

CHAPTER SIX

ADAPTATION STRATEGIES OF THE MIGRANT LABOURERS

6.1 Introduction

Migrants include people like labour migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, victims of human trafficking, and others. Among such categories, labour migration is the “movement of persons from their home State to another State for the purpose of employment” (Library of Congress-Federal Research Division, 2007: 38) that has emerged as one of the most critical social and economic issues in the era of globalisation, constantly strengthened by ‘push’ and ‘pull’ pressures. Global migrants were estimated by the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) and UN to the tune of 175 million in 2000, out of which 81 million are migrant workers (ILO 2004). The ‘age of migration’ (Castles et al., 2014) has remained a land mark in the processes of its acceleration and adaptation followed by extensive diversification wrapped under mighty globalisation and eventually transcended all state boundaries in the globe. The internal and international migration covers almost all regions of the globe, the matrix of flow strongly following a complex regional system, grounded on the complementarity of place of origin vis-à-vis destination, and deeply linked with geographical proximity and networks of contact persons (de Wenden, 2016: 5-13).

South Asian subcontinent nation-states conventionally perceive themselves as countries of in-migration. As a part of nation building program, in-migration in these countries have been practiced since time immemorial and has become an inherent part or even coined as a social event. Series of unrelenting socio-political ripples brought about radical changes in human mobility on the entire subcontinent, that also induced population immigration in the Eastern Himalayan region irrespective of culture and religion, which has been represented through positive net migration rate (+0.21, total North East) during the year 1991-2001 (Rajan and Chyrmang, 2016: 96-154).

Under the light of neoliberal globalised economy around 90’s and early 2000’s, in most of the South Asian countries, especially in India, Government policy encouraged the migration of unproductive farmers from the overpopulated rural areas to urban ‘factory gates’ where cheap labour was in short supply (Chan, 2014: 1-9). Though cities and towns often ignore migrants who have come from neighbouring rural areas to the urban (Bayat, 2000: 533-557), in a majority of cases, restrictive public policy aimed at curbing unwanted migration fails to achieve its desired

effect and only leads to increased social exclusion (Ozcurumez & Yetkin, 2014: 442-457). On the contrary, these 'aliens' used to generate the multi label informal economy irrespective of their legal statuses, and based on that number many Global South cities moved towards growth and development (which happened in Sikkim as well). The flow of migrant labour from compromised agricultural livelihood regions to the infrastructural real estate zones has become prominent in every possible state of India. First of all, engagement of migrants in the labour market was started with zero-sum game. Second, there was no political, social, economic ripple thrown onto the awareness level due to the sheer ignorance of its implication. Within the prospective states like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, (Borhade, 2016: 291-339) tourist destination state like Sikkim, union territories like Chandigarh, Delhi in particular, the steep rise of immigration has caused a great deal of informalisation process in Indian economy in tandem with the global counterpart. It turns out to come up with a reform policy response that is in line with existing inclusive coverage to migrant labour in the name of unorganised sector and labour policies also have succeeded to gain acceptance from federal states where inter-state migration flows also become a concerned approach. Whatever policies we have discussed in the previous chapter, the implementation of those policies creates confusion in the real and practical scenario. Many migrants suffer from considerable inequality in terms of status and security even within the national boundaries. So, to overcome the poverty and unemployment in the native place and also to have a better quality of life, all migrants need to make certain compromises and most of the time these compromises are related with their 'adjustment'. In this chapter the focus is on the process of adjustment in the new physical and socio-cultural environment.

6.2 Internal Dynamics of Adaptation

Adaptation is a process where individual is being embedded through gradual changes in social class relations (Reddy, and Olsen, 2012: 181-214). There are vast literatures on adaptation in social psychology, philosophy and economics (Frederick, and Loewenstein, 1999: 302-373). Early discussions on adaptation can be observed in Karl Marx's analysis of 'false consciousness' and John Stuart Mill's 'utilitarianism' (Bottomore, 1983; Qizilbash, 2006: 20-32; and Sen, 2006: 80-96). There is another concept proposed by Elster (1983: 22) on adaptation as a 'fairly broad and inclusive' way and he also stated that this process has been used in specific sense of someone's well-being (Clark, 2010: 21-42). This adaptation process is decidedly relevant in the case of migrant labourers in terms of physical changes of place and cultural changes of space. It has a

quality to reshape in ‘workers’ plans *ex post* just after reaching at the migration destination’ (Reddy, and Olsen, 2012: 181-214). Different researches can experience various aspects of adaptation of migrants involving their source and destination areas. There is a propensity of broad strategical changes after migration – depending on the time duration of the settlement, otherwise in every place a migrant need to adopt some socio-cultural and environmental aspects. Berry (1997: 5-34; 2001: 615-631) proposed migrant acculturation theory with more prominent theoretical frameworks to enlighten dynamics of migrant’s experiences – irrespective of origin or destination area. According to him “‘acculturation’ refers to the process of psychological change in a person (the migrant) resulting from contact and involvement with representatives of other cultures (usually and typically the host country culture). It invariably entails relinquishing elements of the person’s culture of origin (‘culture shedding’) and adopting (Soontiens, 2014: 1041). Adjustment with the host area in terms of culture and social practices is a demand of some situations where the migrant interfaces with representatives of the destination’s culture. Acculturation is a consequence of social meetings through which migrant experiences and adopts into the host community.

Different social encounters enrich the migrants about the similarities and dissimilarities of their own culture (culture of origin) and with the host culture. In this stage they also are surprised by ‘culture shock’ – intensity of this shock depends on the levels of compare and contrast. According to Brown and Holloway (2008: 34) ‘cultural shock’ is “...anxiety that results from losing the familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse, and their substitution by other cues that are strange”. It has been well accepted that this phenomenon is deeply rooted in the social perspectives rather than physical.

The work setting has become one important parameter to support or constrain the migrant after reaching the host area. It has already been discussed that informal migrants have a tendency to live together and the work setting acts as a community and help them to maintain the neighbourhood (in terms of social context). Other important factor which also promotes acculturation – integration process is the nature of work. It is the key factor to build the relationship between employer (host area) and employee (migrant). Moreover, ‘low road’ jobs depend on the first hand or direct relationships which also help migrant labourers to get acquainted with the new social and cultural practices of the host region. In this study the role of workplace on migrant’s adjustment and acculturation - is important than the other social or non-work settings. Many scholars have worked on the migrant’s workplace experience (cf. Bernardi et al., 2010:148-187; Fang et al., 2009: 472-

488; Van de Vijver and Phalet, 2004: 215-236) and justified through different perspectives of the growth of global migration which will turn into 405 million annually by 2050 (cf. Koser and Laczko, 2010).

According to my study, the respondents are not establishing 'transitional social field' (Schiller 1999: 96) when they are travelling and crossing the borders of states, and most of them do not settle down in the host area – using their livelihood strategy as informal labour in a temporary or circular pattern. Present day global migration has produced the circulation of culture, language, ethnicity and religion as well as information, technology, lifestyles, ideas etc. (ethnoscapes, technoscapes, ideascapes etc. by Appadurai, 1993). This chapter sets out to explore areas of adaptation to survive in the workplace in Sikkim and to focus on the non-work settings for migrant's adjustment and acculturation processes.

