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The Model of Entrepreneurship Development: Labour Mobility as an Effective Instrument

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Abstract:
The present study is an effort to focus on the causes of spatial labour mobility in the informal sector industries and services. In this sense, the study objects to detect the factors that determine labour mobility processes and their influences on the processes. Further, the study also attempts to execute how people in the informal sector occupations try to utilize these spatial migration processes to realize entrepreneurship – this they do through vertical labour mobility processes.
To reveal this, the study is confined to a few informal sector occupations, namely the Gems and Jewellery industry, the Zari and Embroidery industry, the Handloom industry, and the Clay pot making industry in specific sites in West Bengal, mainly in Kolkata, North 24 Paraganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Nadia district. The sites have been selected on the basis of their importance to the map of the industries. To reveal this, the logical argumentation is based upon literature support, case studies conducted, and the sample survey results. The micro-level field studies, sampling design and data analysis are based on the standard model approach in order to avoid spatial homogeneity.

Keywords: Informal sector, Cluster economy, Location, Mobility.
JEL Classification: E26, F02, R10, R12.

1. Introduction
The present paper focuses on the causes of spatial labour mobility processes in case of a few selected informal sector occupations in West Bengal. The study objects to detect the factors and their influences to such labourmobility processes to employment-generating informal sector occupations in South Bengal, namely the Gems and Jewellery industry, the Zari and Embroidery industry, the Handloom industry, and the Clay pot making industry. Specific siteshave been selected for this purpose from the districts of Kolkata, North 24 Paraganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Nadia where clustered production of these selected occupations is observed. The logical argumentation of the present study is based upon the support of migration literature, case studies conducted, and the primary survey results. The micro-level field studies, sampling design and data analysis have been approached on the basis of the standard model – the model has been approached in order to avoid spatial homogeneity. Further, the study attempts to detect how people in these informal sector occupations utilize their spatial migration processes to explore entrepreneurship development through the vertical labour mobility processes – this they execute in a stochastic pattern.

2. Methodology of Analysis
The logical argumentation of the study is based on literature support, case studies and primary survey results. The survey process is exhaustive. The survey is based on qualitative purposive sampling with semi-structured questionnaire and indirect interview method. The micro-level field studies, sampling design and data analysis are based on the standard model approach. The implication is that the selection of any sampling region does not depend on data availability (or non- availability) and avoids spatial homogeneity. The study also assumes that the producing firms within a cluster of the industry are non-homogeneous in nature. However, the spatial distribution of production units of a single industry is cross-sectional, given and known. Sometimes an ethnographic study has been approached due to data non-availability and data non-responses in the sample survey area.

3. The Micro Perspective
The literature on labour mobility attributes its origin to geographer Ravenstein(1885, 1889). ToRavenstein, the major cause of labour mobility is considered to be rather economic. In his "laws of migration", he saw the process of labour migration and economic development as inseparable. To view the validity of the law, later the neo-classical migration literature has been developed - which views the aspect of migration both at the micro and macro aspects. At the micro-level, the theory observes migrants as rational individual agents who decide to move spatially on the basis of their own cost-benefit calculations, which holds true for informal sector

workers as well. Borjas **(**1989a, 1990b) argues that such mobility depends upon skill-specificity and specific labour market structure - which is further intensified in case of informal sector occupations due to heterogeneity in skill and labour market structures, assuming free choices and full information access in the market[1].

In the process of such spatial labour mobility, skill is considered to be a (human) capital - which is earned by investment of social capital[2] in the informal sector occupations and now is invested as a (physical) capital in the time of spatial labour mobility in order to earn much higher wage earnings from the informal labour market structures. Here, accumulation of skill is actually considered as accumulation of (human) capital that results in higher wage earnings - mobility of physical or financial capital may exist there, however, their magnitude and role is much insignificant to explain labour mobility processes of the informal sector activities.

