Livelihood Sustainability of Migrant Labourers from Bihar in North East India:
A Comparative Study of Assam and Sikkim

A Thesis Submitted

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In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Department of Economics

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Dedicated to my Beloved Parents

For

All their Faith and Support

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I, further, declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this dissertation was earlier submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship. All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by her.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Annual Household Income	AHI
Caste	CAS
Casual labour	CL
Do Not understand	DNU
Fixed wage/ regular wage labourer	WL
General	Gen
General Happiness Scale	GHS
Human Development Index	HDI
Human Development Report	HDR
If faces strike/bandh	STRK
If he is the main earning member of the family	MEA
If Owns Bank account	BANK
Income Difference	INDIFF
Income generating property at home	IGPH
Literacy	LIT
Local Language	LL
log of expenditure on intoxicants	LEXPI
Log of income	LI
Log of savings	Ls
Marital status	MAR
Mean of Economic Index	MEI
Mean of Personal Index	MPI
Mean of Physical Index	MPHI
Mean of Social index	MSI
National Sample Survey Organisation	NSSO
North- eastern Region	NER
Observation	Obs.
Occupation	OCP
Origin	O
Other Backward Caste	OBC
plan/willingness to stay in future	PLAN
Quality of Life	QOL
Satisfaction with Life Scale	SWLS
Schedule caste	SC
Self Employed	SE
Standard Deviation	Std. Dev.
State code	STC
Sum of Assets	SOA
Total Dependent Family Member	TDP
Understand	UL
Understand and speak	US
United Nations Development Programme	UNDP
Variance inflation factor	VIF
Work Status	WS
World Health Organisation	WHO
Years of Migration	MYRS

ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to assess the livelihood sustainability of the Bihari migrant labourers in the two states of NER— Sikkim and Assam. Bihar is the state in India where development deficit is very high, and because of the lack of economic opportunities, the labourers from the rural areas are bound to migrate to other states in order to improve their economic status. What we have understood from this study is that the migration, over the years, has slowly become a way of life for the rural people of Bihar. Despite odd circumstances like distance from home, conflicts, unwelcoming attitude of the local towards the migrants, poor labour laws, little apathy from the government, lack of facilities, etc. the Bihari migrant labourers have been living in NER. The study found that the push factor dominates over the pull and network factors in making the rural Bihari unemployed/underemployed people to migrate. From the findings we arrive at a judgement that the conditions at the destination do not necessarily impact the decision of the migrants while choosing the place to migrate. The migrants hardly bother about the conflicts that take place at the destination, especially in Assam because they are driven by economic opportunity at the destination. As long as the place attracts them with employment opportunities and provide them better livelihood they do not care about the attitude of the local and difficulties at the destination. In a similar manner, the sustainability of Bihari labour migrants majorly depends upon the savings they do. They tend to maximize the savings so that they can send maximum portion of the savings back at home and it acts as a major force to make the migrants sustain their lives at destination despite of all their hardships. Another important factor to make the migrants sustain their lives at destination is the income difference which acts as one of the main driving forces. By

higher income difference it is meant the difference in income at origin (earnings at the time of departure at origin) and destination. While comparing the quality of life of these migrant labourers using different parameters we found that the migrants in Sikkim perform better than the migrants in Assam. Bihari migrants are still willing to continue their stay in the state Assam because Bihari migrants are primarily driven by the economic factors. For Bihari migrants what matters the most is the income they earn and send to the family members at home.

CHAPTER I

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Human Development Report 2009 published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) states that the number of internal migrants is four times higher than that of the international migrants in the world. As per the report, internal migration[1] not only involves the poorer segments of the society, but also impacts more on the economy as a whole on sending and receiving regions, much more than that of the international migration (HDR 2009). Literally, internal migration can be viewed as an economic survival strategy, especially in the Asian countries, and it can help in poverty reduction to a great extent (Deshingkar 2006). In India, as per 2001 population census, internal migrants constitute of around 309 million or 30 percent of the country's total population. However, according to a recent estimate of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), the number of internal migrants was around 326 million or 28.5 percent of the country's population in 2007-08 (NSSO 2007-08). While in 2011, the number of internal migrants exceeded much more than that of the international migrants, which was estimated at around 11.4 million out-migrants from India to other countries (World Bank 2011). In the country, the flows of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled migrants from rural to urban areas have increased significantly since 1991, especially after the policy of liberalization, globalization and privatisation (Pattanaik 2005).

The internal migrants in India are basically categorised into two— one, the long-term migrants who have relocated individuals or households and are generally

[1]In this study, internal migration refers to human migration within one geopolitical entity, usually a nation. Detail of it may be referred to Poston and Micklin (2006).

belonged to well-to-do category of the society, and two, the short-term migrants who generally move on circular or seasonal basis, temporarily for few years or periods.As per NSSO 2007-08 report, and a study by Deshingkar and Akter (2009), in India, short-term migrants vary from 15 million to 100 million, and most of them belong to the deprived sections of the society, with poor educational attainment, limited access to physical assets and resources. However, Weiner (1978) has categorised inter-state migrants into five categories— 1) the largest group consists of women, migrating after marriage with their husbands, 2) the students who are seeking education outside their home-states, 3) the members of middle class, often move from one urban centre to another, in search of better employment opportunities or are transferred of jobs, 4) entrepreneurs including traders, small merchants and money lenders doing business in other states, and 5) substantially low-income group and low-skilled labour force moving from country-side to the city or from one urban area to another place within the country. Apart from the above mentioned categories of migrants, majority of them stay for short-term, especially the seasonal or circular in nature. These migrants form a major part of the Indian casual labour market (Deshingkar and Farrington 2006). The participation of migrant labourers in the organised urban sector is extremely low because of their low educational qualification as the sector basically requires (Bino et al. 2008). However, informal sector, especially in the urban centres can easily absorb them. The unskilled/semiskilled, illiterate/semiliterate and seasonal migrants also find this sector the best option available to them vis-à-vis the opportunities available at their origin (Shrivastava and Sasikumar 2003).

In this regard, one of leading states in providing internal migrants in the country is Bihar (NSSO 2007-08),which is also happened to be one of populous states with a high density of population estimated at 1102 persons per sq. km vis-a-vis 382

persons per sq.km.in India (Population Census 2011). At present, majority of the population of the state (Bihar) live in the rural area and consequently 63.9 per cent of the state's population involve in the primary sector (Planning Commission 2014). The World Bank Report (2000) on 'Development Challenges and Poverty in Bihar also highlighted that in rural Bihar, the poor people and peasants have very limited means of livelihood due to flawed land ownership law, poor educational system and social discrimination. The rural populace of Bihar depend mainly on agriculture sector and the underemployment rate is quite high compared to national average[2].Migration to other states is one of preferred options available to them, mainly for economic reasons. India's population census data 1991 reveal that Uttar Pradesh and Bihar alone constitute one-third of the total inter-state out-migration in the country (Mukherji 1995; Srivastava 1998). In this context, a study conducted by Malekar (2008) revealed that the first cohort of international emigrants from Bihar was found in 1834 when the British used migrant workers from Bihar to lay the first roads in Mauritius. Also, a large number of people migrated from Bihar as indentured labourer to British colonies around the world as well as to other parts of the country, mainly in the West Bengal and Assam during the 19th and 20th centuries (Ibid 2008).

At present, Bihar is one of the fastest growing states in terms of Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) in the country, growing at around 10 percent in the 10th and 11th Five Year Plans till 2012. However, when it comes to per capita term, it stands at the lowest position with NSDP per capita of Rs 22589 at 2004-05 current prices, vis-a-vis Rs 61855 of the national average in 2011-12 (NSSO 2011-12). Few research studies and government official documents manifest that Bihar ranks at the

2 Agriculture labour and cultivation together accounted for around 64% in Bihar, as per NSS 66th round "Employment and Unemployment Survey".

lowest position with respect to many of the development parameters[3]. As Sharma (1995) discussed on the issue of economic diversification in rural Bihar, the state is found to have limited non-farm employment opportunities. Therefore, a large number of unemployed and underemployed labourers of the state are found to be vulnerable and compelled to out-migrate to other states in search of employment opportunities. According to 2011 population census, of the total 1.7 million of Bihari labour out-migrants13.32 percent of them were found to be inter-state migrants, migrated to other states within the country. Another study conducted by Deshingkar, et al (2006) estimated that the Bihari migrants remitted around Rs 4.5 billion in 2006 through post office transfers alone.

Migration can also be seen as a process of mobility for achieving the goals of livelihood improvement, and the extent to which households succeed in achieving these goals depends on the destination and selectivity of migration (de Hass 2010). As of the causes, according to Lee (1966), there are many factors for people to out-migrate that include the push factors (from the origin), pull factors (from the destination), intervening obstacles (e. g. distance) and personal factors. Push and pull factors are the forces that can either induce people to move to a new location or obliged them to leave old residences. It may probably be due to economic, political, cultural and environment factors. In the context, according to Chand, et al. (1998), in Bihar, rural push and urban pull have been the driving forces for migration. Another study by McDowell and de Haan (1997) found that migration is a development-induced process that reflects uneven development of the regions. The Constitution of India also guarantees freedom of movement and allows people to settle down

[3]The Indian Human Development Report (IHDR) states that Bihar ranks the lowest in term of Human development Index (HDI). Also, Suryanarayana et al. (2011)estimated the score of income dimension for Bihar and found to be 0.398vis-a-vis all India score of 0.465.

anywhere within the territory of the country with certain exceptions, such as Scheduled Tribes (STs) areas and army cantonments[4].

Bustamante (2011) discussed the vulnerabilities that migrants face from the time they leave home towards new place. He explained that a person is less vulnerable at his home than at any new destination where he is looked down as a migrant. At home, generally, he is socially rich in order to defend and protect himself from any kind of unfavourable situation or incidence. According to Derose et al. (2007), vulnerability is a multifaceted problem that includes the political and social marginalization, at the same time, lack of socioeconomic resources makes them prone to problems. The unfamiliarity with the local language, culture, legal and administrative system along with the detachment from family and traditional support that he/she enjoyed at home and exposure to a new society with different environments make them feel alienated at times and disturbed too (Varennes 2003). Though these aspects have already been discussed in the context of international migration, the situation is more or less the same in the case of inter-state (internal) migration in the large country like India. Studies done by the scholars (Weiner1978; Hansen 2001) have uncovered the fact that migrants face several barriers in the destination areas like the access to civic amenities, housing and employment, linguistic differences as well as restrictions on their political and cultural rights. Migrants are all the more vulnerable to discrimination and exploitation, because many of them are poor, illiterate and live in slums and hazardous locations that are prone to disaster and natural calamities (Weiner 1978). Nevertheless, over the years, they slowly developed several coping strategies in order to adjust in the new destination.

4 As per the Indian Constitution, Part III (Fundamental Rights), Article 19(1) d and 19(1)e, the outsiders are prohibited to buy lands or properties in the regions like Sikkim, Nagaland, Manipur, Jammu and Kashmir, etc., and their stay in these regions can only be temporary.

Besides economic resources, there are other qualities like— personal, social and cultural of the destination that a migrant requires to learn in order to cope with and survive at destinations. These resources help them to satisfy their needs, demands and goals. Therefore, livelihood sustainability has been the larger issue for the migrants.

1.2 BIHARI MIGRANTS IN INDIA'S NORTH EASTERN REGION

With the growth of tea industry in Assam, since the 1901, a large number of Bihari labour migrants flocked into the state, Assam province at that time. According to Negi and Ganguly (nd, p. 11), in 1931, the migrants from Bihar and Orissa alone constituted around 34 percent of the total immigrants in Assam. This movement of the migrant population into the newly formed state of Assam continued in the post-independence era as well. Besides Bengali (both Hindu and Muslim) immigrants from Bangladesh and West Bengal state, Assam received the largest number of Bihari and Hindi speaking labourer migrants in the entire North-eastern Region (NER or simply region hereafter)[5]. On the other hand, the process of urbanisation and industrialisation in the Himalayan state of Sikkim has been very rapid in the recent decades. Consequently, the movement of the Bihari labourer migrants into this newly formed and fast developing state is also found to be equally large.

According to Wiener (1978), migrant labourers are attracted by the receiving states of NER due to two main factors— unwillingness of the majority of the local people to take up the blue collar jobs and employers of the newly created jobs prefer migrant labourers. The advancement in the sectors like industry, agriculture and urban

[5] NER consists of eight states: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. While the Eastern Himalayan state of Sikkim, which was merged with the Indian union on 16th May 1975 is known for its peace and good governance. Considering its topographical condition and socio-cultural proximity, the state has been bracketed with the NER in 2003 and shares international borders with Tibet (Autonomous Region of China) to the north and northeast, Bhutan to the southeast, and Nepal to the west.

growth in many states of India as well has a large number of employment opportunities. In turn, it attracted large number of migrant workers in those states (Ibid 1978). Bihar is found to be one of the major suppliers of such casual workers in those states (Singh and Iyer 1985). Also Bihar is known for over population, poverty and unemployment problems, and more importantly, wage rate in Bihar is relatively low vis-a-vis other states of the country, probably due to weak labour law and over unemployed working population. Theoretically as well, wage rate differences and disparity in regional income, regional growth and educational disparities encourage movement of people from one cultural-linguistic region to another newly expanded region (Weiner 1978). Under the North Eastern Industrial and Investment Promotion Policy 2007(NEIIPP 2007), the region has been declared as special economic zone (SEZ). In the recent decades, states within the region/NER have taken up massive development initiatives in industrial sector and other various schemes under the central government. This has attracted investors in the region and created a huge demand for labourers (Indian Chamber of Commerce 2013). Of the states within the region, Assam created the major share of employment opportunities in the industrial and infrastructural sectors. Manufacturing sector witnessed varying degree of positive employment growth thereafter (Sahu 2012), while the state of Sikkim has witnessed a vast infrastructural and industrial development projects in the past few years. This attracted large number of migrant labourers from the states of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh (Rai 2013).

On the other hand, right after the country's independence, barring Sikkim, with the apprehension of losing social, economic and political opportunities in the hands of the migrants, the resentment and movement against the migrants started in the region (Singha 2017).In Assam, movements against the immigrants started in the

1980s with the rise of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) (Singha 2018, p. 42), attacking Bangladeshis and other Hindi speaking people migrated to Assam from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh over the past quarter century. Demand for ordinance and legislation to restrict economic opportunities and cultural positions of these migrants emerged. Besides the movement against the outsiders and armed struggle for a complete secession from India, ethnicity-based autonomy movements or infightings intensified in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 2000s, the states of Assam and Manipur were the worst affected by the ethnicity-driven movements vis-à-vis other six sister states of the region (Singha 2017, p. 689). Of course, the Himalayan state of Sikkim is identified as the most peaceful state in the region, rated as zero crime rate in the country.

But, the bigger question is, whether have the migration policies enacted in the region and the movements against immigrants solved the issue? As observed in the region, the Assam's anti-immigration movements could not solve the problem, rather produced an adverse impact on the society and the polity (Singh 2012).Despite Assam Accord[6] signed in 1985, draft list of National Registry of Citizens (NRC) published in August 2018 found around four lakhs illegal immigrants in the state and this caused a political debate at the national level. Also, though the policy like Inner Line Permit (ILP), which aims at protecting indigenous people from the outsiders is in place, major business establishments blue colour jobs are controlled by the outsiders in the region, especially in Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya. At the global level as well, internal conflicts or the movements of the locals against the outsiders has not made any dent in preventing immigration. For instance, despite ongoing war and general

[6]The Assam Accord was signed between representatives of the Government of India and the leaders of the Assam Movement in New Delhi on 15 August 1985. As per the accord, the Bangladeshi immigrants, irrespective of their faith, who entered Assam after 24 March1971, will be deported.

insecurity conditions, thousands of African, especially the Ethiopian migrants continued to make their journey to the war-torn Yemen in search of better economic opportunities. From where, they further move on to the Gulf countries with the hopes of better work (Schlein 2018). Therefore, a thorough understanding of the migrants' livelihood sustainability in different political environment becomes the interest of the policy makers and academia.

In this regard, most of the scholars (De Haan 1999; Russell, et al. 1990) claimed that the migration is a strategy to sustain livelihood for the poor people. It is also irreversibly an essential element in the rural livelihood strategies (Coffey et al. 2014; Mosse et al. 2002). Migration is a strategy to escape from poverty, and in this context, many other scholars (De Jainvry and Sadoulet 2000; Hoddinot et al. 2000) have emphasized over the need of assets that are the symptom and cause of poverty. Similarly, Ellis (2000) depicted the role of it and how do different assets play a very important role in sustaining their lives, wellbeing and livelihood. But a limited study has been done on livelihood sustainability of the migrant labourers at destination.

As of the functional definition, the term "livelihood sustainability" is well recognised as human's inherently developed and implement strategies to ensure their survival (UNDP 2002).Understandably, migrant labourers do generally live their life on the edges and can achieve livelihood sustainability if and only if they "can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future" (Carney 1998, p.13). For understanding coping strategy of these migrants properly, a systematic study on sustainability and quality of life of the migrant labourers in new destinations is needed.

1.3 RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Despite high intensity of social and political conflicts in the India's NER, the region has been a preferred destination for a large number of migrant labourers from Bihar for livelihood and employment opportunities. Majority of the Bihari migrants are basically unskilled and menial workers. It is plausible that the jobs taken up by them are the ones which the locals are either unwilling to take up or incapable of doing them (Piore 1979; Weiner 1978). Similar kind of notion was also stated by Singh and Iyer (1985) on livelihood sustainability of the migrants from Bihar. Possibly, these migrant labourers can get easy jobs at the destination, but there is limited scope for the same in their origin. Hence, they are driven towards NER despite the region's poor infrastructure, weak transport facilities and hostile law and order condition. It should also be noted that a significant number of migrant labourers from Bihar are found engaged in big industrial and commerce centres like Delhi, Mumbai, southern states like Bangalore, Chennai, etc. But, instead of joining them where they might have bigger opportunities they prefer to come in the NER, especially in the trouble-torn area like Assam, which draws our attention and justify the need for research. What has attracted the Bihari labourers to make Assam as their destination? At the same time, many Bihari labourers also make their destination to one of the most peaceful states in the country, Sikkim. As discussed above, Bihari labourers still continue to migrant not only to Sikkim, but also in the state of Assam.

The livelihood sustainability of the unskilled/casual labourers in the world of privatisation and modernisation, and also in the conflict-ridden zones is a researchable topic. This motivated to study the coping mechanism, or in other words, livelihood sustainability of the Bihari migrant labourers in Sikkim and Assam. Having

understood the backgrounds discussed above, an assessment has been made to understand the livelihood sustainability of the migrant labourers of Bihar in NER's urban informal sector[7], especially in Assam and Sikkim. It is also understood that the Bihari labourer migrants are mostly absorbed in the region's informal sector, and they are also generally belonged to the lowest rung of the society.

With the backgrounds stated above, some of the broader research questions can be formulated as below:

1) What are the major factors that influenced labourers to migrate from Bihar to NER, especially in Assam and Sikkim?

2) What are the factors that enhanced livelihood sustainability of the Bihari migrant labourers in NER, and

3) Have the region's internal conflicts and violence against the migrants been the deterring factors for the Bihari migrant labourers?

4) Is quality of life higher in the peaceful state (Sikkim) vis-à-vis conflict-ridden state (Assam)?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study centres on the migrant labourers of Bihar, especially the informal labourers, who have made their destination in the country's North-eastern region, especially in Assam and Sikkim. As discussed above, only the casual and unskilled migrants from

7 In 1993, The international Conference of Labour Statisticians, which is also adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) broadly defined informal sector as "The informal sector includes all remunerative work – both and wage employment – that is not recognised, regulated, or protected by existing legal or regulatory frameworks ,and non-remunerative work undertaken in an income-producing enterprise."

Bihar working in the informal sector are included. The specific objectives of the study are given below:

1) To identify major factors that influenced informal labourers to migrate from Bihar to Assam and Sikkim.

2) To identify the major factors that enhanced livelihood sustainability of these migrant labourers in Assam and Sikkim.

3) To compare and contrast the livelihood condition (Quality of Life) of these migrant labourers between the conflict-ridden state– Assam and the relatively a peaceful state– Sikkim.

CHAPTER II

2.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

'Migrant' is a doubtful and ambiguous concept in public debates and they are often combined with ethnic minorities and with asylum seekers (Saggar and Drean 2001; Crawley 2005; Baker et al. 2008). Taking the international definition of migrant, the United Nations (1998) defines migrant as— any person who changes his or her place of usual residence. A person who changes his residence for a period of at least a year is regarded as a long-term migrant. On the other hand, a person moving to a new place for at least three months but less than a year are regarded as short-term migrant excluding the cases where movement is for purposes of recreation, holiday, casual visits, etc. The one year duration notion is based on practical observations rather than any theoretical considerations. The Indian definition of migrant given by the NSSO (2007-08) is read as, "a household member, whose last usual place of residence (UPR)[8] was different from the present place of enumeration was considered as a migrant member in a household". The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) also defines that the "household members who spend 180 days or more away from the village for work as long-term migrants, while the household members who spend between 30 and 180 days for work outside his/her place of origin is termed as short-term migrants. However, a study by Coffey et al (2014) documented that although short-term migrants are short-term in nature but it is a "permanent part of households' long-term economic progress". It is a long-lasting livelihood strategy for the households. Most of the migrants who come to work in urban space are mostly absorbed in the informal work and are employed casually (Piore 1979). The 62nd

[8] Usual place of residence (UPR): Usual place of residence of a person was defined as a place (village/town) where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more.

round of NSSO (2007-08) documented that around 56 percent labourers are self-employed, followed by casual labourers with around 30 percent among the total employed in the labour market in India. The NSSO and the Manual Labour Statistics of Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MOSPI) define a casual wage labourer as a person who is employed by others in farm or non-farm enterprises, both by household and non-household. In return, these workers receive wages according to the terms of the daily or periodic work contract (NSSO 2006). In India, casual labourers have three major characteristics— 1) they do not have a regular job contract, 2) their wages are comparatively lower than that of the people with regular and self-employment, and 3) they do not receive any benefits of social security and other benefits from the government. Interestingly, migrants are very significant part of the casual labour market in India and they migrate in search of livelihood opportunities (Deshingkar and Farrington 2006).

In the true sense of the term, migration is a very diverse and multifaceted topic. It cannot be explained a single definition or in one theory. The models on migration are useful in understanding the basic concepts of it, and they simplify the complicated aspects of the subject. As the study aspires to investigate the labour migrants, it becomes a necessity to go through various models discussed in the past. For fitting the present study in an established model, a few established and renowned theories on the theme are discussed below.

2.2 NEOCLASSICAL THEORIES OF MIGRATION

Adam Smith in his book, the Wealth of Nation, published in 1776 mentioned that migration happened because of the economic benefits. In short, a person decides to migrate from one place to other for economic interests. He mentioned that wage rates

of labourers vary from place to place but the prices of the commodities remains the same which induce people to migrate. Similar kind of notion was given by Hicks (1932) who explained the role of economic advantages in people's decision to migrate. Nevertheless, Smith's observation was formalised by Shields and Shields (1989) in a model that postulates the dependence of movement and volume of labour migration from one location to another on wage differences and barriers to migration. The model is given below-

$$M_{ij=} \alpha_{ij} (W_j - W_i)$$

Here, M is volume of migration, 'α' is obstructing factors in migration 'i' is origin, 'j' is destination, W_j is wage at origin and W_i wage at destination. Ravenstein (1985) believed that migration is a crucial part of development and tried to explain it with few laws based on the Census Surveys of 1871 and 1881 in United Kingdom, which could be applicable to both internal and international migration. He outlined seven "Laws of Migration" that explicate the migration pattern in UK. According to the first law, most of the migration only proceeds a short distance in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry; the second law explained, the gap that was left in the rural population are filled up by the migrants from more remote districts; the third law explained the process of dispersion which is the inverse of absorption both exhibit a similar feature. Dispersion being the rural areas, mainly the agricultural countries and absorption being centres of industry and commerce. Second and third laws are mainly about rural to urban migration and urbanisation. The law mainly dealt about net migration; return migration, two-way migration and migration flows. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural

parts of the country and females are more migratory than males. Similarly, Skeledon (1977) also advocated that migration is influenced by the factors like distance and population densities. But these studies are not free from criticism. One of them is Castles and Miller (1993), who stated that the laws are individualistic and not historical. But, it is also true that the perspective of Ravenstein in which people are expected to move from low income to high income area and the general notion about the migration and people's movements have been presented in many of the recent works by many demographers, geographers and economists ever since then and it also became the basis of push-pull theories (Castles and Miller 2003). Inspired from Ravenstein, George Kingsley Zipf, an American sociologist hypothesised that migration between two regions is directly proportional to the populations of the two regions and inversely proportional to the distance between the two (Zipf 1947). Further, according to him, the higher the population of origin and destination, higher will be the volume of migration, and secondly, the distance acts as a proxy for the cost involved in migration. It is known as the "Gravity law of Migration". However, Stouffer (1940) had different opinion that there is no important relationship between mobility and distance. According to him the number of people migrating to a destination is directly proportional to the number of opportunities available at the destination and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.

Sjaastad (1962) and Becker (1975) consider migration as an investment decision meaning that a migrant tries to maximize his utility by choosing the location which can offer him the highest net income. According to Sjaastad (1962), a person who decides to migrate, calculates the value of opportunities available at each of the destination options and compares with the value of opportunities available at home. Also, he calculates the cost that will be involved in the migration (cost of moving) and

subtracts from the former and then chooses the best option that will maximize his present earnings. He also said that the migration decision also depends upon information like job vacancies at the destination which he obtains by formal sources like advertisement in newspapers, etc. and informal sources like friends and relatives, who act as networks of opportunity. But, he did not count non-monetary benefits or returns like better climate and recreational opportunities, a desirable social, political, or religious environment, or more desirable quantities of public goods available at the destination. As the study dealt with a single time period, he failed to explain the fact that few people migrate several times during their life time.

2.3 RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Lewis (1954) explained rural-urban migration as a main part of the development process. According to him development is the genesis of rural-urban migration, and the urban sector drives rural-urban migration by attracting the surplus rural labour. Further, as the urban sector expands it would attract the underemployed or disguised employed workers from the rural areas in an expectation of higher earnings. But, in reality, these workers from the rural areas are underpaid though they are given higher monetary income than their rural earnings. Similar kind of notion was also confirmed by a number of scholars (Rostow 1960; Todaro 1969 and others). According to Todaro (1969), as long as rural-urban income differences remain high enough to outweigh the risk of becoming unemployed the enticement or the attraction of comparatively higher permanent incomes will continue to attract continuous flow of rural migrants. Later, Harris-Todaro model was developed in 1970 that a two-sector economic model in order to develop the concept for rural-urban migration, which was found to be more realistic and refined (Fields 1972). The main assumption of the

model is that the decision to migrate depends upon the income differential rather than wage differentials that is why despite of high urban employment the rural-urban migration is rational because the expected urban income exceeds the expected rural income (Todaro and Maruszko1987). Wage is the money that is paid either monthly, weekly, tri-weekly, daily or as per the hour. The wage is fixed for each work and it may increase in time. On the other hand, income is the money calculated from all the known sources that could include the wages, gifts, interest, bonuses and dividends. Unlike wages, income cannot be fixed as it depends on the varying sources. The income one gets for a particular year could be different from another year. In a slightly different manner, a few scholars (Schwartz et al. 1994; Zachariah et al. 2001) believe that demographic pressure or environmental degradation is another factor which urged migration beside wage differential.

2.4 PUSH-PULL THEORY

Lee (1966) believes that the push and pull factor make people to migrate from one place to another destinations. The push and pull factors (push-pull factor hereafter) have been further categorised in different groups based on the area of origin, area of destination, the intervening obstacles and personal factors. The first two categories include several factors to hold people within the area or attract people to it, and which can be said as the 'positive' or '+' factor. There are factors which cause people to repel and that can be said as 'negative' or '–' factor. Few other factors which make people indifferent, are known as 'zero' or '0' factor. Further, there are intervening obstacles with which the migrant is encumbered like physical distance, cultural barriers such as language, cost of making the journey to destination, etc. The personal factors which motivate people whether to migrate or not play an important role. For

instance, it is easier for a single and unmarried people to migrate to other destination with better economic opportunities. Having analysed these, Lee's model was named as 'push-pull' model for migration although he did not apparently coined it so (Passaris 1989). A large number of studies have applied this push-pull framework. Nevertheless, it is believed that various factors like demographic, economic and environment are responsible for determining migration decisions. Few researchers like Skeldon (1997) and Schwartz and Notini (1994) distinguished two forces that create "push and pull". First is the rural population growth that causes pressure on natural and agricultural resources which tends to force people to move out of the rural areas. Second, the economic reason, which was well explained by the Harris-Todaro model and in which, higher wage, was the major attracting factor (Fields 1972). The push-pull attributes are also considered as an important factor for migration by many other studies like Haq and Rehman (1975), George (1970). On the contrary, a few studies (Greenwood 1985; Ritchey 1976; Shaw 1975; Fields 1979) in the past suggest that economic condition of origin, which is a major factor to create push force from the origin, has no role in deciding the labourer's out-migration. The studies believe that the economic and demographic conditions outside the area influence the extent and direction of the labour flow which is not supported by studies that indicate factors like unemployment affect the decision of the labour migration to move or stay back (Schlottmann and Herzog 1982; Herberle 1938).

2.5 NETWORK THEORY

Besides the theories discussed above, some of the factors which motivate a person to migrate from one place to another can be classified into different categories like economic factors, demographic factors, socio-cultural factors, political factors and

miscellaneous factors (Kumar and Sindhu 2005). Despite varied reasons that explained the causes of migration, the economic factor cannot be overlooked in this regard and stands to be the most important one. Economic forces play an important role for inducing people to migrate (Kumar 1992; Sidhu et al. 1997; Gill 1998; Kundu 1998; Singh and Aggarwal 1998; Srivastava 1998). However, Schoorl (1998) argued that the economic factor alone cannot explain the migration patterns. Probably, the role of nation-states, geographical proximity, institutions, social networks, and cultural and historical factors could be responsible for creating new migration patterns. In the recent decades, network is plausible to describe the migration patterns more. Literatures on migration have highlighted the fact that migration often leads to further migration. Once a certain number of migrants get settled at destination, the process becomes self-perpetuating. Social ties are created in between origin and destination, and the process thereby continues (Massey 1990; Massey et al. 1989). Further, Massey, et al(1993, p. 448) have defined, "networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin". Similarly, Portes (1995, p. 22) phrased it as, "migration is defined as a network-creating process because it develops an increasingly dense web of contacts between places of origin and destination". Once established such networks, it allows the migration process to become self-sustaining and impervious to short-term changes in economic incentive. There are several models which explain the working and operation of social networks. One of them is the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) developed 'Social Capital Model' which assumes people tend to migrate in order to maximize the returns that they have developed 'human capital' in themselves earlier, and in order to do so, they rely on

the social capital nested in their interpersonal networks. Social capital is defined by the OECD as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups". Hanifan (1916, p.130) is the said to be the first to describe social capital, as "those tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit". Social capital plays a very important in reducing the costs and risks involved in migration that is, access to housing, safe transportation, employment, and probability of decision to migrate are increased.

