

Chapter-I

Trends of Migration in India: An Overview

India as one of the oldest civilizations and land of opportunities has been remained a magnet for visitors, traders, students and warriors from all over the world since very long. But it had attained a new form and increased enormously in scale during the colonial period. Thereafter, in the light of remarkable changes and developments brought in the social, economic and political set up and advancement in the technological sector during the last decades of 20th century, the trends of migration from and in India turned to be more dynamic than ever before. The expansion of means of communication and transportation also provided impetus to the movement of people in India not only to the international streams but also within the country. Internal migration in our country was far more contextual in terms of the number of people who moved from one state to other or rural areas to the urban for better future. The trends of migration from and within India and nature, volume and reasons of migration from different parts of the country to Punjab but specifically to Ludhiana have been the major areas of attention in this chapter.

International Migration in India

International migration in India can broadly be classified into two patterns such as migration of Indians to other countries and migration of the nationals of other countries, voluntary or non-voluntary, to India.

1. Emigration

Migration from India to various parts of the world was very old and in modern times five patterns of Indian emigration were identified such as i) Unskilled labour emigration, ii) Kangani/Maistry²⁰ or Contract labour emigration, iii) Free or

20. Under the Kangani system Indians were migrated to Malaysia and Sri Lanka as contract labourers to work on sugar and rubber plantations. A big number of Indians were also migrated to work on sugar and rubber plantations in Myanmar under the system of Maistry. Such labourers were mainly from Tamil speaking areas in the Madras Presidency.

Passage²¹ emigration, iv) Technologically Experts emigration²², v) Labour migration to West Asia (Jain 1989: 161). The first three types of emigration were colonial phenomenon but the last two were the result of inherent contradiction of post colonial socio-economic development in India. However, the migratory patterns in India can be classified into four heads.

i) **Migration from India in Pre-Independence Era**

Indians for a number of centuries had been emigrating to promote trade, political and religious links with several countries. The trends and implications of migration from India varied from time to time. The tradition of out-migration of Indians could be traced back to 268-231 B.C. when emperor Ashoka sent messengers across the world to spread the message of peace given by Lord Buddha (Sahai and Chand 2004:59). However, systematic migration flows from India to various parts of the world were noted during the last two centuries and the origin of modern-day emigration was started in the 18th century under the British rule. During colonial period, the process of international migration from India had entered into a new phase. The Britishers after abolishing slavery system in the Empire replaced black slave labour with the Indian labour to work on plantations and in mines. The first batch of unskilled Indian labourers was transported to Mauritius for sugar plantation. Afterwards, more such labour force was recruited on contract to work on tea, rubber, sugarcane and palm plantation and in mines. The countries where Indian labourers migrated were West Indian colonies, Fiji, South Africa, Mauritius, Malaysia, Singapore, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Burma (Naidu 1991:349; Dewal et al 2004: 53).

Apart from labour migration to the British colonies, a big number of Indians was also migrated to the advanced industrial countries like United Kingdom (UK) in Europe in the early 19th century and to North America in the 20th century. About 30 million Indians were migrated to different parts of the world between 1800 and 1945. About 22 million of these were migrated to Sri Lanka, Burma and Malaysia; 420,000 to East Africa

21. Free or Passage migration was of white collar workers, technicians and trading classes from India to East and South Africa. They were mainly from Punjab and Gujarat.

22. Technologically experts' emigration was voluntary migration of Indians especially educated and technologically professionals to Europe and North America.

and Mauritius; 400,000 to the West Indies and Fiji; and 50,000 to United States of America (USA), U.K. and Canada (Nangia and Saha 2003:2; Sinha and Ataulloh 1987:113). This emigration was male dominated and temporary in nature but with the advent of 20th century women were also started migrating in a considerable number and therefore, it became more of a permanent character.

ii) **Migration from India in Post Independence Era**

In post independent period two different trends dominated the scene of migration in India. Such as:-

a) **Migration to the Developed Countries**

Migration of labour to industrialized developed countries of the west remained in process for a long time but U.K. was the most attracting country for a significant number of Indian engineers, scientists, doctors and technical workers during 1960s when such demand was not met by the local English workers. The migration to North America was started in the early 1950s and the trend remained modest till the middle of 1960s. During 1960s and 1970s, the trend of migration among Indians to USA and Canada was increased rapidly. Till the end of 1980s, about 3.6% and 6% Indians were living in USA and Canada respectively. However, with the dawn of globalization, the migratory flows to these countries increased in 1990s to 38,330 persons from 2,6184 in 1980s and in Canada from 7,930 in 1980s to 13,770 in 1990s (Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003:14). In 2003, more than 23000 Indians got US immigration visas and more than 17000 got Canadian visas (ILO 2003:1). Moreover, a significant flow of Indian professionals to the countries like Australia, Germany, Japan, Malaysia and New Zealand was also noted in 1990s. Migration to developed countries from India grew steadily between 1950 and 2000. But during 2003, nearly 1.25 million academically and technically qualified experts from India was migrated to USA, Canada, U.K. and Australia (Nangia and Saha op. cit.:3).

b) **Migration to the Middle East**

The second trend of labour emigration from India was towards the oil producing

rich countries of the Middle East²³ during 1970s. Till the end of Second World War, the migration of Indians to the Gulf countries was at low scale and there were only 14,000 Indians in 1948 (Jain op. cit.: 156). But the rapid hike in oil prices during 1973-74 and afterwards brought uneven richness to the Gulf region which laid foundation of various developmental programs including schools, houses, hospitals, big business establishments, improvement in transportation and communication in the countries of this region. But the local workers were unable to meet the increasing demand in the labour sector because of their low number and inadequate training. Therefore, it paved the way for the entry of technically experts and semi-skilled workers from several countries of Asia including India (Ahn 2005:3). By the mid of 1980s, India was the second largest supplier of manpower to these countries as the labour migration from India to the Gulf jumped from only 22,000 in 1971 to 1,55,000 in the early 1991 (Nayyar 1994: 31). However, this trend was continued only by the end of 1997 and thereafter, the annual flow of Indians to the Gulf started declining slowly. During 1999, there was a steep decline in the number of Gulf going aspirants. This was, of course, largely due to the restriction imposed by Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (Rahman 2001:26).

But later on, it again started increasing with some variations. One stupendous feature of labour migration from India was that over 90% of the migrants made their ways to the Middle East countries. In 2004, the number of workers who were given emigration clearance for contractual employment was 500,000 for the Gulf countries (IOM-India 2005:1). Interestingly, Oman, Saudi Arabia and UAE were the most loving destinations for Indian workers. During 2002, more than 99,453 migrant workers obtained clearances, whereas 95,034 and 41,209 workers got clearance for United Arab Emirates and Oman respectively (Ahn 2004:65).

Apart from Gulf countries, South East Asia and East Asian countries²⁴ also emerged as new alluring countries for a greater number of migrant workers in the light of uneven industrial progress these countries achieved during the mid 1980s. Malaysia and

23. The Middle East also known as Gulf region in West Asia that comprises oil producing countries like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Yemen, Iran, Iraq, Bahrain and Libya.

24. Malaysia, Singapore, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Brunei, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam and East Timor.

Singapore were turned to be the host destinations for an overwhelming number of migrant labourers. South Korea, Malaysia and Singapore faced acute shortage of labour as the local labour was not willing to do lower status jobs and therefore, these countries relied on foreign labour force mainly from South Asia. The majority of migrant workers from South Asia comprised semi-skilled and unskilled manpower to these countries and Indian workers as about 25,000 in Singapore and 11,000 in Malaysia were engaged on different occupation in 2002 (Ibid:66).

