CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing chapters study migration to urban Punjab, focusing on Ludhiana Metropolis. Secondary data from the Census of India is used to understand the trend and pattern of migration to Urban Punjab as well as the concentration of migrants in the districts of the state. Primary data from a survey in Ludhiana city is used to examine the factors and the consequences of migration to Ludhiana city. The characteristics of the respondents, both before and after migration, are examined to understand the factors of migration to the city. The Pre-Migration and Post-Migration work pattern of the respondents reveal the Economic consequences of the move. The networks, and back and forth linkages are examined to understand the social adjustment of the respondents. Finally, a few selected indicators of the economic and social adjustment of the respondents are used to construct a composite index to understand the level of integration of the migrants into the mainstream.

Despite its limitations and comparability over time, migration data from the census of India is the single most dependable and consistent statistics available for the study of the migration scenario in the country. Data based on the Place of Last Residence statistics from the Census of India captures the last migratory event in the life of an individual who may have moved more than once for various social, cultural, economic and political reasons. Thus, it gives a better picture of the migration scenario. The present study makes use of data generated on the basis of Place of Last Residence of the migrants, from Secondary as well as Primary sources, to understand the process of migration to urban Punjab and to the city of Ludhiana.

Punjab has more migrants in its total population than the North-West Region in which it is located and the country. More urban migrants than rural migrants are noted in the population of Punjab. A wide regional disparity is noted in the relative concentration of migrants to urban areas, as also the male migrants, to the districts of Punjab in 2001. The district of Ludhiana has a high concentration of migrants, when classified by sex and by residence in 2001. Generally, the districts in the south-eastern part of the state have higher concentration of migrants, while low concentration of migrants is noted in the border districts in the west. Ludhiana is one of the first districts to develop the industrial sector, with the establishment of the Focal Point at Dhandari, and later the two Industrial estates, all of which now form part of the
metropolis of Ludhiana. This makes Ludhiana attractive to migrants from far and near who migrate to both the rural and urban areas of this district in large numbers.

Migration to urban Punjab is considered here largely as internal migration, though some immigration from Nepal is also noted. Ludhiana city has more internal migrants in its total population than urban Punjab, when classified by sex and by residence. The proportion of internal migrants is on the rise due to improved economic opportunities, while that of immigrants (those who moved to Ludhiana after partition of the country in 1947) is on the decline, partly due to decline as a result of mortality in their cohorts. A significant increase in male internal migration is noted in Ludhiana city between 1991 and 2001. This increase is of 20.4% points for male migrants as compared to 4% points for female migrants. The district of Ludhiana has the highest concentration of male urban migrants among the districts of Punjab in 2001. Rupnagar has a high concentration of female urban migrants during the same period.

A wide regional disparity is noted in the relative concentration of urban male migrants in the districts of Punjab in 2001. Ludhiana city attracts more female and substantially more male migrants from outside the state of Punjab, in the inter-state stream than in the intra-state stream. Urban Punjab attracts more male and female migrants in the intra-state stream. More male migrants are noted in the rural-urban stream, while more female migrants are noted in the urban-urban stream to Ludhiana city. A higher proportion of the inter-state migrants and migrants in the rural-urban stream have duration of residence less than 10 years. Intra-district and inter-district migrants, and migrants in the urban-urban stream, have longer duration of residence at destination. The reasons for male migration continue to be dominated by economic reasons of Employment and Business, as also associational migrants who move with the family. Females continue to dominate in marriage migration or family migration. More male migrants in the inter-state stream and rural-urban stream migrate mainly for economic reasons. Those in the intra-district and inter-district stream and also urban-urban stream have higher proportions of migrants who move as associational migrants, with the family. Marriage and associational migration as a reason for female migration predominates in the intra-district and inter-district stream, and rural-urban stream. Female migrants moving for marriage and as associational migrants have increased in the inter-state stream. The states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar account for a substantial share of economic migration to the city of Ludhiana in 2001, more in the rural-urban than the urban-urban stream. Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttarakhand send more migrants in the urban-urban stream than rural-urban stream. Delhi and Chandigarh send more migrants in the urban-urban stream.
Negligible migration is noted from the states of Kerala, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu among other states. Thus, urban Punjab has more migrants in its population. Higher proportions are noted in the inter-state, urban-ward streams, for both male and female migrants who move for economic reasons. This creates pockets of migrants who are linguistically, socially and culturally different. The district of Ludhiana stands out in terms of a relative concentration of migrants, both male and female and for the inter-state stream.

