendencies to migrate.

Hypothesis: There is a difference between the rate of migration in APL and BPL population at Rangpo and Singtam town.

Table no. 4.6 **Mean Differences of APL and BPL Holder in Rangpo Town**

<i>APL</i>		<i>BPL</i>	
Mean	10.5	Mean	33.25
Standard Error	1.554563176	Standard Error	11.52804551
Median	11.5	Median	37
Standard Deviation	3.109126351	Standard Deviation	23.05609102
Sample Variance	9.666666667	Sample Variance	531.5833333
Range	7	Range	49
Sum	42	Sum	133

Source: Field Survey, 2017. Calculation done by SPSS 16.

Table no. 4.7. **t-Test value of Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variance**

t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variance		
	<i>APL</i>	<i>BPL</i>
Mean	10.5	33.25
Variance	9.666667	531.5833333
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.049137	
t Critical one-tail	1.94318	

Source: Field Survey, 2017. Calculation done by SPSS 16

In Rangpo town, the tendency of migration among BPL population (M=33.35, SD=23.05, Sum=133) was hypothesised to be more than the APL population (M=10.3, SD=3.10, Sum=42) which has been proved with the signified difference, $t(6) = 1.94, p = 0.049$ (one- tail).

Table no. 4.8 **Mean Differences of APL and BPL Holder in Singtam Town**

<i>APL</i>		<i>BPL</i>	
Mean	15.25	Mean	28.50
Standard Error	2.25	Standard Error	12.14
Median	15.00	Median	28.50
Standard Deviation	4.50	Standard Deviation	24.28
Sample Variance	20.25	Sample Variance	589.67
Range	11.00	Range	53.00
Sum	61.00	Sum	114.00

Source: Field Survey, 2017. Calculation done by SPSS 16

Table no. 4.9. . **t-Test value of Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variance**

t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances		
	<i>APL</i>	<i>BPL</i>
Mean	15.25	28.5
Variance	20.25	589.6666667
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.16225384	
t Critical one-tail	1.943180281	

Source: Field Survey, Calculation: SPSS Version 16.

In Singtam town also the influx of BPL population (M=28.50, SD=24.28, Sum=114) was hypothesised to be more than the APL population (M=15.25, SD=4.50, Sum=61). This difference has become significant in $t(6)=1.94$, $P=0.162$ (one-tail). My findings show that migration among BPL population is significantly more than the APL populations who work in Sikkim's informal sector. Though different case studies on migration showed that a minimum level of assets is required to move from one place to another or to leave some money at their native place for running the household left behind, my 350 respondents have denied the fact that the poorest rarely migrate. Through various interviews I came to know that the migrants sometimes borrow money from friends, relatives and contractors to cover the expenses for migration. On the other hand, through this survey I have also noticed that the tendency of taking loan is low among the respondents (table no. 4.15). There is also a possibility of hiding the recent poverty status among the migrants. Once they are entitled as BPL – they are not willing to change their status even after generations.

4.8 Change in Occupation Through Migration/Occupation Mobility

In the past few decades, neoliberal economic policies have been characterised by liberalisation, globalisation, and privatisation and also by the carrying forward of the transformation processes of feudal economy to capital economy at a high pace. A different urban economy has been introduced to consume unskilled poor labour force within the newly introduced flexible informal labour market. It is not easy to give up agricultural practices and habitat for the migrant labourers because in a way most of them are embedded within the village of their origin and do not keep any vacancy at hinterland. On the other hand, they have been accepted in the destination region as temporary labourers and not as residents (Breman, 2013:68) or as citizens (Sikkim in particular). My field study has revealed noticeable transformation in occupation. Sometimes, these transformations helped to change the occupation completely just after migration and sometimes it was nurtured by variant modes of occupation structure. Nowadays for many households, working on agricultural field is not the prime source of livelihood; ancillary activities have been introduced for young generations. When I studied informal labourers in Sikkim, I found that young generations are not completely dependent on cultivation as their main source of livelihoods; they depend only if no other employment choices are available, especially in the urban 'easy entry' sectors. So, occupational multiplicity has become a chief characteristic of the landless, poor, and marginal land holder inhabitants. Table no. 5.10 projects the real picture of my respondents, whether they have changed their occupation completely or are involved in multiple occupations after migration. Srivastava and Bhattacharjee (2002) have pointed out a few essential conclusions from their analysis on 49th (1992-93) and 55th rounds (1999-00) NSS estimations. They stated that "Comparing activity status before and after migration for all migrants, we find that migrants in general show much higher work participation rates for both urban and rural areas. In the urban areas, the NSS 55th round figures show a significant transition to regular employment and self-employment among the males, with a small decline in the percentage of casual labour" (ibid, pp. 4). In the present case, self-employment in terms of weekly and daily wage labourers is quite high (table no..) and especially, temporary/seasonal migrant labourers are engrossed in amorphous urban economy as the self-employed or casual labourers at both the towns.

Table no. 4.10

Occupational Mobility Due to Migration

Occupation	Completely change the occupation		Multiplicity in the occupation		Continuing the same occupation	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
Tailor	4	3	2	5	8	4
Porter	4	12	34	31	11	11
Hotel worker	13	8	8	7	5	6
Construction worker	8	5	12	10	24	27
Total	29(16.57%)	28(16%)	56(32%)	53(30.28%)	48(27.43%)	48(27.43%)

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

The tendency of occupation change after migration is noticeable in both the towns: 16.57% and 16% in Rangpo and Singtam respectively, but multiplicity in occupation is more dominant among the respondents, because migrant labourers are not stable in Sikkim for long time, and once they return they continue their previous job. So, it can be said that present labour market is carrying the characteristics of neoliberal and flexible labour market.

4.9 Family Structure and Its Relation with Migration

Migration encompasses various social diversities. The nature of migration fundamentally reflects the household's livelihood strategies in terms of social, economic, cultural, and demographic constraints. Family pattern of the migrants determines the nature and rate of migration because there is a positive relation between the number of family members and the number of migrants from each family. My field survey has revealed that maximum migrants have six or more people in their families. 74.86% of the migrant respondents at Rangpo and 78.86% of the migrant respondents at Singtam have large or joint family system at their native places. After examining my field data, I have noticed a positive relationship between family size and the number of migrant members from each family. Internal and international migrants jointly account for one in seven persons worldwide (Dèmurger, 2015: 144).

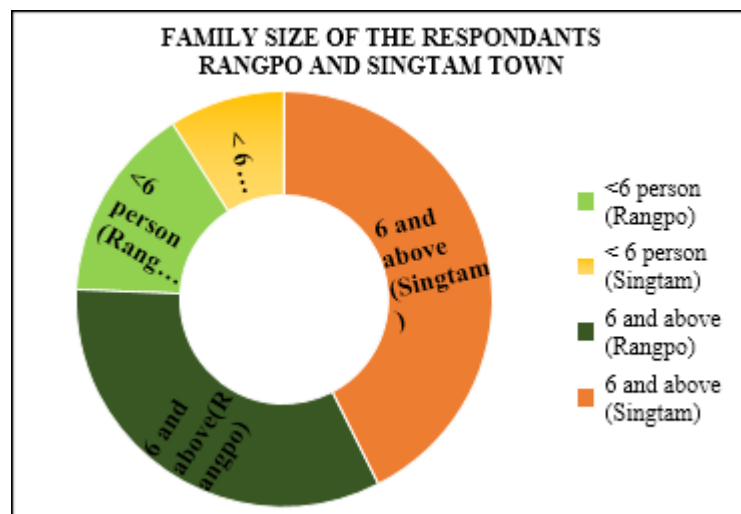
There is a chance for migration of adult children to the urban areas to influence the wellbeing of their younger siblings and elderly parents at rural native place (Hugo, 1987). In Rangpo and Singtam almost every (except long term migrants) migrant's family is left behind at their place of origin. It is also a very common practice in other South Asian countries like China and Philippines (Dèmurger, 2015: 144). Table no 4.11. shows the relationship between family pattern and number of migrants.

