

DRAFT PAPER

Integration and Social Mobility of Migrants in an Emerging Metropolis

Sudesh Nangia and Nivedita Hansraj

Abstract:- This study examines the economic, social and cultural integration of migrant workers in Ludhiana – an industrial metropolitan city in the State of Punjab in India.

The migrant work history data of a sample of 365 respondents, drawn from two main industries, the Hosiery and the Light Engineering, and their ancillary units are used.

The analysis is based on the use of economic, social and cultural indicators to determine the level of integration, social networks and social mobility of migrants in the city. The benchmarks for assessing the integration of migrants include indicators related to information sources about jobs, mobility in the job market and other work related indicators, family and social linkages, knowledge of local language and other forms of interaction that would reflect the intensity of adjustment and assimilation of migrants into the city. A Composite Index has been constructed to analyze this phenomenon, based on the variables selected, to show economic, social and cultural integration. The findings indicate that apart from employment, there is low cultural and social integration of migrants in the city. Migrants from far off have higher economic integration but low cultural and social integration. Further, there is higher incidence of horizontal social mobility rather than vertical.

Introduction:

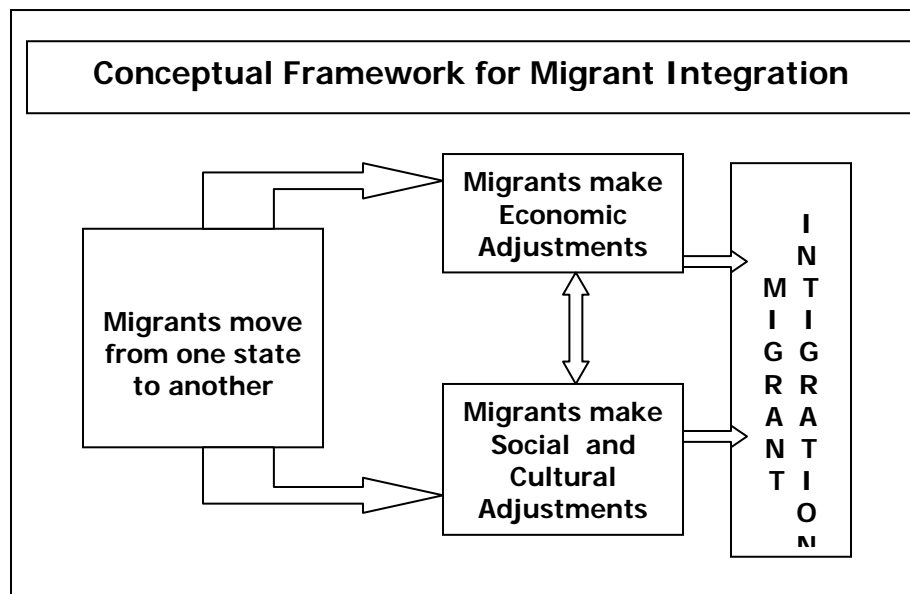
The recent dynamism in world population movements and the increasing number of people in urban areas, particularly in developing countries, has shifted focus to studies of migration, both international and internal. Such movements result in a change in the socio-economic composition of the population. These changes may be more rapid in an urban industrial setting, like that of Ludhiana city, which attracts more inter-state

migrants because of the numerous job opportunities found there, which may be termed as its 'pull' effects.

The aim of this paper is to examine the adjustment and integration of inter-state migrants moving within the country, from one state to another. A review of the literature on migration in India and the world reveals that migrants have to make changes and adjustments to different economic and social settings when they move. This would help them to function effectively in the new surroundings and integrate them with the population at destination. Such adjustments are easier for migrants who move in from neighbouring areas. Those who move from a similar environment integrate more rapidly as compared to persons who move longer distances, from socially, culturally and economically diverse settings.

Conceptual Framework:

Adjustment and integration for inter-state migrants moving within a country is as complex as it is for international migrants. It is an equally important issue for both types of migrants. The problems of overcrowding, mistrust and competition may lead to heightened unrest, causing riots etc. The recent turmoil in Punjab at Talhan (Dang 2003), and other such unstable conditions indicate the importance of integration even within a national context.



In the context of the present study, adjustment implies the process by which inter-state¹ economic² migrants in the age-group 15-65³ years work and live in the city of Ludhiana in Punjab. This would include locating a regular paid job, improving skills, access to networks, whether religious, family or kin, increasing earnings and savings, and others. Integration has been understood to mean the economic, social and cultural adjustments made by inter-state migrants after moving to the city. Successful adjustment may lead to integration.