Migrant respondents in Ludhiana are largely literate. They generally move to Ludhiana only after completing their education, though only a few have received education beyond the secondary school level. The majority of the migrant respondents are unskilled, with a few technically trained, largely diploma holders and some as trained professionals. The training and professional qualification are in line with the type of requirement in the industries in the city. The city attracts professionals, skilled and unskilled individuals. The respondents acquire skills largely after moving to Ludhiana. Such skills are acquired informally, usually on the job. The level of skills is consistent with the kind of entry level-jobs the migrants have been exposed to. The age of entry into the labour force is low, below 15 years. The male respondents enter the labour force at younger ages compared to female respondents. One-fourth of the respondents had no prior work experience and moved with no specific skills to take up employment in the city for the first time. More of the female respondents had their first work experience only after their move to the city. The respondents are largely unpaid family workers, or daily and casual workers employed in agriculture and allied activities, manufacturing and other services before migration to Ludhiana. The respondents are engaged largely in more labour intensive, seasonal industries and in low skilled activities before their migration to Ludhiana.

A majority of the migrants take up paid employment after migration. The average period of job search is found to be higher for female respondents, the self-employed and those who take up contract work. The job search is generally aided by the presence of relatives, migrant community at destination and friends. Only a few respondents are able to locate jobs initially on their own or through the media. However, specific information about the kind of jobs available at destination is gained only after migration. On an average, it takes 15 days to search for employment in the city. The entry level jobs for the respondents were as daily workers, and casual workers in the manufacturing industries, specifically light engineering and hosiery. The female respondents preferred the service sector also. Most respondents preferred
to take up jobs as production-workers since these involved a minimum period of
unemployment in the city. The respondents generally move into the lowest strata of
the work-force. Respondents with previous work experience are also taken as fresh
entrants. At current employment, most of the respondents are still casual workers in
production based activities, with a few regular workers, employed in Manufacturing
and other services. Some mobility is noted from construction, dairy, agriculture, and
allied activities. The respondents generally seem to stick to the entry level industry
and try to achieve vertical job mobility within it.

More of the migrant respondents maintain ties with their families by way of
remittances that they send. More male than female respondents sent remittances from
Ludhiana during the 12 month period prior to the survey. Remittances link the
migrant respondents to their place of origin. Some male migrants also use it as a way
to maintain links with people in other places. Females remit only to the place of
origin. Remittances form a link with close family, usually parents, spouse or siblings,
living at the place of migrant origin. More respondents from rural areas and the low
skilled respondents send these remittances. Migrant respondents investing in their
future or remitting to meet family expenses at the place of origin, indicates that not all
migration is with the intention of a permanent settlement in the city. Male migrants
also maintain close links with contacts at other places, with the intention of future
mobility. Remittances form part an important source of augmenting income for the
individuals receiving them as a majority of the respondents send money on a frequent
basis. Remittances are sent regularly on a monthly basis or from time to time as in
three to four times in a year. Most remittances are sent through insecure channels,
with the people going home, rather than using the postal method. Close family,
people from the place of origin and in many cases, the contractor with whom the
respondent works in the city make up a large part of such insecure channels. While
male respondents use all channels for remitting, females usually take remittances
when going home. The purpose for which the respondents remit also indicates
preparation for their eventual return home. A stay in the city is assured for as long as
the respondent is able to get work and is able to remit money home. Such
remittances, though small, form an important link between the respondent and his
family left behind at the place of migrant’s origin, or with others. There is a dominant
outward flow of remittances from Ludhiana, largely to the place of migrant origin.
This would again underline the fact that most of the migrant respondents earn, save
and remit home to sustain families left behind, or to invest to enable them to
ultimately return to the place of origin.
Migrants from regions outside the state have low familiarity with the language, culture and customs of the destination area. Social networks help them to settle. A majority of the migrants had some family member present in the city when they first moved for work. At first migration, only male earning members or extended family members were present at the destination. Currently, 92% of the male and all the female respondents have family present at destination, hinting at the possibility of more permanent migration. However, very few among them had their spouse or parents living with the respondents at destination. The share of young, single male earners is also high. More female respondents made use of the help provided by co-residents at destination, compared to male respondents. At first migration, respondents usually receive help from un-related contacts at destination, including people from the origin, extended family and siblings. In most cases the help is taken to locate jobs and accommodation at destination, while close and extended family also provide monetary help. Parents also extend help for training and skill acquisition. Very few respondents are prepared to take up the available jobs at destination. In turn, respondents provided or gave help to others to locate jobs or to acquire skill at destination. Some respondents extended help by paying for the training or skill acquisition of new migrants, to help them to locate better jobs in the city. Comparing their situation before migration and currently, a majority of the respondents reported improvement only in the work and income earned. Standard of living appeared to have declined while family relations showed balanced. Health and housing were a cause of concern. It may be concluded that the respondents maintain strong links with the place of origin by way of remittances while the links and support they enjoy at destination helps them to adjust to the life in the city. Remittances help the migrant to invest in his future and take care of family left behind, as indicated by a strong outward flow. Family and kinship networks help the migrant to find work, acquire skill and increase his saving potential by reducing the costs incurred in maintaining his life in the city. Comparing their situation before migration, the respondents find improvement only in the work and income earned. Future mobility intentions also indicate a strong preference for moving to the place of origin at some later point in time.