Table no. 4.11 **Occupation Wise Relationship Between Total Family Members and Number of Migrants**

Occupation	Below 6 (family member)						6 and above (family member)					
	No of migrant 1		No of migrants 2		No of migrants >3		No of migrant 1		No of migrants 2		No of migrants >3	
	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo
Tailor	2	2	0	3	1	0	9	1	5	7	0	3
Porter	1	3	6	4	0	3	23	13	28	31	7	8
Hotel worker	10	5	2	3	0	0	6	14	11	5	1	3
Construct ion worker	9	11	6	8	0	2	27	29	19	12	2	5
Total	22 (59.46 %)	21 (47.73 %)	14 (37.84 %)	18 (40.91 %)	1 (2.70 %)	5 (11.36 %)	65 (47.10 %)	57 (43.51 %)	63 (45.65 %)	55 (41.98 %)	10 (7.25 %)	19 (14.50 %)

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

Fig no. 4.6



Source: Field Survey, 2017.

The conventional approach to test hypothesis does not consider a single hypothesis about the population parameter. Therefore, I have considered relevant statistical testing (χ^2 testing – extension of Chi-square test of independence) to find the real fact of the constructed hypothesis.

Hypothesis: There is no relationship between total number of family members with the number of migrants from each family:

Table no. 4.12

χ^2 test

Size of the household	No. of migrant 1 (families)		No. of migrant 2 (families)		No. of migrant 3 (families)		Total (families)	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
Below six	21	22	18	14	5	1	44	37
Six and above	57	65	55	63	19	10	131	138
Total	78	87	73	77	24	11	175	175

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Calculation for Rangpo

$$\chi^2 = \sum [(O-E)^2/E] = 56.46$$

$$v = 2$$

Calculation for Singtam

$$\chi^2 = \sum [(O-E)^2/E] = 57.51$$

$$v = 2$$

For $v = 2$, $\chi^2_{0.05}$ (significance level) = 5.99 for both Rangpo and Singtam town and the calculated value of χ^2 is greater than the table value, so the hypothesis is rejected. Hence there is a relationship with total number of family members and the number of migrants from each family. Deshingkar and Start, (2003: 13) state that “availability of labour within the household is a strong determinant of the likelihood to migrate”. In the field study, I have also noticed that the larger households have greater tendency to migrate. Hence, labour-scarce households have less migration rate.

Micro level empirical works by the household/individual survey are done to prepare an account of internal flow rate from rural households to urban informal labour market. There are some important methodological problems which may reduce the scope of the findings and explaining their inconclusiveness, because migration is a choice based variable, and it breaks the experiential literature through flawless selection and contrary causality problems. The direct effect of migration

in a family structure is the splitting of the family according to geographical discretions between native and destination places (Wahyuni, 2000). Individual migration actually increases the non-familial household in destination areas and reduces the household size in rural native areas. X square methods to justify the hypothesis taken above (Table no. 4.12) also represent the positive and strong relationship between family size and number of migrants.

4.10 Particulars of Persons Accompanying and Helping the Migrants at the Time of or after Migration

The lower end of the labour market comprises unskilled, semiskilled, and low waged informal labourers, who own or are allowed small means of livings as porters, small tailors, small hotel workers, construction workers and self-employed workers. Most of the time, migrant labourers give in to qualms in the possible job markets. At the time of the decision making processes, they have little knowledge about these uncertainties and risk of job searching costs. Due to this reason, maximum migrants are willing to move alone for first time but on the other hand, after the revolution in communication there have been various ways to minimise all these risks. Apart from recruitment processes, single migrants establish 'bridgeheads' to minimise high risks and costs. Sharing of kinship ties is the significant reason for group migration along with experiencing some protection in the new destination's geo-social environment and job politics. Mosse et. al. (2002: 59-88) stated that better-off migrants have access to better social networks and are able to achieve better bridgeheads in town areas, but the poorer normally trade their freedom to established personal contacts through the middle men friends and relatives who are already at the same destination place. In the urban informal labour market, relatives and friends act as the main source of network and the entire job market is segmented and based on religion, caste, kinship, and same native areas (Mitra and Gupta, 2002: 163-68). There is a distinct discrimination between migration and labour migration. If people migrate specially to work, this involves various channels to move (Samers, 2010: 123). There is another way to get entry as a migrant worker – as an illegal recruitment. These networks can help the migrant to settle down at a new place; it also provides information about job market and initial economic supports. The following table shows the types of companions during or before the migration of my respondents.

Table no. 4.13 reveals that there are different types of relationships with persons accompanying and helping the migrants at the time of migration and also during settling down at new work place. In

my research field I have observed that very few respondents, 2.86% in Rangpo and 2.28% in Singtam were accompanied by their wives and children, while 20.57% and 18.86% of the respondents migrated alone to Rangpo and Singtam respectively. I have found higher percentage of accompaniments like friends (26.86% in Rangpo and 32.57% in Singtam) followed by siblings (26.28% in Rangpo and 18.28% in Singtam) and relatives (23.43% in Rangpo and 28% in Singtam). In general, large number of migrant labourers (70.86% in Rangpo and 79.43% in Singtam) left their families at their native place.

Table no. 4.13 **Persons Accompanying and Helping the Migrants at the Time of Migration or After Migration**

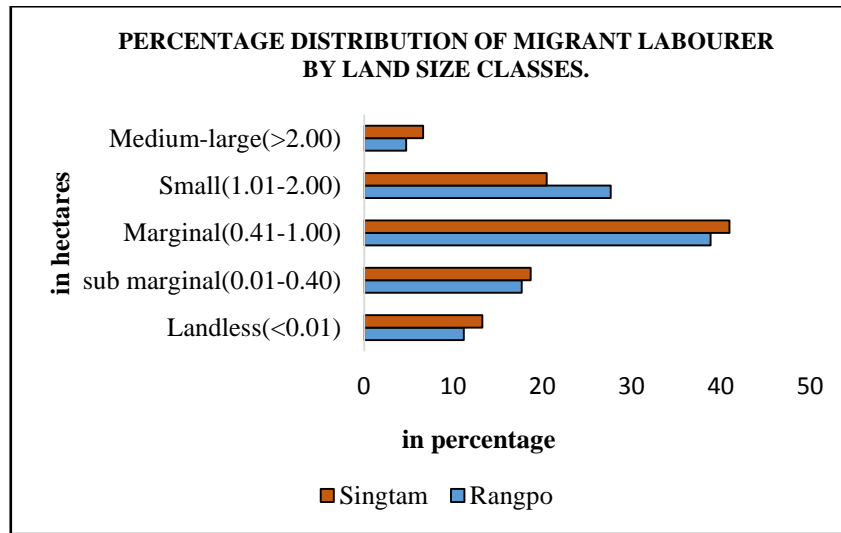
Nature of accompanying	Number of respondents		% of sharing	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
Accompanied by wife and children	5	4	2.86	2.28
Migrate alone	36	33	20.57	18.86
Accompanied by friends	47	57	26.86	32.57
Accompanied by relatives	41	49	23.43	28
Accompanied by siblings	46	32	26.28	18.28

Source: Field survey 2016-17.

4.11 Land Ownership Pattern of the Respondents

Land distribution pattern is important for the study to understand the real economic transition depiction in this post liberal age. It has been seen in Singtam that among my respondents, 13.25% is functionally landless (<0.01 ha); 18.67% is sub-marginal (0.01-0.40 ha.) and 6.62% migrants are medium-large (>2.00 ha.) landowners. Maximum migrants, 40.96% and 20.48% live on marginal (0.41-1.00 ha.) and small (1.01-2.00 ha.) land respectively at their native place (Table no.). In this town only 5.14% of the respondents are landless. Similarly, marginal landholding migrant labourers (38.82%) are highly concentrated in Rangpo town, followed by small (27.65%) and sub-marginal (17.65%) landowners. 11.18% migrant labourers are reported as landless category.