2. Immigration

Migration of people from different countries, more significantly from neighbouring countries, to India was associated with the democratic polity, liberal society, religious freedom and developed economy coupled with more job avenues. Since 1947 the number of legal as well as illegal immigrants in India has been increasing over the decades. But an instant increase in the number of foreign migrants in the country was noted during 1991-2001. Their number had increased from 1,079, 945 in 1991 to 6,166,930 in 2001. As per Census 2001, 626,712 persons were migrated to India from neighbouring countries (Table 1).

Table-1
Migrants to India from Neighbouring Countries, 2001

Country	Males	Females	Total
In-migrants from Neighbouring Countries	324,121	302,591	626,712
Afghanistan	2,352	2,428	4,780
Bangladesh	132,125	147,753	279,878
Bhutan	2,444	1,579	4,023
China	6,702	1,983	8,685
Myanmar	5,601	5,428	11,029
Nepal	145,336	116,115	261,451
Pakistan	20,398	16,568	36,966
Sri Lanka	9,163	10,737	19,900

Source: Census of India 2001, Table D1. Govt. of India (GOI)

The bulk of these migrants were from Bangladesh mostly in the metropolitan cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Calcutta and Ludhiana (Dewal et al op.cit:55; Behal 2007:1). Apart from Bangladesh, there was a large scale movement of Nepalese nationals to India.

The Census of India, 2001 reported that 2.6 million Nepalese nationals were living in the country while as per the 1991 census they were about 2 million. If the numbers of children born to Nepalese in India were included, their number could have been double the figure. The density of Nepalese migrants was more in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Sikkim, UP, Bihar, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab.

The migrants from Sri Lanka were also not less in number in India. The issue of citizenship and nationality of Indian origin Tamil people who had migrated to Sri Lanka during the 19th century to work on plantations was responsible for their migration to India. In 1974, more than 60,000 Sri Lankan Tamils were migrated to India as per the agreement between the two countries. There was also another pattern of migration of Sri Lankan Tamils to India in the form of refugees during 1980s as more than 1,25,000 Tamil refugees migrated to India (Dewal et al op.cit). According to the Census of India 2001, about 19 million migrants living in India were reportedly from Sri Lanka. Moreover, migrants from Pakistan (36 million), Myanmar (11,029), China (8,685), Afghanistan (4,780) and Bhutan (4,023) were also living in India in the year 2001 (Patil 2003:10).

3. **Refugee Migration**

There had also been a significant trend of an involuntary or forced immigration to India in the form of refugees during the post independence period. This may broadly be categorized as:-

a) **Mass Migration of Refugees from Bangladesh, Tibet and Sri Lanka**

By the end of 2006, over 300,000 nationals of Bangladesh, Tibet and Sri Lanka were recognized as refugees by the Indian government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and were given shelter in India. A major part of them comprised the Chakma and Jumma refugees from Bangladesh. They were from tribal community consisting Buddhists and Hindus living along with the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) of Bangladesh. The chakmas, the Jummas and other non- Muslim tribal

groups of CHTs were forced to migrate to Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura states of India as they were facing religious harassment and well-documented oppression at the hands of various Islamic groups in Bangladesh. About 9 million Bangladeshi refugees were migrated to India during the 1971 liberation war and most of them were returned back after the creation of Bangladesh as an independent country. However, a good number of about one million were remained in India even after the liberation of Bangladesh (Patil op. cit: 22). In 1997, Bangladesh government signed a peace agreement with the refugees who took shelter in India leading to the repatriation of 13,500 chakma refugees. About 50,000 Jumma refugees were still living in Tripura state of India in 2003 (Ibid: 8). Besides Bangladeshi refugees, 121,143 Tibetan refugees who had been migrated in India since 1959 were residing in Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Arunachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, West Bengal, Orissa and Sikkim (UNHCR 2006:7).

The issue of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka remained a serious concern for Indian governments and security agencies from time to time. Sri Lankan Tamil refugees were fled to India in several waves. During the first wave, 134,053 Tamil refugees were reportedly migrated to India during 1983-1987. During the second phase of Tamil flight in search of a safe heaven, 122,037 refugees from Sri Lanka reached India between 1989 and 1991. By October 1996, around 2000 Tamil refugees were migrated to Tamil Nadu. But by the end of 2002, more than 55,000 of them were returned to Sri Lanka whereas about 64,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees were accommodated in various camps in India and further 45,000 were living outside the campus in Tamil Nadu (Ibid:12).

b) Individual Asylum Seeker Migrants

India also provided shelter and protection to about 22,000 nationals of Afghanistan, Burma, Iran, Somalia and Sudan (Patil op. cit: 11). Nearly 12,000 Afghan refugees were registered with the UNHCR and living in India. The profile of Afghan refugees was based on religious grounds as they were mostly Hindus and Sikhs who faced religious oppression by the Taliban regime. Myanmar or Burmese were the second largest group of refugees in India who were approximately 55,000 in number living in India and about 467 of them were recognized by the UNHCR. The migration from Myanmar for asylum in India was started during 1988 due to alleged persecution by

the military regime on political and religious grounds with the persons mostly of Chin origin who were Christians. Ethnically, the Chin was closely related to the Mizo, Kokis, Paite and other tribal groups in Northeast India. They were living in Manipur and Mizoram states of India.

4. Internal Migration in India

Internal migration of people from one part to other within the India was very limited before the arrival of Britishers. It was because of two major reasons. First, people were used to engage in agro-based rural socio-economic operations by which they were satisfied in fulfilling the needs within their own villages. Second, lack of improved transportation and communication facilities discouraged them to migrate from their native places. But the developmental changes brought up by the Britishers in production and economic systems, starting of railways and improving communication and other transportation facilities pushed the internal as well as international migration in India. Earlier migratory trends in India were primarily towards the eastern parts of the country (Eaton 1984:4). They often proceeded from village to village individually or in groups to work on agricultural operations. The famine during 1850s and suppression of the Indian uprising of 1857 added one such large-scale movement of people. People had migrated to the British, Dutch and French colonies to work on sugar plantations and subsequently, for tea and rubber plantations in Southeast Asia (Tinker 1974:15). Later on, forest enclosures and population growth enhanced the number of migrants. At the same time, demand for labour increased with the growth of tea, coffee and rubber plantations, coal mines and development of industries in the country (Chand 2002:3). Migration of nearly one million peasants from overcrowded lands in the east of Bengal to Assam was taken place during the first three decades of 20th century. The eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, eastern Madhya Pradesh and west Bihar were the out-migrants producing areas in India and it was the region from which a significant proportion of Calcutta's population was resourced during the 19th and 20th centuries (Chattopadhyaya 1987:20).

In the beginning of 20th century, the trend of rural to rural migration was decreased and rural to urban migration was increased. It was associated with the pressures of population growth, fragmentation and subdivision of land and the expansion

of employment opportunities in urban centers (Bose 1993: 26). Many peasants were forced to migrate for long time to earn money for the survival of their families and to return back their debts which was a common feature in Madhya Pradesh as well as in some of the tribal areas in central India. Likewise, one survey in 1911 revealed that in the Sadar subdivision of Ranchi district in Bihar, about 80% to 94% of holdings of land was amounted to less than 14 acres which were insufficient to support an average family (Bates 2000: 6). The same situation was prevailing in Bengal where less than one fifth of families of cultivators were left to find migration to return back their debts in 1930. Hence, seasonal and permanent migration was the way of life for most of the small land holding cultivators as well as land less people of the poorest districts in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal.