The World Migration Report 2003 points out that “Integration itself is complex in nature and has no fixed requirements”. The Report also identifies certain basic conditions that are needed to be respected in order to make integration happen. For the migrants, these include

- Command of the language of the host population
- Access to the Educational system of the host population
- Access to the job market at destination
- Possibility of Upward mobility through education and job performance
- Religious and Cultural freedom, among others.

In order to understand the integration of inter-state economic migrants at destination, the present study identifies indicators or benchmarks for each of the points enumerated above. These indicators represent the economic, social and cultural aspects of the adjustments migrants make in Ludhiana in order to become integrated.

Methodology and Database:

An attempt has been made to construct/develop a Composite Index for Integration, based on data collected during field work from 365 individual, inter-state migrant respondents. In all, a total of 13 indicators have been selected that represent the Economic, Social and Cultural adjustment of inter-state migrants living in Ludhiana,

¹ ‘Inter-state’ refers to migrants who move from any other state of India to the city of Ludhiana in Punjab. The POLR of these migrants is a state other than the state of Punjab, though their POB may or may not be the state of Punjab.

² The term ‘Economic’ migrants has been used by Srivastava, R. and Sasikumar, S.K. (2001:3). It includes those who migrate for reasons of Employment and also for Business, the two reasons used by the census in its category of reasons for migration, which is related to developmental migration.

³ This age group was chosen as 15-65 yrs as this reflects the working age group. In India, the age of retirement is 65 years. Below 15 years is considered as a child.

leading to their integration in the city. Three separate indices have been constructed to show the Economic, Social and Cultural Integration of the migrants in Ludhiana. The Composite Index is a composite of three basic indicators of Integration- Economic, Social and Cultural.

Economic Integration is measured by a combination of 6 indicators that reflect the different aspects of work done by the migrants, from information about jobs, to speed of employment, job mobility at two points of time, duration dimension of employment as well as enhancement of earning potential or skill acquired. All these relate to a *fixed status* of the work of migrants that can be accurately measured and defined, while at the same time taking care of the *process* of work of the migrants.

Social Integration is measured using indicators that reflect the interactions that migrants have once they settle at the destination. Such interactions are considered in terms of presence of family members, access to educational systems, support/ help giving networks, social institutions, etc.

Cultural Integration is assessed by indicators that reflect language familiarity and participation in festivals peculiar to the region in which the city is located.

For the construction of the Index, a score is assigned to each category of an indicator. The assigned scores range from a minimum of 0 for least integration, to a maximum of 2, showing maximum integration. The total score showing integration is calculated by adding up the individual scores of each category of the indicators included in that group. For example, the scores given to each of the 6 indicators in the group that show Economic Integration is added to get the Index of Economic Integration, also termed Total Economic Integration. The composite scores of each of the three indicators are categorized as High, Medium and Low, based on the sum of the scores. Composite Scores of the three indices is represented on a map.

The aggregated score for all the above three groups have been further categorized into low, medium and high. The results have been mapped for neighbouring, medium and long distance states

Based on the above method, the Index of Economic, Social and Cultural Integration have been calculated individually for the study area. The aggregate of the

three indices gives a composite picture of the level of integration of the inter-state migrants in the study area.

The data used is drawn from a purposive random sample of inter-state migrant workers. It is drawn from two-industries, namely, the light-Engineering Industry and Hosiery Industry and their Ancillary Units.

Study Area:

Situated in the north-west of India, the state of Punjab shares its western border with Pakistan. A small state, with an area of 50,362 square kilometers, its population according to the 2001 Census of India was 24.3 million people. The Sikhs are the predominant religious community and account for 63% of the state's total population, followed by the Hindu's (35%), Muslims and Christians (1% each).

