CHAPTER - II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Introduction

This chapter has been devoted to review of relevant literature on certain aspects of migration and cultural interaction. The literature review has been carried out on thematic lines, looking at previous theories and findings of studies on migration, migrant people and their roles and positions. One of the problems relating to migration is its definition and the definition of a host society or original society.

It is sometimes very difficult to define migration comprehensively because the movements of the people occurs haphazardly over space and time, as well as often get confuse with temporary movement. It is also sometimes difficult to distinguish between local movement and migration because of ambiguous civil or geographical divisions. Further, there was also change of borders and boundaries during the historical times. A number of questions arise between the host and migrant societies as well. Host society is formed by the sons of the soil which is sometimes very difficult to explain. In this chapter, a brief discussion on theories of migration, arrival of the migrants, inter-communication, in-between culture, conflicts and liminality concept of status is presented, from the studies conducted in both national and international levels.
2.2: Overview of Migration in Literature

Migration is an intelligent demographic device for regulating and minimizing disequilibrium in population distribution across different areas, as well as for maintaining a demographic, socio-economic, cultural and political equilibrium among diverse communities in a country. The phenomenon of human migration and exchange of goods and services among peoples is as old as the existence of mankind on this earth. The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (cited in Lacroix, 1949) has defined it as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance. In International Encyclopaedia of Population (1958), ‘migration’ is defined as a geographical mobility that involves a change of usual residence between defined political or statistical areas or between residence areas of different types. A myriad of influential pushing and pulling forces in multiple directions induce migration in varying degrees.

Bogue (1969) considers migration as ‘an instrument of cultural diffusion and social integration, which yields more meaningful redistribution of population’. This means that migration is a factor of social change and plays pivotal role in spatial distribution of population over time. When people migrate from one region to another, they need to accept and absorb the destination culture for successful adaptation. However, in many examples, the cultural differences between the migrants and host population may be a source of tension and conflict between the two groups. At this point of time, migrants need to involve in many social activities compelling to initiate coping strategies like sharing and learning social organisation and various forms of
contribution, participation etc. Migrants have to borrow alien ways and social institution and often required to modify their traditional behaviour to get better suited with the host culture.

Migration is one of the causes of social change and it is one of the three basic factors of demographic change, the other two being birth and death. Migration is a two-way process; it is a response to economic and social change and equally it is a catalyst to change for those areas gaining and losing migrants. A system for socializing new members of society may also be regarded as a functional prerequisite since without culture, social life would not be possible. Of course, the underlying assumption of socialisation theory is that society is fundamentally a moral order (social fact) regulated by a collective conscience (Durkheim, 1938). The assumption is that there exists a more or less legitimate mainstream culture which most of the population adhere to (Merton, 1938).

Socialization, in an alternative way to functionalism, may be viewed from the Marxist perspectives as well. Karl Marx (Parkin, 1979, Carter, 1988) had accounted a simplified theory on the maintenance of social system from socio-economic perspectives and his extensive writings have been developed, interpreted in various versions and came to be known as Marxism. In order to survive man must produce food, and material objects. Throughout these activities, he enters into social relationships with other men. The forces of production mainly consist of knowledge and technology will correspond to a particular set of social relationships (Cohen, 1978). The point of consideration of Marxism in this context of migrant’s adaptation
is looming around the contradictions in society between the forces of production and relations of production. The forces of productions are land, raw materials, and the labour power of workers which is largely shared by the migrants. In this regard, there is a tendency to arise resource conflicts between the migrants and the host population. The relations of production are the social relationships which men enter into in order to produce goods. In this relationship, certain rights, duties and obligations between the employer and employee are determined.

Bogue, (1969) in a chapter on internal migration in his book *Principles of Demography*, considered migration as an adjustment to economic and social change. According to him there was a positive and negative aspect to the migration-provoking situation. Besides, he also discussed the role of push and pull factors at the origin and destination. Push factors according to him, included decline in a national resource or in the prices paid for it, decreased demand for a particular product, exhaustion of mines, timber or agricultural resources, loss of employment, oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment because of political, religious, ethnic origin etc. and pull factors consist of superior opportunities to earn a large income, opportunity to obtain desired specialized education or training, preferable environment and living conditions etc.

White and Woods, (1980), in their article on ‘Spatial Patterns of Migration Flows’, had examined the patterns of migration flows, volume, length (distance) and direction. They are indicative of the migration process, for all residential changes among the human population, must take on certain characteristics of distance
travelled, or direction or volume of movement. David Heer, (1986) in the article on ‘Immigration as a Counter to Below Replacement Fertility in the United State’, outlined a policy with respect to fertility and immigration and discussed options for a more pro-natalist fertility policy and highlighted the effect of fertility or immigration policy on per capita income in both the near term and long term.

One of the migration theories called ‘migration hump’ suggests that trade and migration are complimentary, initially developmental policies such as free trade are the determinants of migration. With increasing wealth and the establishment of migrant networks, an increasing proportion of the population is able to migrate, and this process of development initially tends to lead to an increasing diffusion of migration across communities (Martin & Taylor, 1996).

Amartya Sen (1999) conceives development as the process of expanding the substantive freedoms that people enjoy. In order to operationalize these ‘freedoms’, he applies the concept of human capability, which relates to the ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance the substantive choices they have – including the option to migrate as a strategy to achieve livelihood improvements. His view is not restricted to income indicators rather focussed more in exercising freedom, creativity through sharing of knowledge and ideas. Migration is also a factor to enhance the process of learning and sharing as well as a root for creativity, freedom and livelihood improvements in this world of neo-liberal economy.
In the contemporary days, there is quite coherent connection of globalisation, urbanisation and migration. The bridge between them started since the time of primitive technology, but it was enhanced over time through the introduction of modern technology and development. In fact, the socio-economic development tends to increase people’s capabilities and aspirations to migrate. It also has anthropological significance to examine how the technological advancement by man along with economic development has been instrumental in bringing about urbanisation, human migration and globalisation.

Peoples migrate to places that provide higher overall place utility than either the origin or alternative destination. Accordingly, in any place, one’s satisfaction may not be guaranteed and accompanied with hardship or stress to a certain extent. But when the stress crosses a limit he decides to migrate. According to Lee (1966) there are countless factors in every region, which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it and there are others, which tend to repel them. Lee called them, as ‘pluses’ and ‘minuses’ and the factors to which people take an indifferent stand are termed as ‘zeroes’. In addition, he introduced a set of intervening obstacles like distance, cost of transport, immigration laws etc.

There is Lee’s (1966) argument that migration facilitates the flow of information back from the place of destination to the origin, which facilitates the passage for later migrants. Moreover, there is evidence that the already settled migrants function as ‘bridgeheads’ (Bocker, 1994), reducing the risks as well as material and psychological costs of subsequent migration. Borjas (1989; 1990) postulated the idea
of an international immigration market, in which potential migrants happen to act based on the choice of destination on individual, cost-benefit calculations. By virtue of human consciousness, when a person is about to move out, he seeks assistance of friends and relatives from the place of destination to obtain accurate information and to receive active assistance in finding employment, a place to live and so on. Therefore, the formation of an established migrant community at one particular destination will increase the likelihood of subsequent migration to that particular place (Appleyard, 1992).

In literature, the term network migration has usually been used to describe the process of ‘chain migration’. Networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al., 1993). These social bonds also explain why migrants tend to remit substantial amount of money to non-migrants whereas neo-classical thinkers hardly talked about remittances.