2.6 NETWORK AND NEW ECONOMICS OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Spittel (1998) explained "network" factor with different model known as 'Risk Diversification Model', in which, house-hold members collectively take decision to migrate or not. This model was well debated by different scholars under the new school of labour migration (Stark and Levhari 1982; Stark 1984; Stark and Bloom 1985; Katz and Stark 1986), and it argued that migration should be studied at the household level rather than at the individual level. It further stated that people decide to migrate in order to maximize their expected income of the household but it also may be in order to diminish the risks associated with the market failure. The theory also posits that households use their network for the diversification of the household income. Sending a member of the household to some other place or another market, where he/she gets a job, and thereafter, he/she acts as a contact for the people who stayed back at the origin. In case of an adverse situation, like market failure or the others, the household can send other members of the house to the same location by taking advantage of the link made by the first mover (Massey and Palloni 1992). Two

conclusions can be drawn from the above debate— first, the decision to migrate may be in order to maximize the household income, and the second is to reduce the risks associated with the market failure. Hence, family acts as migratory unit, may migrate together or individuals can be sent out with the clear expectation that other members will be sent for (Harbison 1981; Mac-Donald and MacDonald 1964).

Using Mexican migration data, a study by Bauer, Epstein and Gang (2000) concluded that migration networks affect a migrants' choice of location by three ways. First, they provide information about the host region labour market. Second, migrants' utility increases with the growth of ethnic goods that is available in the new location. Third, migrants expect previous migrants to help them in the settlement process. In a similar manner, Aguilera (2003) and Bashi (2007) found that network facilitates the process of migration by providing migrants with temporary accommodation, financial help and help in locating jobs. For a fellow migrant, the presence of family, friends and kinship lowers many costs associated with the migrants like information costs, psychological cost and social cost (Lundborg 1991).

2.7 LIVELIHOOD SUSTAINABILITY

Internal migration and its importance in India have been studied by many researchers (Haberfeld et al. 1999; Mosse et al. 2002; Rogaly 1998; Banerjee and Duo 2007; Badiani and Sarkar 2009; Keshri and Bhagat 2012; 2013; Deshingkar and Farrington 2009; Breman 1996). Most of them indicated that the migration is one of strategies to sustain livelihood for poor people (Siddiqui 2003; de Haan 2000). Migration is predominantly a defensive coping strategy for the poor people to deal with shortages (Russell et al. 1990) and irreversibly an essential element in the rural livelihood strategies (Haan 1999; Mc dowell and de Haan1997).

The term ‘livelihood’ is well-recognized as— humans inherently develop and implement strategies to ensure their survival (UNDP 2002). Researchers say that migration is a strategy to pull out people out of poverty and they have emphasized over the importance of lack of assets as a symptom and cause of poverty (Birdsall and Londono 1997; De Jainvry and Sadoulet 2000), and how different assets play a very important role in sustaining their lives, wellbeing and livelihood (Ellis2000).We understand that the labour migrants live their life on the edges and they can only achieve livelihood sustainability if and only if they ‘can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future (Carney1998). In totality, livelihood sustainability is the coping mechanism of migrants at the destination and there is no threshold level of sustainability. Therefore, a relative performance or a migrant’s level of satisfaction may be compared with his counterparts in the same destination or in different destination.

2.8 QUALITY OF LIFE

Researchers in India have described two broad streams of migrants— one type includes the poorest strata, disadvantaged and least educated, especially the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and Muslims (Bird and Deshingkar 2009; Breman 1996). Due to lack of assets, knowledge, skills, etc. these types of migrants are primarily absorbed in the informal sector of the urban economy as casual labourers, construction workers, wage pickers etc. (Deshingkar et al. 2008). Working conditions within such sector is hazardous with several other demerits like underpayment of wages, hectic working hours, unclean and unhygienic working environment (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003; Deshingkar et al. 2008). The other type of migrants

is slightly better off than the first one, and is generally equipped with higher levels of education, skills and knowledge. In the urban centres, the security services, plumbing, carpentry, etc. are majorly part of informal sector (Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler 2003; Deshingkar et al. 2008). The migrants coming from countryside live in very hazardous condition in the towns where they migrate to earn livelihood and most of them are unable to get affordable housing and other basic amenities easily (Ghosh 2013). The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines 'quality of life' as an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and the value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations and concerns. It is a broad ranging concept that relates a person's physical and psychological health, level of independence and social relationships to the salient features of their environment (WHO 1995, p. 1405). Traditionally, quality of life was only measured in terms of monetary aspect, but now it includes different aspects of human life. According to Cobb (2000), quality of life is what makes a life good. Quality of life presents overall well-being of a person including happiness and how satisfied a person is with his/her life as a whole in a given environment. But, it is a very broad and subjective concept (Center for Disease Control and Prevention 2000, p. 5). Nevertheless, it is both subjective and objective kind of concept. Vinayakam and Sekar (2013) have tried to explain the multidimensional nature of quality of life which includes subjective and objective parts.

Many studies and researches have used expenditure based approaches to understand standard of living. Comparing expenditures in total or on different items represent some minimum living standard of a person (Pradhan and Ravallion 2000; Lanjouw and Lanjouw 2001; Gundersen and Oliveira 2001; Slesnick 1994; 1998). In many developing countries, consumption method has been widely adopted to

understand the well-being of a person. Many studies (Dasgupta and Wea1e 1992; Park1985; Hall 1984; Stover and Leven 1992) have also tried to develop statistical techniques to measure quality of life in the form of indexes. In order to make a composite quality of life index, techniques like simple rankings, principal component analysis (PCA) and scaling methods have also been used and applied widely. Many researchers and past studies (Bigelow et al 1991; Heal and Chadsey-Rusch 1985) have used social and psychological indicators to show the well-being or the state of well-being of a person. Quality of life of a person is also understood from the extent of satisfaction or dissatisfaction that they have in day-to-day life. There are also a plenty of studies (Wang and Fan 2012; Gui, Berry and Zheng 2012) that have discussed about the poor quality of life of migrants but very less studies dealt with the very own perception of the migrants' quality of life at the destination.

2.9 RESEARCH GAP

In general, researchers do explain the well-being of a person belonging to rural or urban area, they hardly talk about the migrants who stay and try to survive at a new destination (Knight, Song and Guntilaka 2009; Wang and Fan 2012). Only in recent times, studies try to understand the perception and evaluation quality of life by the migrants himself (Cheng, Wang and Smyth 2014). Subjective well-being of a person is a very broad concept, it means, how a person feels about his life-quality and it includes satisfaction with life (Diener 1984). In the long run, satisfaction with life represents one's own judgement about the circumstances of life (Diener 1984; Diener et al. 1998). Migrants in general tend to have a lower level of happiness in the pre and post migration, as it is difficult for them to adapt a new environment (Nowol et al. 2013; Hendriks et al. 2016).In contrary, few studies (Mitra 2010; Switek 2016)

concluded that subjective well-being or happiness of a migrant increases when a migrant enters a host place as his earnings rise and they feel they have achieved in life.

Though a plethora of research studies and models have been done on migration and the casual labour issues, limited work is found on the issue of sustainability of the casual labourer migrants at the destination. The present study particularly aims to target the problems and sustenance (sustainability) of the casual labourer migrants at the destination. This study is the modest attempt to understand livelihood sustainability of a labourer at the destination and what makes them stay at the destination. Having seen this environment, the third objective of this study is set as to understand the quality of life of the migrants at the two destination of the country's NER— Assam and Sikkim. Both objective and subjective indicators have been chosen to understand the quality of life of Bihari migrants.

The present study uses two psychological scales in order to understand the subjective well-being of the Bihari labour migrants in Assam and Sikkim. First, it is the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), developed by Diener et al. (1985), to measure the subjective well-being of the migrants. The SWLS has proven to be a reliable and valid measure of life satisfaction and because it consists of only five items (discussed in the Chapter III of this study), the time of interview is also saved compared to any other measures. The second scale, General Happiness Scale (GHS), developed by Lyubomirsky and Lepper (1999) is also used to measure the subjective happiness of the migrants. This scale is also widely used and accepted in many studies.

CHAPTER III

The present chapter discusses sources of the data used, area of the study, sampling technique and methodology. Besides the primary data, secondary data have been used to present the overall picture of migrant labourers of Bihar who have made their destination in two states of NER— Assam and Sikkim. Besides secondary data, the study mostly relies on primary data collected from the field during the period of April to October 2016. The primary survey was done in order to collect information from the Bihari migrant laborers in Assam and Sikkim.

3.1 DATA SOURCE AND SAMPLE

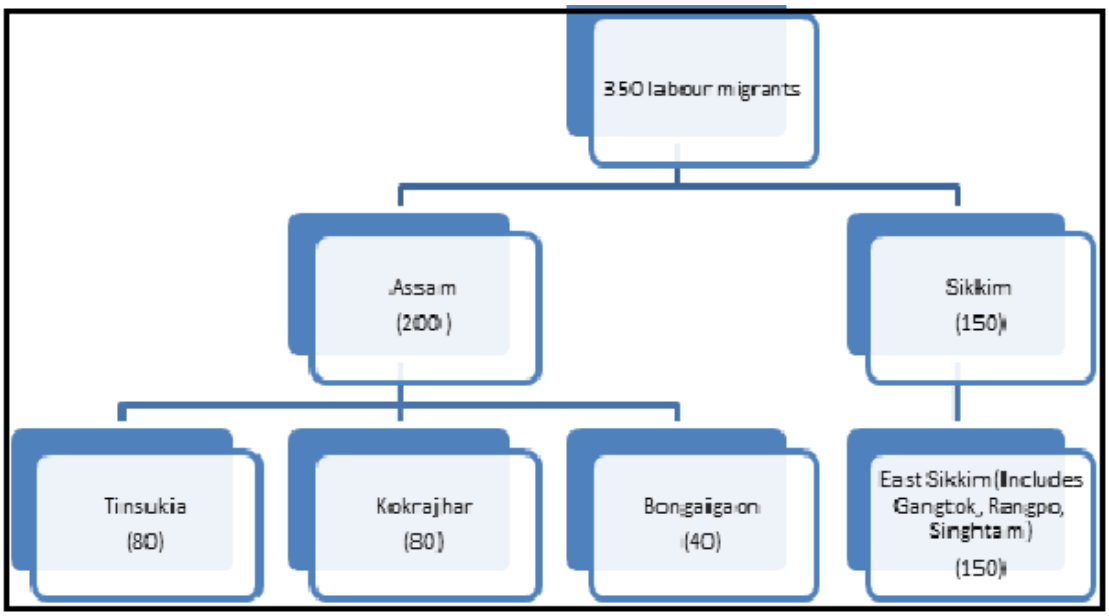
For the secondary data, especially the migration data for 1991 and 2001, information available in the public domain of the organizations like the Registrar General of India (RGI) and the Census Commissioner of India and the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) have been considered. In the secondary data, the study keeps special focus on interstate migrants and migrants specifically from Bihar in both the selected states. We also try to see patterns, growth rate, migrants by place of birth and by place of last residence. Additionally, profile of the migrants is also constructed on the basis of origin, stream of migration, duration of migration, reasons for migration, etc.

The primary data was collected from the Bihari migrant laborers working in the states of Assam and Sikkim with the help of a pre- structured questionnaire. For better understanding, the migrant labourers of Bihar taken in this study are categorized into three broad groups as— self-employed, regular salary/wage employees and casual labourers. They work basically in the construction sector,

vegetable or fruit vendor, street hawker/vendor, washer man, plumber, load pickers in go-downs, cobblers, domestic helpers, worker/helper at shops, carpenters, mason, etc.

For proceeding further, using well-organized schedules, 350 respondents (sample) were interviewed and collected information relating to the research questions and objectives given in Chapter I. Of the total sample, 200 were collected from Assam and 150 from Sikkim through purposive random sampling method. Since we were in search of respondents/samples in the vast areas we narrowed down to snowball sampling so that the respondents are easily met. The respondents were interviewed at their work places or at their homes, depending on their free time and availability. Depending on the concentration of the population of Bihari migrant labourers, sample size distribution has been done proportionately (refer Figure 3.1). Of the total 350 respondents, 14 of them were taken for special interaction and in-depth interview. Through this in-depth interview and interaction, a few case studies have been included in this study in order to understand their livelihood condition and sustainability in detail.

Figure 3.1: Sample Size Distribution



Understandably, the immigrants who have already settled in a particular place for many years become familiar with the local environment and can enjoy most of the benefits (like, ration card, voter ID, passport, etc.) given by the government to the local people. Therefore, for understanding clearly the livelihood and sustainability of the migrants, the Bihari migrant labourers who came to Assam and Sikkim for the period of less than 25 years (time period of migration) are considered for this study. Objectives set in this study to understand the livelihood sustainability of the informal migrant labourers may be quite difficult if we include the migrant labourers living in the study areas for generation/long period.

As we intend to see impact of the law and order condition of an area on migrant labourers, the study has chosen two states— Assam and Sikkim on the basis of conflict-ridden and peaceful areas respectively. Within Assam, based on the new reports, we have collected data from the severely affected districts by conflict namely, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Tinsukia. A large number of attacks and atrocities against the Bihari migrants have been made in these districts since the 1980s (Singha 2018). On the other hand, Sikkim is one of the most peaceful states in India, with zero crime rates, zero presence of insurgent group and zero incidences of conflicts against the migrants. Also, a large number of Bihari migrants are found in this state. The data is collected mainly from the East District, especially in and around Gangtok, Rangpo and Singhtam, where a large number of commercial activities are happened and most of the Bihari migrants are found.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

There are numerous factors responsible for migrants to move from one place to another. As given in the first objective of this study and for understanding the major

factors responsible for Bihari migrants to choose Assam and Sikkim, present study begins with the descriptive statistics. With the help of pilot survey, literature and personal justification, altogether 9 (nine) variables/factors, which might influenced Bihari labourers to migrate the most ,have been included in the schedule to fulfill the first objective. The variables are— landlessness, joblessness or unemployment at home, financial crisis at home, inadequate income in the previous occupation, impressed by the city life, social network, pull factors (like good weather, nearby home), push factors (like natural calamities— flood, draught), Family crisis/conflict, conflicts with the neighbors. The respondents were also asked to respond/rank the factors in priority basis from the factors mentioned/provided. Weightage were given accordingly, reasons which got the first priority by the individuals were multiplied by 3, and likewise the reasons which got the second and third priority were multiplied by 2 and 1. After giving weightage to each of the priorities the total weighted scores were calculated, and on the basis of which, final rank orders were drawn. Also the choices selected by the respondents were taken as multiple entries and these responses have been calculated in percentage form.

As given in the second objective, the study tries to identify the major factors that enhanced livelihood sustainability of Bihari migrant labourers in Assam and Sikkim. Besides descriptive statistic, using primary data, correlation and regression analyses have been done to understand livelihood sustainability. Understandably, migrants try to maximize income and in order to strengthen their livelihood at destination they work relentlessly. Their basic objective is to maximize savings and remittances. Hence, it can be said that savings play a motivating factor for migrants. Having understood the importance of savings, we try to understand on what factors the saving depends upon.

To understand the factors responsible for enhancing saving, we do run a regression exercise. Since there seems to have outliers in the variables included in the regression (both dependent and independent), a log transformation is used in this exercise. The regression analysis deals with the intensity of the relationship between the two sets of variables that does not necessarily imply causation. It is used to estimate the mean value of the dependent variable, given the values of the independent variables and also to test the hypothesis (hypothesis suggested by the economic theory) about the nature of dependence.

The saving function is given as:

$$Savings = f(State, occupation, number\ of\ years\ of\ migration \dots\dots\dots).$$

To proceed further and to understand the difference of savings accrued by migrants between the origin of the migrants and the destinations, student's t test has been employed. Later, by using state dummies in the regression we can understand whether the state (conflict-ridden Assam and peaceful state of Sikkim) has an impact on savings or not. This inferential test determines the statistical significant difference between the means of two groups. The null hypothesis for the independent t-test is that the mean savings of the Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim are not equal.

$$\boldsymbol{H_0}: \mu_{\boldsymbol{a}} \neq \mu_{\boldsymbol{s}}$$

It is intended to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis, which means the savings of the Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim are equal.

$$\boldsymbol{H_1}: \mu_{\boldsymbol{a}=}\ \mu_{\boldsymbol{s}}$$

Before running the regression analysis, correlation analysis is done in order to find the significant relationship between dependent and independent variables and

also among independent variables. When there is high correlation between the independent variables (multicollinearity), we ought to drop those variables. Nevertheless, we run Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) to evaluate how much the variance of the estimated regression coefficients are inflated as compared to when the predictor variables are not linearly related. Normally, pair-wise correlation is limiting, it is possible that pair-wise correlations are small yet there is linear dependence among two or three more variables. Therefore, we rely on VIF test to detect multicollinearity problem in the regression analysis. Nevertheless, the regression model is given below:

$$\boldsymbol{LS_i = \beta_i X_i + U_i}$$

$\boldsymbol{LS_i}$ Signifies log of monthly saving by an individual migrant labour, $\boldsymbol{\beta_i X_i}$ represents the vector of parameters which explain the variation in the dependent variable,$\boldsymbol{X_i}$ represents the vector of explanatory variables, and $\boldsymbol{U_i}$ represents the vector of the unexplained variables in the model.

Further, logit regression model is also employed to understand the migrant's willingness to stay in the destinations. The migrants were asked about the willingness to continue their stay at the destination. If the migrants are willing to stay that means he is able to sustain his life at destination. So, logit model is used to see what determines or what factors impact the migrants' decision to continue their stay or make their stay continue. As both logit and probit are the types of generalized linear model and categorical outcome, either of this can be used to determine the condition/situation mentioned above. But the logit model is better as it is less complex in interpretation. Here, we used logit model because dependent variable is willingness/desire/plan to stay in future. The model estimate posits that migrants' willingness/desire/plan to stay on the basis of maximizing utility and their decisions

may be influenced by certain characteristics or factors associated with him. Aijia (2009) has analyzed that migrant's intention to continue their stay in destination city depends on human, personal and social capital. Another study by Li Nan (2010) stated that the rural labour migrant wish or willingness to stay depends on several factors like years of schooling, experience, occupational status, income level and urban sense of belongingness. While, Hou Hung Ya et al (2004) found that the lower age and educational level and higher income at the destination of the rural labour migrants in the city make them willing to give up their land in the village and settle in the city. Zhu Yu (2004) also stated that stable job and good income in the city affects migrants' decision to stay in the city. In this manner, the present study also tries to discover the factors responsible for the migrants' willingness to stay at the destination.

The Model can be expressed as:

$$Y_i^* = \beta \boldsymbol{x_i^*} + \varepsilon_i^*$$

$\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$= 1 if $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*} \geq 0$ if migrant intends to stay, $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$**= 0** otherwise, if migrant does not intend to stay

Where, $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ is a set of repressor, $\boldsymbol{x_i^*}$ is a set of attributes determining a potential default ($\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$ = 1), and ε_i^* represent the error term.

Further, ordered logit model is also employed when the dependent variable is in different time periods of migration. More the time a migrant spends at the destination indicates that he is able to sustain his life at the destination. Hence, the ordered logit model is applied in order to see on what factors do the length of the stay of the migrant depends on. This model can be understood as an extension of the logistic model that applies to dichotomous dependent variables, allowing for more

than two (ordered) response categories. Here, the response categories are ordered or ranked. The dependent variable is m, which is an ordered categorical variable ranging from 1 to 5. Based on the data and nature of variables available, responses of the migrants were recorded as: 1= migrants staying less than a year, 2= migrants staying from 1.1 to 3 years, 3= migrants staying from 3.1 to 6 years, 4= migrants staying from 6.1 to 10 years, 5= migrants staying more than 10 years. The ordered logit model can be given as:

$$\boldsymbol{Y^{*} = \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \cdots \beta_k X_{ki} + U_i}$$

$$\boldsymbol{= \sum \beta_n X_{ni} + U_i \text{ (n= 1 to k)}}$$

$\boldsymbol{Y_i}$ = 1, if $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$less that equal to μ_1

$\boldsymbol{Y_i}$ = 2, if μ_1 is less than equal to $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$less than equal to μ_2

$\boldsymbol{Y_i}$ = 3, if μ_2 is less than equal to $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$less than equal to μ_3

$\boldsymbol{Y_i}$ = 4, if μ_3 is less than equal to $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$less than equal to μ_4

$\boldsymbol{Y_i}$ = 5, if μ_4 is less than equal to $\boldsymbol{Y_i^*}$

Where, $\mu 1 < \mu 2 < \mu 3 < \mu 4$

This study also tries to understand income difference between at the origin and destination of the migrants. Of course, migrants generally move to new places for better opportunities. Which factor(s) makes this income difference is discussed in this study. With the help of primary data, migrants were investigated about their income back at home and at the destination. Of course, some of the illiterate migrants who have moved to the present destination may not be remembering the wage rate at the origin before he had moved to the present destination. For this, average daily wage

rates of male agricultural field labourers of Bihar from 1990 to 2015 have been extracted from the publications of the Department of Agriculture, Government of Bihar. Also, the past income cannot be compared with the present income directly. For this, first we try to find out the present value of income with the stated past income as the base value and appropriate rate of depreciation. Suppose a migrant was working on an agricultural field and was earning 'X' amount of money annually and we suppose that this was his income 7 years back. It is understood that his income would not be the same in the present time. Hence, in order to find the worth of Rs X we intend to calculate the present value of the past income. To calculate the present value of the past income, we follow:

1. Past Income (Rs X)= The amount of money earned by a migrant at the time of departure
2. Time = Number of years of migration (7 years)
3. Rate of Interest = Bank rate of interest on savings which is decided by the RBI (Reserve Bank of India) annually.
4. An average of 7 years savings deposit rate is taken in present case.

Table 3.1: Method for Discounting Income

Years	Savings rate of interest (r)	Discounted income
2011	r_1	$X_1 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^1}$
2012	r_2	$X_2 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^2}$
2013	r_3	$X_3 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^3}$
2014	r_4	$X_4 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^4}$
2015	r_5	$X_5 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^5}$
2016	r_6	$X_6 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^6}$
2017	r_7	$X_7 = \frac{X}{(1+\bar{r})^7}$
2018 (present)	$\bar{r} = \frac{r_1+r_2+r_3+r_4+r_5+r_6+r_7}{7}$	$\bar{X} = \frac{X_1+X_2+X_3+X_4+X_5+X_6+X_7}{7}$

Hence, $\bar{X}$ is defined as an estimated present income. To calculate, we have taken the monthly income and present income for each migrant is calculated individually. Further, the difference in income is calculated by subtracting the past income from the present income at the destination (refer Table 3.1). This income difference is dependent on several factors and the equation may be written as:

$$InDiff = f(State, Age, Years\ of\ migration, Occupation \ldots)$$

$$InDiff_i = \boldsymbol{\beta_i X_i} + \boldsymbol{U_i}$$

$\boldsymbol{\beta_i}$ represents the vector of parameters which explain the variation in the dependent variable.$\boldsymbol{X_i}$ represents the vector of explanatory variables and $\boldsymbol{U_i}$ represents the vector of the unexplained variables in the model.

As given in the third objective, in order to assess quality of life of the migrant labourers in the two states, we construct a composite index using different parameters.

Further, a t-test is done to see whether there is significant difference in expenditures on different items in both the states (Assam and Sikkim). Migrants spend time on different activities apart from the work. We compare and contrast times spend on activities in both the states. Spending time with family and recreational activities indirectly indicates psychological well-being of a person. In order to construct a composite index, the procedure of Human Development index (HDI) has been followed religiously. The only difference is arithmetic mean is used instead for geometric mean since the sample data do not have major variations like what is found among countries while calculating HDI. Measurement and descriptive statistics used in index construction under every dimension is given as:

$$\textit{Individual Index} = \frac{Actual\ value - Minimum\ value}{Maximum\ value - Minimum\ value}$$

Individual index values have been normalised by using minimum and maximum values of each indicator and transformed to index values between 0 and 1. Finally, a composite index is calculated by taking the arithmetic mean of all for dimensions.

$$\text{Composite Index} = \frac{MEI+MPI+MSI+MPHI}{4}$$

MEI= Mean of economic indicators

MPI= Mean of personal dimension

MSI= Mean of social dimension

MPHI= Mean of physical dimension

After obtaining composite index, we compare and contrast the composite index between different occupational categories, categories based on years of migration and among the states. To understand the migrants' satisfaction level, a

psychological scale, known as 'Satisfaction with Life Scale' (SWLS) of Diener et al (1985) is used in the study. This can help us to gauge the subjective concept of well-being of the migrants at the destination. As per SWLS model, a 5 item scale is designed to measure judgment of one's life satisfaction (not a measure of either positive or negative affect).Participants/migrants indicate how much they agree or disagree with each of the 5 items using a 7-point scale that ranges from 7 strongly agree to 1 strongly disagree. Of course, the scale does not assess satisfaction with life domains such as health or finances. Lastly, we try to see how the SWLS is affected, by using a regression model. How do the variables of occupation, income, time of migration and dimensional indices discussed above impact the SWLS is also done.

$$SWLS = f(Occupation, Number\ of\ years\ of\ migration, \dots\dots\dots etc)$$

Another scale, the General Happiness Scale (GHS) is also known as subjective happiness scale is used in the study. In order to measure the subjective happiness, four items are given and each of them has 7 options. For each question the options are different. The scale (items with options is attached in the Appendix section of the thesis at the end). All the scores are summed up and are continuous in nature.

CHAPTER IV

The present chapter discusses the basic trends and patterns of migration, especially the Bihari labourer migrants in the two states of NER. It is solely based upon the secondary data, especially the Population Census of India 1991 and 2001. Data on population census of India 2011 are not available in the public domain till date. Since the detail data for 2011 census is yet to be released by the agency, we limit our study to 1991 and 2001 census reports.

4.1 INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Migration significantly affects the size of the population and the demographic composition of any state or region (Lusome and Bhagat 2006; Bhagat 2009). In this chapter, more focus is given to the inter-state migration, especially the Bihar migrants in Assam and Sikkim. Also, since the state reorganisation in NER, migration has always been an important and inescapable issue.

As per India's population census (Registrar General of India and Census Commissioner), migrants can be defined in two standpoints— migrants *by place of birth* and *by place of last residence.* Migrants by place of birth are those who are enumerated at a village/town at the time of census other than their place of birth. On the other hand, a person is considered as migrant by place of last residence, if the place in which he is enumerated during the census other than his place of immediate last residence. Therefore, in the last census, the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India (RGCCI) apprehends the migrants who moves for many times or at least more than once. This in return provides the better picture of current migration scenario. The 1991 and 2001 Census, like previous censuses, had collected

migration details for each individual by place of birth and last residence. Data on last residence along with details like duration of stay in the current residence and reason for migration provides useful insights for studying migration dynamics of the country. The migrants by place of birth do not include certain information like duration of migration, the recent migrations, the streams of migrants, etc. In this study, migrants *by last place of residence* has been applied in order to give more accurate picture and to understand the current migration scenario.

4.2 PATTERN AND GROWTH TREND OF MIGRATION

In the census of 1991, in Assam alone, there were approximately 54.07 lakh migrant populations, constituting around 24.12 percent of the state's total population. Of course, this migrant population in Assam in 1991 census includes all the categories of migrants like intra-district, inter-district, inter-state and international. The inter-state migrants (immigrants in Assam from other state) contributed around 2.17 percent in total population. In 2001, total migrant population increased to 67.92 lakhs, which was around one-fourth of the state's population. In the same year, the inter-state migrant population has also increased to 4.07 lakhs, contributing around 1.52percent of the total population (refer Fig. 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Pattern of Migration in Assam

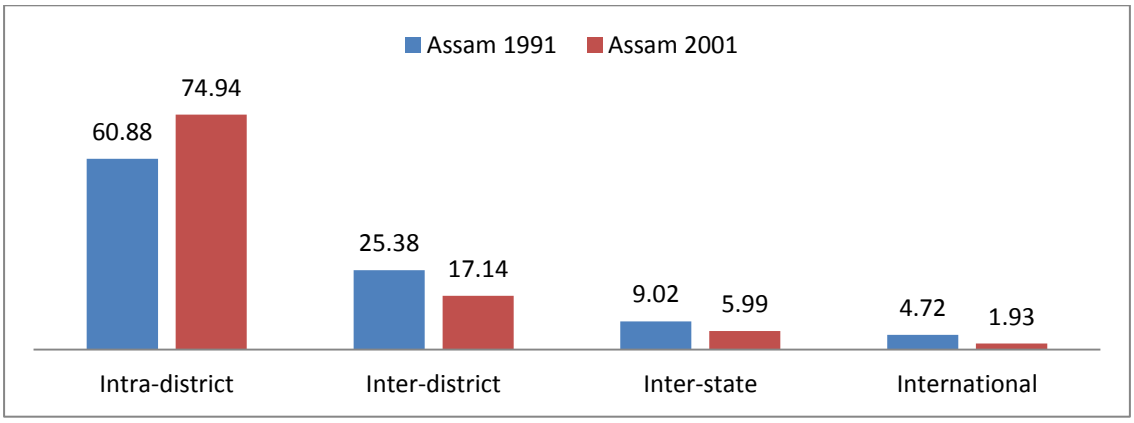


Table 4.1: Growth and Trend of Migration in Assam

	1991			2001			Decadal change
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Intra-district	1069993	2222105	3292098 (60.88)	1875534	3215116	5090650 (74.94)	54.63
Inter-district	592906	779759	1372665 (25.38)	478780	685289	1164069 (17.14)	-15.20
Inter-state	276972	210789	487761 (9.02)	224189	182952	407141 (5.99)	-16.53
International	137841	117182	255023 (4.72)	70254	60712	130966 (1.93)	-48.65
All Types	2077712	3329835	5407547 (100)	2648757	4144069	6792826 (100)	25.62

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)

Note: Figures given in the parenthesis are percent

Of the three categories of migration classified above, in Assam, the intra-district migration dominates (refer Table 4.1). The share of this category of migrants to state's total migrant population has gone up to 74.94 percent in 2001 vi-a-vis 60.88 percent in 1991. Within the intra-district migrants, majority of them are females compared to their male counterpart. This is basically because of the marital factor, bound to change their parents' house and join husband's house after marriage (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003).However, this kind of migration (even majority of the scholars do not consider as a migrant) is not a major concern in this study. While the share of inter-state migrants has fallen down from 9.02 percent in 1991 to 5.22 percent in 2001. Likewise, there has been a decreasing trend in terms of the inter-

district migration, estimated at 1.93 percent in 2001, reduced from 4.72 percent in 1991.

