



ISSN: 0976-3031

Available Online at <http://www.recentscientific.com>

CODEN: IJRSFP (USA)

International Journal of Recent Scientific Research
Vol. 8, Issue, 8, pp. 19378-19384, August, 2017

**International Journal of
Recent Scientific
Research**

DOI: 10.24327/IJRSR

Research Article

PATTERN OF MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES: A STUDY OF SELECTED SOUTH ASIAN NATIONS

Mahua Bhattacharjee*

Amity University, Uttar Pradesh

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.24327/ijrsr.2017.0808.0684>

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 15th May, 2017
Received in revised form 25th
June, 2017
Accepted 23rd July, 2017
Published online 28th August, 2017

Key Words:

Remittances, South Asian countries,
migration policy and labour laws

ABSTRACT

Remittances have become an important source of private financial resource for developing economies. South Asian countries account for almost half of all out migration. The objective of the paper is to understand the pattern of migration in selected South Asian countries - Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan and to analyze the policy approach of the respective countries on migration. It is primarily done with the review of literature and policy analysis of the respective countries with special reference to migration law and labor laws. A reverse relation between outflow and remittances is noted among the South Asian countries. India being the highest sending countries is the lowest recipient of remittances. With time the approach of laws towards migration has transformed but issues like undercounting, border migration and inefficient financial environment are to be addressed to make the implementation of overstretched policy to be effective. At the multiple levels these issues are to be resolved by recognizing migrants as a contributor in the process of transformation and development.

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INTRODUCTION

As financial resources remittance though cannot take the place of FDI, debt relief or other public sources of finance development but with time it is gradually increasing its contribution especially in the developing economy. The World Bank Report (2006) explains clearly the increasing role of remittances in developing countries. It reports the average increase of remittances in developing countries by 15% in annual terms. It also states that over the last decade remittances have outpaced private capital flows and official development assistance. Migration between the developing countries is growing and the section of migration from developing countries to developed countries is gradually declining at steady pace. Studies (Adams, Jr., Richard, 2005a) examined that the developing countries take the lead (95%) in the number of emigrants. In 2008, top ten remittances receiving countries were developing countries. In 2007, the total remittances to developing countries through official sources was estimated at \$328 billion and it is likely that billions more are transferred through unofficial sources (World Bank-2009). In South Asia, Middle East and North Africa remittances are importance source of GDP. As recipient of remittances among the developing countries India is ranked among the top 20 countries (IMF, 2004).

The study of linkage between the poverty and remittances is thus becoming a very significant new area of discussion. Adams and Page (2005) tried to examine the link for the developing countries if exists and after controlling various factors the result indicates that with the ten percent increase in per capita international remittances will lead to a 3.5% decline in the share of people living in poverty. World Bank study by Adams and Page (2005) shows that, a 10% increase in per capita official international remittances will lead, on average to a 3.5% decline in the share of people living in poverty. Similarly, study finds that on average, a 10% increase in the share of remittances in a country's GDP is associated with about a 1.5 % fall in headcount poverty and 1.1 % fall in poverty gap (IMF, 2007). Poor coverage of social capital and less scope from enhancement of financial capital are major push factors for out migration. The economic importance of remittances is larger in poorer countries then the rich countries. Remittances account for 8% of the GDP in low income nations, 2% in middle income nations and less than 1% in high income nations. Total remittances to low and middle income nations are nearly 3 times the amount of foreign aid to those countries (World Bank). OECD data base indicates that in South Asia average intensity of migration is less than 1%. It indicates that majority of the migrants from South Asia remained within Asia or migrated to Arab Gulf which are not represented in OECD data (OECD).

*Corresponding author: **Mahua Bhattacharjee**
Amity University, Uttar Pradesh

Regional Overview- South Asian Nations

Geographically Asia is classified into four sub regions- Central Asia, West Asia, South Asia and East/ South West Asia. These regions are more or less similar cultural, linguistic or economic-political background. Studies indicate that the South Asia is the most diverse region. Among all the sub regions South Asia appears to account for half of all out migration. World Bank data indicates that the total annual outflow of migrant workers from five South Asian countries is 2.5 million per year. Among the five South Asian countries by % of GDP Nepal receives highest percentage of remittances (18) followed by Bangladesh and Sri Lanka which is half of the Nepal and lowest recipients are received by Pakistan and India (3). Among the total outflow India is the largest sending country (at 747,000 workers), followed by Pakistan (623,000 workers), Nepal (454,000 workers), Bangladesh (409,000 workers) and Sri Lanka (282,000 workers) (go.worldbank.org). It indicates a reverse relation between outflow and remittances. Higher outflow of population is bringing less percentage of remittances. At this point it is necessary to analyze the transition in pattern of migration and policy support of the respective South Asian countries in the context of migration to understand the relation between poverty and remittances.