Mabogunje (1970), the founder of migration system theory, defined a migration system as a set of places linked by flows and counter-flows of people, goods, services, and information, which tend to facilitate further exchange, including migration, between the places. He focused on the role of information flows and feedback mechanism in shaping migration system. He gave importance on feedback mechanism, through which information about the migrants’ reception and progress at the destination is transmitted back to the place of origin. Favourable information
would then encourage further migration and lead to situations of almost organized migratory flows from particular villages to particular cities.

Portes and Borocz (1987) and Kritz et al. (1992) extended migration system to international migration. International migration systems consist of countries - or rather places within different countries - that exchange relatively large number of migrants, and are also characterized by feedback mechanism that connect the movement of people between particular countries, areas, and even cities to the concomitant flows of goods, capital (remittances), ideas, and information (Fawcett, 1989; Gurak & Caces, 1992). Migration systems link people, families and communities over space in what we nowadays would refer to as transnational communities (Vertovec, 1999).

Migration has an association with a range of action to influence public policy including voting, campaigning, demonstrating, and many other political manifestations. It means public policies are to be made responsively to the nature of migration flows, volumes and direction. In this regard, there is visible relationship between political system and migration.

To a certain extent, citizens are given an opportunity to take control of their own lives, and holding government to account (Croft and Beresford, 1993; Kleppner, 1982; Verba et al., 1993). It has also been argued that by participating in politics, citizens demonstrate a certain degree of allegiance to the system (Kleppner, 1982). The Political participation pyramid in a hierarchical manner given by Milbrath (1965)
based on election only is worth mentioning for the study of political adaptation. It may also be helpful while drawing a conceptual framework on political behaviours of migrants. All migrants do not behave in the same way either politically or socially and subsequently acquired a distinct level of integration which plays a vital role in distinguishing their political interests from the natives.

A model of Political Participation as a Hierarchy was given by Milbrath (1965), being started with participation in ‘Voting’ to ‘Holding Office’. It is a frame of political contribution, conceptualized in a hierarchical manner, with different level of engagements such as in political discussions, donate money to a party, attend a political rally, invest time in campaigns and party membership and so on. Along with political participation, social capital which means contacts to the mainstream society through socialization, interactive integration in society may also lead to identify the hierarchical position of the migrants in politics. In this trend, successive generation migrants are assumed to be more socialized and more interactive to the mainstream society ultimately more politically involved.

There are enough evidences of literature which show that migrants make much progress, on average, from the first to the second generation, both culturally and socio-economically (Portes, Alejandro and Alejandro Rivas, 2011). Migrants and their children are more likely to perform different role in political behaviours or in integration. The migrants are adapted to a new place, the new cultural setting, through a complex strategy over space and time. And, it really matters to identify the pattern how they undergo behavioural changes in the new society.
A well-known result from the political economy literature is that numerically smaller groups have an advantage in solving problems in collective action, making them relatively more efficient in achieving their political agenda (Olson, 1971; Becker, 1983). More recent work has considered the role of established social networks in political behaviour, finding that the frequency and depth of social interactions are key predictors of group mobilization (Chay and Munshi, 2012). Established political parties should seek to coalesce with a migrant group that will yield a minimal winning coalition, an idea first put forth by Riker (1962). When migrants fully adapt to a new culture, social networks become complex and more interactive resulting to assimilation. It leads to the formation of a distinct identity group and occupies a unique position to politics. However, this model of political identity and integration may have regional complexities and local perception; and its feasibility to a particular society may vary.

As individuals adjust to their new destination and in accordance with the length of time spent in the host country, migrants may be socialized to its political culture or be exposed to the welfare state or other state institutions (Dancygier and Elizabeth, 2006). One might postulate that economic interests are the most important determinants of preferences over social spending or redistribution, irrespective of individuals’ migration background. It simply means that investing in trade or commerce is more preferred to investment done in social functions, social ceremonies, rites or rituals, festivals or so.
In another ‘human capital frame’ (Marrow, 2005), since migrants tend to be poorer than natives, they would be in need of support at social spending and redistribution, but this effect should disappear once socio-economic controls are introduced. A study by S.C. Dube (1955) shows the influence of Hyderabad upon the political structure, caste relation, and social attitudes in a village in its orbit. The migrants live between two cultures, bring changes in dress, and in the value of education; caste rule are not so strictly observed (P.N. Prabhu in Bottomore, 1986).

Migration is also investigated through measuring the behavioural approaches. This examines on how psychological process of cognition and decision making mediate between the environment and the individual. According to Wolpert (1966), migration takes place when the ‘place utility’ in a few locations becomes greater than that of the present location. Place utility and other micro-theories assume that migrants have perfect knowledge of the costs and benefits of migration (McDowell & de Haan, 1997) and that people move across isotropic spaces. The concept of place utility is defined as ‘the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual’s integration at certain time and space. It may be expressed as a positive or negative quality expressing respectively the individual’s satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to that place’. Wolpert became a key figure in the evolution of behavioural approaches.

Migration is highly selective of age, gender and occupation and hence it is a specific type of arrangement for making the maximum use of individuals having special abilities. The specific age group are migrant workers, specific type of skills; workers
are attracted to specific area. For example, those engineers trained in petroleum technology settled at Assam or other oil refining centres of the country because his skills are not necessary throughout the country. The migration vehicle carries these specialized and brilliant persons to the communities or areas where their services can be used efficiently than previous places (Bogue, 1969). This is why most of Bollywood actors in India migrated to Mumbai and settled there.

In few decades, migration has brought a huge change in the economy of many states and burdens of urban growth particularly in big cities. There are several literatures on migration in various institutions in India and abroad. In India, researchers and various institutions after independence have made the studies on internal migration. Literature finds out various forms and consequences of migration in India pertaining to its advantages as well as to socio-economic challenges to the people. Apart from its impact on population size and structure, it has given due structural and cultural changes to the society. Kinsely Davis (1951) wrote his book ‘The Population of India and Pakistan’ is one of pioneering works in the field of migration studies. In this book, he discusses with the pattern of migration between regions of India and Pakistan. It showed the form of stream and counter stream migration which show a historical relationship between the two regions.

Migration has great impact on political, social and cultural structures on the population concerned. In India, massive rural to metropolitan migration of distressed people is a typical characteristic of migration (Mukherji, 2001). Majority of the migrants in India are forced to leave their villages due to poverty with a hope to earn
their living. However, Kundu (2007) viewed that economic deprivation is not the most critical factor for migration decisions in contemporary times. Jha (2008) in his paper states that before 1991, natural calamities was the main reason for migration, however, in post 1991, work and employment became very important accounting for roughly 40 percent of the total migration.

From the protagonist aspect, migration is related to creating new ideas, technologies, sharing of culture, trade and commerce, integration and building sense of nationalism. Migration also helps in rapid expansion of modern education system which is very much useful to the far off regions and throughout the country. In this view, many cities such as New Delhi, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Chennai etc. become the better centres for education and attracted many migrants which flourish progress and development.

A study by Veihoinie Kipgen and P.K Ryngnga, 2015, ‘Adaptation and Coping Strategies of Migrants in their Areas of Destination: A Theoretical Analysis with Special Reference to North East India’ has attempted to draw some problems in the north eastern states as because of migration. They are of the view that the push factors for the north east India are unrest, lack of education system, employment opportunities, communal conflict etc. However, at the same time, the north eastern states also acquire a number of pull factors such as pleasant climate, natural resources, less rigid casteism and labour demand which attract large number of migrants into this region. It is true that caste system in the north eastern states is almost negligible. Therefore, migration in India, particularly into the north east India
has paved the way for the lower caste groups to free themselves from the subjugation of the Hindu caste system.