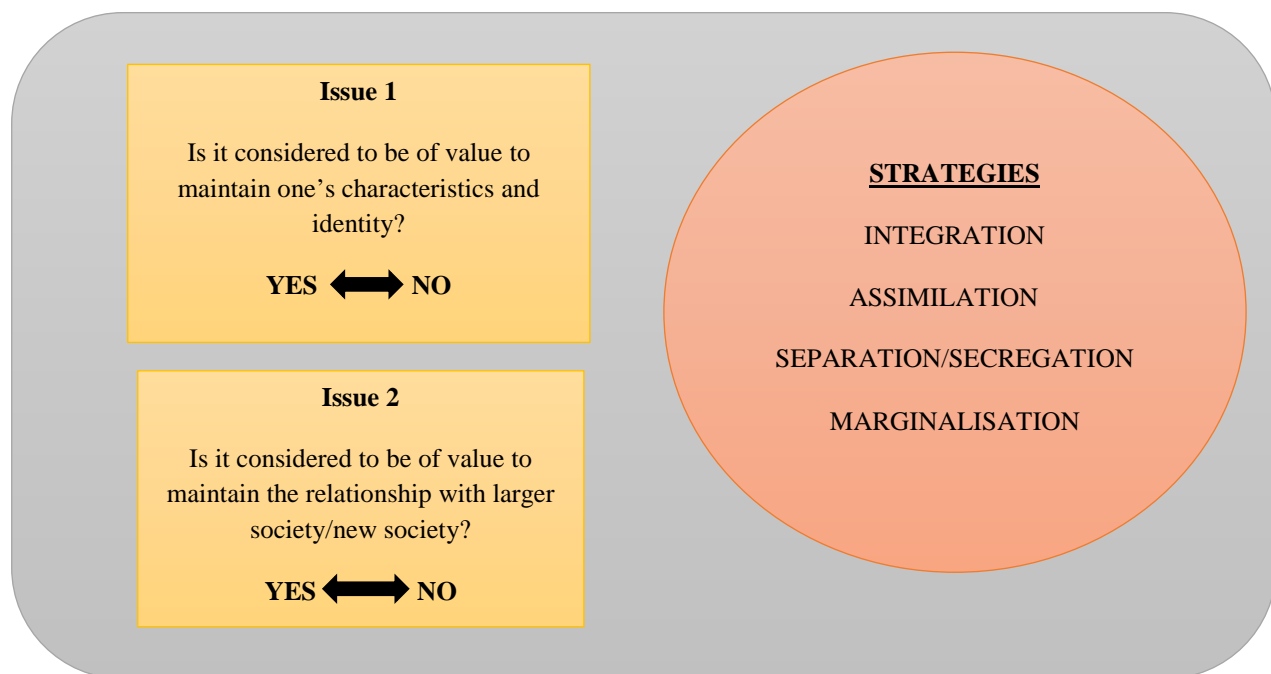
6.3 Different Propensities of Acculturation - Integration and Adaptation

The place where people are born or grow up, they get embedded with the culture of that place, but when they need to move out and settle down in a different cultural setting for job or in search of better livelihood, the need of acculturation study emerges (Fu, 2015: 121-128). The increasing tendencies of human migration in last few decades encourage researchers to unfold the facts which migrants experience at the new settings – community – culture and also within a new administrative boundary. This exploration inspired to study various acculturation strategies maintained by the migrants while adjusting themselves in that new socio-cultural and different environmental setting. Earlier acculturation study was based on the unidimensional linear process but over the course of time it has been understood that people's behaviour or cultural identity change along a single continuum. Moreover, migrants try to adjust with the new settings depending upon their necessity, willingness and sometimes by pressure of the dominant society and gradually relinquish their original culture (Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus, 2000: 49-65) but entire process depends upon the length of stay of the migrant people in the host area or how often the migrants visit that same place. The unidimensional model postulates that assimilation is the only outcome of acculturation process where migrants accept and absorb the culture of the dominant society and it is a continuing process (Lafromboise et al., 1993: 395-412). Other researches (Nesdale and Mak, 2000: 483-495; Sayegh and Lasry, 1993: 98-109) have opened up the concept of dimensional model of acculturation. The new approach considered that acculturation is a multi-faceted observation where assimilation may not occur. According to this approach, migrants have the

freedom to uphold or castoff their original culture in the new place while obtaining the culture of the host region. Berry (1992: 69-85), however states that, this method is the integration of two dimensions as an independent share rather than a mono-continuum. Hence, this bidimensional approach creates two concepts – acculturation in one hand and enculturation in other (Yoon, Langrehr, and Ong, 2011: 83-96). Kim (2000: 245-258) proposes that enculturation is the process which connects the norms of the origin culture of the migrants and collective acculturation is the process where migrants accept the culture of the host country (not necessarily by any compulsion). Both the concepts have practices in different rates – depending on the basic life domains – language, food habits, social interaction and nature of acceptance of the host area’s people. The entire decision depends on the reasons for migration, decision making processes of migration, the socio-cultural practices of the host and native area and the migrant himself. Migrants have to choose from: to what extent they are willing to preserve their own culture and identity, and how important it is to adopt new socio-cultural values from the new region.

Berry and Sam (1997) have proposed the inbuilt model to simplify the whole acculturation process with the help of four acculturation strategies.

Fig no. 6.1 **Different Acculturation Strategies Proposed in the Inbuilt Model**



Source: Acculturation Strategies by (Berry and Sam, 1997).

In the figure no. 6.1., both the issues are based on migrant's attitudinal standpoints and represented as bipolar arrows between their answers. This figure has clearly shown that the answers 'yes' and 'no' intersect to describe strategies of acculturation - integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Integration refers to the process wherein an individual is willing to maintain his/her original culture and also shows an interest in learning the cultures of host area (Berry, 1992). Assimilation is the strategy, when people give importance to the new culture of the host region ignoring his/her native culture. In this case, an individual gets prepared to accept a new identity (*ibid*). Separation is a fact when people are not accepting new culture of the host community and eager to maintain their native culture. The important proposed strategy is marginalisation, where people are neither willing to maintain their native culture nor interested to accept the new culture (*ibid*). These four acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (1992) are being maintained by the individual or group of individuals and also can be rolled with one strategy or through many strategies in one time. It totally depends on the need of acculturation, acuties of migrants and role of host state. Herein, the need comes to discuss about the adaptation and the outcome of adaptation can range from the positive adaptation to acute negative one (Berry et al., 1987: 491). It is believed that migration leads to psychological and sociological changes. The consequence of any migration depends on migrant's individual characteristics and the rate of compatibility with the host area. Adaptation normally refers to the relative changes which migrants have to accept in response to the external environment demands in the host area (Berry, 1997: 5-34). Some of them have good experience while some deal with difficulties to adjust in the new environment. Adaptation may be either long-term or short-term – depending on the duration of migration and acculturation process. Short term adaptability normally occurs as an immediate effect during acculturation and the outcome can be negative (Tonsing, 2010: 5). Long term adaptation is often attained after spending a certain period of time in the host area (Segall, Dasen, Berry and Poortinga, 1990: 48-66). Berry (1997) has nicely stated adaptation as a level of 'fit' between migrants and the new environment and it triggers the acculturation strategies through which a proper system emerges in accordance with the circumstances applicable to endure in the host area (Tonsing, 2010: 5).

6.4 Contextualising Labour Adaptations

Migration might have unpredictable swings between situation and crisis, where the former conducts philanthropic management to the realm of human perspective and the latter one is to solving the

problem to avert ‘a humanitarian catastrophe’ (Akçapar, 2017: 1-34). It has given a drive to migrants for being victimised between situation and crisis by bearing the cultural shock and how their aspirations borne in the fluid state of political scenario in the destination area are also granted (Oberg, 1960: 177-182). Migration and adaptation is a microcosm of global discourse, which is related and controlled by the geo-political scenario of the host area, in this case, Sikkim. Different authors (Mansell, 1981: 93-108; Tailor’, 1994: 389-408) have characterised migration processes with ‘the adjustment to change’ considering physical and socio-cultural aspects.

