CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1: Migrants, Adaptation and Theoretical Overview

The study about migration and migrant people is a subject matter of various disciplines such as demography, political science, economics, sociology, anthropology and other allied sciences. Anthropology focuses on the socio-cultural changes occurred to the people and influences made by them to the society. It has a traditional curiosity to know how man evolves, forms social groups and response to both social and natural environment to fulfil his needs and to have a better survival. Migration is also a well known response to meet one’s need. It is an important factor of changing population structure, composition and size which is the major thrust area of demographers. Also, the study of migration is important not only to demographers but is also important to various interdisciplinary sciences while looking into various socio-cultural and political dynamics.

Migratory movement is an element of human choice as well as a product of the social, cultural, political and psychological forces. Man is often compelled to migrate to a new place under certain conditions over time. Modern theories of migration postulate that the phenomenon of migration is the impact of certain push and pull factors operating in the areas of origin and destination. The United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary (1958) defined migration as “a
form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or the place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival.” The United Nations has also pointed out that migration is a historical process that shapes human civilisation, culture and development. The movement of people is a human practice responding to various environmental conditions. Constitutionally, migration is promoted, associating with the right to work anywhere, right to livelihood, right to choose any occupation.

Migration is one of the demographic phenomena having significant impacts on human society. It is massively related to business cycles, supply of labours and commodities. In the history of modern world characterised by industrialisation and capitalism, migration has contributed a much in economic development. In the long run, migration could play positive role beneficial to both places. It may be studied as an important factor of population change, economic, political and social dynamics.

Human movement from place to place is a universal phenomenon from its very onset of human evolution. During pre-historic era, the movement of the people was basically to meet human primary needs - food, clothes and shelter. The hunters and gatherers were migrating from place to place in search of food and their societies had a nomadic life. The subject of migration and adaptation is by no means a new topic of interest and it attracts a lot of attention to the galaxies of social thinkers. In the 1970s, migration was the focus of much research and was an
intending debate in connection with population policies, socio-economic and political development. The 20th century of Indian scenario witnessed significant migrants’ contribution towards economic development in a wider scale with the gradual growth of modernisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation.

Primarily, there are two types of migration based on the type of boundary involved – internal and international migration. If migration takes place within the national boundary, it is called internal migration whereas if one migrates crossing the international borders, it is called international migration. For example, migrants leaving from one state say, Bihar to settle down in Mumbai are internal migrants. Whereas, migrants who have left a country say Bangladesh, to settle down in India will be referred as immigrants. The former is usually referred to as in-migration and the latter is immigration. These two forms of migration may be viewed differently from the various dimensions such as from the legal, ethnic, nationalistic point of views. Immigration related issues are mostly associated with the regions having international boundaries with neighbouring countries.

It is well noted to the people that the north eastern Indian states are receiving a considerable size of the illegal and forced immigrants particularly from Bangladesh and Myanmar since these neighbouring countries indulge with frequent conflicts and communal disharmony. There are enough evidences of Bangladeshi Hindu immigrants and Myanmar Rohingya Muslims resettle in India. On the other side, in-migration within the national boundary but crossing the state has also got several issues in India. In-migration related issues are mostly
associated with the rise of ethnicity, poor planning and development, overcrowding and resource conflicts particularly in this region of north east India.

Understanding a migrant is a challenging task because there are various schools of thought regarding the theories of migration. Some theories suggest that man is sedentary and some other thinkers argue that man is mobile by nature. From the economic point of view, human being migrated from place to place to meet his unlimited wants, to earn not only livelihoods but liabilities as well.

Migrants in this modern society are the creation of the dominance of mobility upon sedentary. Most people enjoy urban life and big cities particularly for education, health facilities and careers. Meanwhile, migration causes change in population structure and the society as well. It is a means to cope with distress arising from push factors like drought, flood and lack of employment opportunities. Also people migrate to get better education, skills and employment. People may also migrate for political and social reasons, such as ethnic conflicts, discrimination, riots and the pressures of various forms of subjugation.

In India, we may consider two problems of migration. Firstly, the irregular immigrants from neighbouring countries to India, particularly infiltration through the north east states such as Meghalaya, Assam, Manipur etc. Secondly, the internal migrants, and the issues relating to their social adjustment to the new host society. Of these two issues, the latter is being focussed in the objectives of the study.
Migrants’ adaptation to a new society is surely to strike into an existing body of culture trespassing several stages. At the same time, reactions from the host culture are retreated as natural phenomenon. The so called influential forces are the socio-political pressures so as to fulfil the demands of the migrants. There is rise of universal recognition of the increased possibilities for migrants and their families to live trans-nationally and to adopt transnational identities (Guarnizo et al., 2003; Vertovec, 1999). This is because of the circumstances where migrants are exposed to two different forms of culture and traditions.

The trend of migration is greatly endorsed by new discoveries and inventions. The advancement of technology and connectivity enables migrants and their families to foster double loyalties, to travel back and forth, to relate to people, and to work and to do business simultaneously in distant places. The implication is that clear-cut dichotomies of ‘origin’ or ‘destination’ and categories such as ‘permanent’, ‘temporary’, and ‘return’, migration is difficult to sustain in a world in which the lives of migrants are increasingly characterised by circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more societies (De Haas, 2005). This is exemplified by persistent and increasing remittances, transnational marriages and the involvement of population groups often belonging to second generations’ migrants.

The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of population at origin and the population at destination. Over eighty years after Ravenstein, Everett Lee (1966) had made an attempt to elaborate a formal theory of migration which would provide a schema of the factors that could explain the
volume of migration between any two places. Migrant communities are surely having different significant cultures which are very strange to the host culture and vice versa. In the recent days, many thinkers are interested in studying the migrants in connection with their adaptation, the way how they preserve their own culture in the midst of a completely new culture.

