

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANTS: A CASE  
STUDY OF LUDHIANA CITY IN PUNJAB**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

in

**Political Science**

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**LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY, PUNJAB 2023**

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled "Political Participation of Migrants: A case study of Ludhiana city in Punjab" has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr Javeed Ahmad Bhat, Assistant Professor Lovely Professional University, Phagwara, Punjab. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

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## **CERTIFICATE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Political participation is the soul of democracy. It is not only the base but the strong pillar of democracy. It is an integral and very vital part without which democracy would be lifeless and incomplete but political participation must be for every section of society, the upper, middle and lower class, the elite, the natives and the migrants in the democratic processes. Migrants leave their homes for the better prospects of life. Though Migration has many economic and social dimensions but its political implications have been gaining attention in the recent years. The present study is an attempt to explore their role in the political arena through their political participation.

Nearly 35% people in India are internal migrants. People in less developed or undeveloped areas of India leave their place of birth and residence due to various social, political, psychological, and mainly for economic reasons. So, the industrial centres of India have taken the shape of migrant's hub or migrant centre of India. Prominent among these centres are Surat, Ludhiana, Faridabad, Nashik, Pune, and Mumbai (UNICEF report, 2013, p. 6). Migrants are backbone for the economic development of any area but they are treated as "outsiders" by the host political administration and as a pressure on the destination's processes and resources. In India, migrants' access to the various available rights is rejected on the basis of the political defence of the 'sons of the soil' idea, which tries to construct vote banks along ethnic, regional, and religious lines. Migrants are excluded and discriminated against through political and administrative processes, and through socio-economic processes, resulting in a divide between migrants and natives (Bhagat, 2011).

The present study made an attempt to see the political participation of internal migrants in Ludhiana which is the industrial hub of Punjab and inhabited with 25% of migrant population. The study found that majority of migrants in Ludhiana are from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh followed by Rajasthan and Haryana. Their education level is very low and the foremost reason of the migration from Bihar and UP to Ludhiana is availability of continuous employment and better wages in Ludhiana. Though other factors are also push factors but of lesser degree. Maximum of them is in the unorganised sector as they came to Ludhiana with the help of their social 'network' or due to presence of their relatives or friends nor the agents. According to the study, the

behaviour of the people in Ludhiana is decent. Migrants in Ludhiana now have their own social circle, which has formed over time. But many of them are unhappy with the government's officials' unwillingness to cooperate. Due to their status as migrants, police suspect and doubt them excessively. Though the behaviour of local people is not bad but still migrants have not mingled in the society. as the majority of migrants live in colonies populated mostly by the people of their own region. So, while their legal and theoretical social situation is good, they are ghettoized in practice in Ludhiana. The study found that the migrants are having better economic condition than their native place as they get continuous employment and better wages here for which they migrated. But overall, they belong to low-income group of Indian society.

The study found the political participation and representation of migrants not up to the mark according to their population in the city. The study looked at migrants' political participation in three ways. Engagement of migrants in electoral activities, as well as participation in non-electoral activities and representation. Migrants in Ludhiana have made their voter ID cards here in Ludhiana and begun exercising their right to vote, but their willingness to participate is mostly dependent on the efforts of local leaders or activists. When a candidate for any level of election is a member of their community, or when certain activists have taken special or personal care of the vote bank of migrants, the registration for voter id and voter turnout is at its highest.

The study also viewed the considerations of migrant voters while exercising their voter right. The findings suggest very important and positive indication for Indian politics. It demonstrates that migrants have matured as voters. Candidates in the election may not fare well if caste or religion are raised as issues. Migrant voters regard the candidates' performance and approachability as the chief consideration while franchising. secondly migrants support any political party if the party had good programme. Less attention is paid to the leadership of the party. The study found negligible element of clientelism among migrants and it has been found that migrants political participation motivated by common good not by selective material benefits. As a result, we can say that migrant voters have reached maturity. Migrants' active participation in other political activities is quite discouraging. Only few numbers of migrants take part in political meetings, discuss political issues with their friends and family and take part in campaigning before the elections. The study observed that

though migrants feel connected to some or the other national or regional political parties but only small fraction of migrants are formally member of any political group.

The latest trend in the past few election cycles has shown us that while the migrant share as voters has increased their political representation in the decision-making bodies and in position of power has not increased at the same rate. It has been widely observed that while political parties want to appeal them as voter and they use prominent political leaders of their region to campaign but they are unwilling to provide them with proper representation when it counts in the form of tickets. Independent migrant candidates have very less probability of winning as noticed in the previous local bodies election when three migrant candidates contested but none of them won. In the present representative bodies not even a single member of migrants at any level is there. Lack of physical, human, and social resources is responsible for it.

In the light of the philosophy of the Indian constitution every citizen should be given justice i.e., social, economic, and political. But migrants are denied justice especially political justice. The social, economic, and political aspect of individual and community are integrated with each other. Political participation of migrants can be taken as an indirect reflection of their social and economic condition in the study area and it represents the treatment by the locals and the public institutions.

To improve the political participation and representation efforts needs to be done at the Government and social level. Government should enhance the ambit of Interstate Migrant Workmen Act, 1979, which include only the registered migrants and exclude who are not registered and working in informal sector. There should not be domicile conditions to get the economic subsidies. One nation one ration card should be there. At the societal level society must be sensitized the daily hardships that migrants encounter when they transition to a new life style in a new place due to language hurdles and cultural shocks. Instead of shunning migrants and treating them as outcasts, society should have an open and embracing attitude toward them and recognise their contributions. And last not the least political parties should give them fair share in giving support of their party to migrants in election as fair representation leads to fair political participation.

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**Seema Kumari**



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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

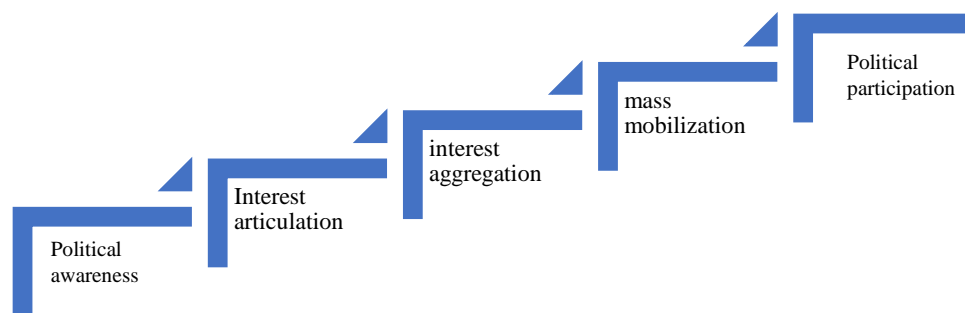
Political participation is at the heart of all democracies around the world. Participation in politics has long been regarded as a "sine qua non" of democracy. Political participation refers to "voluntary actions by which people participate in the selection of their policy makers and the formation of public policy, either formally or informally" (Kaase & Marsh, 1988). The strong pillar of democracy, in addition to being its foundation, is political participation. But, political participation in the democratic processes must be available to all segments of society, including the elite, the native-born, the migrants, and the upper, middle, and lower classes. Migrants leave their homes for various reasons. Though Migration has many economic and social dimensions but its political implications have been gaining attention in the recent years. The study is an attempt to explore the political aspect of migration. The present study made an attempt to see the political participation of internal migrants in Ludhiana which is the industrial hub of Punjab and inhabited with 25% of migrant population (Mehra & Singh, 2014). The present chapter has three main sections; first section describes the meaning and various aspects of political participation, second section explains the concept of migration and its various dimensions, third section throws light on the demographic profile of the study area i.e., Punjab in general and Ludhiana district in specific.

In the era of democracy, political participation has always continued to be of great significance. It is one of the most important parameters to test the strength of democracy. Political participation provides legitimacy and safety valve to the system. The high level of political participation indicates high level of legitimacy and less chance of revolution and political instability. it is considered the best safeguard against the autocracy of the government. This is the principal tool which measures the approval granted to the government's actions and decides the accountability of the governing machinery (Maccluskv,1968, p.253). It is the mode of political participation which indicates either the withdrawing or granting of the consent by the people to the administrative machinery. A system would deviate from its targets and goals if it

ignores the will of the people (Powell, 1982, p.12). In a society where the structure disrespect the masses and does not maintain good participatory opportunities, can never prove to be an efficient structure and deliver the results (Akinchan, 1995 p. 86).

The Political participation in modern era is of utmost relevance because of the swift means of communication and the immediate transmission of the information by the active and the alert mass media. In fact, with the dawn of modernization, political participation has also changed its dimensions. The role of media has made the masses alert and politically aware which has accelerated the speed of interest articulation. The interest articulation always leads to interest aggregation. and the more is the interest aggregation the more the masses would be mobilized and the mobilization of masses would result into more political participation (Sharma, 1985 P. 128).

**Figure 1: Steps from political awareness to political participation**



### **1.1 Scope of political participation**

The Political participation is a term which implies sharing or having involvement in the political activities. It ensures the involvement of the masses individually or in groups in the political set up at the different levels of institutions. It generally includes those voluntary activities of the people of any state by which they express their choices and responses to the decisions and the policies of the stake holders. The Political participation generally includes activities such as voting, the discussion over political issues, becoming members of any political party, campaigning for any candidate and the monetary contribution to any political group etc. It is in a way means to perform political role in the state. Anthony H. Birch has identified and listed activities such as voting in the national election and plebiscites to be the active member of the political parties and of the lobbying group, taking part in the political protest and the

similar activities of the changing public policies (Birch, 2007 p.145). Verba and Nie had included four activities voting, campaigning for any political party, donating money to any political group and contacting public officials as the political participation (Verba, & Nie, 1972).

Milbrath had covered the activity of voting, discussion over the political issues, party membership, campaigning for the party, petitioning to political leaders, making financial contribution to the political parties and the office seeking as the political participation. On the basis of these activities Milbrath evolved 'Hierarchy of political development' (Ruedin, 2007). and categorized these activities into four types from the bottom to the top level of political participation.

**Apathetic activities** include activities of those people who are indifferent to politics and have no role in politics.

**Spectator activities** includes voting, wearing a button or sticker on cars or attending a political rally.

**Transitional activities** include initiating political discussion, making monetary contribution to the party.

**Gladiatorial activities** are performed by the most active members. Contesting elections, raising funds for the party and holding some public office come under the umbrella of gladiatorial activities.

If the study of classification of activities is applied to the migrants, it will have to be admitted that in the initial stages of migration they are apathetic, too new to the surrounding naturally not feeling interested in the political Arena, gradually when they start being familiar with their surroundings, their participation is upgraded to the spectator' stage. As far as the third stage is concerned somewhat contribution at a later stage may take place but gladiatorial activities are impossible for the marginalized people.

During the last few decades this word has widened its canvas enormously. So, the political participation got classification and it got different nomenclature from different political thinkers. Defining political participation Myron Weiner said 'The concept of political participation refers to any voluntary action, successful or

unsuccessful, organized or unorganized, episodic or continuous, employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended to influence the choice of the public policies, the administration of the public affairs or the choice of political leaders' (Weiner, 2015, p. 165). Barnes Kaase had categorized political participation into conventional and non-conventional political participation. He had included legal protest, agitation, illegal strikes, boycotts, flash mobs and opposing the government policies in violent or non-violent way and even no participation as a protest is also under the political participation. Van Deth had classified activities of political participation into legal and illegal, and institutional and non-institutional political participation (Kaase, 2006). Yut Yu classified the political participation under the names of formal and informal political participation. According to him political activities which are performed according to rules and regulations of the institutions are formal participation and this is orthodox political participation also but the activities which are based upon the conventions of the society behaviour of the people are informal political participation (Yu, 2007). Ekman & Amna gave the title to the types of political participation manifest and latent political participation. The non-voting, the signing of the petitions is given the names as latent activities. In many liberal democracies, citizens are monitorial citizens as they intervene in politics only when there is utmost need of it but their nonintervention does not mean they are not aware of the political happenings. legal parliamentary activities, participation in strikes, demonstrations, and agitations are the manifest activities of the political participation. The latent activities may not be directly called as the political participation but such activities do determine the future course of the political participation. (Ekman & Amna, 2012). Teorell presented Five dimensions of political participation (Teorell, 2007).

**Electoral participation** Voting comes under this type of participation

**Consumer participation** It includes the role of citizens as the critical evaluator by donating money, boycotting and political consumption and signing of any petition.

**Party participation** Opting for becoming a member of any political party, campaigning for it and

**Protest participation** venture such as strikes, demonstrations and boycotting government's proposals.

**Contact participation.** It includes sharing word with the civil servant, politicians and public officials come under it. Keeping meetings with policy makers and influencing their policies according to their own view point and convincing them.

As far as the classification is concerned, in the case of migrants being a member of the party and participation in the protest activities is possible but the first and the fourth consumer participation and contact activity, considering their marginalised status would not be feasible for them.

Thus, we can say that political participation is a wide phenomenon. It includes physical and mental activities. It includes participating actors such as individuals and groups, the subjects whom these activities are directed such as national government, state government or local government, purpose behind the activities such as influencing the policy making or protesting against the policy and type of activity such as conventional or non-conventional, legal or illegal and direct or indirect and voluntary and mobilized activity. So now apart from the formal ways of political participation, much informal activities have entered into the arena of political participation. It is clear that all voluntary activities from the selection of rulers to shaping and influencing the public policies directly or indirectly are known as political participation. Now political participation involves of comprehensive efforts through which masses communicate their school of thought to the men in power and participate to the policies of the government.

## **1.2 History of political the participation**

Political participation is one of the most important tools to classify the form of Government. Aristotle The father of political science even classified the forms of government based on political participation of the masses. The system is titled Monarchical, Totalitarian, Aristocracy and Democracy on the ground of quantity and quality of people participating in politics.

The history of the political participation is as old as the history of the subject of politics. It has been around 6000 years since the phenomenon of politics appeared. People have been participating in politics (Wajzer, 2015). The participation in politics is mainly found in the democratic form of government. The sign of democracy was

found in the Greek city state and in Athens. There was democracy and the people had the role in the policy making but in the Greek city state and in Athens, the right to participate in the political affairs was a virtue and limited to citizens only. It is worth noting that aliens and slaves were deprived of it. Once the discrimination between the citizens and the aliens as well as slaves was made, the dissatisfaction of the latter two was bound to be there. This sort of dissatisfaction makes way of revolution. Aristotle justified the revolution even if the rulers did not fulfill the aspirations of masses. Even in Ancient Rome It was considered a privilege to participate in the political affairs but again the participation was confined to citizens only (Mulgan, 2013).

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century the writings of Marsilio of Padua an Italian political philosopher had highlighted the electoral powers of citizens in the Medieval period. In his Discourses he had placed the powers of church under the authority of the state. Further it was also emphasized that the legislative powers of the rulers should be based upon the consent of the masses. In this sense he made the king and nobles as the representatives of the people not their masters. Thus, the idea of representative Government and popular sovereignty got its evolution in the medieval era (Bal, 1997, p.67). This implies that the seeds of participation were visible in the medieval period as well.

The three social contract political thinkers in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century popularized the approval of the people over the ruler's authority. Hobbes in his work 'Leviathan' empowered Leviathan on the basis of social contract which was signed by the political community. Locke in 'Two Treatises on Civil Government' had talked about the concept of inalienable natural rights of the man and gave the concept of limited government which were quite in favour of the role of the people in the political sphere (Zolberg,1981). Rousseau in 18<sup>th</sup> century in his famous work General Will changed finally the political participation into popular sovereignty where real will actually governed and mattered (Misra, 2012, p.97). Thus, the increasing role of the political participation in administration can be found during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.

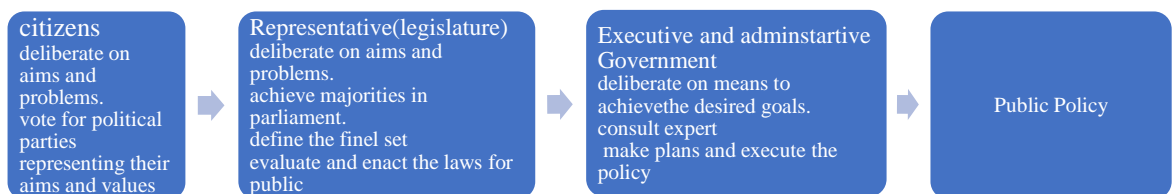
J.S Mill, who in the nineteenth century championed the cause of political participation supported the importance of the people's political participation in his famous work Representative Government and focused on the qualitative aspect of

people's participation in the decision-making process. Mill emphasized the plural voting system to make representative democracy more effective and gave importance to the political participation and unequal political power of the people (Cerovac, 2016). Mill expressed three main effects of the political participation

- 1 It inculcates sense of citizenship
- 2 It teaches citizens' practical discipline
- 3 It raises their moral development (Pedersen, 1982).

He made the citizens as base of the public policies which are enacted and executed by the legislature and executive. Mill introduced plural voting to give more weightage and importance to the opinion of those who are more qualified and have more understanding of the aims and problems of the society. Mill supported plural voting as it improved the quality of laws and put valuable pressure on the executive to implement those laws.

**Figure 2: Steps in the ways of final public policy**



Source: Cerovac, 2016

19<sup>th</sup> century had witnessed the popularity of Marxism. Marx reinforced the democracy to other forms of government. He believed that the suffrage is the symbol of coalition of the political and civil society and legislature is indicative of the individuals and their interest (Springborg, 1984), But he considered the state as a form of class antagonism. Even Engels in 'Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' held up the state as most powerful economic institution which is controlled by the capitalistic class and voting alone cannot give the working-class power to represent their interest and their representatives (Amato, 2000). Lenin also believed in Marxism and supported the socialist state where political power would be in the hands of the

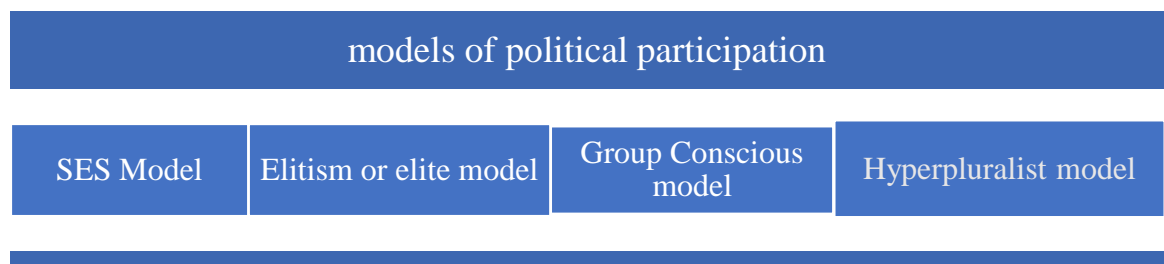


communist party consisting of the proletariat or the working class of the state. (Bal,1997 p.68).

### 1.3 Models/Theories of political participation

During the development of the history of political participation, some political theorists explain in details the political concept and phenomenon related with political participation in the form of political models and political theories. Some of the important models and theories of political participation are: -

**Figure 3: Models of political participation**



#### 1.3.1 Social Economic Status Model

The political scientists broadly accept the basic model of political participation as the standard 'SES' Model. This model is propounded mainly by Milbrath and developed by Nie and Verba. This model emphasizes individual socio-economic status and civic orientation as the main predictor of political participation. This model believes that 'who participate' in politics and 'why participate' depends upon the certain variables such as individual's Income, age, gender, race and education and one's involvement in civic life of his community. The more age, income, education and civic orientation, the more would be participation in all political activities (Leighley,1995). But Nie and Verba focused the impact of socio-economic status on over all political participation but recent studies found non-applicability of this model on particular types of political activities.

When ignorant apathetic masses are considered, migrant falls in this category. With no education qualification, they are unskilled labour, their lack of awareness and roots, hamper them to be actively participating in political matters.

### **1.3.2 Elitism or Elite Model of Participation**

In political arena some political theorists believed that in every political system there are only a few persons, called elite who are actually holder of the political power. **Pareto, Mosca, Michael, Burnham and Schumpeter** supported the view point that power is unevenly distributed in society because people have uneven control over socio, economic and political resources. So, on the basis of the resources and its outcome, there existed two classes in society These two classes were different from the Marxist two classes i.e., haves and have-nots. Elite group in every society is different. Pareto called them governing elite and non-governing ones. These governing elite came to power because of their psychological traits. According to Mosca elite class has organizational support so they are different from masses and constitute ruling class. Michels presented “Iron law of oligarchy”. on the basis of positions James Burnham called them Managerial elite. (Lopez, 2013)

So elitist reinforced that power is confined in every society in the hands of the creamy layer of the state. These few people may be wealthy, intellectual, resourceful or the key holder of the top offices. The elite form a small, dominant, and closed group. The members of the elite group may have difference of opinion on some issues but they are always having the consensus on maintaining the status quo as it suits them (Chaudhary, 1984, p.84). Election in the political systems is just of little significance as elite class is hardly influenced by the public opinion. The policies of the system reflect the values and ideology of the elite group not the demand and requirements of the masses. The political participation according to elitist model matters to elite group and not to general public.

In this model balance is tilted in favour of elites. They hold the power, call the shots, have the political participation. On the other hand, the non-governing class, is the neglected class, they have no say in the decision making of political and economic structures. They work, produce without having any means of production. They only have their labour and the profit earned from the goods made by them fulfills the offers of the elite. So, the majority does not have any say in the governing bodies or do not enjoy the political participation.

This implies that the elite class enjoys the political power and the participation of the ignorant apathetic masses is ultimately a mere eye wash.

### **1.3.3 The Hyperpluralist Model**

Hyper pluralist is the third model of political participation which is contrary to the elitist pluralism. This type of model is prevalent in the most matured liberal democracies like America. It is neo-elitism or reflective integral pluralism (Ferrara,2012). The supporters of this model believe that various interest groups exist in every political system and their nature is non-compromising and they are in conflict with each other, but in the mature democracies some of these interest groups develop their organizations so strong that they start dominating the policies of the government. Like the, pluralism hyper pluralism has faith in the relevance of the government structure but the structure becomes incapacitated in front of the groups, so there is an obvious of lost efficiency in the administration. These factions overcome the government institutions and make the legal structure unable to work with their Veto policy This is also called interest group liberalism. (Li, 2020). It has made politics of America as “**single issue politics**” (Chaoudhary, 2020).

The political participation of the people is exercised here more than in any of the categories mentioned above. The liberal policies of ruling groups enable the working and lower class to participate in the political matters.

### **1.3.4 Resource Model of Political Participation**

In the resource model for political participation, it is believed that, Time, money, and civic skills—are necessary for political activity. Depending on a group's socioeconomic position, these resources are dispersed differently. These resources significantly impact political engagement overall. Time and some civic skills are more stratified than money and others, yet money and some civic skills are closely tied to SES (Brady et al., 1995). Because social factors like membership in "congregational" churches, which serve as training grounds for civic ability, do not significantly correlate with SES, civic skills are less stratified by SES. As we move from resources to political activity, we may demonstrate how the significance of a resource depends on the particular activity. For instance, income is vital for some political activities because it

provides the financial means, yet education is important for others because it increases civic engagement and political interest.

#### **1.3.4 Group-Conscious Model**

Group consciousness model presents how the group identity consciousness influenced the political participation. Some studies have taken up the issue of group consciousness as one of the major determinantal factor which decide the volume of citizen political participation. Sanchez emphasized that there is direct relationship between group consciousness and political participation as it is the chief motivators for a particular community which decides the decision and direction of their political involvement. Group consciousness has mainly three components i.e., group identity, acknowledgement of disadvantage position of group and keenness to take collective action to reverse the position. Many political scientists focused only first part of the group consciousness means only on group identification. But group consciousness involves process of identification of one person with the other members of the group. This identification develops affinity, a sense of belonging, a sense of being part of the large whole. This ultimately leads to collective tendency to become politically more active (Sanchez, 2006). This model is very useful to study the political behaviour of minority groups in politics. The research in political arena supported that group consciousness increased the level of political participation and makes an individual rise above the concept of 'I' and 'mine' to 'we' and 'us.' But critics like Gitlin and Jean Elshtain found that this group identity consciousness promotes people to show their primary devotion to identity groups that are diametrically opposed to one another. People who adopt these identities assert their victim status and hence demand special treatment without also taking on any responsibilities. So, identity politics leads to politics of difference which further leads to interest group politics which further removes the room for citizens to solve the problems together (Young, 1997 p.384). However, Young supported strongly to this identity consciousness on the ground that the group difference urged paying attention to rather than ignoring the implications of such difference for concerns of freedom and equality. And she supported this as politics of difference instead politics of identity. Politics of difference encourages public

discussions on social groups problems and thus democracy becomes meaningful to all the groups of society ((Young, 1997 p.386).

There is no doubt that no model can hold universal values and universal applications. There are different factors affecting the political participation at different places at different levels. So, we are having different political theories that describe in more comprehensive way the political concept, political ideas and political phenomenon.

#### **1.4. Theories of political participation**

1.4.1 Classical Liberal theory

1.4.2 Rational Choice theory

1.4.3 Participatory theory

1.4.4 Marxist theory

##### **1.4.1 Classical Liberal theory**

The Liberal democracy focuses on the key elements like separation of powers, an independent judiciary and the system of the checks and balances between the branches/organs of the government. The term "liberal" in liberal democracy envisages a reference to the fact that the initial framework for the modern liberal democracy was founded and thus created during the era of the renaissance by various philosophers who advocated liberty. They emphasized the right of the individual to have immunity from the arbitrary exercise of the authoritarian regime or by the authority thereby. The liberal democratic constitution defines the democratic character of the state. The purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. There are numerous different political ideologies that support liberal democracy like conservatism: Christian Democracy, social democracy and some forms of socialism. A liberal democracy may even take the form of a constitutional republic or a constitutional monarchy.

In the liberal democracy, governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with the written, publicly disclosed statutes or laws adopted and enforced in accordance with the procedure established by the law. The liberal democracy is a

form of representative democratic government in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and the freedoms of the individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised. There seems to be an apparent contradiction in the nomenclature of the 'liberal democracy' Because in liberal democracy a moderated constitution places constraints on the extent to which the will of majority can be exercised. This sort of clause\provision would deter the majority from being active in political participation. The rights and freedoms protected by the constitutions of liberal democracies varies from state to state, country to country, but they usually include- right to due process, privacy, property and equality before the law, and freedoms of speech, assembly and religion etc. commonly known as liberal rights and are constitutionally guaranteed, or created by statutory laws<sup>i</sup>, which may in turn empower various civil institutions to administer or enforce these rights. The Liberal democracies today usually have universal suffrage, granting all eligible adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership (Bajpai. R. 2011). However, some countries believed that liberal democracies in fact had a more limited franchise in reality. Liberal democracies also tend to be characterized by tolerance and pluralism differing in so called political views and perspectives, even those viewed as extreme or fringe, are permitted to co-exist and compete for the political power on a democratic basis.

Liberal democracies periodically hold elections where groups with differing political views have the opportunity to expressed their ideas. therefore, the elections should be free, fair, and competitive. But Hanna Pitkin however criticised these representative bodies as "Pictorial representative sample of the nation." She found that modern liberal democracies focussed more on composition of these legislative bodies than on its activities. Thus, they failed to represent range of ideas, range of interests and range of significant socially different groups as they concentrate more on who is present than what he is doing? (Phillips,1998 p.3). Many democracies use federalism in order to prevent abuse and increase public input by dividing governing powers between the municipal, provincial and national governments (Ryan, 2017). The scope of political

participation is certainly there in liberal democracies where free, fair and competitive election are held at various levels.

Although they are not part of the system of the government as such, the presence of a middle class, and a broad and flourishing civil society are often seen as pre-conditions for the liberal democracy. Liberals usually assume and stand strong on the belief that government is necessary to protect the individuals from being harmed by others, recognize that government itself can pose a threat to liberty. Laws, judiciary and police are needed to secure the individual's life and liberty, but their coercive power may also be turned against him.

#### **1.4.2 Rational Choice theory**

This theory has great influence over the psyche of the people in the political arena in theory and a good impact over the practical politics. This theory owed its origin to economics where it believed that individual was rational enough to minimise the cost and maximise the benefits as a consumer. later on, the different social scientist used it in various disciplines such as sociology, political science and anthropology (Ogu, 2013). In the arena of political science this theory rejected the deliberative theory of democracy and its idea that interests of the people could be refined and protected by the deliberations of policy makers (Fedderson, 2004). It presented the psychological approach and made the human nature the foundation of all political functions. It helped in making clear that how and why people participated in politics actively or non-actively. As for Mill citizens are neither simply 'voter' nor only 'consumers' (Petracca, 1991). This theory makes room for the active participation of the people. The way enlightening them is to lift them from being mere voters. They should be aware of their rights and be motivated to take active part in decision making. Economists might treat them as consumers but political pundits must enthuse confidence in them to believe that there will matters.

Rational choice theory believes that man is rational enough to take care of his interests individually, in fact the individual interest by and large represents the interest of the groups and community. People should be given civil liberties so that they could know their common interests in society (Oppenheimer, 2008). The common interest leads to great influence over the law formulation bodies and they enact laws according

to the representation of the group's interest. The laws which are based on the choicest interests of people are having great usage than the laws of government (Petracca, 1991). The level of the electorate should be uplifted and they should be given broader vision to look beyond their personal interest and to participate actively for the interest of the groups.

Rational choice theory also found out reasons why people became indifferent to politics and showed apathy. According to this theory if individuals were apathetic or non-participant in politics, it did not indicate their unwillingness but instead it represented their dissatisfaction with the current policies of the system. So we could say that rational choice theory is supreme and foremost theory in the arena of politics which gave deep insight about the psychology of human actors in politics. Robert Abrams very aptly stated that the coming years of political analysis would depend upon the future of the Rational choice theory and it would rise as predominant theory for the millennium to come (Abrams, 1980). If the apathy of the people could be changed into keen interest, then this theory would be instrumental in forging the active participation of the masses.

### **1.4.3 Participatory theory**

The economic recession and job dissatisfaction in U.S.A led to the citizens alienation to politics (Macpherson, 1979. P.93) The low voter turnout, lack of faith in the political leaders, declining membership of the political parties and no zeal of the political participation in early 60s compelled the journalists, political scientists to focus on the shortcomings of the representative democracy. In the period from 1960 to 70 the Think tank in the political arena started integrating the qualities of direct democracy and representative democracy to overcome the shortcomings of the representative theory. Benjamin Barber too called representative democracy "A thin democracy" and stated that representation destroys participation and citizenship and there was urgent need to alter the system. (Parvin, 2020) So, the participatory theory came into being as a result of the failure of representative democracy to involve people's participation. Participatory theory owes its origin to Arnold Kaufman call for 'participatory politics.' Kaufman was highly influenced by John Dewey, C. Wright Mill and Paul Goodman writings (Kaufman, 1960). And he stated that with the help of citizen's political



participation in decision making process, human power of thinking, feeling and action can be improved.

The participatory theory presented progressive and peculiar conception of the citizen participation. This approach believed that wide spread citizen's participation in politics alone could make the democracy successful and system reliable and stable. Macpherson envisaged 'Pyramid of Participation' where authorities high in positions are less in numbers but won't be less controlled by the citizens at the bottom who are high in numbers. The top is narrow in numbers but accountable to the wide broad base of citizens who can recall them anytime (Macpherson, 1979. P. 93). Social and economic status (SES) determines the level of political participation. The less access to the social and economic resources proceed to civic decline, the elite governance and estrangement of the citizens which is bound to bring political participation down. so, the society should be participatory in civic and economic area to boost the participation (Pravin, 2020). The theory stands upon two principles First to treat' Government as care taker', whose prime duty is to protect and care the life, liberties of the people and take care of the distribution of resources. The second is "Government as citizenship" a platform where active and alert citizens perform function to govern themselves (Torma, 1989).

This theory has beautifully combined the political and economic aspect. There is no denying the fact that social and economic status determines the level of political participation. Those who leave less access to the economic resources automatically proceed to civic decline. The pertinent question here is what is the standing of the migrants in the economic arena and naturally in the political arena.

#### **1.4.4 Marxist theory**

The Marxist theory of democracy was given concrete shape by Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao-Tse-Tung in China. Marx believed that though political rights and political liberties do exist in capitalism but they are fake as these are tools in the hands of capitalistic class (Arora & Grover, 2001, p.219) Bourgeoisie democracy is a form of dictatorship in reality. Democracy would be in socialism or it would not be at all (Tabak, 2007, p.88). Political power according to Marx is nothing but organized

power in the hands of capitalistic class with the help of which they exploit the labour class (Mandel, 1982, p.27)

For Marx the political state and civic society were two different entities. Marxian theory presented a unique blend of Participation, Representation and legislation in his socialistic democracy. Marxist theory believed that participation is required in civic society whereas the representatives in the form of the deputies were needed in the political state. The legislative power in the true democracy would be in the hands of the deputies who would be delegates of the working class only. In Marxian model of democracy delegates would be no more than the hired 'agents' or the managers whose chief task was to fulfil the needs and wishes of working class. If they failed to do so, the voters had all rights to revoke them. Marx believed that in the capitalistic democracy representatives misrepresent the people in the parliament as the elections are held after three or six years but in the socialistic democracy suffrage would be a means to serve the people and send the qualified persons at the right place (Tabak, 2007, p.98). Thus, Marxian model is very close to Rousseau's self-government.

In Marxian arrangement of participation there would be three levels of democratic institutions and the members of each level would participate in electing the further higher level of the unit. At the bottom level of the commune system citizens would elect the 'rural communes' which would take part in the elections of the 'district assemblies' established in the central towns. The national assembly would be at the top-level institution of the delegates constituted by the district assemblies. Each unit is to administer in the affairs of his own area and only national level body was to check on inter related affairs. (Tabak, 2007, p.101) Thus in Marxian theory participation is connected with the commune system of socialism.

Marxian model connected freedom and rights with the economic system. It supported state control over the means of economy and connected liberty with the economic liberty and participation with the meaningful representation. Thus, this model integrated direct democracy with the representative system in a peculiar way that minimised the disadvantages of both.

## 1.5 Variables of political participation

Political participation is very significant indicator of the political development of the system. But it varies from society to society and from one political system to another. Political participation also varies from time to time also. Sometimes people are proactive in political activities some time they are apathetic or in different. The political scientists have found that such change of participation is because the political participation depends upon the different variables and factors. Milbrath had found that the degree of participation differed because of four factors (a) the political motivation received by an individual. (b) individual personal values. (c) individual's social environment and the political setting of the system and categorized' these variables into three types (Milbrath & Goel, 1977).

**Figure 4: Variables of political participation**

Psychological variable	Social/Economic variables	Political variables
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• political behaviour</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Education</li><li>• age</li><li>• gender</li><li>• Rural /urban divide</li><li>• Income</li><li>• Role of mass media</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Nature of party system</li><li>• Efficiency of the Government</li><li>• Legal framework</li></ul>

### 1.5.1 Psychological variable

Political psychology has been gaining its ground in the recent years widely. Political psychology is the application of psychological lens on the political issues. It has great implication on the study of the political elites and political public behavior (Rosema & Bakker, 2017).

It is interesting to note that the psychological factors determine the political participation to a great extent. The quest for power, loneliness, leisure, group involvement and mental set up of common individuals living in a particular society do exert impact on the political roles of the individuals. Man by nature is power seekers or power hungry. He wants to influence the behavior of others in such a way that others follow him. Lasswell had aptly commented that politics is the study of influence and influential. (Kirbis & Krajinc, 2013) Many times persons wearing political positions

claim that they are there to serve the people but these sugar-coated words are merely to impress or to protect the ideology but the harsh and bitter reality is that wearing the grab of humility, power is the central force to keep them in politics. Morgenthau in “Politics Among Nations” had concluded that politics is nothing but struggle for power. what may be apparent goal of politics but ultimate an end goal remained the capture of power (Zhang, 2017). Democratic system opens wide range of opportunities to acquire power so the quest to have power and to maintain it derives individuals to participate in politics.

The increasing modernization has made the life solitary and lonely. One may have plenty of friends on social media but very few in the actual life. The loneliness of man could be defeated by entering politics. When a person enters Politics, he forges association with others. A person who is active in politics, will have so many assignments to perform for which he will be surrounded by large number of people all the times. It is an interesting observation that the fear of isolation also leads to political participation (Lane, 1961, p. 357). Another psychological aspect is the presence of intra psychic tensions. Sometimes the thought process of an individual does not suit the outer environment which creates intra psychic tensions. The external forces and the mind setup further increase the gaps which leads the individual to face many psychological problems (Austin & Pinkleton, 2009). These tensions are subdued and eased when people get themselves involved in the political activities at various platforms. so people participate to be mentally healthy.

The above given observations have added a novel psychological angle to political participation. It is a remedy to overcome isolationism. On the other hand, psychological reasons do impact the decision-making process of the political leaders. Rosma and Bakker in their article had presented the ‘big five factors trait model’ that influenced the personality of the political leaders in politics. These are neuroticism (emotional consistency), extraversion (spirit or vitality), agreeableness (sociability), openness to new experiences and conscientiousness. Rubenzer, Faschingbauer (2004) analysed the personalities of some famous American presidents based upon their biographies and found that the strong presidents like Lincoln and Jefferson scored high

in neuroticism and extraversion but very low in sociability. This indicates the personal traits of the political leaders influenced the policies of the state. On the other hand, Mikhail Gorbachev scored high in the openness to new experiences and conscientiousness which resulted in policies of Perestroika and Glasnost in previous USSR (Rosema & Bekker, 2017, p.322).

On the other hand, the political participation brings to the forefront the psychological strengths and weaknesses of the leaders as well.

### **1.5.2 Social variables**

Apart from the psychological variables there are number of social variables that shape the political participation. Mostly people having good education, high income groups, high religious and caste status, permanent resident ship, urban area living, middle aged groups and having political background and so on (Maccloskov, 1968, p. 253).

#### **Education**

Education is one of the most important factors in the way of political participation. In most of the studies it has been found that people with high education have larger chances of being politically active. The politics is a complex phenomenon and it is not easy to be understood by everyone. Education broadens one's thinking and area of interest. It enhances the reasoning and rational outlook. The significance of the educated people in the political galleries have been valued by Mill in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by promoting plural voting (Miller, 2015).

The countries having high literacy rate have different pattern of political participation. In U.S.A and in European countries education appears to be the most important variable in the political activities especially during voting. (Dowse & Hughes, 1997) But in India case is quite the opposite. The educated Indian are more interested in discussing politics with their groups, but when it comes to attending meetings and playing active role, they lag behind than less educated. (Singh, K. 2020).

Thus, Political participation is a good measure to check the varied social variables.

## Gender

Though most democracies provide universal adult franchise and political rights are given equally now to male and females yet gender has its role in political participation. It is a fact that in so many modern democracies earlier women had to fight for their equal political rights. It is generally believed that women are conservative, having higher ethical values, more family oriented and detached from politics so they are misfit in political arena. The percentage of women participation in the most advanced countries is even lower in comparison than that of the male population. Despite making up 50% or more of the population, women still face discrimination and unfair treatment, just as minority groups. Women exhibit many of the same Minority-specific psychological traits, such as self-hatred, Denial of group affiliation, inferiority complexes, and the emergence of a distinct subculture inside the mainstream culture (Dahlerup,1988). The biological differences and man-made differences created by the institutional framework in the various societies led to low participation of women in the power sharing. Radical feminist Kate Miller in her famous work “Sexual politics” highlighted the how the society practiced “interior colonization’ and made the women feel that she is fit for domestic tasks (Poirot, 2014). Patriarchy was first challenged by J.S. Mill who supported equal political rights (Smith, 2001). But still only Scandavian countries have nearly equal participation and representation of women in legislative organ of the Government. In Asian and in African countries this is very low. Even in India Only 14% women are in the parliament and in Pakistan this percentage is 20%, Afghanistan 27% and in Brazil 15%., same is the case with higher positions\*. Some other countries of the world also tried to follow the Scandavian model by applying quota system but they were not as successful as these countries, as there needs to change the electoral system along with quota to increase the political representation of women in representative bodies. Dahlerup supported proportional representation system more suitable for quota system than majority system to make it more effective (**Dahlerup & Friendenvall, 2005**). Supporting Dahlerup **Neeraja Jayal** argued this in the case of India that though seats are reserved for the women in the local level electoral bodies

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\* Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments ...<https://data.worldbank.org/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>.

but it has supported the politics of presence not the politics of participation. She quoted that many duly elected chairpersons of village panchayats (rural level electoral bodies) of different states were voted no confidence to keep them out of power along with other procedural distortions like cancellation of meetings without informing them and quorum related tricks (Jayal,2005).

### **Age**

Studies have shown that aging has its impact on the political participation. It is generally observed that young people participate less in politics as they have different priorities. They are busy in job hunting, promotions, settling down their marital life and so on. But as the age grows people start taking more interest in the political life so the middle-aged people have been observed to be more active in politics. A study in America was done by the American Institute of Public Opinion (AIPO) after giving an interval of 8 years and it has been found that there was 10% increase in the participation. Earlier when the respondents were in the age group of 26 to 35, 67% were participating actively in politics but after 8 years gap when they were in the age group of 36 to 46 there was 79% active in politics. again, when the same respondents were contacted after 4 years, there was declining signs. (Crittenden, 1963) Even in India there is gap between the eligible voters and registered voters. Moreover, in political bodies the maximum number of people are above the age of 36 years. In the present Lok Sabha two third members are between the age group of 36 to 45. There is a difference in the activities of the political participation on the basis of the age as well. The Studies have shown that young people opt for nonconventional activities such as protest demonstration whereas the middle-aged people are more inclined to conventional practices like petition, voting and discussion over the political issues (Guerin et al., 2004). The nature of participation of the younger is more aggressive and by middle age it changes into traditional practices.

### **Rural/urban divide**

It is generally observed that political participation also depends upon the rural urban divide in the political system. The Urban dwellers are having more reach to the advanced means of communication, more exposed to public platforms for discussion and more opportunities to have membership of the various voluntary organizations than

the rural dwellers. Studies in America, Finland, Britain, Norway, Denmark and Sweden have established that people of cities are more inclined to the political activities than the rural people. But in some states the case is reverse. In Japan and in India rural people are higher in scale than the urban people (Goel, 1980, p.212).