Adaptation is a human strategy and social practice for being capable to face the life, for which people need to adapt with their surrounding environments. It is relatively stable change (Berry, 2005: 697-712) and has various functions in different cultural setup with multiple definitions as an outcome and processes (Hutcheon, 2006: 1-232). Adaptation and change – an important bimodal dimension of life practice creates changes in human expectations and also environmental adaptation towards the human vicissitudes (Asikin, Wulandari and Rukmi, 2017: 1-9). Adaptation process affects and controls human interaction with its new environment. Thus, understanding of various aspects of adaptation needs to pay care – physical and beyond physical environment should be viewed as a “process and product of humans’ interaction with their environment holistically” (*ibid*). Socio-cultural adaptation depends on the ability of migrants to survive in the host area’s cultural settings (Sümer, 2009: 1-34). The survival strategy is controlled by the communication skills, social skills, behaviour competence and other place based demands that help migrants to participate in everyday activities. Participation rate in day to day life depends upon the performing and understanding power of the migrants in terms of local language, making local friends, attending social activities in the host area etc. (Ward, and Rana, 1999: 422-442). All these affective parameters are also dependent on other variables like – length of stay, education, network system with the host people, nature of occupation etc. (Ward, and Kennedy, 1993: 221-249). Post-liberal world not only creates ‘flexible’ job market but also pressurises migrants to be more flexible and acceptable to survive in the host area.

The problems related with migrants’ adaptation in different socio-cultural and ecological environment have been studied empirically in large numbers, though it is the most complex one. Migration in a new socio-cultural area generates the need to reform personal and social space for the migrants and also for people of the host area. Systematic theoretical insights are thought to be essential for uniting various objectives of social conditions and adaption in polyethnic socium,

otherwise, individual interpretation of social reality through the adaptation processes are negatively reflected on the “required constructive stability in the polyethnic space of the hosting region. As a result, the adaptation subjects (ethnic migrants and hosting population) do not have an opportunity, first, to build up an identification model contrast “Us-Them” and secondly, using the interpretative strategies of social adaption, to construct the consistent images of social reality for themselves and others” (Khaliman, 2012: 187).

6.5 Physical/Environmental Adaptation of the Migrant Labourers in Rangpo and Singtam

Migrants’ need to adjust with the new physical environment, considering the fact that Sikkim has rugged mountain terrain while the migrant labourers are from the plains (West Bengal and Bihar). For their work they have to reside in a relatively cold sub-tropical/semi-temperate climate in Rangpo and Singtam. My field survey reveals the fact that the migration pattern has not only been controlled by spare agricultural time at source regions but also by the climatic condition of the host area. Sikkim is having average 18°C annual temperature and the temperature seldom reaches more than 28°C. In Rangpo and Singtam the minimum temperature has been observed in the month of January with 15.9°C and maximum with 27°C in the month of July and August. Migrant labourers find it comfortable to work in Sikkim except in winter months. In Rangpo and Singtam, the average winter temperature does not differ much due to physical location of these two towns. Environmental difference does not act as a vital barrier to control the volume of migrants and even does not have impact on physical adaptation process (except extreme climatic differences) because important phenomenon of adaptation process is firmly rooted in the socio-cultural aspects rather than physical/environmental context (Brown and Holloway, 2008: 34).

Fig no. 6.2

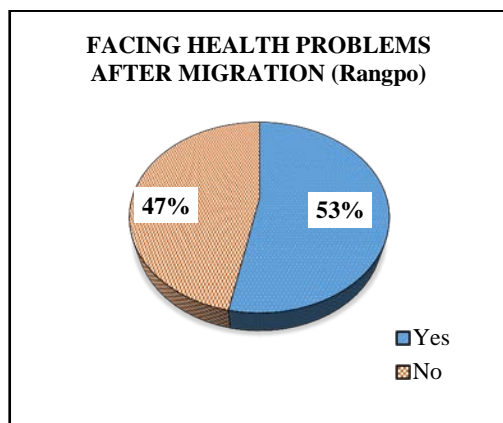
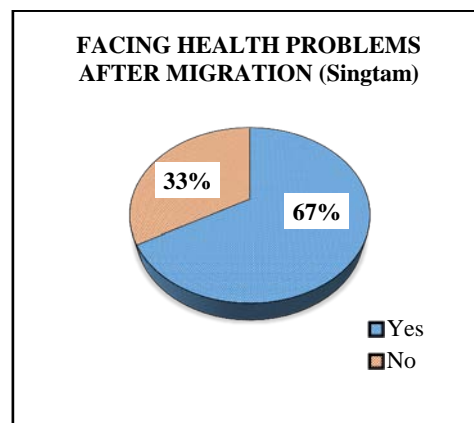