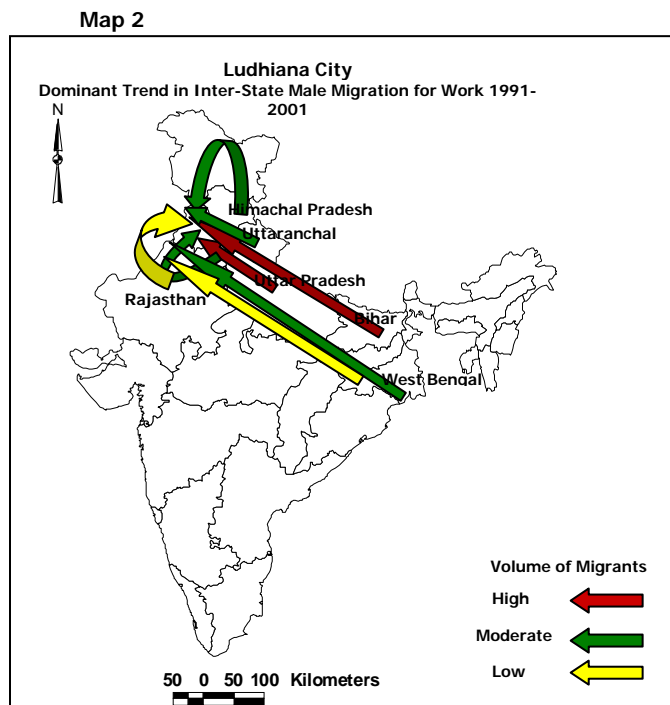
The state has a history of migration, as this was the route taken by invaders and travelers to reach India in the past. The partition of the country in 1947 resulted in mass migration between the two divided parts of the state. More recently, it also witnessed large-scale migration of labour to its rural area, in the wake of the green revolution.

Economic development in Punjab has been led by agriculture. In addition, thousands of manufacturing units across the state have led to fairly high income levels. Investments in roads, rural electrification, safe drinking water and schools, health centers have provided the people of Punjab with the basic amenities of life still unavailable in large parts of the country.

Development in Punjab has been uneven and disparities exist between regions, in terms of education, health, standard of living etc. The district of Ludhiana has the highest level of human development (Punjab Human Development Report, 2004) in terms of education, expectancy of life and adjusted per capita income. The district has the highest share of the states population in 2001. It experienced the highest share of decadal growth rate between 1991 and 2001, at 24.7%. It also accounts for the highest

share of the states urban population and the migrant population. The district headquarters, Ludhiana, is an industrial Metropolis and the largest urban centre of the state.

Its location in the heart of a rich agricultural area and the industrial units that operate from there attract migrants from far and near. In 2001, the city experienced high volume of in-migration for work from the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. (Map2) Moderate volume of in-migration is experienced from the nearby states of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal and also West Bengal. Low volume of in-migration is experienced from Rajasthan and Jharkhand. Other states also send a negligible volume of in-migrants to Ludhiana.



Source: Table D-2, Series V, Migration Tables, Census of India, Migrants Defined on the Basis of Place of Last Residence

Main Findings:

Economic Integration:

The indicators selected represent different aspects of work of the migrants, from their use of different sources to gain information about job availability, location of jobs, job mobility, skill etc. All these aspects help a migrant improve his economic status and become integrated with the local population. Economic adjustment is important as it helps a migrant sustain himself in the new setting.

Migrants have moderate integration with respect to the sources they have for information about jobs. All the migrants have information about job prospects in Ludhiana. Very few (7.4%) get this information from formal channels like the media, newspaper advertisements or even from previous employers. 92.3% of the migrants get the information from close family and kin or even members of the place of origin who are present there. Sources of information about jobs range from friends and relatives (social network) to newspaper, mass media, middle-men (formal networks), etc. It is easier for migrants to depend on social networks, since they provide reliable information, which is easily accessible and immediately available (Anwara Begum and Mahmood:1999) and thus bridge one of the main barriers to migration. However, dependence on such networks leads to lower interaction with the host population and hence low integration.

Time, resources and information are required to access the job market and locate a job more rapidly (Time taken to access the job market) (Santhapparaj 1996). Most migrants locate jobs within the first four days of migrating to Ludhiana and thus have high integration (42%). Another 37.5% have moderate integration as they locate jobs within the first four weeks of arrival at Ludhiana. Those who are able to locate jobs quickly find it easier to make adjustments and integrate faster in the economic life of the city. 20.5% migrants have low integration and take longer to locate jobs. This is particularly the case with female migrants who enter the job market late to supplement husband's income and sustain themselves in the city. The migrants who join as an apprentice to pick up skills are also included here. No money wage changes hands, but the investment made by the master in the training of the apprentice is seen as an investment that is repaid at a later date.