Fig no. 4.7



Source: Field survey, 2016-17.

Dashingkar and Sandi (2012: 56) rightly observed that “Among all categories of migration, intra-state migration still applies to the largest portion of population, again followed by inter-state and finally international; the proportion of non-migrants was highest among the landless, followed by the marginal and small landowners and medium and large landowners, in that order, suggesting that landless and the marginal landowners find it more difficult to migrate.” Majority of the workers of informal sector have marginal and sub marginal land holdings as noted in the Report on conditions of work and promotion of livelihoods in the unorganised sector, Government of India (2008:16)

Table no. 4.14

**Land Size (in Ha.) Classes of Migrant Labourers at
Their Native Place**

Occupation	LAND SIZE CLASSES IN HECTARES									
	Landless (<0.01)		Sub-marginal (0.01-0.40)		Marginal (0.41-1.00)		Small (1.01-2.00)		Medium- Large (>2.00)	
	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S
Tailor (N=16*&15#)	1	6	4	6	7	3	4	0	0	0
Porter (N=60*&60#)	7	4	5	13	27	24	19	14	2	5
Hotel worker(N=29*&30#)	11	9	8	12	2	0	6	9	2	0
Construction worker(N=65*&61#)	0	3	13	0	30	41	18	11	4	6
Total	11.18%	13.25%	(17.5%	18.67%	38.82%	40.96%	27.6%	20.4%	4.7%	6.6%

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17. N =170 for Rangpo and N = 166 for Singtam. *=Rangpo and #=Singtam

4.12 Relationship Between Land Holding Size and Rate of Migration

Previous analysis has already cleared that migration rate depends on various reasons for different groups of people, which also involves various types of migration streams within the national boundary. Migration is also controlled by socio-economic variables like population structure, population composition, land holding, consumption level, and more. Micro studies explain that the bi-modal relationship between land and wealth/income migration is predominant in both low and high level (Connell et al, 1976). National Commission for Rural Labour Report (NCRL), 1991(Srivastava, and Sasikumar, 2003) suggests that land poor farmers and labourers have high tendency to migrate, especially as seasonal/ temporary migrants. Table no. 5.15 represents the relationship between the numbers of migrants from each family with their land holding size.

Table no. 4.15

Land Holding Size and Number of Migrants

		LAND SIZE CLASSIFICATION IN HECTARES									
Number of migrants from each family	<0.01		0.01-0.40		0.41-1.00		1.00-2.00		>2.00		
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	
One person	9	7	15	22	29	27	23	29	2	2	
Two persons	7	11	11	4	35	41	20	5	0	7	
>3 persons	3	4	4	5	2	0	4	0	6	2	
Total	19	22	30	31	66	68	47	34	8	11	

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17. Rangpo (N) =170, Not respondents = 5. Singtam (N) = 166, not respondents =9.

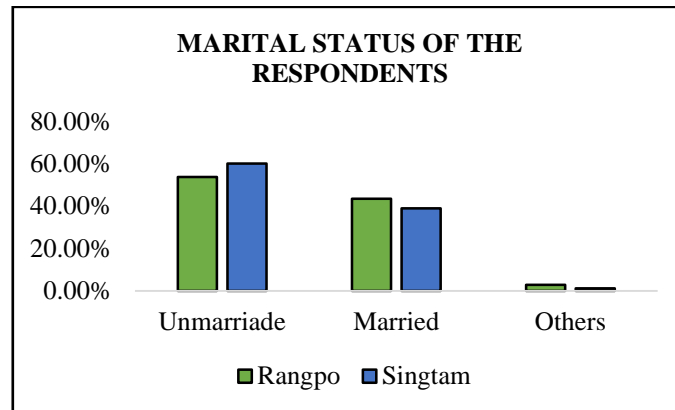
The proportion of migrants from each family is visibly high from marginal land holding households, which is a partially common picture of the Indian rural-urban migration stream, as stated by Priya Deshingkar and Matteo Sandi in 2012 in National Workshop in Internal Migration and Human Development in India, Workshop Compendium. They observed that the landless have to endure much difficulty while migrating, but marginal (17.15), small (16.92) and medium, and large (17.53) land owners are more prone to migrate. In my study I have noticed that marginal and small land owners are more active participants in migration than the medium and large land owners at Rangpo and Singtam town.

5.13 Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital status of the migrants is an important criterion to identify the impact of migration on those family members who stay behind at their native place. I have already discussed why labour migration is conventionally stated as an economically beneficial process for the family members who are left behind at the place of origin. On the contrary, it is also true that migration of

economically active people splits the families and endorses multiple adverse effects – health, education, social status and labour supply response, and kinship (Dèmurger, 2015: 144), which have become fundamental questions with indecisive evidence. Fig.no. 5.8 identifies the marital status of migrant labourers at Rangpo and Singtam and table no. the occupation wise marital status of the migrants.

Fig no. 4.8



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

Table no. 4.16 highlights the fact that the concentration of unmarried migrant labourers (53.71% at Rangpo and 60.00% at Singtam) are more compared to married labourers (43.43% at Rangpo and 38.85% at Singtam). As we know, labour migration is profoundly related to the economic benefit, and economically active member’s migration changes the kinship or *de facto* household head and creates a burden on left behind members. These absences can increase children’s possibilities to drop out from schools and reduce motivations for education, whereas remittance can help in progressive education for the children and siblings who have been left behind at the native place. Absence of any family member for long term or temporary basis can influence family structure (Hugo, 1987). It may create disputed family life, which can lead to psychological problems and poor diets. Though different studies have already discussed the impact of migration on those left behind, there is a continuous lack of data sources about the impact of migration of the informal labourers in Sikkim.

Table no. 4.16 **Marital Status of the Respondents in Rangpo and Singtam Town**

Marital Status (in %)						
Occupation	Married		Unmarried		Others	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
Tailor	14.47	11.76	5.31	8.57	0	0
Porter	48.68	50	26.59	27.62	0	100
Hotel worker	5.26	2.94	25.53	26.66	40	0
Construction worker	31.58	35.29	42.55	37.14	60	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

4.14 Purpose of Loan Taken by Labourers at the Time of Migration

De Soto (2000:5) stated through his field work in India and Indonesia that a miserable poverty is present among the labourers of informal sector due to the direct effect of lesser means of production and other reasons, which lead to a low return of their labour. This fact is very much prominent in case of my respondents also. Low return of their labour at their native place creates various purposes for taking loans, which they borrow on or before the time of migration. Table no. 5.17 shows the probabilities of borrowing loan by the respondents.