Kim (2001) is of the opinion that the degree to which people undergo cross cultural challenges varies widely depending on situations and their motives for relocating in another culture. Kim further added cross cultural adaptation is a double edged process. Adapt means to regulate behaviour to optimize both the stability of the internal structure and its accommodation to external conditions (Ford and Lerner, 1992). According to them adaptation is a complex and dynamic process that brings about a qualitative transformation of the individual. The contextual paradigm on adaptation is based on the concept of nesting the individual within the family and the family within the culture in order to explain how family dynamics develop within a multicultural environment and how changes in family dynamics are linked to emerging problems with immigrant adolescents (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

The review of literature has found out that the main problems of the migrants are the issues relating to formation of a socio-cultural and political space to the new environment despite of several local conflicts and tensions. Various attempts towards defining the process of migration and the consequent conceptualisation of the phenomena have resulted in the emergence of a number of theories and philosophical approaches. But the review of theories and approaches revealed that so far there has not evolved a framework or theoretical expression that gained universal acceptance.
Migration is often associated with many cultural processes such as diffusionism, acculturation, assimilation and integration. The spread of Indians throughout the world is also a great example of population movement. Indians are found in many countries of the world which were once under British rule, thus they settled in South Africa to meet the local labour supplies.

Migrant community may have the conflicting situation whether to assimilate or to retain their original cultural identity. Therefore, they have to make the balance between the two, thereby creating the hybrid identity. The adaptation is easier when there are similarities in social parameters like religion, language, social status etc. Kosinski and Prothero, (1970) in their paper, ‘Migration and Population Pressures on Resources’ have highlighted the difficulties in the collection of migration data with special reference to developing countries. It further highlights the tensions over limited resources as because of migration in the destination society.

Looking to international scenario on migration and adaptation, Sam (1992) describes, immigrant children come to know the norms, values, and customs their parents promote on the one hand, and those promoted by the host society on the other hand. These two cultures are often viewed as opposing each other, a situation which is sometimes described as ‘cultures in conflict.’ Sam elaborates on how the feeling of not belonging to either culture continues through the second and third-generations, potentially impeding positive adaptation to mainstream culture. Growing up in a
society where their parents’ values apply to a minority group, these children can experience an acute sense of inferior complex in practicing their parents’ culture in a society where mainstream people have different values and norms. Nevertheless, to reject their parents and their norms can be painful and result in extreme emotional problems.

In the current trends of migration, there are empirical facts that most of the migrants were born and brought up in rural areas and the age of arrival among the rural migrant in town was at largely working age. Only a small portion of rural migrant moved into the town for seeking jobs, but a notable proportion of them moved for doing business/profession. The economic status of the rural migrants changed notably after migration into the town in terms of working status and income. Most of the rural male migrants lived in houses and a large proportion had stayed along with their families immediately after migration.

The social and economic progress of migrants and ethnic minorities needs to be monitored. This will serve the purpose to provide an evidence base evaluation for future policy making, and the impact of these policies will be helpful all the communities if inclusion and participation is ensured. Participation in social and political decision making will give migrants a known position in the future of their society. It will also increase the acceptance of the migrants on the part of the majority which is desirable in shaping an integrative and progressive future among the communities.
Migrants have consistent higher activity rates than the rest population. Migrants are often successful in connection with competing for jobs on an equal basis with local residents at their destinations. Moreover, migrants are ready to take any kind of job down the line of their economic struggles. In a paper on ‘Migration between Labour Market Areas in Great Britain 1970-1971’, Floweredew and Salt (1979) made an effort to describe migration between labour market areas in Great Britain and examined some basic hypotheses about effects of size and distance and suggested some explanations for the geographical pattern identified. It gives an analysis of different factors for migration flows in inter-Standard Metropolitan Labour Areas (SMLA) and discussed the relative importance of various destinations for major origins and vice-versa.

Nelson and Sewall, (2003) in their article on ‘Regional Comparison of Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Migration in the 1970s and 1980s: Age and Place Implications’ examine metropolitan and non-metropolitan shifts during the 1970s and 1980s within an age-cohort framework. The study highlights the relationships between the migration flows of different age cohorts, housing market, labour market and place characteristics. The findings give an ample light on migration behaviour, especially during the late 1970s, with older cohort shift more influenced by labour and housing market variables.

In the paper, ‘Migrants in Society, Diversity and Cohesion’ by Graeme Hugo (2005) pointed out that with improved information and communication technology, one can maintain intimate and instantaneous contact with their homelands in a way that was
never possible before. Through the internet they are reading newspapers from their homeland at the same time as people in their homeland do. They can interact with family members daily and in times of emergency, they can return quickly. This helps the migrants easier to link with their original place and to keep rooted in their tradition.

John W. Berry (1997) employed the term cultural group to refer to all groups, and the term dominant and non-dominant to refer to their relative power where such a difference exists and is relevant to the discussion. He also opined that migrants entered into the acculturation process voluntarily. This is an example of bicultural competence acquired by the migrants over time. Migrants and their children are more likely to perform different role in various socio-political behaviours.

Migrants rely on socio-cultural and political forces relating to their safety and security of its diverse population within the framework of acculturation and assimilation. As an example, Scott¹ (1999) points out that assimilation was historically encouraged in the Malay world by accepting as ‘Malay’ anyone willing to embrace Islam, learn to speak Malay, and follow Malay customs, including customary law (Ammarell Gene, 2002). A migrant when changes his place of origin and are adapted to a new place, the new cultural setting, shapes the migrants behaviour socio-politically. It is a complex matter to identify the pattern how they undergo behavioural changes in the new society.

¹ Scott (1999) has also suggested, Southeast Asian States have encouraged assimilation as a means to control populations.
The migration leads to cultural assimilation, accommodation, integration or conflict at the places where the migrants settle down. Migrants require several types of internal and external socio-economic adjustment to the new place of destination. Adaptation is a positive aspect of different series adjustment for enabling environment through different stages. Different aspects could be of food, language, clothing, recreation, and worshipping, political, economic activities and so on for having a favourable existence. Social adaptation in literature may be viewed within the framework of normative approach. It is determined as a process of continuous social control over the conformity of human behaviour with some norms and values prevailing in social system. It is a system of social activities aiming at overcoming adaptive barriers in any situation (N. Wiener, 1948; T. Parsons, 1977). According to the interpretative approach, social adaptation is an informative and communicative ideological construction of the essences of being and strategies of personal activities during uninterrupted interpretation of self identity.

On the other way, assimilation is something more than adaptation. It occurs when the migrants are being absorbed to the host society. In this stage, migrants are no longer connected with their place of origin but they have been well assimilated to the new destination of new culture and new identity. However, the most desirable term is integration, even though it is used synonymously with assimilation, it is like the integral organisation of the different organs and the tissues of an organism. In a well integrated society, there is division of labour and each role is equally important and respected to each other. Therefore, in short, bicultural or multicultural society is like an integrated machine having different components which are equally important to
run it. In nation building process, in fact, a farmer is equally important as compared to an army or a policeman. The point is the importance of integration and sharing of roles and duties efficiently and effectively.