One major cause behind such a spatial labour mobility is that skill has always a tendency to flow in absence of much paper works and conditionality regarding recruitment of labourerin the informal sector occupations. Here, skill usually attempts to find a market for its own - therefore, skill always shows the tendency to flow at destination(s) for earning higher incomes. The social capital plays the role of a guarantor at the time of recruitment of labour – however, such informal bonding and belongingness becomes insufficient to tie up labour at a particular place.

To explain how the process of spatial labour mobility occurs, the micro-foundation aspect of labour mobility process may be approached. Here, worker is often trained in the local informal labour market at their teen-age. After completion of their training, most of the workers become semi-skilled who either work for higher wages and experiences at the local level or move to other far distant destinations to earn higher wages and to find out market for their skill. In this way, the semi-skilled and skilled workers make their skill marketable by finding out new physical location(s) even. The physical (spatial/horizontal) mobility of the informal sector labour provides him(her) the scope for selling their skill at higher prices. The workers usually accept the costs and risks of physical out-migration if their probable income becomes higher than their earnings at the local market. Here, a cost-benefit calculation at the micro level approaches a stochastic behaviour and makes horizontal mobility of the informal labour a reality.

The human capital frame, as developed by Becker (1962) and Sjaastad (1962), considers migration as an investment decision. They provide the theoretical explanation of consideration of migration beyond costs consideration. Since individuals differ in terms of personal skills, knowledge, physical abilities, age, sex, and so on - such differences are reflected in terms of expectations over diverging returns on migration investment. Hence, such expected differentials are actually considered to be partial explanation over inter-individual properties to migrate.

Later, the migration literature founds to have an enriched and varied field of enquiry when Lee(1966) revised Ravenstein's 19th century laws of migration, and proposed several determinants of migration associated with the area of origin, the area of destination, the intervening obstacle variables such as distance, physical barriers, immigration laws etc., and individual factors. In this, the Lee Hypothesis becomes relevant to explain the urban-urban migration. It lists out factors determining migration other than wage differentials. To Lee, migration takes place within well defined "streams" (i.e. from specific places at the origin to specific places at the destination) not only due to the fact that opportunities tend to be highly localized but also because the flow of knowledge back from destination facilitates later migrants.

Let us make the Lee analysis in some detail. Lee stated that migration is selective with respect to individual characteristics of migrants due to response differentials to the "plus" and "minus" factors by the migrants at origins and at destinations. To Reniers (1999), in these cases, abilities also vary between migrants to cope with the intervening variables. Therefore, migrants are rarely representatives of their community of origin. This is consistent with the neo-classical idea of migration selectivity by individual differences in human capital environments and cost and risk differentials associated with migration.

The analytical frame of Lee, also known as the "push-pull" model, works well to explain mobility of informal sector workers other than income differential variables. To Passaris(1989), it is basically an individual choice and equilibrium model. Two main forces are typically distinguished to create the pushes and pulls here:

(1) Rural population growth causes a Malthusian pressure on agricultural and natural resources, and pushes people out of marginal rural areas, and

(2) Economic conditions lure people into cities and industrialized destinations.[3]

However, modification continued later to the inclusion of other factors other than unemployment that influence expected income gains that can be achieved through migration. To the later migration economists, the potential gain in the form of higher wages is balanced with factors such as the opportunity costs of migration, the cost of travel, temporary unemployment while making all installation at the destination, and the physiological costs of migration. In fact, the costs and risks associated with migration (particularly in case of international migration) explain why it is generally not the poorest who migrate and why social networks (social capital) are so crucial in lowering physiological costs of migration.

The selectivity aspect of migration detects that the selection of migrants also depends on specific skills (and educational) background of the migrants, depending on the specific type of labour demand in migrant receiving areas. This theoretically explains why the likelihood of migration is age-specific (actually it decreases with age) and skill (or education) specific (individuals with higher education and skills exhibit higher migration propensity). Therefore, as Bauer and Zimmerman (1998) point out, we have to take into account not only the aggregate labour market variables such as wage differentials and employment opportunities, but also the internal structure and segmentation of labour markets as well as individual socio-economic characteristics and capital when we consider real migration decisions.

