“There is a fast-growing literature on the causes and consequences of migration within developing countries. Madleina’s study is based on rich empirical material derived from in-depth fieldwork, combined with multi-disciplinary and highly original analytical methods. Her study makes a significant contribution to the literature in this important area of academic research. It enriches the debate among academics, policy-makers and NGOs, on internal migration in developing countries.”

–Professor Peter Nolan, Founding Director, Centre of Development Studies, University of Cambridge and Director, China Centre, Jesus College, Cambridge, UK

“Migration, Development and Social Change in the Himalayas is a rich book, both in its challenging ideas of contemporary forms of migration and a vivid ethnography of a multi-caste village in the Himalayan state of Uttarakhand in India. Embracing an interdisciplinary, multi-theoretical approach, it drives home the multidimensionality and interconnectedness of various forms of migratory movements. At the same time it addresses deep intergenerational legacies of socio-economic relations and emergent inequalities. Most noteworthy is its contribution to a new perspective on the ‘left behind’ in Migration Studies. The book will be an important reading for scholars across many disciplines, development workers and policy makers.”

–Professor Ramila Bisht, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

“One very important feature of Dr Madleina Daehnhardt’s research, among others, is the incorporation of immobility and non-migration into the field of human migration. By highlighting the dynamics of movers and non-movers alike, she develops a comprehensive field of study where no one is left out, contributing to enriching the understanding of the migration phenomenon. Indeed, the socio-economic reasons for not moving are clearly understated in the policy discourse and hopefully this study will change the ways migration is analysed and studied in the future.”

–Marina Faetanini, Section Chief, Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO New Delhi, India
This book teases out the reasons for, and the socio-economic impacts of, different types of migration on contemporary rural households and individuals. The author creatively depicts the dynamic microcosm of one village in the North Indian Kumaon Himalayas, near the border with Chinese Tibet, giving voice to the life stories of a range of migrants. Through this ethnography, migration is revealed as a fundamental part of the multifaceted 21st-century changes which the village is experiencing.

From elderly women, to unemployed men, young farm women and local children, the book demonstrates how village life is continually constituted socially and economically by overlapping migration patterns – including out-migration, return migration, in-migration and even non-migration. Extending the argument, the author demonstrates that the village microcosm is linked to many other villages which are microcosms in their own right as well as in relation to the main village across a spatial hierarchy.

The theoretical implications of the study are teased out to inform our understanding of rural-urban migration trends and impacts more generally, and as such the book will be of interest to researchers of the South Asian region but also of internal migration in the global context.

**Madleina Daehnhardt**, PhD, is currently Tutor in International Development at the Institute of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge, and Research Advisor at the relief and development NGO Tearfund. Whilst carrying out the village study presented in this book (2015–2016), she was based at the Centre of Development Studies, Cambridge, and affiliated at the Centre for Public Policy at Doon University in Dehradun, Uttarakhand.
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For Dr R.S. and Manju Tolia in deep gratitude for their kindness
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**Author reflections on the village study process**

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Most academic research and international policy discourse has centred on transnational migration while the implications of internal migration for development have been inadequately explored. This oversight is grave given that internal migration involves far more people than transnational migration does. Meanwhile, in most literature on internal migration, the lens is on the migrants and the cities, while the rural regions and sending communities have received much less attention. Moreover, when rural regions do receive attention, the analysis often entails quantitative evaluations of economic aspects, such as the ‘impacts’ of remittances and labour reallocations on productivity or on income stratification, while the softer aspects of changing social relations are seldom explored. My experience of researching the impact of migration on the transformation of rural economies and societies has thus far concentrated on China. When I was invited to read Madleina Daehnhardt’s manuscript on a village called Tejam in the mountains of North India, Uttarkhand, I was intrigued. Research in different countries on internal migration from a rural vantage point is crucially important for scholars and policy-makers to understand how urbanisation and capital accumulation strategies transform the rural regions at least as much as the cities. This is especially true in the continent of Asia where much rural-urban migration takes place.

Detailed micro-studies of rural communities such as this book’s cast fresh light on the salience of historical, cultural, social and geographic context for how migration unfolds and intersects with other concurrent dynamics of transformation. Indeed, the multifaceted elucidation of context is one of this book’s outstanding features. An understanding of the context was achieved by the author residing in Tejam for several months, while sharing accommodation with the resident female Basic Health Worker and primary school teacher, and by visiting each and every household in the village. Daehnhardt takes her readers to the heart of Tejam village and its families. Village residents’ insights are captured in verbatim quotes from painstakingly recorded and transcribed interviews which are a particular feature of the book. Drawing on a trove of historical documents, family photos and oral histories, the author provides a finely grained analysis of the village’s historical migration patterns; the implications of the shut-down of the border with Chinese Tibet for handicrafts,
trade and livelihoods for different castes and for inter-caste relations; the impact of the decline of hill farming on different villagers’ livelihoods; and changes in educational provisioning and rising educational aspirations within the village for boys and girls from different family backgrounds and for their families’ migration strategies. Concurrently, she positions Tejam within its wider regional and national context, explaining the social and economic relationships that connect Tejam with the microcosms of other villages situated within a hierarchy of places, and with wider national trends.

A second strength of the book is its meticulous teasing out of heterogeneity in how villagers participate in migration, and the implications for their lives. Indeed, this book marks a departure from most conventional studies of migration in the global South that look at outmigration or return migration or in-migration as the lynchpin of the migration-development nexus. Instead, Daehnhardt sees these forms of migration as all constitutive of the village’s ‘dynamic microcosm’. This book is also novel in its attention to a typology of migration that has been overlooked in the migration literature and in the literature on agrarian change: migration for government service jobs. Chiefly, almost half of the migrants from the fieldwork site of Tejam moved to other places to work in government jobs, schools, the police and the military, and thereby pursued a state-supported track for migration, a track that also bestowed retirees with pensions, enabling them to later live a decent life in the village as returnees.

In exploring different types of migration in Tejam, a third strength of this book comes to the fore. Namely, Daehnhardt talked with villagers of different caste and class backgrounds; different generations; and both genders. She closely observed their daily lives. Moreover, she invited adults and children to represent their own experiences and memories through family trees, photos and drawings. While Daenhnhardt does not engage with the literature on ‘intersectionality’, her book is exemplary in illustrating intersectionality in practice, demonstrating how within one place, different individuals’ experiences of migration varied by their ‘social location’ comprising their caste, family class background, family structure, migration status, occupation, gender, marital status, generation, age, and education level.

Fourthly, this book offers original insights into the meanings of immobility in a migratory context. The concept of ‘left behind’ holds wide currency in the migration studies literature, where it often connotes people’s vulnerability and lack of agency, but the concept has recently become subject to critique. Daehndardt contributes to this critique by using cases from her fieldwork to reflect on who is really left-behind in villagers’ wider pursuit of social mobility regardless of whether or not this pursuit of social mobility also entails geographic mobility. Specifically, she explains that some non-migrants in Tejam were well-supported by remittances from public sector wages as well as family networks, and were better off than some ‘distress’ migrants. Conversely, Daehndardt interviewed young men who would not farm and did not have the education or social networks necessary for finding an urban job. Hence,
these men did not even have the luxury of making their labour available for exploitation, while seemingly remaining stuck in a space of continuous rural unemployment and inertia.

Finally, this book is noteworthy in using its rich data about villagers of different ‘social locations’ to grapple with contradictions prevalent in a disparate body of theoretical literature on the migration–development nexus. Specifically, Daehnhardt goes beyond highlighting that migration is so multi-faceted and ‘messy’ that it defies explanation by a unitary conceptual model. Rather she deftly ties diverse theoretical positions prevalent in the migration studies literature to the heterogeneous migration practices and effects that she observed among different individuals and families in Tejam. Yet even as migration defies a neat conceptual framework, Daehnhardt’s analysis nevertheless enables her to offer some valuable unequivocal insights. These include that migration is an endogenous source of rural transformation shaped by historical legacies; that intergenerational endowments of knowledge and social capital undergirding certain migration patterns feed into ongoing patterns of advantage and disadvantage; and that education is one of the most potent forces shaping evolving patterns of migration as well as concomitant changes in social relations.

This meticulously-researched book will reward readers with both its lively new empirical examples to support long-standing arguments about the migration–development nexus, and its new conceptual insights into how social scientists should think about and research the migration–development nexus.

Rachel Murphy
Professor of Chinese Development and Society
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The creation of this book has benefited greatly from the help of many, and I can only acknowledge a selection of individuals and organisations here who I wish to thank specifically.

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In Haldwani and Almora, two professionals deserve particular mention for their great contributions. Hindi transcriptions of my recorded interviews were prepared in painstaking detail and great accuracy by Umesh Dalakoti in Almora. Ashok Pande in Haldwani supplied Hindi-English translations of interview manuscripts. The excellent quality of verbatim transcripts and English translations rests on the shoulders of these individuals, and their contribution to the quality of the book is immense. Umesh also needs to be credited for helping with the digital image production of the family trees. I thank Professor N.C. Dhoundiyal and Dr S.A. Hamid at Kumaun University for the most helpful introductions.

The research presented in this book is part of a much longer journey, and there is no space to mention all key figures here. All I wish to say is that I am immensely thankful for everyone who in one way or another enabled me to write this book. Responsibility for the representations portrayed here of course remains with me alone.
Abbreviations

APL  above poverty line
BHW  Basic Healthcare Worker
BJP  Bharatiya Janata Party, can be translated as ‘Indian People’s Party’
BADP  Border Area Development Programme. https://badp.mha.gov.in/#
BPL  below poverty line
BSF  Border Security Force
CHIRAG  Central Himalayan Rural Action Group, http://chirag.org/
GREF  General Reserve Engineer Force
HGVS  Himalayan Gram Vikas Samiti (Himalayan Rural Development Society), http://hgvsindia.org/
ITBP  Indian Tibetan Border Police
MGNREGA  Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, www.nrega.nic.in
NGO  non-governmental organisation
NREGA  National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (short for MGNREGA)
OBC  Other Backward Castes
PWD  Public Works Department
SC  Scheduled Castes
ST  Scheduled Tribes
Glossary for terms in Hindi and Indian English

**atta**  Wheat flour used for making *chapatti* (Indian flatbreads).

**compounder**  Refers to the role of pharmacist.

**fourth class**  *Fourth class staff* refers to the lowest level of government staff appointed by the Government of India or a state government. Public employees are grouped from class (or group) I–IV (or A–D). Group I (or A) is the highest rank and group IV (or D) is the lowest. Group IV include manual semi-skilled workers, such as peons, watchmen and sweepers.

**gram panchayat**  Literally ‘village assembly or village jury’: the lowest form of local self-governing body on village level. The *gram panchayat* is a small body whose members are elected for a term of five years.

**gram sabha**  Literally ‘village assembly’: a *gram sabha* refers to the administrative body consisting of all persons (above the age 18) whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the *panchayat* at the village level.

**harijan**  Literal translation: child of Hari/Vishnu. The term was popularised by Mahatma Gandhi referring to the traditionally considered ritually unclean groups. Both the terms *Dalit* and *Harijan* can have condescending tones. The official neutral term is SC for Scheduled Castes or *Shilpkars*, referring to the professional artisan status of these groups.

**Himmotthan**  Himmotthan Society is an NGO sponsored by Sir Ratan Tata Trust, to work intensively in the Central Himalayan region. Its mission is to build sustainable mountain communities. [www.himmotthan.in/](http://www.himmotthan.in/)

**hotel**  The word *hotel* is used referring to a restaurant, small cafe or eatery, not a place of accommodation.

**kitchen garden**  Small plot of land next to own house where seasonal vegetables are grown (i.e. vegetable and herb garden for own use).

**lakh**  A unit in the Indian numbering system equal to one hundred thousand (100,000).

**Malla Johar**  High Himalayan upper Johar (as opposed to the lower Johar region *Talla Johar*, where Tejam is located)

**market**  Market refers to the commercial centre of a place, which can be a line of shops rather than an open market.
nali  A land measuring unit local to Uttarakhand. One nali equals approx. 200 square metres and one hectare of land equals 50 naliks.

pahari  Pahari languages (from pahar for mountain) refer to a range of Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the lower ranges of the Himalayas, including the Indian states of Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir. Various dialects of Kumauni, a central Pahari language, are spoken in the study village area.

pashmina  Also spelt Pashmeena: a fine type of cashmere wool which comes from distinct breeds of the Cashmere goat.

pradhan  Refers to village head (gram pradhan); literal translations: ‘major’, ‘prime’, ‘chief’ and ‘leader’.

Puja  Puja (alternatively spelt pooja) is a prayer ritual in Hinduism, the act of showing reverence to deities. This is expressed through worship or a spiritual celebration of an event or life stage conducted in the home or temple. Literal translation from Sanskrit: reverence, honour, adoration.

shilpkar  Literal translation: craftsmen. A generic and neutral (i.e. not derogatory) term referring to the Scheduled Castes in Uttarakhand, i.e. the castes traditionally considered as ritually unclean and untouchable. These include skilled artisans, performers, musicians, dancers, tailors, sweepers and scavengers, etc. Shilpkar surnames in the study village are Ram and Arya (the latter for unmarried Ram).

subedar  A rank in the Indian Army ranking below commissioned officers (i.e. junior commissioned officers).

Talla Johar  Lower Johar region (as opposed to upper Johar region Malla Johar)

tehsil  Administrative division (revenue unit) above village level and below district level which is over 200 years old. A tehsil may contain several blocks (modern administrative unit focusing on development activities). Because Munsyari tehsil and Munsyari block are identical, these terms are used interchangeably.

Timepass  The Indian English expression of describing the act of passing time in an aimless or unproductive way referring to chronic and fruitless waiting characterised by aimlessness and ennui, commonly practised by young men in limbo. Craig Jeffrey had published a book with the same title studying the phenomenon further; see Jeffery, C. 2010. Timepass. Youth, class, and the politics of waiting in India. (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

Thakur  Thakur literally means lord or master and is traditionally a feudal title. In the zamindari system, Thakurs were landlords. In the study village, the terms Thakurs and Zamindars (landowners, aristocrats) are used interchangeably to refer to residents belonging to the general castes (i.e. effectively Rajputs, some of whom are nowadays classified as Other Backward Castes).

Uttarakhand Gramin Bank  Name of rural bank in Uttarakhand (gramin meaning rural). ‘The main objective behind the establishment of the Bank was to provide banking facilities in rural areas and provide financial assistance
particularly to small, marginal farmers, landless labourers and other weaker sections’.