Other prominent migration flow during the British period was of rural weavers who had become unemployed with the expansion of mills. They were forced to close down their handloom business and had to work in the mills. Other rural artisans also migrated to the cities to work in factories (RCLI 1931:10). The predominance of such rural indentured and semi-skilled migrants was of males moving towards Calcutta and other major industrial centers in northern and central India. They had migrated mainly from the areas of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa towards west Bengal and Assam in the east; Delhi and Punjab in the North West; Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra in the center and south west; Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, some parts of Kerala and Karnataka in the south (Joshi and Joshi 1976:8).

1. Trends of Internal Migration in Post Independence Period

In the post independence period, two types of migration were noted in high rate. One was the result of the partition of the country in 1947 by which about 14.49 million people involuntarily were migrated between the two countries. This migration was rated as one of the largest and most rapid migrations in human history as more than 7.3 million migrants-both Hindus and Sikhs had migrated to India from the western and eastern parts of newly created Pakistan (Bharadwaj et al 2007:6). The other was the rural to urban migration in the wake of rapid growth of industry in the country. The small and medium sized industrial centers became dependent on unskilled labourers coming from the

surrounding rural areas. Big industrial cities like Calcutta, on the other hand, drew their labour force from a much wider field. About 80% of the workers in Jute industry of Calcutta were belonged to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. In cotton mill industry in Bombay, labour was not only drawn from the neighbouring district of Konkan and some nearby districts but also from the northern and southern Indian states. Workers in the engineering industry at Jamshedpur were acquired from Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Madras and were more or less permanently settled at the place of work (Mukhopadhyay 1987:12).

There was also some inter-state migration between UP and Bihar for employment in the sugar factories. Labour in coal mines in Bihar and West Bengal was recruited from the surrounding villages but also from Madhya Pradesh and Allahabad, Kanpur and Lucknow districts of Uttar Pradesh. In Kolar Gold fields, about 90% labour was hailing from Madras and some parts of Andhra Pradesh (Bhagoliwal 1974:28). In the states adjacent to the Himalayas like Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, workers from the hilly states like J&K, Himachal Pradesh and Uttrakhand were known to move down every winter in search of employment and went back in the summer.

2. Current Trends of Inter-State Migration in India

Out of 1028.6 million people of India, as recorded by the Census 2001, 307.1 million persons were the migrants who constituted 32.9% of the total population. Among them, 42.3 million were inter-state migrants. This proportion was slightly more than what was reported as 27.4% of the total population in 1991 (Table 2).

Table-2
Decade wise flows of Internal Migration in India

Years	Population (in Million)	Volume of Migrations (in Million)	Migration as Percentage its Total Population	Percentage Urban Population
2001	1,0286	307.1	32.9	28
1991	8388.6	230.0	27.4	25.7
1981	683.8	203.5	30.6	23.7
1971	548.2	166.8	30.4	19.9
1961	439.2	144.8	33.0	18.0

Source: Census of India 2001. Migration Data Table D-1

Less developed states like UP and Bihar and politically disturbed states in northeastern region including Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Assam were the out-migrating states than the rate of in-migrants. The prosperous states like Maharashtra, Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat and Goa were the hot destinations for migrants from Bihar, UP, Orissa, Rajasthan, etc. Generally, most of the inter-state migrants were moved to the neighbouring, relatively more developed states or to distant metropolitan cities. Maharashtra, Gujarat and Goa were the states in western zone which received highest number of migrants. Maharashtra was the main destination for migrants from UP, Karnataka and Gujarat, while Gujarat was preferred by the Maharashtrais, followed by UP and Rajasthan. Migrants from Karnataka, Maharashtra and UP migrated towards Goa. Another significant zone of net in-migration comprised the states of Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh and Delhi in the northwest region marked by a high degree of agriculture industrial growth, expansion of urbanization and growth of metropolitan cities (Table 3).

There were four streams of migration as rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to rural and urban to urban. But the trend of migration was in favour of rural to urban as more than 20 million people of the total 97.5 million inter-state migrants in India were moved from rural areas to the urbans. The metropolitan cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai and Ludhiana were the alluring centers for migrants having rural background (Rath et al 2008:1).

Migration in Punjab

Punjab, though, has a long history of out-migration and Punjabis can be seen in all parts of the earth, the state is well known for its prosperity. Prosperity in any region acted as pull factor for a significant number of people from poorer regions not only from near but also from the far. Punjab continued to enjoy a lead among Indian states in terms of infrastructural development as in 1970 it was reported as the richest among all the states of India. It was 3.4 times richer than the Bihar which was the poorest state and by 2004 this ratio was increased to 4.5 times (Patnaik 2006:1). After independence, Punjab started the pace of all-round development especially in the areas of agriculture and industry. Punjab after the completion of the Bhakra Dam by the end of 1950s and the setting up of Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana in 1962 laid the foundation of Green

Revolution in 1965-66. The modern seed-irrigation-fertilizer technology was adopted with the introduction of tractors and tractor-operated threshers in the late 1970s.

Table-3
India: Inter-State Migration, 2001

State/Union Territory	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Description
Jammu & Kashmir	165084	224236	Out Migration
Himachal Pradesh	344373	451153	Out Migration
Punjab	1752718	1647840	In Migration
Chandigarh	534799	151758	In Migration
Uttaranchal	866894	926125	Out Migration
Haryana	2672929	1743134	In Migration
Delhi	5318362	747105	In Migration
Rajasthan	1730776	2749776	Out Migration
Uttar Pradesh	2807680	9607897	Out Migration
Bihar	1582339	5440584	Out Migration
Sikkim	52985	11904	In Migration
Arunachal Pradesh	170626	20899	In Migration
Nagaland	85550	155676	Out Migration
Manipur	18529	53626	Out Migration
Mizoram	38570	36182	In Migration
Tripura	62890	67666	Out Migration
Meghalaya	92088	51129	In Migration
Assam	515924	667056	Out Migration
West Bengal	2238269	1740348	In Migration
Jharkhand	1781255	1438561	In Migration
Orissa	658984	949794	Out Migration
Chhatisgarh	969492	858657	In Migration
Madhya Pradesh	2236686	2065903	In Migration
Gujarat	2520676	1339736	In Migration
Daman & Diu	60611	13835	In Migration
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	68892	7889	In Migration
Maharashtra	7756307	2150873	In Migration
Andhra Pradesh	1029252	1627609	Out Migration
Karnataka	2107806	1976358	In Migration
Goa	263653	86397	In Migration
Lakshadweep	3535	1700	In Migration
Kerala	412849	1220801	Out Migration
Tamil Nadu	794148	1737579	Out Migration
Pondicherry	265056	109367	In Migration
Andaman & Nikobar Islands	107453	8887	In Migration

Source: Census of India 2001. Migration Data, Table D-1

This led to increase in cropping intensity, higher productivity and both of which had a direct relationship with the labour use.

By introducing, thus, technological breakthrough in agriculture, widespread availability of capital and physical resources and an adequate network of market channels, Punjab recorded its highest position in the economic growth (Gill 1990:3). All this developmental process pushed Punjab to emerge as pioneer in the green revolution in the country. It required a massive labour force in the peak seasons of sowing and cutting of crops especially of paddy. But the local labourers were not in position to meet this requirement as they were unaccustomed with rice cultivation. On the contrary, the labourers from UP and Bihar were expert in paddy transplantation (Chopra 1995:3156). Therefore, all this set the stage ready for the entry of labourers from the adjoining states to migrate to Punjab in a big way. Subsequently, the stream of migration was also swelled from the western and south-western states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and even across the border from Nepal.