Migrants in a host culture, usually demands for a good company, food, language, security, human and social capital. Their demands are fulfilled only when they invest space and time in the socio-cultural aspirations of the host society through participation and inclusion. Participation and inclusion are independent dimensions of public engagement. Inclusion continuously creates a community involved in defining and addressing public issues; participation emphasizes public input on the content of programs and policies (Kathryn & Martha, 2011). Features of inclusive processes are coproducing the process and content of decision making, engaging multiple ways of knowing, and sustaining temporal openness. In other words, inclusion and participation is a part of socialisation and adaptation in a society which are required by the migrants to a larger extent.

Migration may also be associated with diverse forms of social evils such as smuggling, human trafficking and induce unfair politics. It is often coupled with certain challenges because of cultural conflicts, geographic, facility differentials and job competitions. It may also create many cultural, economic and political problems in case if there is high level of push factors, natural or man-made disasters in a region. For example, when there were communal riots in Myanmar,
many people evacuated and infiltrated into Bangladesh and India as refugees. Their living conditions and poor hygiene leads to a number of contagious diseases and created several other public health problems. Migration has the possibility to increase urban unemployment, scanty housing, poor sanitation, in-adequate water and electricity supply, and overall decline of quality of life.

Migration may also weaken the traditional controls which neighbourhoods, institution and communities exercise over the behaviour of individual and may lead to an increase of crime, delinquency, and disintegration of families, communalism, casteism, and other consequences which are all indicative of social and cultural disorganization. The sudden arrival of large numbers of migrants in a community can lead to group fighting and unrest. Similarly, migration to the cities does not leave the rural areas unaffected, not only does it tend to draw away their more dynamic members; it also diverts national investment resources towards the towns.

By virtue of the two tail effects of migration, the impact of migration on the place of origin and the place of destination can be analyzed separately. But the impact on the place of destination is purposefully taken into consideration. People prefer to migrate from rural areas to urban areas from several points of consideration. This is because urban areas provide lucrative jobs and have better opportunities in most of the facilities than that of rural counterparts. This becomes reverse sometimes due to heavy influx; leading urban centres with full of crimes, unemployment
trafficking, poor sanitation, space constraints, mental illnesses and unhealthy competition.

There are circumstances which make the town planners sometimes fail to assess the expected growth of any town due to rapid growth of industrialization and evidences of huge in-migration. Unexpected arrival of people to urban areas leads to planning problems because of limited resources and incompatible mobilisation. Town planning is required based on certain expectation and certain projection. Very often in developing countries like in India, it creates more slums, unauthorized constructions, shortage of many other public utility services and educational facilities. In spite of this fact, migration remains the most difficult and confounding factor while making population projection.

Since migrants come from different areas having almost different social background like language, cultural and social status, they create a social chaos in urban areas. Socialisation in such situation creates gradual termination to their original values and tradition because of the prevailing urban culture. In the present study, focus has been made to know the way how migrants are adjusting to the host society and how people of different socio-cultural and racial profiles organise and respond in the new cultural milieu.

Historically human movement is explained by several migration theories such as the Neo-Classical Equilibrium, Push and Pull framework and Historical Structural theories. Several research findings reveal that absolute poverty is one of the
factors which man is compelled to move outward as a simple means to survive, particularly in developing countries. Many Indian states are at this compelling stage. Apart from poverty, several push factors and human dissatisfactory conditions are acting as driving force for migration. Social causes of migration may include war, hierarchical discrimination, communal conflicts, development induced displacement, etc. In most of the literatures, man migrates owing to unavailability of opportunities and compatible working conditions in his native place. When one puts the question, Why did you come here, is followed by answer I had no work, has its implication in the study of migration and migrant’s behaviour.

One of the most important contributions to the Neo-Classical Equilibrium is made by a well known geographer Ravenstein (1885), during the 19th century, in which he formulated his ‘laws of migration’. He saw migration as an inseparable part of development, and he asserted that the economic compulsions are major causes of migration. The neo-classical migration theory views migrants as individual, rational actors, who migrate on the basis of a ‘Cost-Benefit Calculation’. Based on free choice and information, they are expected to move where there is more dynamic, where they can earn the maximum income.

Ravenstein’s laws on migration has been revised by Lee (1966) and proposed a new analytical framework for migration. In his view, the decision to migrate is determined by dual factors: push and pull factors associated with the area of origin and place of destination respectively. Push and pull theory is usually accepted in
many of the migration studies. It suggests positive and negative factors of migration.

Push factors are poverty, war, disharmony, poor facilities in various sectors. Pull factors include better education, health, transport, employment facilities. Lee (1966) argued that migration tends to take place within well-defined ‘streams’, from specific places at the origin to specific places at the destination, not only because of opportunities but also because of the flow of knowledge back from destination facilitating the passage for the later migrants. He also stated that migration is selective with respect to the individual characteristics of migrants because people respond differently to ‘plus’ and ‘minus’ factors at origins and destinations and have different abilities to cope with the intervening variables (Reniers, 1999).

There are also intervening factors which are highly localised and consist of personal and psychological factors. The push-pull model is basically an individual choice and equilibrium model, and is, therefore, very much analogous to neo-classical micro models. The push-pull model has gained enormous popularity in the migration literature and has become the dominant migration model. This framework is very much dependent of Malthusian pressure on natural and agricultural resources and pushing people out of marginal rural areas, and economic conditions (higher wages) luring people into cities and industrialized countries (Skeldon, 1997; King and Schneider, 1991; Schwartz and Notini, 1994).
Migration patterns were further assumed to be influenced by factors such as distance and population densities (Skeldon, 1997).

Another important theory of migration was put forth during 1960s by many scholars on the historical-structural paradigm on development, which had its intellectual roots in Marxist Political Economy and in World Systems Theory (Castles & Miller, 2003). Contemporary historical-structural theory emerged in response to functionalist (neo-classical) and developmentalist - modernizationist approaches towards development. Historical-structuralists postulate that economic and political power is unequally distributed among developed and underdeveloped countries, that people have unequal access to resources, and that capitalist expansion has the tendency to reinforce these inequalities. In this trend underdeveloped countries are being trapped owing to their disadvantaged position within the global geopolitical structure. Migrants are the major resources in capitalist labour market despite they do not hold key position in political power structure.