**Zamindar**  Zamindar refers to the land-owning nobility in the Indian subcontinent who often leased their land to tenant farmers, a system referred to as the *zamindari system*.
Introduction

Multidimensional dynamics of the village microcosm

Studying the changing livelihoods and social worlds as perceived by the residents of one village reveals some of the fundamental 21st-century shifts that even remote mountain villages are undergoing. The study, which is situated in the North Indian Kumaun Himalayas of Uttarakhand bordering Chinese Tibet, depicts what I term the ‘dynamic microcosm’ of one Himalayan village as seen through the lens of human migration. Village life is constantly being re-shaped socially and economically by overlapping patterns of movements. The purpose of the book is to tease out and analyse reasons for, and uncover the socio-economic impacts of, different types of migration on contemporary rural households and individuals. Four different types of intertwining movements are analysed in depth: out-migration, non-migration, return migration and in-migration. An examination of these manifold types of movement in relation to development outcomes casts an important light on how movements affect the socio-economic aspects of village life, as well as social relations and inequalities, in the North Indian study context. The story, which unravels in the course of the book, highlights the multidimensional nature of migration and change as experienced in the dynamic microcosm of the village. The study reveals that the village microcosm is linked to many other surrounding villages through interconnected socio-spatial movements. These villages are themselves dynamic microcosms in their own right, shedding light on dynamics of mountain development.

Contributions of the study

Migration studies have tended to focus on migrants in urban receiving ends, whilst more recently the sending source has been studied from the perspective of return migration or the ‘left behind’. In this introductory section I reflect on the main contributions of the book to the field and position its findings within it. Overall, this book offers a unique contribution by employing a rural angle in the comprehensive study of movements in all directions. This approach marks a departure from conventional studies of internal migration, which tend to look at
either rural-urban labour out-migration or urban-rural return migration within the migration-development nexus. Movements from, to and back to the village, and their interconnections in the study of development and social change, are crucial. A comprehensive approach to the study of movement is accompanied by a rethinking of who is ‘left behind’ and why, leading to reflect on the nature and implications of non-movement and to a detailed study of the ‘non-movers’, that is, those households who stay. Consequently, a fresh perspective on the ‘left behind’ is offered. In the traditional sense, this group cannot be classified as homogenous because different types of migration, depending on occupation (government/private sector/labour) and migration length (permanent/long-term/seasonal) have different impacts on the left behind elderly and left behind wives. What is most staggering, however, is that the men who never migrate for work but remain in the village, being largely underemployed and uninterested in farming, can be considered the group most left behind in socio-economic terms. They are somewhat trapped in the village, let down by a fast-growing economy which has failed to create employment opportunities for them. The book makes a case for a more nuanced rethinking of existing categories, including a more careful consideration of immobility within migration studies, which entails an analysis of reasons for non-movement and consequences for village households. The overall purpose of the book is to offer a more comprehensive perspective on movements and mobility, the lack thereof, and the consequent multidimensional socio-economic impacts as well as inter-linkages with rural societal change.

Conventional approaches to the study of labour migration focus on economic reasons and the impact of remittances and return migration. However, giving texture to factors other than income-related reasons for people to move is also crucial. The linkage between migration and the pursuit of quality education is undoubtedly strong. The impact of the growth in educational aspirations for children and the rising status and education of daughters-in-law on rural changes are shown to be intertwined with migration and heterogeneous intra- and inter-familial effects. Interlinked with migration for education is the consequent bureaucratic government employment route accessible to one section of the village in particular, the Johari Shauka (Bhotiya tribe) residents. This migration stream presents an interesting case study quite apart from the mainstream literature on internal labour migration for manufacturing and the informal service sector. In the study village, a substantial number of the migrants move to work in government jobs, including schools, the police and the military. The result is an emerging class formation which the literature on migration and agrarian change has overlooked.

The experimental methods approach taken provides a further methodological contribution to the field. A contemporary ethnographic village study, the book is based on empirical fieldwork conducted in 2015–2016. The book makes use of rich primary sources collected by the author during extended village residency. These include a full village survey covering all 148 households; in-depth interview material showing intergenerational perspectives on
inequality; the teasing out of the multiple dimensions of women’s experiences across caste, class and migration patterns based on participant observation and women’s diary entries; and a collection of original family trees indicating differences among retirees by family migration histories. The family genealogies, drawn with the help of several extended families residing in the village, clearly illustrate the inter-generational changes in residency and occupations within the different social groups. Verbatim quotes and original excerpts are used to illustrate key arguments throughout, as well as photo documentation and artwork produced by children residing in the village. Visual materials range from old photographs of families and archival photos of the region to my own contemporary photographs and topical drawings produced by resident children. These arts-based tools offer multiple self-recognition aspects into the community and supplement verbal communication. Prioritising the rural source perspective, voice is given to a wide range of village residents across age and gender in the telling of oral histories and life stories. These include different types of migrants, elderly men and women, unemployed and underemployed men, young farm women (who married into the village), children studying at the local school (who are potential future migrants), village heads (often return migrants) and local school teachers and government staff (mostly in-migrants). On account of the original nature of the fieldwork methods, I expand on the methods approach and offer personal reflections on the ethnographic process in a series of detailed appendices where I also include the bilingual survey and interview guidelines (see Appendices 1–7).

Contemporary global setting: mobility in agrarian societies

The study of the microcosm of one Indian Himalayan village sits in the wider global macro context of the migration-development nexus. Our current times are characterised by fundamental agrarian changes closely associated with out-migration. This century’s global rural-to-urban transition has resulted in what has been called ‘the largest peacetime movement in history’ (Murphy, 2002:1) associated with ‘one of the momentous changes of our time’ (Skeldon, 2006:16), manifested in a 20-fold increase in the number of people living in urban areas in the developing world within a century.¹ What has been referred to as ‘the great transformation’ (Breman, 2010:1) entails processes of fundamental change from primarily rural-agrarian to urban-industrial modes of life and work for more and more people globally. As lives become de-linked from farming, and non-farm opportunities for work increase and livelihoods correspondingly diversify, rural poverty also becomes increasingly de-linked from agricultural resources and land ownership (Rigg, 2006). Where cash incomes and remittances start to play a more important role in rural households, the balance of contribution to total household income shifts from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations, and farming may not be ‘the desired default position’ (Rigg, 2006:195) of rural households in agricultural areas any longer.
Migration impacts on rural households are complex and multidimensional. The significant contribution of internal rural labour migrants to the livelihoods and well-being of poor rural households through savings and remittances is one side of the coin. At the same time, highly complex social changes are taking place, which are much more difficult to grasp, let alone measure. Many previously predominantly rural lives are becoming more mobile and delocalised. In conjunction with occupational multiplicity and seasonality, more individualised livelihoods and the decomposition of households are observable, leading to an erosion of the extended family and community life as it was previously known (de Haan and Zoomers, 2003). As a consequence, the age-old social organisation of rural communities dissolves, and governments, communities and individuals face immense social changes. At the same time, new opportunities arise through internal rural-urban migration for work, which tends to not only bring forth deep-seated changes in rural household economics but also changing aspirations of young people in farm households. Attitudes toward farming among young people mark a stark departure from that of their parents and grandparents. These are accompanied by unprecedented opportunities for social mobility through education alongside new class formations and identities among young people.

Given these complexities, their possible different interpretations, and the implications for those living in contemporary rural societies characterised by out-migration, the differentiated study of the multidimensional processes and effects of internal migration is an important contribution to the migration literature. The comparative neglect of research on internal migration is striking. Despite having less visibility, internal migration occurs in much higher volumes than international cross-border migration, and the majority of critical migration-development links occur domestically rather than through international migration (Murphy, 2006:289; UNDP, 2009). An in-depth case study of internal migration, development and social change is thus vitally relevant to the ongoing migration-development debate.

**Conceptual setting: migration, development and social change**

Development is a concept with myriad possible definitions and interpretations. The ideas underlying this book are most closely associated with concepts of human development and inclusive growth. Human development approaches (HDA) emphasise that development has to be understood beyond per capita income growth (Sen, 1999). One key concern with traditional economic approaches is that per capita income growth often does not lead to inclusive growth, which includes the poorer sections of society (Qizilbash, 2006). Inclusive growth takes equity in health, schooling, environmental quality, social protection and so forth into account (Hasmath, 2015). From the very beginning, HDA have been concerned with social justice and the multidimensionality of well-being, viewing human beings as ends rather than means (Haq, 1995).
Rather than juxtaposing human development against economic development, they should be seen as mutually reinforcing. Human development and economic development have two-way linkages because economic diversification often leads to an increase in other choices: stimulation of a virtuous cycle in an upward spiral of development can be the result (Ranis, 2006). In this process, the intersection of material and non-material changes is an important link. Material changes such as the availability of electricity, piped water and cooking gas impact on other aspects of life, such as less visible non-material aspects: social expectations, family life, relationships between castes and employment opportunities (Wiser and Wiser, 2000:281). Economic development and the lack thereof therefore always entail social dimensions.

Existing research on migration’s impact on development often focuses primarily on economic factors. Economic rural change is frequently characterised by increased opportunities, consumption activities, and investments which, in turn, are intrinsically linked to remittances through cash incomes from participation in various types of migration, for labour or other employment. The book takes economic development outcomes seriously, as they are important dimensions in migration and return migration. However, a sense of well-being and positive personal development are also important development outcomes. Human development has to take material and non-material aspects of well-being into consideration when assessing human flourishing and social change.

What are the important benchmarks of rural social change by which the latter is to be recognised? This book is built on the premise that there are several markers of social change to look out for, particularly changes in (unequal) power structures and caste relations, which are often linked to changes in the socio-economic set-up and access to livelihoods, as well as reflected in inclusive access to infrastructure, education and health provision. Benefits of quality public services are an important marker of change, as well as the intersection of material and non-material changes, often visible in the changing lives of women. Many of these markers of change in poverty levels, livelihoods and social structures are linked to changes in life choices, including the choice to migrate.

The study of changing livelihoods is intrinsically related to changing power dynamics at village level. As villagers diversify their incomes, agriculture and interrelated animal husbandry may no longer be the primary source of livelihood. When land (or trade) formed the basis of livelihoods, those who controlled it also controlled the economy (Berreman, 1993 [1963]:42). At that time, wealth was correlated with ownership of good land, livestock and caste affiliation. This is no longer the case, and it demonstrates a massive societal change. In contrast, rather than transforming power dynamics at source, migration flows of elites may also serve to stabilise the existing socio-political orders, allowing people to preserve positions of privilege (Portes, 2010:1551). Therefore, the ways in which power divisions of class, caste, gender, generation and so forth interact with migration can lead to amplification or transformation of
the status quo. In that respect, increased gender and caste equality impelled by migratory processes are important markers of social change.

The relationship between migration and social change has been subject to much debate: migration can be seen as a process which is an integral part of broader social transformations, but also as having its own dynamic in shaping social change in its own right (Van Hear, 2010:1531). When studying rural communities, it is difficult to disentangle the effects of migration, such as the return flows of remittances, from broader processes of rural social change. What is more, studies of migration, development and change operate at different levels: cultural perspectives emphasise value and normative transformations while structural perspectives address demographic and economic changes (Portes, 2010:1544). Levels of change also vary in scope, ranging from micro-level changes visible in individuals and households, meso-level changes at community and regional levels, and macro-level changes involving nation states and the wider economy (Massey, Arango et al., 1998). This book employs a variety of levels in its interpretations; while the study itself is on micro-levels, linkages are established to meso- and macro-levels when relevant.

**Theoretical setting: multidimensionality of migration**

This book presents multiple interpretations of the migration-development-change nexus in the village microcosm. This type of multidimensionality is grounded in essential theoretical understandings drawing from approaches in migration studies, human development and sociology. One underlying assumption is that the multidimensional character of migration impacts encompasses both negative and positive views. This pendulum is inevitably marked by tension, both theoretically as well as empirically. In other words, migration often has complex, contradictory effects on different aspects of development for different groups in different contexts. It is therefore unhelpful to look for generalised conclusions or models of the impact of migration on rural communities (Rigg, 2006). Instead, just as migration motivations and processes are a complex interplay between economic, historical, cultural, political, environmental and personal factors, the implications for impacts on rural individuals, households, and administrative units are similarly diverse (Rigg, 2007). The heterogeneity of real-life migration-development interactions is simply too complex to fit them into ‘deterministic theoretical schemes predicting development outcomes of migration’ (de Haas, 2010:240). The fact that the various chapters in this book draw from very different conceptual and theoretical approaches demonstrates that the connection between migration and development on the ground is neither linear nor straightforward and is too complex to fit into just one approach. By using different categories derived from current migration theory approaches, I also aim to avoid the pitfall on the other side of the spectrum, that is, adding to empirical research altogether disconnected from migration theories. My field study shows that causal processes relevant to the study of migration operate on different levels simultaneously, and sorting out which of the
theoretical explanations are useful is not only a logical but an ongoing empiri-
cal task (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:50). At various points in the book, different
seemingly opposed theoretical concepts are utilised to explain and interpret
complex and at times paradoxical processes at play in the village microcosm.

**Distress and opportunity migration**

First, considering migration in relation to a range of development outcomes,
the distinction between *distress migration* versus *opportunity migration* is an impor-
tant aspect of multidimensionality. Voluntary migration for opportunities is
associated with people looking for work or taking up jobs, whilst involuntary
migration is often the result of some crisis, such as distress, conflict or natural
disasters. Many empirical studies on migration can be located within one of
these two migration types.

Clearly, different forms of migration can have very different impacts on
development (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009; Deshingkar, 2012). In India, ‘dis-
tress migration’ is understood to contribute comparatively little to rural devel-
opment. Distress migration among the poorest tribal population in Madhya
Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar is a coping strategy for survival, providing subsistence
and, at best, the money for repaying debts, but no potential for accumulation
at source (Deshingkar, Kumar et al., 2006; Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009).5
Whilst unskilled migrants tend to migrate seasonally for shorter periods of a
few months, the most educated and wealthiest migrants tend to migrate oppor-
tunistically on a more long-term or permanent basis for secure and better paid
jobs (Deshingkar, Kumar et al., 2006). In opportunistic migration, additional
income can be used to fund housing, education, health care and social func-
tions in source areas, and to pay off debts, which in turn can lead to economic
and social gains (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). In other words, effects of distress
migration versus increased opportunity migration differ hugely in terms of
‘human capital formation’ (Bhagat, 2012:14). The distinction remains impor-
tant when considering migration-development links.