The migrants in Punjab were present, though in a modest degree, even before the green revolution and they were engaged in road construction and brick kilns, the real influx of migrant labour in the state began from the early 1970s coinciding with the period of increasing agricultural productivity (Bawa 2009:1). Over the decade, Punjabi labourers became more expertise to rice cultivation but simultaneously, the production and demand of rice increased dramatically and migrant labourers from Purvanchal²⁵ continued to remain a crucial part of the rural agricultural labour force in the large number at the peak harvesting seasons of wheat and rice (Ibid: 3157).

The gains of green revolution brought prosperity among Punjabi farmers who invested their profits in urban areas of Punjab and they shifted to the cities along with their families. The enhancement of agricultural machines also caused farmers' no interest to work in their agricultural fields. The absence of farmers in their agricultural fields caused breakup in the spirit of employer-employee relationship. Now they started paying in cash to the agricultural labourers instead of grains under the siri system in which

25. The migrant labourers working in various parts of Punjab from the eastern Indian states like Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh are called as Purvanchalis or Purbias or Bhaias.

labourers were considered share holders of the crop. This discouraged the rural labourers to work in agriculture and they preferred to work in factories or somewhere else in the nearby cities (Bawa op.cit:3).

Moreover, the wave of international emigration in Punjab mainly from rural areas to other countries including UK, Canada, USA, West Germany, Italy, etc. made the state of Punjab for migrant labour belonging to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh as water to fish. During 1960s, the Punjabi youth of rural background immigrated to these countries for greener pastures. The oil boom, later on, in the Gulf countries in 1970s acted as immediate, both push and pull, factor for young men particularly that of landless agricultural labourers from rural Punjab to harness better jobs with attractive wages in the (Dhindsa 1998:24). In 1980s, a new trend of emigration had also taken birth among the rich farmers of Punjab who started sending their sons to UK for marrying the girls of already settled Punjabi families there just for getting immigration. It was estimated that among 20 million Indian diaspora, more than 10% to 15% persons were of Punjab origin. The emigrants who made the countries of Europe, USA, Canada and the Gulf their destinations were predominately halting from Doaba region of Punjab (Kaur 2006:1). The international flows from Punjab positively influenced the development process. They not only provided necessary links for further international emigration but also contributed a new outlook to local Punjabis by serving as a source of technological up gradation and enterprise within the state. Many wealthy Punjabi migrants set up their trusts and charities to expand health, education and social infrastructure in Punjab. Moreover, remittances, estimated at \$2 to 3 billion per year were contributing to an enrichment of the state (Singh 2001:20; World Bank 2004:2).

During the period of militancy in Punjab particularly after the operation Blue Star in 1984, a large number of Punjabi youth not only preferred to migrate to other states of India but to other countries including Canada, UK and Pakistan (Singh op.cit:3). The Out-migration, that's why, opened numerous channels of jobs of various kinds for migrant labourers in the state. No doubt, some incidents of deadly attack on migrants by militants were reported during the peak of militancy in which some migrant labourers were killed. This immensely affected the process of migration by which migrant labourers had started leaving Punjab. But the end of terrorism and restoration of peace,

political stability and economic prosperity in the state of Punjab in the last decade of 20th century multiplied the process of industrial growth and urbanization which had given an overwhelming encouragement to the migrant labour force. The census of India 2001 showed an interesting migration profile in Punjab. There was significant number of in-migrants as 837,921 from outside the state and 26,861 from foreign countries were residing in the state. The migratory trends were in favour of males and towards urban locations. A large number of migrants moved to Punjab from the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan (Table 4).

Table-4
Punjab: Migration Profile 2001

Migrants	Persons	Males	Females
a) Total population	24,358,999	12,985,045	11,373,954
b) Total migrants from other states	837,921	460,497	377,424
1. Uttar Pradesh	241,987	155,103	86,884
2. Haryana	114,031	31,482	82,549
3. Bihar	149,375	115,102	34,273
4. Himachal Pradesh	55,795	22,808	32,987
5. Rajasthan	51,710	19,092	32,618
c) From other countries	26,861	17,833	9,028

Source: Census of India 2001, Data Highlights -Table D1, Govt. of India

Moreover, migrants from the states of Jammu & Kashmir, Uttrakhand, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and southern states as well as from the countries like Nepal were living in a considerable number mostly in the districts of Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Amritsar and Bathinda. Apart from the census 2001, various reports and agencies recorded different estimates from time to time regarding the volume of migrant labourers in Punjab, some of which fixed the number as 30 million (Chawla 2005:1).

Migration in Ludhiana

Ludhiana, the industrial hub and fast growing district of Punjab, was founded in 1480 AD by the Lodhi rulers. Sikander Lodhi, the emperor of Delhi, sent his two generals Yusaf Khan and Nihand Khan to Punjab for maintaining law and order. They stayed at the site of a village called Mir Hota in those days. Yusaf Khan crossed the river Sutlej in Jalandhar Doab to enforce the order of his master while Nihand Khan stayed back and founded the city of Ludhiana at the site of village where he camped. The new town was originally known as *Lodhi-ana* which means a town of Lodhi's but with the passage of time, it changed to the present name Ludhiana. It was situated on the main G.T. Road named Sher Shah Suri Marg from Calcutta to Kabul and was the most centrally located district falling in the Malwa region of Punjab. In 2001, the total geographical area of Ludhiana was 3767 square kilometers with a population of 30,32,831, of which nearly 56% (16, 90,786) was of urban living people. Thus, Ludhiana emerged as the most populated city of Punjab which was placed in the category of Mega cities of India (Crime in India 2005:164).

1. Ludhiana: Horizons of Economic Development

After independence, certain political, social, economic and technological transformations were taking place throughout India. Many of these changes influenced Punjab more than any other state and within the state Ludhiana occupied a distinctive place. Till 1965 Ludhiana was on an average in Punjab in respect of agricultural production but by 1969-70, the district shown a rapid growth in regard to all economic prospects especially in agriculture under the influence of green revolution (Aggarwal 1973:4; Oberai and Singh 1983:6). It was emerged as the guidepost not only for other districts of Punjab but for the future development of the Indian agricultural economy as a whole. In fact, Punjab was the only state of India that gained a lot from the success of green revolution and within Punjab no district emerged more enthusiastically advanced as a model for emulation than Ludhiana (R. Frankel 1971:12). Ludhiana became a centre of power of new technology to provide a momentum in rural resources and to boost the state to become a self-generating industrial growth.

Apart from the agricultural growth, Ludhiana witnessed a vast growing rate of industrialization. Before 1947, the district was known for its hosiery industry but the number of factories and their total production was very small. Within two decades of 1960-70 industries in the district emerged as the '*Manchester of Punjab*' (R.Frankel op.cit:17; Bhalla 1996:10). It boasted hundreds of manufacturing enterprises in the fields of hosiery, engineering products like cycles, machine tools, motor parts, diesel engines, sewing machines, generators, agricultural machinery, tires, tubes and a variety of consumer goods (Aggarwal op.cit:109; Statistical Abstract of Punjab 2003:400-07).

The hosiery products from Ludhiana could be seen in almost all markets in India as more than 90% of the total demand in the country was fulfilled by the local knitters. The demand for these products had also been increased in volume in foreign markets since the last decade of 20th century. The cotton and woolen products from Ludhiana were also very popular in the East European countries, Africa, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, the Middle East and the Far East Asia. The engineering manufacturing, cycles and cycle parts were also exported to a number of countries (Ram 1984:47; Goyal 2005:13; Sharma and Jaswal 2006:225). Ludhiana, hence, occupied an outstanding position among all districts in the state in certain economic fields in the world itself, particularly in cycle and hosiery manufacturing. The uneven progress registered by Ludhiana led to the prompt socio-economic and demographic changes which gave Ludhiana the shape of a metropolitan city.