There must be balance in the rural and urban participation. In India the rural persons may be less knowledgeable but are more aware, whereas the urban persons, despite being educated are apathetic and not actively involved. Their creative participation could be very beneficial.

### **Social status/caste/religion/race**

Social positions, caste and religion have key roles in the political participation. But the effect of these elements differs from society to society. The persons holding high social status have higher participation in decision making process than the person of low caste, religion and social status in society. Race is a dominant factor in USA politics. The studies have found that the Whites are more active in American politics than the blacks. The political realm remains mostly in the hands of one race only and negroes have little role in the power sharing (Dowse & Hughes, 1972, p.297).

Further religion too is a dominant factor in some states. Though modern democracies are secular democracies yet the religious values have always legitimized the policies and decisions taken by political leaders (Radu, 2014, p.5). in the study conducted in Poland and Romania found church as a dominant factor and the effect of the religious values in both the countries. In Poland religious people are less inclined to the nonconventional activities of the political participation whereas in Romania religious people are open to both the types of activities of political participation (Radu, 2014, p.7).

Caste is significant factor in Indian politics. Many studies have found the role of caste in the selection of the candidates at the local level election at the state level election and in the central level body election (Naqvi, 1989, p.22). Menon (2015) focused how caste, patriarchy, race, class has suppressed the natural identity of women in India. Traditional patriarchies and caste hierarchies are challenged by capitalist globalization but it is too difficult to shut their doors. It is also notable that some Dalit



feminists are opposed to the quotas established for other underprivileged groups within the number of seats to be designated for women in Parliament. The increasing hostilities between Dalit communities and non-Brahmin/Shudra/OBC groups are reflected in this.

### **Income**

Income decides the nature of the political participation. It is generally observed that people having high income are having less economic worries, more leisure and more contact to engage themselves in politics. The leadership roles in most of the developed countries are concentrated in the hands of high-income groups whereas the lower income groups participate in what Milbrath had called spectator activities. But in the underdeveloped and the developing countries leadership may go in the hands of the lower income group\* (Concise Encyclopedia of democracy, p.117). In fact, there is no proportionate connection between income and political participation. Studies in America found no impact of rise in income over political participation (Jungkunz & Marx. 2021). In Indian politics studies found electoral participation same in all the income groups. Personal economic growth if leads to higher education, it may lead to decreased interest in politics. (Goel, 1980 p.213)

### **Role of Mass media**

Recently it has been noticed that apart from the other socio-economic determinants media which is called, 'The fourth estate of government' has great role in the political life of state and individual (Basely et al., 2002). It exerts impact quantitatively and qualitatively. Media helps in creating, molding and shaping the political culture. Media has the capacity to influence people's attitude and behavior for the government's action. It includes television, cinema, newspaper, magazines and internet-based websites, blogs etc. Media is important bridge between the people and government but the entire role depends upon the relationship between the political agencies and the media. In the countries, having freedom of press media enables the citizens to exercise their voting right indicating by passing true information and in return making the accountability of the government a reality (Oswald, 2009).

### 1.5.3 Political variables

The major impact on the political participation apart from socio-economic determinants is the impact of the political factors. Nature of the political system, nature of party system, legal framework and political culture directs the nature of participation. In the democratic system citizens are provided freedom of thought, speech and expression which creates an institutional framework to integrate them into politics. Further this type of framework creates atmosphere of trust and it makes participation more encouraging and less risky. (Newton & Geibler, 2008, p.21)

**Nature of party system** also has significant role in participation. Political parties are the important agents of the political socialization. They provide the individuals political platform to play their role by opening their membership. The Political parties are the source of the political education for the masses. The electoral behavior of voters is structured by them most of the times. The movements launched by the political parties may attract a person who is absolutely apathetic to politics and can make one pro-active in politics. Involvement in the political arena and apathy are dependent to a great extent on the policies, programs and performances of the political parties. Most of the studies have found a relation between the election manifestoes of political party before the election and the government policies after the election (Nor et al.,2011).

**Efficiency of the government** in running the administration is also related to the political participation. The Research found that the more efficient is the government in meeting with the challenges, the more would the people trust politics and participation.

Apart from this **number of candidates contesting** the election in a constituency also affect & political participation. A Large number of candidates in a constituency makes the competition less interesting whereas it is tough when there is a bi-member constituency means where only two candidates are in the battlefield of ballots.

**The Legal framework** of the political system is one of the most important determinants of the political participation. If the constitution is based upon the theory of the liberal democracy; universal adult franchise, it catches more people in politics

than vice versa. If the constitution permits direct participation in the policy making, as is in the case of some cantons of Switzerland that involves the masses directly and makes them accountable but such practices require certain conditions which are difficult to find, so only Switzerland is practicing this way of political participation. (Luchhi, 2017)

Now it is clear that, Political participation and representation are of vital important for the survival of democracy. It provides chance to the citizens to express their opinions and to mobilize the political arrangements. Political participation guarantees that democracy and democratic institutions are true symbol of the will of the citizens. But in recent years it has become a great challenge for the new as well as to the old democracies to make democracy inclusive for all segment of society and to provide equal opportunities to all for political participation and representation irrespective of religion, region, race, colour, ethnicity, or any other ground (Cordenillo, 2017) There are gender base and group base unequal political participation and representation. Some groups still are either unrepresented or underrepresented and are having less opportunities and less interest of political participation. Migrants are one of those marginalised groups who do not get their due place in the decision-making bodies at the place of birth and at the place of work. They are excluded in the important democratic practices as political participation required certain stability but migration takes away their stability and permanence of place of residence (Ajeevika bureau report. 2012, p.4).

To understand the exclusion or inclusion of migrants politically in the leaving or host state in India, it is imperative to know the details about the concept of migration.

## **1.6 Migration**

The Human mobility is one of the important and integral phenomena responsible for development of individual and society. Human mobility is the ability to decide where to live. It is the capability of the individuals to choose better place for themselves to live. Human mobility can lead to better earning, better quality of life, increased opportunities for education, improved health a, better feel of self-respect and so on. (Haas & Rodríguez, 2010) With the increase in advanced means of communication, this phenomenon has increased manifold. Various social, economic,

political, psychological, and religious factors determine human mobility. Human mobility is called by several names like displacement, Migration, diaspora, and Exodus etc. Migration is one of the important forms of human mobility.

Migration is best understood as a strategy used by people, households, or communities to improve their standard of living. Contrary to popular belief, this tactic is significantly more prevalent today than it has ever been (Haan, 2000). When a person shifts his/her place of residence and starts earning livelihood across other political and administrative boundaries; this is known as migration and the person as migrant (Kumar & Sidhu, 2005; Kaur, 2003). (Sundari, 2005) has defined migration as a movement which is not of general nature, it is different from tour or visit. It is a movement of persons from one location to another for the sake of better prospects of future. However, there is not a universally accepted definition of the term migrant. According to UN Migration report, “Any person who is residing in a country which is not his/her place of origin is a migrant. (World Migration Report, 2020, p.312) The IOM defines a person as migrant “who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons” (IOM, 2019, p.132). The term migrant worker refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which (IPU, 2015) he or she is not a resident. In almost all the definitions migration is defined in terms of geographical shifting but Rubin has defined migration on social basis. According to him migration is the physical movement of an individual or a group from one civilization to another. This shift usually entails leaving one social context and entering a new one (Rubin, 1956).

Migration has great impact on the economic, social, cultural and psychological life of people, both at the place of migration from (leaving) as well as of destination (Kaur, 2003). In the era of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation the study of migration has become one of the most dynamic aspects of human beings (Sethi et al. 2010). After birth and death rate this is the most important phenomenon that changes the size and structure of society. The demography of an area is largely influenced by the inflow and outflow of the migration. The population count of a place is done after making mathematical equation between fertility, mortality and migration.

$$P_t - P_o = B - D + M^i - M^o$$

$P_t$  = population count at a later time  $t$

$P_o$  = population count at an earlier time  $o$

$B$  = number of births between time  $t$  and  $o$

$D$  = number of deaths between time  $t$  and  $o$

$I$  = number of immigrants between time  $t$  and  $o$

$O$  = number of emigrants between time  $t$  and  $o$

So, the above equation (Hamilton,1965) makes it clear that population growth depends upon the birth and in migration of the place and the decline depends upon the death rates and out migration of the given area. Thus, the study of migration is of vital importance for making economic, social and political policies.

From the above definitions it can be said that migration is a movement to change the residence temporarily or permanently for an appreciable duration and for an appreciable distance.

### **1.7 Forms of migration**

Migration is basically divided into various types based upon reasons, spaces, distances, activities and purposes. Kant divided has migration into two categories

1 Inter-continental and Intra continental

2 Internal migration or external migration

Kant division of migration is on the basis of distance. Internal migration in his division is shift of place within the territorial boundaries of the state and external migration is crossing the boundaries of the state. Goldstein and Goldstein, (1999) had classified migration on the basis of duration of migration. In their division, migration is short term, repeat and return migration (Kumar, 2016, p.61). These are the generalised forms of migration. Premi categorised it on the basis of distance and equates the distance with time. In his classification he called inter district as short distance migration and intra district as medium distance migration and intra state as long-distance migration (Premi,1980). Zachariah had also classified migration on the basis

of distance. On the basis of scale of distance, he had classified migration as International and internal migration, further he had sub-divided internal migration as Intra district, Interstate and Inter zonal migration. (Zachariah, 1964) Further migration according to this study can be classified into primary migration, secondary migration and return migration. Moreover, a primary migration occurs when the community of birth is the same as the community of origin. A secondary migration occurs when the community of origin and destination differs from the community of birth, and return migration occurs when the birthplace community is the final destination. Clarke had divided migration on the basis of its motivational factors as economic migration and social migration (Clarke,1979).

#### Migration of skilled labour

When the intellectuals like doctors, engineers, professors, scientists and researchers migrate from their place of work that is called brain drain. It started in the sixties when many intelligent people from Asian African countries migrated to the western industrial states or rich oil producing economies for greener pastures, social freedom and political stability. This is known as migration of the skilled labour. The skilled labour migration has negative impact on the out-going economies as it drains their intellectual property to the other states. it reduces the revenues also.

#### Migration of unskilled labour or general migration

Except the migration of intelligentsia other migrations come under the umbrella of unskilled migration. On the basis of the above contribution of economists and sociologists' migration can be primarily classified into two types: -

##### **External migration**

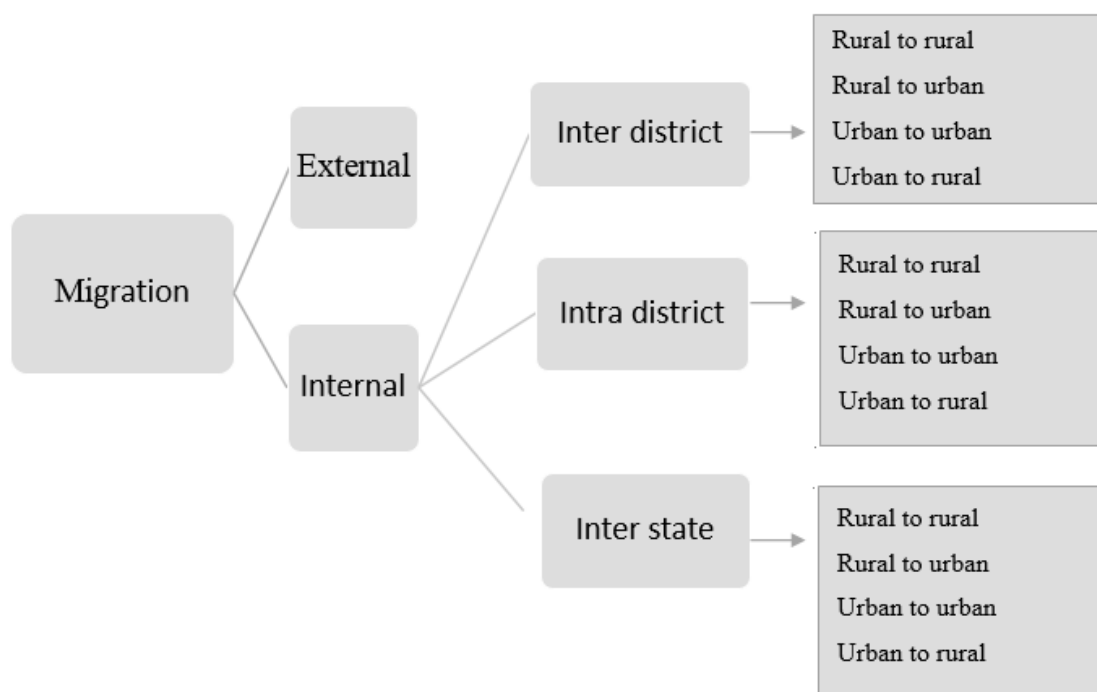
When a person leaves his place of birth or residence and starts earning his livelihood and living at another place crossing the territorial boundary of the state that is named as external migration.

##### **Internal migration**

When a person leaves his place of birth or residence and starts earning his livelihood and living at another place across the other administrative boundary but

within the territorial boundary of the country that is named as internal migration on the basis of the distance internal migration on division is as follows. Internal migration further can be classified into three categories as follows: -

**Figure 5: Types of migration**



**Inter district migration**

When the place of enumeration is different from the place of origin of the person or group at the time of census but the movement is within the same district. This is known as inter district migration.

**Intra district migration**

When the place of enumeration is different from the place of origin of the person or group at the time of census but the movement is outside the district but within the same state. This is known as intra district migration.

**Interstate migration**

When the place of the enumeration is different from the place of origin of the person or group at the time of census but the movement is outside the state to another state. This is known as interstate migration.

### 1.7.1 Classification of migrants

Migrants can be classified on the basis of birth and place of residence and duration during the enumeration.

On the basis of the duration, migrants can be classified as

**Permanent migrants.** Those migrants who left their place of birth and settled at a new place forever. Generally, they disposed off their immovable property and belongings and settle at a new place for their future life.

**semi-permanent migrant** and circular or seasonal migrants. Those migrants who left their place for the sake of some specific purpose mostly economic. They stay at the place of work for short period of time in a year and return back at their native place every year. Employment in agriculture is seasonal and short term and people return when the season of a particular crop is over.

On the basis of distance there are (Premi,1980) three types of migrants: -

**Short distance migrants.** These includes those persons whose place of enumeration is within the district. They are also called Inter district migrants.

**Medium distance migrants.** These includes those persons whose place of enumeration is within State but outside the district or in some other district. They are also called Inter district migrants.

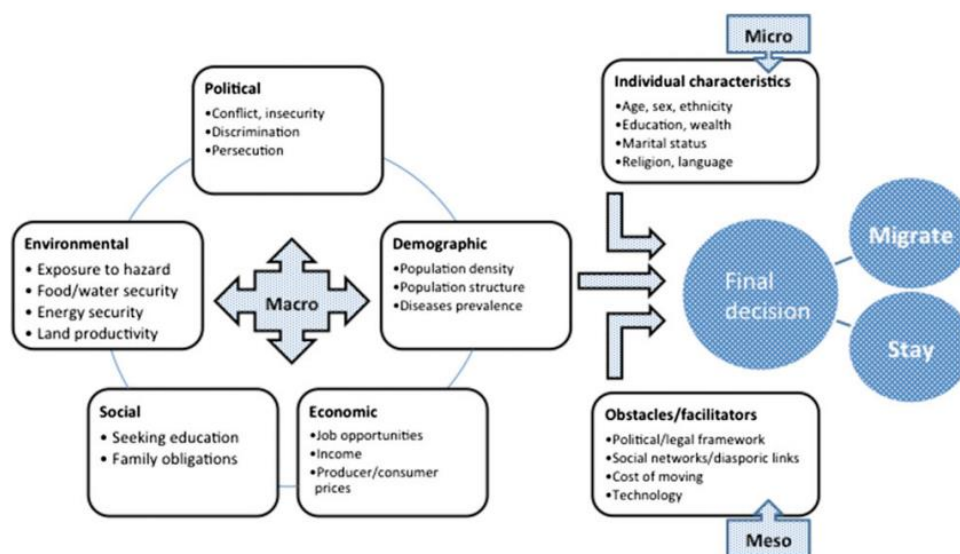
**Long distance migrants.** These includes those persons whose place of enumeration is not within State but outside the state. They are also called Inter-state migrants.

### 1.8 Determinants of migration

Migration is one of the most universal and old phenomena. People relocate themselves either for the sake of better living conditions for themselves or for their loved ones, or they escape from the socio-cultural conditions of their homeland. (Castelli, 2018) further Lee (Lee,1966) in his theory had summarised the causes and motivations of migration into two broad headings “Push’ and ‘Pull” factors. The main causes of the migration can be grouped into the following headings; economic, social, political natural and cultural.



**Figure 6: Determinants of migration**



Source: Foresight, Migration and Global environment change, project report, 2011.

### 1.8.1 Economic determinants

Migration is fundamentally rooted in the economic issues. Economic problems or matters are chiefly responsible for which people migrate. The foremost cause of migration is related with money, wealth and material resources, Poverty, Lack of economic opportunities, low wages, insecurities of continuous employment and food security and dependency on agriculture (Guha, 2016; Bird & Deshingkar, 2009, p.2) which further depends upon monsoon and frequent drought occurrence. These are the economic factors which compel people to leave their place and on the other side demand for human capital at the other place is also equally important factor that cause migration.

### 1.8.2 Social determinants

Social factors also cause migration. Encouragement from family and relatives, better health facilities, better educational opportunities (Sharma, 2017) motivate people to migrate to the urban areas. There is direct relationship between education and migration as skill based markets demands particular (skilled) type of labour and that encouraged brain drain and in return migrant remittance at home facilitates their children to avail better educational opportunities (Rao, 2010). Moreover, caste-kinship bonds and urban life style also cause rural population to locate different places (Mitra

and Murayama, 2009). The most significant reason for female migration is marriage. (Premi, 1979) According to the census, 2001, more than 58% female migration is caused by marriage in India (Mahapatro, 2010, p.8).

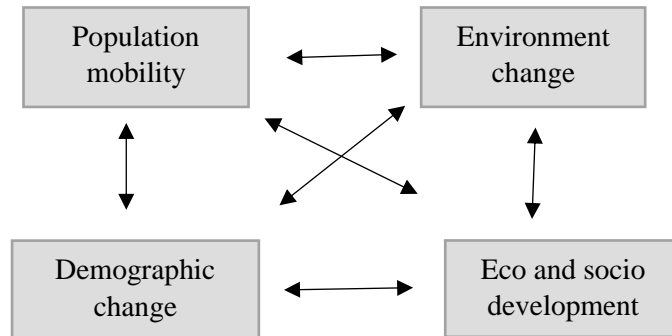
### **1.8.3 Political determinants**

Political administration is the key to the welfare of the citizens. Political conditions have direct as well as indirect impact on the pace of migration. Legal system of the state, policies of the government, nature of the party system, political instability, political corruption and quality of leadership are the political conditions that determine the pace of migration. Policies of the government accelerate or slow down the pace of emigration. Hirschman has highlighted the importance of exit (emigration) in his famous article "Exit, Voice and the State." He has pointed out that political managers sometimes promote out migration as the voice of possible revolutionaries may threaten their future political benefits. So, the emigration proves safety valve to those political organizations and political leaders. (Hirschman,1978) Political corruption has its direct and indirect impact on the decision to stay or leave the place. Political corruption may lead to the poorer quality of life and lower standards of living of the people which result into dissatisfaction of the people in the existing system and promote the migration. The use of public office for personal gain and corruption adversely affects the decision of potential migrants especially the skilled one. This type of emigration negatively affects the social spending, education and public health of the state of origin (Helms and Leblang, 2019).

### **Natural determinants**

Migration is also caused by natural causes. Frequent drought, floods and earthquake situations, shortage of water, food and agricultural resources are some of the natural reasons that force people to leave the place and choose the new ones. (Castelli, 2018) Hugo found a relationship between the climatic conditions and human mobility. He advocated that people move temporarily and permanently so that they can escape from the climate catastrophe. According to him most of the times, migration which is, due to the climate conditions are, temporary and within the country but it opens new corridors of development (Hugo,2011).

**Figure 7: Relationship between migration, climate change, demographic change and development.**



## 1.9 Theories of migration

Migration is explained through various lenses by economists, sociologists, geographers, thinkers and reformers. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, various thinkers penned down theories of migration on the basis of reasons, impacts, goals and location of migration. These theories are as follows.

### 1.9.1 Ravenstein theory (1865)

It is the oldest theory on migration. In 1865 on the basis of the data of internal migration in Britain and later on of some other countries, Ravenstein propounded certain principles which are known as ‘**Seven Laws of Migration**’ (Ravenstein,1889) (G rigg,1977) These principles are

#### Migration and Distance

Ravenstein found that there is reverse relationship between distance and migration. Majority of people like to migrate for short distance places. So, migration rate decreases with the increase in distance.

#### Migration by stages

Even if people migrate, they shift in stages. First, they shift in short distance place and then from there they shift to long distance places.

#### Stream and counter stream

Each migration current produces another migration current. People migrate from which area, in that area more people or labour force from less developed area to that came to fill the gap. So, balance is made and migration reach to the bottom area.

## Rural Urban differentiation in the context of migration

People living in the urban areas are less keen to migrate than the people living in rural areas. So, there is an inverse relation between rural area and migration.

## Impact of technology on migration

Ravenstein had found the impact of technology and advanced means of communication on migration. The advanced means of communication have helped in accelerating the pace of migration as these have narrowed the distances. So, the geographical areas having more advancement in technology are more prone to in-migration.

## Motives behind migration

No doubt, there are various social, economic, political, demographical and psychological reasons of migration but the economic motivation is the chief among all the reasons and motivations. Further most of the migration are from the rural to the urban because of the better employment opportunities and wage scales. Furthermore, economic gains surpass all other types of gains.

## Migration and Gender

Ravenstein had found that migration is gender related. The women migrate more than the men. (Corbett, 2003)

### **1.9.2 Stouffer's theory of Intervening opportunities**

Stouffer (1940) made a connection between the volume of migration and the availability of opportunities. Stouffer had found that the volume of migration did not depend on how far away is the destined place rather it depended upon how many opportunities were available at the destined place. He theorised that the proportion of migration was inversely related with the number of opportunities at the targeted place (Wadycki,1975). The faraway place could attract a greater number of people if it had the capacity to absorb more population. This law of intervening opportunities is also known as gravity model.

Here the urban areas which have various employment opportunities are the centre of attraction and the individuals are the subjects who get attracted towards these. The size and volume of attraction is inversely equal to the number of opportunities.

### **1.9.3 Zipf's inverse distance Law of migration**

Zipf gave his model of migration in 1949. His law is also known as gravity model as zipf made a relation between migration and distance and migration and the efforts. This model professed that people migrated more to short distance place than to long distance places as cost and efforts increased with the increase in (Coombs, 1980) distance. The size of people migrating in cities depended upon the distance between the cities. The increased distance would increase the cost of distance travelled and the efforts involved so distance and size of migration move inversely.

### **1.9.4 Human investment theory of Ssjaastad (1962)**

This theory had clarified that the decision to move is an investment decision. It is an analysis of costs and profits spread out over time from the location of departure and arrival, as well as the cost of transportation. This model had stated that a person should move if the present value of all monetary advantages from the migrating place exceeds the monetary costs of migration (Ssjaastad,1962). The cost and the benefit are the chief considerations according to this theory. The cost includes moving fees, opportunity costs of the missed earnings between employment, and non-monetary costs such as leaving one's own community and adjusting into a foreign setting. Because of having more life span at their hands, the educated youth have a higher mobility rate. In most of the cases, income disparities between the destinations are larger, and their magnitude is higher. And psychological costs of migration are likely to be lower for the young educated youth. When the same is compared with the elder individuals, they are less inclined to relocate since differential financial rewards from migration accumulate over a shorter remaining life span, and emotional costs may be higher.

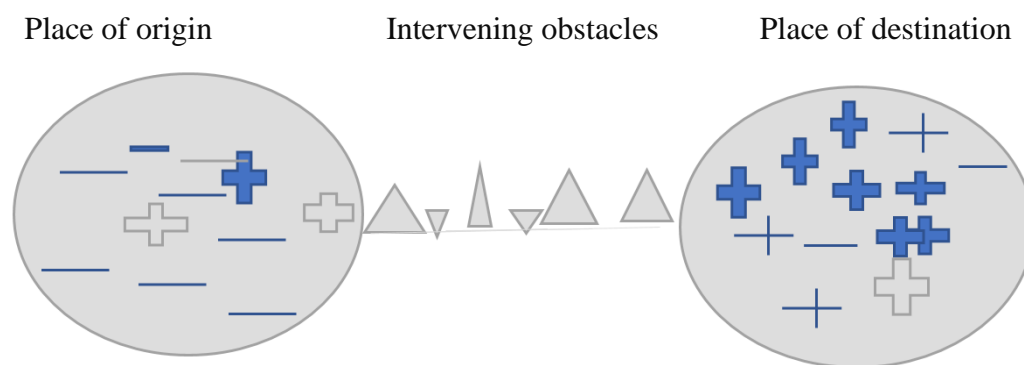
### **1.9.5 Lee theory of migration**

Lee gave his theory in 1966 which was popularly known as push and pull theory of migration. Lee based his model on three elements (a) place of origin (b) place of destination (c) intervening obstacles. Lee believed that the decision to migrate or not

depended upon “push” and “pull” factors. The influence of push and pull factors could be judged after analysing four factors.

- 1 Positive and negative factors of the place of origin  
Unemployment, lower wages, less educational and medical facilities are the main hazards which proved to be push factors for people to migrate.
- 2 Positive and negative factors of the place of destination  
On the other hand, the better employment opportunities, the higher wages, better quality of life are the main pull factors that attracts the people to travel far. (Lee, 1966)
- 3 In between the push and pull factors there are **intervening obstacles** like ocean, distance, migration laws of both the places also influence the decision to migrate.
- 4 personal traits and sensitivity, intelligence, knowledge about the other countries also exert their pressure on the decision to shift.

**Figure 8: Lee theory**



### 1.9.6 Todaro model

In view of the rising urban unemployment and underemployment, (Michael P Todaro, 1969) Todaro proposed a theory to explain the enormous movement of the rural populations to urban areas. The Todaro migration model focused on the fact that the rural-urban mobility is common and economic factors are the predominant factors. Though there is urban unemployment, people relocate in search of high-expected urban salaries. According to Todaro, migration occurred as a result of differences in expected rather than the actual salaries between the urban and the rural workers. According to

Todaro among the various labour markets for the job opportunities people select that location which is the closest to their expected gains after migration. The expected gains are the difference between the real income in the rural or urban job markets and the probability of getting the income after migration to the new location.

### **1.9.7 Consumption theory of migration**

(Wallace, 1997) This theory is as a contrast to the traditional theories of migration because the focus of the cause of migration is not income but the value maximization. Wallace in his theory pointed out that the benefits come not just from the ordinary items, but also from the material and the immaterial values. These things include closeness to the family, bonding with the neighbourhood, temperature of the geographical area and feeling of the safety and security and so many other things. The highly skilled migrants react differently than the low skilled migrants to certain features of the locality, such as the comfort and the enjoyment. Opera houses, theatres, and museums are only a few examples. (Liebeg, 2003)

After looking into the various theories of migration is clear that migration is basically motivated by the economic reasons but it has great social, economic and political impacts at both the places; at the place of origin and at the place of destination. (Kaur et al., 2011; Turry, 2016) It is commonly assumed that migration aids in the movement of villages to cities, but in reality, migration aids in the migration of villages to cities because migrants assist their families in enhancing the quality of living in their home country. (Bhaskaran, 2011)

### **1.10 Internal Migration in India**

The Migration of the people is rooted in history as old as human civilization. Migration is one of the important aspects of every economy. Indians experienced this phenomenon with the independence itself. Interstate migration of labour continued after independence because of so many reasons, but with the advent of liberalization and privatization, it has increased many folds. Nearly 14 crore people in India are internal migrants (Singh, 2019). According to Ravi Srivastava, as many as three out of every 10 Indians have moved away from their homes. (Srivastava, 2003). 1.21 billion i.e., 69% of population of India lives in the rural areas (Abbas & Verma, 2014) and in rural India there are not enough opportunities for economic activities. So, people move from the

rural to the urban areas for availability of jobs and higher wages. Haan too supported that economic opportunities constitute the key cause for internal labour migration as 50% of the urban male migrants migrated for employment related issues (Haan, 2011).

## 1.11 Types of migrants

Census in India classified migrant on two bases: -

### 1.11.1 Migrants on the basis of birth

Those people who at the time of census were working and earning at a place other than their birth place are called as migrants. In 2001, 307 million (30%) people were migrants on the basis of the place of birth whereas this figure was 27% in 1991. (Census of India, 1991, 2001)

### 1.11.2 Migrants on the basis of the last residence

Those people who are getting enumeration at a place which is different from their last place of residence are also called migrants. In 2001, the share of this migration was 34.7% and among these were the people who were in their new place for the last 2 to 20 years. (Census of India, 2001).

**Table 1: Volumes and percentage of migration in India**

Year	Population (in million)	Volume of migration (in million)	Migration in percentage to population
1961	439.2	144.8	33.0
1971	548.2	166.8	30.4
1981	683.8	203.5	30.6
1991	8388.6	230.0	27.4
2001	10286	307.1	29.9
2011	12108	450	36.7

Source: census of India, various years

Migration - Census of India <https://censusindia.gov.in> >

The Advanced means of communication, increasing modernization in the urban India and the better employment opportunities in the cities attract many people to leave their birth place or residence and find livelihood at the other places. This is the reason



that the number of internal migrants in India have been increasing rapidly. In 1983, migrants share on the basis of the last residence was 31.6%, it increased to 33% in 1991. In the census of 2001, the figure went to 35%. (Bhagat, 2011) and 2011 witnessed increase to 37% people who were internal migrants.

## **1.12 Categories of states on the basis of the migration in India**

On the basis of migration Indian states can be divided into three types.

### **1.12.1 In migration states**

These are the states which receive the migrants. Maharashtra, Gujrat, Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Haryana, and Punjab. Maharashtra and Delhi receive major chunk of internal migration. Das & Saha in their study revealed that Maharashtra has received 19% and Delhi has accommodated 13% of the total internal migrants up to 2013. (Das and Saha,2013)

### **1.12.2 Out migration states**

These are the states from where migrants moved to other places. Bihar Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram have witnessed maximum number of people leaving their place of residence since independence. (Abbas and Verma, 2014; Dandekar & Ghai, 2020)

### **1.12.3. In and Out migration states**

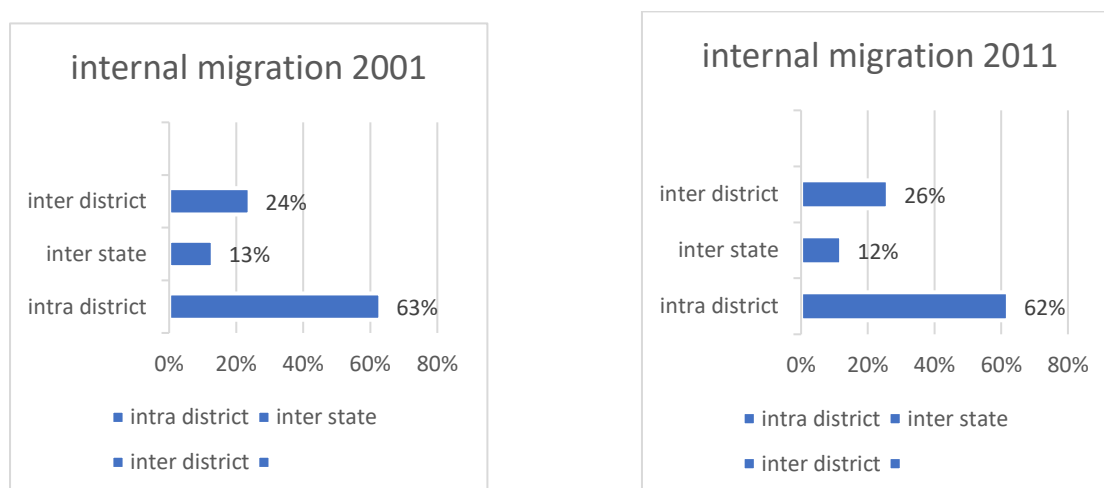
These are the states which receive internal migrants but the native people of these states have tendency to go to other countries. Thus, in and out migration both find place simultaneously in these states. Kerela Gujrat and Punjab are the examples of this type of migration (Das & Saha,2013). Haan called this pattern of migration in these states as ‘chain of migration’ (Haan, 2011).

## **1.13 Why do people migrate**

450 million people in India are the internal migrants and they constitute 92% of the workforce in India (Mishra, 2019). Marriage is the chief reason for female migration in India. 61.9% female migration is due to the marriage. Whereas for work and better economic opportunities at other places is the chief reason for the male migration.

Moreover 56 % migration among the males is due to this factor. Education is another important determinant of migration; only 3% internal migration is due to better educational facilities at other places. (Abbas and Verma, 2014) Among the three types of internal migration Interstate migration constitute just 12 % and this movement saw a decline from the last census of 2001 when it was 13% of the total migration. Whereas the inter district migration topped in India.

**Figure 9 : Fig: internal migration in 2001 and 2011**



Source: De, (2019)

### 1.14 Status of internal migration in Punjab

Punjab is one of the small but prosperous state of India. The population of Punjab is just 2.5% of the total Indian population but their per capita income is double than the national income<sup>1</sup>. Green revolution and then white revolution attracted many people from the less developed states to grab the employment opportunities in Punjab. This led to the rise of migrant population in the state. In 1981 the inflow of migrants from the other states was 8.87 lakhs which became 11.20 lakhs in 1991 and in 2001 the figure went to 17.49 Lakhs (Singh & Singh, 2016). This inflow has changed the entire demography of the state.

<sup>1</sup> [Punjab Population 2020/2021 - World Population](https://www.populationu.com/Punjab-population)  
<https://www.populationu.com/Punjab-population>

### 1.15 Profile of Punjab

Punjab is one of the small states of India. It has 1.5% of the total land of India and 2.4 % of the total population of India (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.1). It is one of the most important states of India also as this state has won National Productivity Award for agricultural extension services from 1991-1992 to 1998-1999 and from 2001 to 2004 (Kaler, 2016). Situated in the northern part of India, Punjab was known as the “sword arm” and lately as the “bread basket” of India. The state has common boundary with Jammu and Kashmir on the northern side, Pakistan in the western side, Himachal and Uttarakhand in the eastern side and Haryana and Rajasthan in the southern side.<sup>iii</sup> The name of the state came from Persian word Punj + ab which means territory of five rivers. Punjab was the homeland of five rivers namely Sutlej, Jhelum, Ravi, Beas and Chenab but it lost two of its rivers Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan in 1947. Now it is the motherland of three rivers Ravi, Beas and Satluj but still it has retained its previous name and these rivers are contributing in the development of Punjab. (Niti Ayog, 2019 p.3)

Punjab has a unique historical background. The state had to bear the attacks and many invasions from the advancing armies from the north side in the earlier times (Singh, 2017) and consequently witnessed many alterations in its territorial boundary. The Punjab before the British annexation was the Kingdom of Lahore under Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. The British empire took control of Punjab in 1849 and extended the boundary of Punjab by merging Delhi and parts of Northwest Province (Now Uttar Pradesh) in Punjab in 1858. Again in 1901 and 1912, the boundary of Punjab was changed by excluding the border areas across the Indus and Delhi from it (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.3). The Britishers expanded its boundary by including many areas between Yamuna and Indus rivers but they excluded many princely areas (Kumar, 2005).

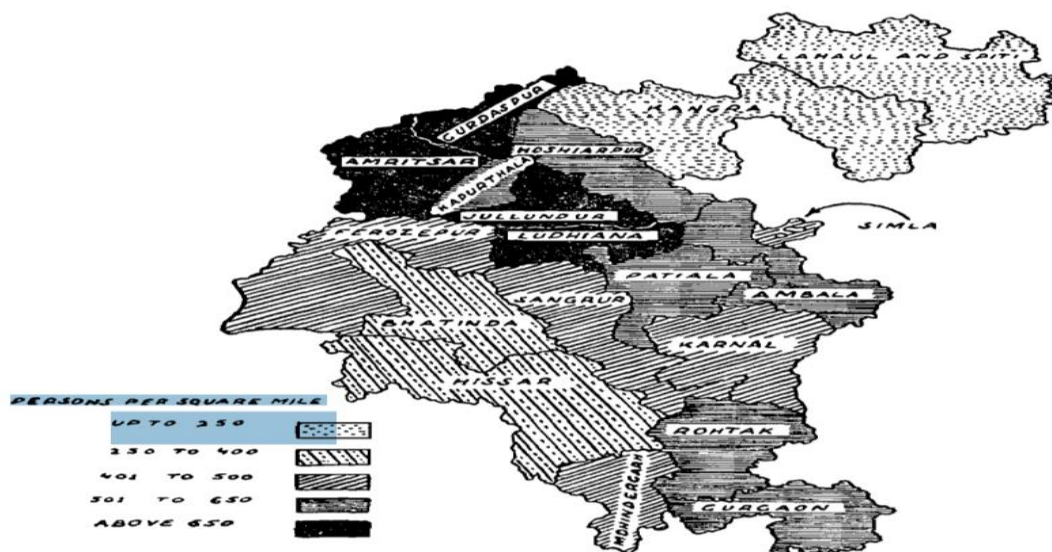
The Punjab is now barely one-seventh of what it was prior to Independence. (Census of India, Punjab, 2011. p.13) <sup>2</sup> The partition of 1947, partitioned the Punjab

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<sup>2</sup> Census of India, Punjab, Part XII B, Series 4, District Census handbook Ludhiana.

also. The western half of the country was given to Pakistan, that was the first event that reduced its size. The western part of Punjab which was more green and more bloomy went to Pakistan and the Eastern Punjab which was small and short of richness in productivity wise, became part of India. Punjab lost its 29 districts and 3,59,179 square kilometer area and the new Punjab of India has only 1,52,645 square kilometer area and 13 districts (Niti Ayog, 2019, p.3). After independence in 1948 Himachal Pradesh was created as a separate state from it. And again, in 1952, PEPSU was designed by Nehru government by merging Patiala, some princely states and Himachal Pradesh. In 1956 PEPSU and Punjab were integrated (Kaler, 2016: Singh, 2012, p.76)

**Figure 10: Map of Punjab before 1966**



Source: Census of India, 1961, p.11

The State again saw the Trifurcation on the linguistic basis in 1966 when Punjab Reorganization Bill, 1966 was passed. The Hindi speaking areas of the southern part were carved into a new state called Haryana by giving 35.80% of the land and 37% of the population. Some Hindi speaking hilly areas of the northern part were allocated to into Himachal Pradesh by giving 23% of the land and 7% of the territory, the rest of the Punjabi speaking areas were retained as Punjab. (Kumar, 2005).

Punjab is a borderline state as it shares 553 km international border with Pakistan. Three districts of Punjab Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur have their

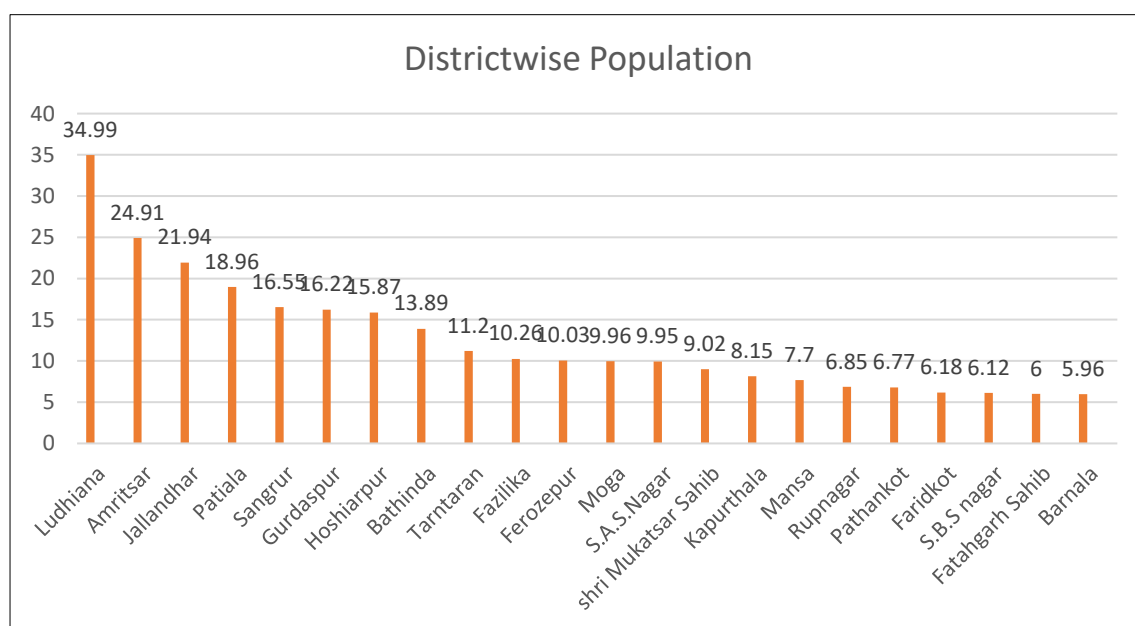
territorial boundary with Pakistan and this border area is quite a hot area of India (Jodhka, 2003, p. 4) climate wise and metaphorically because of the constant tension with Pakistan.

### 1.16 Political and Administrative set up

Punjab has been divided into 22 districts. Ludhiana is the most populated district of Punjab inhabited by 3.49 million people and Barnala is the least populated inhabited by just 0.56 million people.

District wise population of Ludhiana

**Figure 11: District wise population of Ludhiana**



Source: Punjab Population statistics report 1971-2011).

Ferozepur district of Punjab is the largest district in terms of area having 2,190 square kilometer and district Kapurthala is the smallest having 1,633 square km area

**Figure 12: District wise map of Punjab**



Source: <https://punjab.gov.in/districts-of-punjab/>.

The size of the district in Punjab is half than the average size of the districts of India. It is 6000 square kilometers for the national level but in Punjab the size is just 3000 square kilometers. (Jodhka, 2003, p.4). The 22 districts of Punjab are divided into five divisions. A division is a combination of some districts which are grouped for civil administration. These divisions are as follows: (Kaler,2016)

### **1.16.1 Jalandhar division**

There total 7 districts are under this division namely Jalandhar, Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Kapurthala and Tarantaran.