As far as the cultural processes like acculturation, assimilation, integration are concerned, social identity is an important issue relating to migration because identity is often reconfigured and contested along with migration. Migration normally corresponds with challenges to both societies, strengthen or weaken a particular identity, activate a hidden identity, alter family structure and relationships and so on. Consequently, once the adjustment is completed to the new milieu, migrants become adapted, integrated to the host society and settle down as a complete measure to both economy and socio-cultural deprivation (say free from casteism).

A number of studies such as Lee (1985); Robinson and Tomes (1982) and Krieg (1990) have shown that migrants are, in general, more ambitious and target oriented. However, due to possible disruption and assimilation effects, the earnings of migrants are relatively lower (Ahmed and Sirageldin, 1994) because materialising the adaptation and integration is time consuming. Adaptation may be observed from different angle attributable to cultural characteristics, wealth, religion, population, personality etc.

The longitudinal approach to adaptation generally suggests that there are stages that an individual goes through while adjusting to another culture. Culture shock, the ‘W’ curve, and Kim and Ruben’s (1988) systems theory of intercultural transformation
each address various psychological stages an individual undergoes when immersed in a different culture over a long period of time. These approaches do not suggest that an individual adjusts behaviour upon initial exposure to cultural differences. Instead, an individual experiences stress or difficulty based on extended exposure to new ways of doing things. These approaches predict that, over time, the person will learn and become accustomed to the ways of the new culture and will ‘adapt’ to cultural differences.

One of the important adaptation theories known to literature is Communication accommodation theory that elucidates the level of interaction with the members of the group. At the level of interaction, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) focuses on the attuning of communication behaviour by a speaker to a conversation partner. CAT suggests that speakers use strategies of convergence or divergence to signal their attitudes toward each other. Convergence involves changing linguistic and/or paralinguistic behaviours, such as language, dialect, tone of voice, and so on, to be more similar to a conversation partner.

According to CAT, a person converges to seek approval, enhance comprehension, or to show solidarity with his conversation partner. The more a speaker converges to his partner, the more favourably the person is likely to be evaluated by the listener. In intercultural encounters, attention to the communication behaviours of the conversation partner involves attending to the perceptions of the other’s ‘interpretive competence or the partner’s ability to understand. These are interpretability strategies which include modifying the complexity of speech such as: decreasing diversity of
vocabulary or simplifying syntax, as in ‘foreigner talk’, increasing clarity by changing pitch, loudness, or tempo; or selecting appropriate conversational topics which stay in ‘familiar areas’ for the other person (Gallois et al., 1988).

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is an important dimension which explains human adaptation. It examines the way individuals attune their communication behaviour while interacting with others. In cross-cultural encounters, CAT suggests that convergence is used to improve communication clarity and comprehension. It is argued that ‘interpretability strategies’ such as simplifying syntax, decreasing the diversity of vocabulary, and changing pitch and loudness, are used to improve clarity. This is the catch up effect to converge eventually from a low level to higher level. Convergence is a strategy involving linguistic behaviour, tone of voices to be more similar to a conversation partner. The cross-cultural adaptation may be initially affected due to communication failure between intercultural interactants. Cross cultural interactions are more difficult to engage since the interactions occur in between two or more cultural groups of different language or different knowledge origin. Improving communication clarity is a systematic statement of the functional pre-requisite of integral co-existence.

Putting differently, adaptation in conversations between persons from different cultures is likely to require more effort than adaptation between individuals from the same culture (Gumperz & Tannen, 1979). For example, persons of different cultural backgrounds may resort to overly animated gestures to compensate for their inability to procure understanding through verbal communication. Conversely, persons of the
same culture may only need to repeat a particular message to bring about understanding. Gumperz and Tannen (1979) argue that cross-cultural interactions are more difficult to engage in than homophilous interactions because participants lack a common language or shared knowledge.

Berger and di-Battista (1993) found that when initial messages were not understood, the subsequent repeated message showed significant increases in vocal intensity and reductions in speech rate. Homophily referring overlapping communication is a bond with similar characteristics sharing common beliefs, values that make communication and relationship formation easier. Therefore, as shared knowledge increases, miscommunication is likely to decrease. The results of Berger and diBattista’s study, however, are inconsistent with this reasoning. They found that persons did not alter their messages when delivering directions during an initial interaction with a conversational partner that appeared foreign.

To throw light on a basic understanding of the Intercultural Adaptation Model (IAM), an overview is given first, followed by an explication of the model. The model of intercultural adaptation has purposive approaches to describe and explain why persons may or may not adapt during initial cross-cultural interactions. Intercultural adaptation is defined as the process through which persons in cross-cultural interactions change their communicative behaviour to facilitate understanding. Putting in another way, intercultural adaptation refers to the adjustment of communicative behaviour to decrease the probability of being misunderstood when speaking with someone from a different culture.
The Intercultural Adaptation Model (IAM), focuses specifically on people’s perceptions during first utterances (Time 1) and subsequent responses (Time 2) that occur during initial cross-cultural encounters. This model describes the adaptation process during first encounters between interactants. The model explains how persons may fail to adapt effectively during cross-cultural interactions. The IAM argues that positive and negative experiences with intercultural adaptation influence the success or failure of current adaptive efforts. In particular, the model explains how during initial interactions adaptive strategies are a function of experience and how experience then either facilitates or hinders communication clarity. The model shows how increased cultural differences are likely to result in miscommunication and, thus, in misunderstanding.

In the process of intercultural adaptation, we assume that individuals are interacting to accomplish some relational or instrumental goal. Goals are mental representations of a desirable end state(s) or outcome(s). In another way, goals can be conceptualized as representations of potential end states that an individual desires to attain or maintain (Dillard, 1990; Hobbs & Evans, 1980; Klinger, 1985). Cross-Cultural Encounters (Ellingsworth, 1988) is defined as the composition of two individuals who enact significantly different communicative behaviour based on social norms that derive from groups which possess unique sets of values and beliefs (cultures). We contend that intercultural adaptation is a particular type of communicative adjustment that occurs in cross-cultural encounters.
The process of intercultural adaptation begins when one individual perceives that their current or potential conversational partner is foreign or does not understand their communication during conversation. Thus, we assume that if there is no perception of foreignness which may contribute to present or potential misunderstanding, then adaptation is not likely to occur. For instance, if persons are told that they will be interacting with a person from another culture, then they are more likely to adapt their message initially. Under these conditions, persons aware that they will be interacting with someone from a different culture are likely to adapt their message earlier than those who do not know the cultural identity of their conversational partner.

People may have heard or seen another individual attain or fail to attain understanding in encounters with persons from different cultures. Negative experience means failure at achieving understanding. Meanwhile, positive experience means success at achieving understanding. Positive experience is an important feature for one’s adjustment to his or her communication in an interaction with a person perceived to be from another culture.

Understanding how individuals may fail during their attempts at adaptation is useful because it is unlikely that all persons succeed in adapting. There are also instances when negative experience may affect adaptation in cross-cultural interactions. Negative experience refers to the recollection of previous cross-cultural encounters where understanding was not achieved. Both actual and vicarious experience in cross-cultural interactions may be negative. The model being presented here shows how
persons may fail during their adaptive efforts and thereby increase our understanding of what happens when adaptive efforts are unsuccessful.