4. The Macro Perspective

The macro perspective of neo-classical migration theory started to be stressed upon before Lee when Lewis (1954) has started to show the issue of rural-urban migration as indispensable,therefore a constituent part, to the entire development process. In this, surplus rural labour is transferred to the urban industrial sector for its expansion. The theoretical perspective on developmental economics in this sense considers the process of economic development as a linear universal process consisting of successive stagesof development (Rostow, 1960). Todaro (1969) has argued that the process of economic progress is constituted by this gradual and continuous rural-urban labour transfer process. In the MIRAB model, it is argued that it is Migration (MI), Remittances (R), Aid (A) and Bureaucracy (B) that influence the economic 'take-off' of the developing nations.

Todaro(1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) have examined the basic two-sector rural-urban labour migration model which has remained the basis of neo-classical migration theory since then. The model explains the apparently contradictory phenomenon of continuous rural-urban labour migration in the developing economies despite rising unemployment in the urban center. The simple wage differential approach has been modified here to rural-urban expected income differential – the income differential adjusted for the probability to find a job in the urban location. The expected income in the destination area not only depends on actual earnings at destination but also on the probability of finding out an employment. As long as rural-urban income differential remains high enough to outweigh the risk of becoming unemployed, relatively higher permanent income will continue to attract a steady stream of rural migrants. Those unable to find out a job in the urban sector join the informal labour market.[4]

5. The New Transformations

To explain why people tend to migrate between particular places and why they migrate in a spatially clustered concentrated non-random pattern, the spatial model, as developed by geographers and demographers, analyzes migration within the context of well-defined streams and localized opportunities. This appears due to individual characteristics and differential abilities of individuals to intervening variables. People often differ in their individual characteristics to bear the physical and psychological costs of labour mobility which is reflected in mobility of labour within well-defined streams and communities (King and Schneider, 1991; Schwartz and Notini, 1994; Skeldon, 1998; Bauer and Zimmermann,1998). The model explains why specific sites are renowned as migration-sending areas - which are common in informal industries and services.[5]Reniers (1999) says the flow of labour becomes area selective due to individual characteristics (e.g. community preference) and differential abilities of the individuals to address the intervening variables.

In West Bengal, the semi-skilled informal sector workers of different districts come to Kolkata (and other urban centers) to earn higher wages and experiences. However, the Kolkata informal market is characterized by limited fresh entry - it is almost difficult for a newly entrant worker to enter into the Kolkata market without any reference of already working and known worker in the market. Moreover, the big housesin Kolkata prefer to recruit best efficient labourers of the age of 30-35 years - efficiency of the labour is judged on the basis of his innovativeness and experiences (medium traders and businessmen absorb semi-skilled labourers). Therefore, a skill-based division of labour appears on the recruitmentof labour. Often a labourer is recruited under a contractor who keeps a contact with 10-12 traders and usually keeps a commission on the recruitment of labour. In this way, the Kolkata market has become the center or 'core' of skilled informal labour absorption in West Bengal.

Here, labour mobility facilitates information flow back from destination to origin, thereby contributing to later mobility from the origin (Lee, 1966). The already 'settled' migrants function as the "bridge heads", thereby reduces material-psychological costs and risks of later migrants through the formation of migrant community (network). Here, 'networks' are defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants at the origin and at destination through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community. Here, the network connections are considered to be a form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to employment at destination.At the receiving end, social capital (in the form of migrated kin) influences to legal, political and financial obstacles to immigration and at the sending end it reduces the costs and risks of migration.