Objective and Methodology

The objective of this paper is to understand the pattern of migration among the selected South Asian countries-Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India. Further to examine the flow of remittances and factors responsible with special emphasis to policy prescription for understanding the role of remittances in South Asian countries. With the secondary data analysis mainly with the review of literature the differences in the fabric of migration and its contribution on the economy of South Asian countries will be examined. There are different types of migrants – temporary, short duration, circulatory and seasonal. It is difficult to distinguish the migrants for analysis as they are so very much merged as one. In this paper the differences among the character of migrants are ignored and so the policy measures and its linkage with remittances of migrants are not discussed separately by types of migrants but taken as migration and link with remittances.

Pattern of Migration in South Asian countries

Asian migrants with relatively low skills moved mostly within Asia, and most remittances in some Asian countries are sent by those migrants. Bhutan, Cambodia, the Lao PDR, Malaysia, and Myanmar receive remittances chiefly from emigrants in other Asian countries. For instance, Nepal provides a huge part of the remittances to Bhutan; Malaysian remittances come mainly from Singapore; Thailand is the main source of remittances to Cambodia, the Lao PDR, and Myanmar; Hong Kong, China is a very important source for the PRC; and India is a main source of remittances for Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan (Labour migration in Asia: Building Effective Institutions, 2016).

As far as issues of poverty and its linkages are concerned, in developing countries the institutional framework and the coordination among the agencies play the pivotal role. To equally distribute the benefits among the poor, combination of policies and integration between them is to be given priority.

With economic growth the linkage between the countries are changing. The scenario is not only dynamic but very complex in character. It is to be well understood that dearth of literature and knowledge in migration is common challenge as dynamics of migration is highly complex and diverse. As discussed by Yumanaka and Piper (2005) migration within Asia has become more diversified and complex mainly in the context of origin and destination countries. In South Asia the labour market was dominated by unskilled labour market. But the wave of industrialization changed the scenario in great extent. Before 1976, 1 million unskilled migrants were employed for the erection of overhead capital. 1975-80 one million skilled workers were required (WDR, 1981). To understand the impact of linkage and its implication by growth policy perspective migration is to be seen both from origin and destination. More in depth discussion by cases are to be analyzed individually by countries from origin and destination.

Nepal

Population of Nepal is believed to be seasonally mobile from early age for livelihood either for practicing farming or for livestock rearing. The class war which was chronic in the economy during 18th to 19th century all over the world also influenced the economy of Nepal. The Shah family in 18th century as revealed in the literature was the first cult who founded the modern kingdom of Nepal who always coerced and exploited the lower working class by underpaying or by not paying them. This forced the farmers and other working classes defined as lower classes to out migrate for livelihood and probably for the protection of self-esteem as the Shah rule was oppressive and abusive. During 19th century recruitments in Gurkha regiments by East India Company gradually changed the demographic features of Nepal partially. Internal unrest or political disturbance in Nepal either for Civil War or for Maoist disturbance kept the working population in unorganized sector in highly vulnerable stage including the peasants and other classes residing in Western and Far Western Hills.

Report (World Bank) indicates in 2004, one million Nepalese worked abroad between 1996 and 2004. In this time period remittance inflows soared from 3% of GDP to 12% of GDP and the proportion of households receiving remittances also increased from 24% to 32%. According to the Nepal Rastra Bank, remittances rose by 42.5% in 2007/08, and the ratio of remittances to GDP increased to 17.4%. The total remittance inflow increased by 67% during the first 7 months of the fiscal year 2008/09, despite the global financial crisis and consequent downsizing of industries abroad. The factor responsible for such response is found to be mainly driven by the labour migration to the Gulf and Southeast Asia. The nominal income earned in these areas was much higher relative to the earnings received in previous time period.