On the other hand, in Sikkim, in 1991 census, 30.75 percent of the state's total population was recorded as migrant population and 5.73 percent of the state's total population was considered as inter-state migrant population, immigrants coming from other states of the country. In 2001 population census, around one-third (35 per cent) of the total population was identified as migrant population and 8.51 per cent of the state's population was categorised as inter-state migrants.

Figure 4.2: Pattern of Migration in Sikkim

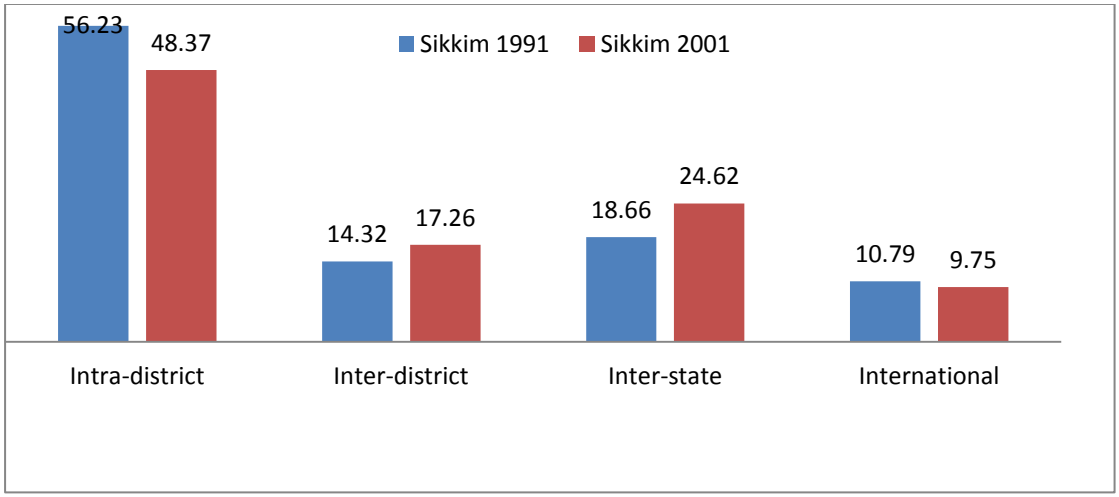


Table 4.2: Growth and Trend of Migration in Sikkim

Sikkim	1991			2001			Decadal change
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Intra-district	31307	38981	70288 (56.23)	38913	51538	90451 (48.37)	28.69
Inter-district	8512	9387	17899 (14.32)	14915	17352	32267 (17.26)	80.27
Inter-state	13067	10252	23319 (18.66)	25574	20459	46033 (24.62)	97.41
International	7900	5591	13491 (10.79)	9826	8410	18236 (9.75)	35.17
All Types	60786	64211	124997 (100)	89228	97759	186987 (100)	49.59

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)

Note: Figure in the parenthesis are the percent

On the other side, in Sikkim, we find that the percentage intra-district migration has fallen from 56.23percent in 1991 to 48.37percent in 2001 population census, which is an opposite picture of the state of Assam. But, an increasing trend was witnessed in terms of inter-district and inter-state migrations. In Sikkim, the inter-district migrant population has increased from 14.32 percent in 1991 to 17.26 percent in 2001. While, it was found that share of inter-state migrant population has increased from 18.66 percent in 1991 to 24.62 percent in 2001 population census. The decadal growth rate from 1991 to 2001 has been around 80 percent and 97 percent for the inter-district and inter-state migration in the state respectively. In India, according to Bhagat (2009), the inter-state mobility increased during 1991-2001 has been due to the liberalization policy adopted in 1991. Fortunately, the international immigration in Sikkim has fallen down by one per cent in the decade from 10.79 per cent in 1991 to 9.75 per cent in 2001.

Table 4.3: Migrants *by place of last residence* and sex in Assam and Sikkim

Assam		**1991**			**2001**		**DG**
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**(%)**
Bihar	115527	54686	170213 (34.90)	85423	41974	127397 (31.29)	-25.15
WB	41324	49540	90864 (18.63)	34949	46705	81654 (20.06)	-10.14
UP	27447	18400	45847 (9.40)	21699	16092	37791 (9.28)	-17.57
Rajasthan	17320	9949	27269 (5.59)	13666	9544	23210 (5.70)	-14.89
Others	75354	78214	153568 (31.48)	68452	68637	137089 (33.67)	-10.73
Total	**276972**	**210789**	**487761 (100)**	**224189**	**182952**	**407141 (100)**	**-16.53**

Sikkim		**1991**			**2001**		**DG**
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**(%)**
Bihar	4016	1476	5492 (23.55)	7215	3341	10556 (22.93)	92.21
WB	5586	6424	12010 (51.50)	12114	13212	25326 (55.02)	110.87

UP	883	671	1554 (6.66)	1307	802	2109 (4.58)	35.71
Rajasthan	289	144	433 (1.86)	506	245	751 (1.63)	73.44
Others	2293	1537	3830 (16.42)	4432	2859	7291 (15.84)	90.37
Total	**13067**	**10252**	**23319 (100)**	**25574**	**20459**	**46033 (100)**	**97.41**

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)
Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentage of absolute numbers
DG: decadal growth (in % from 1991 to 2001), UP: Uttar Pradesh, WB: West Bengal

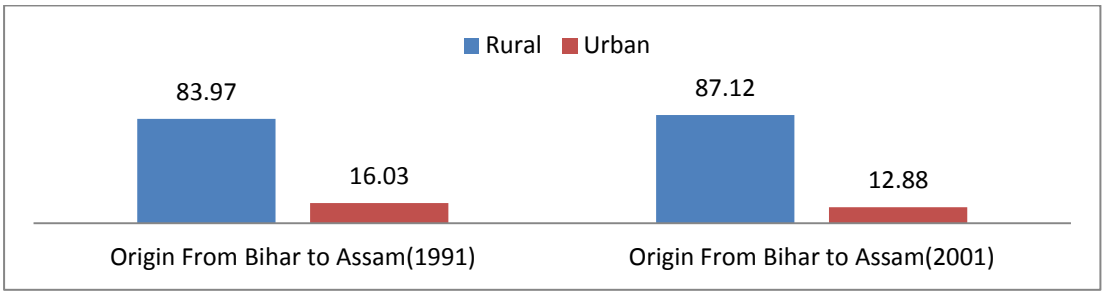
As far as the interstate migrant is concerned in Assam, the migrants coming from Bihar outnumbered the migrants coming from other states of the country (interstate migrants in this study). As given in Table 3.3, in 1991population census, of the total inter-state migrants, the share of migrants coming from Bihar consists of 34.90 percent. The same holds true in the 2001 as well, estimated at 31.29percent of Bihari migrants in Assam. In fact, the state of Bihar along with its immediate neighbours like Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh are industrially poor compared to their number of population and resources available. This could not attract the investors sufficiently, which could have basically triggered the development process. This, in turn, has indeed compelled the people of these least developed states to migrate in other states/regions, which are evident from the high out-migration rates in Bihar(Pandey 2014). Though the percentage of Bihari migrant population coming Assam was quite large, the share has declined over the period from 1991 to 2001. On the other hand, though the share was relatively small, the percentage of migrants coming from West Bengal and Rajasthan to Assam has increased from 18.63 percent to 20.06 percent and 5.59 percent to 5.70 percent respectively during the same period. Comment on 'whether this slight fall in Bihari migrants in Assam over the decade is due to its poor law and order condition' will be quite inconclusive at this stage. For

this, we need further analysis and this is what the present study tries in the following sections.

On the contrary, if we see the state of Sikkim, the immigrants from other states has increased during the same period. Understandably, West Bengal being an immediate neighbour and populous state, the share of the migrant in Sikkim has increased from 50.50 percent in 1991 to 55.02percent in 2001. Migrants from Bihar recorded the second highest, registered at 23.55percent and 22.93percentof the total migrants in Sikkim in 1991 and 2001 respectively. Interestingly, we can notice that over the period of a decade from 1991 to 2001 there has been a considerable rise of Bihari migrants, estimated at around 92.21percent. Of course, the migrant from West Bengal has increased at the pace of 110.87percentduring the same period. Hence, in Sikkim, the casual labourer migrants from other states, especially from Bihar and West Bengal, have increased rapidly over the years.

4.3 ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

Figure 4.3: Rural or Urban origin of the migrants from Bihar to Assam

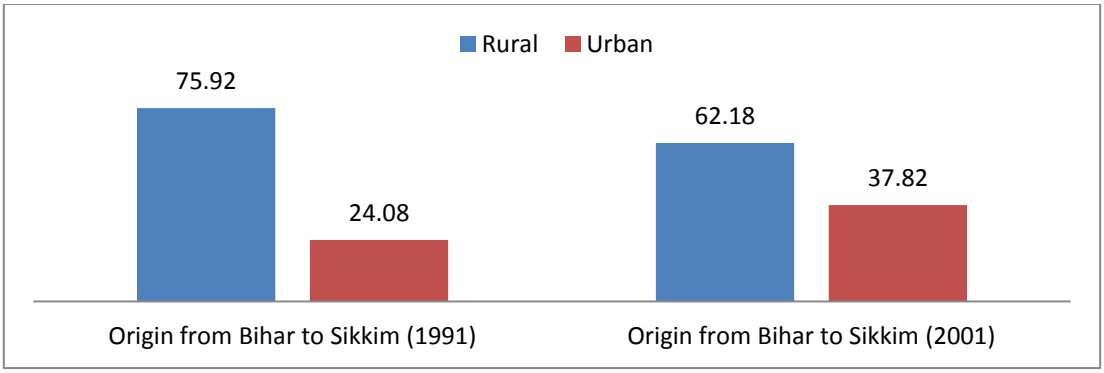


As expected, when we look into the migrants from Bihar very closely, it is found that most of the migrants are illiterate and unskilled. This is the reason why most of them are engaged in informal sector as barber, sweeper, construction workers,

washer-men, street hawkers, vendors, etc. On the other hand, the services of these migrants (Bihari migrant labourers) are in great demand in the principal towns and cities of Assam, which have been witnessed along with the rise in urbanization and industrialization (Chakravarty 2011).

From Figures— 4.3 and 4.4, it is clearly visible that the origin/region of the Bihari migrants where they are migrated from. As per census report of 1991 and 2001, majority of the migrants coming from Bihar to Assam and Sikkim are found to be rural origin and the share of migrant population coming from urban segment of Bihar to these states are very small. Theoretically, according to Harris and Todaro (1970), low incomes, low agricultural growth and absence of non-farm sector opportunities are the few of the main causes of poverty, underemployment and unemployment in the rural areas, and this in turn, compel majority of them to migrate to other states.

Figure 4.4: Rural or Urban origin of the migrants from Bihar to Sikkim



4.4 DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF INTERSTATE MIGRANTS

Table 4.4: District wise-distribution of Interstate migrants in Assam (as per 1991 and 2001 census)

Last Residence	Kokrajhar	Dhubri	Goalpara	Bongaigaon	Barpeta	Kamrup	Nalbari
Bihar	1880	2478	1379	5412	1278	31758	867
	(13.06)	(12.23)	(20.85)	(28.74)	(24.95)	(36.33)	(23.53)
WB	10169	12756	1041	8650	2439	16585	1027
	(70.66)	(62.96)	(15.74)	(45.93)	(47.61)	(18.97)	(27.88)
UP	327	374	202	1313	218	6159	124
	(2.27)	(1.85)	(3.05)	(6.97)	(4.26)	(7.05)	(3.37)
Rajasthan	341	941	325	1015	487	6748	257
	(2.37)	(4.64)	(4.91)	(5.39)	(9.51)	(7.72)	(6.98)
Others	1674	3711	3668	2441	701	26163	1409
	(11.63)	(18.32)	(55.45)	(12.96)	(13.68)	(29.93)	(38.25)
Total	14391	20260	6615	18831	5123	87413	3684
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Last Residence	**Darrang**	**Marigaon**	**Sonitpur**	**Lakhimpur**	**Dhemaji**	**Tinsukia**	**Dibrugarh**
Bihar	3453	1421	8648	3522	912	18242	9924
	(25.33)	(41.93)	(32.23)	(34.68)	(13.76)	(48.47)	(39.33)
WB	2848	679	3907	1576	2043	2869	2749
	(20.89)	(20.04)	(14.56)	(15.52)	(30.83)	(7.62)	(10.89)
UP	601	353	3735	830	981	5568	4717
	(4.41)	(10.42)	(13.92)	(8.17)	(14.8)	(14.79)	(18.69)
Rajasthan	626	226	1736	1070	194	1430	899
	(4.59)	(6.67)	(6.47)	(10.53)	(2.93)	(3.8)	(3.56)
Others	6106	710	8802	3159	2497	9528	6943
	(44.79)	(20.95)	(32.81)	(31.1)	(37.68)	(25.32)	(27.52)
Total	13634	3389	26828	10157	6627	37637	25232
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Last residence	Jorhat	Golaghat	Karbi-Analong	NC Hills	Cachar	Karimganj	Hailakandi
Bihar	5421 (34.79)	3371 (25.1)	6642 (31.01)	837 (17.82)	3329 (17.37)	857 (6.62)	629 (12.42)
WB	1553 (9.97)	919 (6.84)	1246 (5.82)	544 (11.58)	1883 (9.83)	811 (6.27)	741 (14.63)
UP	1958 (12.56)	797 (5.94)	4367 (20.39)	222 (4.73)	928 (4.84)	357 (2.76)	219 (4.32)
Rajasthan	1812 (11.63)	737 (5.49)	555 (2.59)	93 (1.98)	1078 (5.63)	294 (2.27)	257 (5.08)
Others	4839 (31.05)	7604 (56.63)	8610 (40.2)	3002 (63.9)	11942 (62.33)	10622 (82.08)	3218 (63.55)
Total	15583 (100)	13428 (100)	21420 (100)	4698 (100)	19160 (100)	12941 (100)	5064 (100)

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)

Notes: Figures in the parentheses are percentage of the total, UP = Uttar Pradesh and WB= West Bengal

As per 2001 census, Table 4.4 depicts the percentage of interstate migrants coming from different states of the country to across all districts of Assam. This clearly provides the Bihari migrants and how they outnumber the migrants coming from other states. Of the 21 districts given in the Table 4.4, a total of 14 districts are found to be outnumbered by the migrants from Bihar than the migrants coming from the state like West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and others. Districts like Tinsukia, Jorhat, Kamrup (together rural and metro) have got larger share Bihari migrants. This, of course, helped us to select our primary study in this state.

Table 4.5: District-wise distribution of Interstate migrants in Sikkim (as per 1991 and 2001 census)

Last Residence	North District	East District	South District	West District
Bihar	590 (27.84)	7020 (24.73)	2002 (19.54)	944 (17.86)
West Bengal	638 (30.11)	15147 (53.37)	6046 (59.02)	3495 (66.11)
Uttar Pradesh	136 (6.42)	1184 (4.17)	515 (5.03)	274 (5.18)
Rajasthan	64 (3.02)	580 (2.04)	75 (0.73)	32 (0.61)
Others	691 (32.61)	4452 (15.69)	1606 (15.68)	542 (10.25)
Total	2119 (100)	28383 (100)	10244 (100)	5287 (100)

Source: Authors' calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)
Figures in the parenthesis are percentage of absolute numbers

On the other hand, the picture of Sikkim, in this regard, is quite different. Though interstate migrants' data show a higher share coming from West Bengal, the share of migrants coming from Bihar to Sikkim comes in the 2nd highest position during the 1991 and 2001 census. This is clearly reflected in Table 4.5. Unexpectedly, the share of Bihari migrants in North district is found to be much higher vis-à-vis other districts in the state.

4.5 STREAM OF MIGRATION

Table4.6: Stream of interstate migrants from Bihar to Assam and Sikkim

Assam	Origin	1991			2001		
		Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Rural-Rural	Interstate	110880 (40.79)	96399 (46.68)	207279 (43.33)	69536 (33.54)	65516 (38.37)	135052 (35.72)
	From Bihar	48446 (42.51)	27820 (51.73)	76266 (45.47)	23481 (29.20)	12848 (32.77)	36329 (30.37)
Rural-Urban	Interstate	85609 (31.49)	46003 (22.28)	131612 (27.51)	82787 (39.93)	49039 (28.72)	131826 (34.87)
	From Bihar	47258 (41.47)	17326 (32.22)	64584 (38.50)	47458 (59.01)	20435 (52.12)	67893 (56.75)
Urban-Rural	Interstate	18624 (6.85)	16584 (8.03)	35208 (7.36)	12274 (5.92)	12457 (7.29)	24731 (6.54)
	From Bihar	4160 (3.65)	2250 (4.18)	6410 (3.82)	1559 (1.94)	1020 (2.60)	2579 (2.16)
Urban-Urban	Interstate	56733 (20.87)	47533 (23.02)	104266 (21.80)	42709 (20.60)	43758 (25.62)	86467 (22.87)
	From Bihar	14103 (12.37)	6380 (11.86)	20483 (12.21)	7929 (9.86)	4901 (12.50)	12830 (10.72)
Total	**Interstate**	**271846 (100)**	**206519 (100)**	**478365 (100)**	**207306 (100)**	**170770 (100)**	**378076 (100)**
	From Bihar	**113967 (100)**	**53776 (100)**	**167743 (100)**	**80427 (100)**	**39204 (100)**	**119631 (100)**
Sikkim	**Origin**	**1991**			**2001**		
		Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Rural-Rural	Interstate	5304 (42.63)	4870 (49.70)	10174 (45.75)	11565 (49.11)	10536 (54.39)	22101 (51.50)

Rural-Urban	From Bihar	1507 (39.40)	656 (47.13)	2163 (41.46)	3147 (46.00)	1448 (45.84)	4595 (45.95)
	Interstate	2423 (19.47)	1232 (12.57)	3655 (16.43)	4694 (19.93)	3147 (16.25)	7841 (18.27)
Urban-Rural	From Bihar	1396 (36.50)	402 (28.88)	1798 (34.46)	2298 (33.59)	997 (31.56)	3295 (32.95)
	Interstate	2855 (22.95)	2402 (24.52)	5257 (23.64)	4151 (17.63)	3097 (15.99)	7248 (16.89)
Urban-Urban	From Bihar	479 (12.52)	187 (13.43)	666 (12.77)	619 (9.05)	317 (10.03)	936 (9.36)
	Interstate	1860 (14.95)	1294 (13.21)	3154 (14.18)	3137 (13.32)	2591 (13.38)	5728 (13.35)
Total	From Bihar	443 (11.58)	147 (10.56)	590 (11.31)	777 (11.36)	397 (12.57)	1174 (11.74)
	Interstate	**12442** (100)	**9798** (100)	**22240** (100)	**23547** (100)	**19371** (100)	**42918** (100)
	From Bihar	**3825** (100)	**1392** (100)	**5217** (100)	**6841** (100)	**3159** (100)	**10000** (100)

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)
Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentage of absolute numbers
Interstate implies in this section is the migrants coming from the states of the country other than Bihar

From Table 4.6, we can grasp the stream of migrants from Bihar to Assam and Sikkim. In Assam, in the case of interstate migration, from rural to rural migration migrants dominate over all other three streams like rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban. In the census of 1991, the share of rural to rural migration stream is found to be 43.33 per cent, which is found to be the highest compared to other streams of migration, followed by the rural to urban stream with 24.51 per cent. Urban to rural migration stream shares the lowest, estimated at 7.36 per cent. A similar pattern is observed in the case of 2011 as well, albeit it is not officially published. But, noticeably, there is a rise in the rural to urban stream in 1991, estimated at 27.51 per cent and 34.87 per cent in 2001. It is also observed that the share of rural to rural migration stream decreases over the decade from 43.33 per cent in 1991 to 35.72 per cent in 2001.

In the state of Sikkim, rural to rural migration stream (from Bihar) is found to be prominent, estimated at 45.75 per cent and 51.5 per cent in 1991 and 2001 respectively. Urban to rural migration stream stands at the second highest position in 1991 census with a share of 23.64 per cent. While, in 2001 census, rural to urban migration stream stands at the second highest position with 18.27 per cent. Over the decades, the share of rural to rural and rural to urban migration streams is on the rise in Sikkim, but there is a falling trend for the urban to rural migration stream.

When we compare the two states, it is observed that the rural to rural migration stream is found to be a dominant kind with 45.47 per cent and the rural to urban migration stream stands at the 2nd highest position with 38.5 per cent in 1991 census in Assam. However, it rose significantly in 2001 census that the rural to urban migration stream stands at the highest with 56.75 per cent and the rural to rural

becomes the 2ndstands at the second highest rank. The creation of economic opportunities in the urban areas, especially in the informal sector, boosts up the migration in the rural to urban stream (Shylendra & Thomas 1995; De Hann 1997; Srivastava and Bhattacharya 2003). Contradictorily, a few studies found that poverty slows down growth in agriculture, and the unemployment in the rural areas enhances rural to urban migration (Kundu 1997; Mitra & Murayama 2008). Also the percentage share of rural to rural migration stream in Assam has decreased from 45.47percent in 1991 census to 30.37 percent in 2001. The implementation of the public funded poverty eradication schemes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) has generated employment at the village level, and hence, reduced the rural to rural migration flow (Mahapatra2012).

As for the Sikkim, rural to rural migration is found to be the dominant stream with a share of 41.46 per cent and 45.95 per cent in 1991 and 2001 population census respectively, followed by the rural to urban migration. Readers must remember that the migrants discussed in this section are the migrants coming from Bihar.

4.6 DURATION OF MIGRATION

The census of India has categorically classified the duration of migration as less than 1 year, 1 to 4 years, 5 to 9 years, 10-19 years, 20 years plus and the duration not stated. The duration less than 1 year can be termed as short-term migrants/seasonal migrants (Korra 2011). The poorer states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Odhisha are the main origin for the short-term/seasonal migrants in India (Chand 2005).

From the Table 4.7, we see that there is a decline in short-term migrants, especially the interstate migrants coming from Bihar to Assam. Its share was

registered at 5.32percent in 1991, and which was declined to 2.38 percent in 2001.But the condition is reversing in Sikkim. The incremental rate has been very small, rose from 5.54 percent in 1991 to 5.72 percent in 2001. The same trend is found for the interstate migrants (all interstate migrants other than from Bihar) as well, estimated at 7.14 percent in 1991 and rose to 8.1 percent in the following census.

Table 4.7: Duration of stay of the Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim

Duration of migration	Destination states	Inter-state migrants		Migrants from Bihar	
		1991	2001	1991	2001
Less than a year	Assam	22831 (4.68)	11106 (2.73)	9060 (5.32)	3033 (2.38)
	Sikkim	1665 (7.14)	3730 (8.10)	304 (5.54)	604 (5.72)
1-4 years	Assam	78500 (16.09)	62745 (15.41)	24936 (14.65)	15168 (11.91)
	Sikkim	6889 (29.54)	11552 (25.10)	1333 (24.27)	2231 (21.13)
5-9 years	Assam	68232 (13.99)	47952 (11.78)	23966 (14.08)	16596 (13.03)
	Sikkim	3990 (17.11)	7237 (15.72)	969 (17.64)	1848 (17.51)
10-19 years	Assam	121062 (24.82)	87113 (21.40)	44516 (26.15)	32733 (25.69)
	Sikkim	5153 (22.10)	10069 (21.87)	1524 (27.75)	2763 (26.17)
20 years plus	Assam	169955 (34.84)	151748 (37.27)	58925 (34.62)	47080 (36.96)
	Sikkim	3304 (14.17)	9580 (20.81)	868 (15.80)	2449 (23.20)
Duration not stated	Assam	27181 (5.57)	46477 (11.42)	8810 (5.18)	12787 (10.04)
	Sikkim	2318 (9.94)	3865 (8.40)	494 (8.99)	661 (6.26)
Total	Assam	487761 (100)	407141 (100)	170213 (100)	127397 (100)
	Sikkim	23319 (100)	46033 (100)	5492 (100)	10556 (100)

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)
Figures in the parenthesis are percentage of absolute numbers

While analysing the different duration of the migrant categories in Assam, it can be observed that interstate migrants (migrants coming from the states other than Bihar) as well migrants from Bihar are predominantly dominated by the 20 plus years migrant category, followed by the 11-19 years category. The percentage share of interstate immigrants, living in Assam for 20 years plus and 10-19 years categories were 34.84 per cent and 37.27 percent respectively in 1991. And it rose to 24.82 per cent and 21.4 percent respectively in 2001. As of the migrants, especially from the Bihar, it was 34.62 percent and 36.96 percent for 20 years plus and 10-19 years respectively in 1991. However, it slightly reduced to 26.15 percent and 25.69 percent for 20 years plus and 10-19 years categories respectively in 2001 census.

Looking at the duration of the stay of the migrants in Sikkim, it is basically dominated by the 1-4 years long stay category of migrants. Unlike the long duration of stay around 10-19 years category or 20 years plus category, 1-4 years stay category of migrants was comparatively larger in Sikkim. The percentage share of 1-4 years duration of migrant category for Bihari was recorded at 24.27 percent and 21.13 percent in 1991 and 2001 census respectively, which is followed by 10-19 years duration of category with 27.75 percent and 26.17 percent shares respectively in the two censuses.

4.7 REASON OF MIGRATION

Table4.8: Reason for Migration (in %)

Reasons for migration		Interstate						Migrants from Bihar					
		1991			2001			1991			2001		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Employment	Assam	21.66	3.87	13.37	26.89	2.79	16.06	25.96	6.65	18.92	27.07	1.67	18.70
	Sikkim	42.51	6.25	25.48	51.53	10.07	33.10	36.49	4.77	27.00	47.75	4.67	34.11
Business	Assam	20.49	1.90	11.83	24.90	1.09	14.20	30.56	2.72	20.41	35.32	1.84	24.29
	Sikkim	14.00	1.44	8.10	8.64	0.82	5.16	32.32	3.88	23.81	17.48	2.01	12.58
Education	Assam	1.93	0.93	1.46	1.33	0.71	1.05	0.82	0.36	0.65	0.63	0.21	0.49
	Sikkim	3.47	2.02	2.79	1.96	1.32	1.67	2.22	1.44	1.99	1.33	0.66	1.12
Marriage	Assam	2.82	53.57	26.46	1.18	48.23	22.32	2.16	49.27	19.33	0.41	45.19	15.17
	Sikkim	1.67	46.75	22.84	0.67	48.31	21.85	1.99	39.91	13.33	0.18	43.61	13.93
moved after birth	Assam	NA	NA	NA	1.60	1.27	1.45	NA	NA	NA	1.16	1.35	1.22
	Sikkim	NA	NA	NA	1.81	1.54	1.69	NA	NA	NA	1.66	1.71	1.68
Family moved	Assam	28.56	29.66	29.07	19.69	30.06	24.35	19.00	30.05	23.03	14.08	32.25	20.07
	Sikkim	20.93	32.01	26.13	13.18	23.16	17.62	14.58	40.91	22.45	12.16	30.71	18.03
Others	Assam	24.54	10.08	17.80	24.42	15.86	20.57	21.50	10.96	17.65	21.33	17.50	20.07
	Sikkim	17.42	11.53	14.66	22.22	14.77	18.91	12.40	9.09	11.41	19.45	16.64	18.56
Total (Assam and Sikkim)		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors' calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)

Interstate implies in this section is the migrants coming from the states of the country other than Bihar

One of the most important aspects in migration study is to ascertain the reasons behind the decision of migration. The question on the reasons for migration was introduced for the first time in 1981 census in India as *by place of last residence*. The same list of reasons continued in 1991 and 2001census as well, barring the reason "business" purpose, which was added in 1991, and the reason of "natural calamities" was dropped from the list in 2001. Besides, an additional reason "moved after birth" was added in the 2001census. The reason for migration, in this study, is categorised under the following heads— employment, business, education, marriage, moved after birth, family moved and others. The Table 3.8 states various reasons as stated by census, and in this study, the reasons for immigration from the interstate (states other than Bihar) and from Bihar to the selected states of Assam and Sikkim are exclusively referred. There is a vast difference in the reason for migration among males and females. It is gleaned from the census that a major percentage of men have migrated for work related reasons, which includes employment, business and family moved. Whereas, female migrants are predominantly found for the reason— migration after marriage.

Looking at the percentage share of reasons for interstate migrants in Assam for census 1991, males have reported the reason as 'family moved', estimated at 28.56 per cent and ranks as the 1st position. It is followed by employment with 21.66 per cent and business with 20.45 per cent in the second and third position respectively. Women from other states, as reflected in Table 3.8, majority of them stated 'marriage' as the reason to migrate in Assam with a percentage share of 53.57 per cent, followed by the reason of 'family moved' with 29.66 per cent. However, the scenario is slightly different in the next decade for the male migrants. 'Employment' and 'business' are the most reported reasons for the male migrants in the census of 2001 in Assam, with

a percentage of 26.89 per cent and 24.90 per cent respectively. For females, the picture remains more or less same in 2001 census.

In Sikkim, the major reasons for male interstate migrants in census 1991 and 2001 remain more or less the same. Employment and family moved have been reported by the majority. A total of 42.51 per cent and 51.53 per cent of male reported to have 'employment' as the main reason for migration in 1991 and 2001 respectively. Whereas, as expected, 'marriage' has been the major reason for the female interstate migration in Sikkim.

When we put the two states together, as per 1991 census, business and employment have been the major factors for migration from Bihar. In Assam alone, 'business' as the factor for migration accounted for 30.56 per cent and 'employment' as a factor for migration was estimated at 25.96 per cent in 1991. While in Sikkim, employment has been the top priority for migration from Bihar, estimated at 36.49 per cent in 1991 census. It was followed by the business as a main reason for Bihari migrants coming to Sikkim with the share of 32.32 per cent in 1991. In the next census, in 2001, business as the major factor for moving to Assam was reported with 35.32 per cent. It was followed by the 'employment' as a major factor with 27.07 per cent. Though the migrants from Bihar followed the same trend in Sikkim as Assam did, there was a huge increase in the percentage share of 'employment' with 47.75 per cent as a major reason for migration and the business as a major factor with 17.48 per cent.