In this way, the skilled and experienced workers of Kolkata try to utilize their social capital possession and move to the formal market of other cities in India like Surat, Mumbai, Delhi, Hyderabad and Chennai (and even to middle-east Asian countries) in order to earn higher incomes. Sometimes they directly move to other cities in India from the district level, as is the case of Domjur and Panchla (Howrah) and Daspur and Ghatal (West Midnapore). The pattern of such a spatial labour mobility in the informal industries clearly indicates that higher is the skill, higher is the probability for inter-state (and international) migration, thereby enhancing higher (expected) income earnings and other considerations such as better work condition, higher education for their children, better health care facilities for their family members etc. This 'stochastic' pattern of skill-deterministic labour mobility strictly depends upon individual characteristics to cope with the costs and risks of migration at destination.

In this way, the workers find out destination to attain highest possible reward for their skill. The already 'settled' migrants work as the 'bridgeheads' and form higher expectation at their origin through provision of information, remittance, feedback and higher standard of living for their family members (the functioning of the 'feedback mechanism') through the formation of a migrant community. This forms specific migration networks in particular spaces – which realize 'network' migration.

Once such "chain" (network) migration brings network connections at a critical level at the origin, migration appears to be self-perpetuating since it caters the entire social structure to sustain the process. To Lee, this forms an established migrant community at destination and increases probability of subsequent migration. Such social bonding and feelings of being part of one (transitional) community explains why migrants tend to remit substantial money to non-migrants - which is absent in neo-classical individual-

centered approach (Djajic, 1986; Taylor, 1999). However, migrants here are referred as restrictive "gatekeepers", unwilling to assist prospective migrants beyond the community (Appleyard, 1992; Massey et al, 1993; Bocker, 1994; Waldorf, 1998; Levitt, 1998; Massey, 1999; De Haas, 2003).[6]

Therefore, the migration flows (and counter-flows) of goods, remittances, ideas and information tend to be geographically structured with spatially clustered flows. This morphology is not totally explained by income, employment (unemployment) and opportunity differentials between destination and the origin – rather it explains why particular areas or groups tend to specialize in mobility to particular destinations. Vertovec (1999) refers that migration system link people, families and communities over space.

Migration then becomes almost systematic out of these specific sites, following a particular pattern or 'system' (Massey, 1990). Here, a migration system is referred as a set of places linked by flaws and counter-flows of people, goods, services and information that facilitate further exchange (including migration) between places. Such 'system' migration sometimes becomes sufficient to alter socio-cultural-economic-institutional conditions at both the sending and receiving ends (Levitt, 1998). The causes and consequences of migration then should not be considered separately – rather they are parts of the same system, i.e. the entire development space within which migration process operates.[7]Such migration systems incorporate a two way reciprocal and dynamic link between migration and development. The focus is on information flows and feedback mechanism through which information about the migrants' reception and progress at destination are transmitted back to the origin and lead to organized rural-urban migration flows.

6. Hierarchical Labour Mobility

Portes and Borocz (1987), McKee and Tisdell(1988), Fawcett (1989), Martin (1992), Gurak and Cases (1992) and Kritz et al (1992) extended this approach to international migration by incorporation of the process of "leapfrogging"[8]. Such an international level migration gives the worker of the informal labour market of villages and small towns to become a global worker, who earns much higher income than the local and national market. A few people in Domjur Gems and Jewellery industry have reported during the survey that they had started their life with an monthly earning of Rs. 4,000-5,000 in the local market, have migrated to Dubai, Bahrin and other middle-East countries with an earning of Rs 20,000-22,000 per month during the 1980s, have returned back during the 1990s, and have become independent entrepreneurs – now their sons look after their business.

To answer the question: how spatial labour mobility contributes to the formation (and growth) of the industry? The mainstream migration literature remains often silent to this end. Here lies the importance of vertical (hence international level) labour mobility. Here, it is to keep in mind that the spatial labour mobility primarily appears to be a solution to the inelastic supply of skilled labour at the local level and makes aggregate supply of (skilled) labourersof the region an elastic one. This elastic supply of (skilled) labourers ensures the producers about the availability of skill at the workplace and therefore acts as a pre-condition for horizontal expansion of existing location industry. If in-migration and out-migration operates simultaneously in an industry, the influences of out-migration must be out-weighted by the flow of in-migration in order to make such an expansion (hence growth) of the existing industry – otherwise, the industry must thrive with shortage of skilled artisans.