Growth of industrialisation and capitalism has brought a major stream of migration from rural to urban centres to meet the labour demands in industrial states. As the theory and literature suggest, migration cannot be stopped or diverted. Man usually has a concept that his wants might be satisfied elsewhere. This is quite natural because one will compromise anything for his survival. Apart from human wants, compulsion for migration does occur in space and economic constraints in a remarkable way.
The evidence of migration owing to space and economic constraint in tribal areas is exemplified by the formation of new hamlets or new settlements. When there is rise in population in tribal areas where the economy is based on forest products; there is tendency among few people to migrate to some new areas as a coping strategy to meet the growing demands. In an international scenario, the United States is having a magnetic tendency to attract a large volume of immigrants. There are multiple examples of such great movements in human history. It is true that most of these movements are historical events and had left obvious traces on the modern inhabitants and their civilizations.

If one strictly assumes that his satisfaction will be ensured in that particular place of destination, then the very place of destination is the only solution to him. He will definitely migrate to that place for his psychological satisfaction. But after his arrival, he may or may not get his satisfaction. This is also one important aspect in understanding the migrants. Therefore, understanding the level of satisfaction and psychological study in relation with their adaptation is very much necessary. This level of satisfaction, adjusting mechanism is sure to give a solid impact to economic, social and political structures of the areas involved which is typical of the modern contemporary societies.

It is learnt from several studies that throughout the process of migration and adaptation, there is an actual transformation of space - through people’s social exchanges, memories and daily use of the material setting. The space of a particular destination has been transformed by the migrants through place making
exercises. As far as the adaptation of migrants is concerned, the mechanisms of place making phenomenon in liminal times is very much necessary. Liminal times are crucial point in an individual life stage which is about to enter into a new stage.

Place making phenomena are certain activities of adjustment such as inscribing certain cultural elements, establishing schools, temples, recreational centres etc. which are strategic mechanisms as considered by the migrants. The socio-cultural adaptation of human being is described in several literatures through different place making processes. Place making is an indispensible exercise carried out by migrants. The social production and reproduction of place by the migrants can be seen as a means of coping with the harshness of the new unfamiliar environment in their liminal state.

As of now, it is increasingly recognized that labour migration is often more than a short-term survival or crisis coping strategy or a stereotypical ‘flight from misery’. Rather, it is often a deliberate decision to improve livelihoods, enable investments (Bebbington, 1999), and help to reduce fluctuations in the family income that has been entirely dependent on climatic vagaries (McDowell & de Haan, 1997). Migration can then be seen as a means to acquire a wider range of assets which insure against future shocks and stresses (De Haan et. al., 2000). In the light of rational redistribution of population, it is imperative to analyse evidence based analysis on how migrants are integrated or accommodated, and how well adapted in the new cultural set up they are.
Keeping the theoretical principle and historical accounts into consideration, the migrants in contemporary literature may be studied and analysed across two headings. Firstly, the migrants are the resources to the host society particularly to meet the labour or intellectual demands. The migrants will contribute economic services which accelerate the growth of the market and thus the host society is benefitted. Secondly, the migrants are culturally distinct groups, competitors in job market, resource consumers and during their transit stage, the host community feel xenophobia, resource struggles and reluctances. At the same time, the migrants also experience cultural shock during the struggle of adaptation.

When there is rise in migrant population, migrants arrive in a position to hold authority in geo-political structure as well. At this point of time, there is likely to emerge a hostile relationship between the migrants and the host society. Consequently, many socio-cultural conflicts, dispute over acquisition of land and of natural resources are observed. In this later stage, migrants are hardly seen as the resources but are seen as resource consumer thereby resulting unwanted socio-political atmosphere to the society. The problem as because of migration has affected in both the societies of origin and destination depending on the patterns of migration. Migration may be of long distance movement, short distance movements and the oscillatory movements in which the migrants return to his place of origin periodically.

The different forms of migration have certain roles to play in the game of migrants’ cultural competence in between two cultures. It is natural that migrant
children and adults need to gain *bi-cultural competence* - the capability to comfortably interact in both family and mainstream host cultures. Several literatures have documented the importance of managing two cultural realities with ease and efficacy. Bicultural competence has several dimensions which include knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, positive attitudes toward both cultural groups, a sense of efficacy in both cultures. Migrants need to manage the process of living in two cultures by keeping both the cultures in mind, which results to dual identity as well. This is the thumb rule of adaptation to any environment.

The term adaptation is a positive aspect to livelihood of an individual or the population. Adaptation is an essential condition to satisfy one’s need for livelihood. Due to adaptation one component gets its needs from the other components and in return it contributes something which is the need of the other component. On the other hand, unable to adapt to an area may also be a driving force of migration to a new place. For example, if there is famine or scanty water in an area, the population if not able to bear these challenges, migration necessarily follows. Dissatisfaction is often referred to be a strong explanation for the cause of migration for it is this which leads people to seek something else and often it is termed as push factors. Push factors are very common in economically poor and developing countries.

Migrants are not a homogeneous group but of heterogeneous groups who had originated from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Many migrants are
from different racial groups, spoken different languages, and follow different religions. When they arrive to a destination, they try to adapt by using their own pre-possessed personalities, may be of attitude, knowledge, skills or cultural backgrounds accordingly with the response of the host society. They choose any type of occupation giving priority to economic adaptation, usually employed in different urban informal sectors.

Migrant labours, in the pace of urbanisation and globalisation play a significant role in economic boons in most of the countries. They are predominantly engaged as sellers, hawkers, rickshaw pullers and daily wage workers. At this vantage, they acquire different level of inclusion and integration to the recipient society as a pre-requisite for them to adapt. Migrants’ inclusion and participation in socio-political activities are mandates for adaptation. And migrants’ personalities, cultural backgrounds, economic potentials including integrative skills are the dependent factors for creating better environment with the host society and enhance the social harmony.