4.8 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS

Table 4.9: Age distribution of migrants from Bihar (in %)

Age group	Migrants from Bihar to Sikkim	Migrants from Bihar to Assam
0 to 4	4.50	4.09
5 to 9	8.43	7.55
10 to 14	10.33	7.73
15 to 19	15.92	10.63
20 to 24	20.07	16.44
25 to 29	16.58	18.55
30 to 34	9.32	12.13
35 to 39	6.65	9.30
40 to 44	3.07	4.97
45 to 49	2.23	3.43
50 to 54	0.95	1.93
55 to 59	0.55	1.19
60 to 64	0.51	0.92
65 to 69	0.33	0.48
70 to 74	0.15	0.27
75 to 79	0.18	0.12
80 plus	0.07	0.20
age not stated	0.15	0.08

Source: Author's calculation from Census 1991 and 2001 (D-tables)

Figure 4.5: Distribution of migrants across age-groups

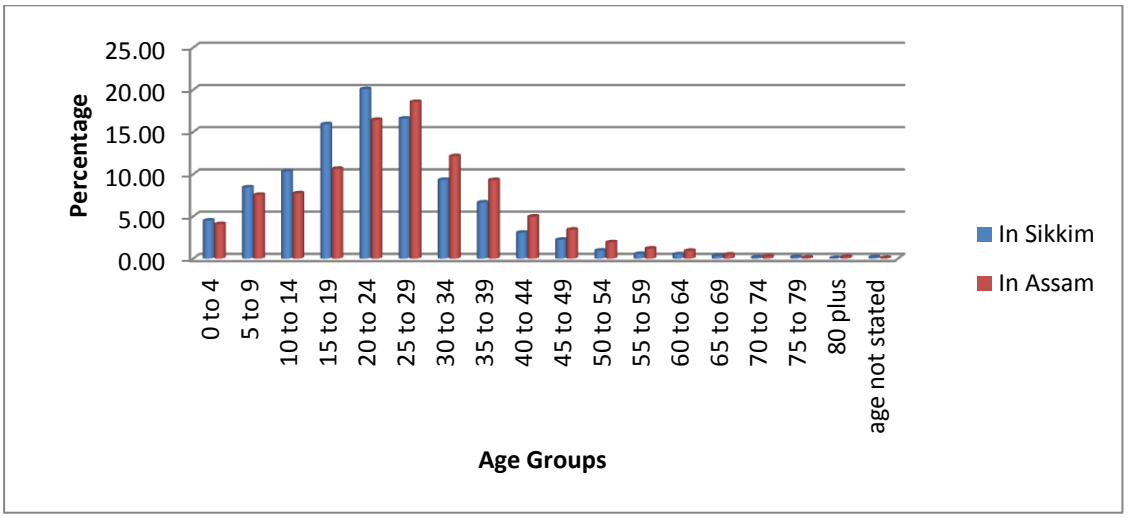


Table 4.9 and Figure 4.5 provide information on migrants by age groups. It means, which age group generally migrate from Bihar to Assam and Sikkim is assessed in this section. As expected, most of the migrants coming from Bihar to Sikkim are found to be 15-19, 20-24 and 30-34 age groups, which are depicted in Figure 3.5. While, in Assam, the age group of 25-29 contributes the maximum percentage of the migrants coming from Bihar. In the chapter, we have discussed about the pattern and growth rate of migrants in both the states. The chapter focuses on interstate migrants, especially the migrants from Bihar among all other states. The growth rate, origin, distribution of Bihari migrants among the districts have been discussed in details. One of objectives of this study was to understand the reasons for migration.

CHAPTER V

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is solely based on the primary data collected from the field. The chapter starts with a descriptive statistic of different variables associated with the Bihari migrant labourers and also discusses their basic socio-economic profile. Further, the chapter tries to fulfil the first objective of the study, which is to understand the reason behind the migration of Bihari labourers to Assam and Sikkim. Of course, using secondary data, we have tried to address the objective briefly in the previous chapter as well. In this section, using primary data, a modest attempt is made to address the issue precisely.

Table 5.1 depicts that expenditure of a few migrants is reported to be zero. It is because the expenses of the few workers, especially the maid servants, are entirely borne by the employers that include the basic necessities of life like food, lodging, clothing, etc. In this chapter, socio-economic information of the migrant's family (household) including the family members left behind in Bihar (at the origin) is also stated. It may be possible that migrant himself/herself alone is working in the family and migrated for employment. Therefore, in some cases, number of working member(s) in the family of the migrant may be zero, if he/she is the sole bread earner in the family and migrated in NER. At the same time, household incomes of the migrants mentioned in this chapter do not include income of the migrant himself/herself. It is the income of the family member(s), other than the migrant himself/herself. If the migrant is the sole bread earner, his/her household income may be reported as zero. The same is also depicted in Table 5.1 as descriptive statistics of the variables. It has been drawn from the primary survey, collected from 350 sample

labourers migrated from Bihar to the two states of the NER (Assam with 200 sample and Sikkim with 150 samples).

5.2 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE SAMPLE MIGRANTS

Table 5.1: Descriptive statistics of the Bihari migrant labourers

Assam					
Variables	**Obs.**	**Mean**	**Min**	**Max**	**Std. dev.**
Age	200	32	12.00	72	10
No. of hours of work/day	200	10	3.00	14	2
Years of migration	200	8	0.08	25	6
Average monthly expenditure	200	6942	0.00*	24400	3568
Average Monthly savings	200	5240	0.00	20000	2687
Average Monthly income	200	12182	2100.00	29500	4733
Average percentage of savings to income	200	43.60	0	100	16.67
No. of working member in family	200	1	0.00**	3	1
No. of Dependent in family	200	6	2.00	11	2
Number of children	200	3	0.00	8	2
School/college goers in family	200	2	0.00	6	1
Household income	200	2854	0.00***	30800	4910
Sikkim					
Variables	**Obs.**	**Mean**	**Min**	**Max**	**Std. dev.**
Age	150	29	10.00	60	11
No. of hours of work/day	150	11	6.00	14	2
Years of migration	150	8	0.08	25	7
Average monthly expenditure	150	8188	0.00*	27600	6478
Average monthly savings	150	7421	0.00	25000	3574
Average monthly income	150	15609	2000.00	48500	7638
Average percentage of savings to income	150	38.60	0	100	24.18
No. of working member in family	150	1	0.00**	4	1
No. of Dependent in family	150	6	2.00	12	2
Number of children	150	3	0.00	6	1
School/college goers in family	150	2	1.00	5	1
Household income	150	2487	0.00***	20000	3896

Source: Field Survey

*Total expenditure may be '0' when expenditure of the migrant/respondent (mostly domestic servant) is entirely borne by the employer.

**No. of working members in the family implies the member(s) working other than the migrant/respondent himself/herself in the family.

***Household income does not include income of the migrant/respondent.

The mean age of migrants in Assam is 32 years, whereas it is lower in Sikkim, measured as 29 years. Bihari migrants in Sikkim normally work for longer hours in a day vis-à-vis in Assam (9 hours a day in Assam and 10 hours in a day in Sikkim). Noticeably, on an average, the time of migration in both the states is 8 years. As of the daily/monthly expenditure, it can be seen that on an average, a Bihari migrant in Sikkim spends more than their counterpart in Assam, estimated at monthly expenditure of Rs 6942 in Assam and Rs 8188 in Sikkim. Likewise, the savings and income differ in the same manner in these states. But Bihari migrants in Assam save around 43.60 percent of the total income which is only 38.60 percent for the Bihari migrants in Sikkim. Most of the migrants' accompanying family members at the destination stay at home, and on an average, one member of the family at the destination, other than the migrant himself is found to be working. The average number of dependent family members for the migrants in both the states is 6 and average number of children is 3. As discussed above, about the household income, the migrants in Sikkim have lower monthly income vis-à-vis their counterpart in Assam.

5.3 AGE DISTRIBUTION

Figure 5.1: Age-group distribution of the migrants (in %)

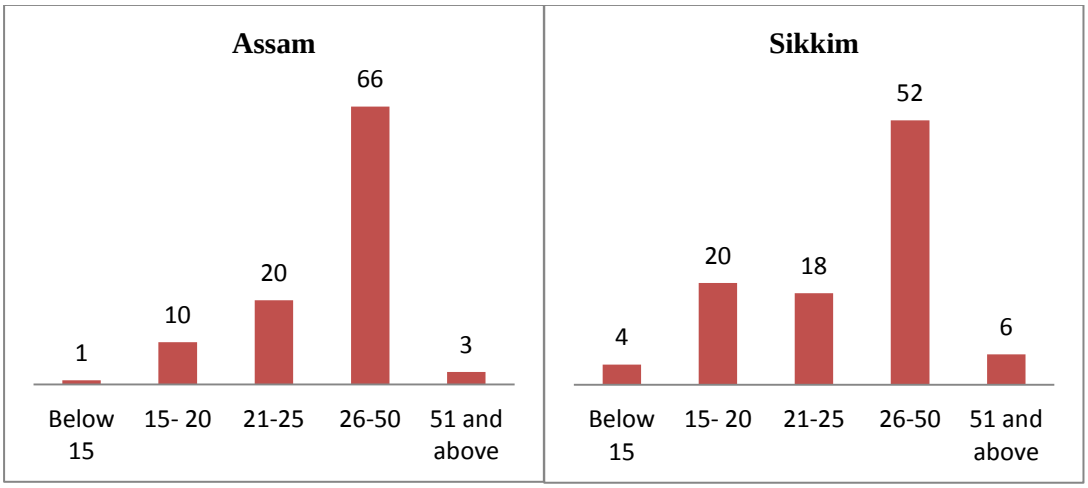


Figure 5.1 shows the age distribution of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim. It is evident that majority of the migrants in both the states fall in the age category of 26-50 years. Also, on an average, majority of migrants are found to have belonged to the 15 to 50 years age group. In Sikkim, it is observed that 24 percent of migrants are less than 20 years of age. Of the total, 4 percent of the respondents are below 15 years who belong to the category of child labours according to the Indian labour law.

5.4 MARITAL STATUS

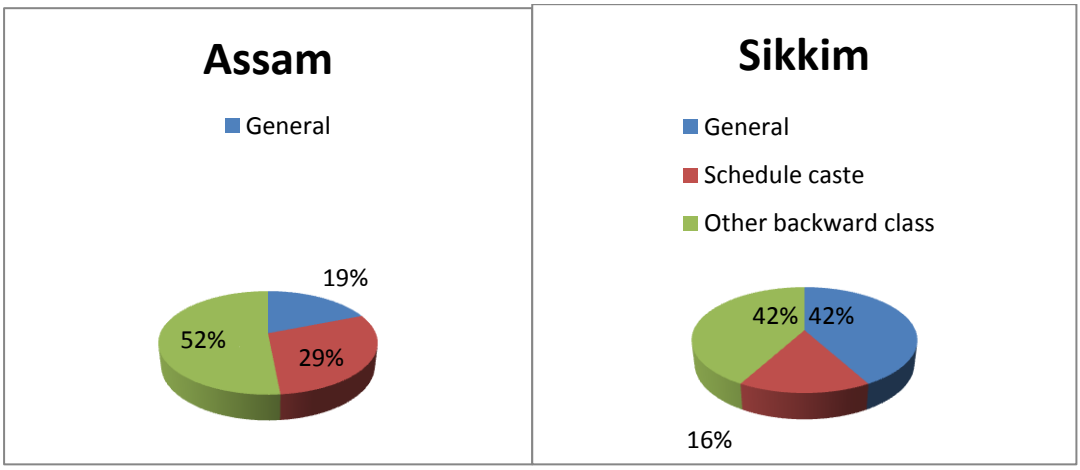
Table 5.2: Marital status of the migrants

Marital status	Assam	Sikkim
Unmarried	26	57
	(13)	(38)
Married	174	93
	(87)	(62)
Total	200	150
	(100)	(100)

Source: Primary survey
Note: Figures in parentheses are the percentages of the total.

5.5 SOCIAL CATEGORY

Figure 5.2: Social category of the migrants (in %)



In Table 5.2, it is found that most of the Bihari migrants in both the states are married. Of the total, 87 per cent and 62 per cent of the respondent in Assam and

Sikkim respectively are married. As of the caste category of the respondents, Figure 5.2 grouped the migrants into different castes as— general, schedule caste and backward castes (no scheduled tribe respondent was found in the primary survey). In Assam, majority of the Bihar migrant labourers are belonged to Other Backward Classes (OBC), estimated at 52 percent, followed by 29 percent of scheduled caste (SC). In the third category, 19 percent of migrant labourers are belonged to general castes. In the case of Sikkim, the scenario is slightly different. Only 19 per cent of the respondents are belonged to SC category. While majority of the respondents are from the general and OBC categories, estimated at 42 per cent each of the total respondent.

5.6 RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE

Figure 5.3: Religious structure of the migrants (in %)

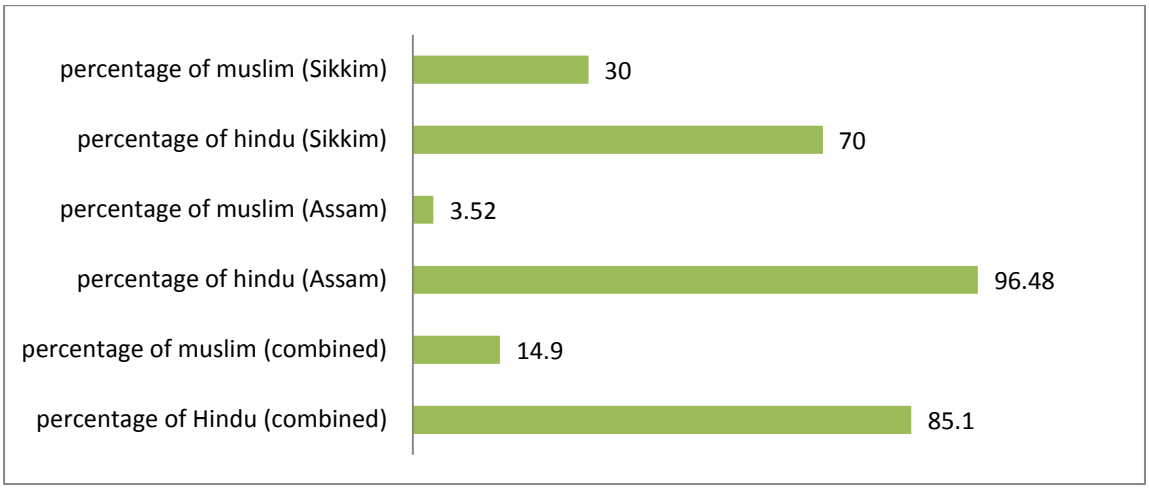
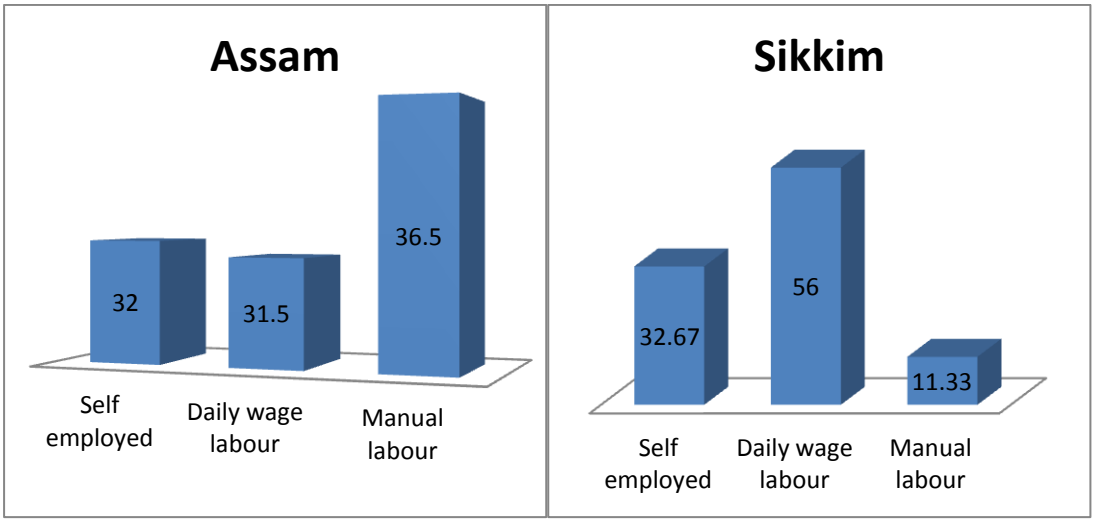


Figure 5.3 reveals that only one religious group, the Hindu, dominates the Bihari labourer migrants in these two states. In Assam, around 97 percent of the respondents are Hindu and around 4 percent are Muslims. While in Sikkim, 30 per cent and 70 per cent of the Bihari immigrants are found to be Muslim and Hindu respectively. When we combine the two states together, 15 per cent and 85 per cent of the respondents are turned out to be Muslim and Hindu respectively.

5.7 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Figure 5.4: Occupational structure of the migrants



As of the occupational structure of the Bihari migrants, most of them are involved in the blue collared jobs. Most of the migrants are found to be worked as rickshaw pullers, cart pullers, vegetable/fruit sellers/hawkers, electricians, plumbers, washer man, construction workers, helpers in shop, etc. As it is depicted in Figure 5.4 and the categories classified in the methodology section, the migrants are mainly categorised in three categories as— self-employed, daily/monthly wage labour and manual labour. In Assam, around 37 percent of them are found to be manual labours, followed by self-employed and daily wage labourers consist of32 per cent of the total Bihari labourer migrants. In Sikkim, the situation is quite different. Around 11 per cent of the respondents are found to be manual labourers and 56 percent of them are turned out to be daily wage labourers. In term of self-employed category, it consists of 33 per cent in Sikkim vis-a-vis 32 per cent in Assam.

Table 5.3: Occupational structure across different age groups

Age group	Assam			Sikkim		
	Self employed	Daily wage labour	Manual labour	Self employed	Daily wage labour	Manual labour
<15	1	1	0	0	5	1
	(1.56)	(1.58)	(0)	(0)	(5.95)	(5.88)
15-20	2	13	5	5	25	0
	(3.12)	(20.63)	(6.84)	(10.20)	(29.76)	(0)
21-25	8	18	14	10	16	1
	(12.5)	(28.57)	(19.17)	(20.40)	(19.04)	(5.88)
26-50	51	28	53	31	33	15
	(79.68)	(44.44)	(72.60)	(63.26)	(39.28)	(88.23)
51 <	2	3	1	3	5	0
	(3.125)	(4.76)	(1.36)	(6.12)	(5.95)	(0)
Total	64	63	73	49	84	17
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Source: Primary Field Survey.
Note: Figures in parentheses are the percentages of the total.

As of the occupational structure across different age groups, Table 5.3 shows that the migrants less than 15 years are either daily wage labourer or manual labourers both in Sikkim and Assam. The picture is more or less same in Assam, in the case of the age group between 15-20 years. While in Sikkim, around 10 percent of the migrants are found to be self-employed and 30 per cent of the sample is found to be daily wage labourers under the 15-20 years of age group. In Assam, 28.57 percent of the migrants in Assam in 21-25 years age group are found to be daily wage labourer, whereas 20.40 percent migrants in the same age group are turned out to be self-employed. Majority of migrants in both states belonged to 26-50 years age group and are found to be self-employed. It is also corroborated from the data that the senior and the migrants stayed relatively longer periods in the destination are found to be self-employed. There are very less number of migrants belonged to the age category of 51 years and above, and 4.76 percent and 5.95 percent of the total migrants are daily wage labourers in Assam and Sikkim respectively.

5.8 PREVIOUS OCCUPATION

Figure 5.5: Previous occupation of the migrants

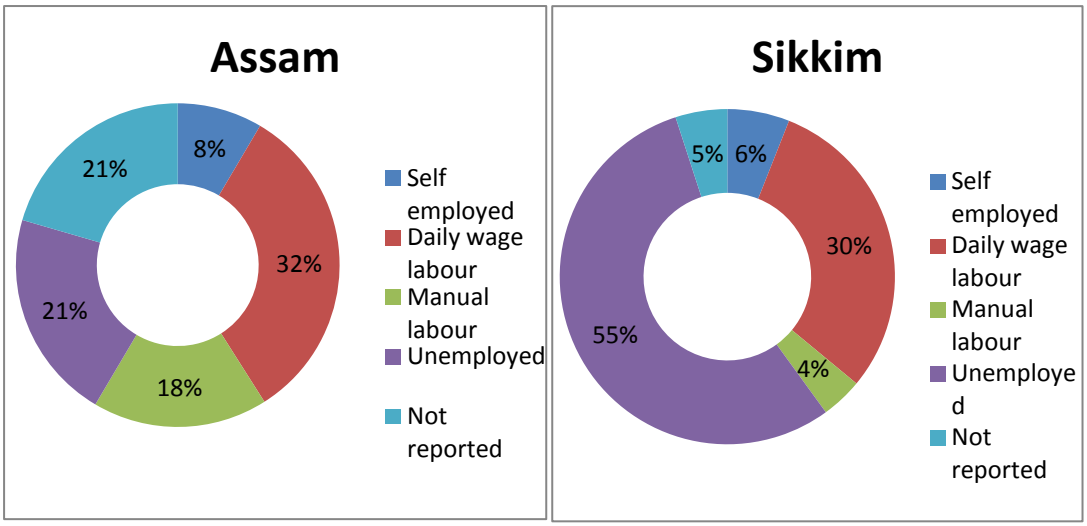
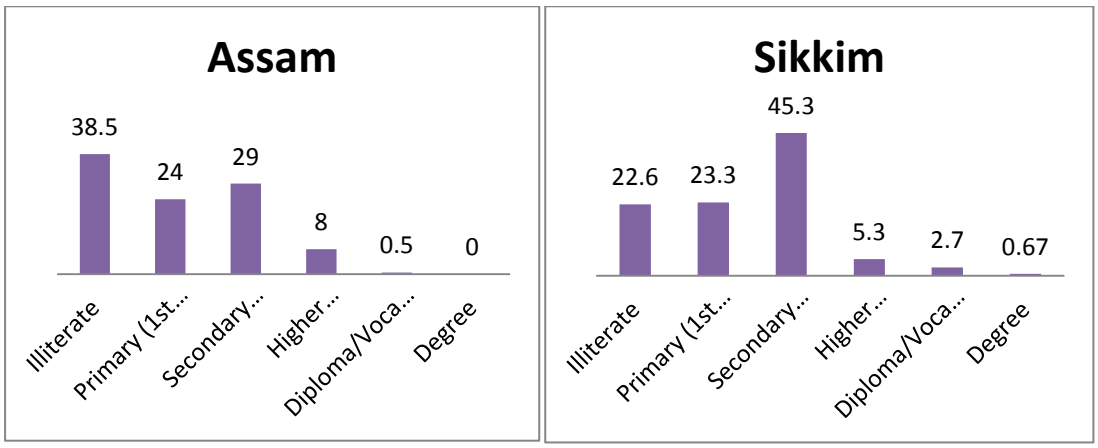


Figure 5.5 reports occupational structure of the migrants at the origin before migrating to Sikkim and Assam. Majority of the respondent/migrants coming to Sikkim, estimated at 55 per cent had been unemployed at the origin, in Bihar, before migrating to Sikkim. Around 30 per cent of them were daily wage earners before coming to Sikkim, while around 6 per cent and 4 per cent were found to be self-employed and manual labourers respectively. In Assam, 32 percent of the migrants are reported to be daily wage labourers at the origin, 21 percent reported to be unemployed and 21 percent also reported to be self-employed before coming to Assam. 18 percent worked as manual labourers.

5.9 EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Figure 5.6: Educational status of the migrants

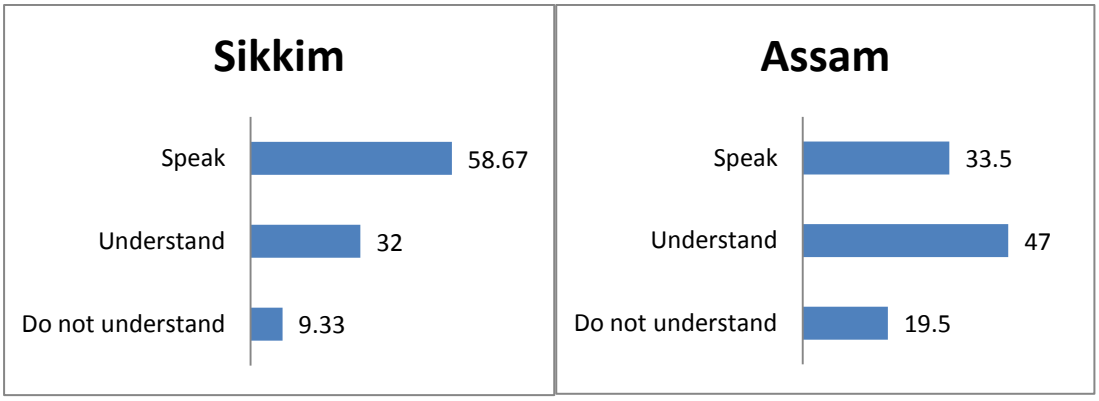


In terms of educational attainment of the migrant labourers, as expected, the overall educational attainment of the migrant labourers was found to be very low. As given in the Figure 4.6, around two-fifth of the Bihari migrants in Assam, estimated at 39 percent is found to be illiterate. While in Sikkim, only one-fifth of the migrants are turned out to be illiterate, estimated at 23 per cent of the total. Of course, higher educated migrants are not expected in the informal sector, and understandably, a very few migrants are found to be attained higher education in this study as well. In Assam, of the total migrants 24 per cent and 29 per cent of them are found to be attained primary and secondary education respectively. Hardly, 8 per cent of the migrants are found to have attained higher secondary education (up to 12th standard) level and negligible or no higher educated Bihari migrant is found in informal sector. In Sikkim, around 45 percent of the Bihari migrants were found to have attained secondary education, 23.3 percent are found to have attended schooling up to class 5th standard. We understand that the migrants in Sikkim are somewhat better in terms of literacy, but the number of Bihari migrant attained education beyond class 12th

standard has been very limited. Therefore, they end up working in the informal sector with negligible/zero scope of shifting in the formal sector.

5.10 KNOWLEDGE OF LOCAL LANGUAGE

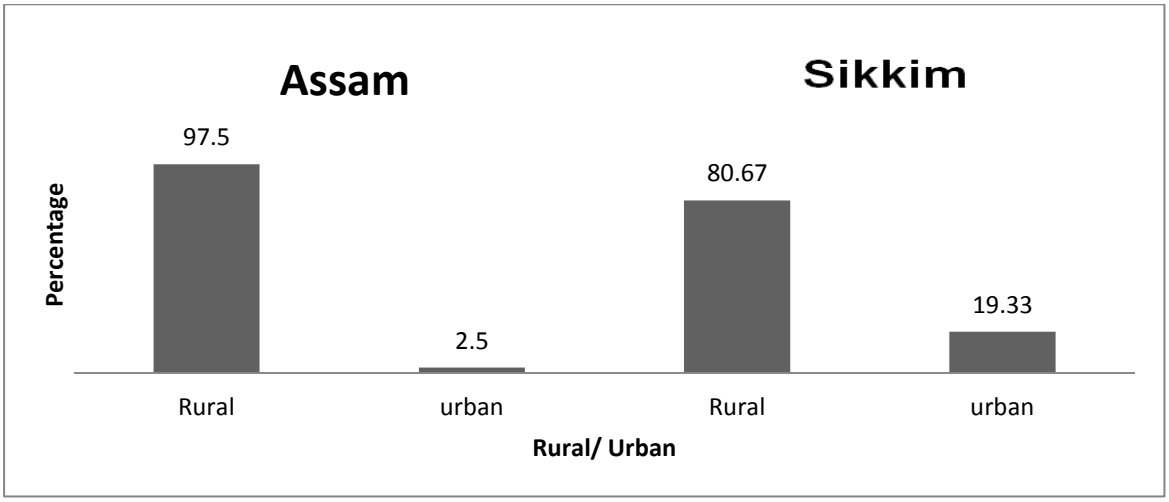
Figure 5.7: Knowledge of local language in Assam and Sikkim



Knowing local language is one of important factors for availing benefits of the provided by the state and local administration. Well versed with local language help them to adjust and cope with the adversities at the destination. Knowing local language is also an indicator of the migrant's stay for a longer period in that area. As given in the Figure 5.7, in Sikkim, around 59 percent of the migrants reported to be able to speak local language (Nepali), where as in Assam, hardly 34 percent of the migrants can speak local language. Many migrants cannot speak local language but can understand, 32 percent and 47 percent of the Bihari migrants can understand the local language in Sikkim and Assam respectively. In Assam, 19.5 percent of the migrants (sample respondent) do not understand the local language. Comparing to Sikkim, it is quite a higher number where 9.33 percent of the Bihari migrant (sample respondent) do not understand the local language.

5.11 ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

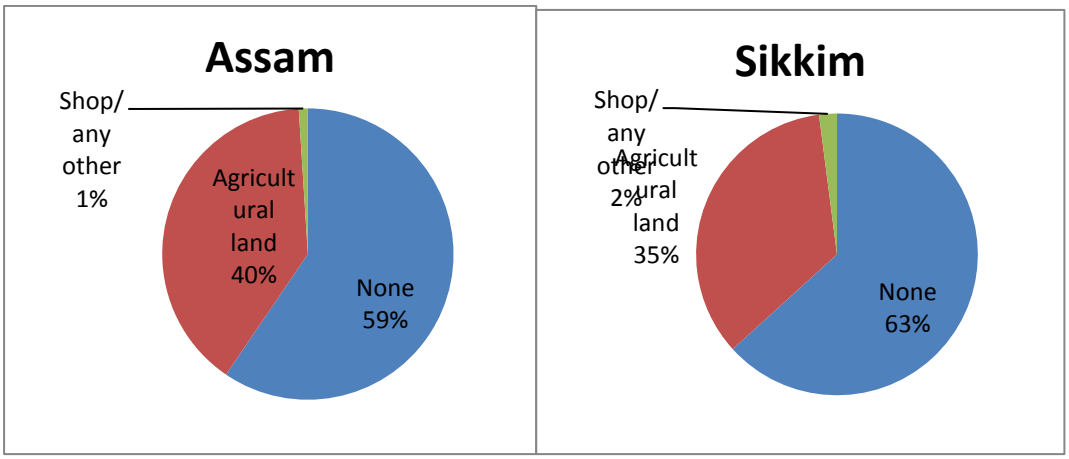
Figure 5.8: Rural-urban origin of the migrants



It is clearly specified in Figure 5.8 that most the migrants coming from Bihar to Sikkim and Assam are found to be rural origin. To be very accurate, 98 per cent and 81 per cent of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively were turned out to be rural origin. While, 3 per cent and 19 percent of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively are found to be urban origin.

5.12 LAND/BUILDING OWNERSHIP

Figure 5.9: Land/Building ownership of the migrants



As we can see from Figure 5.9, around 59 per cent and 63 per cent of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively are landless at the origin in Bihar. In other words, no income generating property like shop, building, industry, etc. was found to have owned by the majority of the migrants. However, around 40 percent and 35 percent of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively reported to have owned agricultural land at home, in Bihar. Of course, most of the migrants who owned agricultural land at the origin were happened to be marginal and small farmers.