In particular, the model of cross cultural interaction argues that experience plays a central role in adaptive success or failure. Successful adaptive efforts are more likely to result when persons can draw on positive adaptive experiences. Conversely, failure is most likely to occur when persons have only negative experiences. This failure may result in persons withdrawing from the current interaction and eventually isolating themselves from intercultural encounters altogether. Showing how experience is central to the execution of adaptive strategies presents a more complete description of when adaptive strategies are likely to be executed during initial interactions. Specifically, the IAM argues that the relationship between perceived understanding and effective adaptation is moderated by experience types.

The IAM prediction is significantly different from those proposed in longitudinal models of intercultural adaptation. Unlike longitudinal models, the IAM does not predict that persons will necessarily become cross-cultural individuals over time. Instead, the IAM is open to the possibility that inexperienced persons or those with disempowering negative experiences may never adapt effectively and thus never become proficient cross-cultural communicators. Specifically, the IAM predicts that individuals who have had positive experiences should be better adapters than those persons who have not had positive experiences. In this way, the IAM posits that experience plays a central role in the process of cross-cultural adaptation negatively or positively.
The migrants at the place of destination experience a series of stages through communicative adjustment. During the interaction stages, there is likely to have misunderstanding between native and non-native speakers. Cross-cultural interactions are usually associated with dissimilar language histories and find more difficult to enact. To the author, it is not only the dissimilar in language histories; dissimilar in historical identity and culture is also one of the important issues during interaction.

Oberg (1960) identified four common stages of cross-cultural adjustment. The *Honeymoon* stage is an initial euphoria with excitement with the new frame. In this stage, the migrant has got lots of interest in learning and very motivating. One feels like as if he is not going to have any problems in adjusting. This stage is followed by *Culture shock* getting a sense of irritation when the novelty of the new culture has worn off, and focus primarily on the differences between the new culture and home culture. Small differences feel like major catastrophes, stressed out by problems and feel helpless and frustrated.

Following the stage of culture shock, the stage of *Gradual adjustment* with humour and becoming more familiar with the new culture and its logic and values is the third stage. One feels more comfortable and less isolated, and able to enjoy at certain ways of doing things that previously just annoyed. The final stage is said to be complete adaptation which is *Feeling at home*, developing a sense of biculturalism. In this stage, one becomes in a position to live and work at his full potential, become involved in socio-cultural activities and may enjoy some customs of the new culture.
Kim and Ruben’s (1988) model of cultural integration suggests that ‘most individuals in most circumstances’ adapt to the stress of intercultural experiences. Most of the research on cross intercultural adaptation addresses the issue of adaptation from the perspective of long term adjustment to cultural differences (Oberg, 1960).

Kim and Ruben (1988) argue that a person goes through a process of stress and adaptation that leads to growth in intercultural communication skills over time. They contend that most persons in most situations adapt to the stress of cultural differences which lead to mainstreaming. Culture mainstreaming is simply known as longitudinal approach in adaptation because individuals adapt to a new culture in a linear form with gradual development through long term adjustment. Over time, the person will learn and become accustomed to the ways of new culture and thus will adapt to cultural differences (Kim and Ruben, 1988).

Kim claims the sojourner goes through a continuous cycle of stress and adaptation which results in growth over time which Kim calls the Stress-Adaptation-Growth dynamic (Ruben, 1983). According to Kim, knowledge of the host communication system is primarily knowledge of the language, but this includes not just linguistic knowledge of vocabulary, syntax and phonetics; but also knowledge of social codes and the way language is used in formal and informal settings.

Cultural understanding, and obtaining a full knowledge of the communication codes of the host culture involves an extensive understanding of the historical, political, economic, religious, and educational institutions as well as its values, ideologies, arts,
sciences, technologies, attitudes, beliefs, values, and reciprocal role requirements (Sechres, Fay and Zaidi, 1982). Kim (2001) claims the sojourner’s initial knowledge of the host culture is simplistic and stereotypical, but that through interaction with the host environment they gain proficiency in understanding the host culture.

Social scientists have offered a range of perspectives on the future of the large cohort of immigrant children, each with its own implications for both the second generation and society as a whole. Researchers’ explanations and predictions about the social and economic assimilation of children of immigrants vary according to their views on the nature of assimilation, the extent to which assimilation will take place, and the segment of society into which the children of immigrants will assimilate.

According to the generations-of-exclusion perspective, children of immigrants can expect to assimilate into the racial and ethnic categories seen as ‘theirs’ by the host society. These children will not join an all-inclusive American ‘mainstream,’ but rather settle into their place in a segmented and racially divided society. Proponents of another structural theory, the second-generation advantage, see benefits for children of immigrants from living in two societies and cultures. Empirical support for the idea of a second-generation advantage comes from a study of young adults in New York City conducted by Philip Kasinitz (2004) and his colleagues. The study finds that members of the second generation supplement their searches for employment by tapping into immigrant social networks and by making use of resources and institutions established to aid native racial minorities achieve upward mobility.
At this vantage, the second-generation-advantage perspective is that the information and support available to youths who exist at an intersection of several social and cultural currents give them a significant edge for upward mobility. From a public policy standpoint, the aim would be to maximize the ability of these youngsters to make use of their distinct resources.

Migration has been regarded as one of the solutions for household livelihood of many populations. Several scholars argued that the poor cannot only be seen as passive victims of global capitalist forces but try to actively improve their livelihoods within the constraint conditions they live in. A *livelihood* comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living (Carney, 1998). A livelihood *strategy* can then be defined as a strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods. In this context, migration can be seen as one of the main elements of the strategies to diversify, secure, and, potentially, durably improve rural households, which is often combined with other strategies, such as agricultural intensification and local non-farm activities (Bebbington, 1999; McDowell & de Haan, 1997).

Research attempting to isolate migration and migrants from their wider social and economic context, and other livelihood activities, is therefore not able to assess the relation between migration and broader transformation or development processes. Migration and employment at the origin should not be seen as mutually exclusive possibilities, but are in fact often combined. The livelihood approach seems useful to
model and gain insight into the way households live and shape their lives, and how these lives are practically embedded into a broader institutional context.

According to De Haan et al. (2000), migration is not an atomistic reaction to economic or environmental pressure, but it is embedded in societal rules and norms. Two kinds of institutions have a significant impact on migration: migration networks and households’ structure and management. These institutions determine the contribution migration can make to improving livelihoods, but this link is by no means direct or simple. In perceiving migration as a *household livelihood strategy*, we acknowledge that structural forces leave at least some room for agency. Household approaches seem particularly applicable in developing countries where for many people it is not possible to secure the family income through private insurance markets or government programs (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998), increasing the importance of implicit contracts within the family.

Lisa Sun Hee and David N Pellow (2012) jointly wrote on ‘Nativist Politics’ in their paper ‘The Slums of Aspens: Immigrants versus the Environment in America’s Eden’. In their view, nativist politics is opposing immigration because it pollutes white American culture - has been around for a long while. The idea of pollution of white American culture is indeed linked to environmentalism, and there is in fact a long history of conservative and reactionary linkages to certain environmental concerns.
In a paper named ‘Migrant Crisis in Kerala - Need to Change the Political Culture’, Garima (2016) wrote the government of Kerala is planning to track migrants by launching an insurance scheme to incentivise migrants to voluntarily register themselves. The immediate implications of the government’s policy proposal would be twofold: preparation of database of the migrants and specification of accommodation like housing scheme to ensure inclusive policy. The second point will undoubtedly help in accommodating the migrants.