Let us try to explain the vertical labour mobility in the informal industries in West Bengal in some detail. It is actually spatial labour migration at the international level that gives the informal industrial worker of villages and small towns a chance to become a global worker. Such a global worker earns much higher income than the local market.Higher income earning is transmitted to higher savings. This savings and their long years' of expertise and experience they can invest in order to become small individual entrepreneurs at their middle ages (35-45 years of their life) when they return back permanently to their origin.

It is a common practice of several informal industries that the migrant workers (both national and international) try to invest their savings, experiences, skill, innovativeness, and social capital to start small businesses after spending 10-20 years at destination. Our primary survey has revealed the fact that the trend for international migration was mild in the decade of 1980s and boosted up after globalization since 1990s. Easy labour flows after 1990s have caused larger incentives for international migration. One of the reasons is that if a worker can stay 10-15 years at the international market, he will return with an ample amount of saving and may become independent entrepreneur earlier in his life than in inter-state migration.

In this way, the workers may become small individual entrepreneurs by investing their incomes and savings at the local level. A vertical mobility appears there, in which experienced workers become independent entrepreneurs. Physical mobility of the labourers contributes to make this vertical mobility a reality. Such an entrepreneur-cum-worker try to employlabour from his familiar source(s) at the local level -therefore, more employment is generated at the local level. Higher (physical) capital accumulation appears there – which attracts a pool of further investments and expanded labour employmenteven from the non- migrant community. The area then acts as a 'core' to attract labourers from the adjacent peripheral hinterland areas. The core-periphery pattern of linkage operates in specific geographical centers of these industries. In this way, vertical labour migration contributes to the expansion (and growth) of the existing industry by incorporation of more production centers at the local level.

A micro-foundation aspect may be approached herewith. The informal individual skilled labourer may be considered as a rational economic agent who attempts to correctly appropriate the market value of his skill by selling his endowed knowledge embodied in his skill. Since skill acquirement by the worker has already involved investment of social capital and efficient knowledge spillovers (hence knowledge externality) have appeared there – he attempts to extract appropriate (expected) return over his acquirement. If it comes through physical out-migration in far distant location(s), he decides to continue physical out-migration - since he now possesses the knowhow to minimize costs and risks of migration by facilitating the formation of network (or chain) migration.

However,if the agent incorporates larger value on successful exploration of his idea(s), experiences, decision-making abilities, and network of social capital and he is confident enough on possession of these attributes - the agent may prefer to start a new firm in order to best appropriate the value of his endowed knowledge and he would then take the risk of becoming independent individual entrepreneur and would promote growth of the industry directly by formation of new production center(s).

Here, a deviation model actually works upon. If the difference between expected returns accruing from the decision-making entrepreneurship development and that of potential horizontal migration is sufficiently large and the cost of establishment of a new production unit is sufficiently low, the skilled worker may decide to leave the labour market and may become individual entrepreneur by starting a new business. Here, we assume that the agent knows how to reduce the cost and risk of entrepreneurship from his past experiences. He minimize this cost and risk by appropriately utilizing the social capital under his possession both in the product and labour market processes - larger is the possession, higher is the probability of success for a newly entrepreneur. In this way, a vertically migrant worker cum entrepreneur may promote entrepreneurship development of the region - hence contribute to the growth of the existing "localized" industry and that of the regional economy.

7. Conclusion

In several informal sector occupations, spatial labour mobility acts as an effective instrument to build up entrepreneurship development though the facilitation of vertical labour mobility. Though such aprocess remains stochastic in nature – however, it act as an efficient mechanism to promote growth of the industry at the local level. For this, the causes and consequences of the processes of spatial labour mobility in these informal sector occupations have to be studied with proper care and traitsin order to make successful exploration of the entrepreneurship development processes of these industries. Only then the problems and prospects of entrepreneurship development in the informal sector activities (which differ than the formal sector activities in various aspects) may be approached more satisfactorily in spite of spatial heterogeneity and randomness in their productive activities.