5.13 YEARS OF MIGRATION

Table 5.4: Years of migration

Period of migration	Assam	Sikkim	Combined
Less than one year	32	30	62
	(16.00)	(20.00)	(17.71)
1.1- 3 years	34	20	54
	(17.00)	(13.33)	(15.43)
3.1- 6 years	34	29	63
	(17.00)	(19.33)	(18)
6.1- 10 years	46	21	67
	(23.00)	(14.00)	(19.14)
10 years and above	54	50	104
	(27.00)	(33.33)	(29.71)
Total	**200**	**150**	**350**
	(100)	**(100)**	**(100)**

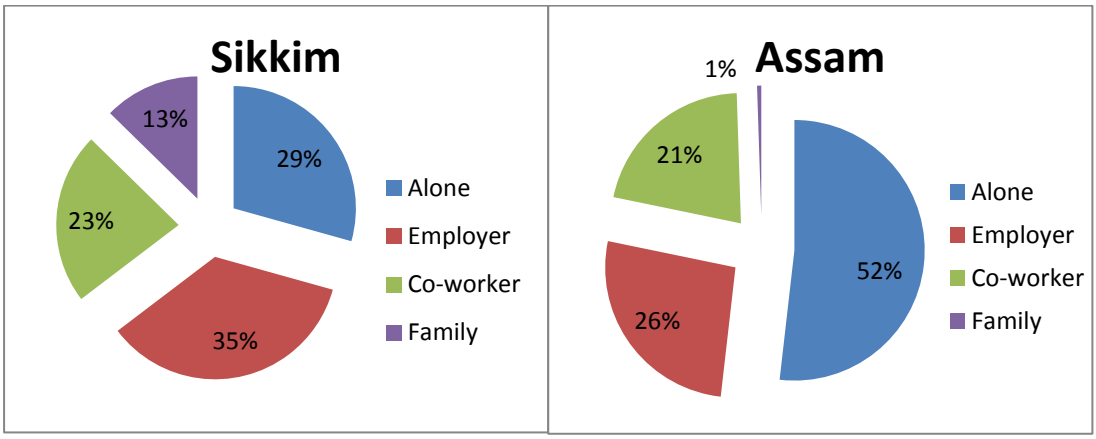
Source: Primary Field Survey
Note: figures in parenthesis are percentage to absolute numbers

As far as duration of years of migration of the labourers is concerned, Table 5.4 shows that 30 per cent of the migrants from Bihar have been staying in NER for more than 10 years. In the case of individual states, 27 per cent and 33 per cent of the Bihari migrants are staying in Assam and Sikkim respectively for more than 10 years. Around 23 per cent and 14 per cent of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively are found to be staying between 6 to 10 years. 17 percent of the migrants have stayed

in Assam for more than 3 years but less than 6 years, and in the same category, 19.33 percent of them were found in Sikkim. For the duration of stayed at destination for more than 1 year to 3 years, 17 percent and 13.33 percent of them were found in Assam and Sikkim respectively. In the previous chapter, we found from the secondary data that the number of short-term migrants was found to be more in Assam vis-à-vis in Sikkim. A similar kind of response has also been observed by the primary data. However, 16 per cent and 20 per cent of them were found to be staying less than 1 year in Assam and Sikkim respectively.

5.14 TYPE OF STAY

Figure 5.10: Type of stay at present



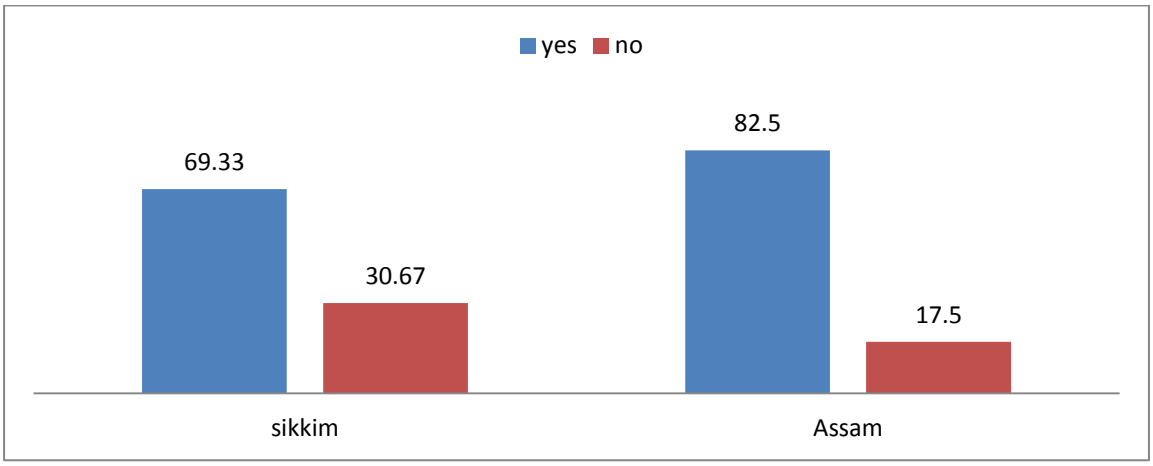
When the labourers migrate to a new place/destination they face number of problems that include environment, social and economic hardship. Hence, it is observed that most of the migrants do not bring their family with them in the initial stage. After understanding and settling at the destination, they tend to bring their family members that include spouse, parents and children. However, it is slightly difficult for the short term migrants and casual workers whose earning is very meagre.

Therefore, the types of migrants included in this study do leave their family and parents at their native place.

From the Figure 5.10 we can see that only 1 percent of the Bihari migrant in Assam do bring their family with them. However, 13 percent of them stay with family in Sikkim. This indicates that most of the migrants stay alone at the destination. When we see state-wise, 29 percent and 52 percent of the migrants in Sikkim and Assam stay alone. Around 35 per cent and 26 per cent of the migrants in Sikkim and Assam respectively are provided accommodation by the employers. It also indicates that these types of migrant are casual labourers and belonged to very low income group. Many migrants stay with their friends, relatives or co-workers in order to reduce the expenditure at destination. 23 percent and 21 percent of the Bihari migrants stay with their co-workers in Sikkim and Assam respectively.

5.15 MAIN BREAD EARNER OF THE FAMILY

Figure 5.11: Main bread earner of the family



When we ask whether the migrants are the main bread earner or not, most of them are found to be the main earning member in the family. To estimate accurately,

around 69 per cent and 83 percent of the immigrants in Sikkim and Assam respectively are found to be the head of the family and main bread earner.

5.16 REASONS/ FACTORS FOR MIGRATION

Several factors are responsible for a person to migrate to new places. To identify whether the migrants are driven by the pull-push factor or network factor, a thorough investigation is needed. As discussed in the methodology section, a weighted score (index) has been used to understand the major factor(s) responsible for migration. In order to calculate the weighted score for every individual, out of the alternative reasons given, the first, second and third are assigned score as three, two and one respectively (method for assigning weight is given in the methodology section). Finally, for each reason, the total weighed score was calculated and ranked them orderly. Also, in order to understand the factors influencing the Bihari migrant labourers to choose Assam or Sikkim as their destination, all the factors have been divided in to 3 main categories— the push factor, the pull factor and the social network. The three categories have been extensively discussed in various past literatures.

Table 5.5: Reasons for migration

Reason for migration to Assam										
Main factors	Specific Reasons/ Factors	1st priority	weightage	2nd priority	weightage	3rd priority	weightage	weightage	Rank	Overall Rank
Push	Landlessness at home	24	72	9	18	4	4	94	V	I
	Jobless/ Unemployment	85	255	24	48	1	1	304	I	
	Financial crisis at home	32	96	84	168	35	35	299	II	
	Inadequate income	30	90	26	52	5	5	147	IV	
	Others 2 (Push factors)	4	12	1	2	7	7	14	VII	
Pull	For higher social status	3	9	10	20	12	12	41	VI	III
	Impressed by city life	4	12	10	20	9	9	41	VI	
	Others 1 (Pull factors)	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	VIII	
Social Network	Friends/ Relatives/ acquaintances	18	54	36	72	55	55	181	III	II
Reasons for migration to Sikkim										
Main Factors	Specific Reasons/ Factors	1st priority	weightage	2nd priority	weightage	3rd priority	weightage	Weightage	Rank	Overall Rank
Push	Landlessness at home	12	36	8	16	1	1	53	V	I
	Jobless/Unemployment	46	138	15	30	1	1	169	II	
	Financial crisis at home	36	108	38	76	15	15	199	I	
	Inadequate income	20	60	16	32	7	7	99	IV	
	Others 2 (Push factors)^	6	18	7	14	4	4	21	VII	
Pull	Higher social status	3	9	12	24	17	17	50	VI	III
	Impressed by city life	2	6	16	32	15	15	53	V	
	Others 1 (Pull factors)#	5	15	2	4	2	2	21	VII	
Social Network	Friends/ Relatives/ acquaintances	20	60	31	62	26	26	148	III	II

Source: Primary field survey

#includes factors like natural calamities (flood, draught), Family conflicts, conflicts with people in neighbourhood, village

^ includes factors like good weather, nearby home

From Table 5.5, we first see the specific factors and understand the important factors that influenced Bihari labourers to migrate to Assam. It has been seen that the 'unemployment/joblessness' at home/origin, followed by the 'financial crisis at home' are the major factors that influenced to migrate the most. On the contrary, in Sikkim, the 'financial crisis at home' is the most influencing factor vis-a-vis others to migrate from Bihar, followed by 'unemployment/joblessness'. As given in the conceptual framework, the factors relating to unemployment and financial crisis at home belong to 'push factor'. The third most important specific reason, as per rank-wise, is 'friends and relatives/social network' at the destination. The friends, relatives and acquaintances at destination facilitate the new migrants in many ways, for instance, providing information, help in settling initially at the new place, finding a job and many others. Once an aspirant migrant gets confidence of assured help at the destination, he chooses the place fearlessly. For choosing the two NER states, same kind of mechanism works for many respondents. In the fourth position, in Assam and Sikkim, 'inadequate income in the previous occupation' is placed in order of priority. 'Landlessness at home' also seems to be other significant reason in order of priority. We understand that specific reasons like to attain higher status and impressed by the city life have very little significance in influencing Biharis to migrate. There are many other specific factors that include the factors like natural calamities (flood, draught), family conflicts, conflicts with the neighbours/village or society is clubbed under the push factors. In the past many decades, several areas of Bihar had faced massive floods and deadly draughts, which badly affected the livelihood of the poor peasants and driven people to leave their native places. Many of the migrants reported that the natural calamities, which caused loss of lives and incapability of the government to provide them with the required help. This, in turn, made poor Biharis

to migrate. Apart from this, migrants reported about the conflicts and differences with relatives, friends, neighbours and lack of employers, which forced them to migrate. There are also a few pull factors like good weather, economic opportunity at destination which has attracted the labourers of Bihar to choose the two states. Sikkim is known for good weather because to its topographical condition and location. Likewise Assam does not have extreme weather condition like Bihar. From the Table 5.5 we understand that the push factor dominates over the pull factor. Social network is the second most influencing factor for the Bihari migrants coming to Assam and Sikkim.

Furthermore, the responses of the Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim were recorded as multiple entries for reason of migration and have been calculated in percentage form. This was done to see to how frequently is the stated reasons for migration are marked by the labourers. This is done for overall migrants in both the states Assam and Sikkim.

Table 5.6: Frequency of Factors for Migration

Reasons for migration	**Count**	**Percent (in %)**	**Cases (in %)**
Financial crisis at home	236	67.4	26.2
Friends and social network	187	53.4	20.8
Joblessness or Unemployment	168	48.0	18.6
Inadequate income in the previous occupation	101	28.9	11.2
Landlessness	59	16.9	6.5
To attain higher social status	57	16.3	6.3
Impressed by the city life	57	16.3	6.3
Others[#]	36	10.3	4.0
Total	**350**	**--**	**100**

Source: Field Survey

includes factors like natural calamities (flood, draught), Family conflicts &conflicts with people in neighbourhood, village, good weather, nearby home.

In Table 5.6, out of 350 respondents 236(67.4 percent) of them reported to have financial crisis at home and that was one of major reasons to migrate. Of the total reasons identified, financial crisis got share of 26.20. Social network is reported by almost 53.40 per cent migrants as one of the reason of migration and found as second prominent factor with 20.8 per cent proportional share among the 8 reasons of migration .48 percent of the people reported unemployment in the native or village for migration, which gets 18.6 percent proportional share. In a similar manner all other factors are explained. Pull factors like attaining higher social status and impressed with city life was reported by 16.3 percent of the total cases and sustained 6.3 percent proportion out all reasons respectively.

Hence, it can be concluded that the major reasons that influence migration from Bihar to the two north-eastern states: Sikkim and Assam, are the push factors. The adverse conditions at the native place were extensively discussed in the previous section of the thesis, supported by previous literature and it was found to be most influencing factor for migration from Bihar. Apart from this, the Bihari migrants, especially the recently migrated or casual labourers, are attracted to these two states because of the social network they had from the previously settled Bihari migrants. They act as agents and support system for the new migrants.

5.17 PREVIOUS MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

The study has also tried to find out that whether the migrants came directly to the NER (Assam or Sikkim) or migrated to other places as well before coming to the present destination. Generalizing the situation, it is observed that people tend to migrate to various places when they already got some contacts, i.e., when they have relatives or friends whom they know well and who could help them in finding a job, a

place to stay and so on, at least, in the initial days of migration. Most of the Bihari migrants included in this study, had migrated to other places before they came to the present destination— Assam and Sikkim. Many of the rural origin migrants reported that they first had stayed at a place near to their village and then chose to travel to urban area. Conway (1980) termed this kind of migration as step-wise migration. Around 45 percent of the respondents were found to have been this kind (see Table 5.7).

5.18 PRIOR MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Table 5.7: Prior Migration Experience

Response	Count
Yes	157 (44.85)
No	193 (55.14)

Source:Primary Field survey
Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentage to absolute numbers

The present study indicates that the majority of migrants had an aspiration to go to metropolitan cities before coming to these two states (Assam and Sikkim). The places like, Delhi, Mumbai, Ahmadabad, Bangalore are major cities that the migrants aspired to go. Preferentially, in the second option, the migrants were longing for the metropolitan centres like Chandigarh, Kanpur, Lucknow, etc. Many of the migrants also revealed that they had worked in the bigger cities of the country before coming to NER, but they could not achieve the goals or survive in the previous destination, and that compelled them to go back to their native villages. We can conclude that factors that govern migration is very complex in nature and are beyond control of the migrant himself.

The migrants reported several reasons for leaving their previous destination before coming to NER. This might be indirectly related to the choice of current place of migration (Sikkim and Assam). Therefore, the reported reasons are discussed below in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Reasons for Leaving Previous Destination before coming to NER

	Assam					Sikkim				
Reasons	**1st reason**	**weightage**	**2nd reason if any**	**weightage**	**Total**	**1st reason**	**weightage**	**2nd reason if any**	**weightage**	**Total**
Medical/health problems	11	22	--	0	22	5	10	--	0	10
Expensive place	3	6	--	0	6	6	12	2	2	14
Lower wage/income	27	54	8	8	62	15	30	--	0	30
The city/place was not good	24	48	2	2	50	13	26	3	3	29
Work load more	9	18	--	0	18	3	6	6	6	12
term got over	6	12	1	1	13	6	12	--	0	12
Far distant from native	3	6	2	2	8	10	20	--	0	20
Fight with employer/colleagues	4	8	--	0	8	0	0	--	0	0
Couldn’t get a job there	4	8	--	0	8	0	0	--	0	0
Others*	8	16	--	0	16	0	0	--	0	0
Total	**99**	**198**	**13**	**13**	**211**	**58**	**116**	**--**	**0**	**116**

Source: Primary survey data

*Others include bad weather, very young that time, unsafe work environment, relatives called him back.

Several factors are responsible for leaving the previous place for the migrants. Table 5.8 clarified that the migrants could not find suitable jobs in the previous destination. Most of them were paid low wages or received low income (if self-employed). They felt disadvantaged as the payment/wages did not match with their work. Due to the lower wages/income, they did not like the city/place. The third reason according to rank-wise is, 'the adverse health condition' at the previous destination. Distance also plays a major role in deciding the place of destination. Since these migrants are the main bread earners in the family and major decision maker at home, paying visit to home is an important responsibility of the migrant labourers. Likewise, few other reasons stated by the migrants like the destination place was expensive, fight or conflict with the previous employer, could not get a job are also reported. These reasons might have played a major role in deciding the present place of destination (Sikkim and Assam) positively. It can be therefore concluded that quest for better jobs has been the main reason why the respondents left the previous place of migration.

5.19 MIGRANTS' IMAGES OF ASSAM/SIKKIM BEFORE THEIR COMING

Images/knowledge of the place where they intend to migrate play a crucial role in motivating the people to migrate to those places. But is also evident that few migrants may not have any prior knowledge about the place they have chosen for migration. The same procedure which was followed to understand the reasons of migration according to rank previously is applied here (method discussed for reasons of migration in methodology section, p. 31). During the survey, out of 200 respondents in Assam and 150 respondents in Sikkim, 4 and 9 migrants respectively stated that had no thoughts about the place. In the survey, five images were reported by the

migrants of what they thought of destination before coming here. From Table 5.9 Majority of Bihari migrants in Assam believed that they would receive support and assistance from the friends and relatives whereas in Sikkim majority of migrants expected that getting a job would be easier here. The third most rated image according to the ranking is that, they thought will get better options of employment at Assam and Sikkim. It indicates that many migrants have had the experience of low paying jobs or jobs which they were unwilling to do so they came with the expectation to find better jobs. Many migrants also had an image that the destination is a good city to stay before arriving here.

Table 5.9: Images of the present destination before arriving

	Assam							Sikkim						
Images	1st	Weightage	2nd	Weightage	3rd	Weightage	Total	1st	Weightage	2nd	Weightage	3rd	Weightage	Total
Getting a job would be easy here.	74	222	40	80	6	6	308	58	174	6	12	1	1	187
Getting a better job than the previous destination	30	90	45	90	3	3	183	21	63	24	48	1	1	112
Expecting support from friends and relatives.	73	219	60	120	16	16	355	40	120	27	54	7	7	181
Good city to stay	16	48	26	52	25	25	125	19	57	45	90	17	17	164
Others*	3	9	2	4	1	1	14	3	9	3	6	0	0	15

Source: Primary field survey

*Others include (Fearful/ afraid of the destination; the weather conditions are good, so they will have pleasant; they will pleased to stay here)

5.20 MODE OF REACHING TO DESTINATION

Figure 5.12: Mode of reaching to destination (Assam and Sikkim)

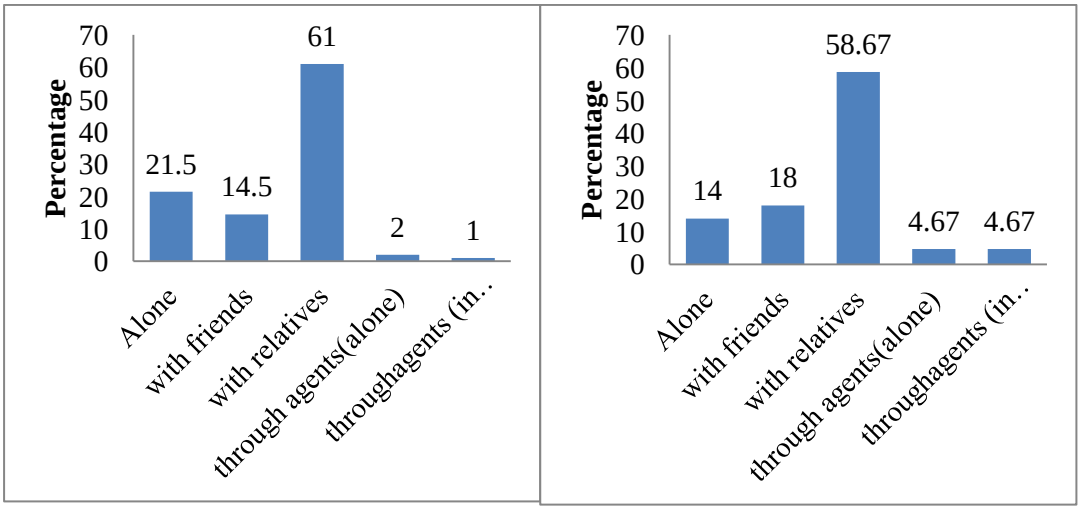


Figure 5.12 (left/first one is Assam and right/2nd one is Sikkim) shows how migrants reached at the destination. It can be seen from the Figure 5.12 that most of the migrants were accompanied with their relative or known family members when they first migrated to NER. To be very precise, 61 percent and 58.67 percent in Assam and Sikkim respectively migrated with their relatives when they first come. While, 21.5 percent Bihari migrants in Assam were found to have migrated alone to the destination and only 14 percent came alone in Sikkim. Sometimes, agents who work as link between origin and destination operate to bring the migrants to NER. These agents sometimes travel with the new migrants to the destination, around 10 percent in Sikkim and 3 percent migrants in Assam travel with these agents for the 1st time (alone or in groups).

5.21 REMITTANCES

Table 5.10: Frequency and Mode of sending remittance

Frequency	**Assam**	**Sikkim**
Monthly	128 (64.00)	91 (60.67)
Once in two months	30 (15.00)	13 (8.67)
More than once a year	8 (4.00)	3 (2.00)
Whenever demanded	34 (17.00)	43 (28.67)
Total	**200 (100)**	**150 (100)**
Mode	**Assam**	**Sikkim**
Money order	18 (9.00)	1 (0.67)
Banking transfer	137 (68.50)	84 (56.00)
E-banking	1 (0.50)	2 (1.33)
Personally	4 (2.00)	12 (8.00)
Through friends and relatives	36 (18.00)	47 (31.33)
Others (courier, post office, employer sends on one's behalf)	4 (2.00)	4 (2.67)
Total	**200 (100)**	**150 (100)**

Source:Primary Field survey
Note: figures in parenthesis are percentage to absolute numbers

Table 5.10 reports the frequency of sending remittance and mode of sending remittance. Sending remittances to the family back at home is an integral part of migrant's earnings. Migrants, given in the case studies (in Chapter VII), report about the importance of remittances and the role to make them continue their stay and sustain their livelihood. As also given in this section, most of the respondents are the sole bread earner, working member of the family and decision maker of the family. Family members who stay back at home solely depend upon the remittances. More than 60 percent of the migrants in both the states send money every month. 17 percent

and 28.67 percent migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively send money whenever demanded depending upon the need and requirement in the family at Bihar. To be accurate, 15 percent of Bihari migrants in Assam were found to have sent money once in two months and 8.67 percent in Sikkim. The migrants whose family members are involved in some other occupation like agriculture or others normally do not demand remittance monthly, have lower frequency in sending money at home.

Nearly 68.7 percent and 58 percent of migrant in Assam and Sikkim respectively send money through banking. Many migrants reported that they do not have any bank accounts. They send money through the friends and relative at destination, and this category consists of 18 percent in Assam, while it was around 31 percent in Sikkim. As expected and being illiterate, a very few migrants use other modes like e-banking. Interestingly, the modes of courier and post office transfers in both the states have also been very negligible.

5.22 FREQUENCY OF VISIT TO HOME

Table 5.11: Frequency of visit to home

Frequency	Assam	Sikkim
Every month	6	7
	(3)	(4.67)
Once in a three months	76	53
	(38)	(35.33)
Once in 6 months	68	34
	(34)	(22.67)
Once in a year	28	30
	(14)	(20)
Occasionally	22	26
	(11)	(17.33)
Total	200	150
	(100)	(100)

Source:Primary Field survey
Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentage to absolute numbers

Most of the migrants stay alone or without family members as discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Visiting native place is an important part in the life of migrant labourers. Since they stay at destination for earning money so that they can support the family, they cannot travel frequently to their respective homes at the cost of hard earnings. In Table 5.11, a total of 38 percent and 35.33 percent of migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively visit home (Bihar) once in three months. Around 34 percent migrants in Assam are able to visit home once in 6 months, while it is for 22.67 percent in Sikkim. There are 14 and 20 percent migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively visits home only once a year. Few migrants visit home only at the time of need or on an important occasion.

CHAPTER VI

6.1 SAVINGS

The present chapter deals with the main results of the models and methods used to fulfil the second objective set. It tries to understand the factors that impact the livelihood sustainability of the Bihari migrants in the two states of NER (Assam and Sikkim). Migration is a strategy to sustain livelihood for the poor people (de Haan 2002; Mc Dowell and de Haan 1997). Sustaining lives at new destination is also difficult when the environment is new and alien to them. Savings of a migrant becomes an important aspect in the migrants' life and migration study. During the survey, the respondents clearly mentioned that how they tend to maximize savings so that they can send maximum portion of the savings back home and it acts as a major force to make the migrants sustain their lives at the destination despite all hardships faced. Hence, it becomes an important part of the study to understand savings function, which in turn helps us to understand the factors that influence the migrants' savings. In simple term, saving function means the functional relationship between savings and income. Savings and income are directly proportional, that is saving rises as income rises. So, in this chapter, we are trying to estimate income and saving of the migrants. This factor(s) enhanced income and saving the most of the migrants are also discussed. Since the Bihari migrant labourers in Assam and Sikkim are included in this study, we ought to take state dummies so as to see which state's migrants make higher savings. The savings function is given as:

$$\boldsymbol{LSi = \beta_1 + \beta_2\ STC_i + Ui} \qquad \text{..... Equation (I)}$$

$$LSi = \beta_1 + \beta_2\, STC_i + \beta_3\, LI_i + \beta_4\, CAS_i + \beta_5\, OCP_i + \beta_6\, LEXPI_i + \beta_7\, MAR_i + \beta_8\, LIT_i + \beta_9\, O_i + \beta_{10}\, IGPH_i + \beta_{11}\, MYRS_i + \beta_{12}\, TDP_i + \beta_{13}\, AHI_i + \beta_{14}\, WS_i + \beta_{15}\, BANK_i + \beta_{16}\, STRK_i + \beta_{17}\, PLAN_i + U_i$$

..... Equation (II)

In the 2nd equation, as we understand, saving rate is determined by different factors. We see on what factor(s) affects the savings of these migrants. All the variables included in the saving function in this study are represented in equation (ii). Along with the state dummies, the variables like log of monthly income of the migrant (LI), caste (CAS) which includes general caste as base category (GEN) are also included. Other variables are given in acronym as: Other backward caste (OBC); Schedule Caste(SC); Occupation(OCP); Self-employed (SE) as base category; Fixed wage/regular wage labourer (WL); casual labour (CL), log of expenditure on intoxicants (LEXPI), Marital status(MAR) if married then coded 1 else 0, If not obtained primary education (LIT) then coded 1 else 0, Origin (O)if rural then coded 1 else 0, Income generating property at home (IGPH) like land or shop/building, if no property at home then coded 1 else 0, years of migration (MYRS), total dependent family member (TDP), monthly household income at home in Bihar excluding migrants' income (AHI), work status of the migrant (WS), whether owns a bank account (BANK), if faces strike/bandh (STRK) and plan/willingness to stay in future (PLAN) are included.

The migrants are generally employed in various types of job at the destination and they tend to send a larger part of their income in form of remittances to home in Bihar. At the same time, they save a small portion of their income for exigencies in the workplace or any unforeseen future needs. For simplicity, in this study, the

migrants were asked about the monthly amount they saved and sent home at Bihar as remittances, which is the main dependent variable (LSi) in this section.

While collecting primary data, income and expenditure of the migrants have been segregated, and from which saving was calculated. For simplicity, log of saving (monthly) of the migrants is taken as dependent variable and OLS regression is run to estimate the parameters. Log values of the variables are taken in order to make the skewed distribution less skewed. If we have any outliers, the log transformation would reduce the influence of those observations. Before running any regression, an independent t-test is done. The independent t-test is an inferential statistical test that determines whether there is a statistically significant difference between the means in two unrelated groups. In our case, the two unrelated groups are Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim.

Table 6.1: Independent t-test

	N =200	N= 150	t- Test
	Assam	Sikkim	
Mean of savings	5240.50	7421.33	-6.522***
	(189.69)	(291.79)	
Mean of Expenditure	6941.90	8188.36	-3.196**
	(252.30)	(528.91)	
Mean of income	12182.40	15609.69	-5.165***
	(333.89)	(623.62)	

Source: Author's estimate.
Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors
**Significant at minimum 5% level, ***Significant at minimum 1% level

From the Table 6.1 we can see a significant difference between the means of saving of the Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim. The average monthly savings of migrants in Assam is Rs 5240.50, whereas it is higher in Sikkim, estimated at Rs 7421.33. The t-test values are significant at 1 percent level of significance which explains that monthly savings of migrants in Assam is significantly different from the

migrants in Sikkim. We see that monthly expenditure is also significantly different in both the states, as the t- test values are significant at 5 percent.

Now, we try to estimate the factors that influence savings of these migrants the most. Before we move ahead with the regression analysis, it is pertinent to check the independent variables of their correlation. Only independent variables which are continuous in nature have been taken into consideration in this study and the variables binary in nature are excluded.

Table 6.2: Correlation Matrix

	LS	LI	MYRS	TDP	LEXPI	LHI
LS	1					
LI	0.558***	1				
	(0.000)					
MYRS	0.146***	0.419	1			
	(0.006)	(0.000)				
TDP	-0.349**	0.226	0.175	1		
	(0.018)	(0.000)	(0.001)			
LEXPI	-0.127*	0.178	0.0311	0.163	1	
	(0.063)	(0.008)	(0.651)	(0.016)		
LHI	-0.165*	-0.255	-0.284	0.032	-0.157	1
	(0.0592)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.708)	(0.164)	

Source: Author's estimate.
Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors
*= significant at minimum 10% level
**= significant at minimum 5% level
***= significant at minimum 1% level
Note: abbreviations used- LS- log of monthly savings; LI- log of monthly income; MYRS- migration years; TDP- total dependent family members; LEXPI- log of monthly expenditure on intoxicants LHI – log of monthly household income

From Table 6.2 we can see the correlation matrix of the dependent and independent variables. It is found that income and period of migration are positively correlated with savings and they are significant at 1% level, which can be seen from the p-values given as 0.000. The independent variables like total dependent members in the family, expenditure on intoxicants, household income are negatively correlated with savings; they are also significant at 5 %, 10% and 10 % respectively.

Table 6.3: Multiple regression (Log of saving as Dependent variable)

Independent variables	Model 1	Model 2
STC	0.349	0.114
	(0.05)***	(0.07)**
LI		0.935
		(0.10)***
OBC		0.216
		(0.07)***
SC		0.195
		(0.06)***
WL		0.321
		(0.07)***
CL		0.270
		(0.07)***
LEXPI		-0.126
		(0.03)***
MAR		-0.043
		(0.08)
LIT		0.109
		(0.06)*
O		-0.003
		(0.11)
IGPH		-0.122
		(0.05)**
MYRS		0.005
		(0.004)*
TDP		-0.033
		(0.01)**
AHI		-0.015
		(0.06)*
WS		0.091
		(0.08)*
BANK		0.068
		(0.06)
STRK		-0.039
		(0.06)
PLAN		0.062
		(0.06)**
Constant	8.463	0.370
	(0.053)	(895)
Number of observation	346	338
Adjusted R^2	0.107	0.463
F(1, 344); F(20, 319)	42.52	11.68
Prob.>F	0.000	0.000

Source: Author's estimate.
Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors
*= significant at minimum 10% level
**= significant at minimum 5% level
***= significant at minimum 1% level

The above Table 6.3 presents the estimates of the regression model as model 1 and model 2. In the model 1, the only independent variable included is the state dummies. It is done in order to see how the monthly savings is impacted for the two surveyed states. The state dummy is significant at 1 percent level of significance. From the model 1 we understand that the monthly savings of Bihari labour migrants in Sikkim is higher than that of the Assam by 0.349 units. The positive value of state dummy explains the saving is higher if migrants from Bihar are in Sikkim (If migrated to Sikkim it is coded as 1 and Assam as 0). In the model 2, all other independent variables along with the state dummies are included. We found that the explanatory variables like caste, occupation, log of income, log of expenditure on intoxicants are significant at 1 percent level. State dummies, income generating property at home, total dependent family members and plan to stay in future at the destination are significant at 5 percent level of significance. Variables like years of migration, if attained primary education, household income, works status are significant at 10 percent level of significance.