The study on migration and changes occurring to the migrants has occupied a significant area of concern in this modern world of urbanisation and development. As long as the trends of migration increase, the study on migration has impregnated diversified aspects to different scholars of various disciplines. Nevertheless, human adaptation has become an important aspect while studying migratory movements. Human societies through mutual adjustment and interaction between different components of different societies are taking the essential roles to
beautify the universal system. Therefore, the integral relationship at different levels of the migrants redecorates the host society. The interim period of cross cultural interaction may witness certain interesting stages and needs to be addressed scientifically.

It is true that all the states have experienced the fluidity of human movements. In all cases of the types of migration, it brings transformation to both the place of origin and the place of destination. All societies take place the process of social change, which leads to the alteration in patterns of actions, interactions, social structure, social processes and social behaviour. Social changes are the function of various events - the actions of individuals, organisations and social movements. Migration has its impact on social change since it implies movement across administrative, political and cultural boundaries, emergence of hybridity in between cultures, depending on the scope and speed of social interactions.

A number of literature works has revealed various other negative effects of migration, particularly in the socio-cultural domain. Such negative perspectives on the event of migration were amalgamated into a view to see migration as a process draining developing countries in general and backward rural areas in particular of their labour and human capital resources. Although the brain drain has attracted most attention, there is also another concept called the ‘brawn drain’ (Penninx, 1982) - the massive departure of young, able-bodied men and women from rural areas (Lewis, 1986). In this concept, migration is typically blamed for causing a
By dint of the aforementioned viewpoints, the aspect on which migration is believed to have a detrimental effect on development in migrant receiving areas. It may lead to overcrowd, unhealthy competition and has also increased inequality due to absence of proper population policies in the host society. In urban setting, migrant groups, very often tend to create social and ethnic tensions because of the clash of interests between the migrants and the 'sons of the soil'. This is the condition in which the recipient society is not in a position to accommodate the population arrivals. Such a situation sometimes, tends to impregnate social conflict and de-stabilise the pace of development.

The migration at times might also bring 'anomie' for the migrants from rural backgrounds who no longer accept their traditional values, norms, and who yet remain unassimilated into the social and cultural life of the complex and materialistic urban community. Emile Durkheim (1897) had used the term anomie to explain why some people became dysfunctional and anomie denotes insufficient integration into society’s norms and values. Anomie causes society to become less integrated and more individualistic. The term ‘anomie’ was also used by Merton (1968) in his book 'The Social Theory and Social Structure', to describe on the incompatibility in social structure generally in socially prescribed goals.
When one finds incompatible to a particular region, it is universal that he starts searching for an ideal place. Searching for ideal place is practically a very difficult task and it is quite challenging when there is the question of adaptation. Emile Durkheim’s (1893) theory of functionalism and Bronislaw Malinoski’s (1922) theory of need have pointed on how a society is sustained, adapted and one has to disappear (say suicide pointed by Durkheim) or move somewhere else (to earn needs). If a society with its government and business structure does not fit his family’s needs he has to move somewhere where he or she can have a peaceful and productive life.

By taking consideration into the importance social roles, relationships and economic needs, an individual has certain structural and functional relationship with other members of the society. It simply means that his needs or roles are dependent of the other members. Arrival of a migrant and entering into this organised structure has to be well equipped with the cultural, social and political knowledge. He has to become a capable individual in the social group and is required to behave in the tune of the existing functional system. Structural functionalism has defined a society as a system of interrelated parts, all integrating and interacting on the basis of common value system and common goals.

In a theoretical analogy, a society is described as an organism with a life of its own, where individuals are the living cells and social institutions like religion, beliefs, economy, and kinships are the organs and organ systems to make living of the society. When it goes anything wrong in the system, social institutions become
deteriorated resulting to social chaos. Nevertheless, as similar as an organism is not free from infection and chronic morbidities, a society is also not often free from crimes and deviances which are considered as the forms of social sickness. Social crimes are the functions of resource conflicts, inequality, poverty, ill-competition, poor administration, weak law and order, lack of proper planning, population imbalance, illegal forms of migration etc.

When a new migrant enters into a new host society, it is therefore like a process of transplantation of cell to a new body of institution which need time for integration. As Durkheim was interested in the study of religion in bringing organic solidarity, he argued religious beliefs and rituals functioned to integrate people in groups and to maintain the smooth functioning of the society. Durkheim made a great proposition that religious belief ‘function to reinforce social solidarity’. Migrant’s adaptation may be viewed from the functionalist perspectives in such a way by examining the integration levels, sorting out the deviances and conflicts to know how the society is functioning.

There are different views on the several governing institutions and the process of cultural aggregation. In the study of theoretical perspectives on socio-cultural adaptation, two groups are noted: *culturalist* and *structuralist*. *Culturalist* view emphasizes the relative assimilation of immigrants into the cultural and linguistic mainstream; *structuralist* view emphasizes the newcomers’ place in the socio-economic hierarchies of the host society and focuses on such areas as occupational achievement, educational attainment, poverty, early childbearing, and
incarceration. The two broad types of assimilation need not have parallel outcomes. For instance, an individual who is fully assimilated into society’s cultural and linguistic mainstream can still experience poor outcomes in the labour and educational markets. Conversely, an individual may not become fully integrated culturally and still do well both economically and occupationally.

Cultural theories range from pessimistic to optimistic in their view about how and how well immigrants and their children are joining a society’s mainstream. At the pessimistic end is the belief championed by political scientist Samuel Huntington (2004) that children of immigrants are not assimilating. Huntington’s perspective is not rooted in original empirical research, but is rather a response to what he perceives to be cultural forces within the immigrant community that prevent current immigrants from assimilating. Critics have had no difficulty countering his theoretical assertions with evidence that immigrants are capable of assimilating culturally and linguistically.