Bangladesh

Migration was the only means for survival in Bangladesh during 18th and early 19th century especially for the labours from Chittagong and Noakhali. Studies indicate they mostly joined as cooks and seamen at the British trading ships. A section of landless farmers of the Sylhet region started working at the dockyard and trading ship of Hooghly of Kolkata. The rise in oil price in the middle of 1970s led to boom in infrastructure development in the Middle Eastern countries,

which needed a lot of migrant workers for these activities. They met the demand of labour through importing workers from the South and Southeast Asian countries including Bangladesh. In this time period, the demand for migrant labour was also created in the newly industrialized countries in Southeast Asia (Siddiqui 2009). Thus landless farmers and other involuntary unemployed used migration in the initial stages for livelihood in skill less jobs primarily as labour but later with expansion of oil markets the demand for such labour was increased.

Pakistan

The migration of labours in Pakistan owes its origin and boom to the expansion of oil market in Middle East. Though the labours from Pakistan out migrated to the western countries during 1950s and 1960s but the process took the peak with the increase in demand for oil in world market from Middle East countries. With the gradual increase in the oil prices the scope of infrastructure and development projects in Middle East and Gulf countries has increased which further encouraged out migration from Pakistan. With the development of oil based countries for increase in demand of oil the employment opportunities for migrants also increased. The migrants in time period also probably became specialized and skilled in oil sector as they were into the sector for a decade.

Sri Lanka

The out migration from Sri Lanka during 1960s was not only bent towards labour but also for professional development. The destination area for the migrants of Sri Lanka was mostly Western European countries including North American countries and Australia. Instances of migration are also found in some developed countries of East and West Africa. Studies indicate the factor responsible for such outcome was demand for qualified labour in the western countries, a sluggish domestic economy, the problem brought on by the change in the national language policy that took away English as the medium of education and lack of opportunity for technical advancement and research. This was the result of a combination of factors –Academics and professional development. This worked as push factor for which qualified labour went abroad in search of secure employment that offered higher wages and provide chances of professional advancement.

India

The migration pattern in India during the colonial rule was more or less in the form of contract labour. They worked in the colonies of British, Portugal and French of South East Asia. They left for British, Dutch and French colonies to work in sugar plantations and subsequently for the tea and rubber plantations of Southeast Asia (Tinker, 1974). Similar demands for labour rose internally with the growth of tea, coffee and rubber plantations, coal mines and, later, modern industry. The early migrants worked as bridge to other migrants. Urban pockets like Kolkatta and Mumbai attracted rural labourers mainly from labour catchment areas like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa in the east and Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and parts of Kerala and Karnataka in the south (NCRL, 1991; Joshi and Joshi, 1976; Dasgupta, 1987). With the economic growth the pattern of migration shifted towards the qualified and

relatively skilled labour from Middle East to industrialized countries.

From late 1980s, the number of Indian workers migrating to the Middle East fell sharply. Labour migration increased substantially again during the 1990s. Today, some 3 million Indian migrants live in Gulf countries. In the past few decades new patterns have emerged, challenging old paradigms. First, there have been shifts of the workforce towards the tertiary sector in both developed and developing countries. Secondly, in developed countries, urban congestion and the growth of communication infrastructure has slowed down urbanisation. Thirdly, in developing countries, the workforce shift towards the secondary/tertiary sector has been slow and has been dominated by an expansion of the 'informal' sector, which has grown over time (Ravi Srivastava and S.K. Sasikumar, 2003).
Linkage between growth and remittances:

The impact of remittances on economic growth starts operating from the micro level- household income. With the increase in the household income the consumer expenditure increases and enhances the asset holding. This in turn influences the asset holding. This generates capital formation and so creates employment opportunities with skill enhancement. In the transformation of the developing countries from agricultural sector to industrial sector remittances gives an extra ignition as emigrants not only bring financial resources but with added skill the human capital accumulation also takes place. At this point it is to be noted that this positive impact is only possible when with the complementary investment in developing countries the human capital accumulation does not get drained out to the developed countries. At macro level the dependent factors in developing countries can be corruption, political instability, resilient to stress and shocks, adoptability, available coping strategy and as such which can finally influence the operation of multiplier effect through consumption expenditures, labour productivity and capital formation.

Considering the importance of remittances in developing countries as a means of capital for which influence the remittances. Literature indicates that remitting behavior is subject to various factors like age, education, gender, size of household etc. IMF (2005) studies show macro-economic factors also influence the volume of remit. The income and employment situation influence the migrants' disposable income and saving behavior. There is linkage between the household income earned through remittances and so influencing the macro economy. It affects the macro-economic management, labour force participation, education and pattern of household expenditure.