2. Ludhiana: A Dreamland of Lucrative Employment

All these developments and changes in the city generated more and more employment opportunities with good wages. This made easy passage for many local rural agricultural workers to find alternative employment in local factories of Ludhiana city. Out-migration of local rural agricultural labour to urban Ludhiana caused dearth in labour in the district especially during the peak agricultural seasons. This situation provided a new environment conducive to the changing rural labour force. The farmers had to rely on migratory labour from the states of Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh to supplement the local labour force. Later on, it led to the influx of migrant labourers even from the areas as distant as Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Orissa and also from Nepal (Sidhu and

Grewal 1984:1). Earlier, this migration was seasonal. The migrants were often come in thousands but their number was estimated to be almost double during the peak period of work load especially at the time of sowing and harvesting of wheat and paddy. Every season they generally preferred to work in those villages and with farmers where they had worked earlier and did not like to go village to village or district to district for work. It was because of their good rapport with the employers and their ignorance about employment opportunities in urban areas of Punjab (Ibid: 18).

But in the last two decades, the city was expanding its horizons in the industrial and other urban economic activities, which created enormous attractive employment opportunities. Every year a large number of young men were coming to the city not only from various parts of the country but also from outside the national borders. Farmers from various parts of the state were seen camping outside the railway stations from early morning to late evening and even for a couple of days for hiring migrant labourers arriving here. The farmers tried their best to woo the migrants by offering attractive wages including accommodation. But sometimes, migrants were seen not ready to go with farmers (Sirhindi 2007:2). The main reason behind this was that more and more migrant labourers were shunning agricultural works in pursuit of more regular and better paying works in factories and in other unorganized urban economic activities like construction work. Agricultural operations provided them seasonal employment only whereas industrial works as well as construction works were available almost round the year. A number of malls, plazas and multiplexes were coming up in the city.

3. Migrant Labourers as Cogs and Wheels of the Economy of Ludhiana

Migrant labourers mainly from Bihar and UP were regarded as the cogs and wheels of the bustling industry of Ludhiana. Each product whether it was hosiery or textile brand or sweets or any other in the market had passed through the hands of these migrants. Numerous studies brought out that the recruitment of migrants by employers was motivated by the strategies of labour control and wage cost reduction. Migrants were preferred by the employers due to the fact that their labour was easier to control and extract under arduous conditions (Oberai and Singh op.cit:80). Moreover, the supply of

labour could be easily increased or decreased with little cost to employers and migrants were got ready to work for long and flexible hours. They were more willing to give extra hours of work and absenteeism was very low among them as compared to the local labour. In many areas of the city where local labour force was not available, migrant workers were there to bridge the gap. It was felt that Ludhiana industry could not function without migrants. During the festive seasons when they went back to their home states, factories could be seen virtually on the verge of closing and stress were seen apparently on the faces of employers (Khanna 2009:1).

For example, the bomb blast in a local Shingaar Cinema hall on October 14, 2007 in which a Bhojpuri movie was screening took 6 lives and injured 24 people. All victims in the blast were migrant labourers. The blast had an immediate effect on the industrialists and employers who were seen more shocked than the migrants. The panic exodus of migrants was imagined by the employers which could greatly affect the functioning of factories, hosieries and construction works. The manual embroidery work in the city was suffered a jolt as most of the dead and the injured were being embroidery workers in different hosieries. Their friends, relatives and workmates did not move to work as they were busy in attending the victims or in search of the missing persons. It was estimated that more than 50% work was badly suffered due to the bomb blast (Venkat 2007:3).

It was not only industry which was almost relied on migrant workers but hospitals, nursing homes, shops, hotels, restaurants and dhabas were also completely dependant on them. Cooking became an exclusive domain of Nepalis and Garhwalis²⁶. Sanitation and allied works was monopolized by the labourers from Orissa. Rajasthani migrants were engaged in the brick kiln industry. The construction work was controlled by Bihari labour. Despite of this, there was a vast variety of jobs these migrants were doing in Ludhiana. Starting from manual, clerical jobs, computer jobs, running small shops, they had started managing small building contracts. They were also engaged in unorganized economic activities like rickshaw pulling, auto rickshaw drivers, masons,

26. Garhwal or Gurhwal is a region and administrative division of Uttarakhand state of India lying in the Himalayas. It includes the districts of Chamoli, Dehradun, Haridwar, Pauri Garhwal, Rudrapur, Tehri Garhwal and Uttarkashi.

carpenters, plumbers, gardeners, cobblers, petty shopkeepers, vegetable and fruit vendors, etc. Furthermore, there was a wide range of jobs available for migrant women, children and aged persons like ironing of cloth, working in houses, baby caring, cooking and cleaning of cars. A study conducted in 2003 estimated that there were about 50,000 vegetable sellers in the city and of them 50% were migrants (Sidhu et al 2003: 294).

4. Volume of Migrants in Ludhiana

It was difficult to estimate the accurate number of migrants in a metropolitan city like Ludhiana because their numbers were highly variable over different parts of the year. Their numbers could be seen maximum during the period of work load and lower in the lean period as well as during festive seasons especially on the Chhath Puja²⁷. The thickness of migrants coming to the city every day could be witnessed by standing at the railway station of Ludhiana. However, from time to time various scholars and agencies recorded their estimates about the volume of migrant labourers in the district. Some of these indicated that there were about one (1) million migrant labourers in Punjab during 1978-79 and the number drastically increased to more than ten (10) million during 2008 in Ludhiana alone.

A study conducted in 2003 found that every fourth person in the city was a migrant either from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh or any other state of India (Sidhu et al op.cit.:294-295). In 2002, the ratio of migrant labour against the local labour was approximately 80: 20 in respect of industrial sector and 70: 30 of agricultural sector (Gill 2002:8). Apart from this, nationals of Bangladesh were also living in Punjab in a considerable number by posing their identity as Bihari Muslims. This truth was revealed in a report issued by the security agencies of India in September 2007. As per the report, about 12.5 thousands Bangladeshi citizens were living in the state, which around 6,500 persons (52%) were residing in Ludhiana city (Behal op cit.). The density of migrant population was seen in Focal Point, Basti Jodhewal, Dholewal, Sherpur road, New Grain

27. The festival of Chhath Puja is a seven-day celebration six days after the Diwali and is famous among Hindu families especially the Brahmin community mainly from Bihar and eastern UP. According to Hindu mythology, the festival is celebrated to gain good health by worshipping the Son God in running water.

market, Vardman, Giaspura and the villages in the outskirts of Ludhiana especially those around the industrial area which had mostly taken over by them. Sometimes, this mega city was regarded as mini Bihar because of the flood of migrant population hailing from Bihar.

5. Earnings of Migrants in Ludhiana

Migration was usually not an individual decision but a collective one. People migrated to Ludhiana with the objective of improving their economic status by getting every type of jobs. They got ready to do any job and to work day and night away from their families and homes with the sole aim of earning and saving as much as they can. Different studies conducted in the city had shown that a normal migrant worker or vender earned between Rs.2500 to 3500 per month (Sidhu et al op.cit: 295). But a survey conducted by the Punjab National Bank in March-April 2008 revealed that on an average a worker earned not less than Rs.5000 per month and the workers who had job experience got salaries up to Rs.8000 to 10,000 per month. Due to labour shortage in the city, the existing workers in factories got more wages for working over time. When clubbed with overtime or income from any other part-time job, their earnings could touch the figures of Rs.20,000 to 25,000. However, a few migrants could cross these figures. Besides factory workers, the vendors mainly rehriwalas were also earning decent amounts. A survey found that a few famous 'chhole kulche' walas were making sales up to Rs.5000 daily and they owned good two-story houses with modern facilities (Raakhi 2008:1).