On the more optimistic side of the culturalist approach are those researchers who have dusted off the traditional melting-pot theory for the 21st century. They argue that cultural and political assimilation continues to take place just as it has in the past and that immigrants assimilate not into specific segments of society, but rather into a broad mainstream that is simultaneously changed by them. The champions of the ‘new melting-pot’ viewpoint, Richard Alba & Victor Nee (2003) describe assimilation as something that frequently happens to people while they are making other plans. Although assimilation may take time, they say, the children of today’s
immigrants and subsequent generations will eventually join the body of society, even if they do not ultimately achieve upward mobility.

Structuralist perspectives too can be organized by their degree of optimism about the future of immigrants and their children. According to the more pessimistic ‘generations-of-exclusion’ hypothesis, Edward Telles and Vilma Ortiz (2000), they were of the opinion that immigrants and their children are isolated from the opportunities for mobility offered by the mainstream, not because they avoid assimilation, but because they belong to heavily disadvantaged ethnic and racial groups. Past waves of immigrants from Europe were able to assimilate both culturally and economically by gradually elbowing their way into the more privileged ‘white’ segments of the American racial hierarchy. By contrast, today’s Hispanic immigrants, whose roots are European, becoming a distinct race with consistently worse outcomes than whites.

The research work of Telles and Ortiz (2000) into Mexican American communities over several generations has borne out many of the expectations of this racialization view. They then constructed a longitudinal data set following the original respondents and their descendants into the third, fourth, and sometimes fifth generation. Most members of those latter generations, they found, still lived in predominantly Hispanic neighbourhoods, married within their ethnicity, and identified as Mexican. Socioeconomic gains made between the first and the second generations stalled thereafter, as poverty rates in the third and fourth generations stayed high and educational attainment fell.
Another pioneer sociologist named Talcott Parsons (1975) theorized about mechanisms of society and the organizational principles behind social structures. A society needs certain principles, order, maintains a function, members need to co-operate each other fulfilling common goal, sharing common interest and values. He further analysed society as a complex system of interrelated functional sub-systems. The members have to preserve the social order, goods and services, promote education and life skills, care of children, regulating crimes and so on.

According to Harris-Todaro model (Todaro, 1977), the phenomenon of migration is brought about evidently by the non-production from the endogenous resources. If a locality fails to produce products from the local resources they would buy from the neighbouring towns or import from other places. Consequently, this neighbouring town attracts migrants to give employment in the production sectors. Migrants necessarily replace the demand of for such type of labours.

A migrant may think a new place as ideal initially but only after he goes through the different stages, he will be able to decide the idealness. However, since there is rise in the population imbalance due to imbalance volume of migration, the social and economic structure of the new society may be affected. Heavy arrival of unskilled labour will make overcrowded in most of the sector leading to unhealthy market competition if there is no proper policy in the host society. Well evidenced studies mention that lack of creativity and innovation of investors would result in an imitative ‘me-too’ effect, which would render the establishment of ‘second rank propositions in an overcrowded sector’ (Penninx, 1982). Such expenses tend to be
evaluated as not contributing to development, weakening the economy, and increasing dependency.

The views on migration represent towards both pessimistic and optimistic positions being reflected in disciplinary divisions. Anthropologists and sociologists seemed the most pessimistic, while geographers and economists tended towards a more moderate stance (De Mas & Vermeulen, 1993). Many see migration as a problem referring it with the term ‘migrant syndrome’ as a de-developing, destabilizing and hence undesirable, which can be solved through closed border policies in combination with aid and development programs. Yet, there are good theoretical arguments to reject the propositions of the migrant syndrome view since the pessimist model does not give room for migration impacts, positive spread effects like remittances.

1.2: Manipuri Society

Before going into the details of the migrants in Manipur, it is needed to have an idea of geo-political structure of the state. Manipur is divided into Hill and Valley, resided by tribal and non-tribal populations respectively. Valley shares only one-tenth of total geographical area. Valley lands may be settled by any community of Indian citizen including Nepalis, tribal people, Meiteis, Pangals and any migrant people. However, Hill districts are exclusively for tribal people of Manipur. Any political decisions in these districts are administered and regulated by a committee called ‘Hill Area Committee’.
The valley of Manipur shares only 10 percent of total land area and 59 percent of total 3 million populations live in valley. On the top of this, there is continuous population influx, there is high population pressure in the valley districts and valley people are often challenged with this type of land resource conflicts. This tiny valley is opened for any citizen of India to seek permanent residence and has also been plagued by porous international boundaries. Nevertheless, the Hills share 90 percent of total land area, not any other valley people are allowed to buy land or take permanent settlement in these hilly regions (Manipur Land Reform Act, 1960). It is therefore, becoming a challenging situation over land acquisition conflicts that in return affect the goal for nation building process.

The present study being focussed on the adaptation of the migrants in Manipur, a brief knowledge about Manipur and its people are necessarily to be understood. Manipuri society is a generic term represented by the people of Manipur who are by and large having a distinct culture, having a sense of common belongingness to the soil of the state. Its society is characterized by its simplicity and egalitarian values.

Manipur is a very small state of North-eastern India. Many of its area have got poor demographic data due to unhealthy law and order; poor transport system, isolated and are hilly regions at large. Manipur is having a very small population and shares a very tiny population in India. Sex ratio and literacy rate is nearly equal to the national average. People of Manipur belong to Mongoloid race and speak Tibeto-Burman language. People do agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing
and public services. Economic level of the people is more or less uniform, per
per capita income is quite nominal. The Meitei people who live in Valley land are the
majority population.