Empirical analysis indicates there is no unique set of factors influencing migration. The remittance decision is complex and it responds to satisfy multiple motives. Surveys (Stark, 1992; Brown 1997; Poirine, 1997; Smith 2003; Rapoport and Docquier 2004, 2005; Russell, 1986; and Solimano, 2003, 2004) indicates family obligation and assistance, inheritance, insurance and investment are the basic motives for remittances. Studies (2005) made to examine empirically the motives for remittances to households in Egypt, Turkey and Morocco with family members living abroad states that motives vary across countries, and within a country different motives can explain remittance behavior among households and over time. As they

state, “the inconclusive nature of empirical research is understandable. One cannot expect remittances to be driven by a single motive”. (Van Dalen, Grownwold and Fokkema).

The ILO has described the situation of South Asian migrant workers as follows: (ILO 2008c). “Rights protection for South Asia’s migrant workers is the major concern. By standard definition, South Asian migrants would be classified as highly vulnerable: large numbers take irregular routes; most are low-skilled and young; and for some countries the majority is women. In Sri Lanka, between 60-70 per cent of outgoing workers in recent years were women finding employment mainly as domestic helpers. This is confounded by exorbitant recruitment costs and corrupt recruitment practices widespread in some countries.” The growing competition among countries of origin to send workers abroad, and the proliferation of unscrupulous recruitment agencies have made matters worse. Similarly working conditions and wages in destination countries have hardly seen any improvement, and possibly shown deterioration over the years. The most vulnerable workers are female domestic workers who are confined to private households, workers in irregular status and persons trafficked (Wickramasekara 2002).

“Any poverty strategy in Nepal is bound to be more successful with a strong component of migration policy integrated with it.” (Bal Kumar, 2003) There is also lack of coordination and coherence between development, trade, labour and finance and migration policies, which is common to many developing countries as the Global Commission on International Migration has pointed out (GCIM, 2005). Policy coherence is increasingly promoted as an aspect of good governance (Piyasiri Wickramasekara, 2011).

Immigration policy in South Asian countries

Policy plays a central role for maximizing the socio economic benefit of immigrants. Globalized world will make migration as one of the major policy challenges in the near future. At micro level migration is linked with reducing the vulnerabilities as coping strategy. At the macro or policy level analysis is made on the contribution of remittances to local development and the stabilization of balance of payment. Literature indicates that in the context of social security systems South-South migration are most disadvantageous for poor social security systems in receiving countries and high rate of unauthorized or undocumented migration within these contexts (Avato, 2009). It is mainly due to limited formalities in movement from one country to other migration is common means of livelihood. For example passport and visas are often not required between India and Nepal or Bhutan (Khadria, 2008). With the review of the immigration and other policy taken for the welfare of migrants will explain the approach of the respective countries on migration.

In Bangladesh, The Bureau of Manpower, Employment Training (BMET) was established under the then Ministry of Labour and Employment in 1976, and in 1982 the ‘Emigration Ordinance 1982’ was adopted to facilitate, regulate and monitor labour migration from Bangladesh. The Ministry of Expatriates Welfare and Overseas Employment was formed in 2001 to ensure development of this sector. Subsequently, a number of laws and rules have been framed in this regard. Bangladesh has also signed and ratified a number of

international conventions. By signing and ratifying these international conventions Bangladesh is pledge-bound to encourage equity-based and humanitarian positions for protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families, be willing to play role in regular and safe repatriation of the migrants and their families, and create congenial atmosphere for their rehabilitation. To help develop the sector more efficiently, more initiatives have been taken later on. (Manzoor E KhodaShahzada M Akram, 2017).

From late 1980 Pakistan used to give vocational and other training activities through the establishment and expansion of training facilities to improve the skill levels of potential overseas workers (La Porte, 1984). In 1971 the BEOE (Bureau of Emigration and overseas Employment) was founded and in 1979 OEC (Overseas Employment Corporation) was founded in Pakistan. They have roughly 500 privately licensed agents processing state to state labor contract (Tsakok, 1982). In Bangladesh BMET (Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training) was very successful in mediation of labour for limited time period.