6. Remittances being sent by Migrant Labourers from Ludhiana

Migrants sent a large part of their earnings as remittances to their family members living at the places of their origin. In general, remittances helped their families left behind to sustain food security, to construct a pucca house, to meet expenses for agricultural inputs and social obligations including religious and expenditures on the marriages of their children. Remittances from out-migration also led to a favourable impact on the household durable goods such as radio, music system, television, electric fan and other labour saving devices for women like stove, gas, electric iron, etc (Singh 1989:254; Sinha and Ataulah op cit:145; Peris et al 2005:2525).

The migrant labourers generally sent their remittances from Punjab to their native states through money orders, trusted friends or by other family members according to the need of their households. A recent study conducted in 2008 found that the annual income of migrant labour in Punjab was Rs.2780.74 billion and of this they remitted Rs.1499 billion to only two states-Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (Singh 2009:1). According to a study in 2007, about Rs.70 million daily were being sent to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in the form of remittances from Punjab. Noteworthy to mention that highest remittances were being sent to above mentioned states only from Ludhiana. In 2006, Rs.265 million were sent through money orders while within six months from January 2007 to June 2007 Rs.110 million were sent to these states. The amount sent to other states from Ludhiana in 2006 was about Rs.1 billion (Bhullar 2007:14). Another survey conducted in 2009 revealed that over Rs.30 billion were remitted per month through local banks and Post Offices by migrants to their home states (Khanna op cit:1). Dal Khalsa, an Amritsar based Sikh Organization, had also revealed that migrants were earning Rs.3000 billion annually in Punjab and remitted over Rs.18 billion to their respective states (Ludhiana Tribune, November 2, 2004:3).

Socio-Economic Background of Migrant Labourers and Reasons of their Migration to Ludhiana

If every migrant had a different story behind his migration from his native place to Ludhiana, there were some broad factors which directly or indirectly motivated to migrate. Migration was influenced both by the patterns of socio-economic backwardness at the places of their birth at the one side and economic growth with more job avenues and tolerant social structure in Ludhiana on the other side acted as push and pull factors. As follows:

1. Ethnic and Religious Status

A major part of migrants coming to Ludhiana was belonged to the lower strata of Hindu society. It was because of their landlessness and lack of any other source of livelihood. Those owned land were unable to get sufficient production in the absence of power and irrigation facilities. Moreover, they faced vulnerability and exploitation at the

hands of people belonging to upper castes in their native states (Ram op.cit:25; Gupta 1988: 145; Karan 2003:108). Such vulnerable people preferred to migrate to Ludhiana and other parts of Punjab for better social and economics prospects. The dominance of migrant labourers from lower castes was closely linked with the reason of greater economic hardships faced by these groups in their native places. However, a sizeable number of people belonging to upper castes were also living in Ludhiana with a view to earn more money by pursuing even a low status jobs which they could not do at their native places in the fear of losing social status (Gupta op.cit:146). Muslims in a big quantum were also coming to Ludhiana and their intensity could be seen during the month of Ramjan. It was estimated that there were 20 million Muslims in Punjab and around 5 million of them had settled in Ludhiana alone who migrated here from the states like Bihar and UP. The Muslims were mostly tailors, artisans and barbers by profession (Chawla op cit.:2).

2. Age, Sex and Marital Status

Age group of migrants was important from parlance of demographic and economic point of view as it had its impact on fertility, labour productivity and utilization of human resources. Almost everywhere migration concentrated heavily on the young aged villagers. In Ludhiana, a majority of migrants was of males, generally in young age from relatively big families, illiterate and from poverty stricken areas of out-migrating states like Bihar and eastern UP. A large chunk of them was falling in the age group of 20 to 45 years. The major cause for this was that the young workers could better withstand and adjust themselves in the new environment. But in recent years, many of them brought their families along with them after having settled down here. Women's migration also became more significant with the expansion of light industries and increased opportunities for them in non-industrial sectors of labour market. Since the migration to Punjab was mostly a youth phenomenon but the bulk of them at the time of migration were noted as unmarried (Mehta 1991:24).

3. Educational Status and Family Size

A major part of migrant labourers in Punjab had low educational profile. They were hardly matriculates or had university degrees and professional qualifications. The overwhelming majority of them were from the poor economic background whose educational level was considerably low. Thus, migration had been predominantly a flow of excess manual labour which was seen in Ludhiana as well as in other parts of Punjab over the past many decades. The study on migrant labour in Ludhiana conducted by M.S. Sidhu and S.S. Grewal in 1984 brought out that about 81% migrants were totally illiterate. Among the educated, the majority had schooling up to 5th standard while 23.08% and 15.38% got education up to middle and matriculation level respectively. This fact was also supported by a number of other researches conducted recently (Singh and Kaur 2007:58; Rahman op cit:27; Chand op cit:15). Generally, migrants belong to the big size of families. Different studies conducted from time to time revealed that majority of them belonged to the families having up to 5 to 10 family members. It was because of illiteracy, lack of awareness about family planning and of course, greater poverty the family size in these areas of the migrant labourers was quite high but the number of earners of these families was small.

4. Employment Status

Similarly, unemployment, low wages, low land base and poverty prevailing in the places of their origin were other stimulating factors for migration to Ludhiana. Despite of 60 years of independence, development and employment opportunities continue to by pass Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A recent study on growth variation in Indian states examined that policies of state governments influenced the growth rates and the gap in growth rate between the richer and poorer states had widened. As Punjab, Maharashtra, Haryana, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu were included in the group of rich states, while Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa were among the club of poor states (Patnaik op cit). Most of the studies indicated that migrant labourers working in Ludhiana as well as in various parts of Punjab were of agricultural background as they worked as farm workers or operated marginal farms. Besides, they also faced other constraints as they were not able to get enough production to feed their families even for half of the year and could not get employment beyond 180 days in a year. The wages given to them

were very meager and they were unable to earn more than Rs.1000 to 2000 a month in Bihar (Gupta op.cit:146).

5. **Financial Position**

The earnings of migrants in their native states were inadequate and a large number of them had to rely on borrowings for their sustenance. Moneylenders, relatives and friends were the main sources of borrowings (Chand op.cit:64). Furthermore, a majority of them was under debt and swelled in Kucha (mud) houses at the native places. For meeting their consumption needs and other social obligations, these poor fellows were forced to incur debts at the high rate of interest which ranged from 2% to 6% per month (Singh and Kaur op.cit:57). The rural money lenders and landlords economically and socially exploited these poor people. They traveled, thus, thousands of kilometers to avail better employment opportunities in Punjab. Almost all migrant labourers moved to Punjab on first through their friends, relatives and co-villagers already working in the state. This aspect reflected the importance of their social networks, which provided them initial income support, information, accommodation and access to jobs.