Table 1.1: Manipur at a Glance (Census, 2011)

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<th>Information on</th>
<th>Manipur</th>
<th>National figure</th>
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<td>Total Population</td>
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<td>1.214 Billion</td>
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<td>Male Population</td>
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The Meitei people belong by race and language to the Kirata or Indo-Mongoloid
section of the Indian people. They are related by race and language to the Tibeto-
Burman (Chatterjee as cited in Nalini, 1987). The Meiteis or Manipuris are the
most advanced section of the Kuki-Chin people (Chatterjee as cited in Nalini,
1987). The Meitei people are believed to be the descendents of Pakhangba who
gave birth to the seven clans of Meitei society namely – Ningthouja (Mangang),
Luwang, Khuman, Angom, Moirang, Kha-Nganba, Salang-Leishangthem. These
clans have each sub clans or lineages forming a unique kinship system in Meitei
society. Currently, the Meiteis have castes namely - Brahmins, the Kshetriyas and
an exterior caste, the Lois. The Lois belong to scheduled caste under the roof of
Meitei community. Meitei Bamons do not fall under any of these clans rather they
do have Gotras and lineages. In another sense, Meitei Pangals (Muslims) may be
grouped under the wider umbrella of Meitei society.
Meitei Bamons performs most of the religious rituals of the Meitei society. Meitei Pangals (Muslims), Meitei Lois have different system while performing rites and rituals. Speaking Meiteilon, sharing a common mother tongue (Meitei language) represents the common identity of being Meitei nation.

Besides the Meitei, the state has many other ethnic groups and tribal communities. Manipur is famous in different sports and cultural field. It has rich natural and cultural resource. There are various prestigious forms of cultural heritages in Manipur. Manipur is famous not only in the country but throughout the universe for its excellence in the field of games and sports, Manipuri classical dance and theatres.

One of the important prides of Manipur is the classical Manipuri dance called Raas Lila invented by King Bhagyachandra alias Chingthangkhomba who reigned during 1769-1798. Manipuri Raas Lila is a famous and well recognised classical dance of India and occupies a unique place in the cultural integration of Indian diversity of cultures. Apart from it, various forms of folk cultures – Thang-Ta martial art, tribal dances, Khamba-Thoibi dance, Manipuri folk songs, and narratives of Anglo-Manipuri War called Khongjom Parva are the invaluable cultural heritages of Manipur. Manipur was a princely state during the British rule. The Meiteis and the kingdom having own history more than two thousand years became a caste society after embracing the Hindu religion in the early days of the 18th century. The kingdom of Manipur is dated back to 33 AD when the first King Pakhangba reigned in Manipur.
Majority of the Meitei people in Manipur follow Hinduism, while the peoples in hill areas (tribal people) are predominantly Christians. Before the advent of Hinduism in Manipur, the Meitei worship the almighty Sidaba Mapu along with several gods and goddesses such as Sanamahi, Pakhangba, Emoinu, Panthoibi. Worshipping of Hindu god, like God Vishnu, was significantly observed during king Kyamba’s time during 15th century. There were many Brahmin migrants in the State and they performed most of the rituals. However, the new sect of Vaishnavism only became the dominant religion of Manipur during the reign of Garib Niwas or Pamheiba (1709-1748). In due course, the Brahmin migrants were assimilated and occupied a respectable status, identified as Meitei Brahmins (Bamons). Since then, the Meitei society became a caste society.

M.C. Arunkumar (2010) pointed out that during the reign of King Garib Niwas, the Meitei state was transformed into Manipur state with a new wider identity of the Manipuri encompassing the Meitei and all the ethnic groups and communities in the State. Though the Meiteis and the Manipuris are used synonymously in several literatures, the Manipuri is the wider identity beyond linguistic and religious bases. He also pointed out that Bengoli Brahmins were assimilated into the Meitei caste system which has two Varna castes, the Brahmins and the Kshetriyas. And outside the Varna system were the exterior castes, locally known as the Lois that belongs to scheduled caste under Indian constitution. Lois is again divided into Hayel, Chakpa and Yaithibi. However, there are also intelligent indicators showing this society highly progressive and competent such as in games and sports, cultural heritages and in theatre platforms.
Form a very old past, Meiteis had its own kingdom, cities and palaces. Meiteis did not confine to a particular simple economy as evidenced from the lineages and specified occupation. For example, Rajkumar is the kingsmen or warriors, Thangjam are the blacksmith etc. There are many other lineages associated with their traditional occupation which makes clear about having the division of labour in the society. The division of labour means the allocation of people according to certain social merit and rewarded accordingly. Durkheim called it the transition from more ‘primitive’ societies to advanced industrial societies. Emile Durkheim (1893), in his book ‘The Division of Labour in Society’ pointed out that the transition of a society may bring development through ‘disorder, crisis and anomie’. In this type of society, law would be more restitutive than penal, seeking to restore rather than punish excessively.

In Manipur, there was evidence of exile for incest union. They were thrown out of the mainstream and a proper documentation was maintained. These thrown out people who were accused of incest union are called ‘Yaithibi’ (outcast). Their successive generation may be returned to the mainstream as restoration to the original position. The chronology of the generation was well maintained in the record to enable the rightful law. Manipuri language is the only one language having own independent scripts in the North-east India. There are also local dialects spoken among the tribals. The Manipuri kings had armies, noblemen, ministers, well maintained record system.
There are abrupt changes in population size for certain communities in Manipur as claimed by native based civil societies. There are also disputes over state boundaries thereby affecting the normal life of the people. One political crisis is the ongoing dispute over Siroy Mountain and Dzuko Valley between Nagaland and Manipur. On the other hand, there is a threat of entering illegal immigrants overlapping with in-migrants because of poor demarcation, lack of proper identification policy. In this situation, the migrants who arrived during the 19th century have started claiming for migrants’ cosmopolitanism, distinguishing themselves from those illegal immigrants and started claiming as ‘sons of the soil’.

Nevertheless, Manipur shares small population; Manipur has been graced by a number of ethnic groups inclusive of migrants and original peoples. Among the major migrant communities, the Nepalis, the Bengalis, the Telis (Bhojpuris) and the Punjabis may be mentioned. The migrants in Manipur are mostly from Assam, Bihar, Uttar-Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, West Bengal, Uttarakhand, Tripura, Orissa etc.