Table no: 4.17

Purposes of Loan Among the Respondents

Purposes of loan	Respondent number		% of sharing	
	Rangpo	Singtam	Rangpo	Singtam
To meet family expenditure at native place (before migration)	19	27	21.84	23.89
To meet health expenditure	9	4	10.34	3.54
To repay old debt	32	41	36.78	36.28
Purchase of agricultural machinery	4	11	4.60	9.73
Migration cost	23	30	26.44	26.54
Total	87	113	49.71	64.57
Not taken any loan	88	62	50.28	35.43

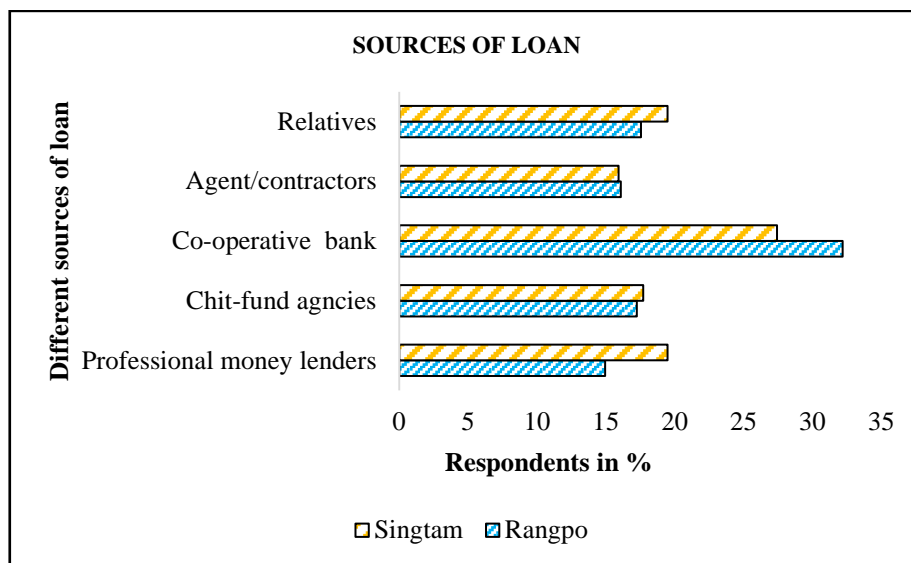
Source: Field Survey 2016-17.

At Rangpo more than half of the respondents have not taken any loan (50.28%), and in Singtam 35.43% of the migrant labourers are not under any compulsion of taking a loan. Regarding the purpose of borrowing loans, the maximum percentage of labourers have taken loan to repay the previous debt – 36.78% and 36.28% at Rangpo and Singtam respectively, which clearly justifies de Soto's observation. Next highest participation rate is to meet migration cost. The percentage share for this purpose actually portrays the relationship between the economic status and the precarity of the labourers. 26.44% of the migrant labourers in Rangpo and 26.54% in Singtam took loans to meet migration cost. It happens due to the possibilities of enormous wage gain through migration. Migrant labourers are sometimes found to borrow to meet expenses for medical purposes and to purchase agricultural machineries: 10.34%, 3.54% and 4.60%, 9.73% in Rangpo and Singtam respectively.

4.15 Source of Loans for the Respondents

There are different sources of loans for the migrants to solve their economic problems. The main cause of out-migration from the rural areas is the burden of debt in the place of origin or what is referred to as debt-interlocking, which is an important push factor in the case of developing countries. In my case study, 49.71% and 64.57% respondents at Rangpo and Singtam respectively, have migrated because of the above mentioned cause, so that they can earn more and repay their debts. In my study debt-interlocking, especially involving agents or middlemen takes place, which is quite common in other part of the country also. To reduce personal dependence and to repay the loans, poor people are willing to migrate. Thus, labour mobility and migration begin, as labourers seek alternative source of employment and cash income (Srivastava, 1987; Breman, 1974,1985; Mosse et al. 1997). During my field investigation I have noticed five main sources of borrowing money by my respondents.

Fig no. 4.9



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

Figure no. 4.9 reveals the real scenario of the various sources from which the respondents took loans to meet their economic dearth. Nearly 14.94% and 19.47% of the respondents have taken loans from professional money lenders at Rangpo and Singtam towns respectively. Chit-fund agencies are also active in providing loans (17.24% at Rangpo and 17.70% at Singtam). Important role has been played by the co-operative banks, which lend maximum support and easiest means to

borrow money in the rural native places. 32.18% of the respondents at Rangpo and 27.43% of the respondents at Singtam have taken loans from these sources. Agents or middlemen moderately occupy the field of money lending to the migrant labourers; nearly 16.09% and 15.93% depend for their loans on the agents in terms of debt-interlocking practices. Relatives as a source of loan are also very common because terms and conditions for providing and repaying a loan are very easy. 19.54% at Rangpo town and 19.47% respondents from Singtam town have borrowed money from their relatives.

It has been noticed a few interesting facts, such as, the migrants who have come from Bihar (68% and 70% at Rangpo and Singtam respectively) are more prone to take loans from professional money lenders and chit-fund agencies with comparatively high rate of interest compared to the migrants who have come from West Bengal (37% and 43% for Rangpo and Singtam). Interestingly, Co-operative banks like 'Bandhan' and 'Gramin Bank' have been playing vital roles in the provision of loans to the respondents who have originated from West Bengal. These banks are under the micro-finance status of Regional Rural Banks of Eastern India, which includes the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, and Odisha. These micro-finance groups are providing small loans to poor families who are not able to access the help of traditional financial institutions (Das and Patnaik, 2015:45). Occupation wise, construction workers mostly practice debt-interlocking process. More than half of the migrant labourers who are engaged as casual construction workers have taken loans from the agents or contractors before they migrated.

4.16 Income Level of the Respondents Before and After Migration – Field Observation

In the past, work meant full-time, stable jobs, which resulted in substantial progress of labourers, and the labourers were treated differently than products. At that time, we could have categorised employment under specific standard employment models, but in the era of neo-liberal economy, it is difficult to explain perfect economic structure of labourers under any standard economic model. It is also due to the processes of intensified global competition, globalisation, technological revaluation, and flexible labour market, which have shifted the employment risk away from the farms and imposed it on to the labourers (Jaumotte, and Tytell, 2007: 161-192). In a wide range of studies, it has been observed that neo-liberal policies have been largely controlled by the countries of the developed world like US and the other richer ones. As a consequence, it pulled poor people from poor countries to migrate. My micro level study has identified a wide gap in the income

structures of the migrant labourers between the place of origin and destination. A migrant's earnings have an effect on the income, expenditure, and also on the investments, which can change their entire livelihood along with their household and community relations. Internal labour migration is critically related to the livelihood options of the people from resource-poor areas, to lack of opportunities, better livelihood options, and so on. Literatures (after 1960) prove that there is a strong relationship between economic development and migration (GCIM, 2005; UN High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, 2006), especially labour migration. Theorists predict that certain conditions are responsible for free physical movement of people, especially the growth of labour intensive services and industries in post-capitalist era, which means that there is always a ready storage of labour migrants, who are willing to raise their incomes by migrating to highly paid locations. On the contrary, in the real world there are people bound to leave their last residences because of poverty and in order to survive. For them I prefer to use the term 'quasi-forced migrant labourers', but the overall motive that I have noticed behind the physical movement of people is economy and prefer to use the term for them 'mercenary migrant labourers' which has already been discussed in the previous chapter. The following table represents the economic structure of my respondents in relations to pre and post migration syndrome.

Table no. 4.18 **Economic Transformation of the Respondents at Singtam Town**

Particulars	Pre-migration individual income in Rs.				Post migration individual income in Rs.			
	Tailor	Porter	Hotel boy	Construction workers	Tailor	Porter	Hotel boy	Construction workers
Observation	17	65	30	63	17	65	30	63
Mean ±SD (range)	5,000±11 977.84 (0.00 – 50,000)	4,038.46± 1,367.33 (2000- 7,000)	18,16.67± 2,765.19 (0.00- 8,000)	7,865.08± 7,090.55 (0.00- 25,000)	19,235.29± 13,198.15 (3000- 50,000)	16,507.69± 1,367.86 (14000- 20,000)	6,690.00± 2,192.52 (2200 - 13,000)	16,388.89± 4,458.99 (10000 - 30,000)
25%	0.00	3000.00	0.00	0.00	10000.00	16000.00	5500.00	13000.00
75%	6,000.00	5,000.00	3,000.00	25,000.00	32,000.00	18,000.00	7,000.00	20,000.00

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17

Madhurilata Basu (2018: 101) observed a huge movement of people who got them involved for income benefit - globally and locally - under the influence of contemporary capitalist economy. The projected tables given above (table no.5.18 and 5.19) establish the income benefit factors embodied in the migration processes at Rangpo and Singtam towns. According to Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM, 2005), migration helps to minimise the problems of ageing, diminishing populations, and of labour shortage in any destination area. Simultaneously, through these practice migrants can yield advantages for their family members – to those left behind at native places by sending remittance.