Just after migrating to the city, the majority of the migrants experience vertical job mobility. The unemployed, those who were acquiring some skill or engaged in study get a job easily and improve their economic status. Vertical mobility in the job market helps migrants become better integrated. Such movements are assessed in terms of changes between the pre-migration job and the first job at destination. Changes between the first job in the city and the current job with respect to skill, activity status or type of industry may also be used to assess mobility in the job market. For the present study, the measure of vertical occupational mobility is made use of, since it is accurately

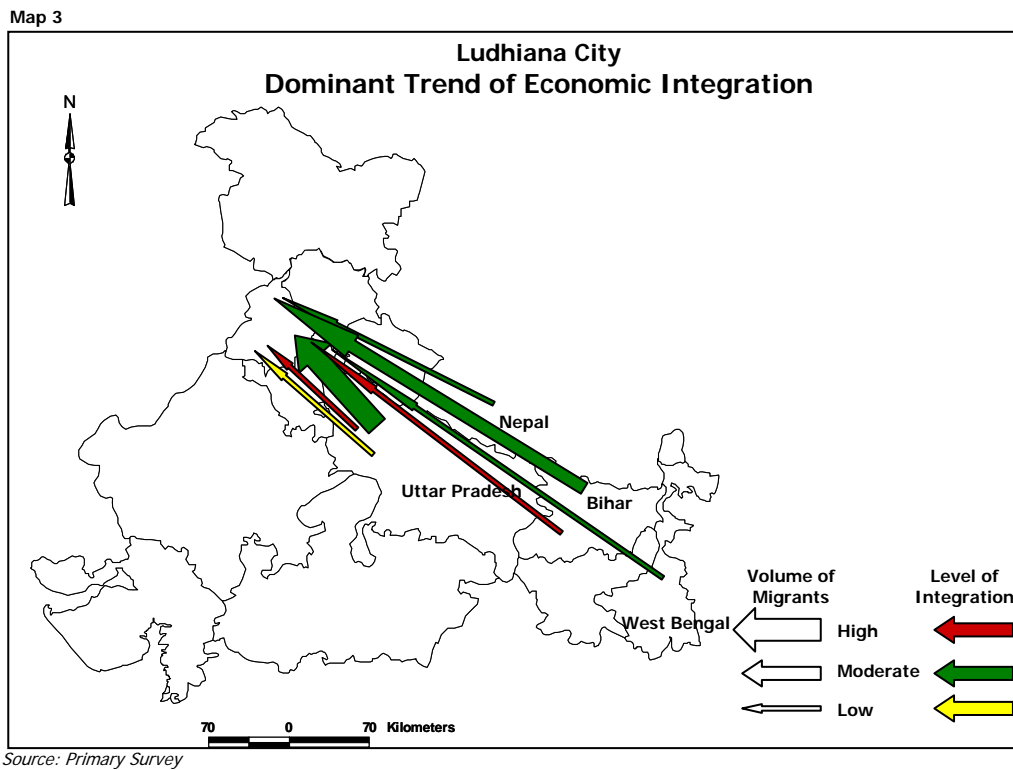
identifiable. It is easy to identify migrants moving from blue collar occupations like farming, dairying, construction work etc. to white collar occupations like store in-charge, clerk etc., vertical occupational mobility, both before and after migration as well as between the first and current city job. Horizontal occupational mobility can similarly be identified as a change from a blue collar occupation or a white collar occupation to another similar one. Low integration is shown by those who move out from better paying jobs to a lower paid job due to compelling reasons. 48.2% of the migrants have high integration and move into a better job after migration. This is closely followed by 47% who have moderate integration, moving between the same kinds of work. Very few have low integration in the job market.

Having migrated to the city, the migrants have moderate integration in the job market, 79% moving between the same kinds of work, usually in the same industry, in response to improved earnings. Very few (17.5%) have high integration as they experience vertical job mobility between the first and current job in the city. Thus, migrants tend to continue in the kind of work they first take up after migration, achieving vertical mobility within the same occupation.

For the present study, the duration dimension of employment (Piche et al.:2002) has been measured as the number of months employed in the First job at destination. Longer duration of initial employment would help migrants to maintain themselves in the city, since employers pay only for one completed month of work. Salaries are paid at the end of the month, based on the work done. 51% of the migrants are able to work for a period between 4 months to 22 months at their first job in Ludhiana and have moderate integration in this respect. 32% have low integration as they worked for less than three months at the first job before moving to another job. Migrants usually work for short periods in the industries they identified as 'hazardous' to their health, as for example units manufacturing tyers, nickel polish on machine parts, chemical dyeing industry, forge and foundry work etc. Such jobs are easily available and pay well, though migrants work for short durations at such work. Very few migrants have high integration in this respect (17%).