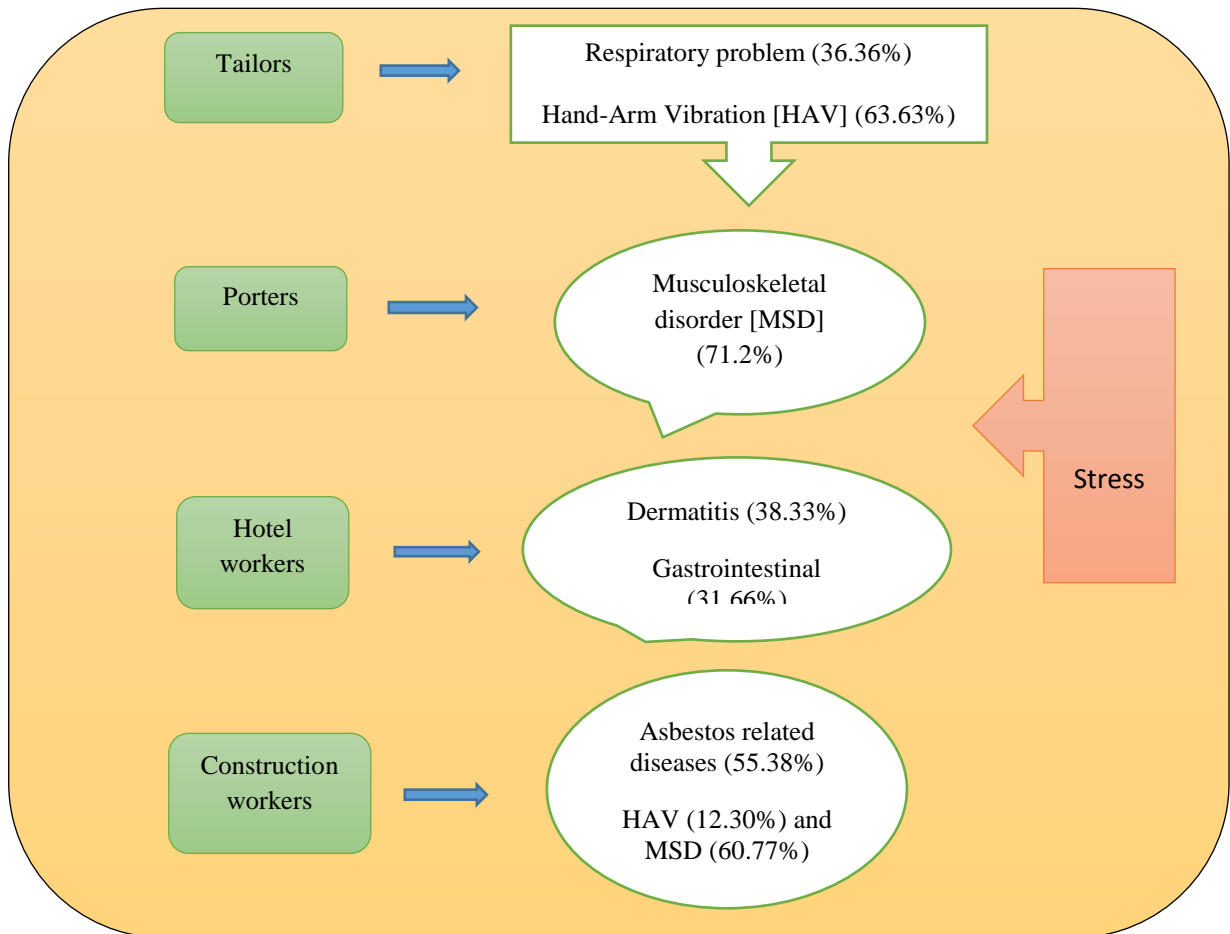
Fig no. 6.3



Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

The migrants very often face health problems in Sikkim. The health problems are most recurrent among the newly arrived groups or individuals. During my survey 53% (Fig. no. 6.2) respondents in Rangpo and 67% (Fig. no. 6.3) respondents in Singtam town have admitted the fact that they have faced health disorder during migration process. Dermatitis, gastrointestinal illness, respiratory problem and hypothermia (few cases) are more frequent. The risks associated with their movement are psychosocial pressure, nutrition disorders, alcoholism and drug abuse which has increased their vulnerability to non-communicable diseases (NCDs). Suboptimal hygiene, unhealthy living conditions and deprivation during movement may lead to extremity of poor health conditions. Moreover, new physical setting exhilarates the causalities. When an individual migrates and enters in new environment he is likely to be accompanied by different health risks. Different researches indicate that morbidity or illness pattern among migrants are not same due to numerous interacting influences like, socio-economic and environmental conditions, common diseases in the host region, type of occupations and curative measures within the migration processes. In my research area, it has been noticed that environmental changes and type of occupation are the key factors behind migrant's health issues. As these respondents are ephemeral in nature they prefer to return home when they face any health problem. Migrant labourers are entitled to avail treatment in the nearby hospital with minimum visit, but only 12% from Rangpo and 31.43% from Singtam are willing to visit Government Hospital in Sikkim. The reason behind this reluctance is that the migrants are not keen to come out of their own curative measures and they allocate lowest expenditure for health care purpose. Percentage share of labourers willing to visit hospitals in Singtam is more because the distance of Government Hospital is only 1 km from Singtam bazaar but quite far (10 km.) from Rangpo. Though in Rangpo there are one Health Centre and one Family Welfare Centre but migrant labourers do not visit these places. Figure no. 6.4 shows dominant/occurrences of health problems according to migrants' occupations.

Fig no. 6.4. **Occurrences of Health Problems According to Occupations**



Source: Own Elaboration after Field Survey, 2017.

Migrant labourers in Singtam town are more affected due to environmental changes (Figure no. 6.2 and 6.3). In Singtam town 66.87% (approx. 67% in figure no.3) of the respondents have reported that they faced different health problems after migration due to different climatic condition. On the other hand, 53.14% (approx. 3% in figure no.6.2) migrants in Rangpo have suffered from various health problems. Figure no. 6.4 explains how occupation types are associated with various specific diseases. On the whole, all occupations are accompanied by psychosocial stress that aggravates other diseases.

6.6 Socio-cultural Adaptation

Urban informality is a process which incorporates various activities beyond the state control (Dovey, and King, 2012: 275-293). It is also an ordinary practice and a key component of the city-making process. The towns and cities of Global South have been experiencing the rapid rate of

urban growth (156.5% in case of Sikkim during 2001 to 2011 census) and influx of migrants (65.02% migrant population in East district – SSES, 2006) which manifest ‘assimilation of different cultures’. The pace of urbanisation process in Sikkim has become very rapid mostly in the smaller towns like Rangpo, Singtam, Namchi, Mangan etc. in last decade. The high growth rate of these towns is mainly due to a huge influx of employment-bound floating people. In general, people seek to relocate for different reasons, and frequently because of the perceived disparity which an individual experience in the area of origin (Goss and Lindquist, 1995). Besides, there are other reasons like labour opportunities, cohesive cultural experiences and other policy concerns (Ortega, and Peri, 2009). In case of labour migration people are subjected to follow the rules and regulations of the host area which have been imposed upon them to determine their migrant status, rights and labouring practices (Maloney, and Korinek, 2011: 317-351). This survey focuses specifically on labour intensive industries (Tailor, Porter, Hotel Worker and Construction Worker) as the respondents are mostly unskilled or semi-skilled. In my study area less educated people concentrate more and create unique challenges that need to be recognised and discussed systematically.

Socio-cultural adaptation (in a macro view) can be defined as the course through which a labour incorporates and alters his ideas and behaviors to adjust with the new environment. In this globalised society cross-culture practice is another challenge for the migrant labourers. However, incorporation of new people (for work) i.e. short or long term migrants generate positive and negative significances depending upon the adaptation practices done by the migrant labourers (Zlotnik, 1998: 429-468). There are two prolific and influential schools of thought in cultural adaptation study – Berry’s and Kim’s. Berry (1997: 5-68, 2001: 615-631, 2005: 697-712, 2006:719-734, 2007: 69-82; Berry and Sabatier, 2010:191-207) states that “acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005: 698). These mutual changes take place over long periods of time and in case of Sikkim, labour migration from the neighbouring states is not a recent phenomenon, rather it is an age old practice since the time of Chogyals (erstwhile rulers). These prolong time made significant changes in various socio-cultural and institutional aspects. Berry (2007:69-82) particularly focuses on the adaptation processes, strategies the people choose to adopt and how they have become successful in their relationship with the taken strategies. His model shows four different acculturation strategies for migrants which identifies how influence of dominant society is more on the acculturation process. Kim (1987,

2001, 2005; Kim and Gudykunst, 1988), on the other hand, theorises the cross-culture adaptation process and also considers how over time migrants assimilate in the new environment and their speed of adaptation (2005: 275-400). Considering comprehensive communication framework Kim's perception is multidimensional in nature. In view of 'cross-culture adaptation' Kim (2001: 31) defined "the entirety of the phenomenon of individuals who, upon relocating to an unfamiliar sociocultural environment, strive to establish and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationship with the environment in order to achieve "an overall fit" between individual and the environment to maximise the individual's social life chances". Kim refers 'three-pronged' psychological layers in his 'process model' as stress-adaptation-growth dynamic. These three movements might have "increased chances of success in meeting the demands of the host environment" (Y.S. Kim, and Y.Y. Kim, 2016: 63). He also observed that "the misfit and a heightened awareness in the state of stress serve as the very same forces that propel individuals to overcome the predicament and partake in active development of new habits" (*ibid*). In case of Sikkim the stage of 'stress' is psychosocial stress which is not extended for long time, because 77.14% and 74.86% respondents are temporary/seasonal migrants.

Kim's structural model of cross-cultural adaptation explains how over the time (length of time) adaptation movement differs from person to person as well as for groups. He also stated about the propensity of adaptation level of individual people. 'Personal communication' and 'host communication competence' are the structure of cross-cultural adaptation, where affective, cognitive and behavioral capabilities of individual pushed to move towards the adaptive path. Kim's structural model especially deal with the 'intercultural transformation' but in case of Sikkim there is some limitation to adopt migrant's culture by the Sikkimese people (this research is not considering the host people adaptation process). In macro view, Kim (1995) pointed out two levels of intercultural adaptation – 1) individual level and 2) group level. The individual-level study considered "psychological adjustment of a sojourner in a new or unfamiliar culture" (Chen, 2013:1) where the interpersonal interaction and interpersonal reaction depends on the coping process of the out-comers. This individual-level approach has been adopted by the communication and psychology disciplines scholars (Berry, 1992; Kinefuchi, 2010, etc.). In case of group-level approach, scholars are focusing on the "acculturation process of groups of people from different cultures encounter, which tends to result in the transformation of cultural belief or value orientation in either or both groups (Chen, 2013: 1). Group-level study mostly considered how migrants

integrate into the social, economic, and political systems of host society (e.g., Hegde, 2002: 256-65; Witteborn, 2008: 220-222, etc.).