Table no. 4.19 **Economic Transformation of the Respondents at Rangpo Town**

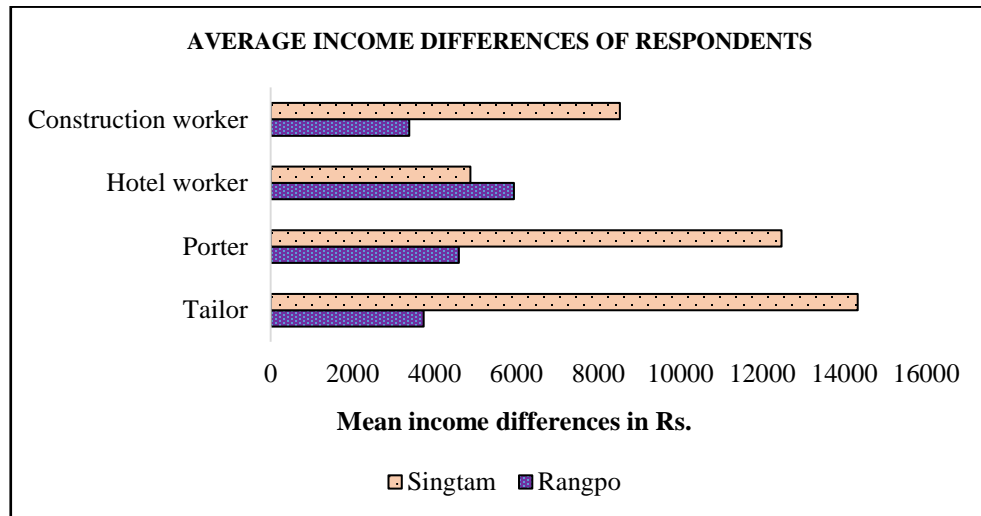
Particular	Pre-migration individual income in Rs.				Post migration individual income in Rs.			
	Tailor	Porter	Hotel boy	Construction workers	Tailor	Porter	Hotel boy	Construction workers
Observation	16	62	30	67	16	62	30	67
Mean ±SD (range)	7,968.75±6,589.05 (0.00 – 25,000)	7,112.90±2,102.73 (0.00 – 10,000)	2,533.33±3,025.56 (0.00 – 8,000)	8,895.52±3,438.35 (0.00 – 18,000)	11,701.61±1,597.79 (8000 – 15,000)	11,701.61±1,597.79 (8000 – 15,000)	8,466.67±2,388.67 (5000 – 16,000)	12,276.12±2,786.99 (7000 – 24,000)
25%	2,500.00	6,000.00	0.00	6,000.00	11,000.00	1,0000.00	7,000.00	10,000.00
75%	10,000.00	9,000.00	6,000.00	10,000.00	23,000.00	12,000.00	8,000.00	14,000.00

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

Tables no (4.18 and 4.19) also reveal occupation-wise mean income condition of the labourers prior to and after migration with the dispersion (standard deviation) from the average. It can be seen that pre migration income range has started from Rs.0.00-Rs. 25,000 for tailors because all respondents do not have job experiences. 1.71% of the respondents at Rangpo and 2.28% of the respondents at Singtam have their own tailoring shops and they earn more money than other employees. This situation is common for the other three categories (porter, hotel worker and construction worker) also, but other occupations do not allow the workers to establish their own trade (Subletting the trade license) as tailoring does. There is always a difference in activity status before and after

migration for most of them; in general, they show comparatively higher work participation rate in the destination areas to earn more money.

Fig no. 4.10



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

The maximum income difference between pre and post migration status has been observed at Singtam because of the fact that its geographical significance and economic practices have accelerated the rate of urbanisation which attracts people from neighbouring states and also because of the change in the status of town (Class of town). Singtam, a commercial town occupies an extraordinary position in the economy of Sikkim. But Rangpo, a border town, has its history of population flow and economic rise only since last decade (24.46% in 2001 and 181.7% in 2011, according to Indian Census).

I have calculated the coefficient of variance to identify the income distribution of migrant labourers in Rangpo and Singtam towns. The following table bears significant evidence of the uniformity of income after migration. I have also calculated the occupation-wise coefficient of variance of income in the pre and post migration context as shown in the table below. Since the value of coefficient of variance (CV) has decreased sharply in every occupation (table no. 5.18) there is a noteworthy evidence to conclude that incomes are more uniformly distributed after migration in both the towns. It implies that lesser inequalities have been noticed in the income. In the case of tailor, the CV has changed from 82.69 to 13.65 at Rangpo town and from 239.55 to 68.61 at Singtam town; for porter from 29.56 to 13.65 at Rangpo and from 33.81 to 8.29 at Singtam town. The CV value has changed from 83.00 to 28.22 and from 152.43 to 32.77 at Rangpo and Singtam

towns respectively. The same change has also been observed in the case of construction worker; it went down from 38.65 to 22.70 at Rangpo and from 90.15 to 27.21 at Singtam town. My observation quantifies the fact that migration in Sikkim has played an important role to support better life at the native place of the migrants in terms of income, investment, and standard of living than pre migration situation.

Table no. 4.20 **Occupation-wise Coefficient Variance of Income of Respondents in Rangpo and Singtam**

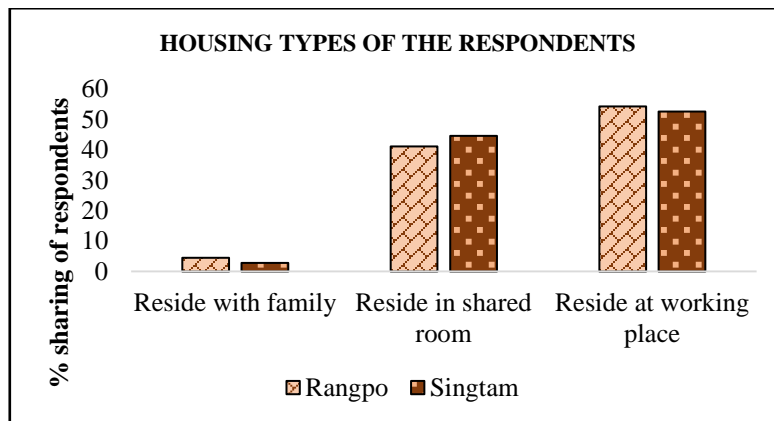
Occupation	Coefficient of Variance of income at Rangpo town		Coefficient of Variance of income at Singtam town	
	Before	After	Before	After
Tailor	82.69	13.65	239.55	68.61
Porter	29.56	13.65	33.81	8.29
Hotel worker	83.00	28.22	152.43	32.77
Construction Worker	38.65	22.70	90.15	27.21

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

4.17 Living Condition in the Host Area

According to Ranabir Samaddar, (2018:1) “the neoliberal city encapsulates the central contradiction of modern global connectedness accompanied by a hyper-commodification of land and new forms of social marginalisation, most notably the increasing informality of labour and life, widely known as the informal and precarious life and work of the migrant in the city.” In this context, it is essential to discuss the living condition of the migrant labourer at the destination areas. In Sikkim a considerable number of migrant labourers, particularly those from a poor working class are unable to get decent possessions, especially in terms of housing. This is also common in other parts of the country like Mumbai (Jha, 2016: 69-77). Sikkim has another constraint in terms of legal possessions which is related to Sikkim Residential certificate and COI (certificate of identification). Most of my respondents stay in rented rooms in group. Some of them even live at their work place.

Fig no. 4.11



Source: Field Survey, 2017.