Understandably, income must have a positive effect on the savings, which is clearly supported by the regression estimates, if there is increase in income by 1%, the saving increases by 0.935, holding all the other variables constant. The caste has three categories; hence dummies are created where general caste is the benchmark category. From the Table 6.3 we see that monthly savings of general category migrants is higher than that of the other backward caste and scheduled caste migrants by 0.216 and 0.195 respectively, holding all the other variables constant. This may probably be due to the income difference between the different categories of migrants. According to Daniels (2004), members of the marginalised groups get into jobs but they often face discrimination at the work place.

As of the occupational structure, we found that the self-employed migrants save comparatively higher than that of the regular/fixed wage labourers and casual labourer groups by 0.321 units and 0.270 units respectively. The coefficient of marital status is insignificant; it means that marital status does not make any difference in terms of savings of the migrants. Education also has got certain impact on savings and remittances, those who did not achieve primary education are found to save less than the ones who have attained primary education or more. The migrants who have attained primary education save 0.109 units more than ones who do not. The migrants who have no income generating property at home back in Bihar tend to save less than the ones who have income generating property at home, which can be seen by negative coefficient. It means they remit more money at home and keep less in hand. The year of migration is found to be positively significant. For every increase in year of migration is found to increase saving by 0.005 units. This may probably be due to the increase in experience and settlement over the years of the migrants. However, for every unit of increase in the total dependent family member will lead to lower the savings and remittances. For increase, if 1 member increases in the family leads to reduce the savings by 0.033 units. A person in a fixed employment status tends to save more than the migrant with a volatile/casual worker. This may be because of the regular flow of income for fixed and regular salary employees/migrants. It is also found that the migrants who have bank accounts must be able to save and remit more, but since the coefficient is insignificant, we cannot conclude anything on this variable. Last but not the least, the migrants who plan to stay at the destination in future also happens to save more than those who plan to leave the place by 0.062 units more.

As we understand the multicollinearity is the common problem in regression analysis. Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) is checked for each variable in order to check multicollinearity among the different independent variables.

Table 6.4: VIF for savings function

Variable	VIF	1/VIF
LI	2.39	0.41
STC	2.2	0.45
WL	1.85	0.53
CL	1.75	0.57
OBC	1.68	0.59
SC	1.59	0.62
MAR	1.59	0.63
STRK	1.45	0.68
WS	1.44	0.69
PLAN	1.4	0.71
LIT	1.39	0.72
BANK	1.38	0.72
MYRS	1.35	0.74
AHI	1.34	0.74
TDP	1.28	0.77
LEXPI	1.25	0.79
O	1.15	0.86
IGPH	1.11	0.90
Mean VIF	**1.53**	

Table 6.4 reports the variance inflation factors among the variables. The values obtained above shows that the variables are not so much correlated among themselves. If the VIF for any variable is greater than 3-4 units for any variable then we understand that the respective variable can cause the problem of multicollinearity in the regression estimates. From the Table 6.4, we can see that VIF for the independent variables is less than 3.

6.2 SUSTAINSBILITY OF THE MIGRANTS & LOGIT MODEL

To understand sustainability of the Bihari migrants in Assam and Sikkim, they were asked about the willingness to continue their stay at the destination. If the migrants are willing to stay at the present destination, we assume that he is able to sustain his life at the destination. So, logit model is used to see what determines or what are the factors impact the migrants' decision to continue their stay or make their stay at the present destination smooth and continue. The dependent variable in this regression model is nominal in the sense that they represent categories, if a migrant is willing to stay we assign '1' and if the migrant is not willing to stay in future we assign the value '0'.

The Logit Model is expressed as:

$$Y_i = \beta_1 + \beta_2\, STC_i + \beta_3\, AGE_i + \beta_4\, MAR_i + \beta_5\, PO_i + \beta_6\, MYRS_i + \beta_7\, MEA_i + \beta_8\, TDP_i + \beta_9\, HHI_i + \beta_{10}\, OCP_i + \beta_{11}\, LL_i + \beta_{12}\, MEI_i + \beta_{13}\, MPI_i + \beta_{14}\, MSI_i + \beta_{15}\, MPHI_i + \mathcal{E}_i$$

..... Equation (IV)

Where Y_i is the response of the migrants' intension to continue their stay at destination or not. The independent variables used in the model are: STC- If the migrant is belonged to state of Assam=0 else Sikkim=1; AGE- age of the migrant labour; MAR- Marital status(1= married; 0= unmarried); PO- Place of origin (1= Rural; 0= urban; MYRS- migration years (No. of years of migration); MEA= If he is the main earning member of the family=1, else=0; TDP- total number of dependent family members; HI- household income; OCP-Occupation; SE- self-employed; WL- fixed wage/regular wage labour; CL- casual labour, LL- Local language (Do Not Understand = DNU as base category, Understand – UL, Understand and speak- US);

MEI- Mean of Economic Index; MPI- Mean of Personal Index; MSI- Mean of Social index; MPHI-Mean of Physical Index. Detail of the computation of these indexes is given in the following section.

Table 6.5: Logit model coefficients

Variables	Co-efficient	dy/dx[#]
STC	-1.522***	-0.333***
	(0.04)	(0.08)
AGE	-0.033*	-0.007*
	(0.01)	(0.00)
MAR	0.314	0.070
	(0.03)	(0.09)
O	0.270	0.061*
	(0.05)	(0.10)
MYRS	0.083***	0.018***
	(0.03)	(0.00)
MEA	0.182**	0.040**
	(0.04)	(0.09)
TDP	0.142*	0.031*
	(0.08)	(0.01)
HI	-0.011***	-2.300***
	(0.03)	(0.00)
WL	-0.592*	-0.131*
	(0.33)	(0.07)
CL	-0.365	-0.082
	(0.37)	(0.08)
UL	-0.430**	-0.095**
	(0.09)	(0.08)
US	-0.188**	-0.041**
	(0.43)	(0.09)
MEI	3.09***	0.678***
	(0.83)	(0.10)
MPI	1.502**	0.329**
	(0.79)	(0.01)
MSI	1.450**	0.317**
	(0.70)	(0.15)
MPHI	0.204	0.044
	(0.89)	(0.19)
Constant	-1.859	
	(0.99)	
Number of observation	349	
LR chi^2 (16)	90.33	
Pseudo R^2	0.196	

Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors
[#]dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variables of dummy variable from 0 to 1.
*significant at minimum 10% level, **significant at 5% and ***significant at 1% level

Table 6.5 represents the logit coefficient estimates and presents the direction of the association between dependent variable and independent variables. The dependent variable is the decision or willingness to stay in future. On examining these results we interpret that the variables like state dummies, time period of migration, household income and mean of economic index are statistically significant at 1% significance level. Variables like main earning member in the family, language and mean of personal and social index are significant at 5% significance level. But, the age, total dependent family members, place of origin (rural urban) and occupation are significant at 10% level of significance.

Since the interpretation of logit coefficients is not an appropriate way, we would like to present the probability of willingness to stay, given values of explanatory variables, log likelihood or probability of the variables, which is represented by dy/dx. From it, we found that willingness to stay is 33% more for the migrants in Assam than that of the migrants in Sikkim. As age of the migrants increase the decision to stay at destination decreases. This may probably be due to the homesickness and generally when one gets old, he/she prefers to stay at or near home/relatives. This study also found that the migrants originating from the rural areas have higher willingness to stay in destination than that of the migrants originating from the urban areas of Bihar. This may also be due to lack of employment of income generating opportunities at home in Bihar. It was expected that with the increase in the period of stay in the destination might have more willingness to stay. The same is corroborated by this study as well, with the increase in each year of stay the willingness to stay in future increases by 1 percent. We found that if the migrant is the main earning member of the family and with the increase in number of dependent in the family, migrants' willingness to stay is increased by 4

percent and 3 percent respectively. This can be substantiated by the fact that responsibility of the migrant who is the main bread earner is more. It was expected that if income from any other source (household income) in the family increases his probability to continue to stay might decrease. The negative sign of the household income substantiate this fact. As the household income increases, the chances of the migrant to continue his stay decreases by 23 percent, which is significant at 1% level. It is also found that the migrants who are self-employed are less likely to continue their stay vis-a-vis the migrants who are salaried. Since the estimate for migrants working as casual labourer is insignificant, our result is inconclusive in this regard. Understanding or speaking of local language is a sign that a person got adjusted in the area and may have a chance to stay in the place in future. Dummies were created to see the impact of language, 'do not understand the language was taken as the base category. And it was found that those who do not understand the language have lesser probability to continue their stay than that of the migrants who 'understand' and 'speak' the local language by 9 percent and 4 percent respectively.

As of the socio-economic indices, as expected, willingness to stay increases if the index values increases, this can be seen from the results. With increase in every unit of mean economic index the willingness to stay at destination increase by 0.678 percent. Likewise, with increase in every unit of mean of personal index and mean of social index the willingness to stay at destination increases by 0.32 percent and 0.31 percent respectively.

Like the previous model (savings function), VIF for each independent variables is used to check the problem of multicollinearity.

Table 6.6: VIF for Logit model

Variables	VIF	1/VIF
US	3.17	0.31
LU	2.54	0.39
STC	2.4	0.41
AGE	2.32	0.43
MAR	2.27	0.44
MYRS	2.19	0.45
MEA	2.12	0.47
MPHI	1.91	0.52
MSI	1.76	0.56
MEI	1.74	0.57
SC	1.56	0.63
OBC	1.54	0.65
MPI	1.51	0.66
HI	1.42	0.70
LIT	1.3	0.76
TDP	1.19	0.84
O	1.16	0.86
Mean VIF	1.89	

Table 6.6 reports the Variance Influencing Factors (VIF) among the variables. The values obtained above shows that the variables are not so much correlated among themselves. As discussed in the previous section, we understand that if the value of VIF is more than 3 or 4 units then we have the problem of multicollinearity. From the Table 6.6 we see that from most of the VIF for different variables will not cause the problem of multicollinearity. We also observe that the correlation between the independent variables and see if the variables are not correlated to greater extent. The VIF alone cannot explain the problem of multicollinearity so a correlation matrix is drawn to check the extent of correlation between the variables. If the correlation between 2 explanatory variables is less than 0.5, we will not have the problem of multicollinearity but if it is greater than 5 and very high then we need to drop that variable and replace with alternative variables.

Table 6.7: Correlation Matrix among the independent variables

	AGE	TDFM	MYRS	HM	MEI	MPI	MSI	MPHI
AGE	1							
TDFM	0.136	1.000						
p-value	0.011							
MYRS	0.681	0.176	1.000					
p-value	0.000	0.001						
HM	0.326	0.092	-0.292	1.000				
p-value	0.000	0.086	0.000					
MEI	0.083	-0.034	0.144	0.023	1.000			
p-value	0.120	0.531	0.007	0.672				
MPI	0.100	-0.084	0.032	0.112	0.336	1.000		
p-value	0.061	0.116	0.551	0.036	0.000			
MSI	0.166	0.050	0.302	-0.160	0.433	0.315	1.000	
p-value	0.002	0.349	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.000		
MPHI	0.013	0.065	0.131	-0.020	0.495	0.457	0.480	1.000
p-value	0.810	0.226	0.015	0.708	0.000	0.000	0.000	

Source: Author's estimates.

Note: abbreviations used- TDFM- total dependent family members; MYRS- time of migration; HM- Monthly household income; MEI- mean of economic index; MPI- mean of personal index; MSI- mean of social index; MPHI- mean of physical index

6.3 ORDERED LOGIT MODEL

From Table 6.7 we understand that correlation between all explanatory variables is moreover less than 5 except the correlation between age and migration years. But since both are important explanatory variables for the logit regression we have included both the variables in the regression. Of course, logit model explains the variables which explain the willingness/plan to continue the stay of migrants in future. But there are many Bihari migrants in the two states (Assam and Sikkim) who are staying for many years. The ordered logit model is applied in order to understand the proximity of migrants to continue their stay for longer period. Therefore, we employ an ordered logit model (OLM) to capture transition of different periods (from lower to higher) of stay among migrants. Hence, 'Y' is the dependent variable, which is an ordered categorical variable ranging from 1 to 5. The responses of the migrants were recorded as: 1= migrants staying less than a year, 2= migrants staying from 1.1 to 3

years, 3= migrants staying from 3.1 to 6 years, 4= migrants staying from 6.1 to 10 years, 5= migrants staying more than 10 years. The model specified as below:

$$Y^{*} = \beta_1 + \beta_2\ STC_i + \beta_3\ LL_i + \beta_4\ AGE_i + \beta_5\ LIT_i + \beta_6\ LF_i + \beta_7\ SOA_i + \beta_8\ MEA + \beta_9\ TDP + \beta_{10}\ HHI_i + \beta_{11}\ MS_i + U_i$$

.....Equation (iii)

Table 6.8: OLM estimation of period of migration

Variables	Coefficients	Odds ratio
STC	0.022**	0.977**
	(0.02)	(0.04)
UL	0.978***	2.659***
	(0.33)	(0.09)
US	1.719***	5.583***
	(0.37)	(2.07)
AGE	0.114***	1.120***
	(0.01)	(01)
LIT	-0.082	0.921
	(0.02)	(0.02)
LF	-0.569**	0.565**
	(0.02)	(0.01)
SOA	0.217**	1.242**
	(0.01)	(0.13)
MEA	1.101***	3.007***
	(0.03)	(0.09)
TDP	0.100	1.105
	(0.06)	(0.07)
HHI	-0.103*	0.901*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
MS	1.000*	1.000*
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Cut 1		3.603 (0.642)
Cut 2		4.954 (0.663)
Cut 3		6.239 (0.695)
Cut 4		7.598 (0.732)
Number of observations	350	
Pseudo R2	0.2307	
LR Chi2(11)	255.25	
Prob.>Chi2	0.000	
Log Likelihood	-425.613	

Source: Author's estimate.
Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors
Cut1, cut2, cut3 and cut 4 are respectively, the intercepts for the second, third, fourth and fifth category, the intercept for the lowest category being normalised to zero.
*Statistically significant at minimum 10% level, **at 5% level, ***at 1% level

Under null hypothesis all the regressor coefficients are zero, the LR test follows the chi-square distribution with the degrees of freedom equal to number of regressors, 11 in this case. The value of chi-square obtained here 255.25, if null hypothesis were true, then chances of getting a chi-square value as much as 255 is practically not possible. So, collectively all the regressors have influence on choice transition. The model also gives the pseudo R^2= 0.230.

The statistical significance of an individual regression coefficient is measured by Z value. All regression coefficients are statistically significant, excepting literacy rate and total number of dependent family members. The p values of knowledge of local language age and if migrant is the main earning member of the family are statistically significant at 1% level of significance. Dummy variables like state (Assam or Sikkim), score of assets and if migrants have local friends are also significant at 5% level of significance. The variable monthly household income and monthly savings are statistically significant at 10% level of significance. As we can see from these odds ratios, the migrants in Sikkim have higher odds of staying for longer duration than that of the Assam, statistically significant at 5% level of significance. The migrants who understand the local language also have higher odds of staying than those who do not understand the local language by more than 2. Likewise, the migrants who are well-versed with the local language have higher odds of staying than the ones who do not understand the local language by more than 5. The results also show that higher the age of the migrants greater is the odds of stay. It

is evident from the results that the migrants who have friends in the local/destination have higher odds of staying at the destination. From the regression results it is understood that odds of staying for a longer duration are lower if migrants do not mingle with the local people. With increase in every unit in the total score of assets, the increase in the odds of stay for longer time is greater. We can see that if the migrant is the bread earner of the family, his odds of staying become greater at the destination. If there is increase in the monthly household income then odds of staying for longer period of time reduces by 0.901. Lastly, saving has a positive impact on odds of staying for longer time period. Since literacy and total numbers of dependent family members are statistically insignificant, the conclusion remains inconclusive.

Since we want to understand what makes these Bihari migrants sustain their lives at destination. The migrants may prefer to continue their stay at the destination for there is large difference in income at both the places. Many migrants at origin were involved in income generating activities at home. Here, we try to find out factors which impact the difference in income earned at destination and origin.

6.4 INCOME DIFFERENCE

Most of the migrants were able to recall the income they earned at the time of departure. Few migrants worked as agricultural labourers could not recall their wages; in that case data on average daily wage rates of male agricultural field labourers of Bihar from 1990 to 2015 have been used. They report their present income at the destination. The migrants are staying at the destination for days, months to many years. Hence the past income cannot be compared with the present income directly. For this first we try to find out the present value of income with the stated past income

as the base value and appropriate rate of depreciation. The methodology of it is given in the methodology section.

The present income for each migrant is calculated individually using the method mentioned above. Difference in income is calculated by subtracting from the migrant's present income at the destination. Further, we understand that the income difference is dependent on several factors. The regression model is given as:

$$\boldsymbol{INDIFF = \beta_1 + \beta_2\, STC_i + \beta_3\, WS_i + \beta_4\, AGE_i + \beta_5\, MYRS_i + \beta_6\, MEI_i + \beta_7\, MPI_i + \beta_8\, MSI_i + \beta_9\, MPHI + \beta_{10}\, CAST_i + \beta_{11}\, OCCP_i + U_i}$$

The dependent variable INDIFF is log of difference between the income earned at both the places (i.e. origin and destination). All other independent variables are explained in the previous sections. We see the correlation between different variables with a correlation matrix in Table 6.9. It is important to see whether there is significant correlation between the dependent variable and other independent variables before running regression.

Table 6.9: Correlation Matrix (for income difference)

	INDIFF	AGE	MYRS	MEI	MPI	MSI	MPHYI
INDIFF	1						
AGE	0.349***	1					
P value	0.000						
MYRS	0.480***	0.682***	1				
P value	0.000	0.000					
MEI	0.330***	0.144***	0.189***	1			
P value	0.000	0.007	0.000				
MPI	0.995**	-0.102**	0.0296	0.289***	1		
P value	0.064	0.055	0.583	0.000			
MSI	0.336***	0.166***	0.296***	0.454***	0.307***	1	
P value	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000		
MPHYI	0.304***	0.012	0.142***	0.497***	0.456***	0.485***	1
P value	0.000	0.821	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	

Source: Author's estimate.
*Significant at minimum 10% level, **significant at 5%, ***significant at 1% level
Note: INDIFF- income difference

Table 6.9 represents the correlation matrix of dependent, which is the log of income difference between and independent variables. Only the independent variables, which are continuous in nature, have been taken into account. The independent variables which are binary in nature like work status and state, categorical in nature like caste and occupation are not included. It is found that the all the independent variables are positively correlated with the dependent variable and they are also significant at 1% level which can be seen from the P-values. The positive correlation between the variables suggests a direct relation between them, if value of one increase, the value of other variable will also rise. So, we can now further estimate the equation.

Table 6.10: Estimated coefficients for the regression (Difference in income)

Variables	Coefficients
STC	-0.105***
	(0.030)
WS	-0.071***
	(0.026)
AGE	-0.069
	(0.001)
MYRS	0.012***
	(0.002)
MEI	0.217***
	(0.066)
MPI	-0.058***
	(0.064)
MSI	0.168***
	(0.053)
MPHI	0.338***
	(0.074)
OBC	-0.059**
	(0.031)
SC	-0.027
	(0.026)
WL	-0.148***
	(0.026)
CL	-0.003
	(0.030)
Constant	3.701
	(0.066)
Adjusted R-squared	0.4133
F (12,334)	21.34
P>F	0.000

Source: Author's estimate.

Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors

*Significant at minimum 10% level, ** significant at 5%, ***significant at 1% level

Form the above estimates; we can see that all the explanatory variables are significant, barring the age, caste (SC) and occupation (casual labour). The variables like state, work status, time of migration, mean of economic index, mean of personal, mean of social and mean of physical index and occupation(regular wage labourer) are all significant at 1% level. Caste (OBC) is significant at 5% level.

The difference of income between the destination (Sikkim and Assam) and origin (Bihar) is 0.105 percent less, that is, the mean income difference of Sikkim is

0.105 per cent less than that of Assam. This implies that the migrants in Assam are relatively earning more than Sikkim vis-à-vis their previous/native place. More importantly, in the earlier section, we saw that mean monthly income of the migrants in Sikkim was higher than migrants in Assam. But when we see the income at destination and origin, Bihari migrants in Assam are earning more than migrants in Sikkim vis-a-vis their previous income at origin. The migrants who are in fixed work status have less income difference than that of the ones with variable income group by 0.071 percent, which is quite opposite to what we expected. This may be due to self-employed migrants whose average monthly income is more than the regular/salaried labourers. The coefficient of the age variable is insignificant, so we cannot interpret the result. It was expected that with the passage of time the income difference might rise, as time of migration can be treated as proxy for experience and skill. Our results support this assumption, that with increase in 1 unit of time of migration the increase in income difference is 0.120 percent, keeping all other variables constant. The index constructed for all four dimensions— economic, personal, social and physical, are a sign for well-being of a migrant. As we expected, a unit change in the value of these indexes leads to increase the difference of income, keeping all other variables constant. Only mean of personal index coefficient has a negative sign, implying that a unit increase in the value would decrease the income difference. The coefficient of caste (OBC) is negative, that means the general caste, which is the base category, has lower income difference than the backward caste. For schedule caste, the coefficient is not significant, that makes it inconclusive. Similarly, the self-employed migrants have lesser income difference than salaried/regular wage migrant labourers. It can be concluded that income difference is more for the salaried/regular wage migrant labourers than that of the self-employed migrants at destination.

As we did above, VIF is done to check if the dependent variables are correlated among themselves or not.

Table 6.11: VIF (for income difference)

Variables	VIF	1/VIF
STC	2.09	0.479
AGE	2.06	0.484
MYRS	2.06	0.485
MPHI	1.89	0.527
MSI	1.69	0.593
MEI	1.67	0.598
CL	1.56	0.642
OBC	1.54	0.648
SC)	1.52	0.656
WL	1.51	0.663
MPI	1.38	0.722
WS	1.13	0.883
Mean	1.68	

Table 6.11 reports VIF among the variables. The values obtained above are less than 3 hence it can be said that the variables are not so much correlated among themselves.

CHAPTER VII

7.1 QUALITY OF LIFE

As given in the third objective, this section tries to compare and contrast the livelihood condition (Quality of Life) of the Bihari migrant labourers in the two states included in this study– Assam and Sikkim. Mere income or employment is not the end of the human being. Welfare and satisfaction of an individual is very important. Therefore, quality of life of the migrants is considered as an important aspect in this study, which we intend to discuss in this chapter. Quality of life and satisfaction with life have always been a major concern for researchers in different streams. As discussed in the previous section of the thesis the term 'quality of life' was first emerged in 1985, which evaluates the overall condition of life of a person (Schuessler and Fisher 1985). Social scientists have used objective and subjective indicators to define 'quality of life' of an individual (Dew and Huebner 1994). The objective indicators can be quantified like crime rates, divorce rates, per person/pupil expenditure on education. In the present study, we try to understand the condition of Bihari labour migrants in the two states using several parameters like per capita expenditure on different items. Apart from this, four different dimensions—Economic, physical, personal and social, are also used to understand the difference in the status of the migrants. Each dimension contains several indicators. Apart from the migrants' own perception regarding their quality of life or well-being, we have tried to capture using 2 widely used psychological scales, SWLS and GHS, adopted by Diener et al. (1984) and Lyubomirsky and Lepper (1999) respectively. The scales have been used subjective indictors to assess individuals' perception of the conditions of their lives and their satisfaction with such conditions. The last section of the

chapter includes few case studies. Of the total 350 respondents, around 14 were interviewed. Only 6 case studies are included in this chapter, which extensively basically discuss about the lives and conditions related to the migrants in Assam and Sikkim.

To proceed further, the migrants were asked how much money do they monthly spend on different needs like food and beverages; housing and electricity; on stationary items (footwear, clothing, telephone/ mobile, etc.); intoxicants; and recreational/leisure activities at the place of destination, etc. Comparing the mean of monthly expenditure on different items would give us an idea about some standard of living of these migrants.

Table 7.1: T-test on expenditure items across states

Monthly expenditure on different items	Assam	Sikkim	T-test
Per capita mean expenditure of food and beverages	2573.814 (107.509)	4345.614 (263.251)	-7.193***
Per capita mean expenditure on housing and electricity	1032.384 (52.495)	3013.573 (257.585)	-9.578***
Per capita mean expenditure on stationary items	483.794 (44.591)	1088.055 (103.272)	-5.857***
Per capita mean expenditure on health and medicine	696.770 (146.098)	1301.282 (228.982)	-2.031*
Mean expenditure on intoxicants	975.073 (87.656)	656.25 (60.511)	2.583**

Source: Author's estimate.
Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors
*Significant at minimum 10% level, ** significant at 5%, ***significant at 1% level

In Table 7.1 we see the monthly mean expenditure on different necessary item spent by the labour migrants. Using t-test statistics, we can find that there is a significant difference in the expenditure done by Bihari labourer migrants in Assam and Sikkim. On an average, it is also evident that the average per capita expenditure is more in Assam than that of the Sikkim. A Bihari migrant in Assam spends around Rs

2573.81 per person on food and beverages compared to the migrants in Sikkim spending Rs4345.61 per month. The t-test result on expenditure on food and beverages is significantly different in both the states. Likewise, the expenditure on other items like per capita mean expenditure on housing and electricity and per capita mean expenditure on stationary items are significantly different in both the states at 1 percent level of significance. Per capita expenditure on these two are higher in Sikkim than that of the Assam. Per capita mean expenditure on health and medicine is different in the two states at 10 percent level of significance. Per capita expenditure on health and medicine is Rs 696. 770 in Assam for Bihari migrants but is higher in Sikkim and spend around Rs 1301.282 per capita per month.

The Bihari migrants in the two states were also asked how much they spend on intoxicants. Migrants spend quite a large share of their earning on liquor, *bidi*, cigarettes and liquor. Around 68 percent of the total Bihari migrants in Assam consume alcohol or smoke. Where, in Sikkim, 52 percent of the total migrants use intoxicates. Unlike any other item Bihari migrants in Assam spend more on intoxicants, estimated at around Rs 973.073 per month, while in Sikkim, it is Rs 656.25 per month.

Table 7.2: Expenditure distribution on necessary items (in Rs)

Expenditure (per capita)	Expenditure on Food and related items		Expenditure on Housing, electricity and others		Expenditure on Stationary items		Expenditure on Health		Expenditure on Intoxicants	
	Assam	**Sikkim**	**Assam**	**Sikkim**	**Assam**	**Sikkim**	**Assam**	**Sikkim**	**Assam**	**Sikkim**
Less than Rs 1000	33 (17.277)	4 (3.508)	125 (68.681)	25 (25)	168 (94.382)	93 (69.402)	20 (86.956)	17 (65.384)	106 (77.941)	70 (87.5)
Rs 1001 to Rs 2000	54 (28.272)	16 (14.035)	49 (26.923)	23 (23)	8 (4.494)	26 (19.402)	2 (8.695)	7 (26.923)	16 (11.764)	9 (11.25)
Rs 2001 to Rs. 3000	59 (30.890)	35 (30.701)	7 (3.846)	20 (20)	0 (0)	6 (4.477)	1 (4.347)	1 (3.846)	9 (6.617)	1 (1.25)
Rs. 3001 to Rs. 5000	35 (18.324)	31 (27.192)	1 (0.549)	19 (19)	2 (1.123)	9 (6.716)	0 (0)	1 (3.846)	3 (2.205)	0 (0)
More than Rs. 5000	10 (5.235)	28 (24.561)	0 (0)	13 (13)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.470)	0 (0)
Total	191 (100)	114 (100)	182 (100)	100 (100)	178 (100)	134 (100)	23 (100)	26 (100)	136 (100)	80 (100)

Source: Author's estimate.
Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage to absolute numbers

In Table 7.2, expenditure on different items are divided in different level of amount— less than Rs 1000; between Rs 1001 to 2000; between Rs 2001 to 3000; between Rs 3001 to 5000; and more than Rs 5000. Majority of Bihari migrants in Assam, say 30 per cent, spend around Rs 2000-3000 on food items. Around 17 percent of them spend less than Rs 1000 on food, which is quite low. Whereas, in Sikkim, around 30 percent and 27 percent of the total migrants spend between Rs 2001 to 3000 and Rs 3001 to 5000 respectively on food item.

Majority (around 69 percent) of Bihari migrants in Assam spend less than Rs 1000 on housing, electricity and others. It is reported that 75 percent of the Bihari migrants in Assam live in *katcha* or *semi-pucca* house. Whereas, in Sikkim, around 25 percent of the migrants included in the sample spend less than Rs 1000 on the same items. 13 percent of the Bihari migrants spend more than Rs 5000 on housing. Most of the migrants spend less than Rs 1000 on stationary item that includes footwear, clothes etc. Only a few migrants spend on health and related items (Table 7.2).

Table 7.3: t-test for allocation of time on different activities (mean)

Time allocation on different activities (mean)	**Assam**	**Sikkim**	**Independent t-test**
On work	9.87	11.06	-4.34***
On household work	2.01	1.78	0.72***
With friends, relatives/ Family	1.57	1.29	2.35***
On recreational activities	1.51	1.61	-0.64***
On rest and sleep	10.94	10.54	1.681***

Source: Author's estimate.
*Significant at minimum 10% level, **significant at 5% and ***significant at 1% level

We look at the time spent on different activities by the Bihari labour migrants in Assam as well as Sikkim (Table 7.3), on an average, the Bihari migrants in Assam spend less time on work (9.87 hours per day) than that of the Sikkim (11.06 hours per day). There is significant difference on the time allocated to work in the migrants of

the two states. Most of the migrants stay alone, families are left at home. Some stay with co-workers or relatives. They have to manage the household work on their own. Different household activities include cooking, cleaning, washing clothes and utensils etc. Migrants in Assam spent an average of 2 hours daily on the household activities, whereas, in Sikkim, it is 1.78 hr per day. Migrants stay away from home, and in such circumstances, their friends, relatives from native place and sometimes own family members (if family members are staying at destination) become a very important for the migrant himself. Spending time with them is important for a sound social and psychological strength. Migrants in Assam spend around 1.57 hours per day with friends and relatives (talking or discussing, not in the workplace) where as in Sikkim it is 1.29 hours a day from their busy lives. Very few of them spend time on any kind of recreational activities like playing any games, watching TV, visiting any other recreational places, etc. Migrants in Sikkim spend slightly more time in a day for these activities, spent 1.61 hours per day vis-à-vis Assam (1.51 hours).