Migrants make efforts to enhance their earning potential in the city (skill acquisition in the city) and try to acquire skills that would help them earn better.

Migrants have moderate integration for skill acquired as a majority of them acquire the required skills informally, while working on the job. Formal skill acquisition like computer training or an ITI diploma or other such technical courses from formal institutions would help them to become economically better integrated by helping them earn better, as compared to those who acquire skills informally. Such skills may only help migrants to operate certain machines, without learning how to set them, and thus earn a higher wage. Operating a laith machine is semi-skilled work, while the ability to set a laith machine is a skill that may be acquired by migrants informally or through formal training.



All the above indicators of the economic adjustment of the migrants combine to contribute to the overall success of the migrant and aid his economic integration. These represent different facets of the economic life of the migrants. Codes have been given, with value 0 denoting least integration with the city and 2 denoting the maximum adjustment and integration at destination.

A perusal of Map 3 indicates a decline in the volume of migrants with distance, particularly those who have moderate economic integration. Migrants from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have a low volume of migrants who have a high level of economic integration. While Uttar Pradesh has a high volume of moderately integrated economic migrants also, Bihar has a moderate volume of such migrants. Uttar Pradesh also has a low volume of migrants who have a low level of economic integration. The Union Territory of Delhi and Nepal have a low volume of migrants with a moderate level of economic integration.

Social Adjustment and Integration:

In the city space, inter-state migrants interact on a number of different planes. Interactions occur with family, kith and kin, and other migrants from their place of origin, friends who may be migrants from other areas or from the local population itself.

Family and kin members were the most important source for helping migrants to adjust in the new urban setting. Usually, the male earning members provided this help, including father and male siblings. Extended family was also drawn upon for help. The maximum help is received from male siblings. A large share of migrants also receives help from non-related community members from their place of origin who live and work in Ludhiana. Very few receive help from the local population. This is also because migrants were themselves unaware of the sources tapped by their own urban contacts in an effort to help them settle at destination. Hence migrants have low integration in this respect, since they interact mostly with family members or other migrants.

Family members of a large share of the migrants have never visited Ludhiana. Some have family in Ludhiana currently, mostly their spouse and children. A few migrants report that their families returned home. Most of these returns were for reasons of taking care of work at the place of origin, or to take care of old parents, rather than a result of failed migration alone. Some returned due to ill health. Migrants are unable to maintain large family sizes at destination, thus send their family back to origin. Others have worked out a system where wives of siblings take it in turns to be present in

the city and also spend time engaged in work at the place of origin. Thus, here too migrants have low integration.

Access to the education system at destination would aid integration. Children attending school with the local children would learn their culture, language etc and would interact with the families of local children. In Ludhiana, the migrants have low integration in this aspect. Cost of education is high, particularly in schools attended by local children. Where children attend school, they interact mostly with children of other migrants. Quite a few migrants have children too young to attend school. Migrants also have children studying at the place of origin itself, since the feeling is that the education system is better there. Access to education is thus an area for further probing.