As the study of Tejam will show, there is strong empirical evidence that dis-
tress migration (which is often somewhat involuntary out of compulsion) and
opportunistic migration (which is voluntary) can coexist in the same village.6
On the ground, the differentiation between coping and opportunity migra-
tion is not always so clear-cut or necessarily dichotomous; instead, a mixture
of migration drivers is observable. Among the poorer sections, the lines are
far from definite between ‘coping migration’ for survival and ‘accumulative
migration’ for investments (Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009). I make an ana-
lytical distinction between permanent opportunistic migration and seasonal
distress migration when describing economic and social effects of opportunis-
tic migration of well-off households versus seasonal short-term labour migra-
tion of the least fortunate households. This distinction is useful in the analytical
framing of migration impacts on rural households. The migration of some
individuals from the village can be classified as ‘seasonal distress movements’,
but these do not dominate the village scene. Migration from the study village mostly falls under the ‘migration for opportunity’ category, both for jobs in the private sector and government services. What is more, it is possible that seasonal migration becomes more accumulative over time, in which case migrants may remain permanently in cities and could not be captured in the study of the village.7

**Household livelihood strategies and individual freedoms**

Second, migration can be interpreted as a collective household livelihood strategy, but can also be seen through the lens of an individual capability. The theoretical understandings of the age-old collectivism-individualism debates have thus some relevance in understanding the multidimensional nature of migration impacts in the village microcosm (Strauss, 2000). These two theoretical lenses emphasise different aspects of human development and freedoms and can both be applied to some extent in the study village as relevant in different cases and scenarios.

The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) and livelihood approaches, which conceptualise migration as a collective household livelihood strategy to diversify income and overcome economic constraints, are relevant to the interpretation of several aspects of the empirical findings. Livelihood approaches apply to various case studies where migration for work becomes a ‘household risk-spreading strategy’ (de Haas, 2010:243) and incomes are shared with family members living in the village.8 Here, the family as a unit is at the centre of migration decisions which include intra-household exchanges that extend the unit making decisions beyond the migrant (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark, 1991). In these cases, rather than an individual choice, migration is an integral subset of a household’s livelihood strategy, and is part of a wider system of opportunities to improve the social and economic status of the household (Rigg, 2007:170). The household is the starting point in theorising the relationship between migration and development, because most of the effects of migration on sending areas are expressed, magnified or hampered by household economic activities (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:255). In the study village, the positive effects of long-term migration for government employment on household economies and increased living standards are very visible. The findings of my study regarding remittances can be placed alongside already established lines of research, showing that long-term migration entails the largest potential for economic benefits to source areas, and that the bulk of family remittances are used for increased consumption as well as to improve rural living standards (including health and education), while less is used for ‘productive investment’ (Massey, Arango et al., 1998; De Brauw and Rozelle, 2008; Deshingkar and Akter, 2009; Karan, 2003). Family remittances apply the logic of kinship and are directed towards immediate kin in the migrant household, functioning more like incomes fuelling ‘consumptive investment’ (De Brauw and Rozelle, 2008; Jain, 2010; Mamgain, 2014; Murphy, 2009; Wang, 2013).
The study also shows that in some cases migration is less of a household strategy and more of an individualistic endeavour for self-realisation, indicating that the household is far from being a unified entity. This would apply particularly in the case of young unmarried men from the village exploring opportunities in cities, or small nuclear family units who break ties with the village and extended family after permanent migration. In these cases, the capability approach seems more fitting, explaining the enhanced capabilities of individuals through migration, which cannot be presumed to always benefit the wider household unit. Unlike the livelihood approaches, which focuses primarily on the household as unit of analysis, the capabilities approach allows for individual levels of analysis. The analysis of individual choice and freedom is ‘an inherently individual level exercise’ (Osmani, 2016:3). Each person is seen as an end, since ‘capabilities belong first and foremost to individual persons, and only derivatively to groups’ (Nussbaum, 2011:35). Amartya Sen, in his analysis of development, treats the ‘freedom of individuals as the basic building blocks’ (Sen, 1999:18, emphasis added). The concept of capabilities is used to display the ability of individuals to achieve the outcomes they desire for themselves (and their families) to lead the kind of lives they value, of which migration for education and work are often a part (Preibisch, Dodd et al., 2016:2113). A capabilities-focused perspective on human development as proposed by Sen (Sen, 1999) and Nussbaum (Nussbaum, 2011) thus interprets the choice to migrate as a capability – a way of achieving better education, health, food, medical services, housing, recreational opportunities and the like. This is reflected in the Human Development Report on Human Mobility and Development, where mobility is recognised as an essential component of people’s freedom to lead the lives they choose (UNDP, 2009:8). Here, migration becomes an action towards realising life and livelihood goals rather than a reaction to structural disequilibria and spatial opportunity differentials (de Haas, 2011).

**Rising inequalities and social capital in mobility**

Third, and paradoxically, migration can reinforce social inequalities in some aspects, whilst it can also be a channel for social capital and empowerment in other cases. This encompassing of positive and negative factors in migration impacts is another important aspect of its multidimensionality played out in the village microcosm.

The concern of ‘migration pessimists’ who point to the negative results of migration and the ways it contributes to inequality and exploitation is informed by Marxist schools of thought based on an understanding of the capitalist economy as inherently unequal, with ramifications across economic, social and political life. Alongside growing scepticism and concerns regarding ‘brain drain’ of rural areas (i.e. the loss of trained or qualified people through out-migration), migration is seen as a vicious cycle, causing division, inequality and dependency at source. Migration is analysed in terms of both its perpetuation of and outcome of unequal structures. Contrary to positive approaches
to migration as enhancing development, migration is interpreted as increasing rather than decreasing spatial disparities in development. On macro-levels, this line of thought fits in with Myrdal’s cumulative causation theory, which states that capitalist development is inevitably marked by deepening spatial welfare inequalities (Myrdal, 1957). Less developed areas suffer from ‘backwash effects’ put in motion by uneven development, of which out-migration is an intrinsic part (Wang and Bai, 1991). In neo-Marxist terms, migration reproduces and reinforces the capitalist system based on these spatial inequalities and class differences (Breman, 1996, 2007, 2010). Although this view is only one side of the coin, multiple inequalities induced by migration on various levels are identified throughout the book, ranging from intra- and inter-household inequalities, inequalities across caste and gender and spatial inequalities in the wider area.

That said, for a large proportion of villagers, opportunity migration for education and jobs is empowering. For village residents, access to social capital and social networks in migration processes is an important facet of this side of the coin. As discussed earlier, the process of migration as a livelihood activity can enhance substantive choices and aspirations that people have; those who migrate are able to draw on material, human and social capital (de Haas, 2010:254). Extending Bourdieu’s definition of social capital from an individual asset (Bourdieu, 1986:248) to a feature of communities or even nation states has been considered a ‘conceptual stretch’ (Portes, 1998:1). Nevertheless, some aspects may be useful in understanding the context of the study village. When applying the theoretical approach of social capital to the migration and development nexus, an important characteristic of social capital is its convertibility. The idea is that, when gaining access to social capital through membership in interpersonal networks, it gets converted into other forms of capital which improve and maintain people’s position in society (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). The fact that social capital can be converted to human capital and financial capital has important implications for community development. As the case of the unemployed men in the village shows, they represent households with lower access to human, social and economic capital, which tends to be mutually reinforcing and replicating. Bourdieu’s view of social capital as a feature of ensuring social inequality is relevant here, as those without social capital are also unlikely to achieve high (social) mobility. In contrast, as risks and costs are lowered through network connections, expected net returns to migration and the propensity to move increases (Palloni, Massey et al., 2001:1264).

Revisiting categories of the left behind in the village

Fourth, the research presented in this book stresses the heterogeneous nature of the left behind elderly and women in the village. I draw from the study of the well-being of the left behind whilst also questioning the very use of the analytical category.
In migration studies, the so-called rural left behind are constructed as children, wives and elderly parents who are left behind in the village when men migrate for work. The concern with communities, households and individuals who stay behind when (international) migrants leave is a relatively new approach in migration studies and only came to prominence during the 2000s. Since the mid-2000s, the left behind have emerged as a category, in particular in (South) East Asian contexts (Nguyen, Yeoh et al., 2006). Left behind family members used to play no more than a marginal role in international policy debates in comparison to the migrants themselves, although this is slowly changing with emerging policy reports taking the non-economic impacts and social risks of migration on families into account (Cortes, 2008; de la Garza, 2010; Rossi, 2008; Salah, 2008; Van de Glind, 2010; Whitehead and Hashim, 2005; Yeoh and Lam, 2006). The migration-development debate is revisited insofar as the costs which (international) migration imposes on the overall well-being of children, youth and women left behind is highlighted and in which light the economic gains may seem somewhat overestimated (de la Garza, 2010).

Categories of left behind children are hugely important in many Asian country contexts in terms of educational, social and psychological impact of parental migration as well as health impacts and social and economic costs and benefits (Rossi, 2008; Van De Glind, 2010; Cappelloni, 2011; Ye, Murray et al., 2005). However, the concept of children left behind by migration does not apply to the study context as such because children are taken with them when parents migrate. In general, it is mostly the elderly who stay behind when nuclear families leave, although in some cases wives stay behind as part of the extended or joint family. My study shows that migration impacts on wives who remain in the village are extremely varied. Household structures are the key mediating factor through which husbands’ absences affect women (Desai and Banerji, 2008). The important linkage of improved cash incomes from employment, increased purchasing power of consumer goods, and improved living standards for women is still relevant in the study villages, as had been the case with earlier studies in Uttarakhand which had already noted the gendered impact of migration on households (Bose, 2000; Jain, 2010; Pande, 1996; Rana, 1996), and the economic dimensions of Himalayan migration with its contribution to household incomes (Bora, 1996; Dobhal, 1987; Mitra, 1997; Whittaker, 1983). Similar to the case of women, the impact of out-migration on the elderly also seems mixed. The family members of out-migrants who remain in the village, both wives and the elderly, often belong to middle or upper middle-income households and are economically advanced rather than left behind. The economic and living standard benefits of elderly parents receiving financial support from migrated adult children in employment are evident in many Asian contexts (Knodel and Saengtienchai, 2007; Cong and Silverstein, 2011; Guo, Chi et al., 2009; Knodel, Kespichayawattana et al., 2010; Yue and Zai, 2015), while higher levels of depression and dissatisfaction among left behind elderly due to disconnect with adult children have also been reported (Guo, Aranda et al., 2009).
Although this book to some extent works with analytical categories of the left behind wives and elderly, it does not fully endorse them. In the course of the book, I develop a strong case for the necessary rethinking of the use of the term ‘left behind’ altogether. This is not unlike Xiang Biao’s earlier line of thought, saying that problems of being left behind should not be attributed to being left behind by migrating family members, but to the fact that ‘many rural communities as a whole have been left behind economically and socially’ (Xiang Biao, 2007:179). Consequently, it is not necessarily the family members of migrants who may consider themselves the most left behind. Contrary, it is the households who stay all together in the village, due to lack in migration and job opportunities, who are on the whole socio-economically left behind. The book explores both voluntary and involuntary immobility observable in the village in various forms of male underemployment.

Contextual setting: migration in Uttarakhand

India as a country is characterised by large internal movements. Out of an estimated number of 740 million internal migrants worldwide, 314 million internal migrants are located in India, a volume which even surpasses internal movements in China with an estimated 260 million internal migrants (Government of India, 2011b; National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012; UNDP, 2009).

The Himalayan hill state Uttarakhand in the north of India is characterised by large-scale out-migration from hill villages to urban centres. Migration from the hills of Uttarakhand has historic roots. With able-bodied young men joining the armed forces, the hill communities have historically accepted migration as a livelihood strategy (Mamgain, 2014). Currently, two parallel trends are observable in Uttarakhand: intra-state movements take place from the mountains into cities and peri-urban areas, while inter-state movements take place from other Indian states into urban centres in Uttarakhand, where new avenues for economic opportunities and employment have opened up (Joshi, 2015b). Overall, an increase of roadside settlements and semi-urban settlements have been the consequence (Mehta, 2014). Some in-migration of seasonal skilled labour into the hills from other states, such as from Bihar for house construction or unskilled in-migration of Nepali labourers for road construction, is observable (Mamgain, 2004:20).

From the 2011 census data it appears that the rate of out-migration in Uttarakhand has accelerated in the decade 2001–2011. According to Joshi’s analysis of the census data, the striking decline in population growth rates in some districts (see Map 0.1) over the time period 2001–2011 cannot be due to changes in patterns of fertility and therefore suggests a high level of out-migration (Joshi, 2015a:2). Pauri Garhwal district with $-1.51$ and Almora district with $-1.73$ stand out for their negative growth rates, and five other districts are far below the average growth rate of Uttarakhand (19.17): Tehri Garhwal (1.93), Rudraprayag (4.14), Bageshwar (5.13), Pithoragarh (5.13) and Chamoli (5.60). All these are hill districts, from which migration to plain districts of Udham
Nigh Nagar and Hardwar, the Doon valley of Dehradun and the Haldwani-Ramnagar belt of Nainital district occurs (Joshi, 2015a).

The census data does not provide statistics on the percentage of single male migration versus whole nuclear family migration in Uttarakhand. Joshi’s hypothesis suggests that a negative or low population growth rate in the hill districts, with improved sex ratio in some and worsening sex ratio in others, may imply that, in contrast to earlier patterns of only men leaving in search for work, the last decade has seen an increase in the migration of whole nuclear families. The evidence gathered in the study village and its surrounding villages strongly supports this trend of increasing family migration, including husband, wife and children.

Not only do numbers matter, but also the discourses surrounding them. Ongoing policy discourses in Uttarakhand tend to take a largely negative view of migration. Widespread public discourse on the consequences of ‘brain drain’
and de-population of villages in remote border areas with Nepal and Tibet are important state concerns (Mamgain, 2004). The political concern entails security considerations with the de-population of strategically important border areas. In 2011, 1,048 out of 16,793 villages in Uttarakhand were uninhabited (Government of India, 2011a). The Hindi-language documentary on out-migration in Uttarakhand titled Migration – Deserated Mountains speaks of migration as Palayan, which literally means ‘exodus’. The documentary explores the reasons which compel people to leave villages and documents ‘ghost villages’ which have been abandoned by the majority of villagers. The main reasons for out-migration include lack of employment and adversely affected livelihoods, as well as poor rural infrastructure (Brahmakamal Production, 2015). Local discourse in news representations is preoccupied with the permanent loss of educated youth and their families when they abandon hill villages and settle in urban areas for good. Much of the reporting recommends that the rate of out-migration should be stopped, reduced or reversed, a theme recurring in local newspaper articles (Pant, 2015; Umar, 2012). The media coverage thus reinforces the negative public discourse on out-migration from the hills.