Many social planners assumes that the introduction of migrants into special or general workers’ schemes have to be preceded by the necessary preparation of a database on them-as is the actual intent of the government. Such an activity is questionable, since all migrants are Indian citizens with the right to work and freedom of movement in any parts of the country (Joshi & Roumi, 2015).

Migration is most volatile component of population growth and most sensitive to economic, political, and cultural functions. The reliability and dependability of these estimates depend much on the consideration of all the temporal factors of birth, death, and internal migration on which population grows in its finest precision (Lusome & Bhagat, 2006). Although, there are many reasons which contribute to mass migration, a large numbers of people are internally displaced due to various conflicts among neighbouring groups, environmental hazards, natural disasters, and developmental projects. Internal displaced populations (IDP) groups are observed from different regions of India and the impetus behind the displacement was found to be conflicts on various grounds of politics, ethnicity and religious orientation.
Internal displaced population groups may be of two types – those associated with development projects like construction of railways, offices, biosphere reserved and secondly those associated with natural and artificial calamities like earthquake, flood, war and conflicts. In India, internal displacement has also been resulted from several disasters and developmental projects. The tsunami in the Indian Ocean, which hit Southern India in December 2004, devastated the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and a 2,260 km stretch of the mainland coastline of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Pondicherry, affecting several households (World Bank, 2005 in Joshi & Roumi, 2015). India, being the 3rd largest dam builder country of the world, it has over 3600 large dams and over 700 more under construction. Of those who were displaced due to construction of dams, more than 50 percent are tribal according to HRW, January, 2006 (Chatterjee, 2006 in Joshi & Roumi, 2015).

India demonstrates a high rural to urban migration route as the developing economy and growing opportunities of employment with foreign investment and developing industries. Although, cities gave good opportunities to rural migrants in the initial phase, the situation is becoming more of lopsided due to saturation of the market and employment opportunities.

In making attempts to reduce overcrowding in cities and abandonment of villages on a large scale, government of India has put forwarded many regional rural development plans, which take care of employment issues in rural especially in non-agricultural season. As a response to such approach, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) which provides 100 days of employment
is a good example. MGNREGA, 2005 is a national flagship programme to give employment to rural folks particularly during their off seasons of agricultural works. It is also an indirect measure to reduce rural urban migration as because of unemployment particularly during post harvest period when the villagers do not have Monsoon based agricultural works at own villages.

Migration is not always fruitful and may bring misery. Negative government attitude and risk factors associated with settlement pattern and condition give rise to many communicable and developmental disorders in migrant’s populations as well as to the host society. There are numerous problems associated with migration and one such problem is of illegal immigration. An illegal immigrant in India is a person residing in the country without an official permission as prescribed by relevant Indian law. Those who are explicitly granted refugee status do not fall under this category (Bhattacharjee, 2013). In the study of migration, resettlement is an interrelated concept which is defined as a process whereby migrants become situated in and adjusted to the environment of the place of arrival.

The environments of both points of origins and the place of arrival are composed of highly complex assortments of physical and social variables, all of which have an impact on the outcome of the migration. Although migration usually involves resettlement in an area already occupied by other human populations, there is a specialized form of resettlement called colonization, where the environmental niche at the place of arrival is unoccupied. Colonization presents both problems and opportunities not found in more conventional resettlement settings within the
frameworks of the normative approach. Social adaptation of a person is determined as a process of continuous social control over the conformity of human behaviour with some norms and values prevailing in ‘socium’ and ‘imposed’ during socialization and at the same time, it is a system of social activities aiming at overcoming adaptive barriers that slow down or impede this adaptation in any adaptive situation.

According to the interpretative approach, Social adaptation is an informative and communicative ideological construction of the essences of being an effective strategy of personal activities during uninterrupted interpretation of self – identity and symbolical social contexts in terms of reality that is purposefully formed or spontaneously adopted during socialization’. As a result of this process, the adaptation subject can, first, fix, refine and reconstruct his identity and secondly, using the interpretative strategies of social adaptation, to construct the consistent ideal images of social reality for himself and others.

American Anthropologists, M. Mead (1928) studied the acculturation processes among immigrants based on the concept of intergenerational relations. Analyzing the types of cultures three domains of culture learning had been noted: post-figurative, where children, first of all, learn from their parents and adult community members; configurative, where both children and adults learn from the peoples of the same age; and pre-figurative, where adults in addition learn from their children. M. Mead believed that the mechanism of migrants ‘acculturation as a rule agree with configurative and pre-configurative types of cultures.
Berry (1997) reduced acculturation to two main problems: commitment to proper culture (i.e. to what extent the proper cultural identity is preserved) and participation in intercultural contacts (degree of inclusion in a different culture). According to him, to determine individual orientations for acculturation it is necessary to clarify the opinion of the person on two main questions. The first question is – ‘Is it important to maintain our cultural self identity?’ This question is related to the attitude to proper culture, its value for the person and necessity to preserve and develop the ethnocultural identity. The second question – ‘Is it important to contact to other ethnic groups?’ is necessarily formulated to determine the relation of a person to the contact group: to what extent interaction with the members of this group is valuable and desirable for an individual.

At the same time despite the obvious pluses, the migration is a factor destabilizing the poly-cultural environment in the region. The reasons of the destabilization are the increased migrant-phobia among the hosting population, lack of effective migration policy. At this venture, this policy is required to give direction on migrants’ integration in a different ethnic environment in the region forming clear adaptation purposes for migrants and increase of the overall level of culture in adaptive environment. In this respect the most important and expedient objective of the governments is development of a single concept of effective regional migration policy intended for maximal adaptation of all subjects of migration.

There are also literatures showing the evidences of population pressure due to large volume of migration to the place of destination owing to which transmigration
scheme is suggested by many researchers and policy makers. By transmigration, it means resettlement plan encouraging people to migrate at comparatively less populated regions. Expansion and construction of New Bombay is an example where many were encouraged to shift their residences from Bombay to New Bombay since Bombay city has got a lot of population pressure.

The population in rapidly urbanised regions are growing fast and it leads to low quality urbanization and acute urban degradation. Many cities in the country are unplanned and become overcrowded, proliferation of filthy slums, pavement dwelling and very poor level of living. The metropolises are very fast becoming the scenes of extreme social and economic inequalities which produce extreme social disorders, severe class conflict, crimes, widespread violence and urban civil war (Mukherji, 2001).

Srivastava (2005) is of the opinion that exposure to a different environment and the resulting emotional stress affect the attitudes, habits and awareness levels of migrant workers depending on the duration of migration and the destination. Though migrants sometimes are absorbed in the host culture, but they at several times are considered to be a source of conflict and the cultural differences are often exploited to increase the tension between the migrant and the host population (Bhagat, 2005). Emergence of slums and pave dwelling in urban areas are also unwanted results of migration in India due to lack of proper policies.
The impact of urbanisation and migration in Indian context is quite unconstructive and depressive. Many authors are pessimistic with regard to urbanisation, migration and globalisation. Vijoy Sahay in his paper (2013) ‘Globalisation, Urbanisation and Migration: Anthropological Dimensions of Trends and Impacts’ presented the modern day urbanisation is the result of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. He further added that in a globalised world, only the rich and the powerful people would have their ultimate say; because they would have more control over the financial institutions. In India, there has been spurt of industrialisation and urbanisation, have been emerging as an economic superpower. But, when we see on the other side of the coin, deplorable road conditions, slums in the city, overcrowded with irregular migrants, unprecedented traffic jams are observed in many of the Indian cities.