8. Acknowledgement

9. References

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APPENDIX

1. Ref: Saha, Sukanta (2015), Sticky Knowledge Externality: An Instrument to Access Innovation, International Journal of Innovative Research and Development, Vol. 4 Issue 5, May.

2. By social capital here we mean social organizations (such as trust, norms, reciprocity, co-ordination, interactions, belongingness and networks) between workers and producers that facilitate better co-ordinated actions.

3. However, several researchers argue that the push-pull model in the neo-Malthusian frame lacks empirical testing. Further, it ignores the heterogeneity and internal stratification of societies.

4. The 'historical-structural' paradigm states that the access to resources, hence economic-political power, is unequally distributed among developed and developing countries. The capitalist expansion reinforces these inequalities. The developing economies are trapped to this disadvantaged position within the global geo-political structure. In this, the "dependency" theory by Frank (1966a, 1969b) and Baran (1973) considers that global capitalism and migration contributed to "development of underdevelopment". To Emmanuel Wallerstein (1974a, 1980b), labour follows where capital goes - individuals do not possess free choice and are fundamentally constrained by structural forces. Following this, the 'world system' theory classifies countries according to their degree of dependency (Castle and Miller, 2003).

The Cumulative Causation theory of Myrdal may also be referred herewith. Here, "migrant syndrome" is considered in which migration is referred as a process of draining labour and human capital resources (Almeida, 1973; Lipton, 1980; Reichert, 1981; Penninx, 1982; Lewis, 1986; Massey et al, 1993; Reniers, 1999; Taylor 1999). Experiences of Southern Europe and "Asian Tigers" suggest that it is not the poorest who migrate – rather migration facilitates sustained growth and development through remittance (Almeida, 1973; Papademetriou, 1985; Sen, 1999).

5. This is the case of Domjur (Howrah) or Ghatal (West Midnapore) of the Gems and Jewellery industry or Panchla (Howrah) or Arambag (Hooghly) of the Zari and Embroidery industry in case of West Bengal.

6. The Network Theory has been criticized on the ground that empirical researchers consisting case-studies with samples on dependent (network) variables are potentially biased to instances where such networks play infusionist role.

7. Our case-study reveals that several people of Wadipur, Rudrapur, Baruipara, Kolra and other villages in Domjur lived in *kaccha* houses during the 1980s, now they live in *pacca* houses.

8. The Leap-frogging phenomenon conveys: (i) There is an initial phase, in which all regions are roughly equal in size; (ii) The process of agglomeration starts; (iii) The further reduction of transport costs causes a long gradual decline; (iv) The transport costs are virtually absent and manufacturing activity in all the regions becomes approximately of the same size.

In this, the importance of non-migrants must be incorporated in any migration impact analysis to detect the reciprocal effects of migration, as migration tends to affect sending societies "as a whole" (Mabogunje, 1970; Borocz, 1987; Fawcett, 1989; Massey, 1990; van Dalen et al, 2005).

In emigration countries, it is a regular phenomenon that particular regions, villages, or ethnic (sub) groups tend to specialize in migration to particular areas or cities. This clustered morphology of migration can not be explained by opportunity differentials only. The return migration may be followed by the migration of another family member through the process of "relay migration" (Arizpe, 1981; Massey, 1991; Martin, 1993; Martin and Taylor, 1996; Olesen, 2002).

9. Migration hump refers that in the early stages of development, an increase in the wealth leads to a rise in migration. With the establishment of migration networks, an increasing proportion of population is able to migrate, selectivity of migration tends to decrease, and the process of economic development tends to lead to an increasing diffusion of migration access communities.

10. The Zelinsky model, the Skeldon model and the Martin-Taylor model may be integrated into a spatio-temporal transitional migration perspective with complex linear inter-linkages between the occurrence of various forms of migration and general socio-economic technological demographic transformation process incorporated in "development" process.