The study shows that the integration of the migrants at destination varies with time spent in the city, distance from the place of origin and other factors taken for integration. Moderate economic integration and low cultural and social integration are noted across industry groups. Better economic integration is noted in the Light Engineering industry and Hosiery industry, while low economic integration is noted
in the Other Industry group. Economic Integration improves with an increase in the duration of residence at destination. Migrants from neighbouring states have better economic integration as also the migrants from very far off states. Those from the medium and long distance states have relatively low economic integration. Distance decay is noted in the share of migrants across distance. Migrants from the long distance states also have moderate economic integration.

Low social integration is noted across industry groups. With an increase in the duration of residence at destination, level of social integration increases. Migrants from neighbouring states and from the very long distance states have better social integration as compared to those from the medium and long distance states. Social Integration is also high in case of neighbouring states of Punjab.

Low Cultural Integration is noted across industry groups. The level of cultural integration improves with duration of residence in the city. Migrants from neighbouring states have better level of cultural integration compared to those from the long and medium distance states.

From the observations above, it may be concluded that

Large numbers of the respondents were first time workers, having moved to Ludhiana either after completing their schooling or dropping out of school. In this sense, the respondents formed an unprepared group of migrants with very little awareness about working and living conditions in the city. More of such migrants were from the rural areas. Such migrants would also be more prone to exploitation at destination.

Respondents lack actual information about the kind of jobs available in Ludhiana at first migration, though the initial period of unemployment for a majority of the respondents is very small. Respondents learn largely from the experience of their peers.

A large number of the respondents have single male earning members to help them in the city, while spouse and parents are left behind. The existence of already established networks helps to sustain such migration to the industrial city of Ludhiana.

The migrant respondents in Ludhiana city have shown better economic integration and low cultural and social integration. Migration for a large number of the sample respondents appears to be a strategy undertaken to earn a livelihood, either for the duration of their working life, or for shorter periods. In this respect circulation
is the preferred strategy adopted. This helps a migrant to earn in the city to sustain the family at the place of origin, usually rural.

Accommodation, location of jobs and skill acquisition are areas in which migrants require some intervention. Very few children and other dependents of the respondents have access to the educational and formal training institutions at destination.

In Ludhiana, housing was identified as an area where the respondents expressed dissatisfaction. Unclean surroundings, overcrowding, and insecurity prompted few respondents to send their family back. Hence, provision of safe and clean living conditions would go a long way in helping the migrant respondents integrate with the city system. Migrants who come to the city for shorter periods are even more affected by such housing problems.

A majority of the respondents are dependent on the contact in Ludhiana for locating jobs. They are also dependent on the networks that the contact may have access to. New entrants end up doing the same kind of job as the contact. Since cultural integration is low, local language newspapers cannot be used to look up better jobs. More awareness is required whereby migrants have access to correct and complete information regarding the kind of jobs available to them in Ludhiana, with their level of education, skill and training. This would help respondents with better education and skill levels to improve their economic integration. Such a facility would be more effective if made available in areas from where the respondents migrate to Ludhiana. Involvement of the local bodies in this process would also help as it would ensure transparency to the system. It would ensure that only those with the specific skills required for work migrate to particular destinations. This would also help migrants to cut down on their own cost of job search.

The nature of skill required in the industry changes from time to time and poor migrants need to keep abreast of such changes. In recent years, there is greater demand for computerized machinery workers, particularly in the hosiery industry. Such training is expensive in Ludhiana and may be unavailable to the migrant at his rural place of origin. Since a large share of the respondents were illiterate or did not complete matric exam, they are ineligible for ITI training. Some intervention in this respect may be beneficial, to identify the kind of skills required and facilities of training in them, particularly for those who cannot avail the facilities of professional institutions.
Respondents with family support in Ludhiana would integrate faster into the social and cultural life of the city. Access to safe and clean housing, better health care facilities at affordable cost for the migrants and their dependents, access to good quality education and formal training institutions for their dependents are some of the things that would ensure that migrants keep their family in Ludhiana. Facilities for the female members to participate in the income earning opportunities would also ensure that migrants bring their families to Ludhiana.

Remittances are usually sent through insecure channels. This was identified as an area of concern, since money is unsafe in the city, particularly as housing is shared by single male members, who may not all be related. Access to small-savings facilities for migrant respondents in Ludhiana would help them to save what they earn. Some facility of remitting money safely to the place of origin is also required. Postal money orders frequently fail to reach the persons for whom they are intended. Money is either lost or stolen on the way by persons carrying it. Committees and chit funds that migrants participate in is more beneficial to those who have been in Ludhiana for some time. Employers need to build awareness about micro-saving facilities even among poor urban migrants.

Well established networks from areas in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are noted in Ludhiana. Such networks function informally, usually dependent on the system of rishedarey, natedari and pattedari. More studies are required on the manner of functioning of such networks, both at the place of origin and in Ludhiana.