Of the different models related with socio-cultural adaptation, in this study I refer to 'recovery model' and 'learning model' of intercultural adaptation. It is the process of long-term migrants or short-term sojourner as "a step-by-step psychological journey from the fringes to the centre of a foreign culture, from a state of denial or ignorance to a state of understanding and empathy" (Anderson, 1994: 295) with the help of various learning process (Katcher, 1971) and self-experiences. On the other hand, learning model tries to find out "the sociocultural conventions, including perceptual and behavioral rules, of the host culture" (Chen, 2013: 2). In case of Sikkim, all these theoretical perceptions are overlapping with each other. Kim's structural approach emphasises upon the personal communication and communication competence of host people. Personal communication skill of the newcomers with the people in the host area is explicit among the respondents at Rangpo and Singtam. The respondents who are coming perpetually (seasonal/circular and short term) have already acquired communication competence in dealing with the host people. Overall, the in-migrants in Sikkim are adjusting (Berry, 1990) themselves with the Sikkimese society to be well-fit for their livelihood strategy.

6.7 Consolidation of Socio-cultural Adaptation

The study on socio-cultural adaptation recognises the experience of migrant people (informal labourers in my research subject) and the migrant-receiving communities. If we consider that "immigrant-receiving societies and their native-born populations have been massively-transformed in the past decades" (Berry, 2001: 616), then we need to study how they have changed? What social practices are playing important role in the interaction? (Hoonard and Hoonard, 2010: 141-155) and what sort of areas have been offered to the migrants from the host people? (Padilla and Perez, 2003: 52) And lastly, what are those preferable subtleties that migrants want to adopt? Unfortunately, study on immigration and adaptations with the changes that take place in the dominant culture has tended to ignore this aspect but recent researches have offered different models and influencing factors on adaptation strategies (Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005). In this chapter I intend to focus on the ways how "people manage cultural differences in everyday life?" (Collie, Kindon, Liu, and Podisiadlowski, 2010: 209).

Sikkimese people are known for being friendly, generous and helpful. Some of the host area's people, however, are hesitant to mingle and apprehensive to talk to those people that speak another

language or who belong to different culture. In this perception, it is an essential to know and prepare a structure for some intercultural encounters. Different arguments may emerge during the course of discussion as adaptation process involves various parameters which may not have same matrix in every field. It is a two-way process – interaction between the in-migrants and host society where both undergo or endure adaptation changes through different levels. In this study, I am considering the process of adaptation from the views of migrants only. Another possibility of this study is that, in the process of adaptation, every respondent may not essentially experience assimilation with the host culture and society. This has become fundamentally true when the host country itself is multi-ethnic in character (Sikkim as a case) and most of the in migrants are sharing common cultural, social, linguistic, religious and geo-spatial background (mostly from West Bengal and Bihar). So, the socio-cultural diversity may not lead to the development of completely or partially homogeneous socio-cultural setting in the host region. This insight tries to prove that “breakdown hypothesis” (Nair, 1978: 3) and “melting pot” ideas are not considered well enough as these are prominent variables in the theoretical discussion of social change. As an alternative, we may observe the process of adjustment and adaptation – referred as a process whereby a community’s or group of people’s cultural, social and economic practices (everyday) have been modified only to adjust the needs of the host place. In this respect I have observed to what extent migrant labourers have adopted or adjusted at Singtam and Rangpo and to what extent changes have taken place in terms of socio-cultural institutions (language, religion, cultural practices etc.), norms and values. I have noticed that the integration of the migrant labourers in Sikkim’s small towns is mostly on the basis of economic interest and this is because most migrant labourers do not stay for long time. Along with this, Sikkim’s policy (Sikkim Subject) is also another reason that the migrant informal labourers prefer to stay for short term/temporary or in a specific season.

Adaptation and Cultural Continuity and Changes

Most of migrant labourers in Sikkim’s informal sectors have migrated from rural areas of West Bengal and Bihar (as far as my respondents are concerned), and so, there is a scope to find out how rural migrants are adopting or adjusting with semi-urban life in Rangpo and Singtam for their economic survival. The notion of adaptation as I have observed here matches the statement “a growing consensus among anthropologist that the nature of man is best described as neither totally active nor passive but interactive. Operating within the many constraints which his physical and social environments impose, he seeks to overcome the problems confronting him by choosing among perceived available options” (Graves and Graves, 1974: 117).

Rural migrant community in urban area tends to settle in a group. Considering the structural-functional perceptions they have certain differences in specific socio-cultural aspects of the host areas. These groups of people are involved in the adaptation and adjustment process in their socio-cultural changes in general. Adaptations of migrant informal labourers in small towns like Rangpo and Singtam can be discussed by using several sets of indicators or variables. I have used following variables to deal with the adjustment or adaptation processes of the migrant labourers – occupational mobility, internalisation of most used language of the host area, contact with the local people, preferences for and attachment with neighbourhood, food habits and social cohesion. Different demographic structure (age of migrants) and number of years staying in the host area are the common controlling grounds of acculturation strategies (Jackson, 2006). Different generations (length of stay) of migrants are having different level and own ways of acculturative style (Joy, 2017; Hsu, 2010). Migration for limited time period to a new place for work generates different adaptability pattern – Sikkim is a case where migrant labourers are interested to learn host area’s language to sustain in their workplace and also to build further network or acquire information regarding forthcoming work. In this research, I have variation of migrants on the basis of length of stay. I have also noticed different levels of adaptability among them and application of various acculturation strategies, because the persons who have relocated to sell their labour are always being subject to be dominated and regulated by the host community/area. This host area also determines the migrant’s status, privileges, rights and also the labouring practices (Maloney and Korinek, 2011).

Table: 6.1 **Application of Adjustment Strategies Among the Respondents**

Adjustment strategies	Rangpo	Singtam
Occupation mobility (completely + partially)	85(48.57%)	81(46.28%)
Internalisation of mostly used language in host area	155(88.57%)	158(90.28%)
Preferences for and attachment with neighbourhood	165(94.28%)	159(90.85%)
Food habits changed	3(1.71%)	4(2.28%)
Social cohesion with host people	5(2.85%)	3(1.71%)
Contact with local people	99(56.57%)	102(58.28%)

Source: Field Survey, 2017-2018.

Cultural adaptation has been achieved through social interactions, participations in different socio-cultural events of the host communities and other involvements that immerse the migrants into their new environment (Stack and Iwasaki, 2009: 239-259). Stake (2009) observes that migrants can easily connect in the host society when they have betrothed in 'leisure pursuits' in the host area – that facilitate connections and create social network also. In Sikkim, very few (5.15%) migrant labourers (respondents) are found to integrate themselves in the host society. Migrants are mostly seasonal and temporary (especially construction workers, hotel workers) and short term or cyclic (tailor, porter) labour, therefore, they adopt and practice those strategies which are very much required for their economic activities. On the other hand, migrant labourers spend their leisure time with their own people and are rarely accompanied by host community, which could have impact on particular facets of migrant's social life. In Sikkim, migrant labourers are free to practice their native culture. Migrants are not found to internalise Sikkim's indigenous culture in their everyday life except learning the local language.