Migration in Ludhiana: Key Issues of its Impact

The influx, no doubt, of migrants stabilized the agricultural economy and boosted industrial and other commercial activities in the city. But the increasing flow of migrant labour in Ludhiana left far reaching consequences than on any other district of Punjab. Migration proved as a boon for the both local employers and migrants who improved their social and economic status. On the other side, Ludhiana also witnessed considerable changes in its physical, economic, social, political and demographic features directly as well as indirectly. The nature of changes may be summarised as under:

1. **Social and Cultural Transformation**

Migration not only leads to economic transformation but also overwhelmingly brings socio-cultural change. Migrants coming from different cultural regions having diverse way of life learn much from the place of migration and bring home new ideas, new knowledge, skills, social norms and different ways of doing things (Allen 2003:5;

Zachariah 2001:10). They bring remarkable changes in their family size, marriage age, medical care, children's education, social integration, social adjustment, etc. The socio-cultural change among migrants who had settled down in Punjab for the past many years even for decades was more pronounced than ever before. This transformation in the migrants was not just confined to the language but overall way of life. Secular and rich social set up of Punjab led to the cultural transformation among them. Gone were the days when they preferred dhoti banyans and now they started wearing different types of dress, preferably modern dresses. Some migrant labourers who generally had Ram, Yadav, Chand, Kumar, Prasad, etc. as suffix after their names started using Singh as Mahendra Prasad to Mahendra Singh. Their women also changed their names into Kaur as Buddhia to Birendra Kaur (Khanna 2006:1-4; Sidhu and Grewal op.cit:31). Some of the migrant labourers had grown long beards, long hair and speak chaste Punjabi language and it was very difficult to recognize them as bhais. Their children were studying in the government schools in Punjabi medium. There was an also considerable change in their food habits. Rice was their staple food. But in Punjab wheat was the prime food of local people. With the passage of time, migrants started liking wheat and a variety of other local food items. Now they were able to spend more on meeting such social obligations as education and marriage and could save more to pay off debts and to purchase agricultural or housing land. They were in a position to afford televisions, bicycles, coolers and some even scooters that was an indicator of fairly good living standards.

Some changes in the social customs of migrants were noted but a majority of them still preferred their traditional norms. Migrants usually carried with them their culture and values which they tried to further indomitably maintain the same in the place of destination by developing a necessary environment. In this process, sometimes, they tried to change the existing cultural values of the receiving place. As smoking biddies, chewing tobacco and pan were most loving habits prevailing among migrants working in Punjab and these habits were expanding their sphere in almost all areas of Punjab which affected not only local labourers but also various sections of the Punjabi society. The shiny packets of tobacco and biddies could be seen hanging on various roadside kiosks mostly run by migrants in the city. As regarding leisure, recreational habits and

ceremonies, a majority of migrants enjoyed celebrating festive occasions in the manner in which they used to celebrate in their native places like Chhath Puja, Holi, Ganesh Puja, etc. Various festive occasions which require group participation motivated them to organize themselves into various cultural groups. This indicated that the culture of the place of their origin was a source of strength for them in more or less unfamiliar cultural environment of the city of their migration. The migrants' apathy to the festive occasions celebrated in Punjab and their visits to their native places to participate in various festivals and ceremonies underline their lack of interest in the culture of the receiving place. This showed their emotional attachment and their strong commitment to their own people and culture. The migrant influence was there for all to see in the city of Ludhiana. Hindi signboards depicting migrants' functions and festivals could easily be seen hanging in areas like Dhandhari, Giaspura, Samrala Chowk, Basti Jodhewal and Focal Point. The locals who used to be clueless about Chhat Puja till a few years ago have now begun to take part in it. However, these cultural habits change in due course of time and migrants have started participating in the festivals of Punjab with local people. They were slowly getting submerged into the socio-religious meleau of Punjab (Sumbly 2006:1).

2. **Ludhiana City: A Life Line for Bhojpuri²⁸ Cinema**

Movies are the most popular and cheapest means of entertainment for all categories of people to have their leisure and remove tiredness of busy life. Since the migrant labourers belonged to lower socio-economic and rural background they were easily attracted towards movies. There were about 28 cinema halls in Ludhiana city and a majority of these had been screening Bhojpuri movies and those Hindi films in which Mithun Chakarbarty played leading role as he was their favourite star. Ludhiana was

28. Bhojpuri is a very popular regional language in the north, central and eastern parts of India. It is spoken in the western part of Bihar, the northwestern part of Jharkhand and the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh as well as in adjoining areas of southern plains of Nepal. It is estimated that over 70 million people of Uttar Pradesh and 50 million of western Bihar speak this language. Besides this, more than 6 million Bhojpuri speaking people are living in foreign countries including Nepal, Mauritius, Fiji, Suriname, Guyana, Uganda, Singapore, Trinidad and United States of America.

regarded as the golden market throughout India for Bhojpuri movies and music because these movies had changed the economies of local cinema halls. Most of the theaters which were showing these films earned handsome profits after meeting the overhead expenditures (Ghosh 2007:2).

The Bhojpuri films were earlier shown only in a couple of local cinema halls like Swaran and Nirmal. Later on, these films were also started screening in the theaters like Arora place, Basant, Society, Shingar and Deepak. The Naulakha theatre strategically was shifted to Bhojpuri films in 2006. Recently, Basant theatre in Jughiana village on G.T. Road was opened just for Bhojpuri films for migrant labour from adjoining areas. These films helped in increasing the incomes of the film distributors. In Ludhiana, some single screen cinema halls, which were on the verge of closure, these films acted like oxygen for them. In 2007, the film *Nirahua Rickshawala* was the biggest grosser ever in Punjab. It was estimated that profit of the movie had crossed over Rs.30 million in Ludhiana. Bihar and eastern UP's migrant population was the primary audience for these films. It was, however, surprise to believe that about 5% of the local people had also started attracting towards these movies. Such viewers were mainly comprised of the youth who used to see Bhojpuri movies just for fun and local Punjabi labour class who interacted with migrant population and developed a familiarity with the language (Ibid:3). Bhojpuri films were also regularly shown in other towns of Punjab including Jalandhar, Amritsar, Bathinda and Mohali.

The sale of original as well as pirated CDs of Bhojpuri movies and music was reached unprecedented high with the influx of migrants in the city. It was found that the sale of these CDs and cassettes had grown up by 50% during the year 2006 (Khanna 2006:2). Similarly, a number of Bhojpuri singers had organised their cultural groups. The posters, banners and signboards of such movies, music albums and singers could be seen throughout the city, preferably, outside the railway station and the areas having thick migrant population in the city (Chaudhry 2007:2).

3. Change in Political Scenario

The infrequent participation of migrants especially those of with rural background in the urban life of receiving place limited their opportunities for learning the ways of

urban living and political culture. Several factors including illiteracy, community isolation and problem of adjustment of migrants with the new environment were seen to be responsible for their less participation in political activities. They were so engrossed in their personal problems and psychological state that they lagged behind by the other city dwellers prominently by the local urbanities. But in long run when they were encouraged by politicians, socio-political development and interacted with other migrants, political awareness significantly increased among them.

Migrants coming from different areas transmitted their political ideologies among themselves and also interactions with the original inhabitants encouraged them to participate actively in politics and to form several groups. When the number of persons having same ideology and objectives increased to a considerable extent, they tried to impose their strength as well as ideas on the local residents and other people. In this way, they started dominating the political activities of the receiving place. Migrants now started playing their active role in the political affairs and most of them were considered as a decisive vote bank in Ludhiana. Migrants were in position to tilt the electoral balance in almost all constituencies of the city as they comprised about 15% from all voters in Ludhiana (Gandhi 2003:2). Ludhiana Rural was regarded as the largest constituency of the state having more than 4.7 million voters and a considerable number (1.40 million) of them was of migrants (Ibid; Singh op.cit:2). During 2002-2007, there were three (3) councillors from migrant population in the Municipal Corporation of Ludhiana. They were Bhagwan Das (Uttar Pradesh), Ram Chander Yadav (Bihar) both were from Ludhiana Rural Constituency and Gita Devi (Rajasthan) from Ludhiana East Constituency. Presently, the Municipal Corporation of the city has two councilors from migrant population.