Migration in developing countries is never lack of pessimist viewpoints because of improper regulation of policies and management. Migration policy in the country is almost negligible and ultimately leads to cause population pressure, cultural disharmony, conflicts and ill-structure of population.

Zhanna Nikolaevna Khaliman (2012) in ‘Socio-cultural Adaptation of Migrants: Theoretical and Methodological Aspect’, despite advantages, the migration is also a factor destabilizing the poly-cultural environment in the region. The reasons of destabilization are the increased migrant-phobia among the hosting population, lack of effective migration policy directed at migrants' integration in a different ethnic environment.
Alejandro Portes and Alejandro Rivas (2011) pointed out that for immigrants at one spectrum, average socio-economic outcomes are driven down by the poorer educational and economic performance of children from unskilled migrant families, who are often handicapped further by an unauthorized or insecure legal status. From a policy viewpoint, these children must be the population of greatest concern.

Kristin McCarthy (1998) in ‘Adaptation of Immigrant Children to the United States: A Review of the Literature’ focused on the ‘problems’ and ‘maladaptive behaviours’ of immigrant children. This negative orientation contributes to the idea that individual children are to be blamed for their poor adjustment or performance and often ignores the impact of institutional racism, or more broadly, the particular socioeconomic, political, and historical contexts of the host and receiving countries. In addition to these external factors, the negative approach also tends to overlook the crucial role of ethnic peer groups, social networks, and parent-child relationships in the process of adjusting to a new environment while maintaining traditional values and beliefs.

Kundu (2007) was of the opinion that migration which brought redistribution of population from poorer to developed regions and helped migrants in finding a survival strategy has come under strain. Indeed, irregular migration or unregulated migration has created irrational distribution of population, overcrowding, sense of dejection among individuals, isolation which are responsible for various socially hazard activities like crimes, drug abuse and trafficking etc.
Many of the anthropologist understood place as the locale where a social activity occurs. The focus is more on the activity and not much on how the activity changes the place. The social production and construction of place is defined by Low (1996) as ‘the actual transformation of space - through people’s social exchanges, memories, images and daily use of the material setting – into scenes and actions that convey symbolic meaning’. According to Rodman (1992), there is a little recognition within anthropology that places are more than locales, the setting for action, and the stage on which things happen. It is noteworthy to describe how migrants go about making places in host communities by inscribing places with parts of their culture, or any other social agencies. The place making discussion is situated within the cultural-temporal framework of liminality.

The concept of liminality is used by Arnold van Gennep in his work ‘Rite de passage’ (1960) where he demonstrated in practice its coordinating role in the process of seasonal changes, in the course of change of the individual life style. Rite de passage is an indispensable attribute of any type of change, change in place or change in social status etc., showing the dichotomy that exists between two structures. He believes that each process of movement or transitivity is characterized by three phases: separation, marginality or liminality and incorporation.

In the phenomenon of liminality, the individual involved is called the initiand or the transit traveller. Of the three phases being mentioned, special interest is given to the
second or liminal phase in which the individual acquires the experience of becoming completely detached from the reality. The term liminal is derived from Latin word ‘limen’ means a threshold or boundary, a corridor between two different places. The liminal phase in Gennep’s theory claims the function of threshold, delimiting various stages in life. The terms liminal and liminality gained popularity through writings of Victor Turner in the second half of 20th century. In Turner’s (1974) view, the temporary detachment of an individual brings him to an ambivalent social status but frees him from any laws. His status is essentially ambivalent and hazy. A migrant may be understood as an actor residing in a liminal space in-between location of cultural action because he is the one who is separated from the earlier world and yet to be incorporated into new world.

Humans have an innate self-organizing drive and capacity to adapt to environmental challenges, which could be of physical or cultural factors. Adaptation of an individual to a given cultural environment occurs in and through communication (Slavin & Kriegman, 1992). Since migration is an inevitable phenomenon, bringing about efficient communication is very much important between the migrants and the host culture. It is more likely to cause the problem of cultural lag unless there is effective communication and adaptive skills. Migrants make places in the host society in the tune of mainstream culture, through communication, involvement, learning language etc. within the cultural framework of liminality.

Bailey, Channakki and Hutter, (2009) try to analyze that the manner in which migrants build, furnish and decorate their houses is strongly influenced by their
culture brought up in their place of origin. Further, the use of mother language in the migrant settlements becomes a cultural linguistic marker through which both inclusion and exclusion into the migrant group are determined. Language as a marker of identity aids in place making for people who live in the settlement. Their analysis based on primary data reveals that migrants from Karnataka have built a solid space in Goa, by establishing schools of mother tongue medium. They found out the contested power relations between the host population and the migrants.

With regard to the adaptation of the migrants, it is an interesting area to examine migrants’ settlements specifically as cultural microcosms which are spatialized by the social relations. It is evident that place making by migrants is also coupled with anxiety, irritation and skewed power relations with the host population. One of the studies made by Mawani, Sharmina & Anjoom Mukadam (2013) found out that eventual establishment of temple serves not only for worshipping but also for integration purpose in their new locale as well as to retain a link with their place of origin.

Migrants usually have a unique intermediate culture. It may be described as in between culture which forms a liminal phase. Migrants go through different situations when entering a foreign culture, involving the need of various skills and the traits that contribute to adjustment in the new host culture. The formation of closed groups by the migrant communities is a means for adaptation as well. Migrants undergo a bicultural competence which defines their ability to function successfully in both
cultures through participation. They have to engage in creating new homes and in socialisation process in re-defining their roles, their relationship to the new society.

A lot of researches on population and migration towards economic development had been carried out over a few decades. Besides economic perspectives, understanding of the migrants as intermediate actors in between cultures is also an important aspect and has a great anthropological significance. Migrants in a new land are theoretically described as liminal people who are in a transition period.

Victor Turner also believed that liminal people has nothing, no rank and no status. The movement of position how Turner described was based on the movement of a man through his lifetime, from his mother’s womb to his death and ultimate fixed point of his tombstone. Keeping this theory into the context of migration, people move and earned a new position in a new society. A man changes from one state to another state in both of the phenomena and there is a period of marginality or liminality as an inter-structural situation. In this phase, there are cases which are incompatible to co-existence with the host society and the migrants due to lack of communication and integration. This phase of transition is an observable intermediate stage where migrants start creating new homes and environment in a new society.

According to Turner, when people are outside their regular social roles, they characterises the state of liminality or they may be called liminal people. Communitas occurs when there is congregation of liminal people, having a feeling of oneness and characterize a community. The liminal period as referred here is of society as an
unstructured or rudimentarily structured, communion of equal individuals who submit
together to the general authority of the ritual elders. Liminality implies that the high
could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low.

Silvey and Lawson (1999) in their article ‘Placing the Migrant’, urge the scholars to rethink the concept of place as domains of contested power relations and to have a deeper look at the category of migrant, not necessarily in terms of just male and rural but one which also includes markers such as gender, race, class, sexuality and nationality. The socio-cultural participation and inclusion of the migrants can be seen as a means of coping with the new styles of new host culture during their liminal state. Apart from the markers such as identity, migration research has shown that the migrants have an agency by which they apprehend, negotiate, and transform the social structures that influence their lives (Gidwani & Sivaramakrishnan, 2013).