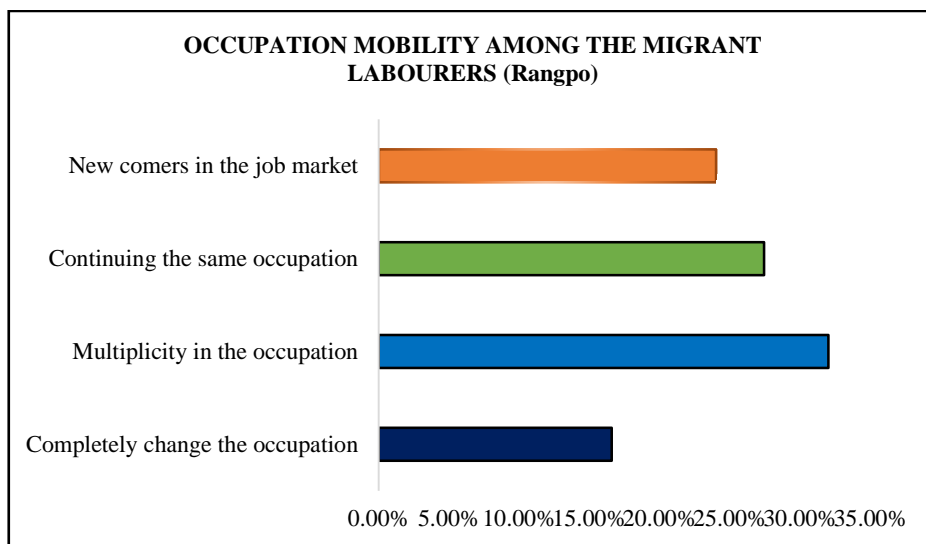
Socio-cultural adaptation in neoliberal 'age of migration' (Zolberg, 2006: 222-253) actually is an enigma where economic and political concerns merge together with the social and cultural insinuations to create a new environment for the migrants and also for the host people. In this new environment both look for a balanced situation. It can be seen that liberalisation of trade in all aspects are not being followed by the open labour migration policies which create a challenging situation for the migrant workers in the social and financial imbalance system. Though this imbalance system is a macro approach in international migration, it is very much predominant within the national or inter-state migration also. Sikkim's government has faced challenges when it comes to migrants (informal labourers) flows, especially in terms of policy protection but creating policies which address Sikkimese social, economic and political needs have been already in motion. This system too has impacts on the adaptation strategy practiced by migrants because individual migrant informal labourer contributes to Sikkim's work force system in a positive manner.

6.8 Occupational Mobility

Migrant labourers in Sikkim are mostly engaged in different informal sectors. This study has found that a good number of migrants, 16.57% (Fig. no.7.4) in Rangpo, has completely changed their previous (native place) job structure. In Rangpo, 32% migrants have changed their occupation in the host area but once they return to their native places they get engaged in their previous job.

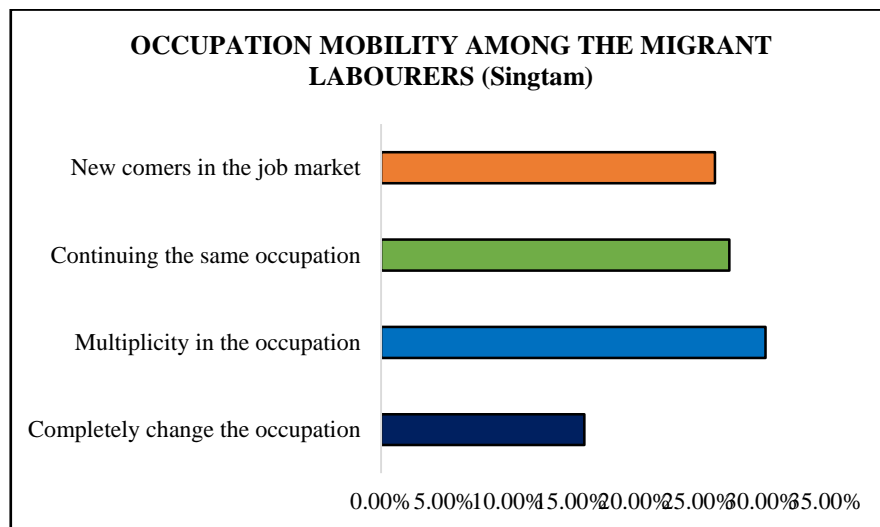
Generally, they work as agricultural labourer at their native place. In Singtam, 16% labourers have completely changed their livelihood process. It is accepted by the migrant labourers that they may have to discard their native job patterns according to the availability and demand in Sikkim's job market. However, it has been found that 26.28% and 28% (Fig. no. 6.4 and 6.5) respondents could continue with their previous job pattern at Rangpo and Singtam respectively. Among all respondents in Rangpo 24% migrants are fresh migrants and highest (50%) intake is in construction sector followed by 35.71% as porter. Singtam is experiencing 25.71% new comers and again most (46.66%) of these fresh unskilled labourers are engaged in construction sector. Sikkim's government policies always offer and protect jobs for the Sikkimese in formal sectors. There is a huge scope to intake migrant labourers in Sikkim's informal sector, especially as tailor, porter, hotel worker and construction worker. Thus, Sikkim has created a wide corridor and pulled the in-migrants from the surrounding areas. Occupation mobility signifies the way of adjustment of migrants in the host area because of the fact that the migrant labourers are not getting any option to continue their previous job in the host region.

Fig no. 6.5.



Source: Field Survey, 2017-2018

Fig no. 6.6



Source: Field Survey, 2017-2018.

6.10 Language

It has been noticed that within the adaptation processes of the migrant labourers in Sikkim the integration process plays the main role to sustain in the host area. The idea of integration as a two-way process is also important and is an indispensable element to ensure any sustainable result. Integration is a process where migrants and receiving area's people are considered as equally important. In this process both the parties are open to create a new common space for living together and respecting each other's identity. This also gives migrants a scope to make use of skills and resources they have carried with them, acquiring new ideas and languages; at the same time host area is also accepting and enriching with other languages. This is a process which cannot be completed during the first arrival of the migrants. Though, integration aims at giving the opportunity to migrants to be a part of social, cultural, political and economic life of the host area, in Sikkim this process has its own geo-political limitations. It is normally accepted that the aptitude to speak the language of host areas plays a significant role in the process of adaptation especially in the labour market, because it acts as a precondition to peruse through a sustainable relationship in the new society as well as in Sikkim's informal labour market.

6.10.1 The Linguistic Status of the Migrant Labourers

Migrant labourers are mostly willing to learn the language which is commonly used in the host area (Nepali in case of Sikkim). However, migrants are just able to communicate with the host people to

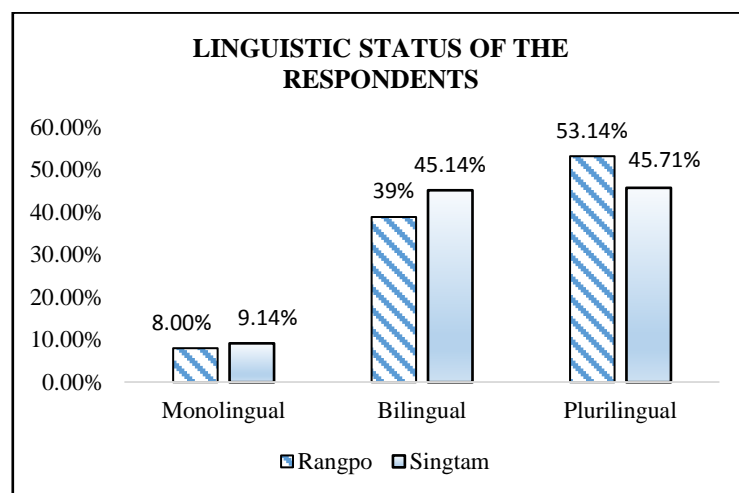
build the network and sustain easily in Sikkim. There are many migrants who can use more than one language because they have come from the multilingual states or they have experience to work in states other than Sikkim where they have learned different language to sustain in that particular area. Therefore, they have had connections with other languages during the course of migration and are also aware of similarities and dissimilarities between languages, different linguistic issues and also regarding the various existing communication contexts. If the migrants are not plurilingual by origin, they came to know other languages and became bilingual or plurilingual – depending on different other factors – opportunities to learn other language, psychosocial context, relationship between employer and employee, length of stay and future possibilities and so forth. In this study, the respondents are mostly plurilingual. Following table no. 7.2. projects the linguistic status of variables used.

Table no. 6.2 **Linguistic Status of the Migrant Labourers in Rangpo and Singtam**

Town	Monolingual	Bilingual	Plurilingual
Rangpo	14(8%)	68(38.86%)	93(53.14%)
Singtam	16(9.14%)	79(45.14%)	80(45.71%)

Source: Field Survey, 2017-2018

Fig no. 6.7



Source: Field Survey, 2017-2018.