In India the Ministry of Labour and the Departments of Labour, at state levels, are responsible for formulating and implementing measures to protect migrant workers. Certain existing labour laws aim to improve the conditions of migrant workers and prevent their exploitation. The important ones are: the Inter State Migrant Workmen (Regulation and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979; the Minimum Wages Act, 1948; the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970; the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976; and the Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996. The enforcement of these laws is the responsibility of both the central and state governments. At the central level, the key agency is the office of the Chief Labour Commissioner and its field offices. However, the Directorate General of Labour Welfare and the Welfare Commissioners also deal with certain welfare provisions emanating from some of these enactments. In the states, the offices of the Labour Commissioners and their field offices are responsible for enforcing these laws. Concerns of migrant labourers are also the responsibility of the relevant Social Sector Ministries (Health and Family Welfare, Human Resource Development, Food and Consumer Affairs, Urban Affairs, Social Justice).

Over the years, Sri Lanka has instituted a number of programmes and schemes that cover issues of governance in the process of labour migration, the protection and welfare of migrant workers and their families. Most notably, the Sri Lanka Bureau for Foreign Employment (SLBFE) has been instituted since 1997, providing services and a regulatory framework for interested migrants. In 2007, this was brought under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare (MFEPW). The operations of these initiatives have been within the framework of principles of decent work, dignity of labour and the protection of all human rights and freedoms of migrant workers and their families. Sri Lanka endorsed the ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration as a solid foundation for elaboration of the national policy. Sri Lanka has also joined global initiatives for promoting migration and development linkages. It was in this context Ministry decided to develop the national labour migration

policy with technical assistance from the International Labour Office.

In Nepal very little initiatives on training and for support of migrants were taken. Only after the Labor Act of 1985, the government of Nepal officially accepted the potential value of foreign labor migration which includes migration of labour beyond India. The current National Adaptation Plan for Action (NAPA) plans to provide several entry points to incorporate the role of migration and remittances in the Thematic Working Groups on agriculture and food security, water resources and energy, climate-induced disasters, and urban settlement and infrastructure. The National Labour Policy adopted in 1999 cited foreign employment indirectly by including a few strategies that highlight the necessity of developing mechanisms and structures for facilitating foreign employment, in particular (Adhikari). In 2012 the Government took Foreign Employment Policy, to “ensure safe, organized, respectable and reliable foreign employment to contribute to poverty reduction along with sustainable economic and social development through economic and non-economic benefits of foreign employment”. The Foreign Employment Act promotes the security and welfare of foreign labour migrants with provisions for the protection of their rights and for the regularization and monitoring of the businesses that facilitate the migration process. The provisions include pre-departure preparation (including cultural orientation, what to expect, some language training etc.) and skills training, creation of the Migrant Workers’ Welfare Fund and establishment of a Labour Desk at the national airport.

Review of policies of Pakistan and Bangladesh establishes the fact that government has made an effort to support the workers by equipping them with training and information. In India the policy network seems to be very complex and clumsy. The distribution of responsibility between Centre and State with enactment of numerous laws made higher probability of loopholes and red tapism. There are ministries and department for Labour Welfare and protection but exclusively for migrant labour in India no separate department are functional. It is only the Ministry of Home Affairs who took the responsibility of immigration. In Sri Lanka, with the facilities and institutional support the policy aims to promote opportunities for migrants for decent and productive employment in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. Special emphasis is laid on the development of skills as a main and effective means of protection for migrant workers and their families. In the case of Nepal a gradual progress is seen in the formulation of law for migrants but regarding implication of the policy Nepal has a long way to go. Studies (Seddon, David, Jagannath Adhikari and Ganesh Gurung, 2000) indicate foreign labor migration from Nepal is still largely a privately organized affair in which individuals make use of their own personal networks or make arrangements through a number of private, government-registered manpower or recruitment agencies.

It is understood from the above discussion that in next 20 years income from the migration will rise for both the sending and receiving countries. With the international conventions the approach towards the protection and development towards migrant labour is found to be transforming. But there are issues to be addressed for efficient implementation of laws.

Issues

Undercounting is a major issue which arises for not reporting the transaction of remittances done through post offices, exchange bureaus and other agents of money transfer. These are generally not reflected in the official statistics (World Bank, 2005). In addition, certain transactions are done through informal channel which are not accounted. The household surveys (Bangladesh, Pakistan, Moldova and Uganda) show widespread use of informal channels of remittances. The World Bank Report (2005) explains that in countries like China, Pakistan, and India remittances got quadrupled, tripled or doubled between 2001 and 2003. It may be in part due to a shift in flows of remittances from informal to formal channels in response to tightened regulatory scrutiny since September 11, 2001.