Large-scale out-migration implies rural ‘under-development’ which sheds a bad light on regional politics. Politically, large-scale out-migration has recently been addressed by government schemes such as the Mera Gaon Mera Dhan Yojana [‘My village, my money scheme’] initiated by Chief Minister Harish Rawat in 2015. These schemes encourage return migration to hill villages and the promotion of village development in the hills. The Mera Gaon Mera Dhan Yojana scheme suggests various opportunities to invest in the hill economy, such as small-scale businesses and ecotourism, and offers incentives to migrant Uttarakhandis if they invest in their gram-sabha of origin (Garhwal Post, 2015). Non-resident Uttarakhandi industrialists can invest in schemes launched by the state government and thus become partners in the hill state’s development, particularly in the building of small industry and the health and education sectors (The News Minute, 2015). The Gaon Bachaoon [‘Save the villages’] movement is a social protest movement launched by social activists bringing the issue of the ‘pathetic condition of villages in Uttarakhand’ to the government’s attention (The Tribune, 2015; Daily Pioneer, 2015). The movement involved a 25-day march across hill villages in October 2015 and is a call for ‘sustainable villages’ (not just ‘smart cities’, as advocated by the Modi government). The goal of these movements and others is to halt migration from the hills (Amar Ujala, 2015; Sharma, 2015). Local mountain organisations also work in the area to promote sustainable livelihoods with the aim of keeping people in the village. The NGO Himmotthan is concerned to create ‘strategies to mitigate out-migration from the hills’, to suggest ‘possible options to reduce migration’ and to ‘stop further migration’ (Himmotthan, 2013).

The existing public discourse, which perceives migration as a largely negative phenomenon to be stopped or reversed, is not easily reconcilable with academic theories such as livelihoods approaches which focus on the (relative) positive impact of remittance return flows. Academic research conducted on
migration in Uttarakhand offers a somewhat less emotive and more differentiated analysis. In fact, the use of livelihoods approaches in the context of Uttarakhand is quite established. P.S. Rawat pioneered the frequently used term of ‘money-order economy’ (Rawat, 1993), referring to the shift from a subsistence agricultural economy to an economy that relies on remittances (sent as money orders through the post office at the time, which has now been replaced by modern rural banking branches and ATMs). Rajendra P. Mamgain,24 in his D.Phil. thesis (2004), was probably the first to employ the lens of the livelihood approach more fully, followed by researchers in their M.Phil. dissertations (Choi, 2009; Ghansiyal, 2007) and by scholars based at the Garhwal University (Dhanai and Negi, 2014). Migration was identified as a common livelihood diversification strategy in the hills (SRTT-CEDAR, 2010), a coping mechanism reducing risks associated with a single source of livelihood (Mamgain, 2004), a strategy to reduce household vulnerability to poverty through remittances (Ghansiyal, 2007) and an important avenue for improving economic and living conditions (Choi, 2009). At the same time, it appears that although remittances make a difference to the migrant-sending households, the role of remittances in transforming the hill economies is low (Mamgain, 2004:249). In a more recent study, Mamgain argues that out-migration in Uttarakhand led to little productive investment in remote mountain areas, but that households used family remittances to cover basic consumption needs, the education of children, and health care (Mamgain, 2014). Jain’s study, sponsored by the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) on labour migration and remittances in Uttarakhand, is along similar lines, with the majority of remittances being spent on food, clothing and other consumer goods (Jain, 2010). This too is in line with global trends and not specific to Uttarakhand.

There are thus several contradictions to be recognised in contemporary local discourses on migration. The contrast between the emotive media and political representation of migration as evil, the academic discourses of migration as an important livelihood strategy and rural people’s own motivations provides somewhat of a paradox. This tension is often expressed by people residing in villages when they speak about migration. Villagers are aware of the government’s discourse aiming at stopping migration. They frequently speak of the conflict they feel between leaving rural areas for their own interests in order to pursue better quality lives, education and employment in towns, versus the implications of staying in the village. In interviews, there is thus a dichotomy in place evident in recurrent evaluative phrases such as ‘migration is bad’ and ‘people should not leave’, whilst at the same time interviewees elaborate on their own personal aspirations to leave.

Geopolitical border setting: mobile identities

Due to the particular geographical location of the study village in the western Himalayas, the study sits in the wider geopolitical context of the trans-Himalayan border region stretching across India, Nepal and Tibet. The focus
of the study is on the microcosm of one particular village located in the Indian Himalayan Kumaun region, which has historically been inhabited by the Bhotiya tribe (see Chapter 1). At the same time, it is embedded in the wider region of northern South Asia, with a rich ethnic and geopolitical tapestry of cross-border trade histories, social caste-tribe identity dynamics, historical trade monopolies and post-border closure adaptations. The history of the Indo-Tibetan cross-border trade from the village is part of a larger ‘border story’ stretching along the Himalayan foothills. These border communities have been deeply shaped by trans-Himalayan seasonal migration as a constant identity marker ‘from time immemorial’ for the groups involved (Mathur, 2013:73).25 Northern South Asia consists of varied borderland areas with diverse ethnic populations; this calls for a grounded study taking diversity into account (Gellner, 2013). The particular study village in the Kumaun Himalayas, which is the subject of the book, is part of the diversity of the wider Himalayas with trans-border and mobile identities of the different ethnic people inhabiting it. Gellner’s point of considering different accounts is important to the study, as the argument presented here rests on deep ethnographic field work engaging with different points of view – and lived experiences of migration – across different ethnic and caste groups (Chapter 2).

The study calls for a wider consideration of trans-Himalayan cases of former Indo-Tibetan trade sites, because a multitude of similarities can be drawn from borderland studies in Uttarakhand, neighbouring Himachal Pradesh, and from those along the high-altitude Nepalese border with Tibet. Some of these cases helped frame the study presented here, especially in terms of understanding formation of trade elites and processes of adaptation to changing economic and political landscapes post-border closures (Chapter 3). Parallels to the Bhotiya case presented in this book can be drawn from the trade between western Tibet and Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh, where an agro-pastoral life was practised and key families enjoyed a monopoly on the trade and were able to establish summer and winter residences along the trade route (Moran, 2007:149).26 Bauer’s ethnography of the Dolpo, who traditionally combined agriculture, animal husbandry and trade along the border of western Nepal and Tibet, is another case with parallels. As in the case of the Bhotiyas, every Dolpo trader had a close business partner in western Tibet for annual barter of grain for salt. It was the restrictions on border trade after the incorporation of Tibet into China which led to large ramifications on the economy, social organisation, and environment, and Dolpo’s trade-based economy was subsequently re-worked (Bauer, 2004). Similarly, the Humli-Khyampas – semi-nomadic traders in the western Nepal district of Humla – carried out barter trade with the nomads of western Tibet. Like the Bhotiyas, they changed their places of habitation during summer and winter for the purposes of trade (Rauber, 1980).27 The Humli-Khyampas suffered a similar setback in the 1960s when trade was curtailed through restrictions imposed by China (Rauber, 1982). Borders and border closures therefore provide dynamic spaces for socio-economic change affecting the people residing near them, a theme also explored in great depth in Wim van Spengen’s
The context of social identity dynamics in the modern Himalayas is an important lens for the study, pointing out ways in which migration is tied up with identity formation of non-mainstream social groups. Cross-border migration of ethnic and tribal groups, apart from being a primary socio-economic strategy, becomes a core identity. As Shneiderman’s ethnography on the Thangmi in east-central Nepal shows, mobility is not only an economic strategy but also an identity marker (Shneiderman, 2015). Dolpo’s residents in western Nepal reinvent themselves through mobility and can be found in vastly different places and occupations (Bauer, 2004). Considering ST-SC identity dynamics in the migration-development nexus in India is crucial. The linkage between labour migration, identity politics and livelihoods in the formation of group identities among caste and tribal groups has been established (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan, 2003). A connection to development is visible, as members from subordinated caste and tribal groups strategically utilise labour mobility to their advantage and both alternative forms of employment and consumption choices enable people to reject their historical position of servitude to caste groups (ibid.:193). ‘Spaces of cultural assertion’ influence the identity of marginalised migrants, since migrants of all backgrounds are part of a travelling culture which exposes them to diverse worlds of associations. This can sow seeds of discontent, with identities of disadvantage taken for granted in the village (ibid.:191). New formations of ‘belonging’ of groups in Himalayan societies further highlight important dimensions of social struggles overcoming inequality and achieving social mobility (Pfaff-Czarnecka and Toffin, 2011:xxxiv). As the case of the study village shows, through socio-spatial mobility and identification with new occupational groups, a sense of belonging can change and new social identities enable novel overlaps of formerly separate groups.

Summary and chapter overview
This introduction to the book contextualises the work in several ways. I have provided an overview of five settings which lay the foundation for an understanding of multidimensional dynamics of migration in the village microcosm. First, the description of the contemporary global setting of massive rural-urban movements in agrarian societies in the 21st century has contextualised the study of one village in the broader world we live in. Second, the conceptual setting has clarified concepts employed, development being understood as multidimensional human development, which is more all-encompassing than just the economic dimension. Third, the theoretical setting points to multidimensionality in migration impacts on the ground by expanding on multiple, and at times seemingly contradictory, approaches which shape the interpretation of empirical findings. Fourth, the contextual setting reflects on the specific discourses of migration and development prevalent in Uttarakhand, juxtaposing public and media representations with livelihood approaches utilised in academia and
against people’s own contradictory feelings about migration. Fifth, the study is located within the broader Indo-Tibetan trans-Himalayan context and cross-border identity dynamics shaped by historical trade monopolies, social caste-tribe identity dynamics, and post-border-closure adaptations. A sixth setting, the empirical setting, has not been included in the introduction. Instead, comprehensive reflections on the empirical village study process are offered in a series of appendices at the end of the book. The book is structured in seven chapters, followed by a conclusion. Whilst Chapter 1 introduces the village and Chapter 2 traces the history of migration from the area, the subsequent Chapters 3–7 are structured according to movement type (i.e. along the lines of out-migration, return migration, non-migration and in-migration).

Chapter 1, based on observations and a village survey, provides the background to key features of the study village, Tejam, as these are intertwined with migration impacts: the geopolitical context, contemporary population compositions according to caste, occupational profiles according to caste and gender, and demographic features of household sizes and family nuclearisation are introduced. A survey of the village infrastructure covers the housing situation and access to basic amenities. Chapter 2, based on archival work, oral histories and a journey on foot to the border settlement of Milam, introduces the history of migration from the village, that is, the historical connection to Tibet through the trade route and the historic practice of seasonal migration for trade and transhumance among the different ethnic groups now classified as scheduled tribes (ST) and scheduled castes (SC). Links between historic and contemporary mobility patterns are analysed. Chapter 3, based on the household survey of migration, semi-structured interviews and children’s artwork, comprehensively analyses the reasons for out-migration from the study village. Migration patterns and trends are derived from the socio-economic profiles of migrant households and semi-structured interviews. Both pull factors and push factors for out-migration from Tejam are discussed in depth in the context of rural schooling, health care and livelihoods. Chapter 4 examines impacts of out-migration from the study village and is data-evidence-led in its analysis of some of the complexities alongside the migration-social change nexus. Demographic, socio-economic and socio-emotional migration impacts are analysed according to migration type, taking into account the changing lives of the left behind elderly and migrant wives. Demographic and social impacts of permanent migration for government service employment are juxtaposed with impacts of long-term out-migration for military and private sector jobs as well as with male seasonal distress migration for unskilled labour. Chapter 5 revisits the definition of who is most left behind by analysing the nature and impact of non-migration in the village. This chapter looks at reasons for immobility, intergenerational replication mechanisms inherent in non-migration, the phenomena of ‘timepass’ and ‘voluntary unemployment’ among male youth, and the link between unemployment and alcoholism. The immobility and unemployment of young men in the village is contextualised in the light of existing macro-structures of widespread lack of paid work but also in light of
men’s voluntary immobility and attitudes towards (agricultural) work. Chapters 6 and 7, based on ethnographic observations and interviews, discuss the reasons for movements (back) to the village and focus on the ways in which these are tied in with its socio-economic life. Chapter 6 analyses the economic and non-economic reasons for return migration as well as the types of return migration, such as return due to retirement or due to unemployment in cities. The chapter contrasts impacts of different types of return migration by examining social remittance return flows and village entrepreneurship case studies of returnees who have established micro-enterprises, but also the phenomena of timepass post-return migration. Chapter 7 tracks in-migration into the village by interviewing in-migrant households and accompanying them to their villages of origin on return visits. Three different types of in-migration are identified: temporary in-migration of government staff and other professionals or labourers, permanent migration of retirees from interior less developed mountain villages and educational in-migration of teenage students for secondary schooling. The economic conditions of different types of in-migrant groups are analysed in relation to how these are tied in with the economic life of the village. All chapters contain sub-conclusions. In the final conclusions I summarise key arguments and findings and discuss the conceptual, theoretical and policy implications of my research findings in relation to migration studies, human development and social change.

Notes

1 The proportion of urbanisation in developing countries increased from 9.1% in 1900 to 40.5% in 2000 (Skeldon, 2006:16).

2 There has been a significant increase in internal labour movements worldwide; the estimated number of 740 million internal migrants far exceeds the total number of estimated 200 million international migrants (UNDP, 2009).

3 Murphy, in her work on how migrant labour is changing rural China, argued the same: while migration remains central to explaining change in rural China, other factors which have improved living standards of rural people, such as state policies implemented in schooling, health, welfare services and infrastructure projects, need to be factored into the equation of change (Murphy, 2002:51).

4 Massey et al. acknowledge there was no single migration theory widely accepted by social scientists – ‘only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from each other’ (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:17). A striking wider disconnect between empirical studies and migration theories emerges from Massey et al.’s extensive review of the migration literature, current empirical research often being ‘unconnected not just to a particular theory, but to any theory at all’ (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:293).

5 The worst forms of contemporary economic distress migration in India entail (bonded) labour of the family unit, including children. Migration and child labour are interrelated when children are considered an essential part of the poor rural household economy (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). This has been studied in India in the case of family migration to brick kilns and work in the informal sector, where children join their parents working in industry and services. Children who seasonally migrate with their parents for work tend to miss school and are unable to catch up with schooling after returning to the village, which makes them prone to drop out of school altogether – an issue recently researched by social activists in India (Aide et Action, 2011, 2012; American
India Foundation, 2010; Smita, 2006; Patra, 2007, 2012). This type of severe distress migration was not present in the study village of Tejam.