To minimise their expenditure and due to lack of cheap housing they are forced to live in small, unhealthy rooms with too many room-mates. Due to the Sikkim Subject Act, Sikkim towns do not fall under the paradigm of ‘encroacher’ like the other cities of the country (Khali, 2006). As per my field survey (Fig no. 5.11.) only 4.57% at Rangpo and 2.85% of the respondents at Singtam reside at rented houses with their family members, and it has been found notably in the group employed as tailors. The second highest concentration is noticed in the sharing based rented housing facilities. 41.14% and 44.57% of the migrants are living in this way at Rangpo and Singtam towns respectively. Porters and informal employees in tailoring profession put up in shared rooms. Hotel workers and construction labourers (54.28% at Rangpo and 52.57% at Singtam) stay at their work place.

Other information on living conditions has been shown in the table no. 4.21 to highlight the actual picture of the living condition of migrant labourers. Most of the shared facilities are single rooms, made of wood, the roof with light asbestos or tin. Most of them use community latrines. However, both the towns have bettered their domestic and commercial electricity connection (Domestic electric connection in Singtam - 530 in 2011 and 245 in 2001, in Rangpo 595 in 2011 and 203 in 2001, Commercial electric connection in Singtam - 524 in 2001 and 428 in 2001, in Rangpo 375 and 289 in 2011 and 2001 Census respectively), and very few (Table no. 4.21) of my respondents do not have electricity at their rented homes.

Table no. 4.21

Life Style Amenities of the Respondents in Rangpo and Singtam Town

Lavatory				Electric connection				Fuel Used for cooking				Water supply			
Own/Sharing		Community		Present		Absent		Kerosene		LPG		Govt. supply		Other	
R#	S*	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S
38	42	137	133	157	170	18	5	101	93	74	82	166	170	9	5
21.7	24	78.2	76	89.7	97.1	10.2	2.8	57.7	53.1	42.2	46.8	94.8	97.1	5.1	2.8
1%	%	8%	%	1%	4%	8%	6	1%	4%	8%	5%	6%	4%	4	6
							%							%	%

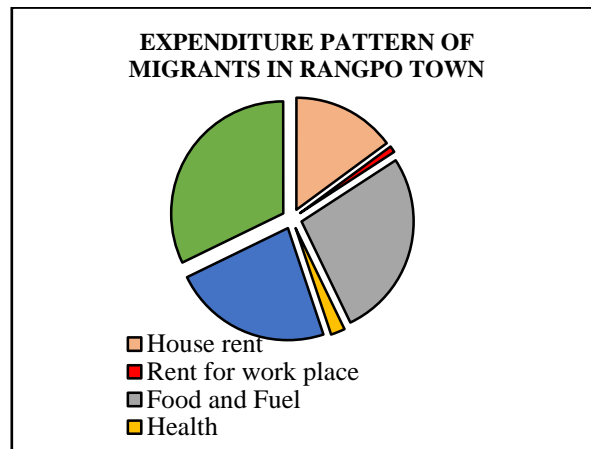
Source: Field Survey, 2016-17. R# = Rangpo (N=175), S* = Singtam (N=175).

Migrant informal labourers live in deplorable conditions, especially when hygiene and water supply is considered at Rangpo and Singtam. Use of community lavatory is obvious, because most of the migrants are living in one-room-sharing basis at their work place (Fig no.4.11.). In case of the fuel used for cooking, though the proportion of LPG use is noticeable, the migrants do not have their own LPG connections. Migrants buy LPG from the Sikkim Subject/RC holders paying higher prices. Singtam's respondents (85.14%) face water supply problem (Govt. supply) and the same problem is also being faced by the migrant labourers of Rangpo (83.25%). These temporary/seasonal, short term and long term migrants endure inadequate water supply and poor hygienic conditions, though waste management payment is also compulsory for those staying in a rented household.

4.18 Pattern of Expenditure in the Host Areas

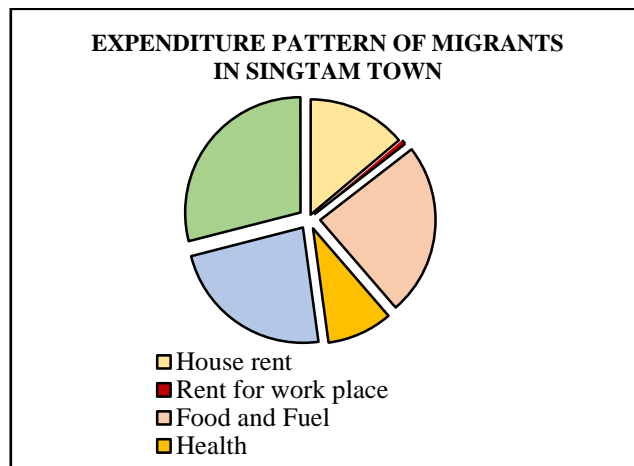
As a whole, living costs for the migrant labourer is quite high in Sikkim. We know that most of the labour migration takes place in a productive age in order to take advantage of higher employment opportunities and to earn more money. Informal employment belongs to an out-stripped sector of the formal one in terms of generating number of employment and also shows a prospective future for further growth. It is very common that the amount of income and amount of remittance have been taken care of by the expenditure pattern of the migrants at their host areas.

Fig no. 4.12



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17

Fig no. 4.13.



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

Major share of income of my respondents has been sent to their native places where their families spend that money to fulfill their basic needs, and sometimes for additional purposes like house repairing, establishing new income set up at the native place. However, in this survey I have tried to find out the expenditure pattern of my respondents in the host state. Fig no 4.12 and fig no 4.13 explain the expenditure pattern of the migrant labourers at Rangpo and Singtam town respectively.

As can be expected, the respondents spend their income at destination areas on food, fuel, and house rent. They (except the respondents who stay with their families) always prefer to stay with friends, relatives, and if possible, at work place in order to minimise their expenditure. 45.71% and 47.43% of the respondents pay house rent at Rangpo and Singtam respectively. Only 2.85% and 2.28% respondents at Rangpo and Singtam are paying rent for staying at their work place also. The

migrants need to spend their money for food and fuel (82.86% at Rangpo, 82.85% at Singtam); only hotel workers do not pay any amount of money on food and lodging. Another noticeable area of expense is the mobile phone bill - 98.85% and 99.42% of the respondents at Rangpo and Singtam respectively pay mobile phone bills. The following table also represents the occupation wise mean expenditure value of the respondents at Rangpo and Singtam towns.

Table no. 4.22 **Average Monthly Expenditure of the Respondents in Rangpo and Singtam Town**

Occupation	Average monthly expenditure of respondents at Rangpo town	Average monthly expenditure of respondents at Singtam town
Tailor	7087.50 ±8512.35	13926.47 ±15693.81
Porter	3203.39 ±1324.89	4095.00 ±1599.92
Hotel worker	1405.67 ±1230.20	313.00 ±326.65
Construction worker	2591.64 ±1568.59	3962.63 ±2485.22

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

The maximum monthly expenditure has been noticed among those migrants engaged in the field of tailoring, and out of them 2.86% and 2.28% are in the employer group in this occupation at Rangpo and Singtam. There is a high expenditure range between employee tailors and employers. Variations among different occupations have been seen due to the different ways of living. Overall, the respondents try to minimise their expenditure in the host state because their family members are left behind in remote areas. Hagen-Zanker and Azzarri, (2010: 57-84) observed while researching at Albania that households who migrated from rural areas to urban or peri-urban/semi-urban areas are found to have less consumption than those people who stay back at the place of origin. In developing countries like India, a migrant's income or migration process affects the consumption/expenditure nature in the place of origin rather than in the place of destination. Zezza et al. (2011: 1-6) observed a partial correlation between migration and consumption.

4.19 Saving Position of Respondents/ Nature of Saving

The major share of income earned by my respondents is spent for household expenses at their place of origin. Some of them are only able to meet their basic needs and some of them spend money on education of their children, household items, and emergencies. Saving is a very rare practice among the migrant labourers. Very few respondents save for future goal. The willingness for saving has been noticed especially within very young respondents who have migrated to and enrolled in informal sector to uplift their standards of living. Some save money to establish new business at their native place, and also for new investment, household repairing etc. The respondents are following very traditional ways to save money. Very few are conscious about the facilities given by the government banks and post offices. Most of them are saving their money in various informal ways in the custody of relatives, employers etc. I have observed that they do not save money for long term; once they overcome the problem, they stop saving money. The following table shows the most popular purposes of saving by the respondents.