The Punjab Assembly elections held in 2007 in which Sambhu Singh – a migrant hailing from Patna (Bihar)–had unsuccessfully contested from Ludhiana Rural constituency on the Jan Morcha ticket. Sambhu Singh had said, “If Inder Singh Namdhari can become the Speaker in Jharkhand why can’t I be an MLA here?”(Yadav 2007:1). He again tried his luck in the General elections held in 2009 as an independent candidate but had to eat a humble pie. Surprisingly, the political participation of migrant labourers in Punjab had been profoundly increasing over the years. No political rally or campaign was

regarded successful without their participation. During the recent Assembly, Municipal Corporation and Parliamentary elections in Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar migrant workers played a significant role in the fortune of even those of national political parties. The leading political parties for instance BJP, BSP, etc. had invited leaders like Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar and UP Chief Minister Mayawati to campaign in Ludhiana just to woo migrants into their favour. No wonder, the political parties which dominate the Hindi heartland were also trying to expand their horizons in Ludhiana. In the last Assembly elections, the regional political parties from UP and Bihar like Smajwadi Party, Lalu Yadav's Rashtriya Janta Party and Jan Morcha were fought elections in the city.

4. Demographic Changes in the City

Needless to say that migration and urbanization were closely inter-related. Obviously, urban demographic growth was caused by population movements. Migration, as a social and economic process, was an expression of those basic changes which were transforming nature and shape of the actual community under the influence of cities and metropolises. Migration as a physical mobility of persons from one place to other was precondition of the process of urbanization. It was not only a pre-requisite condition of urbanization but also a continue process of industrialization and subsequent expansion as well as proliferation of Ludhiana city. The city witnessed a number of demographic changes leading to its formation into a cosmopolitan city as well as '*Economic Capital*' of Punjab with 56% urban population in the district. Migration not only influenced the size of population of Ludhiana but also led to increase in its vertical and horizontal expansion of residential localities. The uncontrolled urbanization had taken place which was further continuing and there was no sign of stopping of the same. The uncontrolled growth of residential colonies resulted land disputes which provided turf to the land mafia (Chawla 2006:2).

Slums constituted the most important and persistent problem of urban life of the city. The population of slum and roadside-dwellers, mostly migrants, were also on a steady rise. According to the Municipal Corporation of Ludhiana, there were 148 notified slums in the city and as per the census of India 2001, 22.52% people of the total urban population of Ludhiana were of slum dwellers. Slums at Dhandari, Jamalpur and other

parts of the town built invariably on encroached land were already in the news. The homeless migrants made shanties along railway tracks leading to Dhuri, Ferozpur and Jalandhar. Then there were those who occupied various public parks in the Sabzi Mandi area along the Jalandhar G.T. Road. A couple of migrants who could not find a space either in a slum or along any of the railway tracks chose a canopy for home in the green belt along the boundary wall of Government College for Women on the Ferozpur road or any other busy area (Chopra 2004:1).

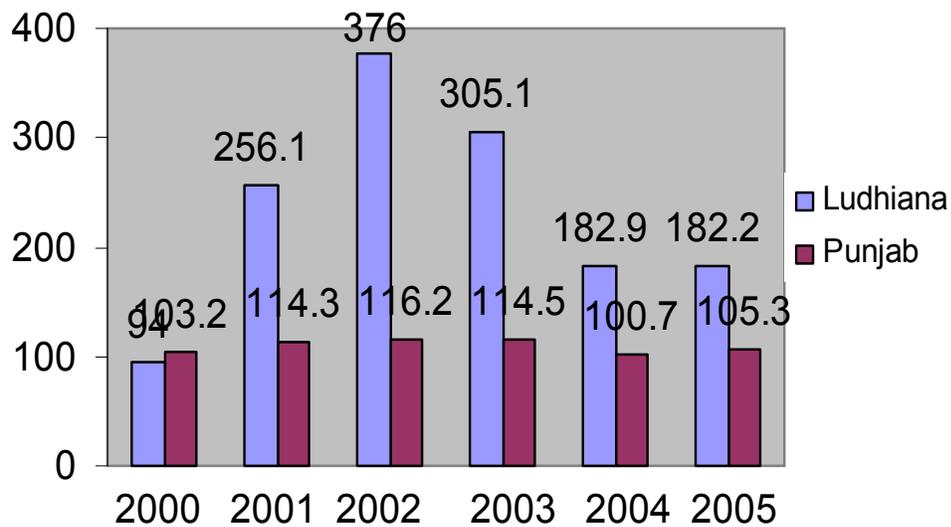
Despite of this, there were many local people in the city who usually constructed 10 to 12 small rooms in a 'vehra' (plot) of around 10 marlas (250 yards) and gave each room on rent to migrants. The number of occupants of a room varied with the locality but a survey conducted in 2009 revealed that four to five migrants on an average were usually crammed in it (Sood 2009:1). Moreover, some people gave one to three rooms on rent to the migrants from their residential houses. Migrants were living in shifts which meant to live in two to three groups in the same room. Many farmers also discarded their poultry farms and converted into a place with a high number of small sized rooms and were given to migrants on rent.

5. Rise in the Crime Graph of City

Since the beginning of present century, Ludhiana has also been witnessing an increase in the crime rate than any other city of the state. The horrifying incidents of crime which included murder, rape even with child girls and kidnappings, apart from day light robberies were being largely reported daily in the local press media. The infiltration of diseases such as AIDS, the smuggling of arms and drug trafficking in the city were the breaking news reported in the police stations (Mohindra 2000:1; Singh 2000:2; Kang 2002:1). The facts were also revealed by the National Crime Report released by National Crime Record Bureau, New Delhi in 2006 that only 94 cases of different categories of crime were registered in Ludhiana in the year 2000 little less than 103 cases reported in all other districts of Punjab. But the number of cases was sharply increased to 182 during 2005 only in Ludhiana whereas 105 cases were registered in all other districts of the state (Figure 1).

Moreover, close analysis of the media and crime reports showed an overwhelming involvement of migrants in the rising crime rate which affected the law and order situation of the city. All these incidents not only shocked the peace loving local people but also created many problems and challenges to the normal working of the police department.

Figure-1
Crime Rate in Ludhiana vs Punjab State



The process of migration, hence, was not a new phenomenon but its trends have turned to be more dynamic under the impact of globalisation, industrial growth and expansion of urbanization. If Indians were migrated to different parts of the world especially towards UK, USA, Australia, Gulf and South East and Eastern countries, the number of nationals, both migrants and refugees, of neighbourhood countries who migrated to India was not less. The trends of internal migration from one region to other were also on large scale in the light of economic growth, increase in the number of metropolitan cities and more significantly regional imbalances. The people from less developed regions migrated towards the club of rich states including Punjab for better future.

Punjab because of the gains of green revolution occupied a distinctive place in the context to economic development with more job opportunities. But Ludhiana emerged as

the most developed district in the state with the installation of hosiery, agro-based and other industrial units after the success of green revolution. Therefore, it became the prime choice of a very large number of migrants from different parts of the country but significantly from UP and Bihar. The people from such states were socially and economically backward, exploited and vulnerable class both by the government as well as rich and upper caste people and therefore, they made their journeys towards Ludhiana for their livelihoods, survival and better future. In the beginning, they worked on agricultural works which became totally dependent on them and when they started working on industrial and in non-industrial urban works, all these also became relied on them. If migrants were the cogs and wheels of local industry, they were also life and soul of the urban manual services. Ludhiana became the second home for a majority of migrants and the city rose to a metropolitan from a town of mere population of 3,15,000 in 1966 to 16,90,786 in 2001. Not only this, the exodus migration in Ludhiana left an overwhelming impact both in regard to positive and negative. It was positive for the employers and the migrants but negative for the security and law and order of the city. A number of professional criminal made the city a safe hiding place for organised crime. The incidents of heinous crime were on the rise which directly posed a serious challenge to the police department.

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