This is not a novel insight. Mosse, Gupta and Shah (2005) found patterns of both migration for survival and opportunity in their study of migration from rural tribal communities in west India. Among the poorest, whole families migrate for periodic construction work, tied into multiple dependencies as described before by Breman (1996). At the same time, men from relatively better-off households migrate opportunistically to maximise cash earning in order to invest back in the village in farming, well-digging or house-building, payments for marriage or repayment of debts (Mosse, Gupta et al., 2005).

It is possible for seasonal distress migration to become more financially accumulative over time through an increase in the availability of regular work and experience and knowledge gained over time. These factors present an opportunity to move out of chronic poverty rather than sustaining it (Kothari, 2002; Deshingkar, Kumar et al., 2006).

When using the term ‘household strategy’ I work with the following definition: a ‘strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods, [. . .] based on selective access to assets, perceptions of opportunities, as well as aspirations of actors’ (de Haas, 2010:244).

Sen states that ‘an approach to justice and development that concentrates on substantive freedoms inescapably focuses on the agency and judgement of individuals’ (Sen, 1999:288). The intellectual importance given to the individual in development processes, and to the different layers of inequalities imposed on the individual, goes back to the 18th century and beyond. For example, an active concern about demographic and ecological prospects of individuals is exemplified in the work of T.R. Malthus (1798).

According to Sen, the range of human capabilities varies from elementary freedoms, such as being free from hunger, to complex abilities such as achieving self-respect (of which the freedom to move and fulfill one’s aspirations is often part) (Sen, 1999). Sen’s ‘substantive freedoms’ are opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the economic, political and social environment of which they are part (Nussbaum, 2011:20).

Using the expansion of human freedoms and capabilities as a lens on human movement has significant implications, as ‘human movement is one of the basic actions that individuals can choose to take in order to realise their life plans. In other words, the ability to move is a dimension of freedom that is part of development – with intrinsic as well as potential instrumental value’ (UNDP, 2009:14).

This approach, with its focus on the exploitation of migrant workers, goes back to Marx himself, who wrote about the exploitation of the ‘nomadic population’, defining nomadic labour as industrial workers with rural origin who were tossed around according to current needs in the making of railways, bricks and various building and drainage works (Marx, 1976:818). His account of workers in coal mines in England in the 1850s emphasised their dangerous and degrading work conditions, deemed part of the general ‘profitable capitalist exploitation’ of workers (ibid.). Engels too painted a vivid picture of the exploitative conditions of the working class in Victorian England during the early industrial revolution, of which the impoverished and underpaid Irish immigrants were considered ‘the lowest class of the population’ (Engels, 2009 [1887]:101).

Spatial dynamics of ‘interlocking, circular and cumulative changes’ are described in Myrdal’s work (Myrdal, 1957:14). Myrdal argued that cumulative processes go in both directions as ‘upward spirals’ as well as ‘downward spirals’, with less developed regions tending to become less developed, and more developed regions tending to become more developed (Myrdal, 1957:12).

Jan Breman’s work on internal labour migration emphasises exploitative aspects of labour circulation, which are seen as the only survival strategy for poor landless tribal people in western India (Breman, 2010). Breman rightly pointed out the difference in absorption of labourers in cities in the process of the European industrialisation experience, when the working classes started to move out of the countryside and settled down.
with their families in cities to work in factories. In contrast, people pushed out of agriculture in Asia often move to cities as temporary workers and not as permanent residents (Breman, 2010:8). In this process, the reinforcement of existing social inequalities comes into focus, and the emphasis on the stream of research – of which Breman’s work is a part – is on analysing the structural factors which lead to the inequality manifested in the conditions of labour (migration) (Breman, 1996, 2007, 2010).

Social capital is most famously developed as an idea in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who understood it in terms of networks, as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’ (Bourdieu, 1986:248). Although Bourdieu made the concept of social capital/social networks famous, he was not the first to invent it. Despite not always being labelled as such, ideas of social networks are inherent in many pre-Bourdieuian approaches, as all kinds of networks can be found in the organisation of industrial workers, mutual societies and even trade unions.

The limitations of applying the concept of social capital as a causal force in the transformation of communities have been extensively discussed by Portes (Portes, 2010).

The case of seasonal migrants from the village, who often migrate in groups of friends, shows the importance of social capital in terms of non-familial migrant networks in migration patterns (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:42). Networks based on friendship or acquaintance may be equally or more important than kinship ties in determining the chances of out-migration, whereby social networks can minimise the risks associated with mobility. These migrants use their social capital to reduce the challenges associated with moving, settling and both accessing and maintaining income opportunities at the destination (Winkels, 2012).

Ramila Bisht is the only author who uses extensively the concept of left behind women in the study of migration in the context of Uttarakhand beyond economic dimensions (Bisht, 2015), focusing on women’s work and health in the context of ecological degradation and male out-migration (Bisht, 2004).

Other studies in rural China indicate that the elderly experience increased happiness due to the improvement in their socio-economic status as a result of children’s remittances, and have managed to maintain emotional closeness with migrant children through visits and mobile phone chats (Ye, 2008). The impact of mobile connections on mobile social capital is important in this context. Just a decade ago, it was unimaginable that family members separated spatially through migration could have remained in daily contact through affordable mobile phones – one of the most powerful innovations reaching down to the most rural levels.

Not all of these movements are economic. One reason for the high number of internal migrants in India is the fact that women’s migration for marriage is included in this figure. This insight was generated by a conversation with scholar and activist Mohit Chaturvedi, whom I met in Dehradun at the NGO Himmotthan in 2015.

Gram Sabha refers to the administrative body consisting of all persons whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the Panchayat at the village level.

Himmotthan Society is sponsored by Sir Ratan Tata Trust, to work intensively in the Central Himalayan region. Its mission is to build sustainable mountain communities ‘by organizing and developing sustainable enterprises linked to livestock, agriculture, non-timber forest produce, and intervening for better education, access to safe water and sanitation and energy’. www.himmotthan.in/

Mamgain added to economic approaches based on analysis of statistical secondary sources by employing the livelihood approach to analyse employment, migration and livelihood diversification in the hills using a survey applied across 13 districts (Mamgain, 2004). It was found that the majority of rural households (80 percent plus) undertook at least three activities/occupations to support their livelihoods, which is seen as a coping mechanism that reduces the risks associated with low incomes of a single livelihood option (Mamgain, 2004:252).
Mathur (2013) in her study on the production of the border with Tibet in Chamoli district in Uttarakhand, questions the ‘naturalness’ of frontiers in the Himalayan range, which ‘from time immemorial’ had been characterised by cross-border contact in form of travel, migration and trade beyond borders (Mathur, 2013:73).

As in the case of Kumaun, the trade led to the formation of local power elites in Kinnaur, and during British administration the local aristocracy retained substantial freedoms. This included the flow of pashmina wool from Tibet until close ties with western Tibet were curtailed after 1962 (Moran, 2007:148).

Salt and grain had been traded in this area ‘from time immemorial’, as Tibet had large stocks of salt from its salt lakes but lacked in grains due to its high altitude, whilst Nepal did not possess salt deposits but had a surplus of grain at the time (Rauber, 1980:67).

Van Spengen’s observations on post-border-closure economic stratifications of the people in Nyishang in West-central Nepal are interesting. Socio-economic stratification became more pronounced through new international trade ventures after 1962. An expression of this change was a shift for wealthy trading migrant families to acquire real property in Kathmandu, moving away from village ownership of land and cattle; see chapter 7, ‘Post-1962 Developments’ (van Spengen, 2000:201).

The Indian English expression of describing the act of passing time in an aimless or unproductive way, referring to chronic and fruitless waiting characterised by aimlessness and ennui, commonly practised by young men in limbo. Craig Jeffrey published a book with the same title studying the practice of timepass; see Jeffrey, Craig. 2010. Timepass. Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India. (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

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farm work is almost exclusively shouldered by women who are considered ‘housewives’ or ‘farmers’. In all caste hamlets, a trend for family nuclearisation and smaller family sizes is visible. Partition of joint families and separation through out-migration of nuclear families play an important role in these demographic changes. As a relatively isolated Himalayan border region, the area has received significant governmental infrastructure investments since the 1960s, such as road connectivity and electricity coverage; and access to toilets, cooking gas, piped water and the quality of housing is above the rural national average.

Notes

1 Insights generated informally by the late R.S. Tolia, administrator and public servant intellectual, former chief secretary of Uttarakhand, president of the Integrated Mountain Initiative (IMI) and NTPC Chair Professor in Public Policy, Dehradun, are acknowledged throughout the book.

2 During the survey conducted in November and December 2015, I recorded numbers similar to the Socio Economic and Caste Census data (SECC). According to the SECC, Tejam consisted of 155 households in 2011. In the SECC, data was recorded for 139 households: 49 scheduled caste households, 30 scheduled tribe households and 60 general caste households (Uttarakhand State Government, 2014). Data for the remaining 16 households was missing for unknown reasons. Please refer to Appendix 1, table A1 for a detailed analysis of the SECC.

3 There are four cases of elderly women residing in their natal village Tejam with their in-migrated husbands (or now as widows): two Shauka, one general caste and one SC case. This atypical matrilocal residence pattern occurs when there are no brothers who can inherit the ancestral property and it is passed down the female line, which is the case with these Rawat sisters who married Mr Tolia and Mr Nithwal from Munsyari who have settled with their wives in Tejam after retirement.

4 ‘Sanscritisation’, ‘Rajputisation’ or ‘Hinduisation’ was described as a process among traditionally non-Hindu traders of ‘imitation aimed at assimilation towards Hindu values’ in an effort to ‘raise the status of the traders in the eyes of their dominant Hindu customers’ (Rauber, 1980:72). The considerable ‘cultural approximation’ which the Johari Bhotiyas managed to acquire with the local Rajputs is a theme which has been explored in depth by Srivastava (1966). A result of this process is that the Johari Bhotiyas in Tejam have tried to model their behaviour on the urban immigrant Rajputs, acting in ways compatible with values of upper-caste Hinduism, more so than their Bhotiya counterparts living in the other valleys (Srivastava, 1966:202).

5 As the village is spread out, it is not possible to see the whole village from the main road. A view of the whole village is possible after a one-hour climb from a nearby hill (Mondura side).

6 This image is kept blurry on purpose, so as not to reveal the exact numbers of houses. Quotes indicate the household numbers throughout the text, but in order to guarantee research participants’ anonymity, their household numbers ought not to be identifiable on this map. Colours are visible in the eResource (https://www.routledge.com/9780367150969).

7 In this section the focus remains on how survey participants describe their main occupations, or that of other family members, unrelated to income generated. In contrast, the first section of Chapter 3 focuses on the occupations of non-resident family members (i.e. migrant occupations) (see Table 3.2). Main village occupations and main incomes do not always correspond in households. Most important sources of cash incomes are further discussed in the third section of Chapter 3 in the context of analysing migration due to lack of local sources of cash incomes.
8 ‘Fourth class staff’ refers to the lowest level of government staff appointed by the Government of India or a state government. Public employees are grouped from class (or group) I–IV (or A–D). While group I (or A) is the highest rank, group IV (or D) is the lowest. Group four include manual semi-skilled workers, such as peons, watchmen and sweepers.

9 These villages are visible on Map 7.1 (Chapter 7), showing surrounding villages in Tejam’s close proximity.

10 Due to relative freedom and the pursuit of higher education and professional careers, the acceptable marriage age for Shauka singles is much higher. Shauka adults in their late twenties and thirties are free to remain unmarried, which is an uncommon phenomenon for rural India. The general caste and SC young adults tend to marry much earlier; for girls the marriage age is often 17 or 18 (after completion of Inter College).

11 For example, under rural employment schemes, such as MNREGA, each rural household is eligible to apply for 100 days of paid work. Similarly, under the public distribution system (PDS), ration cards giving access to grains (wheat and rice) and fuel (LPG and kerosene) at subsidised prices, are issued by the state government per family. Subsidies differ for below-poverty-line (BPL) and above-poverty-line (APL) households, and BPL and APL ration cards in turn are issued on the basis of household incomes. It can be more lucrative for a large joint household with breadwinners of different income spectrums to split up into separate units. While separated brothers and their families live in adjacent residences, with separate finances, land and/or kitchens, they may still function as one family and can gain the best of both worlds.

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The history of migration from Tejam

organisation for the villagers. Other spatial and socio-economic changes have
gone hand in hand with the disruption of trade. The summer villages en route
to Tibet have been abandoned and have now become ‘ghost villages’, and high-
altitude livestock-rearing and wool industries have almost ceased. Permanent
settlement has replaced the nomadic life of seasonal migration of the groups
now classified as scheduled tribes and scheduled castes, changing also their eco-
nomic and social relations. The social organisation of century-long, complex
coop-dependence, which the trade system relied on, has now dissolved. Although
remnants of hereditary patronage still penetrate some of the social relations
between the Shaukas and Shilpkars in the village, visible in what the scheduled
castes now call casteism (jaati vaad), new forms of economic life, based on access
to cash incomes, has largely replaced the old organisation of patronage.

A historical analysis of caste-tribe labour relations is vital in order to under-
stand the nuances of ambiguity today. Linking and delinking of historic and
contemporary patterns of socio-spatial mobility exists in parallel. It appears
that migration can simultaneously produce changes in identity formation
for historically less fortunate strata of society (leading to empowerment), but
also further reinforce socio-economic inequality based on caste-determined
heredities (reinforcing inequality). On the one hand, historical hereditary
privileges still exist in current migration patterns. The employment of Shauka
residents in leading government posts, and business entrepreneurship after the
trade closure can be seen as a continuation of their inherited trading legacy.
The contemporary mobility trends of Shauka women are also connected to
historic foundations laid during the trade era when Shauka women enjoyed
free movement and a high autonomous status. On the other hand, new con-
temporary opportunities through access to education and migration have
changed the status of the perceived lower castes. Post-Independence govern-
ment interventions, affirmative action and Education for All schemes, combined
with opportunities for migration, have played a key role in the social mobility
of several villagers from the scheduled caste community who have succeeded
in military and civil services. Some socio-economic caste-tribe identities and
constellations carried over from the Indo-Tibetan trade have consequently
changed post-trade. Scheduled caste residents have broken with the old caste
orders in ways unthinkable during the trade era. In conclusion, the mobility
and history linkage presents an interesting dual dynamic whereby mobility
patterns can be both a consequence of history as well as catalyst of socio-
historical change.