7.2 DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF QUALITY OF LIFE

The quality of life of a migrant also depends upon many aspects like economic condition which include work status, condition of the job, etc. Apart from economic, the personal factors (like condition of health and facilities, etc.), the social factors (social relationship of the migrant with family and locals, etc.) and the physical factors which include type of housing, locality and different type of assets they own. In order to understand them in details, we are trying to assess from different dimensions. Each dimension is represented by a set of variables. The four dimensions included in this section are: economic/financial, human/personal, social/political and physical.

The economic dimension includes all the variables that impact economic or financial condition of the migrants like work status, availability of job/income, bank account, etc. For not repeating, detail variables included in the four dimensions are given in Table 7.4 to Table 7.7.

Table 7.4: Variables under economic/financial dimension (in %)

Indicators	Assam	Sikkim	Total
Work status on the basis of payment/income			
Daily wage	52.50	12.66	35.42
Weekly wage	2.50	8.00	4.85
Monthly wage	13.50	34.00	22.28
Variable income	31.50	45.33	37.42
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
No. of days without job/income in a month			
No	10.00	40.00	25.00
0-5 days	41.00	52.00	46.50
5-10 days	48.50	6.00	27.25
More than 10 days	0.50	2.00	1.25
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Whether did you change job in the last one year			
Yes	23.00	29.33	25.71
No	77.00	70.66	74.28
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Do you hold any bank account			
No	44.50	40.66	42.85
Yes, opened before coming here	27.50	20.00	24.28
Yes, opened after coming here	28.00	39.33	32.85
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Source of loan			
Informal (friends/relatives/local money lender)	94.44	75.00	89.41
Formal (bank/other formal institute)	5.55	25.00	10.58
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Bandh /strikes faced			
Never	48.50	0.00	27.71
Sometimes	40.50	0.00	23.14
Often	11.00	100	49.14
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Change job/employer/place because of late/no payment			
Yes	13.81	25.67	19.14
No	86.18	74.32	80.85
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Insurance/ any saving scheme			
No	64.5	66.66	65.42
Yes	35.5	33.33	34.57
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Author's estimate.

In Assam, in Table 7.4, more than 50 percent of the migrant labourers are paid on daily basis, followed by the self-employed who have variable income in a month (31.5 percent). There is a quite different scenario in Sikkim that majority of migrant stated they have variable income (45.33 percent). Also, many migrants do work under employer and are payment them monthly (34 percent). Migrants who are paid on weekly basis are much lesser in number in both the states (4.85 percent for both the states). We intend to see the availability of work and income for the migrants. Assam witnesses frequent strikes/ bandh and the effect can be seen on the migrants' work and income in a month. Nearly 50 percent of the 200 respondents (48.5 percent to be precise) are off the work or income and 41 percent do not earn anything for 0-5 days on a monthly basis. 10 percent of the respondents reported that they never spend a day without earning. But in Sikkim which is comparatively a peaceful state, 40 percent of the people do not face any such crisis in a month. 52 percent of the respondents are off their job or income for 0.5 days in a month. Only 6 and 2 percent of the respondents do not have a job or income flow for 5-10 days and more than 10 days in a month respectively. In order to see the stability of job/work, migrants were asked whether they have changed their job/occupation in the last one year. As an answer, 23 percent in Assam and 29.33 percent in Sikkim changed their jobs. On the economic front, having a bank account is a sign of financial awareness. It was reported that 44.5 percent migrants in Assam and around 41 percent migrants in Sikkim do not own even a bank account. Many migrants reported to have taken loans, estimated almost 95 percent of migrants in Assam, from informal sources like money lenders at native place known as '*Mahajans*'. In Sikkim, around 75 percent of the migrants have taken loans from the money lenders, friends and relatives. Assam being a conflict-ridden state faces strikes or forceful closure/bandhs by different organisations from time to

time. This, in turn, hampers the economic activities in the state and the livelihoods of the people including the migrants get affected. Around 14 percent of the people have changed their job or employer due to late or no payment in the past in Assam, while around 26 percent reported in Sikkim for the same reason.

Table 7.5: Indicators under Human and Personal dimension (in %)

Indicators	Assam	Sikkim	Total
Irregularity in taking meal due to work			
Never	29.00	15.33	23.14
Sometimes	42.50	20.00	32.85
Often	28.50	64.66	44.000
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Are you on a regular medication			
Yes	13.00	10.06	11.74
No	87.00	89.93	88.25
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Have you fallen sick in the past 30 days			
Yes	41.00	34.66	38.28
No	59.00	65.33	61.71
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
What do you do when you fall sick			
Self-medication	50.50	41.33	46.57
Govt. hospital/clinics	18.50	24.00	20.85
Private hospital/clinic	31.00	25.33	28.57
Employer takes care	0	9.333	4.00
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Accessibility to health services			
Very dissatisfied	1.52	2.73	2.04
Dissatisfied	28.42	6.16	18.95
Moderate	51.77	51.36	51.60
Satisfied	18.27	36.98	26.23
Very satisfied	0.00	2.73	1.16
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Do you Read/watch/listen News			
No	60.00	44.00	53.14
Yes	40.00	56.00	46.85
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Recreational activity in a month			
Never	72.00	68.66	70.57
Rarely	4.00	2.00	3.14
Sometimes	18.50	16.00	17.42
Few times in a month	3.00	4.66	3.71
Often	2.50	8.66	5.14
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Author's estimate.

Table 7.5 represents the indicators under the human and personal dimensions. When the migrants are asked about regularity in taking food, in Assam, 42.5 percent of the migrants were found to be quite regular (irregular sometimes) and 28.5 percent have had regularly irregular (often irregular) in taking food due to work load. While in Sikkim, around 20 per cent and 65 percent of the migrants missed daily food sometimes and often respectively due to work load. In terms of health issue, around 13 percent and 10 per cent of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim respectively suffer from some type of chronic diseases like diabetes, blood pressure, etc. In Assam, 41 percent of the migrants are reported to fall sick in the past one month, which is comparatively higher than Sikkim (34.66 percent). More than 50 percent of the migrants go for self-medication when they fall sick. If needed, many of them opt for private clinics (31 percent) and only 18 percent go to government clinics or hospitals in Assam. In Sikkim, 41.33 percent prefer self-medication when they get sick, and for this, 25.33 percent go to private clinic and 24 percent opt for government hospitals. On being asked about the accessibility or facility about the health services, more than 50 percent are just moderately satisfied, 28.42 percent are dissatisfied and only 18.27 percent are satisfied with the services in Assam. For Sikkim, around 37 percent are satisfied with the health services, and like Assam, more than 50 percent are moderately satisfied in Sikkim.

Only 40 percent of the migrants are interested in news and daily happening around in Assam, where as in Sikkim, 56 percent of the migrant read/watch/listen news every day. Most of the migrants in Assam and Sikkim never go for any recreational activities like any games, sports, visiting places, etc.

Table 7.6: Indicators under Social dimension (in %)

Indicators	Assam	Sikkim	Total
Contact with the family in a month			
Monthly	1.50	2.01	1.72
Few times a month	22.61	19.46	21.26
2-3 times a week	25.62	29.53	27.29
Daily	50.25	48.99	49.71
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Do you have any local friends			
No	66.00	48.00	58.86
Yes	32.00	52.00	41.14
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Member of any occupational organization			
No	81.50	84.00	82.57
Yes	18.50	16.00	17.42
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Member of any social organization			
No	76.00	74.00	75.14
Yes	24.00	26.00	24.85
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Seeking help in time of crisis			
Employer	17.00	44.00	28.00
Union	16.00	10.00	13.42
Friends/relatives from native	57.00	35.33	47.71
Locals	10.00	10.66	9.71
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Attending awareness programme			
No	84.00	82.00	83.14
Yes	16.00	18.00	16.85
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Author's estimate.

Table 7.6 reflects the indicators under social dimension. Since migrants stay away from home/native place, frequent communication with family members at native is necessary for a good social and psychological state of mind. Most of the migrants in both the states talk to their family members every day. The migrants in Sikkim have adapted to the destination in a better way when it comes to mingling with the locals, indicating 52 percent of migrants in Sikkim are found to have local acquaintances. While, it was just 32 percent in Assam could manage for it. On being asked whether the migrants are associated with any occupational organisation, only

18.5 percent in Assam and 16 percent reported to have associated with one or the other organisation. The migrants reported that a few local social organisation created by themselves like '*Bihari Jagaran Manch*' in Sikkim and '*Bihari Samaj Sangh*' in Assam. A total of 24 percent and 26 percent in Assam and Sikkim respectively reported to have associated with such organisations. Most of the migrants generally live in a closed group manner. They are mostly friends with the people from their native and relatives. In time of crisis or need, they help each other and figure represents around 57 percent in Assam. In Sikkim, 44 percent of the migrants seek help from the employers in the time of need, followed by 35.33 percent from their friends from native place.

In terms of the indicators of physical dimension, we listed proper shelter, access to basic amenities like electricity, drinking water, clean surrounding, etc. and detail of it is given in Table 7.7. Majority of migrants stay in rented places (79 percent and 63.33 percent in Assam and Sikkim respectively). In Sikkim, there are many Bihari migrants, estimated at 31.33 percent who are provided a place to stay by the employers. The migrants do not have to pay for this. In Assam, only 9 percent migrants are provided place to stay by the employers. Around 7.5 percent of migrants in Assam reported that they do not have a proper place to stay. They work all day along and spend nights at places like railway station, temples, etc. They reported that they are not capable of paying for a rented house/accommodation. Many recent migrants said that they are temporarily staying with friends or relatives, estimated at 4.5 percent in Assam and 4 percent in Sikkim. They plan to acquire some place near future after getting settled in the new destination. Coming to type of accommodation availed by the migrants, more than 30 percent in Assam stay in dormitory type accommodation and 29 percent of them stay in single rooms.

Table 7.7: Indicators under Physical dimension (in %)

Indicators	Assam	Sikkim	Total
Nature of accommodation			
Rented	79.00	63.33	72.28
Provided free by the employer	9.00	31.33	18.57
Stray/No proper place	7.50	1.33	4.85
Temporary arrangement	4.50	4.00	4.28
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Type of accommodation			
Caravan and Temporary dwelling	22.00	1.33	13.14
Bed and Breakfast	6.00	18.66	11.42
Dormitory	30.50	29.33	30.00
Single room	29.00	19.33	24.85
Flat	12.50	31.33	20.57
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Quality of accommodation			
Katcha	31.50	2.00	18.85
Semipucca	43.50	23.33	34.85
Pucca	25.00	74.66	46.28
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Likart scale of cleanliness around neighbourhood			
Very dissatisfied	8.00	1.33	5.14
Dissatisfied	27.50	4.66	17.71
Moderately	44.50	24.66	36.00
Satisfied	17.50	47.33	30.28
Very Satisfied	2.50	22.00	10.85
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Toilet Facility			
Open	7.50	0.00	5.14
Katcha shared	17.00	1.33	10.28
Katcha independent	1.50	1.33	1.42
Pucca shared	67.50	53.33	61.42
Pucca independent	6.50	44.00	21.42
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
Electricity			
No	14.00	2.00	8.85
Yes	86.00	98.00	91.14
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
How do you cook food			
Firewood	15.89	0.00	10.00
Kerosene Oil Stove	56.92	29.56	46.77
LPG	27.17	66.95	41.29
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Authors' estimates.

Further from Table 7.7, many migrants in Assam reported that they cannot afford a proper place to stay and hence are staying in a temporary caravan/dwellings or tents, consisting 22 percent of the total sample. Only 12 percent of them are able to live in a flat in Assam. The scenario in Sikkim is slightly better than that of the

Assam, more than 31 percent migrants are staying in a flat, 29.33 percent in dormitory, 19.33 percent live in single room. Only 1 percent lives in temporary dwellings in Sikkim. In Assam, 25 percent are able to live in pucca house where as in Sikkim, more than three-fourth are living in pucca houses. The housing condition for migrants in Assam is quite low in quality vis-a-vis housing conditions in Sikkim. In Assam, 43 percent have semi-pucca houses and 31 percent live in Katcha house. Katcha houses are made up of mud, straw and dry leaves. They are mostly temporary in nature. Most of the semi-pucca houses made in Assam where the migrants live are semi-permanent in nature, they have house walls made up of materials like cement, sand and brick with room of bamboo and other raw materials. Maintaining basic hygiene including a good toilet facility is the indicator of better physical infrastructure. Open defecation is a common problem in India, which is also a common cause of various dreadful diseases. The migrant labourers belong to lower strata of the society are unable to maintain a better access to the necessities in life. In Assam, 7.5 percent migrants reported that they lack toilets in or around home and go for open defecation. This case is negligibly found in Sikkim. In Assam, 67.5 percent of the migrants have got pucca toilets, which are again shared with other people or families. Around 17 percent have katcha shared toilets. The katcha toilets lack proper drainage system. The situation in Sikkim is much better and majority of migrants have pucca shared, estimated at 53.33 percent and pucca independent with 44 percent. Again, in Assam, 86 percent migrants have accessed to electricity, whereas, it is 98 percent in Sikkim. As of the fuel for cooking, 15.89 percent use firewood to cook food in Assam, while 0 percent (zero) in Sikkim.

Table 7.8: Measurement and Descriptive statistics of the indicators

Dimensions	Variables	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
	Work status	350	1.22	0.41	1.00	2.00
	Availability of job/ income	350	2.85	0.91	1.00	4.00
	No. of job changed in last 1 year	350	1.74	0.43	1.00	2.00
	Bank account	350	0.90	0.86	0.00	2.00
Economic/	Strikes/bandhs	350	2.21	0.85	1.00	3.00
Financial	Log of Income	350	4.10	3.79	7.60	10.78
	Insurance or any other savings	350	1.34	0.47	1.00	2.00
	Education level	350	2.23	1.03	1.00	6.00
	Stay at present	350	2.36	1.26	1.00	4.00
	Irregularity in having meal	350	2.20	0.79	1.00	3.00
	Whether fallen sick in past month	350	1.61	0.48	1.00	2.00
	What do you do when you fall sick	350	1.90	0.95	1.00	4.00
Personal/	Do you read/ write/ listen news	350	1.46	0.50	1.00	2.00
Human	Recreational activities in a month	350	1.69	1.18	1.00	5.00
	Frequency of contact with family	350	3.24	0.85	1.00	4.00
	Local friends	350	1.41	0.51	0.00	3.00
	Member of an occupation union/ organisation	350	0.60	0.61	0.00	2.00
	Member of social organisation	350	0.68	0.67	0.00	3.00
Social	Help in time of need	350	1.68	0.65	1.00	3.00
	Attending an awareness programme	350	0.59	0.62	0.00	2.00
	Trust scale	350	1.75	1.03	0.00	3.00
	Type of accommodation	350	1.90	0.28	1.00	2.00
	Nature of accommodation	350	3.28	1.27	1.00	5.00
	Quality of accommodation	350	2.27	0.76	1.00	3.00
	Cleanliness surrounding (Likart scale)	350	3.25	1.02	0.00	5.00
	Toilet facility	350	3.84	1.04	1.00	5.00
	Drinking water	350	1.91	0.27	1.00	2.00
Physical	How do you cook food (LPG, kerosene oil, Wood fire)	350	2.85	1.13	1.00	4.00
	Score of household assets	350	1.52	1.16	0.00	8.00

Source: Primary Field Survey

Table 7.8 represents descriptive statistics of the variables, which will be used for construction of composite index. As discussed earlier, individual indicators or variables used in index construction have been re-grouped into 4 dimensions in this study. They are– Economic, Human/personal, Social and Physical. This descriptive statistics have been made from the primary survey of 350 sample migrants from two states of NER (Assam and Sikkim). Detail indicators, variables and institutions taken for the study and their behavioural indicators are given in the Annexure at the end of

the thesis. As mentioned above, individual indices have been summed up and presented in a composite index.

Table 7.9: Composite Index in Assam and Sikkim (Occupational Category-wise)

	Dimensions	Self employed	Wage labours	Casual labours	Overall
Assam	Economic	0.429	0.408	0.383	0.407
	Personal/ Human	0.421	0.408	0.312	0.380
	Social	0.357	0.38	0.351	0.363
	Physical	0.576	0.568	0.493	0.546
	Overall Index value	**1.783**	**1.764**	**1.539**	**1.695**
Sikkim	Economic	0.702	0.607	0.525	0.611
	Personal/ Human	0.55	0.496	0.39	0.479
	Social	0.751	0.576	0.549	0.625
	Physical	0.833	0.734	0.67	0.746
	Overall Index value	**2.836**	**2.413**	**2.134**	**2.461**

Source: Primary Field Survey

From Table 7.9, we can find that overall composite index value of migrants in Assam was found to be 1.695. Of the different dimensions, the average composite index value of physical dimension across different occupational categories turned out to be 0.546. It was followed by economic and personal dimension with the composite index value of 0.407 and 0.38 respectively. Social dimension is trailing at the fourth with index value of 0.36. Interestingly, not much difference of the composite index was found across the different occupational categories. The situation is more or less same for other occupational categories in Assam.

The overall composite index of the different dimensions in Sikkim (2.461)is higher than what is found in Assam (1.695). The overall index value of self-employed migrants in the state is higher than the other two categories. Also, the self-employed have a value of each of the dimensions above 0.5. The average composite index value of physical dimension was the highest (0.746) of all the other dimensions. It was followed by Social and Economic dimensions with 0.625 and 0.611

respectively. The overall index value of casual labours is found to be lower in both the states.

Table 7.10: Composite Index in Assam and Sikkim (Years of migration)

	Dimensions	Less than one year	1.1- 3 years	3.1- 6 years	6.1- 10 years	10 years & above	Total
Assam	**Economic**	0.435	0.36	0.391	0.379	0.449	0.407
	Personal/ Human	0.435	0.327	0.382	0.355	0.391	0.380
	Social	0.305	0.308	0.358	0.365	0.429	0.363
	Physical	0.532	0.49	0.509	0.558	0.59	0.546
	Overall Index value	**1.707**	**1.485**	**1.64**	**1.657**	**1.859**	**1.695**
Sikkim	**Economic**	0.598	0.569	0.59	0.660	0.679	0.611
	Personal/Human	0.482	0.482	0.507	0.506	0.517	0.479
	Social	0.498	0.538	0.556	0.733	0.746	0.625
	Physical	0.712	0.763	0.762	0.749	0.787	0.746
	Overall Index value	**2.29**	**2.352**	**2.415**	**2.648**	**2.729**	**2.461**

Source: Primary Field Survey

Table 7.10 depicts the migrant's composite index based on the years of migration. The years of migration have been divided in 5 categories— they are less than one year, 1.1 to 3 years, 3.1 to 6 years, 6.1 to 10 years, and 10 years & above. The overall composite index of the different dimensions remained the same for both the states as given in Table 7.9. It is also observed that over the years there has been an increased in the overall index value. As also discussed in the methodology, all the dimensions perform better indicate probability of the migrants' stay longer at the destination and sustainability of the migrants. Migrants staying for 10 years and above scored an overall index value of 1.695 and 2.461 for Assam and Sikkim respectively. The index value of all the dimensions for migrants in Assam remains all most the same over the years. The same is the case with Sikkim, barring the social dimension which seems to gradually rise over the years.

Figure 7.1: Composite index for Assam

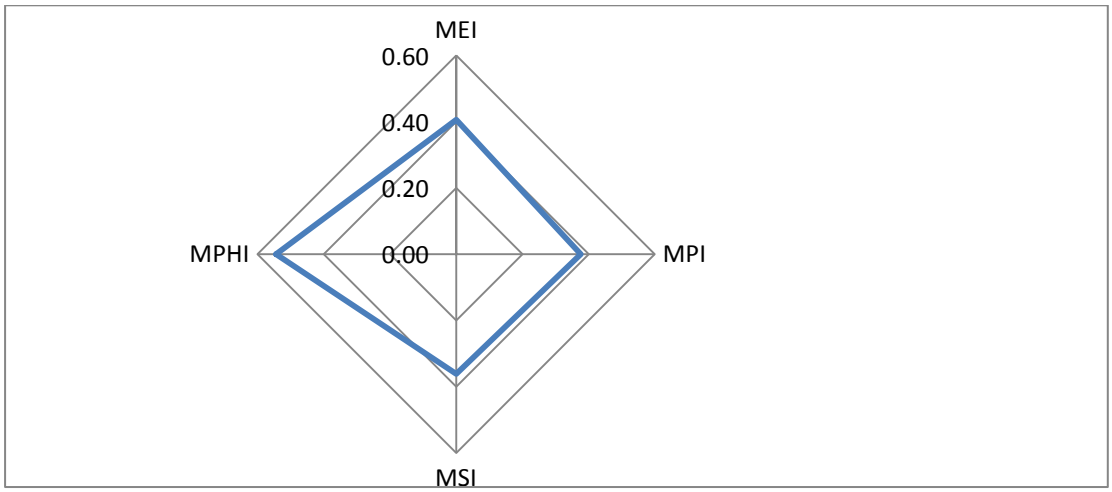
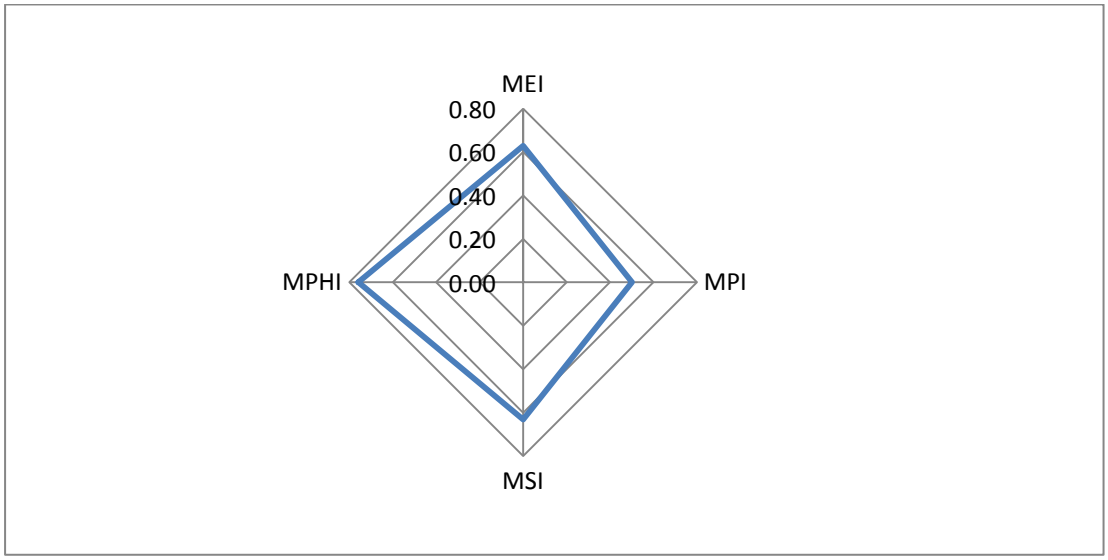


Figure 7.2: Composite index for Sikkim



7.3 HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION

To understand the subjective well-being, we applied two different psychological scales as discussed above. The satisfaction with life scale includes five questions and the respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree. Another scale, the subjective happiness scale consists of four components. The respondents were asked the questions in a separate section of the questionnaire, and the overall results are discussed in the Table 7.11.

Table 7.11: Descriptive statistics of two scales in two states

Scales	States	Mean	Std. Dev	T-test
Satisfaction with life	Assam	13.34	2.91	
	Sikkim	16.68	3.33	10.259***
Happiness scale	Assam	16.62	3.97	
	Sikkim	22.17	4.59	11.645***

Source: Author's estimation

The result of the study is shown in Table 7.11. From the result we understand that labours are migrated to Assam are found to have satisfaction of life scale score of 13.34 with SD of 2.91. While in Sikkim satisfaction with life score is 16.68 with SD of 3.337. The result for happiness scale score also shows that labourers are migrated to Assam has a score of 16.62 with SD of 3.978 and labourers migrated to Sikkim has a score of 22.17 with SD of 4.593. The highly significant value of t- test conform that there is significant difference in the satisfaction with life scale and general happiness scale of the migrants between the two states. It can be depicted with the scales that Bihari migrants in Sikkim are more satisfied with their life and happier than the counterparts in Assam. This can be linked with the previous sections of the chapter that the composite index for Sikkim is higher vis-à-vis Assam. Same is true for the psychological scales. From this, we can infer that the objective indicators are somehow linked with the subjective indicators of the migrants. Hence, we try to see the impact of the individual dimensional indicators on the overall satisfaction with life scale with the help of a regression analysis.

Before running regression exercise, let us see correlation of the variables with the Satisfaction with Life Score (SWLS) and test the statistical significance.

Table 7.12: Correlation with SWLS (Satisfaction with life score)

Components	SWLS	MEI	MPI	MSI	MPHI	LI	MYRS
SWLS	1						
MEI	0.5410	1					
MPI	0.3560	0.3350	1				
MSI	0.5590	0.4320	0.3150	1			
MPHI	0.5980	0.4940	0.4570	0.4790	1		
LI	0.424	0.3010	0.107 0.04	0.35340	0.2780	1	
MYRS	0.2180	0.1430	0.032 0.55	0.30230	0.130	0.4280	1

Author's calculation from primary survey data

Table 7.12 depicts the correlation matrix among the individual dimensions, SWLS score, Log of income (LI) and years of migration. The correlations between SWLS score with all the five dimensions have been found statistically significant at 1% of significance level. This implies that the improvement of these dimensions led to rise in score of SWLS that is overall satisfaction with life of the migrants. The SWLS score is also positively correlated with LI income of the migrants meaning that the rise in income leads to increase in the score. The score is also significant with the years of migration indicating that as years pass by the score increases with time.

The regression model can be specified as:

$$\boldsymbol{SWLS = \beta_1 + \beta_2\ OCCP_i + \beta_3\ MEI_i + \beta_4\ MPI_i + \beta_5\ MSI_i + \beta_6\ MPHI_i + \beta_7\ LI_i + \beta_8\ MYRS_i + \beta_9\ LANG + \beta_{10}\ ORG_i + U_i}$$

In equation, we understand that SWLS is determined by different dimensional indexes (MEI, MPI, MSI and MPHI) and other factors like occupation (OCCP), income (LI), MYRS (years of migration), knowledge of local language (LANG) and origin (ORG) and the result of the regression is given in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13: Regression model coefficients for SWLS-

Variables	Coefficients
WL	0.077*
	(.475)
CL	1.399***
	(.522)
MEI	4.768***
	(1.08)
MPI	0.524
	(1.116)
MSI	4.471***
	(.890)
MPHI	6.794***
	(1.233)
LI	2.225***
	(.479)
MYRS	0.005
	(03)
LU	-0.170*
	(0.57)
US	-0.332**
	(0.63)
O (0= Urban; 1= Rural)	-0.402
	(0.64)
Number of Observation	349
Adjusted R^2	0.527
F (11,337)	36.32
Mean VIF	1.89
Prob>F	0.000

Author's calculation from primary survey data

Table 7.13 presents the estimates of the regression model. From the estimates, we understand that the SWLS score for self-employed labour is 0.077 and 1.399 units more than wage labourers (WL) and casual labourers (CL). For rise in 1 unit of each of the dimensional indicators MEI (mean of economic indicators), MSI (mean of social indicators) and MPHI (mean of physical indicators) there is 4.768 percent, 4.471 percent and 6.794 percent rise in the SWLS score respectively. Since the MPI (mean of personal index) is not significant hence we are inclusive about it. We expected that income would have a positive impact on SWLS, as the migrant's

primary motive is to earn and support their families, so if income is higher, they will be more satisfied with their life at destination. Our results support our assumption, and from the estimated we see that income has a positive impact on SWLS, with one percent rise in income the SWLS increase by 2.225. We also expect that to understand the local language of a place eases the lives of the out- migrants in many ways. We found that knowledge of local language also has positive effect on the SWLS. As we can see from the estimates those who do not understand the local language has 0.170 percent and 0.332 percent lesser SWLS than who understand and understand and speak migrants respectively. Origin of the migrants does not impact on the SWLS significantly.

7.4 CASE STUDIES

Case study method is also one of the most comprehensive methods of data collection and widely used methods in the social science researches. It helps in gathering the data in detail. It helps researcher to observe logically and cover the information, which are missed out in the primary data. In the present study, for convenience, only 6 case studies have been reported.

Case studies from Sikkim

1. **Biresh Kumar Thakur:** Serving as a helper at a saloon. The saloon where he is working is owned by another person from his village (native). He is paid according to the number of customer he serves. When he was young, his father stayed here. Now, when his father is old and ill he went back to his village. Biresh discontinued his studies at an early age in Bihar, studied till class five. He was living in a joint family with a very few earning members in the family.

His father used to send his major part of earnings back home before he felt sick and was working in Sikkim. By that time, Biresh got married and had 2 children. His father and his mother are religious minded. There was frequent economic crisis in the family so after the health recovery of his father, they went to some religious city (Prayag) and prayed for their blessings. They stay near a temple and sell 'pooja' items to earn livelihood. His brothers are settled in different parts of the country and look after their respective families. Initially, his brothers persuaded him to stay back in the village so that he could look after the house in the native place. But straitened economic situation compelled him to leave the village. The earning was low in village, his brothers did not support him financially and it became difficult for him to manage his family. He has been staying in Gangtok for 10 years. It was easy for him to come here and settle as his father was here before and his relatives/friends assured a job for him. Hence, the adverse economic circumstances and his father's network are the basic reasons for him to choose Sikkim for migration. He lives a good life here and sends around 7-8 thousands to home depending on the need of the family and his own earning. Beside the remittance, he also saves some amount of it which he deposits in the post office. In this manner he has made himself economically sound and stable. Most of his friends here are from his native place. He is also a member of a social organization 'Bihari Jagaran Manch' which is not very active these-days but he has managed to make few good friends who are very helpful in the time of need. He shares single room with 2 of his friends. Biresh has no Plans to return to his village in near future. He has full support of his wife, she only expects him to visit home on important occasions. Since the distance to his

native place is not very far, he visits home regularly. He aims to earn as much money as he can and educate his 3 kids, marry them and settle them nicely.