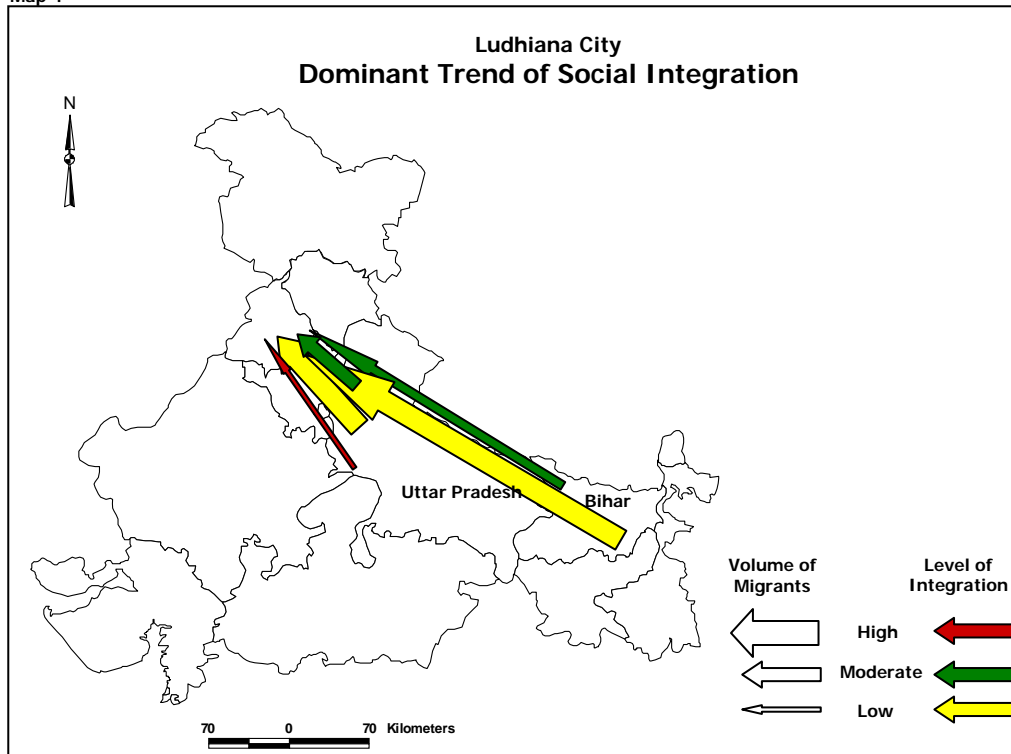
Apart from interactions with family members, migrants also interact with other migrants and the local population. These other migrants may be from their own place of origin, or from other areas, with whom the migrants become friendly. Interaction may be informally, or through formal institutions like associations etc. Informal interactions have been examined from migrant responses to the question on the people the migrants discuss their problems with. Formal interactions have been examined at two levels- affiliations with Trade Unions/ Political Organizations etc, membership of social institutions, mosques etc. and interactions restricted to the migrants living in the '*beda*'.

Once again, the spouse, male earning members of the family who live and work in Ludhiana, and also male extended family members are the sources tapped to discuss personal problems. Very few, take help and advice from members of the local population. In the cases where they do, it is usually the labour officer at the place where they work. Thus, with respect to personal interactions, migrants show moderate integration. Hardly three or four respondents said they did not interact much with anyone, but kept to themselves.

Interaction is also through membership of social organizations like the Malyalee Society or the Christian Association and the like. Migrants with distinct language barriers like those who migrate from Kerala, Tamil Nadu or Maharashtra become members of such organizations as it helps them make contacts and become

familiar with life in the new setting. Migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are able to overcome any language barriers due to the presence of strong, well established networks on which they depend. Such migrants are found to be politically more active as they support particular political groups or unions, without actually taking up membership. Such affiliations tend to help the migrants interact both with the local population as also other migrants. Very few admitted to being involved with Union activities, which is frowned upon by the local employers. The majority of the migrants interact only with their own kind, migrants from their own places of origin, either living in the '*beda*' or at the workplace. Such migrants really make no effort to integrate with the host population or with other migrant groups. Others would show moderate integration as they interact with migrants and local population at pre-designated places like places of worship or other such places. Inbanathan (1988:p.119) observed strong familial and kinship bonds among the Tamil migrants to Delhi, where members interact mainly with other members of their family and kin. Such a narrowing of social horizons was particularly acute in the case of women who do not go out to work, but spend much of their time in the company of their female relatives in the colony.