Notes

1 The agriculturalist general castes in the village have been largely omitted from the his-
tory of trade in this chapter, as they did not participate in trade activities, but remained
on the land in Tejam. Today, they seem to neither have lost nor gained as much through
the course of history. Their discontent rises from the fact that their ritual supremacy hin-
ders access to preferential government policies. They have gained land from the Bhotiyas
through the land re-distribution act, but this is rather worthless in light of the decline of
agriculture and destruction of wild animals, positioning them in a no-win situation in the current system (see Chapter 3).

2 When using the terms ‘caste-based heredities’, ‘caste-determined heredities’ or short ‘caste heredities’, I refer to the Hindu social concept of presumed inherited characteristics on the basis of caste. This is always based on perceptions, hence I do not always add ‘presumed’ or ‘perceived’ throughout the text, nor do I use inverted commas when speaking about castes or caste heredities, although it would be accurate to do so. Philosophically, the understanding behind caste heredities presupposes ‘the explicit mark of God’s will to fix people into separate destinies by giving them separate natures’, which is opposed to the understanding of human individuals being created as equals (Kaviraj, 2001:308).

3 The term ‘Bhotiya’ is also widely used in Nepal, and according to Nawa (2000), the Bhotiya communities in far-western Nepal maintain (kinship) ties with the Bhotiyas of Kumaun.

4 Also see Negi, 1988:17.

5 Bod or Bhot is a synonym for Tibet. It is claimed that the words Bhot and Bhotiya were popularised by the British administration (Majumdar, 1949:13).

6 According to Sherring, the Rawat ancestor of the Milamwals obtained permission from the Gartok Garphu (viceroy) to establish himself in trade and built Milam and Burphu with a grant received from the Tibetans (Sherring, 1906:96).

7 The role of the Tibetan middlemen, or trade correspondent, was to collect the Tibetan articles of commerce for his Bhotoya counterpart to be picked up in exchange for goods from Kumaun (Pant, 1935:218).

8 The photo was taken at Kishan Singh’s ancestral house in Tejam, and the woman is showing her wedding photo at age 12.

9 Transhumance is a pasture utilisation practice common in high mountain regions and one type of non-stationary practice of livestock keeping, involving seasonal migrations of herds between summer pastures in the high-altitude range and winter pastures in the lowlands. Transhumance is unlike mountain nomadism where a nomadic economy is predominantly based on animal husbandry nor like the European alpine combined mountain agriculture Alpwirtschaft, which utilises alpine grazing grounds solely during summer months (Kreutzmann, 2004:56).

10 Goods exported to western Tibet other than rice and wheat included sugar, candy, gur (molasses), confectionery, almonds, cloves, chilies, indigo, pewter, coarse clothes, pearls, corals, buttons, chinaware, hardware, tobacco, betel nut, satin, velvet, precious stones, copper, gold, silver, iron and jewellery. Items imported from Tibet included wool, borax, salt, gold dust, furs, yak tails, ponies, sheep, goats, mules and yaks, musk, shawls, blankets, saffron, Chinese dragon and other silk materials (Moorcroft, 1818:447; Prasad, 1989:62).

11 The English explorer William Moorcroft, who was assisted by the Rawats to traverse the Himalayas, described Gartok as the most important trading centre in western Tibet on the Ladakh–Lhasa route (Allen, 1982:87). According to historian Chandola:

Gartok turned into a tent town during summer months; it attracted not less than 500 merchants at any one time during the season. The whole plain of Gartok used to be covered with tents of every size, hue and description, including white tents of the Lhasa merchants and black of the Dokpas, while traders from various Indian passes, such as Niti, Johar [and] Byans lived in comfortable tents of various colours. 

(Chandola, 1987:93)

Pant reports that:

towards the end of August a huge fair like that of Bageshwar is held [in Gartok], to which flock traders not only from India, but also from distant Mongolia, Turkistan,
Lhasa, and China proper. After October, like the highest Himalayan villages, it is completely deserted.

(Pant, 1935:219)

12 A *jibu* is a yak hybrid cross between a hill cow and a pure yak bull.

13 W.H. Murray, during his *Scottish Himalayan Expedition* in 1951, noted 540 families residing in Milam, about three families to each house (Murray, 1951:210).

14 When Vineeta Hoon conducted her ethnographic study *Living on the Move. Bhotiyas of the Kumaon Himalaya* in the late 1980s, she noted that very few families in all three valleys inhabited by the Shaukas continued seasonal migration. Even three decades ago there was already a sharp decline in the practice of nomadism in the Johar valley, with the majority of families settling down in the winter villages on a permanent basis.

15 Now only shepherds and elderly couples or widows involved in farming of high altitude crops stay in Milam over the summer. Milam is now primarily visited during religious festivals for *puja* worship and by young men in search of the medicinal herb *Yarsagambu*, which until recently had a high market value. Not a single household in Tejam is engaged in seasonal migration to Milam. It is economically neither lucrative nor necessary for better-off households to make this strenuous three-day journey on foot for a meagre return. Those Shauka households who migrate to Milam over the summer months are from villages around Munsyari. They are mostly BPL households in search of a little extra income through cultivating and selling dried chives (*jambu*) and black cumin (*kala jeera*), or through participation in road construction work by GREF (General Reserve Engineer Force).

16 The word *Shilpkar* meaning ‘craftsmen’ in Hindi, was used in the village when SC respondents referred to themselves. For this reason I use the words *Shilpkar* and SC for *Scheduled Castes* interchangeably. I do not use the words *Dalits*, *Untouchables* and *Harijans* as these can be seen as politically incorrect and derogatory in the contemporary context.

17 Insight generated by the late Dr R.S. Tolia, personal communication in Munsyari, 2016.

18 Due to pollution concepts also operating among SC groups, the other scheduled castes in Tejam to this day do not associate with this caste in marital relations, nor do they accept cooked food or water from them.

19 The primary school during trade times was mobile, and teachers moved alongside the Shauka families to Milam, so the non-migratory segments of the village staying in Tejam did not benefit from schooling, as one elderly general caste man describes (HH144): *There was no school in this region earlier. The school was opened here after 1962. Before the China war, all the educated people were taken up for trade. The teachers and all would move to the upper villages. No one stayed here. We learnt our alphabets here. We used to forget them because they [the teachers] used to be up there for six months. That's how things were.*

20 At the time, goods in Tibet were sold at four to eight times the cost price and the commodities brought from Tibet were sold at ‘astronomical prices’ on the Indian market (Pangtey, 2010:14).

21 Insight generated by the late Dr R.S. Tolia, personal communication, 2016.

22 In the 1930s already, the missionary anthropologist couple William and Charlotte Wiser noted that there were greater opportunities and freedom for the village’s ‘untouchables’ in cities, who could be freer from the ‘stranglehold of untouchability’ outside the village. The Wisers at the time noted that to improve economically, the lowest ‘untouchables’ were almost obliged to leave the home village for work other than sweeping, latrine cleaning and swine herding (Wiser and Wiser, 2000:54).

23 Pant in 1935 crudely describes the relative gender equality observed among the Bhotiya in contrast to the general castes:

while among the Bhotiyas habits of nomadism have led to the development of a sturdy and independent womanhood, [... among the hillmen, on the contrary, a narrow and bigoted conservatism has degraded women to the position of a miserable
drudge. Nor should we omit to notice the striking contrast between the full and free participation of the Bhotiya woman on equal terms with their menfolk, in work and play, and in social intercourse generally, and the total exclusion of the Sub-Himalayan woman from in all those activities that lend a variety and charm to life and make it worth living and striving for.

(Pant, 1935:11)

Like their Tibetan sisters, the [Bhotiya] women play an active part in trade and business, even at such important fairs as Jouljibi, and unlike the Almora [Rajput] women they do not eat the leavings of the men. Men, women, and children sit and eat together.

(ibid.:188)

In the sub–Himalayan or Almora region, the position of the woman is greatly inferior to that of the semi-nomad Bhotiya woman described above. The cultivator here literally needs a wife to perform the drudgery of the field. Woman here bears the brunt of manual labour.

(ibid.:189)

References


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Reasons for out-migration from Tejam as well as in income-generating livelihood opportunities, to keep the younger population in the village. Ultimately, it is the absence of opportunities to pursue desired human development outcomes in the village which impact on people’s choice to migrate.

Notes

1 Given strict marriage exogamy and patrilocal village structure, and the fact that daughters are not included in the family line after marriage, marriage migrants are not included in the count of migrants. During the household survey, 86 daughters were recorded who have left their natal village permanently and are married somewhere else.

2 Unfortunately, not all of the daughters-in-law in government services have been captured in the data collection, and in some cases they may have been recorded as dependents, while in fact they are also economic migrants.

3 Fourth class staff refers to the lowest level of government staff appointed by the Government of India or a state government. Public employees are grouped from class (or group) I–IV (or A-D). While group I (or A) is the highest rank, group IV (or D) is the lowest. Group four includes manual semi-skilled workers, such as peons, watchmen and sweepers.

4 This widespread attitude in favour of education is in striking contrast to pre-Independence, when education was aspired to by only the privileged few. In line with other recent studies, most parents in 21st-century India understand the importance of schooling, including for girls, and do send both boys and girls for schooling if a school is in reasonable reach and safe for girls to attend (Centre for Public Policy, 2013; Sen, 2015).

5 Some better situated families in the village send their children by jeep to the private English medium-school run by South Indian Mar Thoma Mission, which is located in nearby Bhaiskhal. In 2015, 20 children were sent daily in two jeeps from Tejam.

6 This is not a new phenomenon. To my knowledge, the only other published study covering Tejam (as one of four villages), shows that in the 1980s there was already a high percentage share (35 percent) of household heads who listed retirement as the household head’s ‘occupation’ (Vir and Manral, 1990:38).

7 MNREGA, which promises 100 paid days of work to one member in each rural household, is not implemented satisfactorily at village level. Only six to eight days of employment are available annually through MNREGA, which involves building of check dams and clearing paths and communal areas.

8 During the household survey, the following animals were recorded in Tejam: 208 chickens, 63 goats and one sheep. Twenty families keep goats, 15 of which are SC, plus five general households. In seven cases more than two goats (between 3 and 15) are kept for business; these are bred, reared and then sold. In all other cases, one or two goats are kept for personal use and consumption during temple Poojas, when goats are ceremonially offered and then eaten. Chicken are kept both for eggs and meat by 25 households, mostly for personal use, while 13 families keep them partly for small business.

9 A nali is a land measuring unit local to Uttarakhand. One nali equals approximately 200 sq m and 1 hectare of land equals 50 nalis.

10 Seasonal vegetables traditionally grown over the course of the year in kitchen gardens include potatoes, pumpkins, cucumbers, bottle gourds, cabbages, onions, beans, peas, okra, ginger, red peppers, turmeric, squash, spinach and other green leafy vegetables.

11 Ration shops are part of the Public Distribution System (PDS) for food security, distributing subsidised food and non-food items. Ration shops sell wheat, rice, sugar, and kerosene at subsidised prices lower than the market price at different rates for APL and BPL ration card holders.

12 Bageshwar is located 82 km from Tejam, and Haldwani is at a distance of 242 km.
Reasons for out-migration from Tejam

References


own individual lives and investments in the city, there may be no contribution from migration to economic development in the village whatsoever.

The lives of migrant wives are undergoing processes of change and increased freedoms. While the participation of women from the farm community in migration for work is still extremely low, an increased trend to accompany migrant husbands instead of remaining with in-laws in the village is observable. Case studies reveal that the lives of left behind wives are highly diverse and therefore difficult to generalise. Women’s well-being is dependent on a multitude of factors, for which reason the usefulness of the category of the ‘left behind’ is questionable. The processes affecting women’s lives are a complex interplay of intertwined social changes, including the increasing abandonment of hill agriculture, rising educational aspirations for children, and the higher education and status of daughters-in-law, which together lead to significant changes in the rural socio-economic tapestry.

Notes

1. Reports on permanent family out-migration can only be considered a sketch of the more recent situation. Neighbours or distant relatives cannot be expected to remember all the details about those who abandoned their houses and left the village decades ago.

2. In addition to the 103 out-migrants and their 107 dependent migrants who I recorded as part of resident households during the survey, I recorded 46 families permanently away, the majority belonging to the Bhotiya community: 31 Shauka families (135 persons), eight SC families (32 persons) and seven general caste families (29 persons). Six of the homes are rented out to in-migrants, while others are used by relatives (for storage) or are rotting away. The total recorded number of villagers permanently settled outside in recent decades is 196; this is according to patrilocal lines.

3. Unlike in case studies, where I use pseudonyms throughout to guarantee anonymity of respondents, the names used in family trees are all real. Family members interviewed insisted that real names should be used, which is more authentic and also sensible, given that no private thoughts or confidential information is presented, in comparison to interviews and life stories where anonymity is important.

4. The inclusion of women in family trees is novel in the given context and had not been attempted in the area before. S.S. Pangtey (2015), who had collected extensive family trees in the region earlier, did include sons, but not daughters, as daughters are considered to be part of their marital homes.

5. I use the word ‘generation’ here to refer to the four generations in the family tree which are (mostly) alive at present. ‘Fifth’ refers to the youngest present generation of children aged 0–18, while ‘fourth’ refers to their parents. ‘Third generation’ adults are the grandparents and second-generation adults are great-grandparents, some of them still alive. Only one tree (Rawat tree 2) includes deceased first-generation great-great-grandparents.

6. A notable exception is the late Tulsi Devi, the second (and younger) wife of Siriram Singh and daughter of famous historian Ram Singh Pangtey, who was educated in Munsyari. She was the first Shauka woman residing in Tejam to join the government service as a teacher and is held in high regard in the village.

7. Not all fourth generation Shaukas are in employment and enjoy economic prosperity. Both sons of Chandra Singh, Gajraj and Gajendra, are unemployed, despite secondary schooling outside the village. Gajraj completed polytechnic training in Uttar Pradesh and his wife has a B.Ed. from Rudrapur. Both remain unemployed in the village and depend on the father’s service pension. Gajendra has an M.Com. from Almora and resides
unemployed in Haldwani. These are atypical exceptions. In the whole large Rawat family tree, there is only this one case of fourth-generation Shauka unemployment.

What is possible on the high end does not apply to female migration for labour on the lower spectrum, which is observable in the general caste and SC hamlets. Low-paid and seasonal migration for labour or non-permanent jobs in the lower-end private sector is only undertaken by men.

The mobility of Shauka widows caused some difficulty in achieving accurate numbers of actual residents during the household survey, as they tend to come and go each year visiting adult children.

In order to guarantee villager’s anonymity, all the names of characters used in life stories in this chapter are pseudonyms: Ganesh, Diya, Pippa, Gunni, Kavita, Pinkie, Priya, Kushi, Munni Devi, Hansa, Amit, Anamika, Raj and Sandeep.