Researches show that the language identity of migrants is very complex due to various reasons. Language as a habit, language as a capital and the attitudes towards language learning of the host area may be determined by lots of concealed factors which cannot be streamlined into a simple relation. Migrants consider their first language as their own identity; they link up this first language with their roots, cultures, religion and the persons who are staying back at the native area. To acquire communicate skills in the host area it has been essential to inhale new language for the migrant labour. Migrant labourers normally communicate in their mother tongue among themselves. Regarding the psycholinguistic approach, it has been observed that mother tongue plays an important parameter to learn any other language properly because it develops cognitive competences to learn any second language (Cummins, 1991: 75-89). Cummins also mentions that migrants can easily adopt basic interaction communication skills which are much different from the cognitive academic language.

In Rangpo and Singtam Hindi-speakers constitute more than three-fourths and remaining small part included more than a dozen linguistic communities jointly (Sharma, 1991: 152). Surjapuri, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Bengali, Rava are the various dialect groups among my respondents, but to survive in the labour market (informal), migrant labourers are willing to learn *Nepali*, which is the lingua-franca of Sikkim as a whole. Among the respondents 8% and 9.14% in Rangpo and Singtam (Fig. 6.7) are not able to speak *Nepali* or any other indigenous languages of host areas, because these migrants have left their native places first time and they have a poor social-network system with the host area. However, these people are trying to learn *Nepali* as early as possible. It is recalled by old informants (one porter in Singtam) that initially migrants communicated with the local people in *Hindi*, and eventually they picked up *Nepali* and use that as a mode of communication. Other migrants can speak the local language due to frequent visits and proximity. It is also to be noted that *Nepali* and *Hindi* languages are very close kin, and both the languages use *dev nagri* script, which is an additional advantage for *Hindi* speaking migrants. It does not take much time to pick *Nepali* language for basic communication.

There is no denying that languages play an important role in the process of integration. There is no specific language programme in my study area, especially when we are talking about informal labour group. They are absorbing new languages through migration process. Learning a new or second language has become more effective when it builds upon the current linguistic identity of migrants and to treat them as plurilingual or bi-lingual person. This way of learning a new language

does not create any problem towards the use and status of the first language(s) or mother tongue of the migrants and also to promote adaptation process in a sustainable manner.

6.11 Participation in Associations

Participation in different socio-economic associations or institutions at individual or group level as well as at societal level can represent an index of adaptation or adjustment level of the migrant labourers in the receiving area. This study reveals that very few (2.85%) migrant labourers (among respondents from Rangpo and Singtam) have transferred their voter card or epic card from native places to Sikkim. Such migrants are residing in Sikkim since last few years and are attached with different local associations and also availing some benefits proposed by Government of Sikkim towards the Sikkim epic card holders. *Sikkim Bihari Jagaran Manch* is an important Bihari association in Sikkim. There are 32 wings of this association in Sikkim. Field survey reveals the fact that in Singtam there are 440 members of this association but very negligible percentage is from informal labour group (Source: Dilip Prasad, President of *Sikkim Bihari Jagaran Manch*, Singtam. Interview taken on 7.2.2019). Rangpo is also experiencing the same. Swaminath Prasad, the president of *Sikkim Bihari Jagaran Manch* (all Sikkim) also states that migrant informal labourers are not transferring their epic cards to become a member of this association as ‘having Sikkim’s epic card’ is the basic criterion. In chapter six it has been discussed that without Sikkim Subject and Sikkim Residential Certificate the labourers cannot become a part of any labour union. So, in reality there is wide gap between migrant labour communities and other migrant people. This gap creates ‘social identity’ crisis among the labourer community and instills in them the neighbourhood feeling. They do not “lose their culture but rather retain ‘their culture’ and join the liberal political culture....” (Samers, 2010: 324). My respondents are not even members of roaming credit associations; neither do they get help from these associations in any social or economic crisis. If they face any problem their brethren (especially migrants) and the Sikkimese employers help them to solve the problem.

6.12 Interaction with People Outside the Group

The degree of interaction of migrant labourers outside their own group is another key factor in measuring the level of adaptation. Migrant labourers interact more often with those people who belong to the same geo-spatial region (Nair, 1978; Punekar, 1974). Herein, the caste, religion, etc. have very less priority for interaction within the migrant group. It has been observed long ago by

Robert Park, (1914), best known as melting pot theorist, that there are different important webs of the whole process when diverse cultures, languages come into contact with each other. His pioneer ‘ecological framework’ has become a hallmark of Chicago school of sociology – identified as three-stage model. It has been observed, “contact between people from different cultures forces them to seek ways to accommodate each other to minimize conflict” (Padilla, and Perez, 2003: 36). In this research ‘contact’ between migrant labourers and host people has been limited within the economic periphery. Cultural assimilation is a “progressive and irreversible” (*Ibid*) process – it takes time for amalgamation with new people. Respondents in this research work do not actually spend their time (most of them are here for short period or they are seasonal in nature) with the Sikkim people to be into Sikkim’s cultural practices. They hardly participate in Sikkimese cultural, social or religious functions. Table no. 7.3 shows the participation rate of my respondents in various occasions of the host communities.

Table no.6.3 **Percentage Share of Respondents in Various Occasions of Host Culture in Rangpo and Singtam**

Occasions	Rangpo	Singtam
Participation in cultural functions	7(4%)	4(2.28%)
Visiting each other for meals	0(0%)	1(0.57%)
Visiting religious occasions	1(0.57%)	3(1.71%)
Marriage party	0(0%)	2(1.14%)
Mourning	2(1.14%)	4(2.28%)
Total	10(5.71%)	14(8%)

Source: Field Survey, 2017-2018.

Table no. 6.3. summarises the fact that only 5.71% (Rangpo) and 8% (Singtam) of respondents attend and also receive invitations on different occasions of the host people. Highest participation rate (4% in Rangpo and 2.28% in Singtam) is observed in case of common cultural functions like *Maghe Sankranti, Bhimsen Puja* etc. Respondents attend only those family’s rituals that are related with their economic domain (employee, trade license holder and landlord etc.).

6.13 Food Habits

Food and migration has a definite framework of study with numerous factors that have impact on the population movement and food culture of the host area and the area of origin. Caracciolo, L. (2014: 12) has mentioned that “Food has increasingly become a distinctive element of the identities (including religious identities) of individuals and communities”. It is therefore, become a risky affair to support the ‘cultural determinism’ or the ‘ecological determinism’ theory. Food habits of migrant people depend on the traditional food habits, availability and the price of their food items in the host area. Migrants are willing to maintain certain food behaviors, norms, culinary traditions from their place of origins (Parasecoli, 2014: 415-439). They also try to recreate a sense of their native place through food preparation and consumption. “In fact, the solidification of these practices and the norms and ideals that develop around them is not just a by-product of the relationships within already existing dynamics, but actually constitutive of their emergence” (*ibid*: 416). The experiences and habits of migrants can be identified through conceptually different but often overlapping categories like collective, communal, institutional and personal. Parasecoli (2014) identifies these categories as the phenomenological perceptions of migrant’s experiences which may not be found in “exhaustive taxonomic spanning discrete spheres of social life” (*ibid*). These categories move together and change in terms of time, space and experiences. In this research ‘collective experiences’ are more effectual than the ‘individual’. In Rangpo and Singtam the respondents have shared their views on different aspects to maintain their traditional food habits and have made sense of changes of it in the host regions.

Respondents have also expressed their difficulties regarding unavailability of ingredients and the high price of all raw food products. Migrant informal labourers stay together either in a rented house or in a work place and they always cook group wise. They try to minimise their budget in the host area but due to the high price of ingredients they are bound to invest more money on food consumption. In this study it has been observed (Field Survey, 2017-2018) that most of the respondents (92.57% in Rangpo and 89.71% in Singtam) are non-vegetarian but due to the high price of non-vegetarian food items in Sikkim they have switched over to vegetarian diet in the host place. Moreover, the migrant labourers are not very familiar with easily available local vegetables, and so, sometimes they have to compromise with their choice of foods.