Map 4

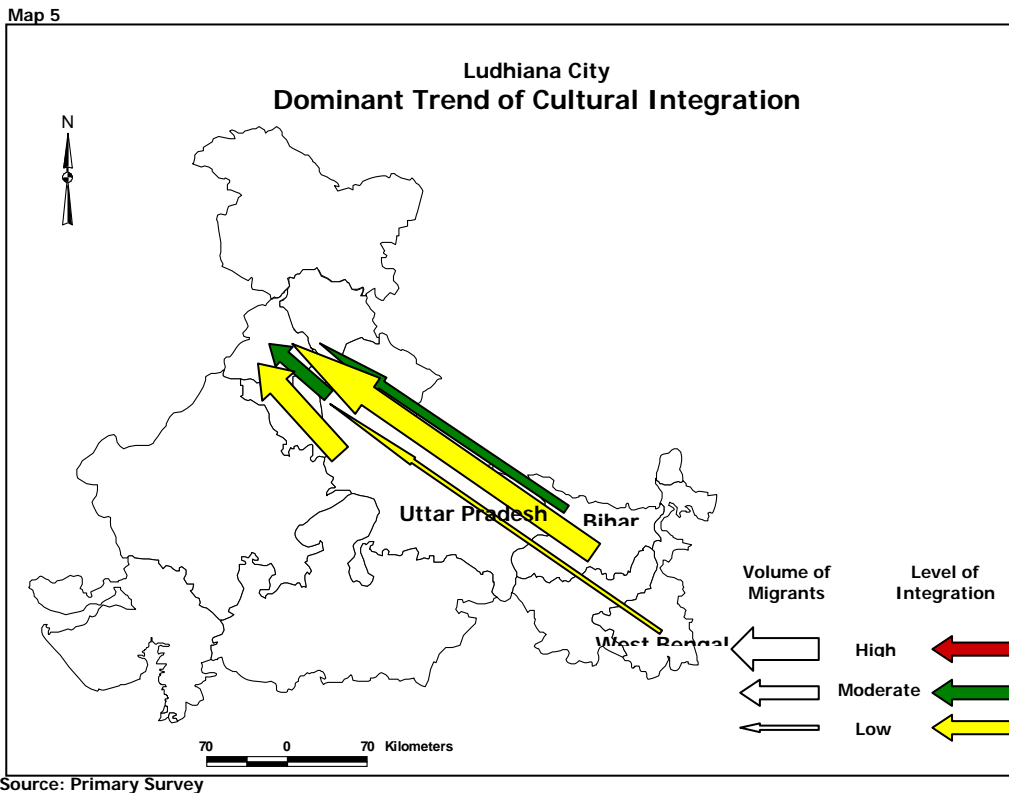


Source: Primary Survey

The two states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have a high volume of migrants who have very low level of social integration (Map 4). Uttar Pradesh and Bihar also have a moderate volume of migrants who have moderate social integration. A low volume of migrants from Uttar Pradesh have high social integration in Ludhiana.

Cultural Integration:

It is difficult to define or measure culture, which is a complex system of a set of human values, beliefs and distinct attitudes towards lifestyle (Desai:1999). It has generally been documented that social functions and festivals bring migrant groups closer to each other as does the shared bond of language.



In the study area, inter-state migrants are forced to overcome linguistic barriers since states in India are organized on the basis of language. Yet, migrants have low integration in terms of their ability to speak or to understand the local language, i.e. Punjabi. 26.3% have moderate integration while 24.9% have high integration and can speak the local language with understanding. Close interaction among the members of migrant groups or even groups of migrants leads to low familiarity with the local language. Their need to learn the local language is negated since the migrant is able to carry out his day to day work easily, with help from his own network.

Migrants have low integration with respect to participation in Local Festivals. Most festivals in Punjab are similar to those in other parts of the country. However, '*Gurupurb*' is one occasion which is celebrated in Punjab as the birthday of their revered Guru. It is a festival peculiar to the area. Migrants participating in these celebrations would have high integration with the host population. Apart from this, the local population also organizes '*jagrata*', or '*jagaran*' and '*satsang*' on a regular basis. It

is open to all. Very low integration with respect to participation in Local festivals and other similar activities is seen among the migrants. Most migrants tend to return to their place of origin to celebrate their own major festivals. They rarely participate in local celebrations other than in the form of donations, which are given only if they are asked for them.

The above two indicators combine to give a score of low cultural integration to the migrants. Neighbouring states would have greater affinity in language and culture as compared to states that are distant.

It may be expected that migrants from neighbouring states will be integrated culturally as they share a greater affinity in language and culture as compared to those who come from afar. However, migrants from neighbouring states as well as far off states have low cultural integration. A moderate volume of migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have moderate cultural integration, as compared to migrants from other states and Union Territories. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar also have a higher volume of migrants with a low level of cultural integration. West Bengal and the Union Territory of Delhi also have a low volume of migrants with low cultural integration.

Summary and Conclusion:

Migrants have moderate economic integration in the city of Ludhiana, on all selected indicators, except the time taken to access the labour market and job mobility immediately after migration. A large number of migrants have low economic integration with respect to acquisition of skills after migration, the duration worked at the first job and the time taken to access the labour market.