I was unable to meet the sister and brother of Ganesh and did not get the other side of the story. The main point, however, is clear: alienation and shift of loyalties and responsibilities after increased wealth when living apart from the joint family.

Employment in different police or military departments, including forms of border-related employment, such as the Indian Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) or Border Security Force (BSF) is often collectively described as ‘in the forces’ by survey participants.

Walton, as early as 1910 wrote about army recruitment of the inhabitants of Johar:

[a few have been] recruited for the Garhwal Rifles regiment at Lansdowne and much of the pay they earn finds its way into the family. [...] The Kumauni having made the acquaintance of the plains will wander far in search of a living. He is to be found enlisted in the Burma Police and other semi-military forces, as well as in the United Provinces Police. Others of slightly superior education have taken service in the Survey department and are to be found anywhere between Baluchistan and Darjeeling.

(Walton, 1911:110)

When the household survey was conducted, there were only 48 milk-giving cows registered in Tejam – distributed among 30 general households, eight SC households and four ST households. There were only six milk buffaloes held, all by general caste households. Most of the surveyed households keep one or two milk animals; there are 13 households which keep three milk animals, while seven households keep four and there is no household with a greater quantity than four milk animals in Tejam. In contrast, some older women remember that their parental homes kept 10–15 milk animals during their childhood, which is now unheard of in the village.

Three female teenagers from other villages (with no high schools) are left with elderly maternal grandmothers to attend the Inter College in Tejam while their parents live elsewhere. These are specific situations and of no statistical significance.

To guarantee privacy of research participants, the name of the village has not been mentioned as there is only one women’s group leader in this particular village.

The subject of the sexual behaviour of male long-term migrants and effects on women has deliberately been excluded as far too personal to inquire about in an ethnographic context. Other studies have shown that long periods of spouse separation could be associated with an increase in risky sexual behaviour, especially in the absence of social control and policing of behaviour through social networks. Quantitative studies on HIV in rural India show that male out-migration is the most important risk factor influencing the spread of HIV infection in rural areas. Statistics show that for men, the prevalence of HIV was significantly higher among those with a migration history; and for women, the prevalence of HIV was higher among those with migrant husbands. Men who were exposed to AIDS/HIV, STDs and other diseases through extramarital affairs or through prostitution could potentially pass these diseases on to left behind wives after returning to the village (Saggurti, Mahapatra et al., 2011, 2012; UNDP-TAHA, 2007).
The duration of short-term seasonal migration is for fewer than six months over the course of a year, either in brief spells, or seasonal, or in one stretch. In contrast, long-term migration entails the absence from the village for more than six months and up to the entire year, with annual visits to the village for about one month, and occasional visits for social obligations or in cases of emergency.

These three households (HH4, HH5 and HH6) are a common example of members of the joint family living in separate units in the same house. They have separate bedrooms, kitchen, finances and ration cards, i.e. they are officially classified as separate units, but share much of daily life together. They also share one bathroom in an adjacent outhouse. This is a common arrangement observable in Tejam.

References


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SW: [Lack of] employment is a very big problem and one reason that causes migration. The other thing is poverty and alcohol. This is the result of unemployment. If a brilliant boy stays unemployed, he would certainly commit something wrong at some point of time. Unemployment is a definite problem here. There are many boys here who have been educated up to 10th and 12th standard or are even [university] graduates, but after all that education, lack of work opportunity makes their resolve weak [literally: they start getting distracted].

(Social worker from nearby NGO reflecting on village problems)

Conclusion

The non-migration of young men fits the description of being ‘left behind’ in the village most accurately. Intergenerational replication of social and economic disadvantage is visible in processes of non-migration: the villagers with lower social and economic capital remain in Tejam with their families and are largely underemployed, whilst more capable villagers leave the village for employment in towns. The study reconfirms the important correlation between productive work and household well-being, gainful employment giving access to the various forms of capital, whilst its absence reinforces multidimensional poverty. Underemployment needs to be viewed in light of men’s own attitudes towards agricultural work, their choice of ‘voluntary unemployment’ and the common and culturally accepted male practice of ‘timepass’. At the same time, the non-migration and unemployment of young men needs to be further understood in the light of existing macro-structures of large-scale shortages of job creation. Lack of non-agricultural employment opportunities for both young men and young women is particularly staggering given the current potential for India to reap the demographic dividend, which is reaching its peak as I write.

Notes

2 Before the dividend begins, a nation is burdened with a high dependency ratio, with a large and growing share of the population below working age. When the dividend period has passed, the share of the elderly population, who are beyond working age, rises and hence increases the dependency ratio (Mehrotra:xi).
3 Here, inclusive growth refers to growth where output growth is accompanied by employment growth, especially in non-agricultural occupations, at least as large as the number of new entrants in the labour force, even though employment growth may be proportionally lower than output growth in a given period.

(Mehrotra, 2016:123)

4 Boserup in her earlier study of women’s roles in economic development classifies the subsistence farming systems of the world as (1) exclusively done by women (‘female farming’), (2) predominantly done by women, and (3) predominantly done by men (Boserup, 1989).
The ‘unoccupied unemployed’, entails a thin strand of ‘elite unemployed’, the latter groups being sufficiently assisted by their relatives to be able to spend long periods of time in attempting to procure (government) employment (Heuze, 1996:250–2).

The behaviour of rural educated unemployed youth was interpreted as a way of asserting themselves against the degradation of joblessness ‘by remaining together in doing nothing, by refusing to participate in the domestic economy and to work in the fields, by dressing in city attire [. . .] and frequenting the tea-stalls located on the main road’ (Heuze, 1996:105).

Descriptions by economist Mamgain of youth in Uttarakhand reflect the situation:

men becoming growingly idle and inactive [. . .] due to lack of employment opportunities outside agriculture. [. . .] Local youth are indulged [the] whole day in playing cards as their timepass activity [emphasis added]. [. . .] There is a huge obsession for salaried jobs irrespective of quality and tenure – expectations of people have ever risen and [they] want to avoid hard life. [. . .] They are least interested in taking up tedious agricultural work on their fields.

(Mamgain, 2004:33)

Taking Ramila Bisht’s empirical study as a reference point, this is not unusual in the hills: ‘men, both migrant and non-migrant, drink a lot and quarrel. Avoidance of work by men is not an uncommon phenomenon. It is often associated with high alcohol consumption’ (Bisht, 2004:229).

References


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Mamgain, Rajendra P. 2004. Employment, migration and livelihoods in the hill economy of Uttarakhand. (New Delhi: Centre for the study of regional development, Jawaharlal Nehru University).


properties in two or three locations and commute between homes after retirement according to preference, season and occasions. Investments as well as loyalties are split across various places, pointing to the fact that return flows and investment mostly take place when nuclear families have settled in the village and loyalties are undivided, such as in the case of the flour mill, the general store and the cosmetics shop.

**Conclusion**

Reasons for retirement return migration encompass both economic and non-economic motivations. Family-related reasons and the natural village environment are particularly strong pull factors for return. In terms of the economic dimensions of return migration, various parallel trends are observable. While some of the ‘failed migrants’ may linger around unemployed, other ‘unsuccessful migrants’ become small-scale village entrepreneurs, such as shopkeepers or teashop owners. Processes of rural change are influenced by exposure to the outside world, evident in villagers’ accounts of ‘social remittance’ return flows. Return investments, both social and economic, form an integral part of village entrepreneurship, and these are visible among returnees due to retirement and among ‘unsuccessful migrants’. Although entrepreneurship is characteristic of some return migrants, return investment in the village cannot in all cases be presumed among the group of affluent pensioners, and is not always fruitful. This is very visible in the phenomena of ‘timepass’ among returned pensioners. Return investments therefore have limitations in contributing to structural economic change.

**Notes**

1 Rukma Rawat’s work on return migration and development in Garhwal confirms this observation. Her study, based on a sample of 164 return migrants across Lansdowne tehsil, Tehri Garhwal district in Uttarakhand, found that migrants belonging to lower socio-economic groups involved in low-prestige grade occupations or occupations belonging to military services tended to return to the sending villages after retirement, while those with higher socio-economic status settled with their families in cities (Rawat, 1997:46).
2 Food was not always guaranteed in previous generations, for which reason an emphasis on ‘food sovereignty’ in terms of ‘food security’ is plausible. Notably, despite the threat and destruction from monkeys, homegrown food in the village is perceived as much preferable to food which has to be brought in. While the terraced spread-out fields are largely damaged by monkeys, kitchen gardens right next to the house are less affected by monkeys and more easily protected.
3 Goldring’s framework (2004) distinguishing between different typologies of remittances and their effect on development is helpful in understanding the context of Tejam. Economic remittances are applicable in understanding varying roles of remittances in local development processes. Different types of remittances apply different kinds of logic. Family remittances are directed towards immediate kin in the migrant household and function more like incomes fuelling consumptive investment, as ample evidence shows (Jain, 2010; Mamgain, 2014; Murphy, 2009; Wang, 2013). While family remittances apply the logic of kinship, collective remittances apply the logic of philanthropy.
Collective remittances involve money raised by a group which is directed toward community organisations undertaking projects for the community. Investment remittances apply the market logic in the investment of money in productive entrepreneurship, often generating employment and economic return over time, thus being most closely related to economic development.

4 Unfortunately, none of the villagers had photos of the village layout as it was in earlier times. According to oral histories, in earlier trade times when the road had not been built yet, the village centre was at the bottom of the village near the river, while the new shops and homes now cluster around the main road.

5 The three teashops located along the main road in Tejam are locally known as ‘hotels’. They serve tea and snacks and basic meals for travellers passing through on public jeeps. The tea shops are also frequented by in-migrant male teachers and local men for chatting and company (women and female teachers meet in their own homes for tea and socialising). Two of these tea stalls are run by brothers who returned to Tejam due to loss of private sector jobs after eight years in Haldwani.

6 An earlier study on the dynamics of economic transformation among the Shauka after trade closure highlighted that not an insignificant number of Bhotiyas took up shopkeeping as a livelihood, thus changing their historic occupation from travelling traders to ‘settled traders’ (Prasad, 1989:14). Within the sample of 224 Bhotiya families, 80 had migrated to lesser Himalayan places like Thal, Bageshwar, Garur, Haldwani and so forth. For 64 percent of these families in semi-urban and urban areas, shopkeeping is their primary occupation (Prased, 1989:125).

7 The tailor returned to Tejam after trying out business in Didihat for six years, so may technically also be considered a ‘failed attempt’ return migrant.

8 Vinay is a pseudonym.

9 Jain’s work on labour migration and remittances in Uttarakhand similarly found that only few of the returned migrants were using their acquired skills in the village. A few had opened up roadside eateries catering to tourists and jeep drivers, but apart from hospitality and driving skills, use of skills in the village was limited (Jain, 2010:18).

10 The SC community has a separate infrastructure with village shops, half of which were run by return migrants. In total, there are four small general type stores. Two are run the ST retired pensioners, and two by SC villagers, one of whom returned from a private job in Mumbai and Delhi and whose father helped set up the shop with his government service pension. In addition there are two commuting tailors who have set up tailoring shops located in the SC hamlet. One specialises in gents’ and one in ladies’ clothing, which also sells wool for weaving. The tailors are SC brothers who commute daily on foot from neighbouring village Basantnagar.

11 Although the pay is very low, the Nepali in-migrant family, who can be classified as seasonal migrants, likes to stay and work on the premises, as their two children get free Hindi-medium education in the school next door.

References


villages, who establish themselves in Tejam after retirement, tend to stay a lifetime. Following the lines of in-migrants and studying their villages of origin reveals that interior remote nearby villages have their own history of migration and movements and are dynamic microcosms just as Tejam is. Studying the life histories of a number of households reveals that the lines of in- and out-migration overlap and interact in multiple ways in the course of a household’s life cycle. The choice of movement from interior villages to Tejam as a roadside village demonstrates that villagers maximise opportunities, within the constraints of their individual choices, to improve their living conditions. Within the confinement of possible options, people carve out a living which seems feasible to them. Those who are not capable of migrating to towns to settle may be able to move to roadside locations in order to access better infrastructure. This trend is visible in both temporary in-migration into Tejam for schooling, as well as in permanent in-migration of retired pensioners from remote interior villages with little infrastructure. The in-migrants to Tejam from interior villages can be classified as the middle strata of society ‘in between’ the very rich and poor. They are not wealthy, educated and connected enough to permanently settle in towns and cities, but capable enough to make a move locally, and therefore better-off financially than those resident agriculturists who remain in interior villages, incapable of moving anywhere. Many in-migrants into Tejam are essentially part of a newly formed local government service class. On meso-levels, processes of in-migration reveal regional spatial inequalities, as more remote villages are left behind for a slightly better developed roadside village.

Notes

1 The temple complex in the centre of the village is famous, and villagers of Tejam from all castes visit the temple on special religious occasions for pooja (worship). The temple has a 200-year history and is the largest old temple in the area, entirely cut in stone. It attracts visitors from all over the block, district, state and beyond. As is the case in Tejam, there are no resident practising Brahmans living in Hokara, the priests thus have to commute for work to Hokara. The nearest village with a large Duwedi Brahmin population is Baman, Kwiti village. The pandits shuttle up and down from Kwiti for two hours on a daily basis to conduct pooja work at the Hokara temple.

2 Girls are de-selected for educational higher out-migration, as parents are hesitant to send girls away on their own both for safety concerns and reasons of household inconvenience. However, parents are generally happy to send girls for further education if the school is nearby and they can help with housework while attending school. This is congruent with findings in Tejam: all school-aged children and teenagers, both male and female, are in school, which is locally in reach on foot. The male-female ratio of educational out-migrants from Hokara now works in favour of girls attending the new Inter College: out of the 14 students in year 12, only 3 are boys, whilst 11 are girls. One of the reasons for this imbalance is that boys prefer to go to Tejam’s Inter College due to its available science stream, while Hokara at the time of the study only offered arts subjects.

Reference

reason. Acceptable infrastructure and purchasing power of other in-migrants and return migrants made small businesses such as shopkeeping viable in the first place. Preconditions for entrepreneurial investment at home are infrastructural and economic environments conducive to such investments. Poor infrastructure (including roads, stable electricity, irrigation, communications, internet access and education) make the potential returns to local investment too low and uncertain for migrants to take the step of investing their savings in local economic activities (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:291). This finding ties in with the argument that the priority of (local) government must be to create an environment conducive to investment in productive activities, for which the provision of high-quality social services and infrastructure remains crucial. One of the best ways for state governments to promote community development through migration is to ‘get its economic house in order and to finance public works and infrastructure that will ensure a high return to investments made by migrants in their home communities’ (Massey, Arango et al., 1998:274).