6.14 Overall Perceptions of Adaptation in the Study Areas

Above discussions reflect various mode of adaptation process. This processes depend upon individual strength as well as ethnic proximity of migrants in the host region. The strategies adopted by the migrants are also controlled by the socio-political parameters, geo-political conditions and political economic diameters of the host state (Sikkim). Subjective adjustment has become the key approach among the respondents of this study.

Table no. 6.4 **Research Variables to Understand Adaptation Level**

Variables	Rangpo		Singtam	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Knowing common host language	5.344	1.949	5.937	1.930
Cultural knowledge of host area	2.205	1.854	3.760	1.134
Adaptive motivation from host people	1.120	.5896	1.191	1.098
Behavioural competence between migrants and host people	1.514	1.55	1.394	1.286
Preferences for and attachment with neighbourhood	6.742	1.105	6.640	1.213
Food habit change	1.278	1.030	1.325	1.089

Source: Field Survey, 2016-17.

In this regards Torbiorn (1982) argued that “the degree of satisfaction/dissatisfaction sojourners perceive of the experiences in the host culture will change the relationships between their frame of reference, their behavior, and the environment. In other words, satisfaction of the sojourner tends to lead to the internal balance which will in turn result in the attainment of the goal of intercultural adaptation, and vice versa” (Chen, 2013: 2).

Overall demand of adaptation is ‘space’ where the interactant of various cultures perform as group to define and redefine the boundary through cooperation. In case of Sikkim this boundary acts as an invisible line which demarcates two broad categories – Sikkimese and non-Sikkimese on the bases of social-economic-political differences (already discussed in previous chapters). To identify the level of adjustment/adaptation in Rangpo and Singtam, I have considered six parameters and

computed their mean values, and standard deviation values (table no. 6.4). These values helped me to identify the level and area of migrant's adaptive competences.

The results of the descriptive analysis related with adaptation competence among the respondents have been based on seven-point-scales. The overall means of respondents (Rangpo and Singtam) on various observed measures (consisting of three items adaptation from Gao and Gudykunst (1990: 301-317) measure of intercultural adaptation and other three from the field observation) are 5.34 (SD = 1.94) [Rangpo] and 5.93 (SD = 1.93) [Singtam] on knowledge of common host language (*napali*), 2.20 (SD = 1.85) [Rangpo] and 3.76 (SD = 1.13) [Singtam] on knowledge of the host culture, 1.12 (SD = .589) [Rangpo] and 1.19 (SD = 1.09) [Singtam] in adaptive motivation, 1.51 (SD = 1.55) [Rangpo] and 1.39 (SD = 1.28) [Singtam] on Behavioral competence between migrants and host people, 6.74 (SD = 1.10) [Rangpo] and 6.64 (SD = 1.21) [Singtam] on preferences for and attachment with neighbourhood, 1.27 (SD = 1.03) [Rangpo] and 1.32 (SD = 1.08) [Singtam] on food habit change. These results clearly show that the adaptive levels of migrants are generally same in case of Rangpo and Singtam. Migrants have adapted host area's language in both the towns to sustain their livelihood practices. Singtam is experiencing more mean on cultural knowledge of host area because Singtam has more pull factors (as a commercial town) from the long past (population growth trend is one of the best example). Overall dimension of the adaptation study reflects the invisible border between host and migrant people and also indicate that respondents are attached with the host area only for economic reason.

6.15 Perception of the Host Communities

Migrants influence the society and culture of the place they move in. Likewise, the host societies too both influence the migrants and get influenced by them. This two-way interaction is not always benign. Sometimes social tension develop which may not always take violent turns, but their presence is felt psychologically at both individual and collective levels.

Migration of culture and ideas and their transformation or adaptation in the new land is always there. One of the most fascinating aspects of the migration saga is the movement of cultural forms but it is not at all seen in the case of Sikkim. Most of the respondents (nearly 83% at Rangpo and 74% at Singtam) found the towns 'tougher than expected' and opined that they felt 'more insecure' and 'more excluded' in Sikkim. Right from the climate, food habits, customs – everything in Sikkim is different. Majority of the respondents reported that the root of insecurity lies with the attitude of

the host society towards to migrant informal labourers. It is visible that here the issue is that of a 'cultural gap'. The land and the people of Sikkim differ drastically from the source areas of migrants (Bihar and West Bengal, here as a case) in every aspect (climate, culture, food habits, social systems, physical features etc.). Due to cultural difference, quite often host community find the migrants strange and their social behaviour non-confirming to accepted 'social values'. Sikkimese are not ready to include migrants 'in' Sikkimese space at all. Here is the question of nationalism and citizenship, equality and liberal democracy. Sikkim's policy and benefits of COI (Certificate of Identification) are always establishing one distinct line between the migrants and host people. All these aspects lead to the formation of faulty notions regarding the everyday life in terms of social and cultural of migrants from the host region, which inter 'alia' are used for labelling them as socially inferior. In Sikkim, migrants labourers are treated as ghetto (though in a different form of USA and more disposed to Chicago).

Geographer Tom Slater (2009) identifies three factors to distinguish a ghetto from an ethnic enclave (e.g., Italian, Irish, Polish) and to distinguish this urban form from other marginal spaces that emerge from different societal processes. First, ethno-racial control and containment by external overarching powers explain it. Second, social and spatial segregation is extreme and rigid. Third, these urban forms become permanent and structural. In short, a ghetto here is "a space deployed by discriminatory authorities to isolate, contain, and exploit a single ethnoracial group a place to cast out a group outcast from society" (here as Non-Sikkimese low wage labourers), (Slater, 2009: 492).

6.16 Conclusions

This chapter focuses on how migrant labourers are trying to adopt and become a part of cross-cultural and environmental changes. Different response strategies are important to understand the level of adaptation of migrant people. There are ostensible but often ignored limits to these strategies. Background of the migrants and length of stay always play a reverse role for complete assimilation. If a specific difference (e.g. Sikkim Subject, Residential Certificate for Sikkimese) is present, then residual differences will always become prominent. "But even if such remaining differences could be accommodated, it remains unclear how migrants could identify what exactly they should assimilate – they could choose between assimilating to working class culture, metropolitan lifestyle or, in some areas, to pre-existing ethnic minority communities". (Rudiger, and Spencer, 2003: 4). There is no social-cultural, political, economic (state level public sector) and

policy benefit inclusion of migrants in Sikkim. Respondents who have settled down for long time are still excluded from political and civic participation. Physical adaptation is also another important factor for respondents because they come from different physiographic location (plains topography). This locational transformation sometime creates individual adaptation problems. The relationship between adaptation and migration always focus beyond physical adjustment. This chapter has assembled the experiences based on lessons learnt from respondents. It has dealt with various conceptual analysis related with the process of adaptation – acculturation, integration, assimilation, adjustment etc.

Integration is a normative concept and “if measured in relation to an existing social order with its hegemonic practices and values, then its focus will always be on adaptation by migrants rather than steps that may be necessary to facilitate the inclusion and participation of new comers” (*ibid*: 5). This entire adaptation process by migrants can be possible when existing structure of the host region is not rigid. Integration can be successful when it is conceived as a two-way process. In Sikkim, local people are not xenophobic in nature but regarding the inclusion process there is one invisible line based on geo-political perception and migrants are not allowed to cross the line. There is not any definite paradigm for integration process that migrants and host people need to follow, rather it takes place in various forms in different parts of society. In Sikkim it has been noticed that migrants are integrating in informal labour market but inclusion is prohibited in political and civil society. So, migrant labourers are more likely to adjust with the host area for survival rather than assimilate in the new society.

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