### **1.16.2 Patiala division**

There are 5 districts under this division namely Patiala, Fatehgarh Sahib, Ludhiana, Sangrur and Barnala.

### **1.16.3 Ferozepur division**

There are 4 districts under this division, Ferozepur, Moga, Shri Mukatsar Sahib and Fazilika.

#### 1.16.4 Faridkot division

There are 3 districts under it, Faridkot, Bathinda and Mansa.

#### 1.16.5 Ropar division

It has 3 districts, Ropar, Nawan Shahr and Mohali.

The districts further have tehsils and sub tehsils. In Punjab there is no difference between tehsils and sub divisions though there is difference between them in some states of India. In all there are 82 Tehsils and 87 sub tehsils. In the rural Punjab there are blocks and villages at the bottom level. There are total 147 blocks in Punjab (Kaler, 2016).

#### 1.17 The socio-cultural aspect of Punjab

The demography of Punjab has unique dynamism in terms of population composition, population growth and population mobility rate. (Gill, 2017). Punjab has population of 30.49 million (nearly 3 crores) and it ranked on the 16<sup>th</sup> number population wise in India according to the Adhar identification data.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2: The Composition of population of Punjab**

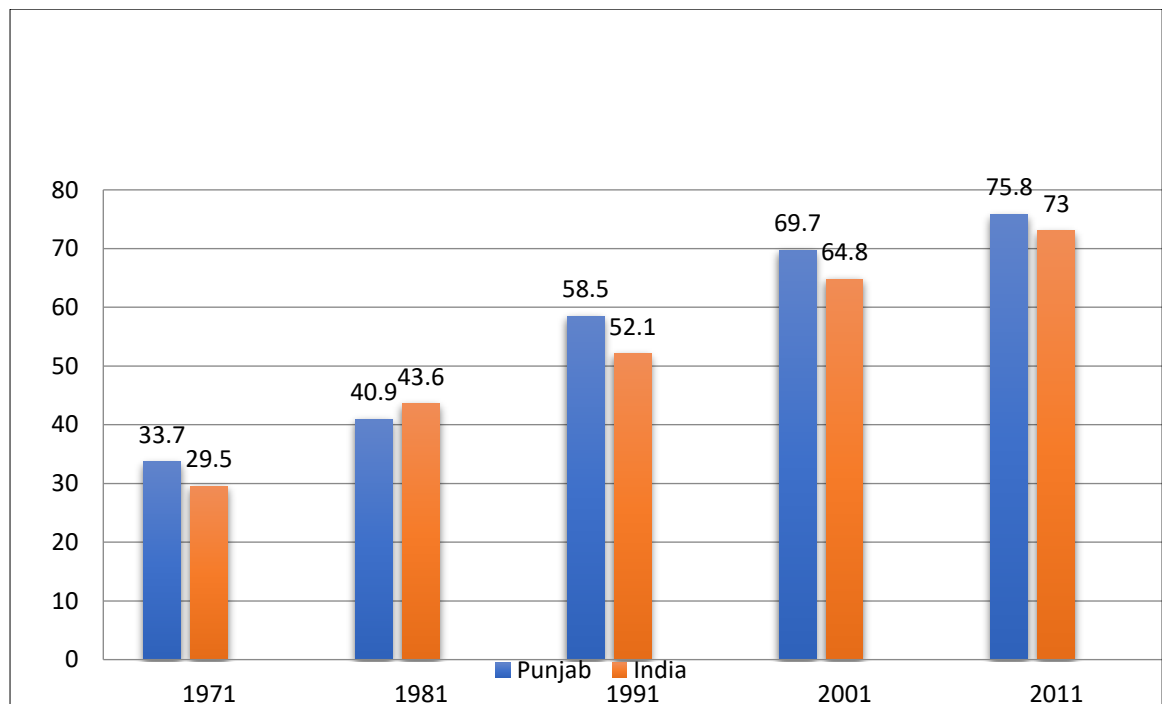
Decade	Male	Female	Total population	Growth rate (percentage)
1951-1961	1,11,553	94,334	2,05,887	21.56
1961-71	1,70,974	143921	3,14,895	21.70
1971-81	NA	NA	16,788,915	23.89
1981-91	NA	NA	20,281,969	20.81
1991-2001	12,985,045	11,373,954	24,358,999	19.76
2001-2011	14,639,465	13,103,873	27,743,338	13.89
2011-2021 (projected)	16,095,528	14,405,498	30,141,373	

Source: Census survey of India various years

<sup>3</sup> (<https://uidai.gov.in/images/state-wise-aadhaar-saturation.pdf>)

In composition, the table has shown that the population growth rate was high in Punjab during the initial years of creation of Punjab but it started dropping down. The last decade from 2001 to 2011 witnessed the lowest growth i.e., just 13.89%. The declining fertility rate, out migration to other countries, insecurities among the people after the terrorism and prevalence of the drug menace are the chief factors responsible for this decline. (Sandhu, 2017) Male female ratio male population is ahead of the population female. The literacy rate in Punjab has remained always ahead of the literacy rate in India which indicates Punjab is rich not only in agricultural and industrial sectors but human resources in Punjab are also of good quality.

**Figure 13: Literacy rate of Punjab**



Source: Population statistics of Punjab 1971-2011

In 2011 the literacy rate in India was 73% but Punjab was ahead of it having 75% literate people who inhabiting Punjab. The people of Punjab are not only literate but they are culturally so unique, developed, and progressive that within Punjab three regions coincide. This uniqueness of culture is because of the multi-regional and multireligious society of Punjab. Punjab is divided primarily into three regions Majha, Malwa and Doaba on the basis of the Sutlej and Beas rivers that flow on the land of Punjab.



**Figure 14: Region wise Map of Punjab**



Source: Majha Malwa Doab Area in Punjab. Punjab data.com

**Majha Region** The region that is halfway between river Ravi and Sutlej is called Majha. This region is also famous as “Cradle of Sikhism” as most of the sacred places of Sikhs are located in this region. (Mahajan 2021) The modern districts like Amritsar, Batala, Gurdaspur fall in this region. **Doab Region** consists of the fertile land between the river Ravi and Beas. Jalandhar is one of the most popular and important districts of this region and this region has the credit of having the maximum numbers of hospitals in Asia and the area across Sutlej is known as Malwa. This area has some of the most expensive and richest cities come under this region. Some of the most expensive and the richest cities of the region fall in this area. Ludhiana and Mohali are the popular districts of this region and this region controls the political power of Punjab has been controlling the since many decades (Kaler, 2016).

### **1.18 Religion in Punjab**

The people of all the regions have slight difference in culture as well as language. On the basis of religion in Punjab multi religious society exists. Punjab has multi-religious society with Sikh religion being predominant. Out of the total 13.1 million of Sikhs, 60% lives in Punjab (Deol, 2000 p.2). Next the Hindu religion, followed by Muslims who are in minority. The Religion wise demography of Punjab is as follows:

**Table 3: Religion wise population of Punjab**

Religion	1966-71	1971-1981	1981-1991	1991-2001	2001-2011
Sikhs	60.21	60.75	62.95	59.91	57.69
Hindu	37.54	36.93	34.46	36.94	38.49
Muslims	0.33	1.00	1.18	1.57	1.93
Christian	1.20	1.10	1.11	1.20	1.26
Jains	0.16	0.16	0.10	0.16	0.16
Buddhist	0.6	-	0.12	0.17	0.12
Any other	0.03	0.01	0.07	0.04	0.04

Source: Census of India. Various years

The Partition had its impact not only on the physical and political geography of Punjab but it altered the religious demography of the state. Historically this province was dominated by the Hindus and Muslims before partition later on Hindus came on the top and the population of Sikhs was at second place. but after the creation of Punjabi Suba the Hindu majority state changed into Sikh majority state (Sekhon, 2018; Wallace,1986) The table has indicated the uniqueness of religious demography. The Sikhs are in minority in India having just 1.72% share in the total population of India,<sup>iv</sup> but they have a massive majority in Punjab. They constitute 58% of the total population followed by Hindus who constitute nearly 39% of the total population of Punjab. Another important indicator the table has shown that the population of Sikhs in Punjab is on the declining mode. One of the reasons for this is outmigration of Sikhs from Punjab to other countries (Mohan, 2015). but the religious harmony among all the religious communities is intact even today and has no trace of the terrorism of the horrible period of 1980's.<sup>4</sup>

### **1.19 Economy of Punjab**

The Punjab state is one of the most affluent states of India. Per capita income and poverty line are the two important indicators of the health of the economy and

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<sup>4</sup> “In Malerkotla to build a mosque, Sikh person donated his ancestral land and in Moga Hindus and Sikhs together collected funds to rebuild a mosque”. **Sikh and Hindu residents of a village in Punjab rebuild a mosque that has been in ruins since 1947**

Frontline, June 18,2021.

<https://frontline.thehindu.com> >

Punjab has performed in both the parameters excellently which has made it one of the economically developed states of India. Punjab was among the top three states of India in 1995-1996. Moreover, in 1995-1996 per capita income of Punjab was higher than the per capita income of India. It was 16,042 at the current price though the national per capita income was 9,578. (Jodhka, 2003, p.12) further in 2010 the per capita income of Punjab was 38% higher than the national average. (PHD, P.6) In Punjab 11.77 % people were living below the poverty line whereas it was 35.97% for national level (Jodhka, 2003, p.23). An average Punjabi has double money in the banks in comparison to an average Indian has in the banks. The Same is the case with the consumption of energy. The Average consumption of energy of the Punjabi is double than the consumption of energy by an average Indian. (Shiva, 1991, p.13)

Though the state faced the loss of its rich geographical area during the partition but soon it made tremendous progress. Punjab is known as the “bread basket” as it contributes to India one fifth of the total wheat production and one third of the total rice production, now two third of the food grain production and one third of milk production is contributed by it to India.<sup>5</sup> The population of Punjab is just 2.5% of the total Indian population but their per capita income is double than the national income. Having 1.6% of the total land of India, Punjab provides 73% of wheat procurement and 48% of the rice, per acre production of wheat in Punjab is second only to Mexico and in rice next to Japan. (Mehra, 1983)

Punjab state which is rich in Agricultural sector was quite backward in the industrial sector. The Central government always hesitated in setting up industrial plants in Punjab because of its border state status. (Wallace, 1986). Recently Punjab has shown remarkable progress in the industrial sector. At the time of independence only a few industrial units based on agriculture like food processing and cotton based were there. In the fifties the cycle part units and hosiery goods industries came in Punjab. Green revolution again invited agro based industry like farm machinery and manufacturing units in the sixties. The Seventies are significant for industrial road of Punjab as it witnessed auto parts and electrical goods industry. Eighty onwards Punjab did not look back in the field of industrial development. (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.193)

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<sup>5</sup> India’s Bread Basket, The Hindustan Times, Nov. 21, 2019. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/ht-school/india-s-bread-basket/story-YwTUaOYZCuKzs7JxBQ7O6J.html>

Now 95% of the woolen production of India, 85% of sewing machines production and 75% of the sport goods production have fallen in the lap of Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

Many districts of Punjab are famous for their different industrial contributions. Amritsar is known for the food products, paper mills and textiles, Jalandhar is outstanding in the sports goods production, Mandi Gobindgarh has more than 300 steel producing units and is called as “Steel Town of Punjab”, Batala is known for casting and machine tools, Mohali is becoming Centre of sunrise industries and Ludhiana is the industrial hub as it is the home of the Hosiery goods and readymade garments. bicycles and component, sewing machines and parts, auto parts and electrical goods. Ludhiana surpasses all the districts of Punjab as it contributes 28% towards the total industrial production and 21% of the industrial units are located in Ludhiana (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.196).

### 1.20 Ludhiana

Ludhiana is the most industrially developed district of Punjab. This district map rectangular type which is bordered by Patiala on the south side. Ropar and Chandigarh at the eastern side, the Western side is touched by Moga and the southern east by Sangrur. The district is 96 km in length along the river Sutlej and 39 km in width at the north and south. (District survey report)

**Figure 15: Map of Ludhiana**



<sup>6</sup> Punjab State Presentation Report | IBEF  
<https://www.ibef.org › States/UT › Punjab>

### **1.20.1 Historical background of Ludhiana**

Ludhiana is one the most famous districts of Punjab. It has long history of its origin and Satluj has played a key role in its historical development. In the ancient times it was not easy to cross the rivers so most of the invaders had to stop across the Sutlej. At that time Satluj would flow by the side of Ludhiana, where now Budda Nala flow and it played the role of boundary wall in its development. (District Census handbook Ludhiana.p.8)

The history of Ludhiana starts with the time of Alaxander as it is believed that Ludhiana was a part of the kingdom of Magadh. This area had found its expression in the days of Maurya Empire also. When Chandra Gupta overthrow Nanda dynasty and expanded its boundaries up to Afghanistan, this part was part of his empire.

The land of Ludhiana got its identity when a powerful Khokhar leader Jasrat revolted against Delhi empire and made his establishment here. Jasrat made Ludhiana his base even against his battles against Sirhind. The main city Ludhiana at that time was a village named Mir Hota. The name Ludhiana came into time light during the Lodhi dynasty. Sikandar Lodhi deputed his two chiefs Yusuf Khan and Nihang Khan to check the interventions of Baluchi's in this region. While Yusuf Khan went ahead in the doab region, Nihang Khan stayed at this place (Mir Hota) to represent the Sultan's strength. He called this place Lodi Ana which means Home or town of Lodhi. Later on, his grandson, Jalal Khan made a fort here to make the base of Lodhi empire. and consequently, this place came to be known as Ludhiana. Lodhi rulers-controlled Ludhiana and kept it under the Sirhind division.

Ludhiana has always enjoyed a special place in the history of battles. Many wars between the Sikh Gurus and Mughals and between the Afghan invaders and the local emperors were fought on this land. It was in the forest area of Ludhiana (near Machhiwara) that Guru Gobind Singh had an encounter with the governor of Sirhind,

Ludhiana in fact it can be said that Punjab came in the eyes of Britishers in 1803 when East India company annexed Delhi. The Britishers planned to limit the expansionism of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Therefore, Metcalfe signed a treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh which bound the Maharaja to keep his empire across the other side of Sutlej and thus fort of Ludhiana came under the British empire and they made

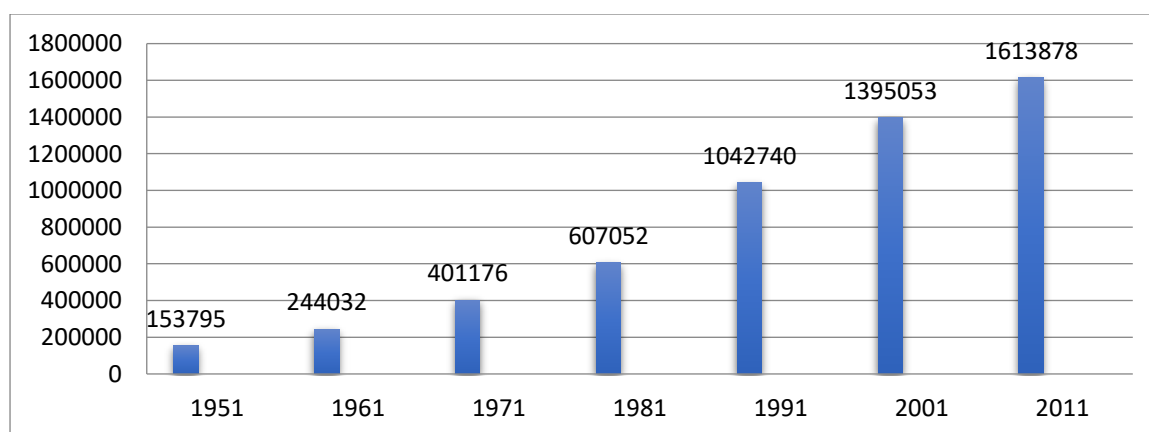
this city as their military outpost. (Census report, 2011). Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and this changed the political history of Punjab. The Britishers annexed Punjab on 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1849 after some wars with the Sikh army and many deceitful negotiations and treaties. The decline of the Sikh power in Punjab cleared the way for the British empire in North western side, as well as in overall India as no other active power was there to challenge the Britishers power to establish its rule. (Singh & Singh, 2020). The administration of Punjab was given to a board of administration and the Britishers deployed good number of forces to keep the state under its control till 1947. The colonial period has far reaching impacts on the social, economic and political development of the Indian Punjab even today. (Talbot,1991)

### 1.20.2 Demography and administrative set up of Ludhiana

Ludhiana has seen tremendous demographic and physical growth. The area and population of the city has increased during the last few decades. The area of the Ludhiana was 12.92 acre which has now expanded to 64.21 acre. (Population Statistics of Punjab 1971-2011, Publication no 947)

Ludhiana is the most populated district of Punjab. It is the first city in the North Western region which has crossed million in population and it is the first millennium city of Punjab (Jodhka, 2003, p. 8). The population of Ludhiana was 1.53 lakhs in 1951 and it has crossed 1.16 million people (Singh & Kalota,2019). Sadly, Ludhiana represents the lowest sex ratio in Punjab. It has 824 females after per 1000 male (Kaur, 2003, p.48).

**Figure 16: population of Ludhiana**



Source: Singh & Kalota, 2019

From the administrative point of view Ludhiana is divided into 7 Tehsils. Ludhiana east, Ludhiana west, Raikot, Payal, Jagraon, Samrala and Khanna, and 13 blocks. The district has representation of 14 members in the legislative assembly of 117 members which again has the largest representation among the 22 districts of Punjab. Following is the list of the name and numbers of the legislative constituencies of the Ludhiana district.

**Table 4: Legislative Constituencies of Ludhiana district**

Sr. No.	Name of constituency	Constituency no
1	Khanna	57
2	Samrala	58
3	Sahenewal	59
4	Ludhiana East	60
5	Ludhiana South	61
6	Atam Nagar	62
7	Ludhiana Central	63
8	Ludhiana West	64
9	Ludhiana North	65
10	Gill	66
11	Payal	67
12	Dakha	68
13	Raikot	69
14	Jagraon	70

Source: <https://Ludhiana.Nic.In> › Administration › Constituencies

The goods produced in the Ludhiana has market not only in the India but these goods have export value in the various countries of the world. The woollen and the cotton clothes of Ludhiana have demand in the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. (Tewari, 1999) Whereas the cycles and cycle parts of Ludhiana have market in some foreign countries also. The world's largest bicycle manufacturer, Hero Cycles, which produces nearly three million bicycles annually, is based here. Ludhiana

accounts for 90 per cent of the country's woollen hosiery industry and is nicknamed *The Manchester of Punjab*. (Sengupta & Benjamin, 2016; Goyal, 2005)

It is not wrong if we say Ludhiana city is the guide map for the rest of the cities of India. Out of the total factories which are registered in Punjab, nearly one third are in Ludhiana. (Bhagat, 2006, p.25) The employment opportunities in the industries of Ludhiana made it a dream land for the population of the less developed states of India like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, U.P and Odisha. Every fourth person in the city is a migrant from some other state of India (Mehra & Singh, 2014). This has resulted in massive growth of migrated population to the city of Ludhiana (Sidhu and Grewal, 1984). The population of Ludhiana increases more during the crop harvesting season and hosiery industry season time. The lucrative wages in Ludhiana have attracted not only the workers from the other states of India but from some neighbouring states like Nepal and Bangla Desh etc. Not only Industry but the restaurants, hospitals, educational institutions and even the households of Ludhiana are incomplete without the presence of migrants. Most of the Nepalis are seen in the kitchens of the restaurants, hotels and the homes of Ludhiana residents. Rajasthani migrants are dominating in the brick kiln industry whereas the migrants from Bihar have controlled the construction work. Sanitation and the allied work are monopolised by the migrants from Odisha and textile labour is over brimming with people from UP. It goes without saying that these migrants have become cog and wheel of Ludhiana.<sup>7</sup>

Their acculturation is so complete that they have started jumping into the political arena. If we read the migrant life between the lines, we get a fair and square study that if Ludhiana is the hub of the state of Punjab, the migrants have become the hub of the capital. The credit for green revolution, Industrial revolution, and to some extent, the white revolution goes to the migrant labour in Punjab (Dasgupta, 2019).

### **1.21 Statement of the problem**

The Indian Constitution guarantees people the fundamental right to move and work anywhere they want within the nation. The choice to relocate is influenced by a

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<sup>7</sup> (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org> ).



variety of economic, social, cultural, and political reasons and it has variety of economic, social, cultural, and political impacts (Luesome, & Bhagat, 2006).

Article 326 of the Indian Constitution states that every adult citizen is entitled to be registered in the electoral roll from his/her parliamentary and assembly constituency (Aggarwal, 2019). on the other hand, section 20 of the People Representation Act says that any person can be registered as a voter in any constituency where he/she is "ordinarily resident"(Jain, 2019). Migrants come in the category of ordinary residents and they can register at the place of work as "ordinarily resident" but the migration affects the exercise of right to vote of the migrants, so their other political participatory activities also get affected. Therefore, in India many migrants are politically excluded from their native places (Vardhan, 2019) but they do not get political inclusion in their work place.

The present study is an attempt to explore the extent and nature of the political participation of these migrants in Ludhiana city which is known as the migrant's hub of Punjab. The present study has taken up the extent of the political participation in both the forms as formal participation and informal participation in political activities.

Though Migration has many economic and social dimensions but its political implications have been gaining attention in the recent years. The study is an attempt to understand their role in the political arena through their political participation.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Review of literature gives an insight into the area under study. It helps the researcher to know all the pros and cons of the subject under study. Review of already existing literature helps the researcher to find the research gap in the areas of study. It enables the researcher to opt for the most appropriate tools and techniques for data collection and data analysis as the researcher comes to learn from the previous researches which tools has proved to be successful. It also benefits the society as unexplored areas are explored when one investigates the facts of the past studies. There are two main concepts in the present research i.e., migration and political participation. There has been a vast literature on the concept of migration as well as on political participation of different communities in India as well as in other countries. In the present study literature has been taken keeping in mind the objectives of the study.

#### **2.1 Studies related with the nature and reasons of migration**

Migration is an universal phenomenon and basically push and pull factors caused it. Different studies have found various reasons responsible for leaving a place going to a distant destination.

Gupta and Prajapati, (1998) focussed on the migration in Chhattisgarh (now state) region of Madhya Pradesh. The study found the causes for the out migration in the area. The study revealed that lack of irrigational facility, low productivity of the agricultural farms, low wages rates and lack of the implementation of Government schemes for labourers are the main reasons that people are compelled to leave their place and to search for their earnings elsewhere.

Mitra and Murayama (2008) had found that people liked short distance for migration for short term whereas long distance was chosen for long stay after migration. The study had found that economic factors were the main factors for the out migration but the desire to live in a nuclear family was also responsible for it. The study had highlighted good effect of migration on the place of origin and the place of migration. Both the places world gets economic benefits in terms of remittance and high

production respectively but it adversely affected the living conditions of the migrants, as maximum labour was being absorbed in the informal sector where they would get less facilities and more exploitation. They have to live in illegal settlements away from the basic facilities of life. The study had found that Labour unions, Donors and NGOs had started looking into the matter. The study had analysed the welfare policies and programmes 'of the various states for these migrants and suggested that there was need to regulate the migration by the government. Better employment opportunities in the rural sectors should be generated to check the migration. Rural industrialization, appropriate developmental policies, land development activities and irrigation development programmes could play very significant role in checking the migration from the under developed areas of India.

Mahapatra, (2012) study is in depth work of migration among the females in India elaborating its causes. The study had focused on the determinant factors that led to migration of the females. The study had made its base the census of 1971 to 2001. The study had divided the census into two parts to present a comparative analysis. The census of 1971 to 1991 on one side and 1991 to 2001 on the other side to see the spatial pattern of change. The study had presented into a changed view of the migration of females. Earlier it was considered that marriage was the most prominent factor for the female migration but the study finds this trend is declining in 2001. Earlier it was considered that the illiterate females migrated more economic reason than the literate ones; but the study had found changed pattern of the migration of females. Economic factor played equally significant role in the migration of females as it happened in case of migration among the males. The study had found the effect of literacy and higher education on the mobility among the females. Now the educated female happened to be equally conscious about the higher salary packages so they migrated due to the economic motivation. The study had found that 3.67 percent females migrated in 1991 due to employment whereas this figure touched 4.19 in 2001. So the study had established that economic reasons dominated the migration of the females than marriage, family shift and the other social factors.

Kochkin & Sircar (2014) in their study had presented the types and causes of migration. The study had highlighted that the short-term migration was the minimum

discussed area out of all the aspects of migration. The study was based on NSSO report of 2011 on migration. The study had stated that the short-term migration was not a rare phenomenon but a frequent practice. The study had used the case study method and had found that heavy debts were the main reason for temporary or short-term migration. The recruiters often helped the migrants to remove their indebtedness by paying advance money but settled their daily wages low in lieu of it. The study had found that the highest temporary migration is in the north eastern states i.e., Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Lakshadweep whereas the lowest was in Haryana and Madhya Pradesh. The study had found gender based and caste-based difference also in the area of the short-term migration. The study had covered 20 states and in all the states the female short-term migration was not more than 5%. The study had found the schedule Tribes also a vulnerable group for short term migration. Thus, the study had found a gap between the official data and its own findings based upon the case studies methods in twenty states.

Das & Saha (2016) in their study had found regional disparity as the main cause of migration. The had study analysed the pattern of interstate migration from 1991 to 2001. It had classified states into three categories, immigration (Maharashtra and Delhi), out-migration (UP, Bihar) and in and out both migrations (Punjab, Haryana and Chandigarh). The study had found employment opportunities due to the economic growth rate, urban centres, administrative headquarters, and presence of business centres the main reasons of in migration. Moreover, the study had also found opposite relationship between poverty and in migration. The study had also thrown light on the changing sex ratio of migration which was 90 males for 100 females in 1991 and now has 102 males for 100 females in 2001. The study had suggested balanced regional development and investment for reducing the negative impact of migration and making internal migration as a very desirable and prosperous phenomenon not the distressed phenomenon resulting in overcrowding cities.

These studies had highlighted the causes of migration. Regional imbalance, employment opportunities in industry, transportation, trade, and other services are abundant in urban centres. The feeling of being the member of a minority group on the basis of castes is also a major reason of migration. Also available are modern amenities

of living. As a result, they serve as "magnets" to draw in outsiders and the migrant population. The reasons given by these studies are applicable to the migrants coming to Ludhiana. To name only a few, unemployment underemployment, low productivity, poor economic condition, natural calamities, being a member of the marginalised group. Moreover, drought prone areas are also the push factors. Further, younger people migrate more than the older people; illiterate more than the literate and non-skilled labour migrated for seasonal work. Since, the present study is of the marginalised section, in this section women participate as a part of the family and they don't migrate independently. But once they come to the prosperous city of Ludhiana, they take up jobs to supplement the income of the family. As was as the families were concerned the debtness was a reason of short term or long-term migration and the native place and destination both are beneficiaries one with the remittance and the other with the production work.

## **2.2 Studies related with the trends of migration**

Srivastva & Sasikumar (2003) study had examined the trends of migration. The study had found that Kerala, Tamil Nādu, Andhra Pradesh and Punjab were the main external out migration states in India. From 1951 to 2000 whereas U.S.A, Canada, U.K and Australia were the main destinations but the trends have changed. Now from 1970 onwards migration to Middle East countries had increased considerably. Further it was found that nearly 3 million Indians were now in Gulf Countries. The study had also discussed the impact of the internal migration on the place of origin and had found that Migration acted as a safety valve to the resource poor areas but the policies regulating migration had become ineffective. The study had suggested that there was need to change the migration policy so that migration could strengthen the development.

Bird & Deshingkar (2009) had found that rural-urban migration was more increasing in the poorer area particularly in the drought prone area. it had further found that migration was more common among the poor, scheduled castes (SCs), scheduled tribes (STs) and Muslims. The Young people migrate more in than old people. It had further found that the migration of skilled and literate people was generally permanent whereas illiterate and non-skilled labourers migrated for seasonal work. Women in rural

areas migrated mostly within the state known as intrastate migration whereas male migration was prominently interstate migration.

Rajan (2018) had highlighted the trends in external and internal migration. The study had found that the western countries had considered migration responsible for unemployment and financial crises of their economies. The study had examined the approach of the western world towards the issue of migration. The victory of Donald Trump as the president of America and United Kingdom's decision to vote out of the European Union had indicated that immigration was going to be the biggest concern in the coming years. In Both these events migration of the workers was the chief issue. The study had concluded that though migration was a great leveller which provided livelihood and better facilities of life to the labourers of the developing countries but the policies of UK and USA were being unfavourable to these labourers. So, the balance between the developed and like undeveloped world may get disturbed due to the current policies of the western world.

### **2.3 The studies related with the impacts of migration**

Kaur et al. (2011) in her study on Punjab had found that after green revolution Punjab had attracted many workers from within and outside India. The study was conducted in the central zone of Punjab to know the impact of the migrant laborers on agriculture in Punjab especially on the agriculture of wheat and paddy. The study had found that migration has an adverse impact on the labour wage role. Moreover, social tension and crime rate has increased. Drug menace has spread and the culture of Punjab has suffused adverse effect with the entrance of these migrant labourers. But in spite of all this, farmers in Punjab have always give more preference to the migrated labour as it contributed more in their profit margins. The research had suggested that the government should intervene in the issue and verification measures from their native place should be taken to control the crime in the state and the state should also check the inflow of migrants to keep the demand and supply in balance.

Bhaskaran (2011) in his research article had explained the impact of migration on both the in and out migration places. The study was conducted in Samstipur, Bihar and Delhi were selected as destination place. The study had analysed the determinantal factors of migration i.e., age, education and skill. The study had found that due to rapid

means of communication and transportation it has become easy to find the work without any middle man. The study found that generally it was considered that migration helped in moving villages to the cities but in reality, migration helps in moving cities to villages as migrants supported their families in raising the standard of living at the place of their origin.

Singh (2011) in his doctoral thesis had focused on the impact of migration on the crime graph of the city and role of the police department in Ludhiana in the context of the migrated labourers. The study found that the migrant has become cog and wheel of Ludhiana and explored the role of the police department as the executive civil force in providing the safety and security to the residents. The study had proved to be an attempt to find out the causes why these migrants got involved in anti-social activities. The police records found that from 2000 to 2005 the crime graph of Ludhiana city almost doubled. So, Ludhiana has become the crime capital along with the economic capital of Punjab. It has been found in the study that the police department received maximum complaints against migrants by the residents. and on the other hand, migrants revealed their negative opinion about the police. The study had also focused on the perceptions and the observations of local citizens for these migrants. The study had revealed that the migrants were responsible for breaking the law and order of the city. Besides, they were behind the expansion of the slums and the spread up diseases like AIDS and unemployment for the local youth. All this further created fear and insecurity among the local people. The study had suggested strict action on the part of the police department to provide security to the local people. Further local administration should launch an awareness drive for the employers to give employment to the registered migrants only.

Turley (2016) in his article had highlighted the main streams, causes and socio-economic impact of migration on both the places i.e., the source place and the destination area. The study has been based upon the secondary sources mainly on the Census of India, 1991 and on NSSO. The study has found that as people migrate with small personal assets so they have to face deprivation of small necessary goods, clean drinking water and sanitation facilities. Their children lack schooling and educational facilities. They have to accept the lower wages of employers. The study found as male

members are generally more mobile so migration affects the gender balance in the native place. In their homeland there happened to be shortage of skilled labour. Migration results in loneliness among the migrants as well in the faraway places. The had study found the change in the pattern of migration. Earlier UP and Bihar were the main sending states in India but now according to the author Orrisa, MP, Rajasthan and North eastern states are the main areas which send the blue-collar workers. The study had found that the maximum migrant labour was absorbed in the construction work followed by textile, brick kiln, home and agricultural sectors.

Dandekar & Ghai (2020) examined the impact of migration on the agricultural sector at the native place. The work found that since in most of the villages men migrate first to the cities, so it resulted into feminisation of agriculture. This participation of women in agriculture is distress induced participation. And migrants 'slowdown interest in agriculture when they returned to their source place. All this resulted in low productivity, low investment, negligence in capital formation, debt ridden farming and improper price fixation The study went into detail on the districts in different states that serve as the source of migration and the districts in different states that serve as the destination. The research provided in-depth knowledge on the many industries in which these immigrants are employed in the states. Reverse migration and lockdown's effects were discussed in the paper. It also discovered that the lockdown would make these temporary migrants more impoverished and vulnerable. Debt problem may occur after all this is over.

Rajan et al (2020), had provided an insight into the impact of covid 19 and lock down on the migrant labour and presented the plight of the internal migrants in India. The study had revealed the apathy of Government for these internal migrants as without making any formal announcement for these migrants. The study highlighted three aspects of internal migrants i.e., Gendered aspect, mental health and limitations of the social security provisions for these people. It was found that the impact of covid 19 was different on the female segment than on the male counterpart. The study had categorised the migrant women into three categories first those who were left out by the families in the native place. Secondly those who had themselves migrated for better employment opportunities and third those who had migrated along with the families to the other



places. The had study found very vulnerable condition of all the categories. The study apprehended that sex trade, trafficking, bonded labour and exploitation may increase due to the economic crisis and uncertainties. The study had found the impact of covid on mental health of migrants also. The wide spread reports of the police aggression, maltreatment by the government officials and the delayed transport facilities resulted into depression, anxiety, distrust, and apprehensions and sleeplessness among the migrants. The study had found population of India at the lowest in the Asia and Pacific region in terms of social security. Even Bangla Desh and Sri Lanka are ahead of India. The study had suggested that NCEUS recommendations and One Nation One Ration Card should be implemented to remove the migrants 'neither here, nor there' status.

Haan (2020) too highlighted the plight of Indian migrant labour during the pandemic. The study found the failure of Government's policies to meet the health crisis. The study had also analysed the coverage of the migrant workers under various social welfare programmes and found had that 90 percent migrants worked in informal sectors and the government schemes were based upon the domicile conditions, so majority of the workers remained out of the social welfare programmes and the key legislations. The study presented the historical perspective of migrant return process with the situation in 1931 economic crisis when in Calcutta migrant workers return without protest. The study found the policy of the government silent and neglected to meet any crisis for migrant labour.

These studies have presented a heart rendering picture of the plight of the migrants during pandemic that is Covid 19. The migrants who are marginalised and very soon can be pushed towards poverty were the worst hit during the pandemic. Their journey back home was traumatic. The researcher had got a chance to interview the men who had dared to stay back. Their confidence was badly shaken and it was a difficult task to win their trust.

#### **2.4 Studies related with the socio-economic conditions of migrants**

Bhagat (2011). in his research paper highlighted the issue of rights of migrants especially the 'right to city'. The paper pointed out that with the advent of modernisation and urbanisation migration is increasing in India (NSSO 2010). The 2011 Census had shown that three largest cities, Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai were on

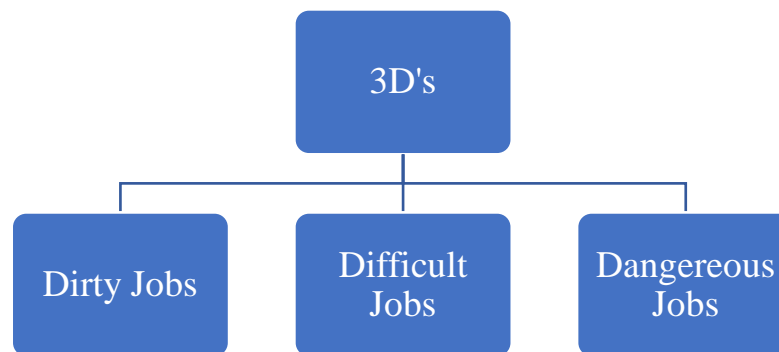
top for in migration and north-eastern India was not considered good for migration. had given a detailed analysis of RTTC (right to the city) and found that in 1951 that 19% population was in the cities whereas now in the 2011 only 31% i.e., nearly one third population of India has been urbanized. The urban areas in India are centre of economic the activities so push factors of scarcity areas are helping in increasing the number of migrants in the cities. The migrants have been deprived of so many facilities as they could not afford to pay the price of it. The migrants were made being a part of the civil society very slowly and in a very difficult way. They have the access to civil rights like right to move freely and transport easily but expensive civil amenities like owning house and participation in political activities is still a distant dream for them.

Sengupta and Benjamin, (2016), The study had highlighted the plight of migrants in Ludhiana. It had been found that most of the migrants got work in informal sector and were excluded from the benefits of the social protection programmes. They remained underpaid and exploited. They could not get housing and health facilities. They faced sanitation and drinking water problems as well. They were being deprived of the city that they have chosen as destination the right to. The study had found that one out of six persons in urban India lived in slums. It also highlighted that among the 40% slum dwellers of 60 the world, maximum was in South Asia and out of South Asia maximum were the residents of India. The study had revealed the good impact of migration as it facilitated the availability of labour to the places where there was deficiency of the name. In addition to it migration brought skill of labour and diversity of cultural life to the migrated area. Migration also brought prosperity to the native cities also as remittance helped in improving the living conditions of the families of the migrated labour. The study had found that migration was not an indication of lack of the development but an indication of the people's desire of rising high economically, socially and educationally.

Sharma, (2017) in his study had examined Mohali city from three locations by taking the sample of eighty in-migrants and using area purposive sampling method to know the reasons as well as causes of in--migrants in Mohali. The respondents were taken from Sleepwell Industry, Continental Engineering Works Mohali and Mahindra Swaraj Tractors R&D. The results found that immigrants were from seven states

namely Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Moreover, thirty percent of migration was from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. These labourers were on temporary basis and yet had no plans for future. Majority of the respondents were Hindu or Muslims and were from the rural areas. Migrated labourers were satisfied with their working condition but not with the salaries or wages. The researcher had explained that people migrate to big cities from every corner of the country having different cultural as well as social environment which can be called as melting pot of cultures. Migrants were considered as the second-class citizen as they were marginalised and had lower status from the status they had enjoyed in their native place and they were demoted with 3D's

**Figure 17: Quality of Jobs of Migrants**



**Source: Sharma, 2017**

It has been found that fifteen percent of labourers had their own home where as the rest were residing in the reviled accommodation ranging between 700-2500. The study had revealed that's Sixty percent of the labours were working for six days in a week whereas twenty-five percent for seven days.

The study of Bhullar & Verma (2018) had attempted to know the working conditions of the migrants in the urban areas of Punjab. The study had found that from 1951 to 1971 there was least shift from agriculture sector to the non-agricultural sector by the workers as the green revolution had made the agriculture as a profit giving sector but the trends changed drastically after 1991. The study was conducted in Punjab and three industrial districts mainly Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar were selected to know the socio-economic conditions of the migrant labour. It has been found in the study that people in these cities were mainly from UP and Bihar and they had migrated

basically due to the economic reasons. Further the study had found that migrants workers duration in their present job was the highest in Ludhiana followed by Jalandhar and Amritsar. The migrants are discriminated against in Punjab and their usual working hours were 10 hours against the standard 8 hours per day and they were not paid for their over work. It has also been found 61 that they were not paid on time also. The study revealed that migrants were not given jobs according to their skill also. They were given tough jobs when compared to local labours and this discrimination was higher in Amritsar than in Ludhiana and Jalandhar. The study had found that migrant's awareness about their Rights and about their labour unions was the highest in Ludhiana.

Ansari (2019) in his study had covered three districts Trivandrum, Calicut and Ernakulam of Kerala to find out the socio-economic rights, issues and challenges of the migrant workers. The study had emphasized that since the educated youth of Kerala had attraction for West and Western Asian countries to procure good job and earn more money So Kerala in the recent past had become an in-migration state or the Gulf for The Internal Migrants. The study had found that workers from West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Assam and Jharkhand came to Kerala. The study had found that the social and economic rights of migrant workers were lower than the local workers. The findings revealed that there was the difference between the wages of the local workers and the migrant workers though various Acts like Equal Remuneration convention 1951 and ILO guidelines had had been implemented there. The migrants were also facing linguistic barriers and social exclusion. But still Almost 65 percent of the migrants suggested that even though they faced discrimination in Kerala society, yet Kerala seemed to a be relatively better place than any other state. The study had suggested that Kerala State Government should ensure proper registration of these migrant workers to ensure equal payment to the migrant workers and local natives for similar work as presently 70% workers were not registered. The Kerala state government should implement certain Special Sensitive Programs (SSP) for the assistance of the migrant workers with the active support of the non-governmental institutions.

These studies attempting to concentrate on various parts of India have very well highlighted the socio-economic condition of the migrants and are very close to this

study which has examined the marginalised migrants of Ludhiana city. These studies have pointed out the discrimination faced by the migrants, disparity in wages, delay in the payment of wages, employment in informal sector and hence no peripheral benefits. The studies have talked about their being underpaid and exploited working for 10 hours per day instead of 8 hours stipulated in the country. The study had also mentioned that the awareness about the rights and labour union was maximum in Ludhiana. The study adds that most of the migrants migrated from the rural area and their living conditions there were also deplorable.

## **2.5 Studies on national and international laws for migrants**

The study of Salve has traced the impact of International Labour Organization and Declaration of Human Rights on the labour laws in India. The study had explained in details the various conventions conducted at the international level for labour welfare and their recommendations. The study has focused on term ‘decent work’ for labour. The study had found that out of total 8 core standards India had implemented 7 cores of decent work such as freedom of association, elimination of child labour, elimination of forced labour etc. The study had revealed that India being the founder member of ILO had implemented 7 core principles of ILO. Further it had been found that in India only 8% labour force is in the organized sector and are protected by labour laws but 92% are not covered by these laws. The study has discussed about Minimum Wage Act 1948, Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 and various others Acts that ensured the rights of labour class in India. Along with this the study had also examined the labour rights and labour standards of sugar industry in Maharashtra. The study had found that women workers of agro based industry in Maharashtra were facing various issues especially related with their health during pregnancy and miscarriages. And there was lack of medical facilities for women workers in sugar industry. The study had pointed out that the term decent work is not applicable to migrant workers who are not organized under any trade unions and their labour standards are not protected by the government as well as by the trade unions. These migrant workers are illiterate, ignorant, and belong to backward community. The real issue according to the author now a days was to provide labour rights to all segments of labour market.