Free movement from Bangladesh and Nepal are also a major issue to be addressed seriously as the neighboring states in which migration takes place not only influence the existing bargaining strength of labour but also creates political unrest and social tension. In this context, the recent political and social unrest in North East states of India along with Siliguri can be referred. Border migration is always a key area of discussion. Studies (Doran and Massey) on pattern of migration categorized the motivating factor of migration as a. Border migration which takes place within a short distance to engage the seasonal harvest work. b. Ethnic migration takes place when indigenous people move within ancestral territories. c. City directed migration of professional and skilled worker. Profession settles down for higher salaries and unskilled worker and get into domestic and other services like construction and petty trade.

Channelization of policies are required so that neither the movement from one country to another be unregulated and nor the money transfer be unaccounted. For efficient utilization of human and financial capital DFID recommends promoting competition at the sending end of the market, strengthening the financial environment in remittance-receiving countries. It is also suggested to increase the linkages in financial systems between developed countries and developing countries.

For Growth with equity financial abusing is a major hurdle for efficient outcome of human and financial capital. A balance is required which minimizes money laundering, terrorist financing, and general financial abuse, and one that enhances and facilitates the flow of funds between migrants and their families back home (World Bank Report, 2004).

Transparency in the present era is the need of hour. DFID in the study stressed the importance of transparency in the pricing and services delivery system and added the role of competitive structure in the marketplace.

Lastly, failure of the legislation and regulatory authorities for the over-stretched policy, kept migrant workers weak and vulnerable. Most migrant labourers are also employed in the unorganised sector, where the lack of regulation compounds their vulnerability. The state sees migrants as a low priority and because migrant workers are vulnerable with little support from civil society. But there are instances in which both governmental and non-governmental organizations have intervened to reduce the costs of migration and to increase its

benefits to migrants. Labour laws aiming to protect migrant workers have remained largely on paper. In the case of the 1979 Act, few contractors have taken licenses and very few enterprises employing interstate migrant workers have registered under the Act. The record of prosecutions and dispute settlement has been very weak. Migrant workers do not possess pass books, prescribed by law, and forming the basic record of their identity and their transactions with the contractor and employers (NCRL, 1991). Poor bargaining strength and weak labour laws for migrants push them towards the vulnerable classes in time period. In addition, the employment opportunity with minimal skill is around the unorganized sector which also does not fall under the coverage of defined law and regulation.

Therefore there are issues which need to be resolved at multiple levels. It has to be initiated by recognizing migrants as a contributor to the growth and development and so encourage their equal participation in the process of transformation and development.

Suggestion

At institutional level the transformation has to be initiated at sub regional level with an adequate regulatory framework to enhance the development potential of migration and ensure the protection of migrant workers' with the application of participatory method of consultation and with the involvement of civil society organizations.

Following the model of inclusive growth, labour mobility and migrant labour skills recognition is given priority. Government stakeholders need to support measures to enhance the understanding of and the coordination and cooperation regarding climate change-induced displacement, labour migration and planned relocation (Soumyadeep Banerjee, Brigitte Hoermann and Michael Kollmair, 2010).

Financial security measures like special tax regimes for remittances, increasing access to banking services by recipients, promoting financial literacy for receiving households, removing regulatory restrictions on money transfers are the few other measures which can gradually convert the gain of migration by remittances.

CONCLUSION

The South Asian countries being the colonial countries had migration as source of livelihood as coping strategy. But the vulnerability of the migrant livelihoods is now addressed specially after the Labour Conventions. Effort is also on to bring income received from remittances accounted and transparent. The first step for the outcome is to recognize migration as a contributor in the process of transformation and development. At multiple levels from Legal Authorities to Civil Society Organizations the issues like undercounting of migrants, border migration and overstretched policy are to be resolved with financial security measures and by encouraging equal participation of migrants in the process of transformation and development.

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How to cite this article:

Mahua Bhattacharjee.2017, Pattern of Migration and Remittances: A Study of Selected South Asian Nations. *Int J Recent Sci Res.* 8(8), pp. 19378-19384. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.24327/ijrsr.2017.0808.0684>