Migrants in Manipur have been divided into two categories for the convenience of the study. First, the pure migrants whose birth place are outside Manipur and secondly, are the successive generation migrants whose place of birth is Manipur but their father or grandfather were born outside Manipur. The latter are not migrants by universal definition but have been encompassed in the study to evaluate a comparative study on the part of their adaptation. A similar inclusive terminology to this definition may be, however, represented by a local language
term called ‘*Mayang*’ meaning ‘the outsiders’. The main important migrant population under study are the Bengolis, Nepalis, Sahus/Baniyas and Bhojpuris/Telis who are residing across the state.

The Marwaris, so widely expanded in the business sector of Manipur is needless to mention since the same is true for the whole national picture. Most of the immigrants in Manipur are peoples from caste based societies such as Telis, Hazam, Sahu, Das, Yadav etc. Nepali, Bhojpuri and Bengali societies are caste based societies which predominantly operate in their normative culture and tradition. The configuration of the caste structure is distinct in each cultural group and it is a matter of anthropological interest how these distinctiveness under the principle of Hinduism *Varna* Caste system mingles up together in the line of struggle for co-existence in a host society.

The study is dedicated to speculate whether their caste rule has any impact on the degree of inclusion as a social group. Does it play a role in forwarding the level of integration to cultural or social activities as a member of their own community as well as of the host Manipuri society? The study also investigates the variation in adaptation across different generations assuming the children of migrants are more prone to integration or incorporation. It is quite interesting to know their social identities and potential conflicts with the reactions of the originally residing communities.
As a matter of social concern, identifying the cultural differences and the process of integration in the cultural canvas of Manipur is very much necessary. At the same time, fear of migration as felt by the local people, xenophobia is another social problem which provokes the people to demand proper documentation for any arrival. Migrants may introduce new services and commodities which later on become essential items or services to the receiving society. As for example, migrant barbers predominantly provide hair cutting services in Manipur. Migrants also create competition with the original people in terms of owning or capturing the limited resources.

Going back to a remarkable historical episode, the Meitei king ruled this princely state for centuries and its territories were expanded beyond the present boundaries to a large extent, the Meitei king had friendly relationship with the kings of Ahoms (Assam) and Tripura. The kingdom of Manipur declined since the invasion of the British during the colonial expansion. The Britishers who were advance in transportation technology having strong passion toward exploring new world finally arrived in Manipur. The Britishers along with their tradesmen of Indian origin could successfully introduced colonialism and capitalism into the state.

After the departure of the Britishers, those traders, armies and agriculturist continued to settle in the state since the state had abundant natural resources and pleasant climate and could become success in place making mechanisms. Those Britishers introduce trade and commerce, western education, land record system and so on. Those historical events had created confounding situations in Manipur.
regarding people of Manipur and later arrivals. Manipur is resided by many ethnic groups and experiencing an ongoing process of acculturation, integration and assimilation due to migration.

The host society being referred throughout the texts is the Manipuris. Major ethnic groups representing the Manipuris are the Meiteis, the Pangals, the Kukis and the Nagas. Manipuri (or Meiteilon) is the state language and the host culture may be used synonymously with Manipuri culture. A migrant’s involvement to any of the four ethnic groups may be considered as interaction to host society. However, the migrants being considered for the study is mostly neighbouring with the Meiteis, the study loosely confines with the unique elements of Meitei culture to be the Manipuri culture.

Before the advent of the British in Manipur, the Indian folks had less communication with the people of Manipur due to geographical isolation from the mainland sub-continent. Manipur was never conquered by any of the emperor from the mainland country. Migration became better alternatives to many Indian traders, bureaucrats and armymen under the direction of Britishers who arrived in Manipur during 19th centuries.

There was an important episode of migration to Manipur when Maharaj Bodhchandra signed the Merger Agreement with Independent India in Shillong Accord, 1949. The then Raja (king) of Manipur upon the revocation of paramountcy and the declaration of Indian independence by the English
parliament got passed the Manipur Constitution Act, 1947. In conformity with the constitution, elections were held to the state legislature in 1947 and the Praja Santhi Party which secured the majority formed the ministry in the state. However, on October 15, 1948, the ministry was dismissed and the legislature was dissolved by the Central government which also converted the state into a chief commissioner’s province (Sadasvian, 2005). It was followed by the abolition of Foreigners’ Act by default.

The abolition of Manipur Constitution Act, at the expense of state power was a historically remarkable point of time which opened the gateway of Manipur encouraging the influx of population. In the contemporary Manipur, migrants are the resources as well as competitors in resource mobilisation and job market. People of Manipur have therefore got different opinions and response to issues relating to migration. On the other hand, migrants’ involvement in social interaction, integration, sense of sharing beliefs and political interests of the host society play a key role in body social. In these circumstances, the adaptation of migrants in various angles is very much important.

Presently, modern Manipur is a product of cultural and political amalgamation of Manipuri civilization, Indian civilization along with the introduction of new trade and commerce, western education and inherited traditional knowledge system. Manipur due to its unhealthy politics and failure in resource mobilisation is facing a series of political stress since a long time back. The socio-political stress is related to territorial integrity, ethnic identity, insurgency, armed conflicts,
nepotism, and public health problems. Mention may be made of the integration movements, armed and ethnic conflicts, unemployment, corruption, HIV and drug abuse, domestic violence etc.

History clearly gives the example of industrialisation in European countries, the expansion of the British Empire in various countries, and the same impact reached to Indian cities as well. The British India was born with the establishment of East India Company and colonialism was introduced in the name of trade expansion. During 19th century, the Britishers made their trade expansion to Manipur as well. In order to facilitate their trade and commerce as well as colonialism, they accompanied trained Indian traders and army-men represented by the Marwaris, the Bhojpuris, the Bengolis, the Nepalis etc.