Vinayakam (2013) in his unpublished thesis had analysed the socio-economic conditions of migrants and awareness and impact of Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 on the migrant labour in Tamil Nadu. The study was carried out in construction industry of Chennai city. The study had found that most of the migrants in Tamil Nadu were from Jharkhand, and had found that these labourers were not aware about their rights and various laws that protected them. The responsibility of implementation of the Act lies both with the states but the study had found that the out-migration state never bothered about the migrants and considered their protection and care the responsibility of the migration state. The study had found that the principal employers and contractors too were not aware about their obligations, responsibilities and duties towards them and migrant labourers were exploited in the state at every level. The study had highlighted that there were legal remedies under the Interstate Workmen Act, 1979 to give penalty to the exploiter.

Inter-Parliamentary Union, (2015) The report had provided in details the issue of migration at the international level and had given a deep insight into the conditions, issues, policies and laws made by the international organizations and the various parliaments to protect the rights of the migrants. It had highlighted the trend of migration and had revealed that more than 3 million of the world population are migrants. The study had examined the conditions of the migrants at the time of economic crises in the destined place and had analysed the methods of ILO to control the violation of migrant's rights. The study had highlighted the various efforts made by the parliaments of Canada, Australia, Kenya, Thailand and Brazil for safeguarding the migrants and explained about the role of the various regional organizations like ASEAN, CEMAC (Central African Economic and Monetary Community), EAC (East African Community) to check the labour exploitation, forced labour, trafficking and arbitrary expulsions. The study had suggested that all parliaments should enact and modify the legislations in favour of the migrants.

Aggarwal et al (2020) The study focused on policies of several states to explore the extent to which state-level policies are helpful in integration of interstate migrants in India. The study presented an Interstate Migration Policy Index (IMPEX) which represents one of the first attempts in creating a set of indicators to understand the

state/region level policies for integrating internal migrants.in the receiving state, based on the IMPEX evaluation, Kerala's policies are noted to be significantly more inclusive for migrants than any other major migrant receiving states whereas Gujrat and Delhi are at the lowest in the metrics.

These studies have taken very pertinent topics about the national migrants and they have mentioned 8 core standards to be implemented for labours. This included elimination of child labour and elimination of forced labour. These studies also touched the provisions related with the women segment of Indian society and how they are not provided to the migrant women. These studies had pointed out that 'decent work' not applicable to migrant workers who are not organised under any trade union. The migrants are illiterate, ignorant and belong to backward communities. One of the studies had highlighted that the migrants were not aware of the various rights and laws which protected them. The debatable question is whether the state of out migration has any responsibility towards them or the entire responsibility rests with the state of in-migration. Even the employers were not aware of their responsibilities and obligations. Various forms of exploitation namely labour exploitation, forced labour, arbitrary compulsions should be solved through modifications in the legislations.

A few of these facts have been corroborated by the present study. Most of the migrants worked in the unorganised sector so they did not have any of the facilities that organised sector enjoys. The migrants were not very educated, and most of them were unskilled labour. They were not aware of their rights so they were vulnerable to exploitation. As they held temporary and sometimes part time employment, they could not claim the protection of the trade unions. Their native states did not own their responsibility and their immigration state Punjab did not provide them many rights so in the initial years of migration they were neither here nor there. Hopefully in future as per the guidance of international bodies legislation in favour of migrants would be enacted.

## **2.6 Studies related with the political participation and representation in other countries**

Deth (2016) had presented a detailed elaboration about the meaning and nature of the term political participation. The study had found the political participation as an action not as a mental disposition. In the book, there were 15 chapters divided in four parts. Each part of book had touched the political participation in relation with the other aspects like citizenship and democracy. The study is based upon the survey report which was conducted on 13 societies and 26 communities of the different countries of Europe. The study had revealed that institutions in the political system were the actors and the trust and confidence of the citizens depended the upon the role of actors they played in society.

The study had also divided the democracies of various states on the basis of the scales as large-scale democracy and small-scale democracy. The study had highlighted that the scale of democracy depended upon the degree of the citizens involvement and the political activities performed by the citizens. Thus, participation and activities could be categorized into five types i.e., electoral participation, consumers participation, party activity, protest activity and contact activity. The study had revealed that in the small-scale democracy citizens were involved in the selection of the government whereas in the large-scale democracies' citizens had access to influence the decision-making process. On the basis of the participation, primarily four types of democracies existed; decisional democracy, liberal representative democracy, participatory democracy and unitary democracy. Social psychology does have a role to play in politics.

Rosema and Bakker (2017) highlighted how political participation is determined by the political attitudes and the political behaviour which is called political psychology of both the political leaders and of common voters. Political psychology depends upon the political leadership, voting behaviour and ideology. The study had suggested that five factors were basis of personality however their proportion was different in each individual. They are neuroticism (emotional consistency), extraversion (spirit or vitality), agreeableness (sociability), openness to new experiences and conscientiousness. The study justified these traits among political leaders on the basis



of the study of Rubenzer, Faschingbauer and Ones (2004) and found that the strong presidents like Lincoln and Jefferson had scored high in neuroticism and extraversion but very low in sociability. This indicated how the personal traits of the political leaders influenced the policies of the state. On the other hand, Mikhail Gorbachev scored high in openness to new experiences and conscientiousness which resulted in the policies of Perestroika and Glasnost in the erstwhile USSR. The decisions of the political leaders are determined by their belief system also. The leaders are influenced by the groups which they are surrounded. The study also touched group think theory of Janis which propounded that many times poor decisions were taken by political leaders because of the less informed and wrong informed group that the leaders surrounded. The study also highlighted the voting behaviour of common voters. It found that the citizens who are well informed and who are paid attention votes for in comparison to the vice versa.

## **2.7 Studies related with the political participation and representation in India**

Diwakar (2008) had presented that the economically deprived section of the society displays a greater turn-out than the advantaged section. The research highlighted that Voter turnout used to be high in rural area than in urban area and educated people voted less relatively to uneducated people. The study also engaged with the several factors responsible for the low turnout in democracy. The study had pointed out that lower turnout was expected where parties did not clearly communicate their policies to the voters, and a high turnout was expected when policies were well presented, or where electoral competition was expected to be close.

Chima (2012) had reviewed eight articles on political representation in 15 states of India from 1970 to 1990 and stated that political participation and representation has got changed in India during the recent decades. The domination of single party has ended and party system has undergone drastic transformation at all the levels. At the regional level national political parties are losing their control and regional political parties are becoming more competitive. The impact of class and caste is very much prevented in Indian politics despite the increased level of education and economic reforms in the form of economic liberalization. The article had also analysed the impact of various factors on voting. It had highlighted that the middle and high class in India

were mostly influenced by caste and class identities whereas the marginalized segment in India got influenced by welfare and material patronage. Even The phenomenon of reserved constituencies had its own repercussions. It had influenced political efficacy among the voters. It had also been found that the reserved category voters had more personal contact in the reserved constituency than in the general constituency.so that had increased the political efficacy among the reserved castes voters in those constituencies.

Banerjee (2013) had examined the role of Indian youth in electoral politics. The study found that political participation of young generation both as representatives and voters is declining. Only 17% young representatives (below the age of 40) were there in the 15th Lok Sabha and out of 36% of urban voters in India only 9% voted. The study examined the reasons of low political participation of young people in politics. It found that there were two types of youth i.e., student youth and non-student youth. And there was no difference between the political participation of student youth and non-student youth. But there was a difference between the reasons for the political apathy of both the youth. The study also highlighted the role of Election Commission, educational institutions and various NGOs in increasing youth political participation. In order to correct the declining participation of youth in the electoral process, the study had appreciated efforts being made by the Election Commission and the government, educational institutions and civil society groups to increase the youth participation in the elections. The study advocated that voting be included as a Fundamental Duty in part 4th of the constitution. Finally, the paper had also emphasized the importance of the idea of NOTA (None of the Above) as a button on the Voting Machine so as to encourage all to come and cast their votes. Overall, the idea behind the research had taken inspiration from Harld Laski's dictum- 'Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy'.

Aytac and Stoke (2016) had emphasized the causes and the consequences of the people's choice to vote, their choice to abstain and their decision to take part in protest against the government. The study had presented its dissatisfaction with the conventional theories of the political participation i.e., the rational choice theory and Economic approach to Democracy which took no care of role of psychological aspects

like fear, anger and happiness in political participation. These factors according to the study has no less role in the political participation. It had been argued that people abstain from paying attention to political issues not because they are disinterested but because of their dissatisfaction with the system. And they participate in political activities not because of the campaigning of political parties that compelled voters to participate but fear and anger that forced voters to participate or remain abstain from voting. The study highlighted that voting turnout also depends upon the political parties. If general voters find ideology, political and economic programme of the political parties different from each other, people feel happy and satisfied in voting but if there is not much difference in these, people became apathetic and abstain from voting. The study pointed out that people are matured and they know the price they have to pay if they participate in political activities or if they remained absent in political affairs? People are now mature enough to face the consequences if they participate actively in political protests. They have to face opposition and even physical harm in protests and if they keep themselves absent, they have to bear social pressure which previous theories are ignoring. In order to further explain political participation, the research had emphasized on the need to focus less on economics and more on psychology

Sardesi & Attri (2017) had focussed on the twin issue; when the Indian voters decide to vote and whether there are factors that determined the choice of Indian voters during the national elections or they cast their vote independently. The study found that every third out of 10 voters is guided for his/her choice for voting. The study found that while the bulk of voters make their own decisions on whom they would vote for, a significant proportion of voters' vote based on the advice of others. The study supported largely that external factors influenced the voting choice of the voters. The study asserted that the voters belonging to marginalized and minority social groups and women voters from socio economically backward states were more likely to be influenced by external factors. The study found that the number of voters who voted according to the wishes of others has increased now as compared to the mid-1990s. Further, the study suggested that Hindu Adivasis and Dalits have been most consistent in following someone's advice. Similarly, the study also found that women who classified themselves as 'housewives' have continually been more prone to be swayed

(primarily by their husbands) than other women. The study found that voters belonging to marginalized and minority social groups and women voters from socio-economically backward states were more likely to be influenced by others than men and majority group voters. The study revealed that the influence of family members is now declining and the influence of community leaders, party leaders and local activists is increasing.

These studies touched political participation and representation in India, its determinate factors and how they have been successful in building trust and confidence among Indian citizens. The context of the present study is different from the above studies. This study took the Indian democracy as a large democracy where citizens can play their roles in different political activities but it also presents the challenges of various groups especially migrants in the ways of political participation. The study highlighted how the migrants who are uprooted made their political roots in another place. None of the above study talked about this marginalised group of Indian society. As Migrants used to be less educated, so to get new identity proof at another place is tough for them and this restrict their political participation.

## **2.8 Studies related with the political participation of various groups (marginalised) and women in India**

The study of Mallick (2017) had revealed that tribal people in India are considered non-national and colonized people. In spite of many progressive laws, policies and programmes tribals have been playing marginal role up to the panchayats level but they are not being integrated politically up to state and central level political institutions.

Vijayluxmi (2004) focussed that being both 'Dalits' and 'women' in India also restricts political inclusion. The government has reserved 33% seats in the lower level of democratic institutions but Dalit women are not allowed to hold the position of Pradhan. The study had found that in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and in Punjab Dalit women were restricted to contest the seat of the chairperson of the gram panchayats or they were forced to resign so that the way of the opposing candidate could be made secure.

Bala (2011), in her Ph.D. thesis had shed light on the political participation of women at the grass root level in democratic institutions in the Gurdaspur district of Punjab. The study had aimed at knowing the voice of women members in the Panchayati Raj institutions and how far 70 the 73rd amendment had been successful in empowering the women politically. The study had been conducted in the six blocks of Gurdaspur by taking 210 respondents. The study had found that more than 80% women members appreciated the reservation policy under the amendment and had believed that they could get a chance only due to it otherwise the male members in the family would have captured the seats. The study had also revealed that their social status had improved due to their membership in PRI and they were experiencing enhancement of their image in the society and family. The study had pointed out that 73rd amendment had been successful in increasing the women members in PRI numerically but their effective role in decision making was far away because of the non-cooperation from the male members, and the Government officials, their domestic work load and inconvenient timings were challenges that they had to surpass to get real empowerment.

Jayal (2005) presented analytical study how the reservation in local self-institutions for women have failed to serve the purpose. The study presented the steps taken by other countries to increase the representation of women in various institutions. The study also highlighted the ways and efforts adopted by male members in India to keep them out of decision-making power. Legislating effective participation is impossible. It requires creating a political, social, and cultural climate where women may become conscious, have a solid knowledge basis, and feel confident in expressing their concerns, as well as an institutional framework that is sensitive and responsive to such articulations. Therefore, political parties and civil society, particularly women's groups and the women's movement, have a significant role to play in establishing the conditions for effective participation, even while laws and institutions can undoubtedly create the conditions for representation.

Kumar (2011) in his Ph.D. thesis had shed light on the political participation of Dalits in Nawanshahr and Patiala districts of Punjab. The study had aimed at throwing light on the political awareness, political activities and emerging leadership among the Dalits in these districts. The study had revealed that Dalits constituted 40% and 23 %

of the population in these districts but still their political awareness and political participation was very low. The study had revealed that after collecting data from 300 respondents from both the districts that the Dalits in Punjab still had low socio-economic status. The study had found that their political awareness and active political participation was very low. Though they had all the political rights but apart from voting their active involvement in the other activities like becoming members of political parties and campaigning of the elections etc. was negligible. They are members of almost all the political parties of Punjab but the high positions in the parties except of BSP are not held by the Dalits. The study had found that though BSP is active in Punjab politics but Dalits considered Congress political party as the protector of their interests in these districts. So far as the leadership is concerned constitutional provisions have provided these castes, opportunities so the political parties do give them tickets for reserved constituency. Other than the reserved constituency they are hardly given the opportunity. The study had revealed that their leadership is confined up to the legislature and local level bodies but they have marginal share in the ministerial portfolio and party organizational hierarchy. The study had found political participation of the Dalits in Punjab very low compared to their share in the total population.

Ferreira & Gyourko (2012) in their study had found that where women were in decision making bodies in the public sector in those areas crime got reduced, efficiency of administration had increased. public utility services also had increased.

Rao's (2016) study was an analytical study of the Guntur village of Andhra Pradesh and Murugan's study was a study of Sivagangui district of Tamil Nadu. These studies had found out that after passing the constitutional amendments, various plans and programs were meant for women, their participation had increased but their participation had touched up to the voting level. so far as their representation at the central and state level bodies were concerned their presence was negligible. Along with the other factors "non-political" nature of women was also responsible for their not emerging as autonomous categories. The study had found that there was significant role of gender equality in the successful working of the democratic institutions and all the legal framework. Equal rights and reservation could do nothing so long as gender equality was not there in the social and economic fields of society. The findings of the

study were that it was the social discrimination which was leading to political discrimination and thus lowering the women's political participation in India.

Women of different strata of caste, class, and economic status women have failed to become a strong vote bank. It has been further found that 20% of the female electorate have failed to register themselves in the electoral rolls.

These studies have taken up the issue of Dalits, tribes and women in India whose participation and representation carry 'minority status'. But the same will hold the truth for migrants. They, like Dalits are marginalised sections of society. They are also as per the various studies victim of social exclusion. Though their displacement legally has no impact over their political rights but practical problems do not let them to be politically active. Their maximum participation is up to the level of voting, representation at the new place is far away dream for them.

Above studies have found that in spite of the passing of constitutional amendments the political participation of women has not touched up to the mark. They have made their presence felt so far as voting is considered but actual representation has not taken place. Our social system which is constructed on gender inequality, has made them second class citizens and the stereotype thinking of men folk are not letting them to be actually empowered. As women have become marginalised in respect of political participation same is the case with migrants. They are considered second class citizens in their destined place. Many similar factors are found to be responsible for their low representation in the work place in India.

## **2.9 Studies related to the political participation and migration in India**

Abbas (2016) had defined in detail the meaning of the term citizen and citizenship in the context of the internal migrants in India. The study had pointed out that though the constitution of India provides so many social, economic and political rights to its citizens but migrants found it very difficult to avail of these rights. The study was conducted in Mumbai and Kolkata and it found that in Mumbai and Kolkata there was ethnic consciousness in the society and people in general did not give due place to non-Marathi and non-Bengali people on their lands so the migrants found it very difficult to mingle in the society. The Maharashtra and West Bengal bureaucracy

also desire to preserve their dominance against the North and did not let easily non-Marathi and non-Bengali people to let in the jobs. So, migrants felt like non-citizens there. As they lack the residence proof so their voting right also gets affected by it.

Thapa (2018) in his study had highlighted the issue of community identity and community leadership of the migrants' labourers in Ludhiana. The study had focused on the cultural identity and consciousness among the migrant labourers in the city. The study was confined to the migrants from UP and Bihar which constituted nearly 80% of the migrant's work force. The study had highlighted that the cause for the massive inflow of migration in the city was because of the non-willingness of the Punjabi labour to work in their own state. The study had covered two type of leaders formal and informal community leaders of the migrants and covered 7 wards of the south constituency of Ludhiana district. The study had found that the migrants as community had their own social organizations. The study had also covered the Punjab legislative assembly election in the context of the migrant labourers in Ludhiana. It had been found that the migrant workers were considered "outsiders" by the local people and local administration. So, community leadership has started in the city.

The article by Aggarwal (2019) had presented a correlation between the rate of migration and voting turn out of a state. The study had found that with higher rate of migration voting turn out becomes lower in the states. It has been further found that in 2014 elections 834 million 280 million did not use their right to vote and the major reason for not using this right was that they were not available in their registered constituency. The study had highlighted that the state Governments were not putting in earnest efforts to integrate these migrated people with the new place. This has been indicated by the ISMP (interstate migration policy) Index. In Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Delhi this index was just 26 out of 100. The study had found that lack of will on the part of the political representative was the main cause for the hurdles faced by the migrants in the new system. The study had found that the migrants were keen on getting registered in the voter list of the new place as this ensured residence proof which could help them in many ways.



Lal (2019) had examined that true democracy did not only depend upon the conduct of the free and fair elections but also on making the democracy politically inclusive to all. Further the paper had highlighted the problems of those laborers who were not registered as voters in their destined place. In addition to this, the article had argued that government is interested in taking steps to include those Indians who are abroad by making the provision of proxy voting but within the territorial boundary of India no efforts could be seen for increasing the political participation of internal migrants.

Rajan (2019) The study found that in India 10% of the total labour force was migrants The study had thrown light on the important but neglected issue of migrant voting right. The study was conducted in Kerala on daily wage labourers. The study had categorized voters into three category namely general electors, service electors and overseas electors. The study had highlighted the problems in the way of exercising the voting right of migrants. The study had pointed out that most of the migrant workers got employment in the informal sector so lack of official documentation proved a major hurdle in the way of enrolment. The study had highlighted the legislative lacunae in India faced by migrants. The author had stressed that except Internal Migrant Workmen Act 1979, there is no other concrete law or policy for migrant socio economic and political rights. Many times, Government had discussed the issue of overseas electors voting right by proxy voting but no attention being paid to safeguard the voting rights of the internal migrants.

Singh (2020) in his study had analysed how the distance restricts the migrants from participating in the electoral system in the Indian democracy. The study had highlighted those students and the workers were the main sections of the Indian society who had migrated from their place of origin. The study had found out that social and economic development and opportunities of the higher education were the main reasons for the internal migration to the urban centres such as Delhi, Kota and Allahabad. The study had revealed that nearly 50 million people moved out within India for economic purposes and 3.7 million students migrated for higher education in India. The study was conducted in Delhi to see the impact of migration on the political participation. The study had included the workers from the informal sectors and the students from Delhi

University. The study had found that the most of the migrant workers and students in Delhi did not exercise their democratic right in the 2019 elections. The lack of sufficient funds and fear of losing the job were the main reasons for not participating whereas for the 71 student's financial dependence on the parents, influence of the relatives and the peer group and visiting the native place just for voting was considered a sign of immaturity, these were the main cause of absence. The study suggested the Election commission of India to look into the constraints of the Internal migrants and the government should frame the policies keeping their problems in mind.

These studies are very relevant to the present research. There is no denying the fact that migration is caused by the "push" and "pull" factors. But the important aspect is when a person leaves a place/state and enters into new one place/state, there is a period when they are excluded from both the places. The present study besides taking the above aspects of political participation corroborated the fact that migration has least impact on the migrants' keenness of political participation. Even the poor living conditions do not restrict migrants from political participation but the lower participation is caused by the fear of losing the subsidies under the PDS which is based upon the residence proof and indifferent approach of political parties who hardly address their issues.

## **2.10 Studies related to political awareness among migrants**

Ajeevika bureau Report (2012) focussed had been primarily on the issue of political participation of the migrant workers through election and the other institutional agencies. The study was an attempt to find out the political relevance of these seasonal migrants at both the places from where they had migrated and at their work place. The study was conducted in the 15 areas of five states mainly UP, Bihar, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat. The study had found that 68% of the migrant voters had missed their voting rights at least once as they were away from their homes. The study found that these migrants were more active and interested in the elections of the local level bodies. They make a special trip for the local level or the migrant elections but their participation is less in the assembly and Lok Sabha elections. Their participation decreased by 10% with every higher step of election. The study had highlighted that

these workers faced political exclusion from their native place as the political parties and the active political agencies were aware of their non-availability during the elections. So, they hardly paid any attention to the value of their vote. Even some of them did not have their names in the voter list. The dark side of the aspect was that even these migrants did not get political inclusion as they lacked their identity proofs at their work place. Their political participation in the work place is less also because they lack knowledge about the polity of that place. Further it had been found that the migrants had very limited political role in India.

Gaikwad & Nellis (2018) in their study had presented the approach of the political leaders especially the councillors towards the migrants. The study had found that the councillors did discriminate between the migrants and the native people when the former approached them for their problems. The study conducted in 28 major cities in India and 2933 councillors were contacted out of whom 427 answered. The study had focused on the letters and phone calls of the migrants and the native people regarding the general problems of the councillors and had found that there was a sharp difference in the approach of the councillors. The study had found that like councillors responded very rarely to the migrants as compared to the native people. Only 13.9% letters and 12.9% phone calls of the migrants had been answered. The study had expressed that the probable reason of this discrimination was the migrant's political exclusion at the present living place. The suggested political leaders' approach towards the migrants could be changed by the political inclusion of the migrants.

Urs (2019) in his article presented the status of the awareness level of the urban migrants about their right to vote in the migrated place. The study was conducted in the metropolitan cities of Mumbai, Bengaluru, Delhi, Hyderabad and Pune taking at least 1100 urban migrants. It had been found that the urban migrants were not aware about the fact that they could cast their vote at their present place simply by changing the address in the voter Id card. The article found that 91% of the migrants were not registered as voters in their current cities though they wished to exercise their right to franchise. Moreover 73% urban migrant were not aware about the procedure of shifting their voter registration and another 41 % believed that if they had the voter id card, they could vote in any part of India. The paper had suggested that the government should

make the process of registrations simple so that all the eligible voters could enjoy their right to vote.

These studies raised very significant issue of electoral registration. Majority of the migrants are uneducated strata of Indian society. They are unaware of the details of form number 7 according to which they can change their address on the voter id card and cast their vote. But lack of awareness and some misconceptions about the voter id card creates hurdles on the way of political participation and makes Indian democracy less participatory democracy.

### **2.11 Studies related with political participation of migrants in other countries**

Ramakrishnan & Espenshade (2001) in their study had examined various factors that had influenced the political inclusion of immigrants in USA. The study had found the linguistic barrier along with the anti-immigrant legislation responsible for less active political participation. The study differentiated the political participation of the first-generation Latino and second or third generation Latino people in US. The study had found that Latino especially Spanish first generation were less politically active largely due to the language problem whereas this problem had no effect on second or third generation of Latino immigrants. So, the study had found individual variables like language, age and duration of stay in US as the main determinants of the electoral political participation of Latino and non-Latino (Latino born in US). The study was based on CPS (current population survey) of 1994, 1996 and 1998 and on NES (National Election Study).

Leal (2002) had analysed the extent of political participation by Latino non-citizens in US. The study had found that there was difference in the degree of political participation between the noncitizens and the citizens in US. The study had highlighted that Latino non-citizen were conscious about their ethnic identity and were active in non-electoral activities. Their less participation in electoral activities was not due to age, income or education etc. traditional factors but their political information and political perception about both the political parties were determining it.

Bevelander & Pendakur, (2009) aimed at finding the influence and co-relation between social capital and voting participation with respect to immigrants and

minorities in Canada. The study looked at the '2002 Wave of the Equality Security Community Survey' to see how voting is linked to things like 'personal characteristics,' 'work characteristics,' 'social capital traits,' and 'ethnic characteristics.' For this the study divided the voters into three categories, the natural Canadian citizens, the permanent immigrants and the natural citizens belonged to ethnic minorities in Canada. The goal of the study was to see how voting behaviour was affected by majority, minority, and permanent citizenship status. Instead of being influenced by a voter's ethnicity, the study looked at the characteristics such as immigrant status or majority/minority status, as well as 'sociodemographic' and 'social capital qualities,' affect voting behaviour. The study found that personal characteristics like age, degree of education, and level of civic participation have an impact on the likelihood of voting, both federally and provincially. The study found that trust in government has more direct impact on voting than of religion on voters. People who have higher faith in the government's philosophy and performance are more likely to engage, and this trust is based on their knowledge of current events. According to the study, official gatherings and discussions on political topics have a greater influence than personal conversations and visits with friends and relatives. The study focused on demographic, socioeconomic, and social capital variables.

(Barrio et al, 2013) The study is a project report conducted by INTERACT, the project looked at how governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, particularly the media, create transnational links and developed instruments that function economically, culturally, and legally to assess how EU member states approach immigration. The research effort revealed that there are 25 million people from third-world nations living in EU countries, accounting for around 5% of the overall population. Migrants are citizens of both their home country and the country where they are now living, but it is the obligation of the receiving state to develop and implement laws for their integration. The study pointed out that two types of actors i.e., state and non - state actors at both the places played key role in determining political participation of migrants. The study found significant impact of political participation of immigrants on civic integration, social interactions, labour market integration and on educational and religious practices.

Kapur, (2014) in his study had thrown light on the political effects of out migration on the country. The study had examined the impact of migration on political economy, and on nationalism, citizenship and particularly on political institutions of the country of origin. The study had pointed out that the number of people migrating from south to north had increased manifold during the last decade whereas only 6% people migrated from north to south out of the total migration. The study had found out the impact of the migration and on political behaviour on the basis of the four channels; prospective channel, absence channel, Diaspora channel and return channel. The study had revealed that the voter turnout was directly related to the scale of migration. It was high in areas where out migration was low. Even the political participation of the elite group was affected if they saw their children getting settled abroad.

The study had pointed out that the migration affected the working of the political institutions of the country of origin. When the talented people left the country then the institutions had to manage with the less capable persons. This was the reason some political system considered emigration as a safety valve. The third channel study had highlighted the Diaspora channel. The members of Diaspora participate in politics directly and indirectly. The families of the emigrants normally get financial assistance so they are influenced by the policies of the state. They are concerned whether the political parties or political groups would be giving them funds or not. The last channel the study had discussed is the return channel. The study had found that the origin country gets benefited if the migrants return to their native place both in terms of remittance and remaining emotionally attached. Usually, the feeling of nationalism is higher in those who returned from abroad than those who are permanently living. The study had found that going abroad reshaped attitude, expectations and identities of the people.

Abraham (2015) This research work has presented a noticeable lack of political participation amongst the Asian Immigrants in the United States. The study has investigated why some immigrant groups (particularly, Indian and Chinese) politically participated lesser than others. The purpose of this research was to look at the rates of political participation amongst the Asian immigrants and to point towards factors that influence the immigrant political experience. Largely, work on political participation

has focused on elements of voting behaviours and partisanship. This however, according to the author, does not fit the definition of political participation that is relevant to the study. Political participation, according to this study, is defined as "non-voting forms of political activity that improve political engagement in one's local community." The aforementioned methods aim to assess political engagement by looking at things like "a group's role in donating to a political campaign; their participation in socially discussing politics," and so on. In order to better understand the lack of political involvement described in this study, it has focused on the levels of 'native democratisation' and 'corruption,' stating that the two are critical aspects that ultimately influence immigrant political value in America. The research has paid attention to the relation between the impact of an individual's political socialization and their post-migration political participation. In this respect, it has been argued in the research that the individuals from these countries that are not effective democracies and where, there exists a significant rate of corruption are less likely to participate in a range of political activities. With respect to the policy outcomes, the study had focused on more direct measures in order to include the Asian immigrants in the political process with specific focus on the additional language options in the political paraphernalia including the voter registration forms, voting ballots, TV ads et al. The study had asserted that in order to create a truly inclusive political system, the need was to focus on both institutional as well as social shifts.

Muggie et al (2019) had presented an empirical analysis of the political participation of Dutch Turkish people in Western European countries especially Netherland. The study had highlighted that the people of 115 countries had the external voting rights. The study was a survey of the exit poll in the two polling stations of Netherlands i.e., Rotterdam in 2014 of the Turkish presidential election and Rijswijk of 2015 Turkish Parliamentary elections. The study was based upon three components first on turnout rates, second on political trust and interest and third on candidate and party choices of the Dutch Turkish citizens in the Netherlands. The study had found low turnout of Turkish voters just 19% of the eligible voters in 2014 elections in the Netherlands though it was 77% in Turkey. It went to 37% in 2015 parliamentary elections abroad (Netherland) whereas it was 86% in the homeland (Turkey). The study

had found that the second component interest and trust were determined by the demographic variables like age, gender, educational level and country of birth.

So far as the candidate and party choices were concerned Erdogan got 52% of votes in Turkey but 78% in Netherland. In the Parliamentary election also the attitude and behaviour of the people in Turkey was different from the migrants from Turkey in the Netherlands. Further AKP was the more popular party with 64% votes in the Netherlands than in Turkey itself where it captured just 46%. The author had also found the apprehension among the native people in these countries that external voting might create obstacles in integrating the migrants into the political life of their present country and might divert their local culture as well.

The study of Bhojwani had raised the need of political inclusion of the migrants and minorities for making democracy a true democracy that established equality for all. The author had explained there were three levels of political power namely opportunity to work, to be represented and to have a voice in the policy making. The study had revealed various programme in U.S.A France and UK which promoted political inclusion in the respective countries. The author gave insight about” Partnership for Immigrants Leadership and Action” programme in California. This study touched “count us in” programme 2011 in 78 Ireland U K which made citizens aware about their right to vote. The author had also brought into light the Representations for All programme which compelled the govt to pass “Chicago Voting Right Act of 2011” The article appreciated Paris Mayor Bertrand Delaneo ‘s policy named All Persian All Citizens which offer all non-European a platform to have a dialogue with the municipal bodies.

Parvin (2020) had presented the problem of low and unequal political participation in the liberal democracies. The author highlighted the correlation between income and wealth distribution and political participation in the democratic states. The author had found that this socio-economic inequality in Canada, USA, New Zealand and Britain were the main cause of the unequal political participation whereas in Norway, Sweden and Denmark less gap in the economic resource’s distribution led to high and stable political participation. The author had also emphasised on formal and



informal political participation. The author had found that poor people were involved in these liberal democracies only in the formal political activities like electoral participation and the wealthy people did participate in the informal political activities like the petition filling, campaigning for candidates and funding for elections. There was need to change the approach. These states should bring such institutional changes which could increase informal political participation rather than merely increasing voting. These democracies should work for the deliberative democracy than representative democracy.

## **2.12 Studies related with the political clientelism**

Lindbirg et al, (2022) in world development presented a deep insight the relationship between political clientelism, corruption and rule of law in various countries during the period from 1900 to 2018. The study found that there is a link between political clientelism and poor governance; as clientelism rises, political corruption and the rule of law deteriorate. Furthermore, the study discovered that non-programmatic party ties, rather than the act of buying votes, are what have the worst effects of political clientelism.

(Gherghina 2017; Hilgers, 2008; Roniger, 2004 Medina and Stokes, 2002) In their studies these authors had talked about the meaning of the term clientelism. Gherghina and Hilgers's study had analysed the contribution of the political clientelism in Romania and Brazil. Moreover, these studies had highlighted how political parties had become important instrument of the political clientelism. Roniger L (2004) in his study had explained the meaning and scope of the term clientelism in politics. It analysed the traditional system of patronage and modern party directed clientelism. It had also highlighted how federal and unitary systems differed in their way of clientelism.

Stokes (2011) in her study explained various aspects of political clientelism apart from defining the term in details. The study highlighted the two waves of the study of political clientelism. The study found that vote buying and patronage are the two sub classes of clientelism which were analysed in the first wave during the emergence of new states in the post-world war period. Second wave of the study analysed the

clientelism in the mode of commitment. The study found instances when voters ignored the material benefits and showed commitment to ideology. The study also focused on causes of clientelism and found that there is a relation between poverty and clientelism. Poverty encourages clientelism and clientelism encourages poverty too as political parties' chief interest is to stay in power not to remove the poverty. The study also found electoral rules responsible for the trends of clientelism.

Bardhan et al. (2008) had analysed factors that determine the voting behaviour of the rural west Bengal. The study had analysed various factors like caste, wealth education and the impact of various welfare programmes of the local bodies on the voting behaviour. The study had found that political clientelism overshadowed the other factors. People felt voting was a gratitude in favour of that political party which provides benefits like credits, employment, relief from debts. voters were less conscious about the group benefits like roads and water facility than their personal benefits.

Harriss (2005) in his study which is a sample survey done on 1401 people of Delhi, has tried to see the approach of urban poor people towards their political representatives. The study had found that the lower middle class was moving towards its social networks, voluntary associations and autonomous organisations for their problems whereas the poorer people in the juggies were still looking towards the political parties or the political groups as their problem solvers.

Auyero (1999) in his study on Latin America found a relationship between political parties and organized popular groups. The study found that there are three main actors in political clientelism the patrons, the brokers, and the clients. This article explored the opinions and perceptions of those who receive favours, products, and services from party brokers, who definitely do so in an effort to "earn their support," as well as their opinions of the brokers' actions and politics in general. The study mainly focussed how the political rallies played important roles in clientelism. People attend the rallies out of gratitude and feel that their participation in the rallies is mandatory out of appreciation for or in support of the broker's requirements. The study highlighted that though the clientelist politics in the literature is considered a "negative determinant" but it has "positive attraction" also.

### **2.13 Studies related to the study area**

Sekhon & Singh (2015) in their study presented the historical background of the Punjab with special focus on the period when Punjab was passing through the militant movement. The study described the political rise and fall of the Sikh community from the Mughal period to the enforcement of the Indian constitution. The study explained the reasons for the emergence of militancy in Punjab and found that the fallout of the green revolution and central government failure to understand the disappointment of the Sikh community for its discriminatory policies led to the emergence of militancy in Punjab. The study discussed the various political developments like Rajiv-Longowal agreements, elections in 1987, Surjeet Singh Barnala government failure to control the law and order and subsequently its fall led to many Human Rights Violation Acts by the police in Punjab. In the last part of study highlighted how the role played by common people who resisted to the communal and militant forces and supported the security forces and efforts by the central government and democratic forces of the state finally helped in ending the violence in Punjab.

Ram (2016) in his study throws light on the social structure in Punjab. The study described the Punjab as food bowl of North India. The study narrates that the history of Punjab witnessed that the state stood against all sorts of discrimination and domination by citing the example of formation of Ghadar party to militant movement in 1980. But social structure of Punjab especially the caste system of Punjab presents the other side of the state. The study highlighted that the Dalits are in highest number i.e., 31% in Punjab but they occupy just 3 % of the total cultivated area in Punjab. Their presence in the trade, industry, media, health, and financial sector is too negligible. The quest for social emancipation and empowerment among Dalits in Punjab gave rise to increase in various Deras. These Deras in Punjab are the religious way for the social mobility of the Dalits and reflects Dalit consciousness and their separate identity in the state. The study pointed out the various kinds of Deras in Punjab and focussed on Ravidass Deras. These Ravidass Deras presents unique blend of their religious and political leader. Guru Ravidas represent their Bhakti based culture of social protest whereas Dr. B.R. Ambedkar represents their political guide.

Thus, these studies give knowledge about the historical, cultural and social aspect about the area under study so that one can understand the migrants view point with more clear way.

#### **2.14 The summary of literature review**

The above review of literature is about the general meaning, types, trends and political aspect of migrants. Some studies analysed socio economic conditions of the migrants Chitra, (2019); Gill et al., (2017); Sharma, (2017); Sengupta and Benjamin, (2016); (IPU, 2015); Mahapatra, (2012); Bhagat, (2011); Mitra and Murayama, (2008); Bird and Deshingkar, (2009); Kumar and Sidhu, (2005); Srivastva and Sasikumar, (2003) and (Salve) these studies reveals positive and negative impacts of migration on the native place and the place of origin. Rajan, (2018); Kapur, (2014); Srivastva and Sasikumar, (2003) and (Bhojwani) talked about the trends of external migration and policies of various countries to deal with the issue of migration. Kaur et al., (2011) and Singh, (2011) studied the impact of migrated labour on the economy and crime graph of Punjab. Aggarwal, (2019); Lal, (2019); Thapa, (2018) and Ajeevika bureau Report, (2012) highlight the low political role of migrants in their present place of work. Mallick (2017); Ravi et al., (2014); and Vijayluxmi (2004) the studies talk about the political exclusion of some communities in India. Chitra, (2019) and Gaikwad and Nellis, (2018) presented the level of political awareness among the migrants.

#### **2.14 Research Gap**

The nature of Migration is an interdisciplinary issue. Various aspects of the migration have been studied in the discipline of Geography, economics, sociology and legal studies, but a little has been done to study the political aspect of the internal migrants. It has been found from the above literature that lots of literature is available on the conceptualization of migration, its causes and trends. Some studies are available on the socio-economic conditions of the migrated labour in a specific area. Some studies are there on the impact of the migrated labour on the economy of that area in terms of wages, production etc. The Studies are available that have focused on laws and Acts that regulate the migration especially on the labour legislation, but there is little information available about their political role in the present place. The political aspect

of any place is affected by the inflow of migrant population as migrants also perform political activities but very few works are available that have dealt with the political participation, political awareness and the leadership issues of the migrants in India especially in Punjab. Less studies are there, that explain the migrants as the determinantal factors in the election of a place. The current research fills that gap. Ludhiana city serves as a centre for migrants, the study seeks to examine the political engagement of internal migrants in their present place. The study presents their participation in formal and informal political activities in Ludhiana which is less explored phenomenon of previous research.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter an attempt has been made to explain the Research methodology used to obtain the objectives of the study and to get answers of the research questions related with the objectives. The chapter explains area under the study and why this area has been chosen for study. The chapter highlights the source of the data collected, sampling technique and sample size. An effort has been made to highlight the tools with the help of which the data has been analysed.

#### **3.1 Objectives**

##### **3.1.1 General objectives**

General objective of the study is to find out the level of political participation of internal migrants in Ludhiana city of Punjab, as this district of Punjab is most populated district of Punjab and it is industrial hub of India also. To achieve this general objective some specific objectives are kept in the study. These are as follows: -

##### **3.1.2 Specific objectives**

To explore the socio-economic conditions of migrants.

To access the extent of political activism of migrants.

To examine the emerging political leadership of migrants.

To analyse the trends of clientelism in migrants.

To find out the obstacles in the way of political participation of migrants.

To suggest the measures for enhancing the political participation level among migrants.

##### **3.1.3 Research Questions**

Following are the research questions of the study

Q1. Whether political participation gets affected by the socio-economic conditions of migrants

Q2. To what extent migrants are politically active in the Ludhiana city?

- Q3. What is the pattern of political leadership among migrants in Ludhiana city?
- Q4. What are the factors influencing political participation of migrants in Ludhiana city?
- Q5. Which are the problems migrants face in performing their political role?
- Q6. What are the different measures that can increased political participation of migrant?

### **3.2 Type of Research**

The research is descriptive in its nature. Descriptive research is based upon careful observations supported by scientific documentation. This documentation may be statistics based upon surveys or census which are precise and thus reliable more than casual observations (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 6). The research was conducted by using descriptive survey method. A survey based upon questionnaire was done in Ludhiana to get the information from the migrants about their political participation and related issues.

### **3.3 Research Design**

The study is quantitative and qualitative. Cross section study was conducted to collect the data from the respondents through questionnaire, at a single period of time by drawing sample from the target population. The study was conducted in the Ludhiana city which is the first metropolitan city of Punjab, a city which has more than a million people. (Singh, 2016) It is the largest city of Punjab comprising population of 16,93,653 people as per the census of 2011 and 2.06504 million in 2019.<sup>8</sup>

### **3.4 Key Concepts and Constructs**

**Concepts** in the research needs explanations of observed phenomenon. Specific characteristics of the unit of analysis are the concepts of the study (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p.10).

**Political participation** is the key concept of the study. Sum total of activities of people that do impact directly or indirectly the politics of the nation. In the study

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/punjab.html>

political participation is the main concept, however the study has used constructs too to explain more precisely the main concept i.e., political participation (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p.11). The study includes formal and informal both political activities of migrants as constructs of the main concept. It includes formal political activities such as voting, becoming member of any political party and to contest for the election at any level of democratic institutions. It includes participation in informal political activities such as participation in political discussions, attending political meetings, participation in campaigning, role in the selection of candidates as informal activities of political participation. These activities are constructs of political participation in the study.

**Political Activism** Political activism refers to participation in politics and showing interest in political events. Political activism is a type of political activity that has an influence on political decisions and serves as a political lobby. Political activism is defined in a variety of ways that show the total amount of effort expended by individuals and social groups to change their political status and surround them. Political activism is often considered synonym with “political participation”, “political activity of citizen”, “lobby”, and “political movement” (Drozd, 2015, pg. 229). Political activism has two levels The lower level and Higher level. The lower level includes taking part in political activities like voting, campaigning, taking part in meetings, manifestations and strikes etc. The higher level includes professional political activity (Drozd, 2015).

The study has included only lower level of political activism and used the term to see the political participation of migrants in formal and informal political activities.