2. **Sonu Prakash**- He is 22 years old and is unmarried. He is a helper at a grocery shop in Tibet road, Gangtok. His monthly salary is Rs 6000. He has been living in Gangtok for the last 5 years. Sonu's mother and his younger brother are staying in village. He has 3 sisters and all are married and are at their respective in-laws places. His father is a plumber at a private firm in Delhi. Sonu somehow managed to pass class 10th examination and left studies thereafter. His parents also did not force him for study and wanted him to join his mother in doing the agricultural work. The economic condition of the family was not very weak. But the problem was the debts they had taken from various sources (like friends, relatives, and mahajans) in order to get his sisters married. He was always attracted to city life and urban areas. As many of his neighbourhood and friends were staying in the destination, speak their mother tongue and comfortable life in the city. Sonu fled away from home when he was just 17 to Bangalore with one of his relatives. He could not manage to get a job for the initial 4-5 months. Somehow he got a person who employed him. It was a small snacks shop. He was paid very less and managed life there from another 1 year. He returned back to his village because of family pressure (also he couldn't adjust in Bangalore because of language problem and low income). On his return he started working in his own agricultural field with his mother but never liked doing so.

His ultimate wish was to have a better and higher social status, attracted by city life, and that in turn, led him to migrate to Sikkim with a close friend who assured him with a job under his employer. Though his

parents objected him again but he convinced them. Sonu occasionally sends money to his parents in village as they do not require any financial assistance because of their own sound economic position. He has changed 2-3 jobs in the past 5 years but his current employer is good and takes care of his basic expenses. He still plans to move to another bigger city if he is assured a better job (more pay). He makes friends only with the people from his home state and it is because of them he does not feel lonely and home sick.

3. **Mohd Shahid-** He is at present working as a porter in many godowns at Singhtam under East Sikkim district. He does not have a fixed employer. He is 45 years old and has been living in the city for the last 20 years. He has so far not able to secure a permanent job for himself. He has always wanted to get in to job which is less laborious as this baggage bearing have had bad impacts on his health but because of lack of education he has been never able to acquire one. All the members of his family reside in the village. His father used to work in agricultural fields but now he is too old to do any work. In a family of 9 people he is the only earning member. His wife sometimes around the year work in their farm (which is a small piece of agricultural land). It provides very less return for the family and is not enough for their livelihood. Shahid's family is one of the poorest ones in the village. They do not have enough land. He tried to get work in the village but failed to get one which could fulfil the basic needs of his family. According to him, the poverty, crisis and landlessness are the main factors which compelled him to migrate here with the help of some other migrants from his village. He regularly sends money to his wife in the village that he himself considers to be an insufficient amount. He has 5 children, 4 daughters and 1 son. None of them go to school. He

wants to educate his son but his son, like his sisters, does not want to study and stay at home. Generally, he visits home twice a year but he has not been able to visit his home from past 1 year. His father is ill and every month huge portion of his income is dedicated for his medicines and doctor's fee. The enormous economic burden of the family is one of the most important factors to make him continue his stay here. He believes that the income he generates here helps him somehow to sustain his and his family's life. There is no better opinion back in village. Shahid spends most of his time with the friends/relatives from the natives. His views about the local people are ambiguous. He minds his own business and is not bothered much about the locals. He feels the godown owners are helpful in the time of need.

4. **Vivek Kumar**- Vivek Kumar is a mechanic in a garage near Indira bypass, Gangtok. He belongs to a scheduled caste social category. He had his education up to the 4th standard in his native village. His income is around Rs 8000 per month. He has been living in Sikkim for around 1 year. He is unmarried. There are 5 members in the family apart from him. His mother and siblings (2 brothers and 1 sister) live in the village. His father works in a factory in Punjab. He left schooling at an early age due to economic crisis but was interested in education. His father took him to Punjab when he was 16 years old. His father did not ask him to work there but just wanted him to stay with him. But he did not like place and soon returned back to his village. The father's income was insufficient for the family. The only work available in the village was related to agriculture which he was unwilling to do. Vivek's maternal uncle owns a garage here (Gangtok) and assured him to provide a job. So, he decided to migrate here. He is satisfied with the nature of the work

but he thinks he is not paid well. Though he considers himself lucky than many of his friends and relatives from native who are living in different parts of the country who are helpless and compelled to do menial jobs to earn a living in the absence of better opportunity. Vivek has a lot of family pressure. His alcoholic father is quite irregular in sending money to the village. So, his mother has a lot of expectations from him that his son will understand the responsibilities of the family and support them. He misses home but is helpless as going back is not a wise option for him. His work has no scope in the village. He desires to learn work more deeply and open a garage of his own someday in future. Then he can bring his mother and siblings to stay with him. His life here is much easier than it was in the village. He does not understand the local language but thinks positively for the local people. He thinks they are honest and not fussy. Most of them can be trusted and are helpful. Also, he feels he is never discriminated on the basis of his caste which is very common in his native village.

Case study from Assam

1. **Govinda Shah** (16) - He came to Tinsukia, Assam a year before along with two of his friends. His family stays in village (native place). He has as big family that includes grandparents, parents, paternal uncles & aunts, siblings and cousins. They belong to one of the lowest social group in the village. Most of the members of the family are illiterate. The family owns agricultural land but it is not sufficient to provide livelihood to the whole family. The seasonal nature of agriculture is another problem as it does not provide livelihood in most of the months around the year. His father and mothers work in a

landlord's family in the village during the off- seasons. Likewise other family members are involved in very low paying jobs in the village or surrounding areas and it becomes difficult to feed so many people. One of his friends' uncle stays in Tinsukia for many years. He was attracted to city life for the reason he used to notice people who migrated from the village to the cities were better dressed and looked smarter than him. He was influenced by their habits which motivated him to leave the village. He was assured by his friends' relative for a job at destination.

On being asked about the life at destination, he mentions about the happy life with monthly pay he receives, finds it decent. He works at a small restaurant owned by a Bihari. Since he is new, the work load is bare minimum. The accommodation and other basic needs like food, clothing, etc. are provided by the employer. He lives with other co-workers. He spends 80 percent of the monthly salary to his parents at village. They are happy and satisfied with his migration. But he often feels homesick and lack of freedom which he used to enjoy at the native place. Here, the owner does not allow him to roam around freely for his own safety. On being asked whether the surrounding is unsafe for outsiders, he replied the employer tells him stories that happened in the past with the Bihari labourers. He is not happy with the overall surrounding and people. He does not understand local language but that is not a trouble for him as other workers help him understand the orders of the customers. His friends from relative who accompanied him to Tinsukia work at some other place so he seldom gets time to meet them. He is planning to return to his village or would prefer to migrate to some other place where he will have more freedom and liberty.

2. **GareebPaswan** (30)- GareebPaswan is working as a rickshaw puller. He is 30 years old and migrated to Tinsukia, Assam 5 years back. At native he used to work as agricultural labour but he was paid almost nothing and was equal as being unemployed. He wife and 3 sons stay at home (village). Gareeb is illiterate but he wants his sons to be educated and do something good in life. His sons study at a school in village and a major part of the monthly earning goes for the education. His wife is a domestic helper in few families in the village. Before migrating to Assam, he had been to Delhi in search of job. Though he got a job there, but the problem of housing and other climatic conditions constrained him to leave the capital city. Later, he got a job at Kanpur in a mill but it was closed down by the government for few reasons. He returned to his village and worked as agricultural labour. The low pay and increasing needs in the family compelled him to come here. Before migrating he came in contact with a person who was already staying in Tinsukia assured him to help once he reaches there but that did not happen. He established himself on his own. As long as his father was alive he rarely used to visit village but after his death he visits home at least once a year. He spends around 2-3 months at home during the peak agricultural season. The main reason is that he has to look after his family and loneliness at the place of migration. He plans to return back permanently. He is a rickshaw puller, does not own the rickshaw but has taken it on rent. He pays a monthly rent for the same. In the initial period of migration he used to work at a godown as porter (‘Motiya’ is the word for this occupation in local term). He found the job very hard and so discontinued it. Only on few occasions, when he is called upon by his previous employers and if promised to be paid with a good amount, he

goes to help with the bags. Gareeb stays with other Bihari migrants in a dormitory and does not interact with locals much. He sometimes feels discriminated by the local people. He said that few of his customers talk very rudely and pay less than what is required. This makes his life more miserable and makes him miss home more.

While analysing the above stated cases, we found that economic dimension is the most dominant factor for the Bihari migrants, who have moved to the two North-Eastern states— Assam and Sikkim. Most of the migrants came to both the states because of the immense economic pressure and lack of employment/underemployment problem at the origin. Most of the migrants, coming from Bihar belong to the lower strata of the society and have attained either low education or no education. The presence of friends, relatives at the destination help them to migrate or afterwards in settling down in the new environment. The migrants belong to the rural Bihar where agriculture or allied activities are the only occupation which is seasonal in nature.One of cases stated that the city life attracted him and led to move at the current destination.

The dominance of economic factor is supported by the fact that migrants regularly sent money (remittances) to their family members at home without fail. Almost all the cases report how the remittances sent by the migrants are important for the rest of the family at the origin. Another point to be noticed in the case studies is that few migrants plan not return in the native in near future as they understand that there is unavailability of income generating activities. On the other side, few migrants plan to return back as they feel homesick and discriminated at the driving forces for the migration.

CHAPTER VIII

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarises the discussions made in the earlier chapters. Secondly, it presents a brief note on the analysis and findings arrived at so far using different methods and techniques. In the end, this chapter provides probable recommendations of the study. The present study attempts to assess the livelihood sustainability of the Bihari migrant labourers in the two states of NER— Sikkim and Assam, chosen on the basis of peaceful and conflict-ridden states respectively. To answer the objectives set, besides primary and secondary data, a few case studies have been included. The specific questions which we strived to answer in this study are:

a) What are the major factors for the Bihari labourers to migrate to two states of NER?

b) Have the armed conflicts and anti-immigration movements of the locals at the destination really been deterring factors for the Bihari migrants?

c) What are the factors that enhanced livelihood sustainability of the Bihari migrant labourers in NER?

There are eight chapters in this study including the present one. Chapter one contains the introduction, the background of the Bihari migrant labourers, rationale of the study and the specific objectives. Second chapter presents the theoretical background and research gaps. The third chapter contains methodology of the study that includes area of the study, the sampling framework and methods in details. The next chapter (fourth chapter) is solely based on information gathered from the secondary sources. Using population census of India 1991 and 2001, the very chapter

highlights Bihari migrant labourers in Assam and Sikkim. The fifth chapter represents the socio-economic profile of the migrants and the findings of the first objective, which is to understand the reasons for migration to the two states. The sixth chapter contains the findings for the second objective, tries to understand the factors that enhanced the livelihood sustainability of the migrant labourers. The seventh chapter focuses on the quality of life of the Bihari migrants in both the states, and the eighth chapter wraps up with the summary and a few recommendations of the study.

8.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

For the sake of convenience, we would present the summary in four different parts. In the first part, we would present the background of the study and the rest three parts would cater the three specific questions set in this study.

As given in the literature, the major factors responsible for outmigration from the rural areas are the uneven development, inequalities among the regions and lack of employment opportunities. In general, migration has become one of the important livelihood strategies for individuals and households. Connecting to the reality, Bihar is the state in India where development deficit is very high, and because of the lack of economic opportunities, the labourers from the rural areas are bound to migrate to other states in order to improve their economic status. From the data and analysis made in the previous chapters, it is evident that migrants in Assam and Sikkim coming from the state of Bihar are generally male dominated in nature. It is also corroborated with the theories of migration discussed above that the male members of the low agricultural sector prefer to migrate from the state in search of livelihood. Research studies on the theme in different states have also manifested the extent of

migrants from Bihar. For instances, the Bihari migrants are found to be engaged in the informal sector like the construction workers, porters, rickshaw pullers, petty shop/pan shops, barber, etc., which are male dominated jobs. Majority of the migrants coming from Bihar seem to be dominated by the people belonging to the schedule caste and other backward classes. Negligible number of general social category of poor Bihari migrants are found at the destination, primarily to avoid stigma to engage in the blue collar jobs at the origin.

What we have understood from this study is that the migration, over the years, has slowly become a way of life for the rural people of Bihar. They have developed an instinct to move to different places to acquire basic necessities of life, so as to provide a better life to their family and children. While investigating the status and scenario of Bihari migrant labourers in Assam and Sikkim, of the all states of India, the highest number of interstate migrant labourers in Assam belonged to Bihar. It is more or less same in Sikkim that the Bihari migrant labourers in the state ranked the second highest after West Bengal. Despite odd circumstances like distance from home, conflicts, unwelcoming attitude of the local towards the migrants, poor labour laws, little apathy from the government, lack of facilities, etc. the Bihari migrant labourers have been living in NER. Economic factor is found to have been a dominant factor for migration. Other reasons like education, marriage, conflict at the origin, family problem, etc., are not so significant. The findings also show that most of the migrants belong to the working age group. Now, in order to understand the reasons very specifically behind the migration of the Bihari labourers, a primary survey method was used and the sub-reasons have been regrouped into push, pull and networking factors. The study found that out of the several factors responsible for the migration, the push factor was found to be dominating. Particularly looking at the

push factors that influenced Bihari labourers to migrate to Assam and Sikkim has been unemployment/joblessness and financial crisis at home. Under the push factor, insufficient income in the previous occupation, landlessness, natural calamities, problems with the society, discrimination by the upper castes have also been responsible for the migration. Of the third category, the network, it is found that the contacts developed with the friends and relatives at Assam and Sikkim who had already migrated before has also been a major factor for migration. Rural Bihari underemployed people are influenced by their friends and relatives who had already migrated to NER before to take a decision to leave rural hardship and follow them for a better life. They generally provide information about the place and numerous job opportunities at the destination.

In totality, it is the push factor that dominates over the pull and network factors in making the rural Bihari unemployed/underemployed people to migrate. From the analysis above we can arrive at a judgement that the conditions at the destination do not necessarily impact the decision of the migrants while choosing the place to migrate. The migrants hardly bother/care about the conflicts that take place at the destination, especially in Assam because they are driven by economic opportunity at the destination. As long as the place attracts them with employment opportunities and provide them better livelihood they do not bother about the attitude of the local and difficulties at the destination. Saving and remittances are the importance components of the migrants and migration study. Therefore, migrants tend to maximize savings so that they can send more money to home and it makes them work harder at the destination.

Sustaining lives at a place other than their native/origin is a difficult task. During the survey the sample migrants allude over the importance of savings in their lives. They tend to maximize the savings so that they can send maximum portion of the savings back at home and it acts as a major force to make the migrants sustain their lives at destination despite of all their hardships. As per the findings, average monthly savings of migrants in Sikkim is higher than that of the Bihari migrants in Assam. Along with the savings, on an average, monthly income and monthly expenditure is also higher in Sikkim than that of the Bihari migrants in Assam. So, in that sense, the migrants living in Sikkim have greater sustainability than the migrants living in Assam. Particularly, looking at factors that influenced savings, it was found that those who earn more are able to save more and hence able to sustain their lives at destination in a better way. The social category of a migrant also impacts their sustenance at destination. The self-employed migrants were found to save more and sustained their lives better than that of the casual labourers or monthly wage earning migrants. Literacy or education has a positive impact on livelihood sustainability. Understandably, the literate ones are able to save more than the illiterates. In a similar manner, all other variables like years of migration, migrant's fixed employment status and those are willing to continue their stay in future are more able to sustain their lives at destination. Variables like increase in member in the family leads to lower savings and makes the migrants less sustainable at destination. Further, we understand that the aged migrants or a person with higher age, age above 50, is unwillingness to stay at destination. It has also been reported in many studies that ageing does have an impact on migrant's decision to continue to stay at the destination. For instance, older people are willing to stay closer with his family and people. Knowing local language also helps a migrant to sustain his life at destination in an improved way. Years of

migration is a substitute for experience and can also measure how accustomed a person is with a place. Despite of higher savings and income, it was plausible that around 67.5 percent of the respondents were willing to continue their stay in Assam where as 58.66 percent of the respondents are willing to continue their stay in Sikkim. In that case another important factor to make the migrants sustain their lives at destination is the income difference which acts as one of the main driving forces. By higher income difference we mean the difference in income at origin (earnings at the time of departure at origin) and destination. Another important factor is the percentage of savings to the total income, Bihari migrants in Assam save around 43.06 percent of the total income which is 38.60 percent for the Bihari migrants in Sikkim. Hence, the higher income difference and percentage of savings makes the Bihari migrants sustain in Assam easily.

Last but not the least, we intended to compare and contrast the livelihood condition (Quality of Life) of these migrant labourers between the conflict-ridden state– Assam and the relatively peaceful state– Sikkim. We tried to understand the condition of Bihari migrant labourers by using several parameters like per capita expenditure on different items. We found that the average per capita expenditure of the migrants in Sikkim is found to be more than that of the Assam. Comparing the mean of monthly expenditure on different items gave us an idea about standard of living of the migrants. We found that the mean of monthly expenditure on almost all the item in Sikkim was found to be more than that of the Assam. As discussed in the previous chapter that the quality of life is a very subjective concept, we tried to understand it from many aspects like economic condition, which include work status, condition of the job, etc. Along with it, the personal factors (like condition of health and facilities etc.), social factors (social relationship of the migrant with family and

locals etc), and physical factors which include type of housing, locality and different type of assets they own have also been included. The labour migrants staying at destination have different assets and facilities.

In order to understand quality of life in detail, they were observed from different dimensions and each dimension is represented by a set of variable. A composite index gave us to gauge overall crux of all the four dimensions. From the finding, we conclude that the overall composite index of Sikkim is higher than Assam. In particular, the self-employed migrants have better composite index score (higher the score better the life) than the daily wage earners and manual labourers in both the states. It was concluded that over the years, there is increase in the overall index value. All the dimensions perform better for the migrants staying for longer duration vis-a-vis the shorter duration. So, based on the composite index value, we conclude that migrants in Sikkim have a better quality of life. Secondly, the self employed migrants have better quality of life than the daily wage labourers and manual labourer in both states. Understandably, the quality of life of migrant increases as their period of stay increases at the destinations. The study used two widely used psychological scales, which measure migrants' own perception regarding their quality of life or well being. The scales are the subjective indictors used in several studies to assess individuals' perception of the conditions of their lives and their satisfaction with such conditions. The scores of the two scales support the same conclusion like the composite index value. We found that the migrants in Sikkim are more satisfied with their life and happier than the migrants in Assam.

As of now what we understand is that in spite of all the adverse conditions stated above and political conflicts prevailing in Assam, Bihari migrants are still

willing to continue their stay in the state, estimated at 69 per cent of the respondent in the stat. Whereas, in Sikkim, which is considered to be one of the most peaceful states in the country, only 58 per cent of the respondents are willing to stay longer in the state. This indicates that the state of Assam is relatively a better place for earning for the Bihari migrant labourers. From this we can draw a conclusion that Bihari migrants are primarily driven by the economic factors. For Bihari migrants what matters the most is the income they earn and send to the family members at home. The argument is underpinned by the fact that the percentage of savings to total the income is more in Assam (43 percent) than those of the Bihari migrants in Sikkim (38 percent). In simpler terms, Bihari migrant labourers save more portion of their income and can remit more in Assam vis-a-vis Sikkim.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The migrant labourers belong to the lowest rung of the society and their problems are often ignored. There have been several incidences of violence against the Bihari migrant workers in many parts of India like Maharashtra, Karnataka and particularly in Assam. In the absence of willing workforce, to do the menial and blue collared jobs, the Bihari migrants have stepped in to fill the demand. There is no doubt that Bihari migrants have gained certainly in terms of economic benefits, but they fail when it comes to social benefits. We need to understand that the Bihari migrants cannot be compared to the illegal migrants (Bangladeshi migrants in certain parts of India). As a matter of human rights and constitutional rights, violence should not be involved. The constitution of India guarantees the citizens, the freedom to move freely and reside without restrictions in any part of the country. If the local people and politicians are not in favour of entertaining the outsiders, they can use certain

mechanism to restrict them but using physical and verbal abuse should not be a solution.

The Bihari migrant labourers and migrants involved in the informal sector are merely considered as floating population, there is no official record where they get registered. They do not have the access to many basic facilities like ration card and other benefits which locals enjoy. As an inclusive society, there is need to address the problems of this very section of the society.

Since mostly the push factors are responsible for the migration of people from rural Bihar, the issue needs to be addressed by the policy makers and politicians from the origin side. The inadequate employment opportunities in Bihar and lagged agriculture should be the initial focus. Given the limited scope of the agriculture sector, other allied activities like horticulture, dairy farming etc. could be encouraged to supplement the primary sector in Bihar. The policy makers and concerned officials can focus on the agro-based industries as there lays huge potential in the respective field which requires less finance and tend to be highly labour intensive.

Since many migrants reported to be landless and poverty stricken, they are forced to migrate in other places. The state government of Bihar could practice proper implementation of government programmes like Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana, and National Rural Employment Programme etc. so that the migrants can sustain themselves and their family.

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APPENDIX

Sikkim University
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(The information sought through this questionnaire is purely for the purpose of PhD dissertation)

Livelihood Sustainability of Migrant Labourers from Bihar in North East India: A Comparative Study of Assam and Sikkim

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Interview Schedule for Labour Migrants

Date of Interview:	Serial No. :
Place:	Mobile No. of the respondent-

A. Demographic Section:

1) Name :

2) Age :

3) Marital Status : (1-Married & 2-Unmarried)

4) Caste: (1- General; 2- ST; 3- SC & 4-OBC)

5) Religion: (1-Hindu; 2- Muslim; 3-Sikh & 4-Christian)

6) a. Occupation : b. No. of hours of work:

d. Occupation before migration: e. No. of hours of work:

(1- Self employed; 2- Daily wage labour; 3- Manual labour)

7) Educational Level.

(1- Illiterate, 2- Primary (1st to 5th), 3- Secondary (6th to 10th) , 4- Higher secondary (11th &12th), 5- Diploma/Vocational degree, 6- Degree)

8) Knowledge of local language (1- Understand; 2- speak; 3-Donot understand)

9) Place of origin (1 rural, 2 urban) :

10) Income generating property at home: ... (1- No; 2- agricultural land; 3- Building/shop)

11) When did you migrate? ..... (months/years)

12) Stay at present? ..... (1-alone, 2- family, 3- Co-worker, 4- with employer)

13) Are you the main bread earner in the family: ... (1- Yes; 2- No)

14) Household details Only dependent family members (Excluding Children who are dependent)

	Relationship to self	Occupation	Sex	Age	Place of stay
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					

(Note: Codes for occupation: - Self employed; 2- Daily wage labour; 3- Manual labour; 4- not employed
Codes for sex are 1- female; 2- male.
Place of stay codes- 1- at destination; 2- at native; 3-others)

15) No. of children in the family:

16) School/College goers?

17) Type of Schooling/College of the wards? ..... (1-Private, 2- Government)

18) Expenditure Details of the Respondent (In the last 30 days) :

	Name of the Item	**Expenditure in Rupees**
1	Food +beverages	
2	Housing+ Electricity/ Gas/ fuel wood	
3	Telephone/ stationary/Footwear/clothing	
4	Education (Wards)	
5	Health & medicines	

6	Beedi/ cigarette and intoxicants	
7	Recreational activities	

C. Details on Migration:

19) *Motivational Aspects of Migration:*

Factors responsible for migration, indicate according to priority (1st, 2nd, 3rd)

i)	Landlessness at home.	
ii)	Jobless at home (job in the village or in the neighbouring areas).	
iii	Financial crisis at home.	
iv	Inadequate income in the previous occupation.	
v)	For higher social status (status quo)	
vi	Impressed by the city life.	
vi	Friends and relatives.	
vi	Any other, specify	

20) a) Previous migration (if any) other than this present one? (1-yes; 2-No)

b) If yes, where and why did you leave that place?

Reason for leaving:

21) What image of "here" you had in mind before you reached this city? Select from the following factors (1st, 2nd and 3rd points) :

	Getting a job would be easy here.	
	Getting a better job than previous one would be easy here.	
	Expecting better support from friends and relatives here.	
	Good city to stay	
	Any other, please specify.	

22) How did you come here? (1-Single; 2-Friends; 3-Relatives; 4-Through Agents(alone) & 5-Through agents(in group))

23) Frequency of sending money? (1-Monthly; 2- once in two months; 3- more than once a year; 4- whenever demanded.

24) How do you send the money (medium)?

(1-Money Order; 2-Banking transfers; 3- e- banking 4- personally; 5- through friends and relatives 6-any other, mention)

25) How often do you visit your native place? ..... (1-Every month, 2-Once in three months,3- Once in 6 months,4- Once in a year,5-Occasionally)

E. Livelihood sustainability:

Economic/Financial indicators

26) Savings per month-

27) Work Status (Fixed Income Job -1; Daily Wage - 2; Weekly Wage -3; Monthly Wage - 4; Variable Income -5)

28) Unavailability of job/income in a month (1: No; 2: 0-5 days; 3: 5-10 days; 4: More than 10 days)

29) Changed job per year after coming here?

30) a) Amount of debts/ loan? b) source of loan:

c) how many days:

d) Have you repaid any of your debt with the income earned at the destination (0- no; 1- yes, a part of the debt; 2- yes, fully)

31) Do you hold a bank account- (0-no, 1- yes, opened before coming here 2-yes, opened after coming here)

32) How many bandh/strikes faced and that stopped work in a month?..... 1-never; 2- sometimes; 3-often

33) Change in job/employer/place because of late or irregular payment- (1-Yes; 2- No)

34) Insurance/ LIC /post office savings/ Or any other -

Human/ personal dimension

35) Because of the nature of the job, do you face irregularity in taking meal? ... (1- Never; 2- sometimes; 3- often)

36) Are you on any kind of regular medication here (diabetes or any kind of chronic disease)? ... (1- no; 2- Yes)

37) How many times have you fallen sick in the past 30 days?

38) What do you do if you fall sick? ..... (1-self medication; 2- govt hospital or clinic; 3- private clinic)

39) Accessibility to a health service? (5 likart scale)

40) Time allocation throughout the day:

	Activity	Hours
1	Work	
2	Household work if any	
3	Spending time with friends and family	
4	TV/ sports/ or any other recreational activity	
5	Sleep	
6	Others, if any	

41) Do You Read/ Listen/ Watch news? ..... (1-Yes; 2- No)

42) How many times in a month you go for movies, plays, meet a friend/relative or any kind of recreational activity?

Social/ Political dimension

43) Contact with family left at origin....

1. Daily
2. 2-3 times a week
3. few times in a month
4. monthly

44) Do you have local friends(apart from native): (1-No; 2-Yes)

45) Are you a member of any occupational union- (1-Yes; 0-No)

46) Are you a member of any social organization-

47) Possibility of seeking help in time of crisis- (1-employer; 2- union; 3- friends or relatives from native; 4- local friends)

48) Do you attend any kind of meeting or awareness programme? (1-Yes; 0- No)

49) Trust Scale:

a) Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

- Most people can be trusted
- can't be too careful

b) Would you say that most of the time, people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

- Try to be helpful
- Look out for themselves.

c) Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

- Take advantage
- Try to be fair

Physical Dimension

50) Nature of accommodation: (1-Rented, 2-Provided free by the employer, 3- stray; 4- temporary arrangement)

51) Type of accommodation (1- dormitory, 2- flat, 3- Bed and breakfast accommodation, 4-Caravan or other temporary dwelling)

52) Cleanliness in the neighbourhood? 5-Strongly satisfied 4-satisfied 3-neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 2- dissatisfied 1- strongly dissatisfied

53) Toilet facility - **(**1- open 2-Katcha independent, 3-katcha shared; 4 – pucca independent; 5- pucca shared)

54) Kitchen facility (0- no, shared-1 independent-2)

55) Electricity- (1-Yes; 0- No)

56) Source of drinking water- **(**1-tap water**;** 2- river or stream; 3- open well; 4- Tube well)

57) How do you cook food? (1- wood fire; 2-kerosene oil stove; 3-induction ; 4-LPG)

58) Owner ship of productive or other assets at the destination-

Sl. No.	Asset	Nos.	Present market value
1	Recreation (Television/radio/music system)		
2	Household and kitchen durables(LPG/iron/ almirah/ mixer grinder/Refrigerator) score 0 if not any		
3	Mobile		
4	Bicycle		
5	Motor vehicle		

59) Willingness or plan to stay in Future-

F. Quality of Life:

General Happiness Scale (GHS):

Instructions: please circle the point on the scale that you feel is most appropriate in describing you.

1. In general, I consider myself:

not a very happy person 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 a very happy person

2. Compared to most of my peers, I consider myself:

Less happy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 more happy

3. Some people are generally very happy. They enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. To what extent does this characterization describe you?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 a great deal

4. Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extend does this characterization describe you?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 a great deal

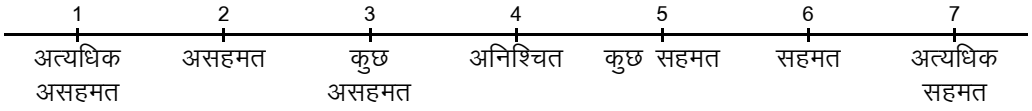
Satisfaction with Life Scale

(जीवन संतुष्टि मापनी)

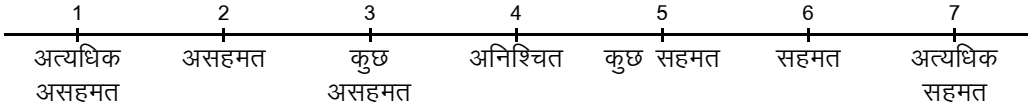
निर्देशः

नीचे पॉच कथन दिये हुए है जिनसे आप सहमत या असहमत हो सकते है। 1–7 अंक मापनी (Scale) का उपयोग करते हुए कृपया बताये कि इन कथनों से आप किस सीमा तक सहमत है। कृपया सभी कथनों के उत्तर दें। आपके उत्तर पूर्णतया गोपनीय रखे जायेगे।

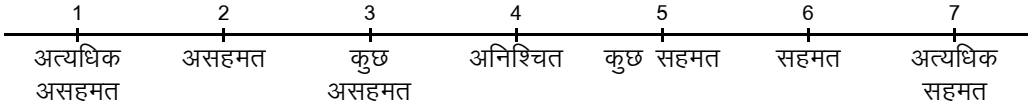
1. अधिकतर मायनों में मेरा जीवन लगभग मेरे आदर्श (Ideal) जीवन के करीब है।



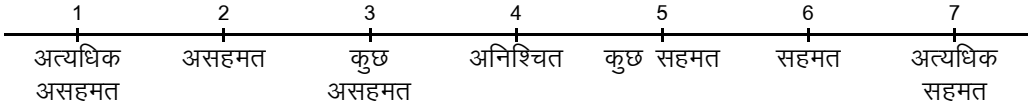
2. मेरे जीवन की परिस्थितियां उत्तम (Excellent) है।



3. मै अपनें जीवन से संतुष्ट हूँ।



4. मैने जीवन में अभी तक जिन चीजों की इच्छा की है वे मुझे मिली है।



5. यदि मैं अपना पूरा जीवन जी सका/सकी तो मैं उसमें लगभग कोई परिवर्तन नहीं करूँगा/करूँगी।