The present study addresses the migrants and generational children in Manipur and the development of their socio-cultural phases throughout the process of adaptation. It tries to answer on how people go through different situations when entering a foreign culture, what are techniques or the traits, agencies that contribute to adjustment in a new host culture. Migrants’ performance in a bicultural competence which defines their ability to function successfully in both cultures – family traditional culture and mainstreamed new culture are elaborately presented throughout this report. In fact, it is eagerness of the author to know the patterns about struggles of the migrants in order to re-establish and to re-define their roles, and their relationship to the new society.
1.3: Identification of the Research Problem

Migration is a factor of social change and plays role in spatial distribution of population. Due to globalisation, it becomes quite prominent and widespread. Cultural change to a migrant population is quite a substantial process. Migrants witness and experience a social mobility with a wide range of variations in their liminality status. Migrants’ behaviours in this liminality transition is a very complex stage because of new phase involving in and out mobility in between cultures.

Migrants are transit travellers living in between two cultures governed by two meaning systems. In the eyes of post modernists, understanding a culture is an exploration of the images of the realities. To them, migrants’ behaviour is regulated by their hybrid identity as a quest to adaptation. Ruth Benedict (1934) propounded that behaviours of members may be estimated from their attitude and activities towards polity, economy and social institutions. Social institutions which are governing migrants’ behaviour are manifestations of in between culture and are quite reciprocal to the social institutions of the host society. In this regard, the study has approached the way how the migrants are creating images and realities while responding to the social structure of the host society. The study has been identified by considering the migrants as liminal people being awaited for aggregation to Manipuri society by adopting the theory of liminality which stated of three stages – separation, liminality and aggregation where migrants are located.
in the second phase which is the most important phase in the study of human adaptation in a new society.

1.4: Objectives

The main purpose of this scholarly investigation is to assess the issues of migration effecting to both migrants and the children of migrants in different layers of generation vis-a-vis social impacts with their culture, level of communication, political behaviour, inclusion and participation to the host society. The migrants being taken into account for the study - the Bhojpuris (the Telis), the Bengalis, the Sahus and the Nepalis will represent the study population including the first, second, third and fourth generations. In order to understand the above research problem, the study focuses on three objectives.

1. To evaluate the differentials in family planning attitude among migrants.
2. To measure the ‘sense of social inclusion and exclusion’ of the migrants by determining the level of integration among different generations of migrants.
3. To assess migrants’ political behaviour, participation in existing issues on political order and armed conflict.

For the convenient of the study, only in-migrants who have been staying at the study site for at least 6 months are included. On the basis of birth place, the respondents were categorized into first generation, second generation, third generation and fourth generation migrants.
1.5: Importance of the Study

Human populations have different kinds of behaviour, speak different languages, and variable looks from each other in social and biological terms. There is human variation both physically and culturally, as a result of differing adaptations to varied natural and cultural environments. Successive episodes of population migration, in various times and spaces are in fact playing a significant role in mixing up the population and cultures. Recent history tells us a great deal about major population migrations, about how Europeans and Africans migrated to America, Britons to Australia, Russians to Siberia, Dutch to South Africa, and Chinese to Taiwan and so on. Recent history leaves no doubt that migration has been absolutely fundamental in the creation of our modern world, even if some of those migratory episodes occurred with little attention to the basic human rights that concern so many of us today.

Individuals will always have been migrating as they found partners, fell out with relatives, or searched for new resources, exactly as they do now. The focus of the present study is entirely on migrants of Manipur, permanently trans-located population, covering many generations, living with the host society today and how well they are adapted to the host society of Manipur. From the anthropological perspective, for the welfare of the migrants as well as for the host society, the stages and the ongoing process of cultural adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, and integration need to be examined.
When migrants arrive to a new host society, they live in between two cultures and compelled to adapt to the host society. Involvement of the migrants in various socio-cultural and political groups in order to familiarise the host culture has its significance in nation building processes. The extensive work on the area of co-existence and integration will be able to remove xenophobia and will throw light in building peace and development. Population growth due to migration is one of the challenging situations in contemporary Manipur because of the limited economic resource of the state. There is a need to think of about flowing in population, the relationship between migration, population pressure, and about regional development policies.

1.6: Chapter Scheme

The present doctoral work entitled ‘Adaptation of Migrants to the Modern Manipuri Mainstream’ has attempted to throw light on the impact of migration as well as socio-cultural changes that occur to the migrants in the context of contemporary modern Manipuri society. The study report has been organised into six chapters as background of the study, literature review, methodology, migration in Manipur, migrants’ adaptation in Manipur, summary and conclusion.

The first chapter presents an introduction on migration with a brief review of different theories of migration and adaptation. In this chapter, a background of study including theoretical perspectives on migration, liminality phase of the migrants and ongoing process of liminal people toward aggregation is presented.
This chapter, from the viewpoints of the theoretical assertion, the problem, importance and the objectives of the study are also identified.

The second chapter is devoted to review the literatures. This chapter highlights a conceptual framework of migration in existing literatures and an account of migrants’ culture relating to cultural change and adaptation perspectives.

The third chapter is related with research questions, methodology and techniques used in the data collection and a note on field sites, method of data analysis used and ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter has been devoted to a brief historical account of the patterns of migration flows in Manipur inclusive of both early and late migrants, historical and ongoing interactions with the host society. This chapter also highlights certain issues of migration in the politics of Manipur and migration associated social movements in the contemporary Manipuri society.

The fifth chapter deals four different aspects - analysis of attitude to family planning measure, way of communication with Manipuri culture, level of integration and political participation. This chapter has also highlighted about the sense of social inclusion felt by the migrants as a member of the Manipuri society. It highlights the adaptive ways incorporated by these migrants and their responses to the host society of Manipur by staying in the stage of liminality. A qualitative outlook is made on their opinion on host fear of disintegration, host fear of unjust
death, host desire of inclusion of Meitei script in currency note, opinions about obstacles in Manipur to progress.

The sixth chapter gives a brief summary of the study and the conclusions drawn from the analyses are being presented. Conclusion is the whole reflection on understanding of the migrants of Manipur inclusive of different generations. It portrays the way forward to adaptation reflecting migrants’ sense of inclusion to Manipuri society detailing on what are the successes and what are the barriers.