### **Political Clientelism**

There is lack of agreement on the definition of clientelism and it affects more than most other concepts. Political clientelism is a method of electoral mobilisation. Political clientelism is defined by Susan as the offering of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron uses (Stokes, 2011). Political clientelism is getting political support from individual or from group in exchange for selective benefits to individual or group (Hopkins, 2006). It is generally obligation paid by the people especially voters to political parties which promised them



to serve goods and services after the election. Traditional system of patronage in modern times has become party directed clientelism (Roninger, 2004).

In the study an attempt has been made to see whether migrants' political participation is directed by the political clientelism or they are influenced by the performance of the candidate or policies or programmes of political parties. In other words what are the determinantal factors that influenced the voting behaviour of migrant voters when they participate in politics of Ludhiana.

### **Political leadership**

Democracy and leadership are closely related with each other. Leadership is the act of leading a group of people to achieve desired goals and tasks. Leadership qualities vary from organization to organization and political leadership is different from managerial, professional, academic, and civic leadership (Hartley, 2011 pg-132). It is a completely different kind of activity in the political arena. Political leadership is the act of motivating people to support a cause. (Gibb,1968). Political leaders are the main driving force behind the socio economic and political changes in a society. Political leaders provide the right direction for the benefits and development of the society. Political leaders are of two types Formal leaders and informal leaders. Formal leaders are the holders of authority and in most of the democratic political systems they acquire the authority from the people through election and continue to exercise the authority with their support. Thus, political leaders act as people representatives and represent their interest in the decision making bodies (Hartley, 2011 p.139).

In the present study an attempt has been made to see the emerging political leadership among the migrants. In other words, it was intended in the study to know whether migrants contest the elections and provide leadership to their community or not.

### **3.5 Variables**

Political participation of migrants is the dependable variable in the study which is directed by socio economic and political conditions.

### 3.6 Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis are individual migrants in the Ludhiana city of Punjab who came here from other places.

### 3.7 Operational definition of migrants

In the present study migrant is considered a person

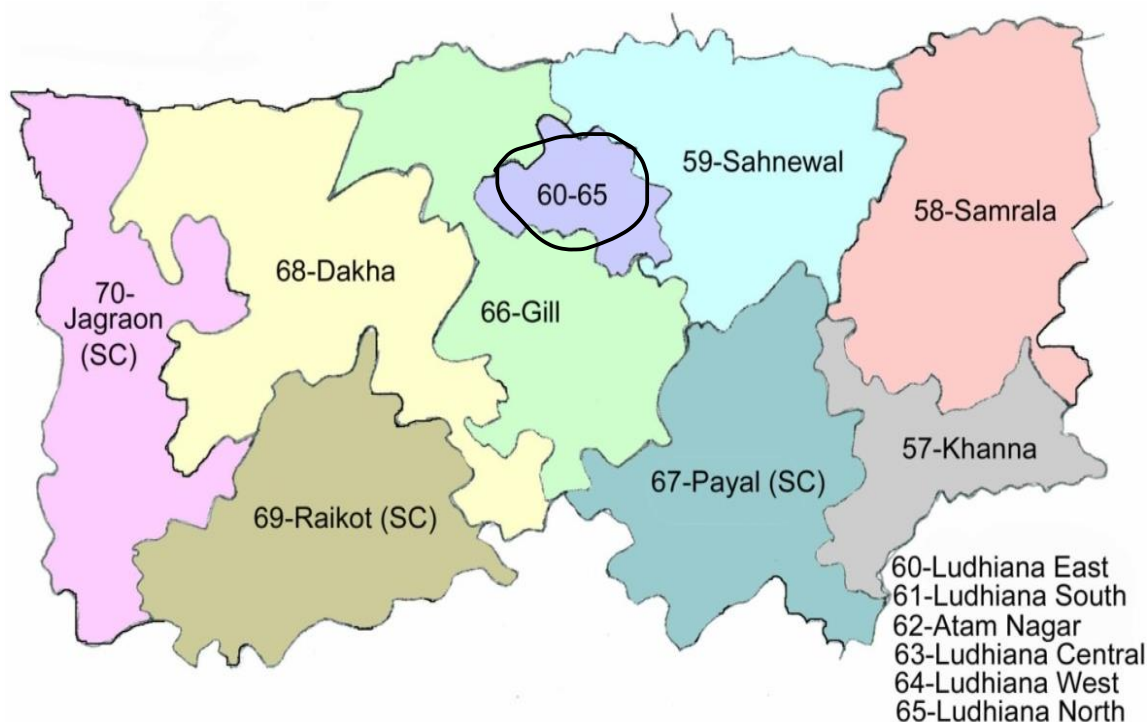
- who is living and working at a place which is not his/her birth place but the birth place is within India.
- Secondly in the study inter district or intra district migrant are not taken only interstate migrant are taken for the survey irrespective the migrant is seasonal migrant or permanent migrant.
- The study further took into consideration the political participation of migrants who are having voter id card of present address.
- The study has included only migrant workers (person having fixed monthly salary), Labourer (based on daily wages) and self-employed. Migrant professionals and government employees' migrants are not part of the study.

### 3.8 Area under study and rationale of selecting the area

Ludhiana city of Ludhiana district is the hub of a number of industries such as hosiery, machine tools, dyes, cycle parts, auto components, sewing machine, diesel engines, tyre tubes and motor parts etc. (Mehra & Singh, 2014). The migrated population in Punjab was estimated more than 40 lakhs and Ludhiana alone has a home for nearly 20 lakhs migrated people (Thapa, 2018). A study conducted in 2014-15 estimated that there were about 5000 fruit sellers in the city and out of them 50% were migrants (Kumar and Goyal, 2018). **So, the area chosen for the study is appropriate for the problem under study.**

Ludhiana city contains 6 constituencies for legislative assembly and 1 for Lok Sabha. The area under study is from constituency 60 to 65 as shown in the map.

**Figure 18: Constituency Map of Ludhiana**



### 3.9 Population of the study

The population of the study are migrants falling under the Ludhiana city. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of migrants in the Punjab as well as in the Ludhiana city because most of these migrants are in informal sector and they do not get themselves registered to the labour department. The estimated population of migrants' labour in all the constituencies of Ludhiana is as follows

**Table 5: Population of migrants in Ludhiana**

Name of Constituency	Approx. No of migrants
(60) Ludhiana East	20,000 to 30,000
(61) Ludhiana South	60,000 to 70,000
(62) Atam Nagar	5,000 to 10,000
(63) Ludhiana Central	10,000 to 15,000
(64) Ludhiana West	15,000 to 20,000
(65) Ludhiana North	8,000 to 12,000

Source: (Thapa, 2018)

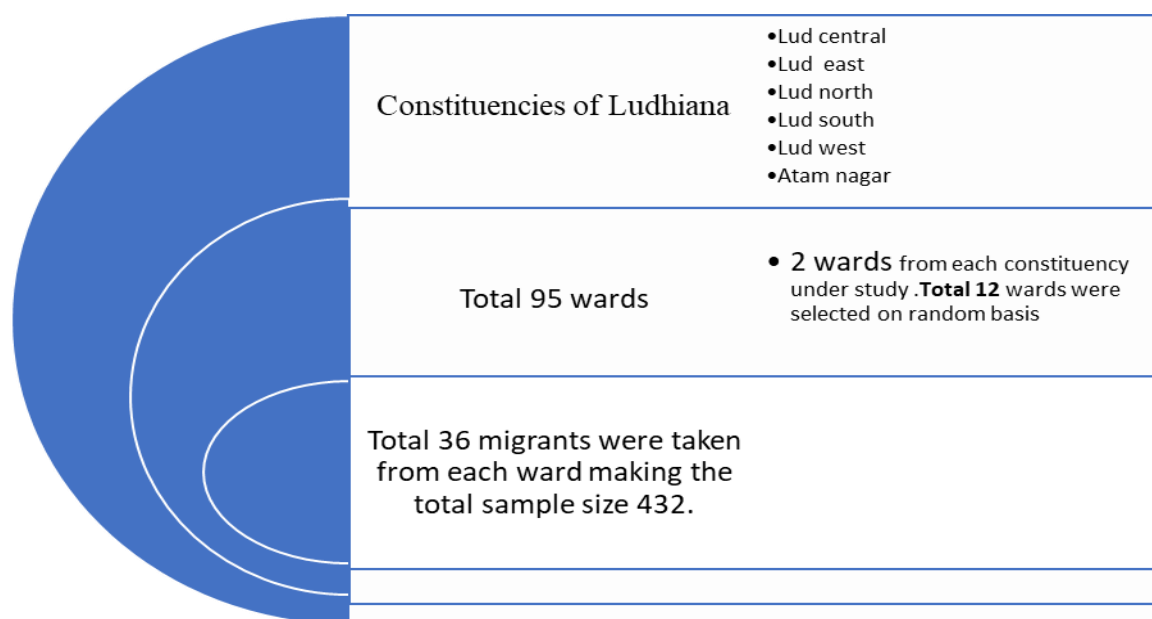
### 3.10 Sample size

There are six constituencies in Ludhiana city and it has 95 wards divided on the basis of size of population in the area. Each ward has minimum population of 16000 thousand and maximum of 20000 populations (Jagga, 2017).<sup>9</sup> In the study all the six constituencies were taken and further 2 wards from every constituency were selected. 36 migrants were taken from each ward making the sample size 432 following the Moregan Krejice table.

### 3.11 Sampling designs and technique

There are mainly two types of sampling Probability sampling and non probability sampling. These types are further divided into various catagories. Probability sampling is applied where every unit of the sample of the population is having equal chance of being selected (Bhattacharjee, 2012. p.67). In the present study multistage stratafied random snowball sampling is applied. For this three stages were opted for the sampling.

**Figure 19: Sampling technique**



<sup>9</sup> <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/ludhiana/number-of-wards-in-ludhiana-mc-increased-from-75-to-95/>

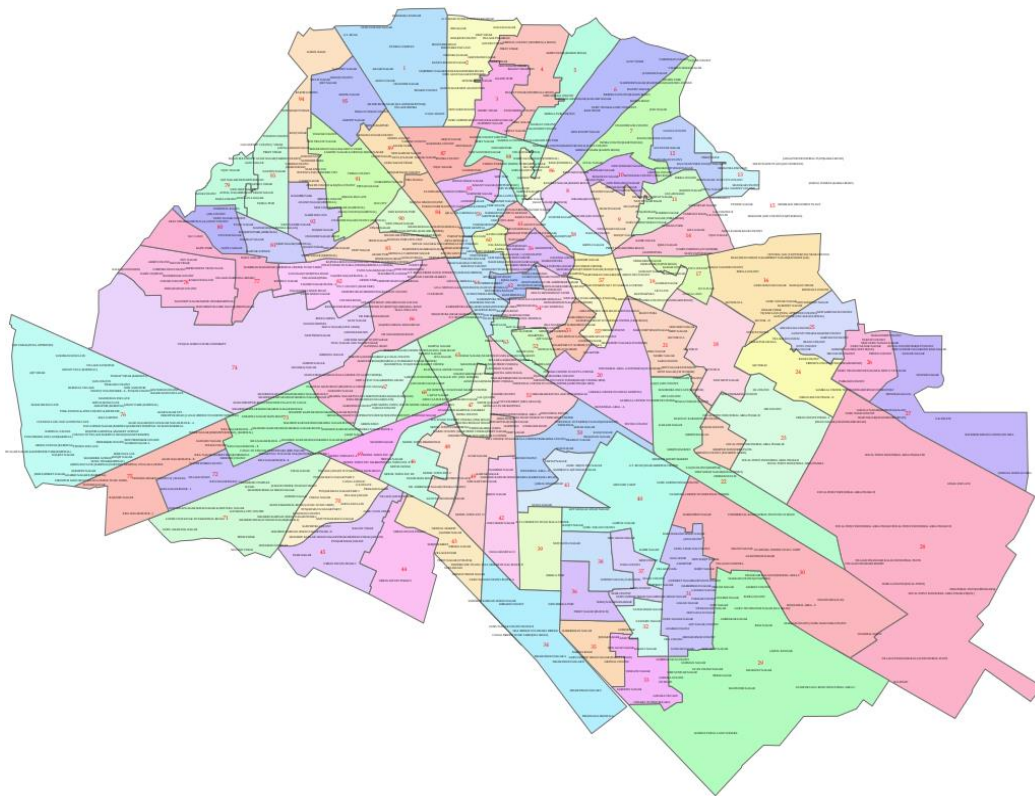
### 3.11.1 Stage 1

There are 117 total electoral constituencies in Punjab for legislative assembly. Ludhiana is the largest district in terms of population in Punjab. It has total 14 constituencies. Constituency number 57 to 70 comes under the jurisdiction of Ludhiana. In the first stage the researcher selected the migrant strata of only six constituencies which fall under the Ludhiana city. These are Ludhiana East, (60) Ludhiana South (61), Atam Nagar Constituency (62), Ludhiana Central (63), Ludhiana West (64) and Ludhiana North (65).

### 3.11.2 Stage 2

In the next stage two wards are selected from each of the six constituency. There are total 95 wards in these 6 constituencies of Ludhiana. Two wards are selected from each constituency and it makes total ward under study 12.

**Figure 20: Ward Map of Ludhiana**



**Table 6: Serial Number of wards and number of migrants**

<b>Name of the Constituency</b>	<b>Number of the constituency</b>	<b>Wards selected</b>	<b>Total no migrants selected</b>
Ludhiana East	60	19 and 17	72
Ludhiana South	61	29 and 31	72
Atam Nagar	62	41 and 47	72
Ludhiana Central	63	58 and 62	72
Ludhiana west	64	42 and 77	72
Ludhiana North	65	83 and 84	72

### **3.11.3 Stage 3**

At the third stage migrants from the areas under wards were selected and were contacted for response. Total 432 migrants were approached from 12 wards .36 migrants were selected on simple random basis for getting the response

### **3.12 Rationale of the selection of wards**

Wards were selected on the basis of random sampling. Selection of the wards were done keeping in mind the population of the study. Ludhiana is industrial city and majority of the industries are having workers/labourers who are migrants from other Indian states so industrial areas were selected for the study. Migrants were divided into 3 categories namely workers, labourers, and self-employed. In most parts of Ludhiana industrial and residential areas are combined so in most of colonies the migrants were having their work place and residence nearby.

In Ludhiana East (constituency no 60) ward no 19, Ravidaspura and LIG colony was selected. Sandhu enclave was also selected to collect the data. From ward no 17 Sherpur Kalan, Tajpur road and Labour colony was selected to collect the data.

In Ludhiana South constituency (constituency no 61) ward no 29 and 31 were selected which comes under Giaspura area. This area is residential cum industrial area full of migrant workers. For ward no 29 migrants from Mahadev Nagar, Ambedkar Nagar and Indra colony were interviewed. Data was collected from 39 migrants from

this ward. For ward no 31 Guru Harkishanshan Nagar, Pakhar colony and Gagan Vihar were selected and total 43 migrants were contacted to get the response. This area is one of the least develop area of Ludhiana and there was very bad condition of roads in these wards but most of the migrants were having voter id cards in these wards. Migrants were quite politically aware and mobilised in this area.

From Ludhiana Atam Nagar constituency (constituency no 62) ward no 41 and 47 were selected. From ward no 41, 30 respondents from Partap Nagar and Janta Nagar were contacted and data was collected. From ward no 47 Indra colony, Vishwakarma town and Dhuri Pathak area were selected to collect the data. 42 migrants were contacted to get the data. Numerous migrants live in this area. Migrants in this area are not much politically mobilised.

In Ludhiana Central constituency (constituency no 63) ward no 58 and ward no 62 were selected. This area is hub of hosiery industry. Various industrial units manufacturing woollen clothes and allied units were full of migrant labour. The researcher found many migrant entrepreneurs in this area. Many migrants have started their own units ranging from cottage industry to small scale industry. From ward no 58 migrants from Madhopuri, Sunder Nagar and Kirpal Nagar were interviewed based on the questionnaire. From ward no 62 Rahon road area was selected. Many Migrants were having their small shops of fruits and vegetables, grocery items and construction labourers were interviewed. Migrants from Mahavir colony and Nirankari colony were also contacted.

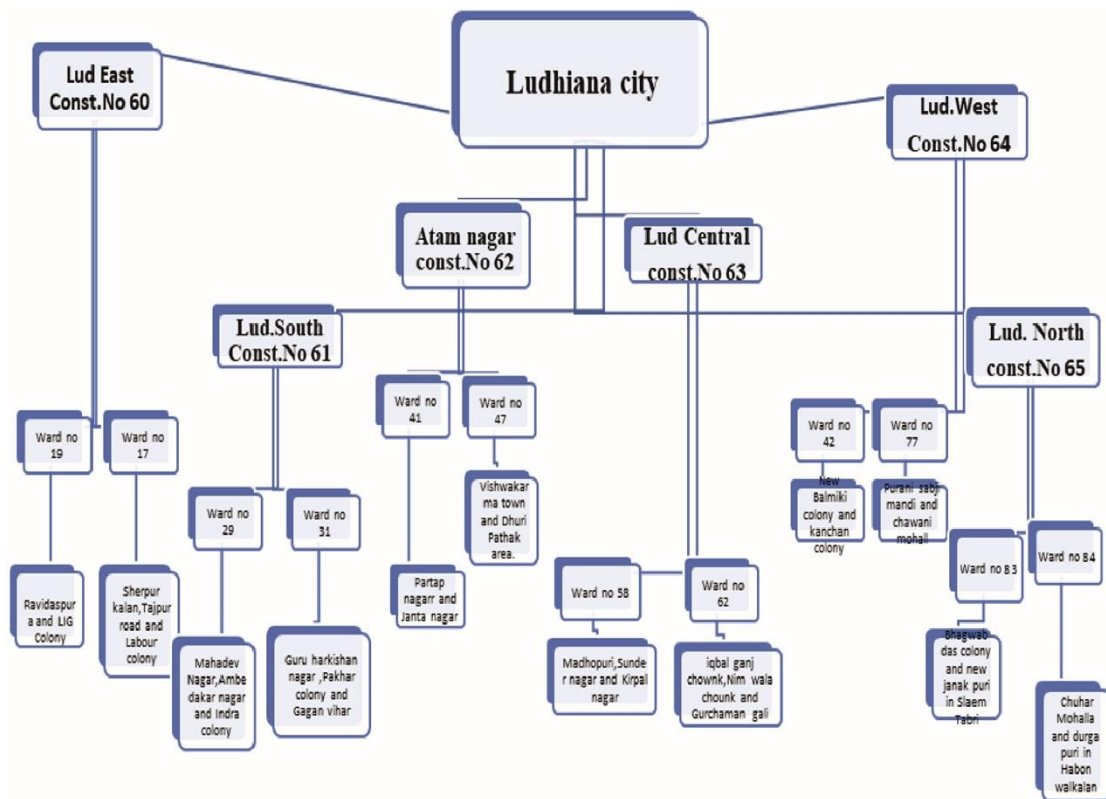
In Ludhiana west constituency (constituency no 64) ward number 42 and 77 Balmiki colony, Kanchan colony, Purani Sabji mandi and Chhawani Mohalla were selected. Most of the migrants in this area are self-employed having vegetable and fruit sellers. Some are employed in near-by established showrooms

In Ludhiana North constituency (constituency no 65) ward number 83 and 84 were selected. Data was collected from Bhagwan das colony, new Janak puri in Salem Tabri, Chuhar Mohalla and Durga puri in Habon Wala kalan.

### 3.13 Duration of data collection

It took 8 months to collect the data from dec.2020 to July 2021. The data was collected with utmost care. The researcher used the language in which migrants were most comfortable and approached them in the time which was suitable to them.

**Figure 21: Selection of areas in the wards**



### 3.14 Source of data collection

The study is based upon the primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data of the study is backbone of the study and it is essentially based on it and was collected with the help of well-known method of sample survey. The primary data for the study was collected through a comprehensive questionnaire which was constructed after extensive review of literature and by taking expert opinion and suggestions. The instrument (questionnaire) was prepared keeping in view the objectives of the study. The study has six objectives and the questionnaire too is divided mainly into five parts and each part have some questions that helps to achieve the specific objective. The first part of the questionnaire is Section A contains questions related with the general



demographical information about the migrants. Second part B contains questions related with issue of migration of the migrants in the Ludhiana city. Part C and D of questionnaire is having questions that helps to know the social and economic condition and status of migrants in Ludhiana. Section E related with the main problem of the study. It contains question to have deep insight about the political awareness, political participation whether active or inactive, obstacles in the ways of political participation. Section F has questions that tell us about the emerging leadership among the migrants in Ludhiana city. The study has Migrant population in Ludhiana as the source of primary data. They were approached personally. The data was collected through personal interviews in order to get the detailed in-depth information. The respondents were contacted personally and relevant information was gathered from them with the utmost care. Whereas. the secondary data is based upon the following sources

The data for the proposed study was drawn upon from various books, journal articles, government reports, the annual statistical abstract of India, and the findings of individual researchers.

### **3.15 Tools and Techniques**

The data has been analysed using descriptive statistics. The percentage method is used to interpret, present and analysis of primary data. This method is applied to analyse the data in order to finalise with the relevant conclusion and suggestion. Pie charts, bar diagram and tabular representation are used to represent it graphically.

### **3.16 Validity and Reliability**

Very important step of a study is to measure its variables accurately and correctly. Therefore, the questionnaire of the study upon which primary data was based, was sent for expert opinion and pilot testing. First of all, the questionnaire was given to a panel of five members who were knowledgeable about the content of the study. They also checked whether the language and content are simple enough to be understand by the respondents of the study i.e., Migrants. On the advice of the experts and discussion with supervisor sir some items were deleted which were taking the research to another direction, some were modified and even some were added to fulfil the objectives of the study and to ensure the validity of the questionnaire.

Further, it is also double checked that the scales of measurement should be appropriate to measure the variable for which they are applied. For checking the reliability, pilot study was done. On the basis of Bajpai (2011) and Cann.et al (2008), 10% of the sample was selected for pilot study. So, a sub set of 45 responses was collected and Cronbach alfa test was used to test the reliability. The result of the pilot study is given below which is 0.844 which indicates that the questionnaire is suitable for data collection and it could be used to get the results. Reliability result is given below.

**Table 7: Result of pilot study**

Scale reliability statistics	Cronbach Alfa $\alpha$	McDonald's
Scale	0.841	0.944

### **3.17 Contribution of the study**

The present study shed light on the political importance of urban migrants. The study helps government and non-government agencies to know the extent of political awareness of the migrants about their present living place. The study also helps in finding the status of political role of migrants. The study brings into light the problems faced by the migrants while performing their political roles and thus helping the policy makers to make the policies in such a way that can increase the political participation of migrants in their present place. The study helps in knowing the extent of political clientelism in Ludhiana city. The study supports the government agencies like ECI to find out the alternative ways of voting like proxy voting or online voting etc. The study also suggests the government to legislate in favour of migrants who are treated as non-citizens within India. For this chaptalization is done as below: -

### **3.18 Chaptalization of the study**

Chapter 1 Introduction deals with the Conceptual framework of political participation and migration in details, Status of migration in India and profile of Punjab and Ludhiana.

Chapter 2 deals with the existing literature on the phenomenon and titled as Review of Literature

Chapter 3 is all about methodology section. It contains objectives of the study, Research questions, operational definition of the phenomenon, research design, sampling design and technique, source of data collection and tools to analyse the data.

Chapter 4 deals with the results obtained about the socio-economic status of the migrants with the help of questionnaire and associated discussions in the study area.

Chapter 5 describes the results of the current status of the political activism of the migrants with the help of questionnaire and associated discussions in the study area.

Chapter 6 presents the objective wise Findings based upon the results obtained through the survey, recommendations, limitation and future scope for the study. The chapter is also attached with the references used in the study, questionnaire and photographs taken during the survey.

## CHAPTER 4

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MIGRANTS

The demographic characteristics, social inclusion, economic condition are the important determinants of political participation. In the field survey, adequate importance had been given to these factors and they were employed as variables to substantiate the analysis. During the collection of the data these factors were kept in mind. Before explaining the questions related to the political participation the socio-economic profile of the respondents and their migration related status was given due consideration which is as follows:

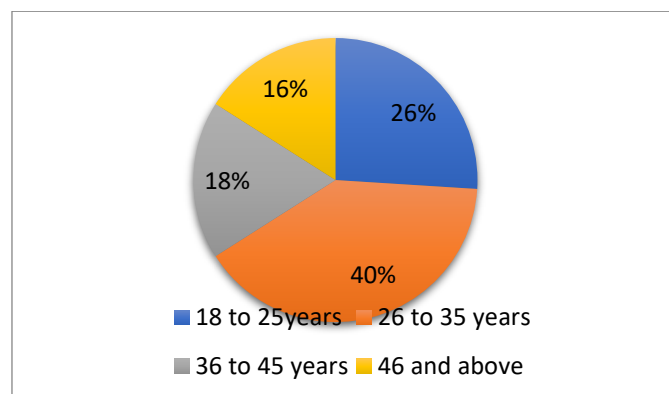
**Table 8: Age Wise Breakup**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
18 to 25 years	112	26%
26 to 35 years	173	40%
36 to 45 years	77	18%
46 years and above	70	16%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Age is an important element that has a significant impact on political participation. There is curvilinear relationship between age and political participation. The desire to participate develops in the early years, peaks in the middle age, and then steadily declines in the following stages (Solevid & Gyllenspetz, 2022, p.235) according to a general tendency. The chart below has shown the age groups of the people who were interviewed.

**Figure 22: Age wise breakup**



It has been found in the survey that that 40% migrants who were interviewed, were in between the age of 26 to 35 years. It means they were quite young who decided to shift their place of residence. 26% were in the age group of 36 to 45 and 18% and 16% were in the age group of 18 to 25 and 46 and above.

This clearly shows that in youth, when a person is unattached or not married and not has family of his own, he can take risks and has ambition to be adventurous and to improve his economic condition. With the passage of time, enthusiasm mellows down and by old age, this enthusiasm and risk-taking capacity ended completely.

**Table 9: Gender Wise Breakup**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
Male	268	62%
Female	164	38%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table has shown the gender wise division of the sample. In the survey 268 male migrants were interviewed which constitutes 62% of the total sample and 164 females constituting 38% of the sample. The proportion of male migrants dominates the number of female migrants, it may be because of the reason as male left their birth place in the in beginning and their families comes later on. Moreover, in the factories of Ludhiana maximum labour force is of male workers so the proportion of males are more in the survey than the females.

**Table 10: Martial status**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
Married	329	76%
Unmarried	103	24%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The individuals' perceptions of their socio-political motivation might also be influenced by their marital status. As a result, the respondents' marital status was regarded as an essential factor in determining their political participation. The respondents were asked to state their marital status at the beginning of the survey. The table has shown the marital status of the sample. In the survey out of the total number of migrants, 329 migrants i.e., 76% of the sample were married persons with and remaining 103 i.e., 24% of the sample were unmarried. Marriage entails responsibilities and more mouth to feed, So, naturally the family persons with more responsibilities look for greener pastures.

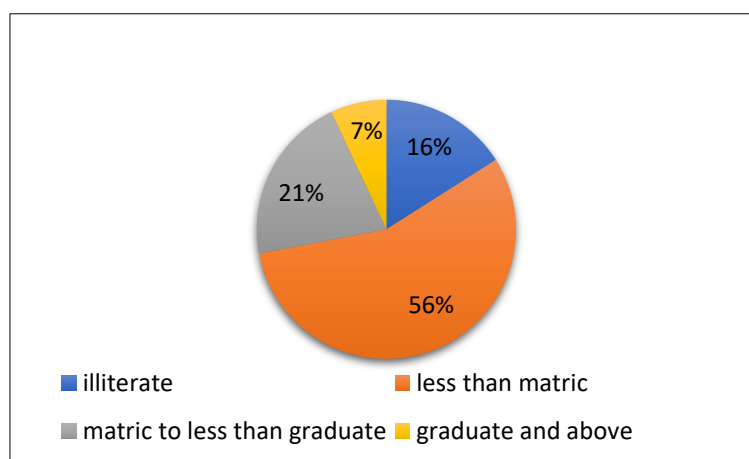
**Table 11: Education Wise Breakup**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
Illiterate	69	16%
Less than matric	242	56%
less than graduate	91	21%
Graduate and above	30	7%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

A persons' educational background significantly influences his perspectives, either directly or indirectly. The most important socioeconomic component that influences political engagement is education. It is widely accepted that citizen education is a necessary precondition for playing a larger role in the political process, and that higher education increases efficiency. J.S. Mill considered education one of the most important determinant factors in political participation which influence directly one's decision of voting (Roellinger,1952). The educational level has been separated into four groups for the purpose of conducting the survey. It has been found that majority of the migrants i.e., 56% migrants had less qualification than matric, followed by 21% who had less qualification than graduation. Only 7% migrants out of the total sample in Ludhiana are graduate or more than graduation qualification. Since most of the migrants belong to the lower income bracket, so in that category persons having less education migrate for unskilled labor jobs.

**Figure 23: Education wise breakup**



The data has highlighted important indicators that most of the less educated people from the other states had come to Ludhiana. 16% migrants were totally illiterate and the highest figure was of those who had not qualified up to matriculation. Only 7% were either graduate or more than graduates. It has made it clear that Ludhiana is suitable for absorbing unskilled labor whereas the skilled and educated migrants prefer some other place for work and livelihood. The educational status of migrants is different from the other people of Punjab. 18% people in Punjab are either graduate or post graduate but it is just 7% in case of the migrants. The population of Less than matric migrants too are quite high in comparison with other people of Punjab. 56% migrants in Ludhiana are having less than matric educational level whereas in Punjab 41% other people are less than matric (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.42).

#### 4.2 Migration Related Analysis

**Table 12: The Place of Origin**

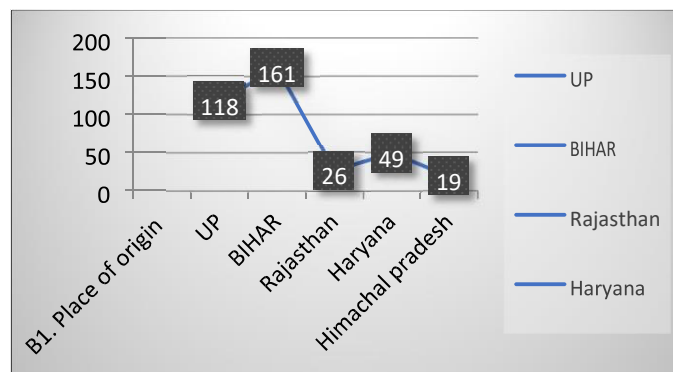
Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
UP	138	32%
Bihar	185	43%
Rajasthan	31	7%
Haryana	56	13%
Himachal Pradesh	22	5%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The Table has pointed out the place from where the migrants had come to Ludhiana city. It had been found that out of the total number of 432 respondents, 32% of the total respondents were from UP, 43% of the respondents were from Bihar, 7% of the respondents were from Rajasthan, 13% of the respondents were from Haryana and 5% were from Himachal Pradesh. It was found that the highest percentage of the respondents were from Bihar and the lowest were from Himachal Pradesh. It has indicated that the main out migration states in India are Bihar and Uttar Pradesh followed by Haryana.

There can be two reasons responsible for this fact. First of all, U.P and Bihar are thickly populated states and secondly, they are economically not good going states which resulted into less employment opportunities in these states. The persons migrating from these states are driven by poverty, unemployment and drawn by prosperity in Ludhiana.

**Figure 24: Place of Origin of the Respondents**



**Table 13: Year of Migration**

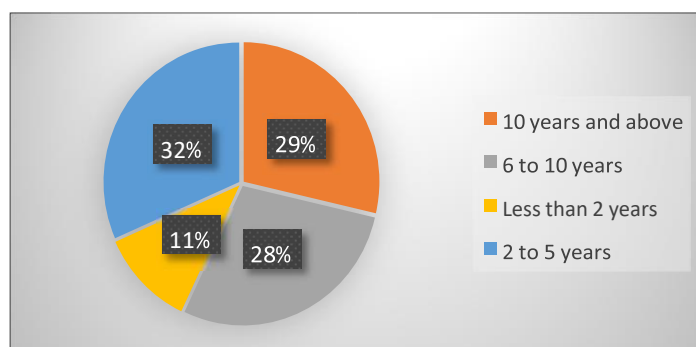
Categories	Frequency	% Percentage
Less than 2 Years	49	11%
2 to 5 years	137	32%
6 to 10 years	122	28%
10 years and above	124	29%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data



It has been found that out of all the 432 respondents, 11% of the respondents had migrated within less than last 2 years, 32% had migrated within 2-5 years, 28% of the respondents had migrated within 6 to 10 years, and 29% of the respondents had migrated 10 years and above. Therefore, from this analysis, it became clear that the highest number of respondents migrated within last 2 to 5 years.

**Figure 25: year of migration**



**Table 14 : Nature of Work at the place of Origin**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Not working	204	47%
Self-Employed	97	23%
An unskilled labourer	131	30%
Total	432	100%

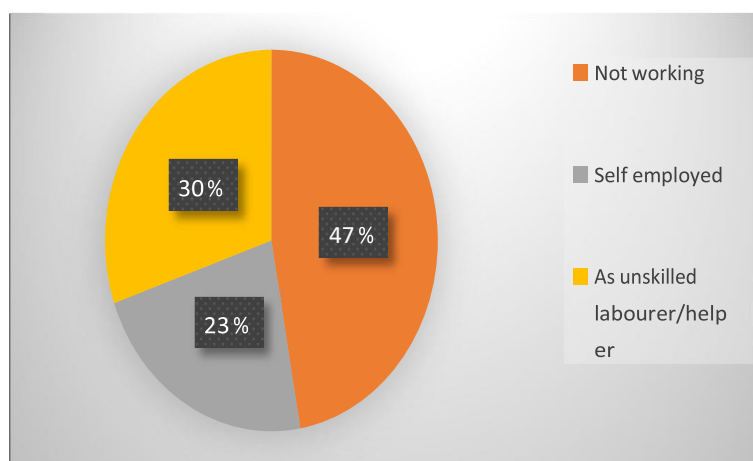
Source: Primary Data

The study had found that maximum number of people who had migrated were workless in their native place. 47% were not having any employment in the place so they migrated. Another 23% of the total respondents were self-employed and 30% of the total respondents were unskilled labour. Therefore, it was found that the highest number of the respondents came for the sake of earning. And it has been found that economic reasons were the main push factors of migration to Ludhiana.

The Table is self-explanatory. Those who do not have employment in their native place would look for more fertile lands. Secondly unskilled persons form the marginalized section in their native land as well, so they migrate and remain

marginalized in their place of migration. Thirdly self-employed persons are not bound so it is easy for them to migrate.

**Figure 26: Nature of the work at the place of origin**



**Table 15: Basis of selecting the present place**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Own Decision	202	47%
Agents	29	7%
Family/Friends/ Relative Guidance	201	46%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the data provided above, out of 432 respondents, 47% of the respondents chose their present place on the basis of their own decision, as they were aware about the job providing capacity of the industry of the city. 7% of the respondents agreed that they were influenced by the agents, these were those migrants who were especially in the construction works. 46% of the respondents were influenced by family, friends, relative and guidance. The highest chart of basis selecting the present place is by one's own decision.

The influence of family, friends and acquaintances carry weight. When those persons paint rosy pictures of the city life and possibilities of economic opportunities but obvious, then a person is fascinated. So, majority of migrants in Ludhiana chose the present place on their own. They are in this place without the help of any agents.

**Table 16: Factors responsible for migration**

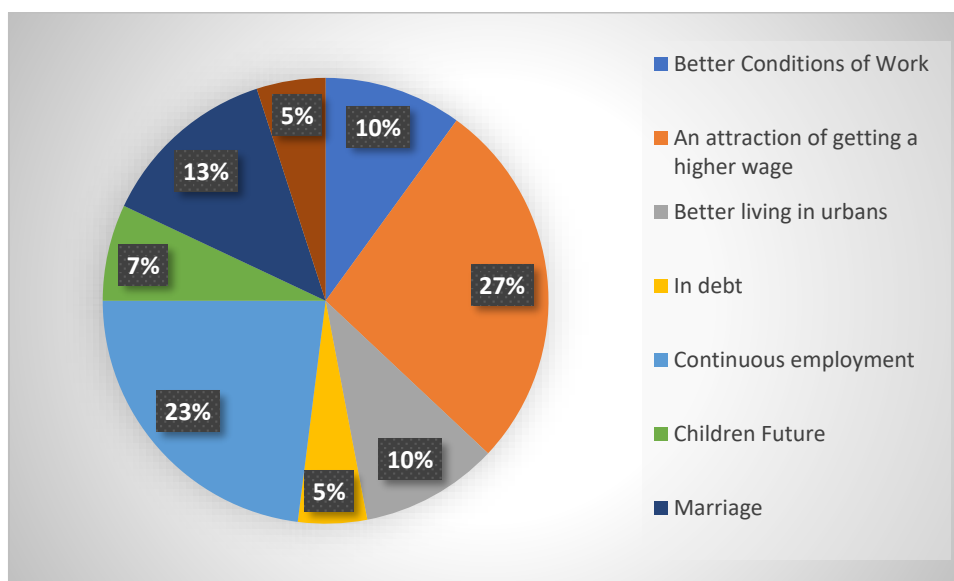
Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Better Conditions of Work	43	10%
An attraction of getting a higher wage	116	27%
Better living in urbans	44	10%
In debt	22	5%
Continuous employment	99	23%
Children Future	28	7%
Marriage	58	13%
Off Season of work in the native place	22	5%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the data, it was found that out of all the respondents, around 27% of the respondents migrated due to an attraction of getting higher wages, as they were not paid up to the mark in their native place, another 10% of the respondents migrated because they were attracted towards the better living in the urbans areas, just 5% of the respondents migrated because of being under debts, further 23% of the respondents migrated because of the continuous employment in Ludhiana which was not available, in their native place 7% of respondents migrated for the sake of making their children's future and 5% of the respondents migrated because of the off season of work in their native place and they wanted to utilize that time. It has been analysed that the highest number of respondents migrated because they wanted to get higher wages. It indicates clearly that the chief reason of internal migration in India is economic.

The 'lure of green pasture' has always been very strong with mankind. An individual's wants to improve his own standard, he is desirous of giving bright future to his children, he is keen on steady jobs and last but not the least high wages are always a hold a strong attraction.

**Figure 27: Factors responsible for migration**



### 4.3 Social Status of migrants in Ludhiana

**Table 17: Address of the local people to migrants in Ludhiana City**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
With your name	380	88%
With your surname or with convenient name	52	12%
Any other name	-	-
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

From the data, it was found that maximum number of respondents accepted that people of Ludhiana called them by their original name. only 12% people called them by their sir surname name, second name or convenient name which they feel derogatory. But majority of the migrants, 88% believed that they are respected and have identity with their name in Ludhiana society. People do not call them with the name of their region, state, caste, or community.

**Table 18: Behaviour of the Locals Towards Migrants**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Good	334	77%
Neutral	98	23%
Bad	-	-
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the data, it has been found that out of all the respondents 77% of the respondents in Ludhiana, an industrial hub is broad minded enough to accept the migrants. The industrialist realize that they are hardworking and the fellow workers exhibit Punjabi spirit of cordiality and good will., however 23% of the respondents found the behaviour of the locals as neutral in this matter. For them the local people are neither good nor bad for the migrant community in the society. The data revealed that no one had bad storey to talk about the behaviour of employer and locals. Most of the people in Punjab especially in Ludhiana are friendly and forth coming. Generally, they are not narrow minded for these migrants. So, on the behaviour front, the acceptance of the migrants is commendable.

**Table 19: Social inclusion indicators; participation in festivals**

Do you participate in the festivals of Punjab?	Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
	Yes	220	51%
	No	35	8%
	sometimes	177	41%

Source: Primary Data

There was a mixed response about the celebrations of the festivals. More than half the respondents heavily participated in the festivals, the acceptance was these from both the sides, barely 8% did not participate their percentage is negligible overall they were all facing the phase of transition. According to the survey, it was found that out of the total number respondents, 51% of them liked to celebrate the festivals of Punjab, just 8% of the respondents did not like to celebrate the festivals of Punjab. It indicated

that they had not accepted the culture of Punjab. 41% of the respondents sometimes joined in the festivals and sometimes they preferred not to join.

**Table 20: Regarding language**

In what language do the locals talk to you?	Hindi	82	19%
	Punjabi	95	22%
	both	255	59%
Do you know and like to speak in Punjabi?	Yes	144	33%
	No	128	30%
	Understand but cannot speak	160	37%

Source: Primary Data

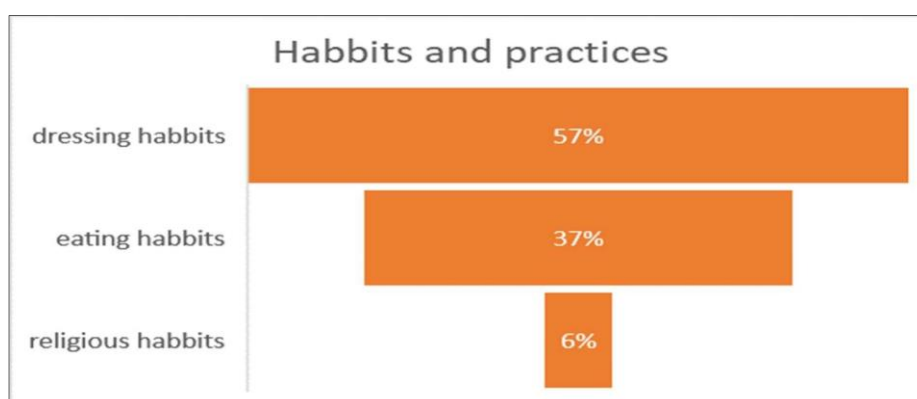
Language is the mode of reaching out and expressing. some of the migrants could learn Punjabi and it became easy for them to bridge gap. Those who could not learn the language for any reason, would continue being an outsider. The study had found that 19% of the respondents admitted that local people spoke to with them in Hindi, 69% of the respondents agreed that local people communicated with them in both Punjabi and Hindi language keeping in mind that they may not understand Punjabi, but 22% of the respondents had the communication in Punjabi with the local people. The study had found that out of the total respondents, 33% of the respondents agreed that they knew how to speak Punjabi and they liked speaking, whereas, 30% of the respondents agreed that they did not like speaking Punjabi and 37% of the respondents shared that they liked but could not speak Punjabi. It shows that for almost one third of the migrant's language was not a barrier for communication.