Table no. 4.23

Purposes of Saving by the Respondents in Rangpo and Singtam Town

Purposes of saving	No. of respondents at Rangpo	No. of respondents at Singtam
For retention purpose	8 (4.57%)	11 (6.28%)
Education of children	3(1.71%)	3(1.71%)
Repairing house	2 (1.14%)	3 (1.71%)
Investment	13 (7.43%)	15 (8.57%)
Health	3 (1.71%)	1 (0.57%)
Marriage	9 (5.14%)	6 (3.43%)
Other	4 (2.28%)	6 (3.43%)
Total	42 (24%)	45 (25.71%)

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

In my study areas, 76% and 74.28% of the respondents are not willing to save money for any reason at Rangpo and Singtam respectively. Only 24% of the respondents at Rangpo and 25.71% from Singtam are saving money for some common purposes. The major reason to save money is for investment purpose (7.43% at Rangpo and 8.57% at Singtam). These investments are considered to establish small business and even to transform agricultural paddy fields into small tea gardens. A small percentage of my respondents (tailors, hotel workers, and construction workers) keep their savings in the custody of their employers – 12% (Rangpo) and 13.14% (Singtam). In order to review the development impact at native place, it is essential to understand the long term development welfare of households and economic feasibility at the place of origin because most of the respondents are temporary/short term migrants, and Barber et al. (2005) observe that short term/temporary migration may not be enough to save money for business or to make other expressive investments at their home land.

4.20 Remittance Methods

The economic power of labour migrants, the ‘remittances’ acts as an important source of income and capital and gives effect to huge number of households around the globe (Mallick, 2010: 30). It is imperative to discuss remittance in terms of policy perspective as well as in terms of migration and development nexus on the grounds that remittance affects and possibly improves the livelihood of so many people around the globe. Labour migration has a significant impact on the social and economic changes of the host area, as well as on the area of origin (ADB, 2005). The term ‘remittance’ has been used to denote the unrequited transfer/ private transfer of money. IMF’s Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook defines three types of money transfer under the name of remittance. Workers remittance is defined as the value of monetary transfer to native place from workers residing abroad for more than one year (Mallick, 2010: 30), but this term has been used for the national cross border money transfer by the workers. The theoretical debate on remittance and its determinants was triggered by Lucas and Stark (1985: 901-918).

Normally, migrant labourers send money for household purposes or investment purposes. Remittance sent by the labourers is the economic backbone of household members who stay behind at the place of origin. Wahba (1991: 41-44) mentioned two types of remittances, ‘fixed’ and ‘discretionary’. The latter one is resolutely related to the investment; on the other hand, fixed remittance is dependent on the family consumption and expenditure. In a developing country like India, the migration stream of rural to urban is welcoming the fixed remittance by the endogenous

migration view. Most of the literatures on remittance have explained this term as the flow of money due to economics of the family. In developing countries remittances are not recognised as profit driving rather are obligatory transfers of money to serve household expenditures, and they also fluctuate counter-cyclically (Chami et al., 2005: 55-81). In my study, maximum respondents are remitting for an altruistic motive, also referred to as “pure self-interest” and “tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest” (Lucas and Stark, 1985: 901-918). Over the last few decades, different empirical researches have established optimistic views on migration under the light of remittance (Taylor et al., 1996a: 397-418 1996b: 181-212; Rapoport and Docquier, 2005; Katseli, Lucas, and Xenoini, 2006; De Hass, 2007: 1-46). To understand socio-economic position of the migrant’s family, it is essential to discuss the potential role of remittance in social and economic transformation processes. In this study, I have tried to find out the economic impact of this inter-state labour migration on the migrant’s household at the place of origin, though it has been explained as unique in most of the literatures because maximum previous research has been conducted in the form of evocative case studies. I have tried to undertake a detailed study of the migrant’s income and remittance relationship along with their impact on the socio-economic structure. New Economics of Labour Migration [NELM] supports the migration and development nexus through the observation that due to the market failures in the place of origin, people start to migrate from that place of origin to a non-related, flexible labour market. It is a kind of a co-insuring agreement between the migrant and the households left behind. Remittances also support the migrants, especially at the spells of unemployment (temporary/seasonal migrant). The estimations of remittance are either determined by the household/respondents survey at the receiving areas, in this case – various districts of Bihar and West Bengal, or precise surveys of the migrants themselves at the destination areas – Sikkim in my research. Different researches have measured the altruism motive by considering the effects on the migrant’s or household income and on the likelihood and or amount of remittances. Following figures (Fig no. 5.14 and 5.15) show the regression analysis between income structure and remittance structure. It is clear that there is a strong positive effect of income on remittance; migrants are willing to send maximum portion of their income as remittance which impacts on income per capita depending upon the size of the family.

Fig no. 4.14

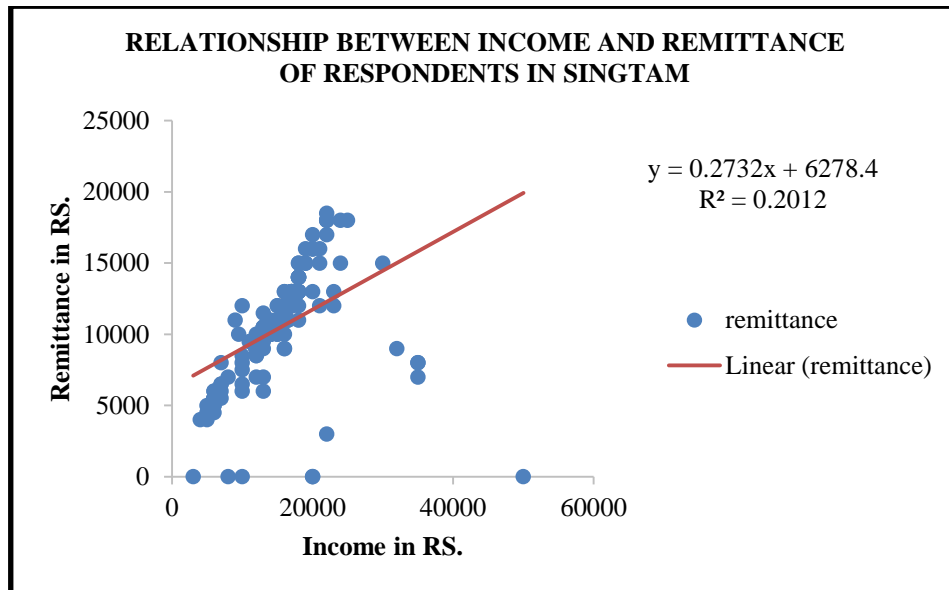


Table no. 4.24

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.448567115
R Square	0.201212457
Adjusted R Square	0.196595187
Standard Error	3414.050617
Observations	175

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17. Calculation done by SPSS16