Lefebvre (1991) emphasized that ‘space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations’. The transformation of places and social relations is most evident in ethnographic studies on place making by migrant settlers. The discussion through this paper goes deeper into the place making exercise carried out by migrants who inscribe places with architecture, language, temples. The social production and reproduction of place by the migrants can be seen as a means of coping with the new environment in their liminal state.
Victor Turner used the term ‘anti-structure’ and his more popular term, ‘communitas’. When people are ‘outside’ their regular social roles, while at a festival, or between roles during a rite of transition. Victor Turner characterizes them as ‘liminal’, that is, ‘betwixt and between’ their regular social roles. The 1978 Festival of American Folk life is, in a sense, an example of liminality, a gathering together of many, often disparate, communities for the purpose of meeting together and enjoying themselves apart from their usual social roles.

According to Turner, this occurs when there is dual role to the actor and he is in between the roles as observed in during a rite of transition. For example, a man during his wedding ceremony is neither ‘single’ nor ‘married’, and Turner characterizes them as ‘liminal’, that is, ‘betwixt and between’ their regular social roles. In this phase, the migrants behave in such a way to adapt at two different angles of strategy. One is of quite super-structural form characterized by liberal, integrating to the new state. Another form is a much concern of the original customs characterized by conservative with a tendency to preserve the original state.

Liminal people or ‘threshold people’ are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial. As such their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. Major liminal situations are occasions on which a society takes cognization of itself, or rather where, in an interval between their incumbencies of specific fixed positions, members of that society may obtain and approximation, however limited, to a global
view of man’s place in the cosmos and his relations with other classes of visible and invisible entities.

The migrants’ adaptation to a new society acquires with a transit stage and is regulated by hybrid characteristics of the migrants involved in between cultures. A series of complicated social realities occurred in this transit stage which is crucial to social thinkers. It is a shift from one structure to another structure that consequently develops a hybrid form of reality and superficial structure. In the language of Victor Turner (1970), this stage is the state of liminality where individual moves outside from his regular social roles and comes back when it is required.

Homi K. Bhaba (1994) in his work ‘The Location of Culture’ has reconceived the concepts of cultural hybridity and social liminality. He opined that hybridity is sometimes associated with a sense of abuse for the mixed breeds, however, it is no more a term of abuse in the post colonial discourse since it is celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweeness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference. When a person has left his previous stage and has not yet entered his new stage, it is in a transit stage that Van Gennep termed liminaire in the year 1909. Turner (1979) also wrote that both time and identity become liminal during a ritual or performance. In the context of migration, an event which includes many transitions, liminality comes in vogue to describe the lived experiences of migrants, in terms of both time and identity.
Bhaba (1994, 1996) carefully observed that the experiences of the migrants are full of dualities, half life, partial presence, gathering the past. His research model is adopted from the theory of liminality by A. V. Gennep in 1960. Homi K. Bhaba, in particular, has stressed the importance of border locations as the threshold environment. Threshold environment refers to interstitial environment in which cultural transformation can take place and new discursive forms are constituted. Individuals who are caught in this stage do not hold clearly defined position or identity. Bhaba further added that this experience of living a partial life may not occur among the second generation migrants, rather they are linked to their homeland through narratives, stories and memories. The migrants represent the dual nature of culture, since they are looked at as being tossed in between both – their original culture and the culture of the new land.

It is learnt through literatures that an individual who is in the liminal phase has acquired a certain phase of alternative structure and finds himself in the gap between worlds of here and there. In this stage, the performance of the individual, involvement in socio-economic lives of the host society plays a key role in body social. Liminal stage is perceived to be the result of leaving behind a cultural stage. The significance of liminality is not only the isolation from hardened structures, but also the potentialities of forming alternative structures.

The migrants are similar to a man during his wedding ceremony, since they have left some of their original possessions, but not fully absorb to the new society, and remains in a period of transition. Thus, migrants, from this sense, are observed as a
group of people having a virtual structure neither of ‘origin’ nor of ‘host’. This group of people is a community of liminal people. The term liminality is a primary condition for this creation of the feelings of oneness and flow that characterize community. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols which is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon.

Liminal phenomenon performs the function of a transitory phase between destructive reality governed by force and the other worldly cosmos worked out by imagination. The idea of liminality of literature is justified by the evolutionary paradigm of the genre theory. In the works of Turner in theory of liminality, he considers ‘order’ to be the principal function of time, orderly sequence that opposes chaos. The point is that ‘order’ is never perfect: cultural, social or technical imperatives, notwithstanding, great endeavour, are of discontinuous character, uncertainty and often inconsistency. Turner pointed out conflict as an important phase of social life which corresponds to respective stages of social time. Turner focuses on the so called conflict that disturbs the harmony or changes harmony to disharmony which actually endorses the question of transformation. Transformation implies coming out or separation from the ordinary temporal setting and creation of alternative anti-temporality.

A migrant is assigned with multiple deals primarily economic activities; he experiences new social structure in the new set up and behaves accordingly. Liminality implies here that the original social status of migrants could not be
identifiable unless the counterpart existed in the destination society. The idea is that a Brahmin cannot be fully identifiable in a new society where there is no caste system.

The passage from one social status to another may be correspondingly compared with passage in space, a geographical movement from one place to another. This may take the form of a mere opening of doors or the literal crossing of a threshold which separates two distinct areas, one associated with the subject's pre-ritual or pre-liminal status, and the other with his post-ritual or post-liminal status. In liminality, the apparent passivity is revealed as absorption of powers which will become active after one’s social status has been redefined in the aggregation rites.

On the other hand, the spatial passage may involve a long, exacting pilgrimage and the crossing of many national frontiers before the subject reaches his goal, the sacred shrine. Sometimes this spatial symbolism may be the precursor of a real and permanent change of residence or geographical sphere of action. For example, a Nyakusa or Ndembu girl, after her puberty rites, leaves her natal village to dwell in her husband's; in certain hunting societies young boys live with their mothers until the time of their initiation rites into adulthood, after which they begin to live with the other hunters of the tribe (Turner, 1967).

According to Van Gennep, an extended liminal phase in the initiation rites of tribal societies is frequently marked by the physical separation of the ritual subjects from the rest of society. Thus in certain Australian, Melanesian, and African tribes, a boy undergoing initiation must spend a long period of time living in the bush, cut off from
the normal social interactions within the village and household. Hence, in many societies the liminal initiands are often considered to be dark, invisible, like a planet in eclipse or the moon between phases; they are stripped of names and clothing, smeared with the common earth, rendered indistinguishable from animals.

The concept of liminality is also associated with life and death in the sense that there is a stage when one has abandon old status to acquire a new status. Many people are at once dying from or dead to their former status and life, and being born and growing into new ones. It has a structural framework on which one has to grow to the new status. Sharp symbolic inversion of social attributes may characterize separation; blurring and merging of distinctions may characterize liminality. It means certain cultural rites symbolise the present status. Thus, the ritual subjects in these rites undergo a ‘levelling’ process, in which signs of their pre-liminal status are destroyed and signs of their liminal non-status are applied.

In mid-transition the initiands are pushed as far toward uniformity, structural invisibility, and inclined to anonymity as possible. The migrants by finding themselves in the liminality phase are always in the struggle of incorporation. Incorporation has got a large number of determinants such as political, economic participation and forms of social capital investment, which have already been described by the culturalists and structuralists where the former is accredited with culture and language entities while the later being achieved through economic hierarchies.
From the literatures being reviewed, it is learnt that there are significant challenges of the migrants while establishing a new status and these challenges are dependent of their bi-cultural competence and quality of investments in the socio-cultural and political atmosphere of the new environment.