**Table 21: change in the dressing, eating and religious practices after shifting to Ludhiana?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Dressing Habits	160	57%
Eating Habits	246	37%
Religious Habits	26	6%
TOTAL	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 28: Habbits and practices**



From this above given analysis, it was found that 34% of the total respondents had found that their dressing sense had undergone a change after shifting to Ludhiana, 58% had found that there was a change in their eating habits and 8% had found that there was a change in their religious practices. Majority of the respondents found the change in their eating habits as well.

Language, dress-sense, eating habits, religious practices are all part of socialization. The famous saying ‘while in Rome do as the Romans do’s is very apt. So, the migrants have started dressing up like Punjabis, Punjabi suits getting preference over sarees, eating habits of Punjabis have been picked up by them roti preferred over rice and the religious practices form the adaptation to the new set up.

**Table 22: Regarding invitation from the local people/ co-workers**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Are you invited to the social gatherings or family functions by the locals or	Yes	62%	66%	63%	86%	62%	66%
	No	10%	14%	17%	4%	13%	12%
	Some times	28%	20%	20%	10%	25%	22%

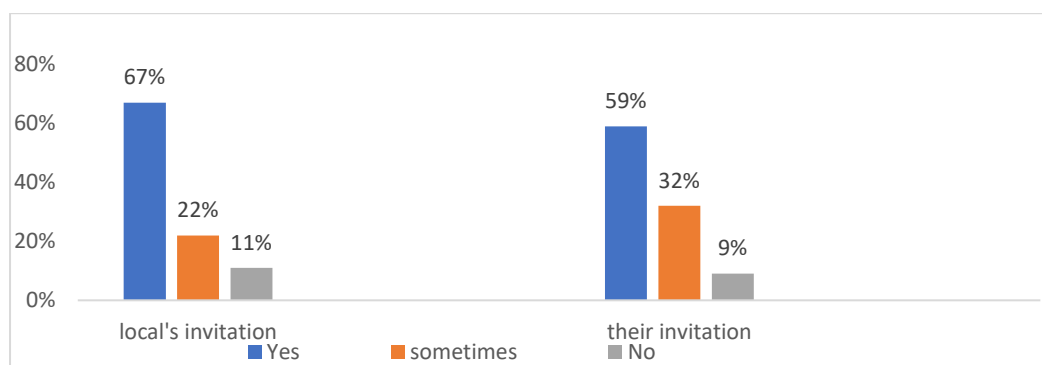
by the co-workers?							
Do you invite locals to your family functions or your social gatherings here?	Yes	56%	62%	51%	77%	58%	51%
	No	14%	10%	8%	3%	10%	8%
	Sometimes	30%	28%	41%	20%	32%	41%

Source: Primary Data

The survey had found that out of the total number of respondents, on an average 60% of the respondents were regularly being invited to the social gatherings by their locals, 4% to 14% of the respondents were not invited and nearly 20 to 28% of the respondents were sometimes invited by the locals to the social functions of their co-workers and friends. However, it has been found that more than half of the respondents were invited to the public gatherings.

According to the study, it has been found that among the total number of respondents, 50 to 70% of the respondents were being invited by the locals regularly, round 8% of the respondents were not invited by the local families in their functions and 30 to 40% of the respondents were sometimes invited by their friends and family. However, it was found that majority of the respondents did invite locals in their functions.

**Figure 29: Regarding invitation in the family function**



There are many aspects of social inclusion. One important aspect is to invite others and be invited by them. Since migrants are the marginalized group. Their



inclusion is quite slow. The local Punjabi people often extend invitation to them and they do participate, but as far as reciprocating is concerned, the migrants perhaps have their reservations as there is difference in percentage of the people who get invitation from the local people and who themselves invite them.

**Table 23: Preference of Work of place where other migrant work**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
No	346	80%
Yes	86	20%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Among all the respondents, it was found that 80% of the respondents did not like working in a place where other migrant workers worked, whereas 20% of the respondents shared that they liked to work in such a workplace where the other migrant workers were also working.

Having their fellow workers by their side must be giving the migrants comfort level but then it must be making them a ‘closed group’. On the other hand, majority of migrants preferred to work with the Punjabi workers, that exhibits the keenness of migrants to imbibe Punjabi habits and language.

**Table 24: Do You Face Any Problem from The Police**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
No	241	56%
Sometimes	72	17%
Yes	29	27%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Police is there to take care of law and order the given above data has helped in understanding that 56% of the total respondents did not face any kind of issues or problems from the local police, 17% said that they sometimes faced the problems and 27% said that they had faced many problems by the local police while their stay in

Ludhiana. The survey reveals that majority of the migrants did not experience the high handedness of police. But good proportion of migrants had problems with the institution of police as they lack identity proof and police suspects them.

**Table 25: Do the Government Offices and Government Employees Co-Operate When You Visit a Government Office?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
YES	104	24%
Sometimes	173	40%
No	155	36%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

This above analysis has helped in understanding that out of the total number of respondents, 24% of the respondents replied affirmatively that the government offices and employees had co-operated with them when they visited their offices. It was found that 40% shared that they had sometimes co-operated, whereas, 36% of the respondents strictly said that the government employees did not co-operate with them.

The attitude of the bureaucracy and the working class is same throughout the country. The files move at a very slow pace and red tapism prevails; the migrants also suffer because of the system.

#### **4.4 Economic Status of Migrants in Ludhiana**

**Table 26: Does the Employer Give You Work According to Your Skills?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	394	91%
No	38	9%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the above Table, it has been found that out of the total number of respondents 91% of the respondents replied affirmatively that their employers gave

them according to their skills, whereas only 9% of the respondents shared that their employer did not provide them work according to their skills.

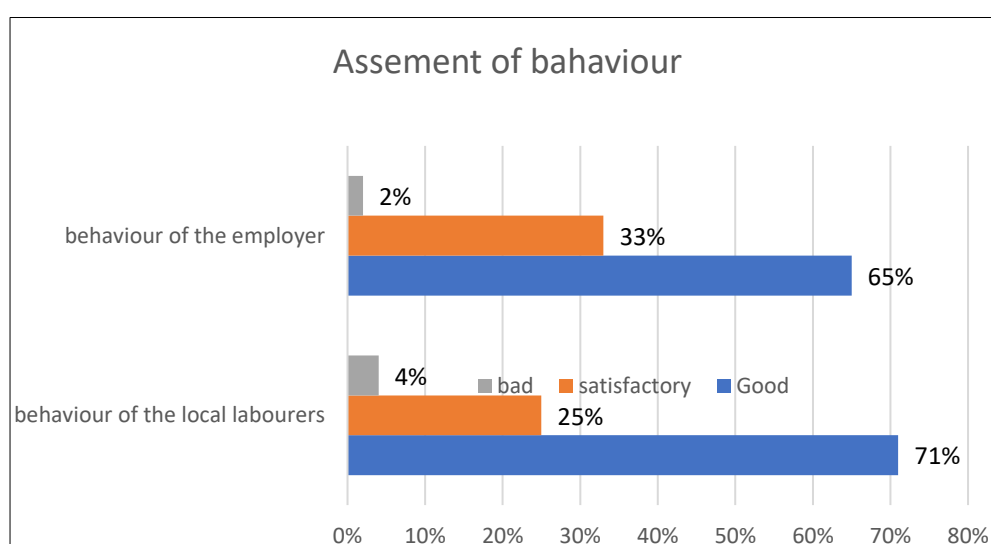
The employers are businessmen; they make profit only when they follow the ethics of business. Every employer values skill and hard work and duly rewards that same. Most of the migrants were satisfied that they were allocated work as their skill. That implies there was no discrimination and these are the things that make the business prosperous.

**Table 27: Assessment of the behaviour of the Local Labourers and the employer**

Assessment of the behavior	Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
How do the Local Labourers at Your Work Place Behave with You?	Good	306	71%
	Satisfactory	108	25%
	Bad	18	4%
How Do You Assess the Behavior of the Employer at Your Work Place?	Good	280	65%
	Satisfactory	143	33%
	Bad	9	2%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 30: Assessment of employer and local labourers' behaviour**



Man is social being and socialization entail interaction. Interaction at a workplace could be with the employer or/and with fellow workers. According to the

data, it was found that out of the total respondents 71% of them revealed that the local laborers were good and behaved in a good way with them at the workplace, whereas 25% of the respondents shared that the local laborers at their workplace behaved in a satisfactory manner. It had also been found that 65% of the respondents felt that the behavior of their employees at the workplace was good with them and 33% of the respondents informed that the behavior of their employers towards them was satisfactory. Only some of migrant find the behavior of the local laborers and employers was bad. So, over all the behaviour of some co-workers very well with the migrants, other were passable and still a handful were intolerant and rude.

**Table 28: For How Many Hours Do You Work?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
10-12 Hours	294	68%
8-10 hours	108	25%
12 hours above	30	7%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table has made it clear that migrants are hardworking people. Among all the respondents, it has been found that 68% of the respondents worked for 10-12 hours in a day, 25% of the respondents worked between 8-10 hours in a day and 7% of the respondents worked for more than 12 hours a day. Therefore, it was found that majority of the respondents worked between 10-12 hours in this region. As the data reveals earlier too that the migrants came in this city for the sake of better economic status so the study found that they were making every possible effort to fulfill their goal. Moreover, this diligence of the migrants makes them acceptable to their employers.

**Table 29: Are you comfortable at your workplace?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	419	97%
No	13	3%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Among all the employees, it was found that 97% of the respondents agreed that they were comfortable at their workplace, whereas, it was found that only 3% of the respondents were not happy working at their workplace. The migrants, are in the process of settling down and the working atmosphere of Punjab and especially the city of Ludhiana is very conducive, sufficiently conducive to make the migrants feel at home.

**Table 30: How Many Holidays You Get in A Month?**

Categories	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
4 (Sundays)	95	22%
Sundays + Govt holidays	177	41%
No Holidays (daily wagers)	48	11%
NA (self - employed)	112	26%

Source: Primary Data

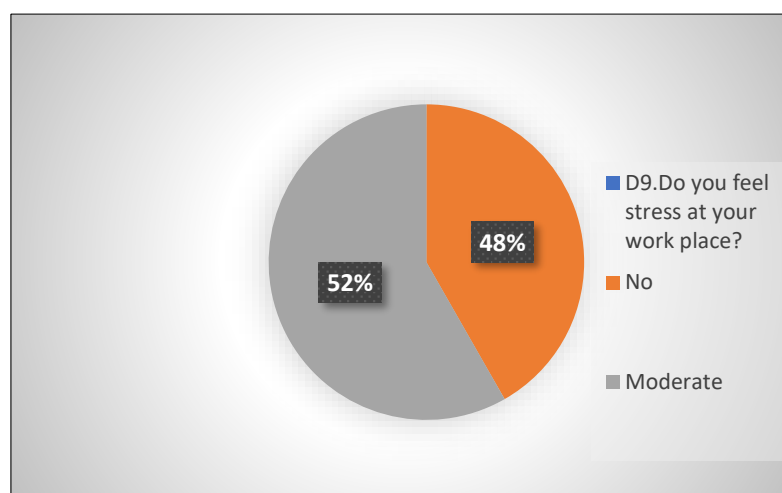
It has been found that among all the respondents, 33% of the respondents are entitled to get 4 holidays in a month, that means that they have Sunday as holidays. Moreover 41% of the respondents had replied that they were given government gazetted holidays also such as Republic Day, Independence Day and on certain festivals further, 12% of the respondents did not get any holidays It meant that they were either daily wagers or they were self-employed. The plight of the daily wages is worse than that of the regular workers. The regular worker is entitled to have certain benefits but the daily wages do not have any break or holiday which is quite tough for them.

**Table 31: How Much Stress You Feel at Your Work Place?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
No	207	48%
Moderate	225	52%
High	-	-
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 31: stress at the workplace**

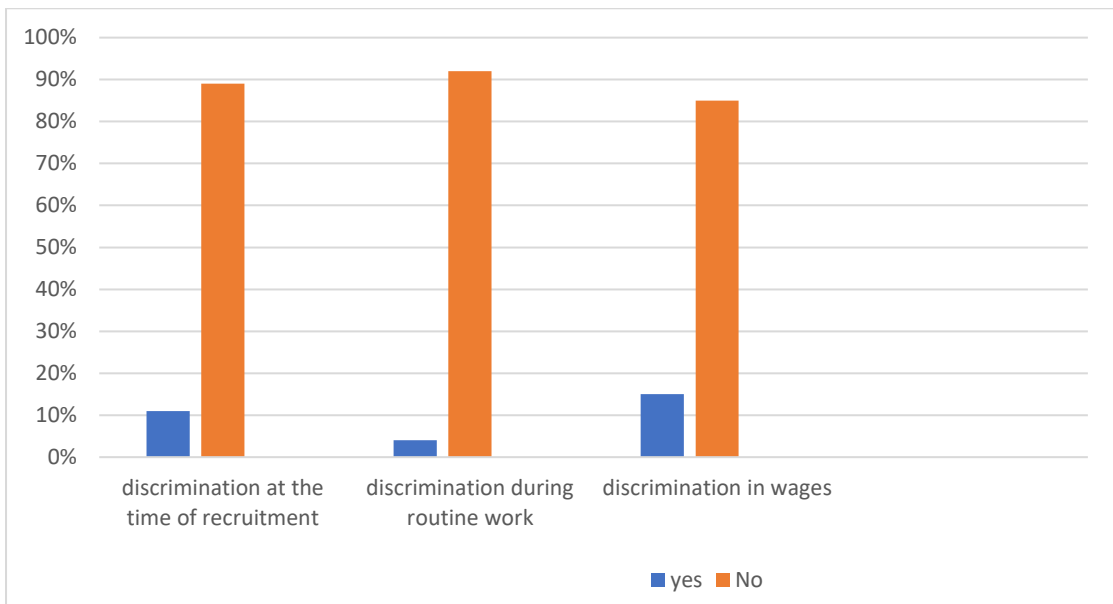


Stress is an inseparable part of human life. Among all the respondents, it was found that 48% of the respondents were not feeling any stress at their workplace, whereas it was discovered that 52% of the respondents were experiencing stress at their workplace. Some Migrants feel the stress of competing with others, and some, the stress of coming up to their own expectations. The stress could be mastering the skills and not to invoke the wrath of the manager or owner. The migrants are also a mixed lot, those who can cope up with stress and those who remain stressed in cut-throat competition.

**Table 32: Regarding Discrimination**

	Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Did you face any discrimination at the time of recruitment as compared to the locals?	NO	384	89%
	YES	48	11%
Do you face any discrimination during the routine work?	No	396	92%
	Yes	17	4%
	Sometimes	17	4%
Is there any discrimination in the wages given to you as compared to the locals?	No	367	85%
	Yes	65	15%

**Figure 32: Regarding discrimination at work place**



In response to the question ‘did you face any discrimination at the time of recruitment as compared to the locals?’ The respondents replied quite positively, 89% of the respondents did not face any kind of discrimination at their workplace, whereas it was found that 11% of the respondents felt discrimination at their work place. The study had found that almost all the migrants agreed that they did not face any discrimination during their routine work. Just a negligible portion only i.e., 4% felt that sometimes they felt the employer was giving an edge to locals over them and just 4% felt that there was a difference of behavior of their employer towards them. Among all the respondents 85% of the respondents replied in the negative by adding that they did not face any discrimination regarding their wages compared to the locals, whereas 15% of the respondents agreed to this.

Overall majority of the migrants did not face any discrimination at the time of recruitment. It has already been seen that they are skilled and diligent and a good employer/manager would not let go a skilled hardworking worker. The work atmosphere is very cordial and the discrimination at workplace, either in the allocation of work or wages is almost non-existent. Those on the other hand (a very small percentage) who felt the discrimination must be because of their own sensitivities and they were a few exceptions only.

#### **D24. Does Your Employer Abuse or Manhandle You?**

No, all the respondents agreed that they have not received any kind of abuse or manhandling by their employer. So, the survey found the physical assault is a thing of the bygone days.

#### **D25. Is Your Health Being Affected by The Work You Have to Do at The Factory?**

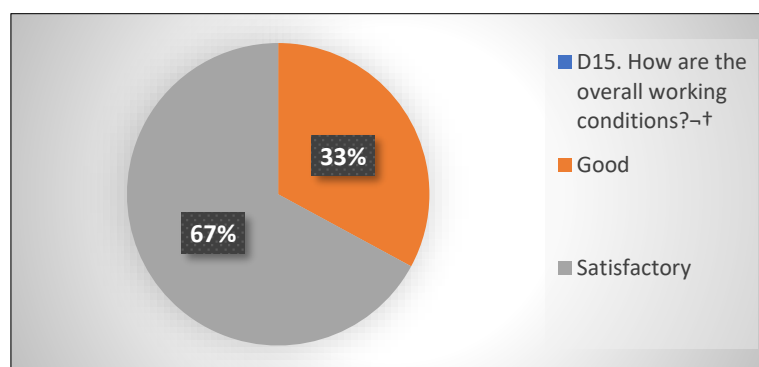
No, all the respondents agreed that their health is not getting affected by the work or working conditions at the work place.

**Table 33: How Are the Overall Working Conditions?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Good	143	33%
Satisfactory	289	67%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 33: Regarding overall working condition**



Among all the respondents, 67% of the respondents found the overall working condition satisfactory, whereas 33% of the total respondents found that the overall working condition were good.

#### **D27. Do You Get Any Extra Benefits Other Than the Salary?**

All the respondents responded in the negative. It indicated that the migrants were not getting any PF like benefits as was happening in most of the small-scale level private units. They just hired the labor either on the daily basis or on monthly basis but



just provided the salary. The authorities should look into this matter and provide economic security and other peripheral benefits to them.

It can be easily concluded that the migrants are in the process of settling down and being socially included. They are happy with their new surroundings. The employers, the managers fellow workers, all of them have made the working place a good one that is how Ludhiana has become a business hub and migrant hub as well.

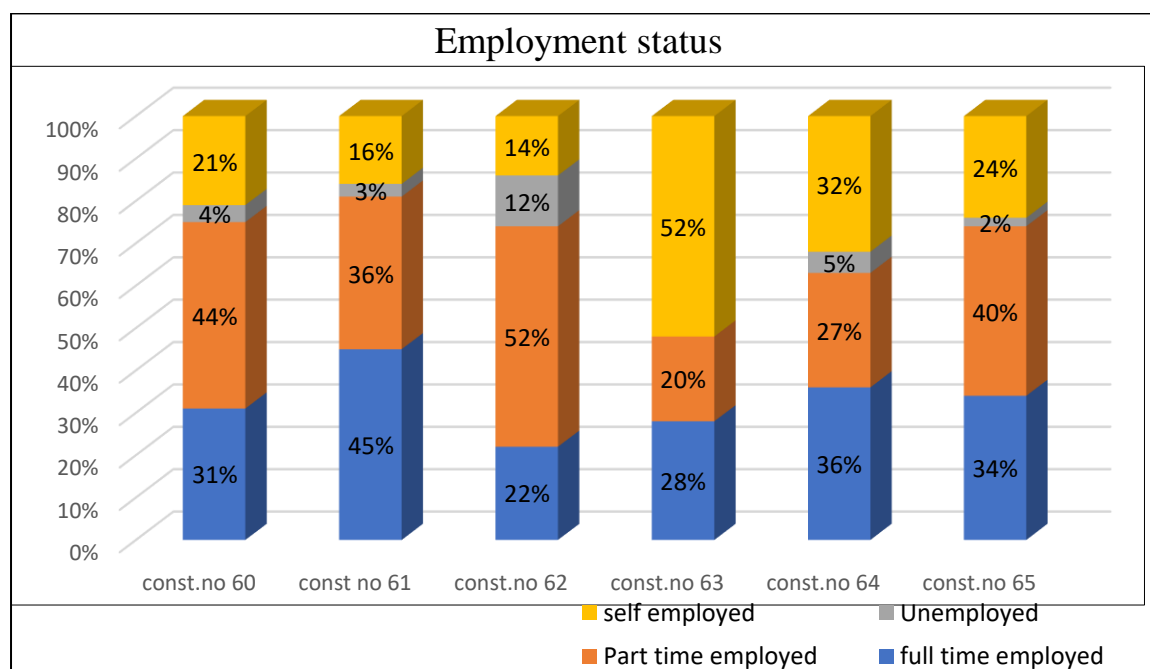
#### 4.5 Economic Condition Indicators

**Table 34: Present employment status**

Response	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Full Time Employed	31%	45%	22%	28%	36%	34%
Part Time Employed	44%	36%	52%	20%	27%	40%
Unemployed	4%	3%	12%	-	5%	2%
Self- Employed	21%	16%	14%	52%	32%	24%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 34: Employment status of the migrants**



In the survey it has found that out of all the respondents, unemployed category of the migrants was very low. In all the constituencies the unemployed category ranged from 2 to 12%. Otherwise, people were either semi employed or full time employed. Both the categories' people ranged from 20% to 50%. In south constituency and Atam Nagar constituency the number of people who were self-employed, was very less; just 16% and 14%. Full time employed are maximum i.e., 36% in constituency number 64 and self-employed were maximum in constituency number 63 i.e., 52%.

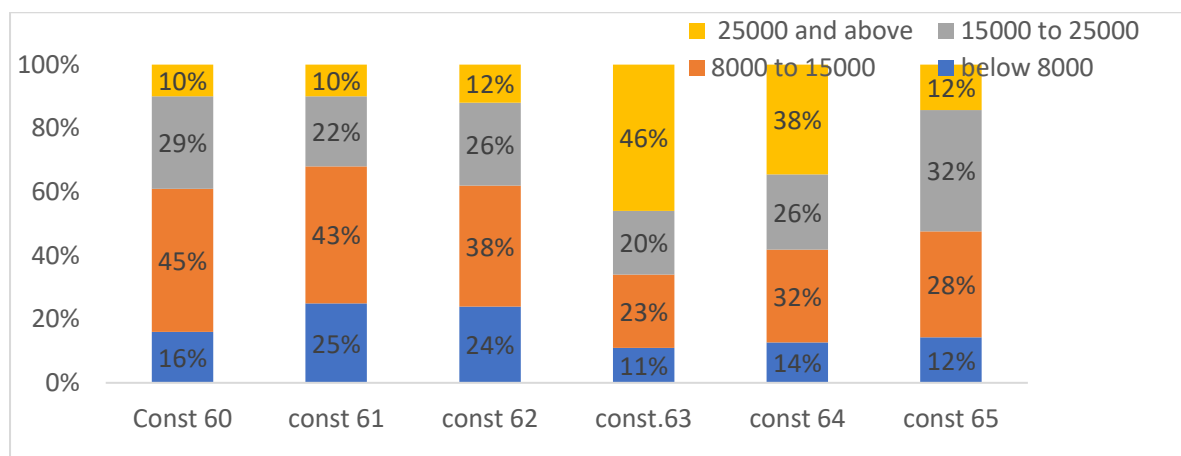
The category of the unemployed migrants was the lowest. That clearly shows that Ludhiana has plenty of opportunities to offer to absorb migrants. The next category was partially employed and fully employed migrants. This is a strong indicator that with employments in their hands, they are in the process of settling down and in some cases more than one member of the family was employed.

**Table 35: Income groups of migrants in Ludhiana**

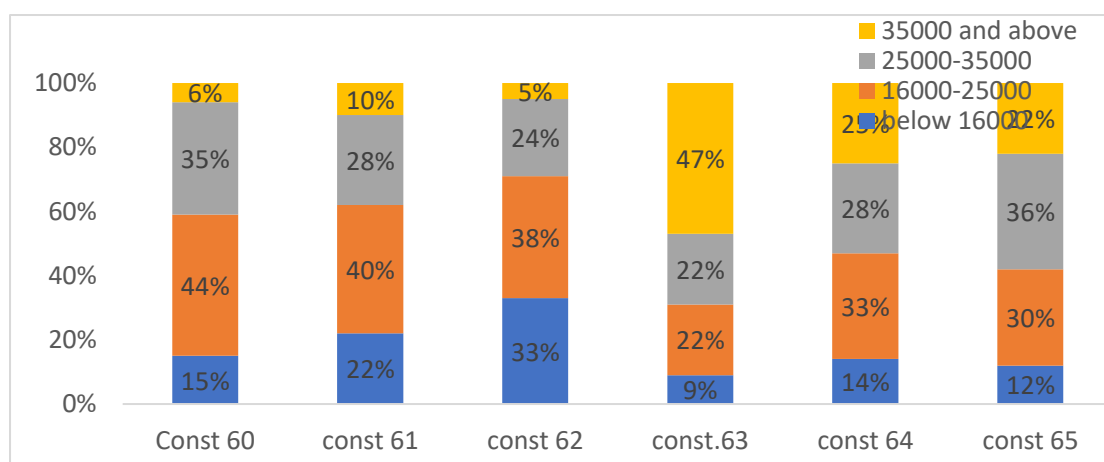
Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Your income	Below 8000	16%	25% Max.	24%	11% Least	14%	12%
	8000-15000	45% Max.	43%	38%	23% Least	32%	28%
	15000-25000	29%	22%	26%	20% Least	26	32% Max.
	25000 and above	10% Least	10% Least	12%	46% Max.	38%	28%
Family income	Below 16000	15%	22%	33% Max.	9% Least	14%	12%
	16000-25000	44% Max.	40%	38%	22% Least	33%	30%
	25000 - 35000	35%	28%	24% Least	22%	28%	36% Max.
	35000 and above	6%	10%	5%	47% Max.	25%	22%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 35: Individual income of migrants in Ludhiana**



**Figure 36: Family income of migrants in Ludhiana**



Diversity was seen in various constituencies when the splitting of groups was done on the basis of income. Starting from the lowest personal income (less than 8000) Ludhiana central had 11% persons in this range Ldh. South had 25% in the range. The next category of (8000-15000) income Ldh. Central had 23% in this category and Ldh East has 45% in this category. The third category (15000-25000) Ludhiana central again had the least 23% in this category and Ludhiana north had 32% maximum in this, the fourth category of (25000 and above) Ludhiana south had only 10% and Ludhiana central was again on the top of the table with 46%. Coming to family income, the first category (below 16000) Ludhiana central had least 9% and Ldh. Atam Nagar had 33% maximum. In this group 2<sup>nd</sup> category of 16000-25000 Ldh. Atam Nagar with 36%

maximum percentage fourth category 35000 and above Ldh. East with 6% had least percentage and Ldh. Central with 47% had maximum.

**Table 35 A: Status of women migrant’s contribution in the family.**

Total no of female migrants		unemployed		Partially employed/Employed		Families’ income below 16000 where women are not working		Families’ income above 16000 where women are not working	
164	38%	15	9.1%	126	77%	11	73%	4	27%

Source: Primary Data

The above table indicates the contribution of the women in supplementing the family income. It has been found in the study that majority of migrant women are working and are amplifying the family income. 77% women migrants were either partially employed or employed and just 9 % women were not working. It has been found that only 27% such families were there which were having above 16000 income without having any support from the women migrants.

**Table 36: House, Land and other immovable property**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Do you own your house here?	Yes	12%	7%	3%	29%	18%	14%
	No	88%	93%	97%	71%	82%	86%
Do you have any land other than the house?	Yes	3%	5%	2%	19%	9%	2%
	No	97%	95%	98%	81%	91%	98%
Any other immovable property	Yes	4%	3%	2%	18%	5%	2%
	No	96%	97%	98%	82%	95%	98%

Source: Primary Data

After income, the second indicator of economic condition is having immovable property and one's own house etc. The survey found that not many migrants had their own houses in Ludhiana. The percentage of migrants having own houses ranged from 3 to 18%. Only in Ludhiana central constituency 29% migrants had their own houses. The same was trend is visible regarding any other immovable property or land etc. In almost all the constituencies except the central constituency less than 10% people had their other immovable property.

Comparing Table D4.30 and D4.29, it can be inferred that the constituency where the family income was maximum had those few respondents who owned houses. It is but obvious that buying house or any other asset is directly linked with income. Better income naturally leads to better possessions.

### **D31: Rental payment**

As most of the migrants did not have having their own houses, so they were living in the rental accommodation. When asked about the status of accommodation the following replies were given.

**Table 37: Size of accommodation of migrants**

How many rooms are there where you are living?	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Accommodation having 1 room	54%	52%	55%	28%	42%	46%
Accommodation having 2 rooms	25%	29%	33%	29%	28%	32%
Accommodation having 3 or more rooms	21%	19%	12%	43% max.	30%	22%

Source: Primary Data

So, it is clear from the above data that majority of the migrants were living in the one room accommodation. nearly 50% migrants in almost all the constituencies

except Ldh. central constituency lived in one room accommodation. In almost all the constituencies 20% to 30% of migrants lived in either two room or three-room accommodation. The rental accommodation of the migrants generally was of one room and only 20-30% respondents had 2 to 3 roomed rental accommodation. All these findings are further strengthening the marginalized status/condition of migrants.

**Table 38: Status of accommodation furnishing wise**

Do you have furnished following		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Kitchen	Furnished	4%	2%	5%	28%	22%	14%
	unfurnished	56%	68%	57%	32%	36%	46%
	semi furnished	40%	30%	38%	40%	42%	40%
Bath room furnished	Furnished	4%	2%	5%	28%	22%	14%
	Unfurnished	56%	68%	57%	32%	36%	46%
	Semi-furnished	40%	30%	38%	40%	42%	40%

Source: Primary Data

This Table has presented the status of accommodation in which the migrants were living. So far as the furnishing of the kitchen and bath rooms were concerned almost 40% migrants were living in the semi furnished kitchens and bathrooms whereas 58% in the South const. of Ludhiana were living in totally unfurnished house. The Ldh. central and west const. the status of the homes of migrants were quite high as 28% and 22% migrants were having fully furnished bathrooms and kitchens.

The relatively better income bracket enabled the migrants to have better accommodation. Those who had family income of 35000 and above could afford even three roomed accommodations and that too was fully furnished. So, the living conditions have an upward trend. When the income goes up, that can be clearly seen from the standard of living of the migrants.

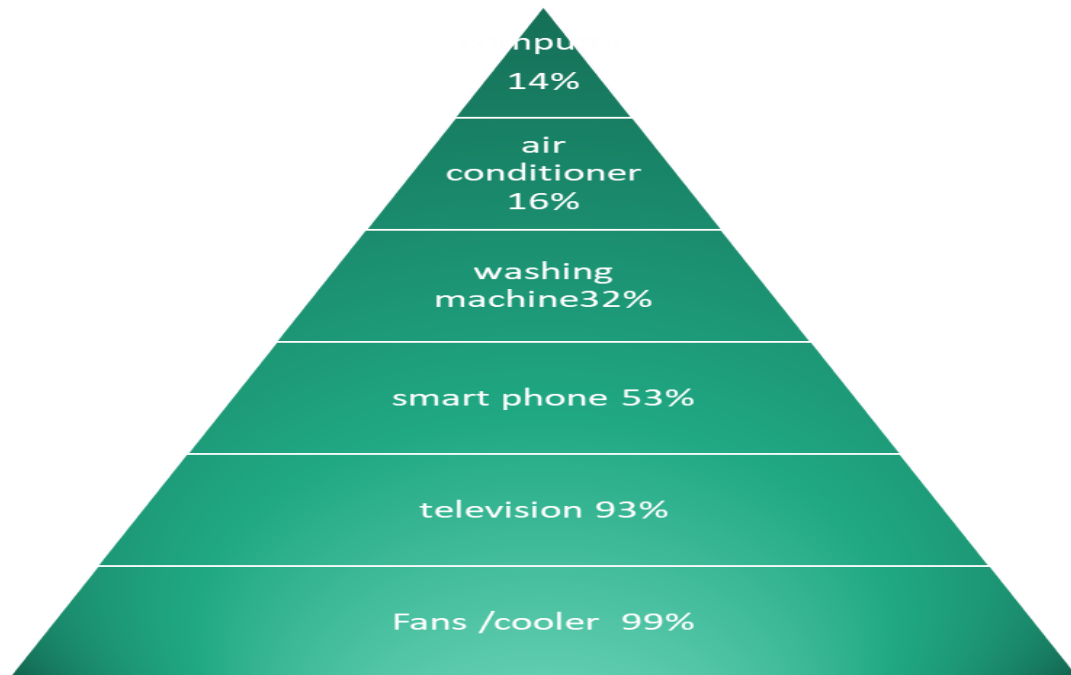
**Table: 39 Use of Household utility items**

Do you have following items		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
TV	Yes	94%	92%	93%	98%	92%	94%
	No	6%	8%	7%	2%	8%	6%
Washing machine	Yes	23%	25%	10%	59%	48%	32%
	No	77%	75%	90%	41%	52%	68%
Fans/cooler	Yes	99%	98	100%	100%	100%	98%
	No	1%	2%	-	-	-	2%
Air conditioner	Yes	11%	5%	4%	35%	25%	20%
	No	89%	95%	96%	65%	75%	80%
Computer/laptop	Yes	5%	4%	6%	23%	24%	22%
	No	95%	96%	94%	77%	76%	78%
Smart phone	Yes	52%	46%	41%	73%	53%	54%
	No	48%	56%	59%	27%	47%	46%

Source: Primary Data

Another component of analyzing the financial soundness of any person is the use of the items of utility and comfort. The survey was based upon six items ranging from the basic necessities to comfort. It has been found that the use of TV, fans/cooler is maximum by the migrants. In almost all the constituencies more than 95% of the migrants had fans, coolers and T.V. The use of the smart phone is on the second number as 40% to 73% migrants possessed the smart phone. The washing machine is on the third number. Nearly 20% to 30% migrants use it except const.no 63 where this figure went to 59%. It indicates one more thing; that the products which are primarily of interest to the males are more purchased than the products targeting females. Similarly, the portable products which can be easily relocated are also used more than the nonportable products

**Figure 37: Use of Household utility items**



Air conditioner and computers are items of luxury in most of the household of Punjab especially in Ludhiana. And for migrants too, the use of these items is very low. Other people use of air conditioner and computer is 23% and 28% (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.57) whereas migrants too less than 20% migrants have its access. If we combine the results of all the constituencies, the maximum number and the percentage of the migrants were using T.V, fans/cooler. Nearly 95% people in Punjab have made use of Television and Fans/cooler as part and parcel of their life (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.59). With the level of awareness increasing, the use of media and exposure to the media is normally perceived. T.V offers visual and auditory delight – with the interest in Indian politics and sports T.V has become an item of priority even in the barest of household. Fans and cooler are also very essential to beat the scorching heat of the summer of Northern India. The use of mobile is very popular and high if one compares its use with the other people of Punjab in Ludhiana. 53% of the migrants have the smart phone where as 31% of other people in Punjab made use of it (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.53). In the male dominated society, the interests of the menfolk become uppermost and the portable items are more desirable for those who reside in rental accommodation; that is to be changed from time to time.



**Table 40: Awareness about labour legislation and supporting agencies**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Awareness about Projects of state/central government for workers/ laborer's	Yes	5	7	3	23	8	4
	No	95%	93%	97%	67%	92%	96%
Knowledge of labour legislation	Yes	3%	5%	2%	19%	9%	2%
	No	97%	95%	98%	81%	91%	98%
Knowledge of Labour Union	Yes	24%	23%	32%	48%	45%	22%
	No	76%	77%	68%	52%	55%	78%
Knowledge of Labour Rights	Yes	48%	42%	38%	53%	47%	41%
	No	52%	58%	62%	47%	53%	59%

Source: Primary Data

This Table has revealed the knowledge of migrants about the projects taken up by the central and the state government for the Labourers. More than 90% of the respondents replied in the negative, showing their ignorance and less than 10% of the individuals replied in the affirmative that they were aware about state and central led projects. This table also represents the vote bank of the respondents who were aware of the labor legislation and policies. Out of the 432 respondents, again more than 90% of the individuals were not aware of such a legislation, hence replied in the negative. whereas less than 10% were aware of the labor legislation. Nearly 20% to 30% migrants in Ldh. East, Ldh. North, Ldh. South and Ldh Atam Nagar constituency were aware about the existence of the labor unions in the industry and in Ludhiana central constituency and Ldh. West constituency 48% and 45% migrants were aware about these unions.

So far as the knowledge about the various rights of labourers and workers are concerned a large number of migrants are vigilant about their rights. In the survey it was found that around 40% of the individuals were aware about the labor rights given

by the various provisions of the constitution. 53% in Ldh. Central const. migrants were alert and the lowest 38% in Atam Nagar const. were aware of this important fact. This actually deals with their political participation. To be aware of legislation concerning them, and to be aware of the trade unions that fight for their rights, shifts their apathy to interest and to being vigilant voters.

#### **4.6 Summary of the chapter**

93% of the workforce in India is in the informal sector and facing the inequalities (Haan, 2011). So is the case in Ludhiana migrant workforce. Majority of the migrants in Ludhiana are from the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and they are in informal sector. It is a well-known fact that job prospects in these states are not promising because of the lack of economic development in comparison to other states of India. Moreover, poor health and education facilities also pushed the migrants to migrate in other places. Thus, compelled by hunger, starvation, unemployment and disturbed law and order situation, migrants leave their native place. Most of them were young that is between 26 to 40 years old. This is an age when an individual has a spirit of adventure and risk-taking capability. The 'push' factors were their circumstances and the 'pull' factors were the rosy pictures painted by their relatives and friends of green pastures.

Thus, these migrants shifted, driven by poverty and hunger, with dreams of bright futures for themselves and their families. The educational background of these migrants was very low and they fell in the category of unskilled labour. The study found that the economic condition of the migrants started improving. Majority of the migrants fall in the income bracket of rupees 10,000-25,000 per month. This economic condition is far better than what they had in their native place but it is also true that this group is close to the lowest income group of Ludhiana or the lowest per capita income of Punjab that is 1.15 lakhs. Migrants work for 10-12 hours per day, which is more than the standard hours of work prescribed in India that is 8 hours per day. They are not paid extra for these additional hours.

The study found that the migrant socio-cultural lives have been restructured in Ludhiana. They are greatly influenced by the local culture. Majority of the migrants have modified their eating habits and acquired the local language and customs. Even their dressing style has undergone a transformation. The migrants have been socially

included in Ludhiana. The locals do invite them to their functions and personal celebrations but they are hesitant in extending that cordiality towards them. This could be due to lack of confidence and certain complexes manifesting thereof. Migrants do not face any discrimination at the workplace from the employer viz-a-viz a local laborer.

The study found chief source of migration to Ludhiana was the 'network' or presence of their relatives or friends nor the agents. Hence forth, the decision of migrating to Punjab especially to Ludhiana, the industrial hub of Punjab was taken under the guidance/influence of relatives which later on becomes the major cause of non-registration of the migrants. Henceforth they work in unorganized sector and do not have any statutory benefits, like EPF, etc. They are not given any subsidies in Ludhiana also as they are not registered. The data found the healthy sign of Indian economy as majority of the migrants have bank accounts and they use net banking to send money to their family and relatives. Migrants in Ldh are aware about labour unions but they are not aware of the broader spectrum that is to have knowledge about labour legislation and even about labour rights. Thus, migrants are partially aware about their economic rights. But how much their, this socio-economic condition paves the way for political participation; would be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANTS

Political participation is one of the important indicators of the health and success of democracy. True democracy demands participation of each segment of society in the political activities so that policies can be framed in accordance with the requirement of every section of society and no one feel alienated or deprived. In this chapter attempt has been made to know whether migrants feel politically alienated or they had started participating in the political life of Ludhiana. What is the nature of political participation of migrants? The chapter has taken their political participation under two headings formal participation under which three political activities are taken i.e., exercising right to vote, becoming member of any political party and contesting the election. In the second category informal political participation is taken into consideration under which some activities are taken into consideration. These are attending political meetings, taking part in the political discussions, taking part in campaigning and role in the selection of candidates. The study also investigated the factors influencing their political participation and their level of political awareness.

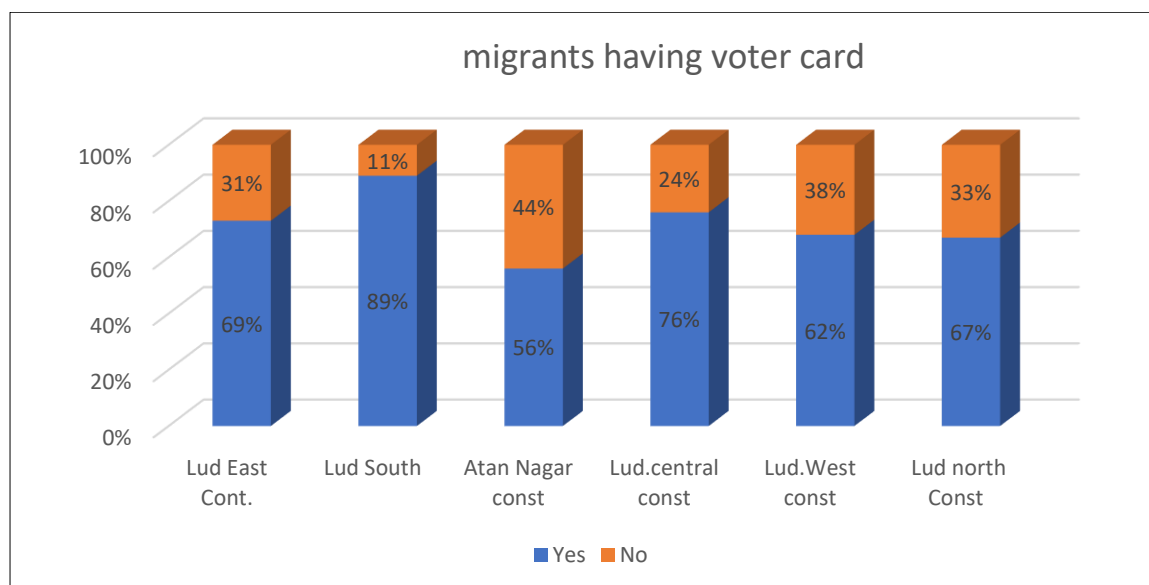
#### 5.1 Formal Political Participation of migrants in Ludhiana.