Fig no. 4.15

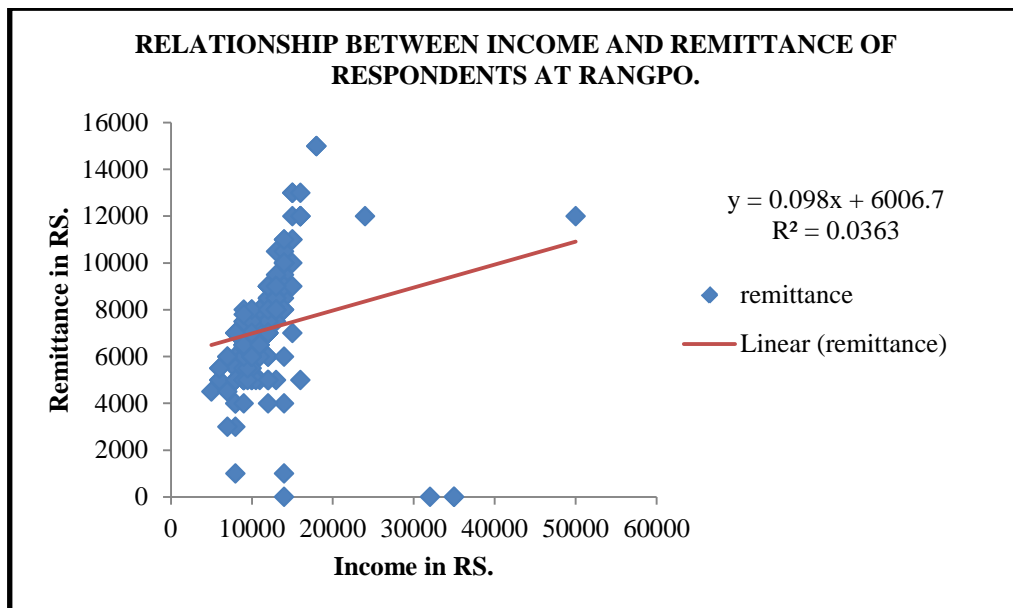


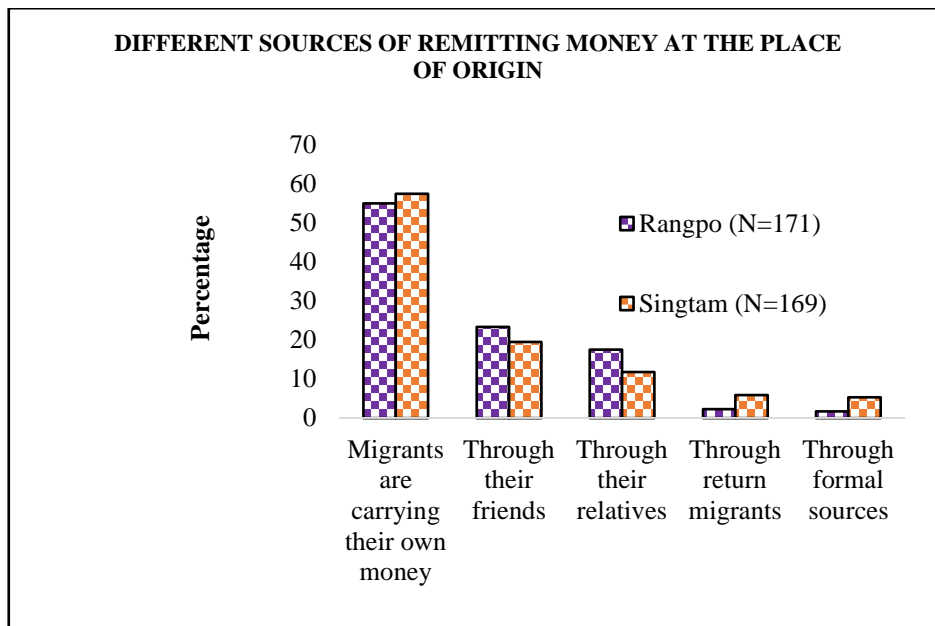
Table no. 4.25

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.190430755
R Square	0.036263872
Adjusted R Square	0.030693143
Standard Error	2479.397292
Observations	175

Source: Field Survey, 2017. Calculation done by SPSS, version 16.

The important factors which regulate the migrants' choice of remitting money through informal or formal sources are accountability, amount, and transition costs. There are huge ranges of informal systems present – migrants carrying cash money, sending money through friends and relatives, or sometimes with the returning migrants. Figure no. 4.16 shows the preferable choice of money transfer by my respondents at Rangpo and Singtam towns. It has been estimated that nearly fifty percent of remittances are transferred through informal sources which do not have any documentation; World Bank (2006) estimates around \$300 billion total remittances are sent somewhere around the world (Zanker, 2010).

Fig no. 4.16.



Source: Field Survey, 2017-18.

A large section of my respondents in Singtam and Rangpo carry cash/remittance when they visit their native places – 54.97% and 57.40% at Rangpo and Singtam respectively. As majority of respondents are temporary/seasonal migrants, they visit their native places very often and they keep trying to curtail transaction costs. Normally, because money transfer is high in cost, migrants are remitting rather than repatriating their earned money on their return home, but if the transaction options would be less and transaction costs would be very high, then repatriating practice will be more, which has been observed by Gibson and McKenzie (2013: 5) in their research on New Zealand’s RSE scheme, especially in the case of Vanuatu. 94.68% of the respondents at Rangpo town and 98.75% of the respondents from Singtam are using informal sources of remittance; however, both the towns have enough banking facilities within the small periphery – Rangpo has five national and one private bank; Singtam has four national, one private, and two co-operative banks (Census of India, 2011, statement. VI), but only 1.75% and 5.32% of the respondents use the formal mode of money transactions at Rangpo and Singtam respectively. In case of Sikkim, I have noticed among my respondents that they prefer to carry their earned amount while returning to their homes. In this regard, the inclination to visit their home land is higher due to migrant’s variant economic practices. Literature based on the determinants of remittance is becoming a growing phenomenon because it is linked to the determinants and motivations of migration and transfer

literatures. It is clear that different researches find different motivations for remittance in different space, place and time.

4.21 Conclusion

The main objective of this chapter is to explore the socio-economic status of migrant workers in Rangpo and Singtam towns and to identify pre and post migration locational discourse. The objective of my research is to define this discourse through various demographic, socio-economic, and statistical parameters and to get the real essence of migration-development nexus. Market-oriented or labour intensive speculative capitalism is the successful consequence of liberal or neo-liberal socio-economic structure which acts as a quasi-forced motivational factor for the rural poor people to migrate to towns and cities. In case of Sikkim, the accumulation of migrant labour is not the product of dispossession and rehabilitation due to state policy (1961 Act.). I have noticed significant differences among the various occupations in terms of socio-economic parameters. Income has increased as an effect of migration in both the labour sending states, namely, West Bengal and Bihar, and large number of my respondents professed their improved social and economic status. In the light of human capital approach, it has been observed that individuals who are inter-state migrants are younger and my empirical study also confirms this fact. Income has increased more than the consumptions and savings for the precarious informal labourers at Rangpo and Singtam town. Migrants are able to earn more but because maximum respondents are temporary/seasonal (irregular), and need to meet high expenses of living cost in the host towns, their asset ownership and investment has had negative impacts for the reason that both the towns (Rangpo and Singtam) have maximum participation rate in temporary/seasonal or circular migrant labour (figure no. 5.1.). This type of migration is also extensively increasing (worldwide/internationally) in terms of the agreements among the countries rather than among the number of workers (Gibson, McKenzie and Rohorua, 2013: 13). There are numerous challenges to make a credible evaluation of the irregular and precarious informal workers and to measure migration's effects on their livelihood status. Along with all challenges, there is an area to ponder about as well: that is why has internal migration increased and also continued in a large scale, even though the wellbeing perspectives are not clear. In this regard, Zelinsky's 'mobility transition hypothesis' may be referred to in order to understand migration as a normal development caused by the social and economic changes intrinsic in a capitalist society and by liberating possibilities (King, 2005: 133-155) which attract potential poor migrants from the labour supply zone (i.e.

economic transition and infrastructural development, as is evident in Sikkim) to internally and internationally peripheral zones.

It should be considered that migration is a process of long term investment to expand employment opportunities, earn more money, and have better livelihood at the migrants' native places. All these options have been ensured by the earlier migrants (friends, relatives etc.) rather than the recent movers. So, socio-economic measures help to understand changes to the structure of society, especially in the rise of informal migrant labourer in Sikkim.

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