Migrants show low interaction with the local population and other migrants on selected indicators. They maintain strong links with family, kin, people from their place of origin, all of which minimizes interactions outside these networks. Thus, migrants have low social integration, except for their interactions to discuss personal problems, where they have moderate integration.

Distinct linguistic regional identities are maintained by migrants, who follow their own customs, traditions etc, rather than imbibing those of the host population. Culturally also, migrants have low integration.

The level of integration of migrants on these three dimensions can be graded from economic, to cultural and finally social. Thus, migrants are economically better integrated and socially the least integrated.

A high volume of migrants have moderate economic integration and low cultural integration, and it declines with distance. Large numbers of migrants have low social integration, and it is uniform across distance.

In order to help migrants integrate with the host population, what is required is improvement in their economic integration by improving their access to skill acquisition after migration, either through formal channels or through apprenticeship training. Improvement in social and cultural integration would follow. What is also required is that migrants have better access to education for their dependents and access to improved health care facilities. Finally, a better understanding of the manner in which migrant networks function in the city would go a long way to integrate migrants with the host population.

APPENDIX I

Codes: Integrating Migrants in an Urban Industrial Environment

1. Economic Integration

a. Information source for jobs:

- 0 No information
- 1 Information from informal networks (Father, siblings, extended family, other people from place of origin)
- 2 Information from formal networks (Media, Newspaper advertisements, previous employers etc.)

b. Time taken to Access the Labour Market:

- 0 More than 28 days
 - 1 Took 5 days to 27 days to find job
 - 2 Took 4 days or less to find a job
- (Categorization based on Mean +/- (SD/2) Mean- 15.1, SD-22.9
Mean + (SD/2) = 15.1+11.45 = 26.55= 27
Mean - (SD/2)= 15.1-11.45 = 3.65= 4)

c. Mobility Within the Job Market:

Change in Type of Occupation from Pre-Migration Job in City to Current Job

- 0 Move to a lower paid job
- 1 Horizontal Occupational Mobility (Blue-Blue/ White-White)
- 2 Vertical Occupational Mobility (Blue Collar to White Collar job)

d. Mobility Within the Job Market:

Change in Type of Occupation from Pre-Migration Job in City to Current Job

- 0 Move to a lower paid job
- 1 Horizontal Occupational Mobility (Blue-Blue/ White-White)
- 2 Vertical Occupational Mobility (Blue Collar to White Collar job)

e. Duration worked at First Job:

- 0 3 months or less worked at first job
 - 1 4 months to 22 months worked at first job
 - 2 More than 23 months worked at first job
- (Categorization based on Mean +/- (SD/2) Mean- 12.5, SD-19.9
Mean + (SD/2) = 12.48+9.97 = 22.45= 22
Mean - (SD/2)= 12.5-9.95 = 2.52= 3)

f. Access to Skill Enhancement in City:

- 0 None
- 1 At Place of Work in the City
- 2 At any Institution in the City

2. Social Integration

a. Help Received from:

- 0 Family and Kin Networks (Father/Uncle/Aunt/Siblings/Cousins/Nephews/ BIL etc).
- 1 Community Networks (Others from place of origin/ friends/ neighbours etc)
- 2 Institutional Networks (Self/ Employer/ Local Population)

b. Family ⁴ in Ludhiana:

- 0 Never visited Ludhiana
- 1 Here, but Returned Home
- 2 Live Here

c. Access to Educational System:

- 0 No child/ children too young for school
- 1 Studying at Place of Origin
- 2 Studying in Ludhiana

d. Discuss Personal Problems With:

- 0 With no one
- 1 With Family and Community Networks, whether from home or developed in the city
- 2 Local Population/Employer

e. Affiliation to Social Institutions:

- 0 No interaction, except with people of origin/ at workplace/ neighbours/ 'beda' etc.
- 1 Meet at Temple/'Masjid' or other pre-designated place, sometimes
- 2 Affiliation to Union/ Political Organisations

3. Cultural Integration

a. Familiarity with Language:

- 0 No familiarity
- 1 Can Understand without Speaking
- 2 Can speak with Understanding

b. Celebration of Important Festivals in Ludhiana:

- 0 Never (if visit home for specific festival/ celebrate main festivals at home)
 - 1 Participate in Langar, Jagrata/Jagran etc.
 - 2 Festivals peculiar to Ludhiana
-