**Table 42: Whether having Voter id card**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Yes	69%	89%	56%	76%	62%	67%
No	31%	11%	44%	24%	38%	33%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 38: migrants having voter card**



Though the study has included political participation of only those migrants who have voter id card of the address at Ldh but the survey also attempted to find how many migrants in Ludhiana had voter card. In almost all the constituencies, migrants had made their voter cards so that they could avail their political rights. In almost all the constituencies more than 50% migrants did have their voter id card of Ludhiana address. In Ludhiana South const. maximum number i.e., 89% of migrants have voter id card followed by Ludhiana central constituency where 76% migrants had voter id cards. In Atam Nagar constituency only 56% migrants had the voter card which had the least percentage. In all other constituencies more than 65% migrants were with voter card holding Ludhiana address.

The reason for not having voter card was that the migrants considered voter card as their identity card and they did not want to shift their identity from their native place. They were getting economic benefit like subsidies etc. for their families at the place of origin. The migrant usually went back to cast their vote at the local level so that they could have the access to the local leaders. As a result, shifting of voter card may lead to losing of economic subsidies. Secondly the migrants had found the procedure of changing the address at the voter id card complicated and tedious. So, they preferred to maintain the status quo. The most important factor in this regard was the initiative of the local leaders. In the south constituency in ward number 31, as in the last election

migrant leader contested and won the election of the councilor. That factors motivated the migrants to enroll in the voter list and participate in the elections and the candidate too had helped them a lot to be the voter at this place.

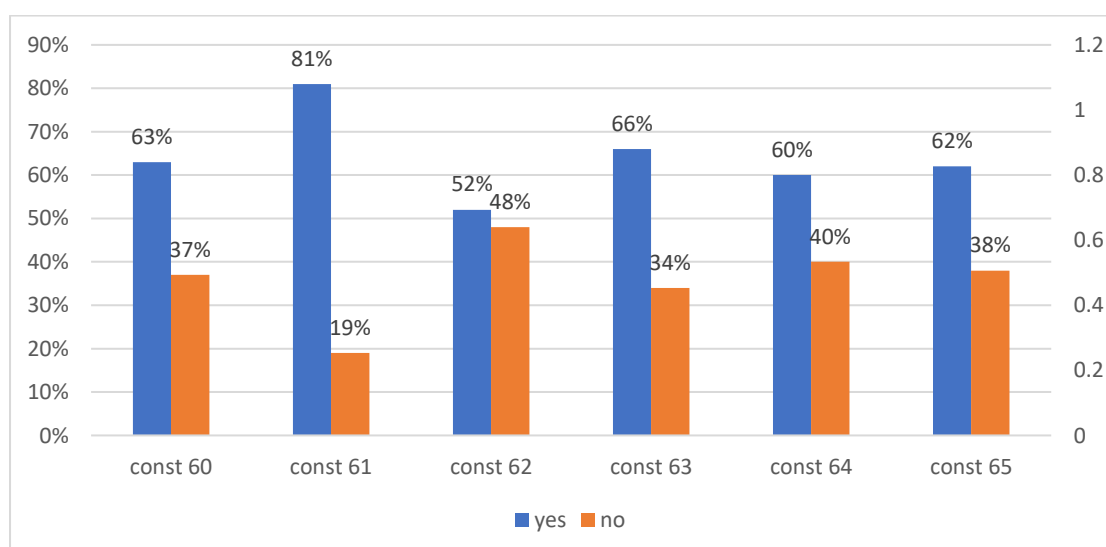
**Table 43: Ever casting of votes since 2015 after having voter id card**

Response	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Yes	63%	81%	52%	66%	60%	62%
No	37%	19%	48%	34%	40%	38%

Source: Primary Data

By casting their votes, voters can influence the political process of their representatives and reveal to the public their thoughts, attitudes, and intentions regarding the political system. It was found that for the last five years more than 50% of the voters, who had voter id of Ludhiana cast their votes. The highest number of migrants who exercised their right to vote are in South constituency where 81% migrants had their voter id card and the lowest figure is in Atam Nagar Constituency where 48% people never exercised their Right to vote. The rest of the constituencies ranged from 60 to 70%.

**Figure 39: Exercise of right to vote**



The study had found that there is a difference between the people who had having voter id card and people who had exercised their right to vote. Almost 5 to 8 % gap was there. It was realized that the people in Ludhiana central constituency 76% people were having voter id card but 66% migrants used it. In the South constituency 89% people had having voter id card but 81% migrants had used it. In Atam Nagar constituency 56% migrants had voter id card but only 52% had exercised it. In Ldh. east constituency 69% migrants have voter id card but only 63% exercised it. Ldh. west constituency 60% migrants had voter id card but only 62% exercised it. In Ldh. North constituency 67% migrants had voter id card but only 62% had exercised it.

**Table 44: Reasons for voting in election**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Vote is our political right	13%	19%	18%	11%	16%	14%
to choose right and responsible government	55%	57	38	65	63	54%
as a responsible citizen we should deliver our franchise	4%	3%	2%	6%	7%	2%
through voting our economic/ social needs will be fulfilled	1%	1%	-	-	-	-
all the above reasons	27%	20%	42%	18%	15%	30%

Source: Primary Data

In almost all the constituencies, more than the 50% of the migrants voted for the sake of selecting responsible candidates. The maximum number of migrants who voted to choose the right candidate were in Ldh. Central constituency where 65% migrants opted for exercising voting right. Moreover, 11% to 19% migrants voted just because

they thought that voting is their political right and they should exercise. The survey has indicated that less than 10% of migrants considered voting as a duty which they should perform. But 42% of the migrants considered all of the above grounds for their franchise. The study had found that majority of the migrants were aware that by exercising their right to vote they could choose responsible and the right candidate as per their perception. So, voting became a tool for them to choose the leader of their choice who could serve them. Further voting is neither a Right nor a duty according to the survey as less than 10% migrants selected this option. It has shown that the migrants have clear cut approach about their tasks and goals.

**Table 45: Reasons for Not Voting**

Major reasons	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Apathy towards politics /no interest in local politics	43%	49%	58%	31%	43%	44%
Voting means wastage of time	5	7	8	5	6	4
Out of station	14%	13%	12%	16%	15%	12%
Illness	-	-	-	-	-	-
Was busy in domestic duties	29%	20%	11%	35%	24%	32%
Some other reasons	9	11	11	13	12	8

Source: Primary Data

The Table has indicated the reasons why some of the migrants had the voter id cards but preferred not to vote. It is not surprising that 30 to 58% people expressed their apathy towards politics. They had never shown any interest in voting. In Atam Nagar constituency 58% migrants had apathetic attitude towards politics followed by Ldh. south const. where 49% migrants lacked interest in politics. The second important reason for not casting their vote was that they were busy in their household duties. In Ldh. Central const. the highest number of migrants mentioned their busy schedule as a factor responsible for not voting. Further 35% migrants in this const. were busy on that day followed by Ldh. North const. where 32% migrants gave the same reason.



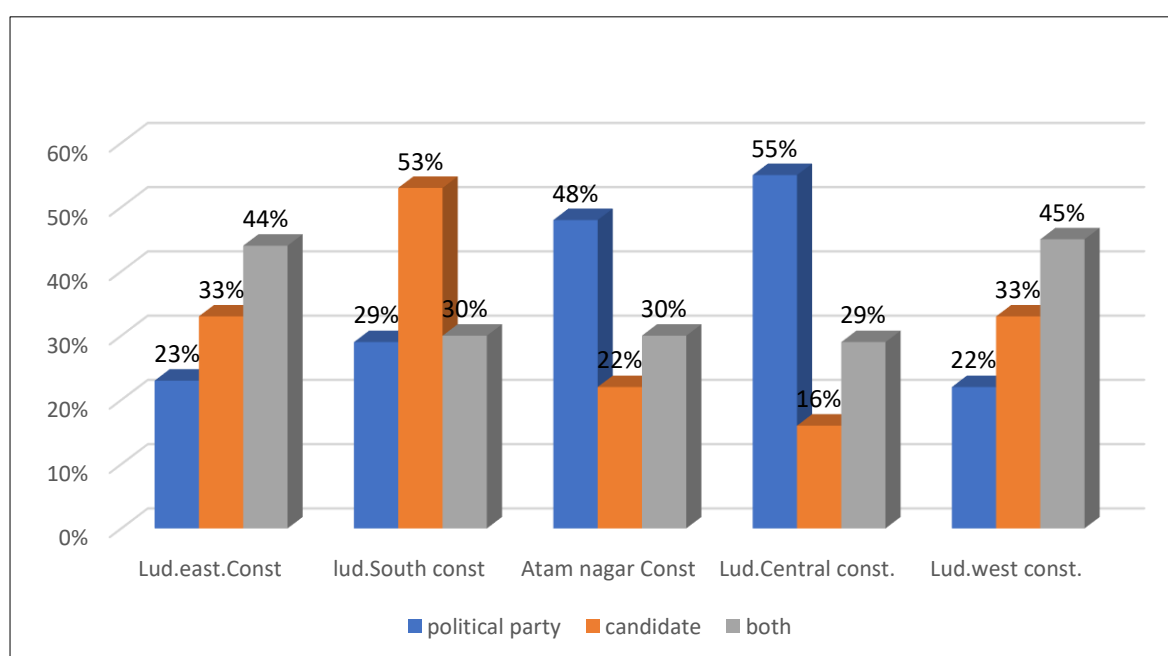
The reasons for which migrants did not cast their vote is very different to the reasons for which other people in Punjab did not cast their vote. CSDS, survey found most of voters either out of station or physical illness as the chief cause for not voting. In 2017, during assembly election, 29% and 18% respectively (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.3) and in 2019, Lok Sabha election, 19% and 14% people in Punjab (CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.15) did not cast their vote for these reasons whereas migrants were apathetic means they lack interest in Ludhiana politics for which they preferred to remain absent.

**Table 46: Whom you give importance given while voting**

Major considerations	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Political party	23%	29%	48%	55%	22%	34%
Candidate	33%	53%	22%	16%	33%	22%
Both	44%	30%	30%	29%	45%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 40: Voters' consideration while voting**



There are numerous justifications for why voters choose certain candidates. Some claim that the party matters more than the leader, while others hold a different perspective. The above table has revealed that the consideration of the migrant voters while casting their vote. In Ludhiana central constituency 55% migrant voters mentioned the political party as their chief consideration while casting their vote, they paid less attention to the candidate and both the things. In the same manner in Atam Nagar constituency 48% people paid more attention to the political party than the candidate. Here the migrants 'consideration is close to the consideration of the people of Punjab in 2017 Assembly elections and Lok Sabha election of 2019. In 2017 elections 49% people preferred to party than the other considerations (Sekhon, 2018) and in 2019 42% people preferred party to candidate or other things (CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.19). In South constituency 29%; in Ludhiana. North const. 34%; in Ludhiana. East and west const. 23% and 34% migrant respectively paid attention to the political party. In the Ludhiana. East and west cont.33% migrants preferred candidate to the political party and their preference reflects the preference expressed by Punjabis in 2017 when 39% voters preferred either the CM candidate or the PM candidate over the party. (Sekhon, 2018). In the Ludhiana. North. const.22% voters voted for the sake of candidate. In all the constituencies nearly 30 to 45% migrant voters considered both the things while exercising their right to vote.

From the perspective of the consideration of the migrants while casting their vote, the survey has presented a very volatile result. The Ludhiana. South and Ludhiana central constituency have presented a different picture of voter's choice. In Ldh. Central constituency. the migrant voters regarded the political party as their main consideration and a big margin is there between the preference of party and candidate. Further, 55% viewed political party and only 16% paid attention to the candidate profile. Contrary to this, chief consideration of the migrants in Ldh. South constituency was candidate and again a big difference was there between the preference for the party and the candidate. Further, 53% considered the candidate in comparison to 29% who had paid attention to the political party.

Since the candidate in the last election contesting from the south constituency belonged to their community, so they were mobilized in favour of the candidate irrespective of his status as being member of any political party. The probable reason

for the wave in favour of the political party in the central const.no 63 is the popular and effective role of the local leaders who are strong supporters of specific political ideology and party. They had been able to mobilize them in favour of a particular ideology.

**Table 47: The most important consideration in favour of the party**

<b>Major considerations</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Leadership of the party	21%	20%	32%	28%	23%	34%
The overall programme of the party is good	61%	45%	48%	62%	60%	47%
People of my caste /community supported that party	13%	29%	16%	09%	12%	14%
Family is traditional supporters/voters of the party.	1%	3%	2%	-	-	3%
I/my family have benefitted, or expect to benefit from the party.	4%	3%	2%	1%	5%	2%

Source: Primary Data

This table has presented the reason behind supporting a particular political party while voting. In Ludhiana. East, Central and West constituency in the elections 61%, 60% and 62% voters respectively supported in election the political party on the basis of the programme of political party. Whereas in Ludhiana. South const. 29% voters gave weightage to the fact that the people of their caste and community have been supporting that party so they also supported it. The Leadership of the political party has a reasonable impact over the voters. Nearly 20 to 35% migrant voters in all the constituencies voted due to leadership of political party. The impact of the economic gain or the traditional support to any political party is just below 10%.

The chief reason of the favoring any political party by the migrant voters is the programme of the political party. It reflects the rationality of the migrant voters. They are not swayed by the personality of the leader of a political party nor do they give weightage to the fact that their family had been the traditional supporter of that political party. The socio, economic and political programme or the election manifesto of political party is the key consideration for their support to any political group in elections. One more very healthy sign of the politics of Ludhiana is that the migrant voters were not giving any weightage to the factor that if local political party leader promised to give some economic benefit to them.

The electorate is gradually becoming mature, they are not allured by false promises or the assurance of some petty gains at the local level. They are not even dependent on the mindset of their relatives, friends, and acquaintance. The weightage given by them is to the past performance, the ideology of the party and the performance of the candidate.

**Table 48: The most important consideration in favour of the candidate.**

Major considerations	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
The candidate has worked a lot in my area	55%	45%	49%	62%	58%	47%
The candidate is accessible	32%	30%	32%	30%	33%	35%
candidate's personality.	3%	5%	5%	3%	-	2%
Religion of the candidate	1%	1%	2%	-	-	-
The group or the faction in the ward supported the candidate	4%	10%	2%	1%	5%	6%
Candidate belongs to my state /region	5%	9%	10%	4%	8%	8%

Source: Primary Data

The table has shown the reason for supporting any candidate during the election. It is to be noted that 45% to 62% migrant voters in all the constituencies supported by voting for a candidate whose performance in the past had been good in locality. The highest 62% migrant in Ldh. Central constituency and lowest 45% in South constituency voted for a candidate keeping in mind the fact whether the candidate had worked in the past in the area or not. The second important factor behind supporting a candidate by the migrant workers was if the candidate was accessible to them. In all the constituencies more than 30% voters voted for a candidate if he/she was easily available if they had approached them for any task. The percentage of the migrants who supported any candidate on the basis of the caste/ community/religion and personality was very low. Below 5% migrants had given the consideration to exhibited this in all the constituencies.

The analysis has reveals very significant and healthy indicator for Indian politics. It has reflected that migrant have become mature and sensible voters. The candidates in the election fray could not score well if they had made caste or religion as issues. Moreover, more than 50% migrant voters' consideration for the performance of the candidates was a very healthy sign. The personality of the candidate was also not an attractive issue for the migrants. The migrants had also focused this factor in the election whether the candidate could be accessible if they wished to approach. One third of the migrant voters voted giving weightage to this factor. So, it can be inferred that the migrant voters have fully grown up.

## **5.2 Political Clientelism**

As it is very difficult to get the accurate answers of the elements of political clientelism among the voters, so the survey has tried to know this indirectly from the migrants. The survey attempted to know the element of clientelism with the help of four bases.

These are as follow:

When they finally decided to whom they were to vote

Secondly whether candidate or his representative met them met them personally?

They take the voting decision independently?

Impact on their economic condition after the political participation

**Table 49: When did you finally make up your mind about whom to vote for**

<b>Political clientelism</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Well before the election process started	58%	53%	58%	86%	72%	64%
On the day election dates were Announced	13%	11%	21%	12%	09%	10%
On the day of election.	3%	2%	6%	2%	1%	4%
Can't say	26%	24%	15%	-	18%	22%

Source: Primary Data

The Table has shown further, that more than 50% migrant voters were clear in their mind that in whose favour they were to cast their vote. In Ldh. Central const. 86% of the migrant voters, followed by Ldh. West const and Ldh. North const. where 72% and 64%. The migrant voters, even before the election procedure was initiated, had decided in whose favour they were to cast their vote. In South constituency the highest 21% decided when the election dates were announced. Another 24% voters in the same constituency were unable to recall when they had decided for whom to vote for. Further, In Atam Nagar constituency 6% voters decided on that very day in whose favour they would cast their vote.

The analysis presented above has clearly demonstrated that majority of the migrant voters in Ludhiana city had made up their mind for the vote/support even when the election was not at all imminent. Here the survey is very close to Lokniti post poll survey, 2017 Assembly election and NES 2019 findings where also 50% voters decided their preference well before the beginning of the campaigning for election (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.2; CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.10). Majority of them had decided either on the basis of the programme of the political party or on the basis of the performance of any candidate well before the election. They moved with their predetermined mind set.

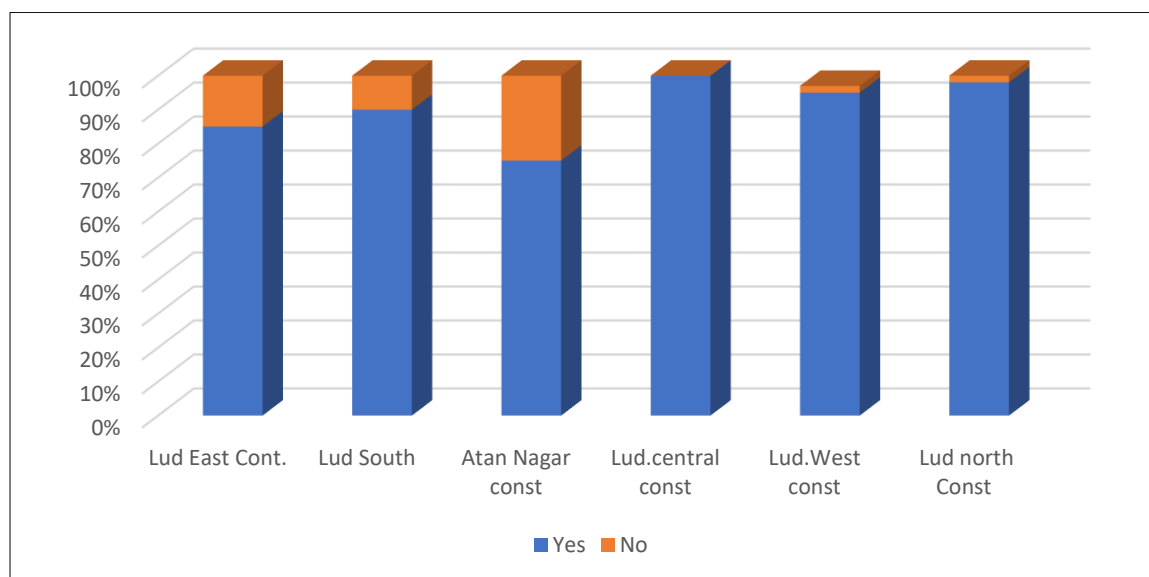
They were very clear whom they were to support in the election with the help of their vote and other political activities. They did not change their minds on the basis of the campaigning or on the basis of the manifesto of the political parties or the issues raised by the political party. Just less than 5% were those voters who decided on that very day i.e., on the election day, in whose favor should they cast their vote. So, it is clear that they do not happen to be fickle minded people and could not be swayed on the basis of petty personal issues.

**Table 50: Independence while 1decision making about Voting**

Political clientelism		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Do you take voting decision by yourselves	yes	85%	90%	75%	100	95%	98%
	No	15%	10%	25%	-	5%	2%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 41: Decision making of voting**



The Table has thrown light on the fact that how far the decision of voting is taken independently by the migrants. In all the constituencies more than 75% migrants

claimed that they had voted independently. Ldh. central const. led all the constituencies. In this const.100% migrants voted independently without any pressure or consultation from the family or friends. This trend was followed by Ldh. North const. where 98% migrants voted without any influence. The lowest graph has been presented by Ldh. Atam Nagar const. where 75% voted independently but 25% voted according to the dictates of the spouse/friends/family or any other.

The study has demonstrated very encouraging facts. It has been found that migrant voters used their right to vote by their own will. The Atam Nagar constituency was the only constituency where 25% voters considered the views or the opinion of their family/friends or relatives before exercising their vote. Otherwise in the other constituencies e.g., Ludhiana. Central, Ldh. West and Ldh. North constituency, majority of the voters claimed to have used their independent will and power of observation to cast their vote.

Comparing this with the poll surveys of Assembly elections, 2017 and Parliamentary elections, 2019 we find that In Assembly elections 73% CSDS and in Lok Sabha election 75% voted people voted without taking advice from anyone else.

**Table 51: Interaction with candidate and his/her representative**

<b>Political clientelism</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Were you approached by the candidate or his agent personally during the campaign	Yes	33%	55%	29%	49%	39%	29%
	No	67%	45%	71%	51%	61%	71%
	Yes	4%	13%	2%	8%	5%	2%



Did you decide to vote because your vote was sought for personally by the candidate or his agents?	No	96%	87%	98%	92%	95%	98%
Does your present representative help you to achieve economic gains? or does the voting have any impact on your financial status – is it increased?	Yes	-	2	-	4%	-	-
	No	100%	98%	100%	96%	100%	100%

Source: Primary Data

It has been again found that nearly more than one third of the voters were approached personally by the local leaders during the campaign period. In the Ludhiana central constituency 49% voters were approached personally whereas in Ldh. South const. 55% voters were contacted personally followed by Ludhiana West const. where 39% were approached. The lowest figure was found in Ldh. North and Atam Nagar const. where only 29% people were approached. The Table has revealed that majority of the migrant voters did not make up their mind just for one reason that the candidate had visited to them personally. The significant observation of the survey was that the migrant voters were not selling their votes to get any financial gain from their representatives. Their financial status remained as it was before and after the voting. Just 2% in Ldh. South Const. and 4% in Ldh. Central Const. admitted that their present representative helped them in gaining some financial benefits.

The analysis has presented a correlation between the Table no 4.40 and this Table 5.10. The findings have revealed that in Atam Nagar const. and in Ldh. North const. candidates did not meet the people personally. Perhaps this was the reason that in both these constituencies only 22% expressed that candidate was an important

consideration for them during voting (Table No.45). Majority of the Migrant voters (55%) in Ludhiana South constituency were contacted personally and the voters in this constituency have expressed their consideration for the candidate while exercising their voting right. So, it is clear that the personal visits of the candidates do have their impact on the choice of the voters.

If we compare this with the CSDS data it reveals that in Assembly elections, 2017, 63% people replied positive that candidate, party worker or canvasser visited their area (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.8) but in 2019 Lok Sabha election 80% denied that anyone come to their place (CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.17).

The personal visit of the candidates adds personal touch to the electoral procedure. First of all, visual impact is lasting, secondly it gives a sense of importance to the one who is being appealed for votes. It makes the process very humane that of recipient and giver. Democratic system raises voters on an elevated platform on the day of voting and the candidates are humility personified, at their best with fake smiles and false problems, more often than not, withing the hearts of gullible vulnerable electorate.

### 5.3 Emerging leadership.

**Table 52: Membership of any organization**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Are you member of any organization	yes	15%	33%	15%	34%	32%	16%
	No	85%	67%	85%	66%	68%	84%
If yes, type of organization	Social	43%	45%	42%	23%	28%	32%
	Political	8%	22%	8%	42%	33%	32%
	Economic	29%	33%	15%	35%	29%	36%

Source: Primary Data

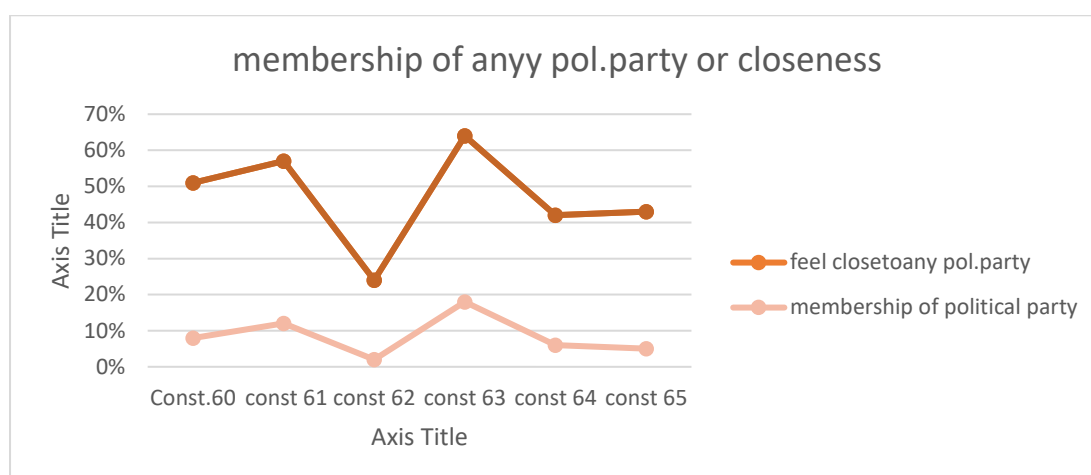
The Table has presented the data of migrants being the member of any organization. The data has revealed that in Ldh. South, Ldh. Central and Lud west constituencies more than 30% migrants had joined some type of organization whereas In Ldh. Atam Nagar Const, Ldh. North and Ldh. East Const. more than 80% migrants were not member of any type of organization. It has also been found that **out of the negligible number of migrants** who were members of any organization, there were member of either social organization or of economic organization. In Ldh. south const.45% migrants were members of social organization followed by Ldh. Atam Nagar const and Lud East const where 42% and 43% migrants were members of the social organization. So far as the economic organization membership was concerned Ldh. 29% migrants were members of economic organization and in South const. only 15% migrants were member of any economic group. The Ldh. central const. had witnessed the highest members of any political group. It had 42% migrants' members of the political organization followed by Ldh. west const where 36% migrants were members of any political organization.

**Table 53: Membership of any political party**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Whether member of any political party	Yes	8%	12%	2%	18%	6%	5%
	No	92%	88%	98%	82%	94%	95%
If no, Feel close to any political party	Yes	43%	45%	22%	46%	36%	38%
	No	57%	55%	58%	69%	64%	68%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 42: membership of any political party and closeness**



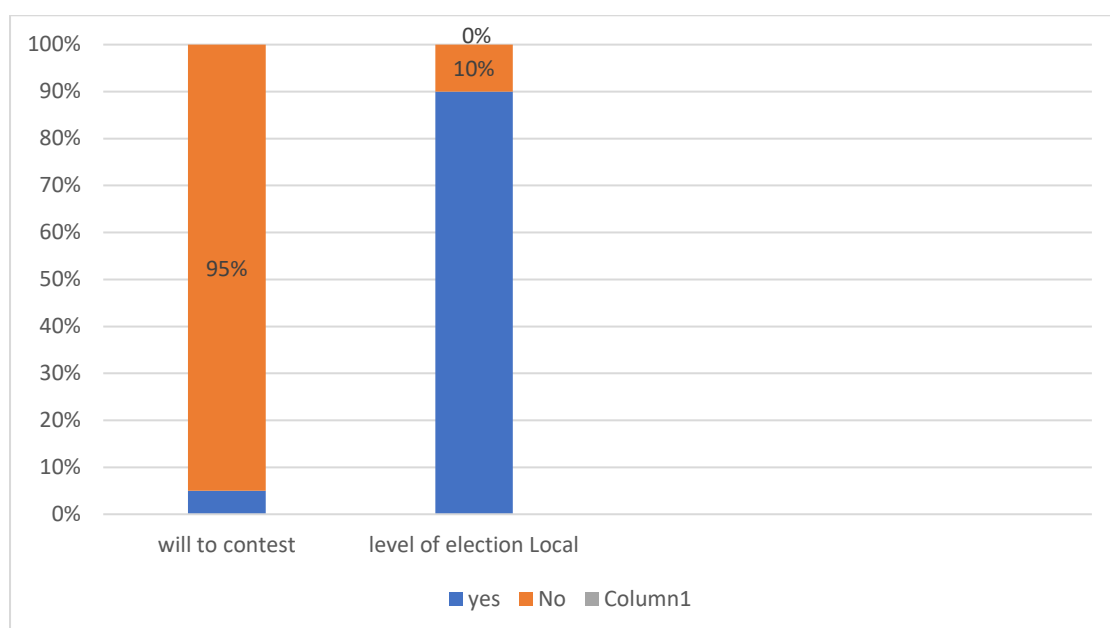
The Table has revealed the migrant’s membership of any political party. It had been found that in Ldh. east and Ldh Atam Nagar constituency only 8% migrants were members of any political party. In Ludhiana. Central Const. 18% migrants were members of any political party followed by Ludhiana North south where 12% were the members. It had also been found that some of the migrants were not directly member of any political party, but felt close to some or the other political party. It was also noted that out of those who were not directly member of any political party, 45% in South const, 43% in Lud East and 42% in Ludhiana Atam Nagar const felt close to some political party.

**Table 54: Will to contest the election**

Response		Ldh East Const . 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Will you contest the election if get opportunity?	Yes	3%	9%	2%	6%	3%	4%
	No	97%	91%	98%	94%	97%	96%
If yes, Level for the contesting election	Local level	100%	86%	100%%	60%	100%	90%
	Assembly level	-	14%	-	40%		10%
	Central level	-	-	-	-		

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 43: will to contest and the level at which wish to contest**



The Table has shown the pattern of the emerging leadership among the migrants. When asked whether they would like to contest election and enter into policy making structures, In Ldh. South 9%, Ldh Central 6% and in Ldh west const.3% migrants expressed their will to contest the election and be a part of the leadership. It was also found that out of those who wanted to be leaders, majority wished to contest at the local body level i.e., municipal corporation. Only in Ldh. Central, Ldh. South and Lud North, out of those who wanted to be leaders, 40%, 14% and 10% migrants wished to contest at the state assembly level election. It was surprising that not even a single member expressed to contest at the central level. The figure shows the result in totality of all the constituencies. Just 5% migrants wish to be the representatives of the voice of their community in the decision-making bodies and that too at the level of municipal level election. Contesting at local level could still be acceptable, contesting at state level is a far cry, almost an impossible task for the migrants, but the central level election is virtually impossible to dream of for these migrants according to the survey.

**Table 55: Stimulus for Contesting the Election**

<b>Stimulus that led to contest the election?</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
To serve the people	23%	36%	28%	54%	23%	24%
To make a stepping stone for higher election	70%	64%	72%	20%	77%	76%
For making professional career	7%	3%	-	26%	-	2%
To be in power and exert authority	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Primary Data

The Table has shown the stimulus or motivational factor behind the will of the migrants who wished to be the leaders. It was interesting to note that 77% in Ludhiana West, followed by Ldh. North where 76% and 72% migrants in and Ldh. Atam Nagar const. where 72% migrants wished to be the leader because they wanted to go higher up the ladder of authority. They wanted to be elected at M.C level so that they could make their way for the assembly level and then the central level. Further, 54% migrants wished to be leaders as they want to serve the people, followed by Ldh. South and Ldh. Atam Nagar const. where 36% and 28% migrants expressed the same reason.

As far as the choice of ‘To be in power and exert authority’ was concerned it was a very distant dream and migrants could not dream to achieve this, in the same way making politics as a professional career also is not their choice, only a very few had opted for this option as a reason behind the will to be the representatives of the people.

## 5.4 Informal political participation

**Table 56: Do you participate in politics other than voting?**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
No	83%	79%	92%	76%	84%	87%
Yes	17%	21%	8%	24%	16%	13%

Source: Primary Data

The table has revealed that more than 70% migrants in all the constituencies did not take part in any political activities except voting. In Atam Nagar const. 92% migrants performed their role as a voter only. They did not take part in any other political activity. Further 8% to 24% migrants in Ldh. city participate in the political activities other than voting.

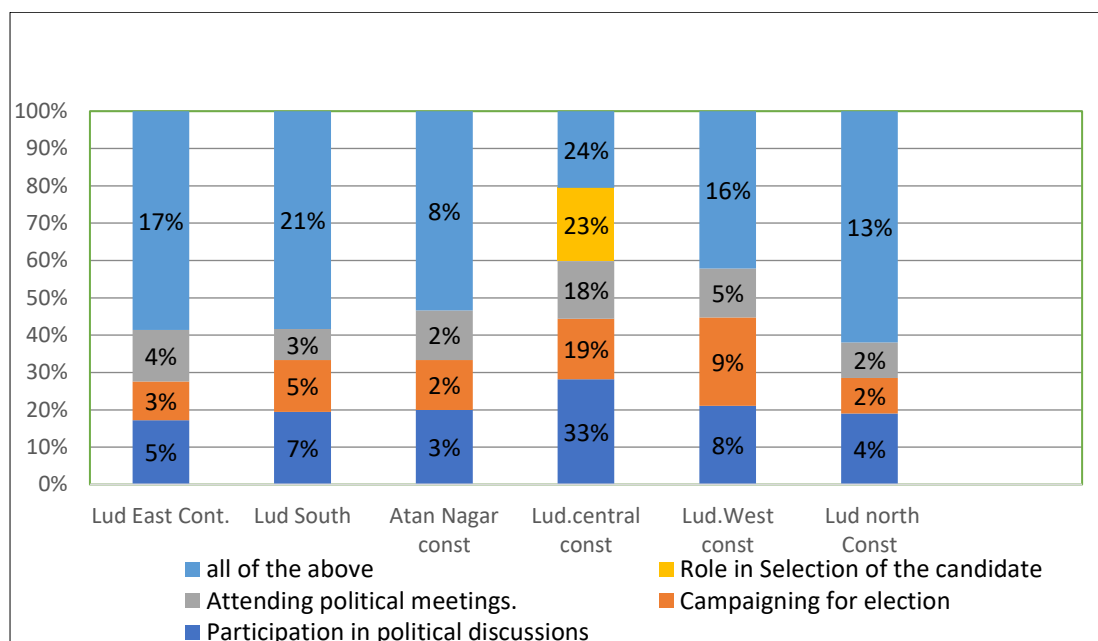
The analysis has revealed the fact that the active political participation of the migrants in Ldh. city is not very encouraging. In Ldh. South and Ldh. Central const. the participation of the migrants in political activities is at slightly visible level. Otherwise, they have limited themselves up to the level of voting only. It is quite understandable, because the other political activities require, money, resources, time and manpower and the migrants are in no position to address rallies conduct meetings collect contribution and perform many such duties.

**Table 57: Participations in informal political activities**

<b>Activities</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Participation in political discussions	Yes	15%	27%	8%	33%	28%	14%
	No	85%	73%	92%	67%	72%	86%
Campaigning for election	Yes	3%	5%	2%	19%	9%	2%
	No	97%	95%	98%	81%	91%	98%
Attending political meetings.	Yes	4%	3%	2%	18%	5%	2%
	No	96%	97%	98%	82%	95%	98%
Role in Selection of the candidate	Yes	-	-	-	23%	-	-
	No	100%	100%	100%	77%	100%	100%
All of the above		17%	21%	8%	24%	16%	13%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 44: Participation in informal political activities**



The Table and chart have presented the percentage of the migrants who are participating actively in political life of Ludhiana. It has been found that out of those migrants who fell in the category of contributing more than voting 8% to 24% migrants participated in political discussions. Less than 20% migrants were even involved in campaigning for some political party during the election period. Just nominal percentage of migrants less than 10% in all constituencies, attended political meetings and they had no role in the selection of any candidate for the elections at any level.

The analysis has revealed the discouraging picture of Ludhiana politics where every fourth person is a migrant but still their political participation is very limited. Overall, less than 10% migrant people are active in politics. Majority of them are confined to their political role only as voters.

But it has been found that not only migrants but other people participation in informal politics is also not very encouraging. If one compares the findings with the surveys of Assembly elections and Lok Sabha election, one finds that political participation in informal activities by migrants as well as other people in Punjab are not very encouraging. In Assembly elections 78% (CSDS, Punjab, 2017 p.5) and in Lok Sabha elections 75% (CSDS, 2019, Punjab, p.16) people never attended the political meetings. So far as the participation in campaigning is concerned again 86% (CSDS,



2019, Punjab, p.16) people in Lok Sabha election and 75% (CSDS, 2019, Punjab, p.5) in Assembly election showed their no involvement in campaigning for any candidate before the election.

**Table 58: Reasons for active participation in informal politics.**

<b>Major reasons</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Feel interest in politics	13%	9%	8%	11%	13%	14%
Greater participation ensures democratic governance	39%	36%	36%	20%	37%	50%
Could exchange ideas	4%	3%	2%	6%	5%	2%
All of the above	44%	52%	54%	63%	45%	34%

Source: Primary Data

The migrants were asked about for political participation. The first aspect was whether they felt interested in politics or not. In Ldh. (E) constituency 13%, Ldh (south) constituency only 9% Atam Nagar Const. just 8% Ldh (W) 13% in Ldh. Central and Ludhiana North 14% felt interested in politics. That clearly reflects their negligible interest in politics. In the next question whether greater participation ensured better governance. 39% in Ludhiana (E), 36% in Ldh (S) another 36% in Atam Nagar, 20% in Ldh (central) 20% in Ldh (W) 37% and Ldh (N) 50% believed that participation would increase democratic governance. That clearly indicates that the awareness level of the migrants is on the rise. As far as exchanging ideas was concurred, not many gave

this reason but all the above reason were given by the maximum number of migrants 44% in Ldh (E), 52% in Ldh (S), 54% in Atam Nagar 63% Ldh (C) 45% in Ldh (W) and 34% in Ldh (E). This analysis has clearly indicated that the migrants took part in informal political activities very seriously and sincerely.

**Table 59: Reasons for Not participating in informal politics**

Major reasons	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar, Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
No interest in politics	43%	49%	58%	31%	43%	44%
Lack of time	39%	27%	21%	43%	34%	38%
Lack of knowledge	6%	9%	10%	5%	8%	8%
Do not know politicians	2%	3%	-	-	2%	-
All of the above reasons	10%	12%	11%	21%	13%	10%
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data

The Table has indicated the reasons why some of the migrants were not taking active part in political participation. It was noted that 21% to 58% people expressed their apathy for politics. They had no interest in political activities. In Ldh. North constituency 44% migrants had apathetic attitude towards politics, Ldh. East const. 43% migrants were lacking interest in politics. The Ldh. South const. had the highest number i.e., 58% migrants had shown their disinterest in active political participation. The next important reason for not participating in political activities was they were busy in their duties. In Ldh. Central const. The highest number of migrants expressed their busy schedule as the factor responsible for not participating actively, their percentage was 43% migrants in this const. who expressed lack of time for politics, followed by

Ldh. East const. where 39% migrants expressed the same reason. Ranging from 5% to 10% migrants in Ludhiana expressed their lack of knowledge. They had no ideas how to participate actively. This was the main barrier in the way of active political participation.

It is a well-known fact that when one feel necessary or find interest, he/she spare time for that also. But migrants expressed chief reason for not participation lack of time which indicates they lacked interest because of have their limitation. The country cannot have high hopes from those who are barely managing to have two square meals a day.

## 5.5 Interest in politics

**Table 60: Interest in politics**

<b>Response</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Have interest in politics	Yes	67%	66%	63%	86%	62%	66%
	No	33%	34%	37%	14%	38%	34%
degree of interest	Strong	46%	45%	32%	67%	44%	51%
	Medium	45%	43%	60%	23%	50%	38%
	Low	9	12	8	10	6	11

Source: Primary Data

The survey has revealed that the migrant voters have interest in the political field. Ldh. central const. is at the top of the chart. Interestingly 86% migrants responded affirmatively about their interest in politics. Only 14% migrants did not show any interest in politics in this constituency. In all other constituencies more than 60% migrants had exhibited interest in politics and below 40% had responded in the negative. So far as the degree of interest is concerned, in all the constituencies again Ldh. central constituency topped where 67% migrants had shaded very strong interest

and 10% had very low interest. In South const.45% voted strong interest and 43% had medium and 12 % had low degree of interest. On the other hand, in Atam Nagar constituency only 32% had strong interest and 60% had medium interest and only 8% had low degree of interest.

The above data has indicated that in the Ldh. central constituency migrants were more politically inclined in than the other constituencies and whole of the city. In general, most of the participants had medium degree of interest in politics. This is understandable. They have long working hours, they are relatively new to the place, they are steeped in the process of settling down, cowed down by financial pressures of fending for the family. With all these time-consuming functions, strong political interest on their part would be very difficult to attain. Those who are still alienated have very low degree of political interest.

## 5.6 Political Awareness

**Table 61: Political Awareness**

Political Awareness		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Do you keep in touch with political news	Yes	49%	23%	15%	42%	45%	46%
	No	15%	19%	26%	11%	13%	15%
	To Some extent	36%	58%	59%	47%	42%	39%

Source: Primary Data

The data has expressed the level of the awareness of the migrants about the political happenings. Except Ldh. South and Atam Nagar Const.in all others const. more than 40% migrants were aware about the political news. In Ldh. East maximum 49% migrants kept themselves in touch with the political news while 15% in the same const. did not have any updates on political events. The lowest awareness about political

news is in the Atam Nagar const. where only 15% migrants had updates about politics and 59% had somewhat updates and 26% had no awareness at all about the political news.

The survey has highlighted that Ludhiana Central and Ludhiana West constituency are full relatively of politically aware migrants. These constituencies had more than 40% migrants who were either fully aware of political updates or only partial updates of it and these constituencies has the least number i.e., just 11 and 13% migrants who were politically unaware.