**Final concluding remark**

In conclusion, the study of Tejam’s microcosm has generated a multifaceted understanding of the complex processes at work in the migration, development and social change nexus. As the case of Tejam exemplifies, both mobility and immobility have important implications for rural communities, households and individuals. Movements in various directions – out-migration, return migration, in-migration and non-migration – with a variety of motivations and impacts are intertwined with the multidimensional spheres of socio-agrarian change. Tapping into the intergenerational richness of the village in describing the development processes and social changes at work, migration is revealed as a fundamental part of the multifaceted 21st-century changes that the socio-economic village tapestry is undergoing. Employing a multigenerational and historical approach, the book has documented how contemporary migration patterns are linked to historical patterns of mobility in the particular context of Indo-Tibetan trade history. Intergenerational legacies of socio-economic relations, migration aspirations and migration trajectories have been revealed, as intergenerational caste and class inequalities are simultaneously remembered, replicated and altered over time through (im)mobility for work and education. Although the setting of the study is the Indian Himalayas, the topic will have broad relevance to many agrarian societies across the world which are currently characterised by extensive rural-urban migration and mobility trends. This micro-level study calls for deeper reflections on the important meanings of change and development, not only for local village residents, but more broadly with implications on meso- and macro-levels.

**Notes**

1 Choices which are relevant to the study of movement include non-humiliation, the right to travel and the right to seek employment (Nussbaum, 2000:165). Educational opportunities,
employment opportunities, political liberties and the quality of race and gender relations are seen as important goods in the capability approach (Nussbaum, 2000:61) and are fundamentally tied in with opportunities to migrate.

1 The specificity of local discourse is juxtaposed to migration discourses in other countries, such as China, where, since the 1990s, labour migration has been utilised and promoted as a strategy for poverty alleviation by the central government, resulting in different discourses at local levels.

2 I witnessed the difference in local quality private education versus government schooling myself whilst I tutored a group of children in the panchayat house. The younger children who attended year 4 in the nearby English-medium Mar Thoma school had better English spelling and writing abilities than their local counterparts attending the government school in years 7 and 8.

3 Quality rural education could be promoted by enhancing the quality of teachers through incentives attracting highly qualified staff for rural postings, preferential couple treatment (i.e. two-teacher couples could be posted to the same village to minimise excessive absenteeism for the sake of family visits), and generally stricter control mechanisms for staff absenteeism and continued teacher training.

4 Failure in what Dreze and Sen (2011) call ‘appropriate social supplementation’ by the government in health, education and other aspects of ‘social development’ has historic roots. Dreze and Sen (2011, 2013) frequently compare India with China’s social development. Whereas India has almost caught up with China in terms of economic growth rates, it has not done nearly as well in translating growth into rapid progress of social indicators. In comparison, China has managed to make much better use of high economic growth to expand public resources for development purposes, using public expenditure to fund health and education. The foundations of this go back as far as the 1940s when China, after the revolution, immediately prioritised universal elementary education and infrastructure (including basic amenities such as roads and electricity). It was not until four decades after Independence that India similarly prioritised public health care and universal elementary education. The lack of quality provision in schooling and health care and the lack of basic amenities in surrounding villages, such as lack of road access, is linked to the macro-context of weak foundations.

References


I analysed the existing household rosters carefully according to caste and in terms of clues, which might point to possible patterns of out-migration (see Table A1). On the basis of the pre-fieldwork SECC data analysis, five general migration trends made a strong case for choosing Tejam as a study village:

1. Prevalence of female-headed households due to migration of males;
2. Prevalence of older couples and old widowed household due to out-migration of adult children;
3. Prevalence of ST whole nuclear family out-migration (parents and children) – only SC and general caste families with schoolgoing children live in the village;
4. Disappearance of joint families due to break-up in smaller nuclear family units living close to each other or separation of units through migration;
5. Large number of professional in-migrants unusual for typical village economy.

The pre-fieldwork analysis of the SECC data was helpful enough to select the village and indicate general trends, yet not reliable enough for definite conclusions.3 It certainly did not explain migration reasons and impacts. The number of total households altogether absent from the village (i.e. permanent migrant households or non-resident villagers) was also unavailable. My own survey closes these gaps by including very detailed questions on out-migrants (see Appendix 6).

Notes

1. The preselected villages had the following characteristics: they were multi-caste, with general, scheduled tribal (ST) and scheduled caste (SC) populations (this allowing the study of migration across different social groups); they were of a good size with 67–155 households; and they had some infrastructure with a primary school, junior high school and/or Inter College in the village.
2. Tanga’s household structures, as analysed in the SECC data set, point to both nuclear family as well as single male migration, but was de-selected due to its smaller size of just 67 households. Possibly only 20 migrant households would have been suitable for case studies.
3. The selection method of the study village on the basis of the preliminary analysis of household structures predominant in the census data appears quite solid: the prevalence of a high level of out-migration could be assumed prior to fieldwork (and was later verified and clarified through my own data collection). The SECC data set, however, does not include any direct questions on out-migration; my presumptions on how individual household structures are linked to out-migration were therefore to some degree speculative. To give an example of potential flaws: those households which appear nuclear or joint in structure and were classified as not affected by migration, might still have out-migrants if the number of brothers was high.

References

Uttarakhand State Government. 2014. SECC social, economic and caste census rural draft list for Tejam village [SECC ड्राफ्ट रूपांतर – ग्रामीण (तेजम)].
linked to respect inherent in the general disposition of the researcher, including day-to-day interactions, nuanced behaviours and hidden thoughts about the research participants.

Notes

1. The seven sub-headings for observation and note-taking in the village were (1) geographical location; (2) demographic features; (3) recent history of migration; (4) village infrastructure and communication links; (5) agriculture and other livelihoods; (6) schooling, youth (un)employment and changing aspirations; (7) informal and formal social protection.

2. My choice of ethnographic community-based methods can be linked back to the guiding methodological paradigm of interpretivism. Interpretivist approaches are heavily dependent upon the researcher’s direct involvement with the community being studied, since meaning emerges both through observations of interactions among the research participants and from interactions between the researcher and the participants. From the turn of the 20th century, community-based research has stressed the importance of subjective interpretations of human experience (Finley, 2008:97).

3. M.S. Srinivas’s work *The Remembered Village* was based on 11 months’ fieldwork in one village in South India (Srinivas, 1976).

4. People-oriented social science research is language-based at every step of the way: we choose which language to use while in the field entailing either direct communication or interpretation. We also choose in which language to think about what we see and to process experiences. Finally, we decide in which language to take field notes and analyse data.

5. Constant translation of the things one hears and sees occurs in ones’ own mind, especially when writing field notes in English on topics which had been discussed in Hindi. The ‘translation process’ continues during the thesis writing when communicating data to the reading audience (Spradley, 1980:161).

6. The most common mistake I noticed was the frequency of making value judgements and interrupting people while they spoke with affirmative sentences and sounds (like *acha [right], ha, ha* [yes, yes]), as well as the tendency to move on too quickly to the next topic rather than letting people finish their train of thought.

7. Male-dominated spaces include the *panchayat* (village council) and outdoor places of leisure and relaxation where cigarettes and alcohol may be consumed, cards are played and daily affairs are discussed. Public spaces as ‘the street’ seem to be reserved for the male population after dark. Since females traditionally cannot engage in such leisure activities or enter such spaces and they are generally not considered to be safe for them, there are limitations in space and time for ethnographic observation and participation for the female researcher. As the constant presence of males and the total absence of females in these spaces is considered ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ (Chowdhry, 2014:41), the presence of a female researcher will be considered ‘unnormal’ and ‘unsafe’. In such an environment the female researcher’s movements are extremely restricted, and the opportunities for interviewing male migrants in itself may pose difficult.

8. Being an insider, just like being an outsider, can have mixed implications for research practice. Ethnographic researchers from a familiar cultural setting can encounter problems when interviewing due to their background. As Spradley reflects:

   at the same time you study an informant’s culture, your informant is gathering information about what you know. If informants believe your background has already taught you the answer to your own questions, they will feel you are asking dumb questions and that you may be trying to test them in some way. When informants believe you are really ignorant, that you don’t know anything about their way of life, these problems do not arise.

   (Spradley, 1979:50)
References


the winter. This gave me an insight into the hard labour these women do, and also gave me an opportunity to chat with them whilst collecting fuel. Four of these young women later agreed to write a daily journal entry over the course of one week, which provided some insights into their daily routines, workloads, anxieties and joys. The women were asked to describe one event, experience or thought that had made some feel happy or satisfied and one that had made them feel angry, worried or annoyed over the course of seven days. They were also asked to fill in details about themselves and their families, provide details about their husband’s work and family finances (two women were migrant wives and two were non-migrant wives). The women were encouraged to write about the lives of women in the village, changes in the course of their lives and their future hopes and plans. These women’s diaries became supplementary data. Authenticity questions remain an issue, as the women knew they were recording the diary entries for my study, and it was likely that other curious family members read what the women wrote every day. A ‘healthy scepticism’, as to how sincere the reported feelings are in such diaries, remains appropriate (Scott, 1990 quoted in Bryman:546). In one case, a young woman confessed that her migrant husband on annual leave from Delhi had filled in some of the entries.

Whilst arts-based methods had involved children residing in the village, family tree research mostly relied on oral histories of elderly residents who had extensive knowledge of their family histories, and women’s diaries involved the participation of young farm women. The three distinct approaches thus helped with gaining access to different demographic groups in the village and with including their views in the book.

Notes

1 For example, Driessnack’s study (2006) of children’s experiences of fear used a child-directed approach to data collection, in which children made drawings and then were encouraged to talk about their work in what she called ‘draw-and-tell conversations’. Follow-up topical written essays can further be used for data analysis. Anthropologist Margaret Mead (1957) collected 1,000 essays from secondary school students about their perceptions of scientists. Mead asked students to complete half-sentences such as ‘when I think about a scientist, I think of . . . ’ to elicit major aspects of the image of the scientist. The data was used to find out about stereotypical notions of what a scientist does and looks like, attitudes towards science as a personal career choice and the desirability of a scientist as a marriage partner. In Ganesh’s large-scale arts-based study (2011) on children’s perception of what an engineer looks like and does, he used children’s drawings ‘to elicit individuals’ understandings of a specific idea or construct’. Ganesh conducted one-on-one discussions with students to understand their drawings and responses and to elicit their thinking behind the drawings, and this became an integral part of the data analysis process (ibid.:223).

2 Examples include illustrated freestyle story-writing to explore which topics are on children’s minds, discussions on values of children (i.e. their perception of desirable character qualities in friends and children’s aspirations for the future). Various drawing competitions included a village map-drawing competition, with some village maps included in the book in Chapter 1.
References


The last phase in the village was filled with less note-taking, but with more planned and unplanned activities. Various types of interviews proved useful in the generation of different types of knowledge. After the completion of the survey work and the collection of semi-structured interviews, I moved into more in-depth and unstructured interviewing, which are valuable when searching for greater depth of information. After basic knowledge has been established, in-depth insights on certain topics are pursued in this way, giving prompts around the topics of interest. It often involves enquiring about ‘personal matters, such as individual’s self, lived experience, values and decisions, occupational ideology, cultural knowledge, or perspective’ (Johnson, 2002:106). In comparison to the semi-structured interviews along the lines of an interview guide, follow-up qualitative unstructured interviews allowed more room for the villagers to lead the conversation in the direction they saw as relevant. These interviews were thus at the more informal end of the interview spectrum, more similar to a conversation. Interviewing tended to being ‘flexible, responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview and perhaps adjusting the emphases in the research as a result of issues that emerge in the course of [such] interviews’ (Bryman, 2012:470).

While collecting surveys and semi-structured interviews, I had kept a detailed Excel sheet indicating relevant households for further in-depth study. This allowed for reinterviewing knowledgeable persons or interviewing another family member of the same household. I was particularly interested in return migrants and wives of out-migrants whose specific life circumstances were not covered in the initial baseline survey. Relevant themes I selected for further study included: successful business entrepreneurship of return migrants, the lives of left behind daughter-in-law migrant wives, elderly couples who reside in the village without any nuclear family support, multiple generational migrant households and those who had sent their children away for quality schooling. I also revisited households which were related to the permanent non-resident villagers, or particularly knowledgeable about the history of the village or certain aspects of the history of the Indo-Tibetan trade. Elements of the oral history research approach were part of many interviews with return migrants, emphasising a particular part of an individual’s life (Atkinson, 2002:125). Rather than inviting the interviewees to look back in detail across their entire life course, I focused on their work-life history. I specifically asked about their working years away and experience about returning to the village, their choices for return investment and so forth. Oral history accounts of the village were collected from elderly people who had first-hand knowledge and lived through eras from before the Indo-China War (i.e. pre-1962). In light of their lived experience, they could report changes and pass down memories.

References
Uttarakhand State Government. 2014. *SECC social, economic and caste census rural draft list for Tejam village* [*SECC ड्रापट सूचि – ग्रामीण (तेजम)*].
not aim at generating a grounded *theory* of migration, but rather at grounded *descriptions* of the various phenomena and connections associated with it. This type of inductive coding is therefore to be seen as a process of abstracting and interpreting new ideas contained in the data itself, therefore generating concepts which are very much grounded (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002:167). Some of such codes, which emerged when noticing emerging themes and ideas from the data, were the categories *agricultural situation* and *unsuccessful return migration reasons* and their various sub-codes. A third type of codes I employed, which are also associated with the grounded theory methodology, are *in-vivo codes*. In-vivo coding refers to actual phrases and words directly derived from the text, these are usually statements repeatedly given by respondents, for which reason they stand out, such as ‘people don’t work hard’ or ‘nothing can be done without money’. Out of the 86 codes, 19 are deductive, 58 are inductive, and 9 are in-vivo codes. Much time was spent in developing and defining these codes, which fuels the analytic thought process and adds clarity and transparency to the analysis (Friese, 2014:97). After each coding session an analysis diary memo was written, recording new codes and observations, and the code list was updated in parallel. Such a record of the meanings derived from the data adds to the credibility and trustworthiness of the research (Groenewald, 2008:505). With time immersed in the data, insight into connections came. I discovered themes in the data which were linked to other themes. When codes overlapped in the same paragraph of speech, links could be identified. For example, the improved status of daughters-in-law (POS_CHANGE: DIL’s status) was linked to improved infrastructure (toilets, gas, water access through pipelines) which has made women’s lives easier and reduced drudgery (POS_CHANGE: better facilities).

**References**