**Table 62: Source of political awareness**

Main Source of getting political news		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
1	T.V	49%	68%	60%	42%	45%	46%
2	News paper	24%	9%	7%	36%	26%	29%
3	Discussion with friends	23%	18%	27%	20%	28%	24%
4	Posters	2%	5%	6%	-	-	1%
5	Party magazine	2%	-	-	2%	1%	-

Source: Primary Data

The Table has indicated the major sources of political news for the migrants in Ludhiana city. It has been found that the main source of the political awareness was the medium of television. 68% migrants in South constituency and 60% migrants in Atam Nagar constituency use to get information about the political happenings from the television. In Ludhiana. East, Ludhiana Central Ludhiana West and Ludhiana North this percentage fell below 40%. There was 49%, 42%, 45% and 46% respectively. There is a trend of discussion on political events and political issues among migrants in Ludhiana also. More than 20% migrants in all the constituencies except the South constituency discussed politics with their friends. Newspapers are very important

source of information but in Ludhiana South constituency just 9% migrants used this source. This is more popular in Ldh. Central and Ldh. North constituency where 36% and 29% migrants used this medium. This has indicated the literacy level of the migrants also. It has presented a relationship between the economic wellbeing and the source of information. In Ludhiana. Central and Ludhiana North constituency migrants are comparatively economically sound so their political habits are different from the migrants of the south and Atam Nagar constituency.

Here the results are close to CSDS data. In 2017 assembly election survey too find TV as the main source of information as 50% people daily watch the TV for getting political information (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.34).

**Table 63: Political Awareness about the area**

Do you know the names of political parties contested the election last time at the local level, state level and central level election?	Response	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
	Yes	59%	69%	43%	62%	55%	61%
	No	41%	31%	57%	38%	45%	39%
Do you know which party and candidate in your area won the election?	Yes	63%	79%	47%	72%	62%	61%
	No	37%	21%	53%	28%	38%	39%

Source: Primary Data

The Table has presented the data about how much the migrants are aware about the political representatives of their area. In all the constituencies except Atam Nagar Constituency more than 50% migrants were aware about the political parties that had contested last time elections in their area at all the levels. The migrants in South const. topped the table as 69% were aware followed by Ludhiana. Central and Ludhiana. North const. where 62% and 61% migrants are aware about the names of candidates and the political parties that had contested the election. So far as the winners and the names of the present M.P, M.L.A and M.C are concerned 79% migrants in Ludhiana South const. were fully updated about their present representatives at all the levels followed by Ldh. Central and Ludhiana. East Const. where 72% and 63% migrants knew the names of their present representatives and their political parties.

Their level of political awareness among migrants is commendable. The survey reveals that though migrants were not educated but they were not unaware. They can no longer be led like the herd of sheep. They keep their eyes and ears open and are well informed.

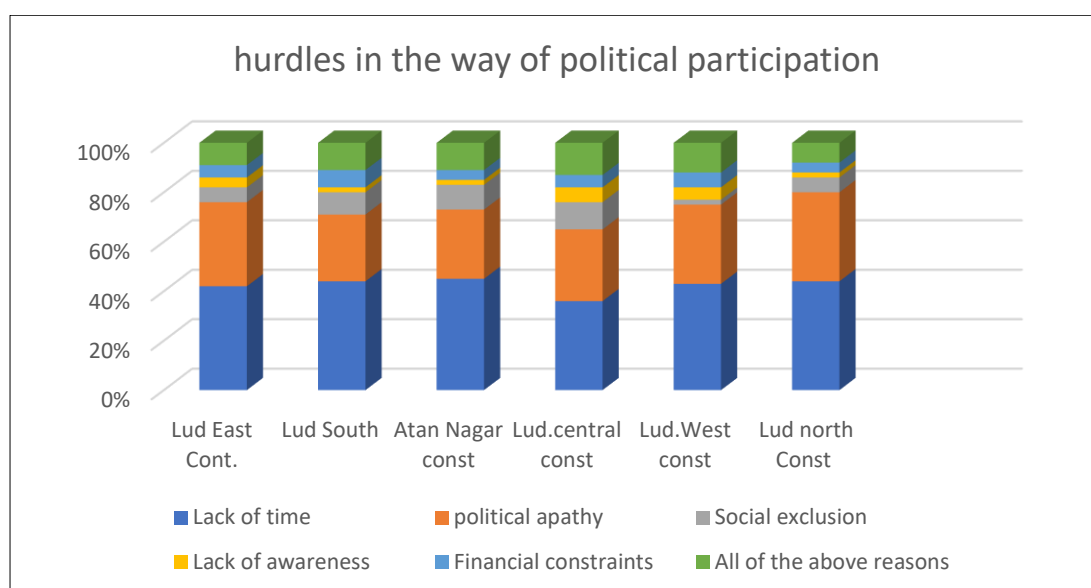
### 5.7 Obstacles in the way of political participation

**Table 64: Main hurdles in the way of political participation**

Major reasons	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Lack of time	42%	44%	45%	36%	43%	44%
Political apathy	34%	27%	28%	29%	32%	36%
Social exclusion	6%	9%	10%	11%	2%	6%
Lack of awareness	4%	2%	2%	6%	5%	2%
Financial constraints	5%	7%	4%	5%	6%	4%
All the above reasons	9%	11%	11%	13%	12%	8%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 45: hurdles in the way of political participation**



The chart has presented the major obstacles faced by the migrants while performing their political role in Ludhiana city. It has been found that shortage of time and political apathy were the main hurdles for the low political participation of the migrants. More than 40 % migrants in all the constituencies agreed that they wished to perform political role but they lacked time, another 27% to 36% migrants admitted that they were politically apathetic so they keep themselves away from politics. Next important hurdles the migrants faced were they felt socially excluded. Nearly 10% migrants felt that they were not part of the society in Ludhiana. So, they should not play any role here rather they should keep their resources for their native place. Further around 5% migrants ranging from 5 to 7% migrants felt that if they had enough financial resources, they could have played more political roles. So, for them financial constraint was the major hurdle. Nearly 10% considered that no one factor was responsible rather all the above reasons had contributed for the restricted or no political participation by the migrants.

The analysis has highlighted the main obstacles in the way of the political participation faced by the migrants. Lack of time is the main problem for them. As they came to Ludhiana for economic reasons (Table:4.9), so their focus is on earning and to be sounder financially not on performing political roles or participation in the political activities. Secondly, they feel politically apathetic too. They lack interest in politics.



Their interest and priorities are different. They feel socially excluded as well. Financial limitations are also a significant barrier. As most of them are in the low-income group, so, within these limited financial resources it is not possible to play active political participation.

### **Summary of Chapter 5**

The chapter has brought forth the marginalised political participation of migrants. It was but obvious that for the migrants the main mode of political participation was casting their votes, in other fields their participation was negligible.

Migrants exhibited maturity as political voters. Their voting behaviour was largely not influenced by religion / caste / educational qualification or the personality of the candidate but their main focus was on the performance of the candidate in the past in terms of service. The second important consideration in favour of the candidate was whether the candidate was accessible or not. These were the two main solid reasons for giving performance to the candidate. Another good indicator of the maturity of their political behaviour was that they supported any political party only if the party had given assurances and made good promises for group welfare. Thus, they paid more importance to the plans and programmes of the party and, not to the charismatic leadership of the party.

The study found that migrants fully realised the importance of their role as voters. They had fully understood that their political participation could ensure democratic governance. But after all migrants are also humans. Their affinity with their own people was visible and hence forth the political mobilization was higher in areas where either a migrant leader was a representative at any level of the democratic setup or had been the candidate for it.

The study found that migrants were fully aware of their economic limitations and scarcity of resources for contesting the elections. Many of the migrants have migrated on permanent basis, they have voter IDs issued at their present address so active participation in terms of casting votes is not a problem for them. But there are other activities where the study found their negligible presence like discussion on political topics, campaigning for elections or becoming an active member of any

political party. Those migrants who are living here on temporary basis for financial reasons, the study found their reservations in changing their address as they do not want to lose their benefits at their native places. Their political interests are hampered here but they are sacrificing political interests for the sake of their economic interest and the greater good of the family. Thus, the chapter has taken all the aspects of political participation of the migrants as voter, as more than voters and their representation in the city of Ludhiana. On the basis of the level of political participation of this chapter, suggestions are given in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **FINDINGS AND THE SUGGESTIONS**

Political participation is of vital importance. It is an important tool to test the legitimacy of the government. In a democratic system, it ensures the long continuity of the system, but democracy requires political participation and representation of all segments of society. India has embraced democratic system with strong principles of “justice, liberty, equality and fraternity assuring the individual dignity and unity and integrity of the nation” (Gawas, 2019). However, due to the lack of economic, social, cultural settings, the roots of democracy have yet to reached deep into the Indian soil. Many groups and communities have been excluded from the country's political life. Because of poverty, illiteracy, conservatism, economic inequalities, and lack of social resources these groups show disinterest in political life or are apathetic. Migrants are one of those excluded groups.

Interstate migration in India is quite low in comparison to the intrastate migration. Among the three types of internal migration Interstate migration constitute just 4 % of the total migration which is quite less if it is compared it with the other countries. In USA it is 10% and in China it is 5% though there exists household registration system called hukou (De, 2019). The study is all about the internal migration in India with the lens of political participation in Ludhiana city of Punjab.

#### **6.1 Findings of the study with respect to the objectives**

##### **6.1.1 To explore the socio-economic conditions of the migrants**

Q 1 Whether political participation gets effected by the socio-economic condition?

It is generally believed, and SES Model of political participation by Milbrath also support that political participation is determined by the socio-economic status of the citizens in politics. So, the first objective of the study was to know about the socio-economic condition of the migrants and its impact on their political participation in Ludhiana city. To achieve this objective the sample survey method was used with the help of questionnaire as a tool. Questionnaire contained questions related with the socio-economic conditions of the migrants. The survey had found that so far as the

social status of the migrants was concerned, they have been accepted by the society in Ludhiana and they too have accepted the changed social environment. Apparently, the host society welcomed them with open arms. The Migrants have started participating in the festivals of Punjab. The people in Ludhiana addressed them using their first name. and they have earned respect in the society. Some of the migrants (12%) were addressed by surname or the convenient name like *bhaiya*. (Based on the survey; see also Mehra, 2012, p. 264). The behaviour of the local people in Ludhiana was quite good as was found in the survey. The migrants in Ludhiana have formed their social circle now and they have mixed up well in the social circle. Most of the migrants would normally be invited from their local co-workers and neighbours for their social functions. They too invite them to their social gatherings. It has been found that they have established healthy relationship with the locals.

So, it was clear that they had not socially been excluded but their social condition was not very good, as most of the migrants lived in the colonies inhabited by the people of their community only. The migrants preferred to live at the place where people of their own region lived not in the areas where the local Punjabi workers lived. So legally and theoretically their social condition was good but practically they were a part of the ghettoization of Ludhiana. The study had found that Indra colony, Ambedkar Nagar and Mahadev Nagar (ward no 29) full of people who were from Bihar whereas in Sandhu enclave area maximum number of migrants are from Uttar Pradesh.

A happy life requires support from the administration also, but the migrants would not get support whenever they would visit the Government offices for any task. Majority of them were dissatisfied with the non-cooperative attitude of the government's officers. (Based on the survey; see also Singh, 2011, p.162). The Police as an institution is normally always there to provide safety and security to the citizens but one fourth of the migrants had faced harassment at the hands of the police. Police suspects and doubts them unnecessarily on account of their being migrants. The police are biased towards them and suspects and doubts them unnecessarily. The police and other institutions had an unwelcoming attitude towards the migrants due to their lack of address or identity proofs in the host city, leading to hassles in their daily lives. (Based on the survey; see also Ansari, 2016)

The language, eating habits and dressing habits are important social indicators. The study had found that the migrants were conversed by the people in both the languages Hindi and Punjabi or in Hindi only. This might be due to the fact that the local people realising the migrant's difficulty of understanding other language than theirs or this could be due to the fact that the local people happen to be selfish, they have always wanted to grind their own axe. They have the target of getting work done from the labourers. Hence the usage of Hindi makes it convenient for all. But the migrants started liking Punjabi language and they understood it now, although they could not speak it fluently. The migrants had changed their conventional way of dressing up after coming to Ludhiana. It is interesting to note that 57% migrants had changed their dressing styles and had started wearing Punjabi style dresses or suits in Ludhiana. Their eating habits have also undergone a change. Further 37% migrants agreed that they had changed their eating habits and started taking Punjabi meal. This indicated their will and wish to settle down in Ludhiana and make their routine work comfortable for themselves. The social inclusion of the migrants is indicated more when majority of them expressed their will not to work at a place where only the migrant workers work rather this aspect had no impact on their choice of work place. **So, it can be said that the social status of the migrants has no impact by and large on their being migrants or locals.**

The economic status of the migrants too presented similar findings. The migrants were getting good behaviour from the local labourers and the employers. Majority of the migrants found the behaviour of both the employer and the local labourers good and 25% found it satisfactory. They did not find any discrimination against them while getting the job, nor they were receiving any discrimination in the routine work at ((based on survey)) the workplace. Their working conditions were at par with the local labourers and they got equal holidays and equal working hours with their local co-worker.

Here one important aspect to notice was that in Ludhiana labourers worked for more than 10 hours. Moreover 68% workers work for 10 to 12 hours per day, though normal working hours in India are 8 hours a day. For these extra hours of work, they did not get any extra benefits. It indicated that the *small-scale capital* Ludhiana had

different working set up in India. Though the workers and labourers were not under high level of stress but their working hours were more than the fixed working hours set up under the Industrial Act 1948.<sup>10</sup> Secondly the migrants were not getting any other benefit except the salary that is provident fund etc.

It has been found that majority of the migrants were now employed either on part time basis or full-time basis or they were self-employed. The unemployment rate among the migrants in Ludhiana was quite low. Just below 10% migrants were unemployed in Ludhiana whereas 47% were not working in their native place (based on survey, Table: 4.28) So, job- wise their condition has improved. Most of the migrants in Ludhiana were earning between 15000 to 25000 per month. Very less percentages of the migrants were below the income group of 8000 and above 25000 per month. So far as their family income is concerned again most of them had family income from 16000 to 35000 per month. The study had found that only those migrants who were self-employed and living in Ludhiana for long time, were settled and were earning above 35000. This group of migrants had even immovable property in Ludhiana as well.

With regard to the accommodation and the housing facilities, majority of the migrants were living in the rented accommodation which was either semi furnished or unfurnished. Only one fifth had their own house and immovable property. In Ludhiana central constituency where many of the migrants had started their own business related with the hosiery industry, they had their own house and that too was furnished. Majority of the migrants were living in a single room, rented and unfurnished accommodation where very poor facility of water and sanitation was available. The household utility items were also the barometer of the economic condition of any individual or group. Most of the migrants had basic utility items. They had fans/coolers, gas stove, TV, but only a few had washing machine, air conditioner and computer/laptop, which are still considered items of luxury for the migrants. These items were being used in the area where hosiery industry was there but the use of these items was almost invisible in Giaspura area of South constituency. One very interesting finding was that many of the

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<sup>10</sup> Working Hours and Overtime as Per the Factories Act, 1948  
<https://lawcorner.in › working-hours-and-overtime-as-p...>

migrants had the smart mobile phones. It shows they preferred to spend on portable items and on the items which were multifunctional and were very useful for their routine life. Majority of the migrants had the bank account which happened to be a very good sign of their financial inclusion. They invariably send money to their families with through banking and this way had reduced the risk caused by the middleman.

So, the study had found that the economic condition of migrants was having better economic condition than their native place as they had got somewhat permanent employment and better wages here for the purpose which they had migrated. But overall, they continued belonging to the low-income group of Indian society.

### **6.1.2 To access the extent of political activism of migrants.**

Q. 2 To what extent migrants are politically active in Ludhiana city?

To study the extent of the political activism of migrants was the second objective of the study. The study had attempted to know the political activism on the basis of their political participation. The study classified their political participation as participation in formal political activities and participation in informal political activities. In the formal participation voting, becoming member of any political party and contesting the election were analysed and in the informal political participation taking part in political discussions, campaigning and role in the selection of candidates were considered. It had been found that the migrants had made their voter ID card and started exercising their right to vote in Ludhiana city but this exercise is subject to various factors. It had been found that their zeal to participate depended not solely upon them but much upon the efforts of the local leaders or the activists. The registration and use of their voting right was maximum where either the candidate for any level of election belonged to their community or where some activist had taken special or personal care of the vote bank of the migrants. In Giaspura area of south constituency almost all (81%) had exercised their right to vote too. In the last MC elections Radhakrishna, candidate from their community had contested the elections and won too. So, the political mobilization was the highest in this area. On the other hand, the least registration was in the Atam Nagar constituency wards as neither the candidate nor any local migrant activist belonged to their area. Otherwise, the migrant's political participation was similar to the national voting participation i.e., around 60%.

A good number of migrants had shown apathy towards politics as well by not getting registered here as the voters. Though the study has taken the political participation of only those migrants who were possessing voter id card at the address of Ludhiana but the researcher found numerous migrants who were living in Ludhiana for the last many years but still hesitate to shift their voter id card here in Ludhiana. The lack of possession of the voter cards by the migrants was due to the fact that migrants regarded their voter card to be their Identity Card, and therefore did not want to change their identify from their place of origin. They had been receiving financial assistance in the form of subsidies under the public distribution system (PDS) in their native place with the help of the Adhar card and voter card there (Bhattacharjee, 2018). So those who were here without families and were temporary migrants, hesitated in switching over their voter ID card to this place and could not cast their vote there.

The study had found the migrant voters to be very rational while exercising their voting right. The Migrant considered both the political party and the candidate while exercising their franchise. If they considered the political party, they did not consider the leadership rather they took into consideration the programme of the political party and while focussing on the candidate, they did not consider the caste/religion of the candidate but the performance of the candidate in the previous period. This had shown their very impressive mature way of using their right to vote.

The migrant's participation in informal political activities did not seem to be encouraging. The study had attempted to know informal political participation in four political activities. These were participation in the political discussions, attending political meetings, campaigning for any candidate, participation in the political meetings and role in the selection of the candidate. The study had found very low percentage of the migrant's role in almost all the constituencies in campaigning, participation in the political meetings and political discussions and the role in selection of the candidate in almost all the constituencies. One important finding of the study was the role of the migrants in these activities as bouncy in the central constituency. The migrants took keen interest in the political discussions in ward no 58 and they participated in political meetings. They claimed they had role in the selection of the



candidates at the local level election. This active participation in this ward might have been due to the better economic condition of the migrants in this area.

So, the answer of the first question is that there is no direct relation between social condition and political participation as participation in formal political activities up to the voting has by and large same in almost all constituencies. But the study found there is relation between economic condition and participation in formal and informal political participation except the exercising right to vote.

Political participation of the migrants indicates the rationality of the migrants in the city of Ludhiana. The rationality of the migrants here supports the **Rational Choice Theory**. The migrants in Ludhiana determine their political participation in an election after doing a thorough analysis and evaluating how and how much they will benefit if they **pay the price** in the form of voting and participate in the other political activities. The migrant's pay the cost in the form of time and money invested in participating for political activities. The migrant's decision however, whether to exercise their right to vote or not to vote in the city of Ludhiana and furthermore for whom to vote for is based entirely on their rationality and decision-making. Migrants transfer their voting cards to Ludhiana when they are confident that their socio-economic interests are safe and secure here. In the constituencies where the registration and voting turnout is higher, it has been observed that either the migrants have a candidate of their own community or the candidate has paid personal attention to the migrants. Accordingly, active political participation has been seen in such constituencies i.e., the South and Central constituency and the least in Atam Nagar constituency because of these factors.

### **6.1.3 To explore the emerging political leadership of migrants.**

Q. 3 What is the pattern of political leadership among migrants in Ludhiana city?

The study had attempted to explore the emerging leadership among the migrants. The study had found that the migrants in Ludhiana were the members of various social and economic organizations like Avadh Navyug Sabha, Vidya Prayas, Navdurga Mahotasva committee, Purvanchal Vikas parishad, Bihar Swarankar samiti, Bihar Yuva parishad. These organizations were in the form of 'societies' based on the community identity or the occupational basis. The heads of the majority of these

societies are popularly known as *Pradhan*. It had been found that there was an element of leadership among these Pradhan's. They were vocal about the problems and the concerns of the migrants. They made efforts to keep the migrants united on the basis of community by arranging meetings and organizing Langar's (free meals). But the study had found a very poor element of the political leadership among the migrants. A very small percentage of the migrants were members of any political party though they felt close to some or the other political party. The average migrants were not interested in contesting the elections at any level. However, if at all some of them had the will to contest the elections, they liked to contest at the local level.

The test of democracy is the extent to which it succeeds in representing various groups. Representation is a tool that can make participation easier. Representation in electoral bodies leads to representation of interests of disadvantage groups in the decision-making bodies and, ideally, result in a change in policy (Jayal, 2009). It had been found that the migrant feel major political parties in Ludhiana were very much concerned about the strength of the migrants as the vote bank. Before the elections they had patronised the activists of the migrant's colony. They would arrange camps etc for their vote registration, would even convince these activists to campaign from door to door but so far as the representation of the migrants in the decision-making bodies or giving tickets to them for election was concerned, the political parties did not give them the chance. In the last election of MC 2018. Three migrant leaders contested the election as independent candidates but could not win. One of migrant candidate Radhekrishna said, "even though I won in the last election as a councillor and but I was denied the ticket this time opportunity by the BJP" (Jagga, 2019). So, most of the migrants were reluctant as they did not find sufficient resources for contesting the elections.

The leadership among the migrants is thought provoking question. They live in colonies or vohras, where other migrants from their states alone live. The feeling of brother hood emerges, some confident persons emerge as leaders, but the jurisdiction of these leaders is only to arrange functions at the level of colonies , organizing celebrations together e.g. Navratri, Chat puja, Holi etc. and some of the migrants who have been living there as the leaders for a decade or so, know the local leaders of the various parties and act as go-between in getting their fellow migrants ID cards, benefits

or once in a while if a migrants is facing a problem at their work place, these small scale leaders can take their fellows to the union leaders. This role is played by the budding leaders in the utmost since they feel that contesting an election is a far cry for them, since its entrails a lot of expenditure and due to financial constraints, they are not able to take the advantage of their political right.

Here the findings are very near to resource model of political participation. Resource model of political participation answers the question Why people don't participate in political activities. The model gives the answers that 'time, money and civic skills' are the resources that an individual spends to participate in politics (Brady et al., 1995). And another supporter of this model believe 'physical, human and social capital' are the resources which determine the degree of political participation. Political participation depends upon the availability of these resources and the logical grounds to utilize these resources. In the study area less than five percent migrants expressed their will for becoming the representatives in the decision-making bodies. And they expressed the reason that due to shortage of time, lack of resources (Financial) they are unable to make their presence in these bodies. This low percentage is not because of unwillingness or lack of interest. Migrants have their social organizations and they played their leadership role as Pradhan in such organizations but they show no interest in contesting the elections and making their representation in Ludhiana because elections cost huge time, money and political resources. Most of the Migrants came to Ludhiana for economic reasons. Their purpose in this city is to make money. If in some migrants who are settled in Ludhiana for a long period and having the zeal for election and to be representatives, migrants expressed that political parties do not provide them support by allocating their tickets. (Based upon survey and see also Jagga, 2018). So, lack of resources prohibits migrants to jump into the election fray. Thus, the meagre political representation of migrants indicates not their unwillingness but their dissatisfaction with the system which is not supporting them in the study area (Saini, 2019)<sup>11</sup> and confirmed that political opportunities are not distributed evenly in the study area.

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.businesstoday.in/amp/pti-feed/story/ludhianas-migrant-workforce-struggling-with-waste-problem-feels-ignored-in-poll-season-196385-2019-05-16>

#### **6.1.4 To analyse the trends of clientelism in migrants.**

Q.4 What are the factors influencing political participation of migrants in Ludhiana city?

Clientelism is the offering of material goods and services for the sake of electoral support. The study had also attempted to know how far the trend of clientelism is prevalent among the migrants in Ludhiana. It had been found that directly the trend of clientelism was apparently negligible. just 2 to 4% migrant's financial condition increased after the elections. (Table: 50) And that too could be due to some other reason. Majority of the migrants made up their mind to whom they were to vote well before even the starting of the election process. (Table:48). This indicates the clientelist politics has no role in the study area. Moreover, one more important indicator for clientelism was the personal meeting of the migrants with the candidate or their representative. Except in the two constituencies less than 30% were approached by the candidate or their representatives (see also Table: 49) which substantiated the fact that openly there was no trend of clientelism among the migrants. The data found that the migrant group in the study area are exercising their political rights after considering the performance of political party or of candidate in the area during the previous term. They deny the consideration of caste/religion/penny financial benefits (based on survey and Khanna, 2017) of the candidate. Majority of the migrants vote for the candidate who performed well for them. So, the study found the migrants political participation motivated by common good not by the selective material benefits.

#### **6.1.5 To know the obstacles in the way of political participation of migrants**

Q.5 Which are the problems migrants face in performing their political role?

One of the important objectives of the study was to know about the hurdles that were being faced in the way of playing their political role in Ludhiana. The study had attempted to know the hurdles that restrict the migrants from participating as a voter, more than voter as an active participant and the obstacles in the way of becoming representative of the migrants in the democratic institutions. It had been found that the obstacles in all the three roles were more or less similar. The migrants found first of all the shortage of time the prime thing that restricted them from being politically active.

Most of them came to Ludhiana for economic purposes. So, their priority was to earn money. Their economic condition was better than their native place but still many of them fall in the low economic group and their economic compulsions had kept them away from the political interests. Secondly the political apathy had kept them far away from participating in the political activities. It had been found that the migrants did not feel themselves attached to the local issues. The political parties and candidates in Ludhiana did not address their issues. They sought votes on the general issues of unemployment, poverty, infra structure etc. but they failed to understand that migrants had different issues along with these general problems (Majeed, 2017) They had identity issues, hygiene and sanitation issues in their colonies, subsidies for various facilities and subsidized grocery etc. The problems which no political party had taken care of.

As their fair share in the representation was also not there, migrants were very much annoyed with the political parties for not giving them tickets for contesting the elections. The political parties used them as a vote bank but hesitated in giving them opportunities to contest in the name of their political party. As they had financial issues without support, it had become difficult to win in the battle field. So, the major cause of their political apathy was the attitude of the political parties.

The problem of the migrants is quite different form the problems of the natives of Ludhiana. Their residences in the colonies\vehras have extreme problems of hygiene, sanitation, water supply, electricity. Then there is exploitation at the work place. Working for minimum 10 hours and no bonus or extra payment, that leaves them with less time and less money. If they don't have ID card of the new place, then the subsidized provision and other facilities are not available to them, so their dilemma is to decide between the two boats, whether to surrender the first one and suffer the consequences there or have advantages here by getting a new ID. There are various problems like admission of the children to school, language problems, in fact these migrants are without their basic roots. So, the district level, state level or national level problems do not have any relevance for them. So, their tackling with their personal and familial problems are the main obstacles in exhibiting any participations in the politics of the place.

### **6.1.6 To suggest the measures for enhancing the political participation level among migrants.**

Q.6 What are the different measures that can increased political participation of migrant.

There is a close relationship between the social, economic, and political role of an individual and community as a whole, so to increase the political participation of the migrants first of all the social and economic issues should be addressed. As most of migrants are illiterate or have poor level of literacy (Usami, 2012) efforts needed to be put in to educate the migrants and their children so that society could become aware and enlighten. Special programmes should be implemented which encourage the migrants to go in learning. As most of them understand Punjabi language, there should be special classes to enable them to read and write in Punjabi as well so that they themselves and their children should not face difficulty in the official works.

The local people should be sensitized to be empathetic towards the migrants as they work for the benefit of the local people. Strict action should be taken against those who use derogatory words like *bhaiya* to address and or to refer to them. They are an important part of the society and deserve equal respect as do the locals.

As most of the migrants came to Ludhiana for the economic reasons, so they work more and spend little and save more to send the money as remittance to their families. For these reasons they live in small pucca houses or in 'vehras' in the colonies. The government should take care of the condition of these colonies and special attention should be paid to improve the living condition of the migrants.

One fifth of the migrants face problems with the local police and they find non-cooperative behaviour in the government offices as well. These organizations exist to help people from all walks of life. Special efforts should be made to create specific cells within these organizations that deal effectively with the difficulties of these workers and ensure that they are treated fairly. The government should provide legal and social protection to this vulnerable group. These actions would instill a sense of security in these workers, which would encourage them to be connected with the political life of the city.

If the extra hours are not to be considered as overtime work and amply rewarded industrial migrant laborer should not be pushed to work for longer than the required eight hours. The government must put in special efforts to avoid the exploitation of the workers to work for unpaid overtime.

The migrant laborer's grievance cells must be established, and their proceedings must be swift and effective, so that the workers are encouraged to voice their concerns without the fear of retaliation.

If these social and economic efforts are built in, the migrants would start feeling themselves as part of the Ludhiana society and would definitely integrate with the political life of the city.

Last not the least now the extra government bodies especially the political parties should come forward to put in efforts in increasing the level of the political participation of the migrants at the place of work. The political parties should take special care of these migrants' problems and issues and stop using them just as the vote banks. They should give them fair representation while distributing the tickets during the election. It is but obvious when they would have fair representation; there would be fair political participation as well.

## **6.2 Limitations of the study and future scope**

The study has taken the migrants as a whole without having any barriers of age, gender, educational qualifications and duration of migration. The future study can be more at a micro level by applying these borders and divisions.

The study is limited to investigate self-employed, workers and Labourers only. The future study can be done on professionals as well.

The study has investigated the political participation on the whole without classifying it on the basis of activities. Future studies can be taken up on the basis of taking any specific activity.

The current study is based solely on the data obtained in Punjab, specifically from Ludhiana. So, generalization cannot be scaled to national level. The methodology

can be used in future studies to investigate the issue at the national level or the entire state of Punjab.

The study is cross sectional in design. With the help of this we cannot have any idea about the changes in the level and the nature of the political participation among the migrants. The future study can be longitudinal in design and can examine the changes in the voting behaviour of the migrants over some defined or fixed period of time.

The researcher is culturally different from the migrants. Had this been taken up by any person of their region or community, migrants could have been more open to the matter.

The data was collected during the outbreak of the pandemic. It limited the researcher to visit certain areas as they were declared containment zones. Secondly due to the lockdown situations many migrants had gone back to their native places due to the lack of employment opportunities. Those who were in Ludhiana were so stressed that some of them were not even willing to talk on the issue of politics. So, to get the information from the respondents in such a situation was a great challenge.

### **6.3 Implications of the study**

#### **6.3.1 Implications for the academicians**

Any study contributes a lot towards the collective data. The present study could be helpful for the academicians to draw their attention to an area which has been paid less attention. This study is going to help the academicians a lot in being familiar with the social, economic, psychological human profile of the migrants. The period of pandemic was a good test of the attitude and behaviours of the persons in power towards the marginalised class i.e., the migrants. If everything is going well, then tall claims can be made of migrants gradually becoming part of the society. Their yearning for their native place was uppermost, they just wanted to get back to their families. There were many who helped them but on the other hand, the business minded people were fishing in troubled water. The psychological angle of the situation could be a significant topic for the academicians to take besides other things. The study has provided an in-depth insight into the migrant's socio, economic and political issues in the migrant hub that



is the city of Ludhiana. The internal migrants constitute nearly 35% of the Indian population. There are other in migration centres in India such as Surat, Mumbai, Delhi etc. The nature of problems of the migrants may be different at the micro level but by and large at the macro level, they are of the same type. Their social exclusion, caste-based discrimination and economic differentiation could be more area of interest for further research. The analysis and suggestions of the study may be valuable to the academicians of the other universities and the research centres to look into the issues at the other centres of in migration as well.

### **6.3.2 Implications for the policy makers**

The study has striven to provide a deep insight into Art.326 and section 20 of the People Representation Act, which allows all citizens to avail the Right to vote. The internal migrants fall in the category of the 'ordinary voters. So, they do not have rights such as e-voting or proxy voting which are given to NRI's and service voters in India. Now the problem with the Migrants is they do not go to their place of origin just for the sake of voting and to perform their other political activities effectively because of the distance, nor they wish to get their voter id card transferred to this place. The study has provided valuable inputs to the policy makers to pay attention to this aspect of the migrants and modify their legislation to ease the making of new voter ID.

A more compelling case for representation is based on the idea that without the participation of all groups that are underrepresented in society, policy decisions will not be made in their best interests. The study could be helpful on guiding the leaders responsible for the interest articulation to put forward the need to give a fair representation to this segment of Indian society in the place of their work.

The government should enhance the ambit of Interstate Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 and should include in it the migrants who are not registered and are working in the informal sector also. Much more should be done to advance migrant workers' rights in the unofficial sector, to make sure that social policies cover migrant workers (and the families they leave behind), to encourage small-scale projects, and to increase migrant workers' understanding of their rights.

### **6.3.3 Implications for the Society**

Migration is beneficial not only for an individual family but it contributes to the district, to the state and to the society at large at both the places. The study has highlighted the problems faced by the migrants from the social lens also. Migrants are being taken as workers that serves in the economic growth of the society. The study highlights the plights of migrants and makes the employer sensitive to their issues for their own benefits. If the employers will work for improving their living condition, educate their children and will take care of their health and make them feel secure and safe, it would be going to increase their profit also as, a happy and secure individual can give best output at the workplace.

The society also needs to acknowledge the daily inconveniences that the migrants face due to the language barriers and the cultural shocks as they adjust to a new life style at a new place. The society needs to adopt an open and magnanimous attitude towards the migrants and acknowledge the contribution of the migrants instead of neglecting them and treating them as outcasts.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

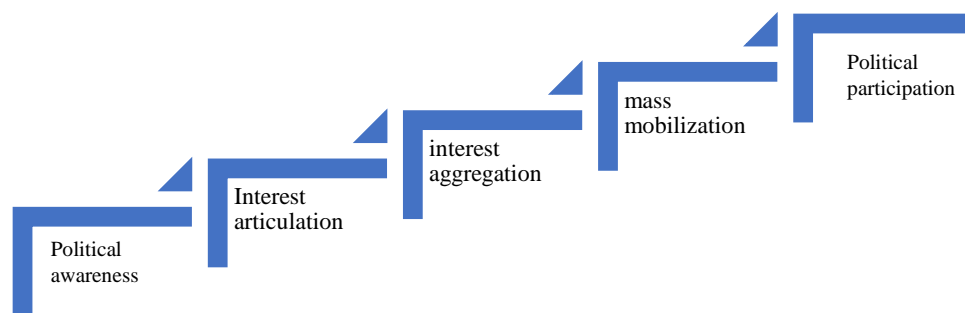
Political participation is at the heart of all democracies around the world. Participation in politics has long been regarded as a "sine qua non" of democracy. Political participation refers to "voluntary actions by which people participate in the selection of their policy makers and the formation of public policy, either formally or informally" (Kaase & Marsh, 1988). The strong pillar of democracy, in addition to being its foundation, is political participation. But, political participation in the democratic processes must be available to all segments of society, including the elite, the native-born, the migrants, and the upper, middle, and lower classes. Migrants leave their homes for various reasons. Though Migration has many economic and social dimensions but its political implications have been gaining attention in the recent years. The study is an attempt to explore the political aspect of migration. The present study made an attempt to see the political participation of internal migrants in Ludhiana which is the industrial hub of Punjab and inhabited with 25% of migrant population (Mehra & Singh, 2014). The present chapter has three main sections; first section describes the meaning and various aspects of political participation, second section explains the concept of migration and its various dimensions, third section throws light on the demographic profile of the study area i.e., Punjab in general and Ludhiana district in specific.

In the era of democracy, political participation has always continued to be of great significance. It is one of the most important parameters to test the strength of democracy. Political participation provides legitimacy and safety valve to the system. The high level of political participation indicates high level of legitimacy and less chance of revolution and political instability. it is considered the best safeguard against the autocracy of the government. This is the principal tool which measures the approval granted to the government's actions and decides the accountability of the governing machinery (Maccluskv,1968, p.253). It is the mode of political participation which indicates either the withdrawing or granting of the consent by the people to the administrative machinery. A system would deviate from its targets and goals if it

ignores the will of the people (Powell, 1982, p.12). In a society where the structure disrespect the masses and does not maintain good participatory opportunities, can never prove to be an efficient structure and deliver the results (Akinchan, 1995 p. 86).

The Political participation in modern era is of utmost relevance because of the swift means of communication and the immediate transmission of the information by the active and the alert mass media. In fact, with the dawn of modernization, political participation has also changed its dimensions. The role of media has made the masses alert and politically aware which has accelerated the speed of interest articulation. The interest articulation always leads to interest aggregation. and the more is the interest aggregation the more the masses would be mobilized and the mobilization of masses would result into more political participation (Sharma, 1985 P. 128).

**Figure 1: Steps from political awareness to political participation**



### **1.1 Scope of political participation**

The Political participation is a term which implies sharing or having involvement in the political activities. It ensures the involvement of the masses individually or in groups in the political set up at the different levels of institutions. It generally includes those voluntary activities of the people of any state by which they express their choices and responses to the decisions and the policies of the stake holders. The Political participation generally includes activities such as voting, the discussion over political issues, becoming members of any political party, campaigning for any candidate and the monetary contribution to any political group etc. It is in a way means to perform political role in the state. Anthony H. Birch has identified and listed activities such as voting in the national election and plebiscites to be the active member of the political parties and of the lobbying group, taking part in the political protest and the

similar activities of the changing public policies (Birch, 2007 p.145). Verba and Nie had included four activities voting, campaigning for any political party, donating money to any political group and contacting public officials as the political participation (Verba, & Nie, 1972).

Milbrath had covered the activity of voting, discussion over the political issues, party membership, campaigning for the party, petitioning to political leaders, making financial contribution to the political parties and the office seeking as the political participation. On the basis of these activities Milbrath evolved 'Hierarchy of political development' (Ruedin, 2007). and categorized these activities into four types from the bottom to the top level of political participation.

**Apathetic activities** include activities of those people who are indifferent to politics and have no role in politics.

**Spectator activities** includes voting, wearing a button or sticker on cars or attending a political rally.

**Transitional activities** include initiating political discussion, making monetary contribution to the party.

**Gladiatorial activities** are performed by the most active members. Contesting elections, raising funds for the party and holding some public office come under the umbrella of gladiatorial activities.

If the study of classification of activities is applied to the migrants, it will have to be admitted that in the initial stages of migration they are apathetic, too new to the surrounding naturally not feeling interested in the political Arena, gradually when they start being familiar with their surroundings, their participation is upgraded to the spectator' stage. As far as the third stage is concerned somewhat contribution at a later stage may take place but gladiatorial activities are impossible for the marginalized people.

During the last few decades this word has widened its canvas enormously. So, the political participation got classification and it got different nomenclature from different political thinkers. Defining political participation Myron Weiner said 'The concept of political participation refers to any voluntary action, successful or

unsuccessful, organized or unorganized, episodic or continuous, employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended to influence the choice of the public policies, the administration of the public affairs or the choice of political leaders' (Weiner, 2015, p. 165). Barnes Kaase had categorized political participation into conventional and non-conventional political participation. He had included legal protest, agitation, illegal strikes, boycotts, flash mobs and opposing the government policies in violent or non-violent way and even no participation as a protest is also under the political participation. Van Deth had classified activities of political participation into legal and illegal, and institutional and non-institutional political participation (Kaase, 2006). Yut Yu classified the political participation under the names of formal and informal political participation. According to him political activities which are performed according to rules and regulations of the institutions are formal participation and this is orthodox political participation also but the activities which are based upon the conventions of the society behaviour of the people are informal political participation (Yu, 2007). Ekman & Amna gave the title to the types of political participation manifest and latent political participation. The non-voting, the signing of the petitions is given the names as latent activities. In many liberal democracies, citizens are monitorial citizens as they intervene in politics only when there is utmost need of it but their nonintervention does not mean they are not aware of the political happenings. legal parliamentary activities, participation in strikes, demonstrations, and agitations are the manifest activities of the political participation. The latent activities may not be directly called as the political participation but such activities do determine the future course of the political participation. (Ekman & Amna, 2012). Teorell presented Five dimensions of political participation (Teorell, 2007).

**Electoral participation** Voting comes under this type of participation

**Consumer participation** It includes the role of citizens as the critical evaluator by donating money, boycotting and political consumption and signing of any petition.

**Party participation** Opting for becoming a member of any political party, campaigning for it and

**Protest participation** venture such as strikes, demonstrations and boycotting government's proposals.

**Contact participation.** It includes sharing word with the civil servant, politicians and public officials come under it. Keeping meetings with policy makers and influencing their policies according to their own view point and convincing them.

As far as the classification is concerned, in the case of migrants being a member of the party and participation in the protest activities is possible but the first and the fourth consumer participation and contact activity, considering their marginalised status would not be feasible for them.

Thus, we can say that political participation is a wide phenomenon. It includes physical and mental activities. It includes participating actors such as individuals and groups, the subjects whom these activities are directed such as national government, state government or local government, purpose behind the activities such as influencing the policy making or protesting against the policy and type of activity such as conventional or non-conventional, legal or illegal and direct or indirect and voluntary and mobilized activity. So now apart from the formal ways of political participation, much informal activities have entered into the arena of political participation. It is clear that all voluntary activities from the selection of rulers to shaping and influencing the public policies directly or indirectly are known as political participation. Now political participation involves of comprehensive efforts through which masses communicate their school of thought to the men in power and participate to the policies of the government.

## **1.2 History of political the participation**

Political participation is one of the most important tools to classify the form of Government. Aristotle The father of political science even classified the forms of government based on political participation of the masses. The system is titled Monarchical, Totalitarian, Aristocracy and Democracy on the ground of quantity and quality of people participating in politics.

The history of the political participation is as old as the history of the subject of politics. It has been around 6000 years since the phenomenon of politics appeared. People have been participating in politics (Wajzer, 2015). The participation in politics is mainly found in the democratic form of government. The sign of democracy was

found in the Greek city state and in Athens. There was democracy and the people had the role in the policy making but in the Greek city state and in Athens, the right to participate in the political affairs was a virtue and limited to citizens only. It is worth noting that aliens and slaves were deprived of it. Once the discrimination between the citizens and the aliens as well as slaves was made, the dissatisfaction of the latter two was bound to be there. This sort of dissatisfaction makes way of revolution. Aristotle justified the revolution even if the rulers did not fulfill the aspirations of masses. Even in Ancient Rome It was considered a privilege to participate in the political affairs but again the participation was confined to citizens only (Mulgan, 2013).

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century the writings of Marsilio of Padua an Italian political philosopher had highlighted the electoral powers of citizens in the Medieval period. In his Discourses he had placed the powers of church under the authority of the state. Further it was also emphasized that the legislative powers of the rulers should be based upon the consent of the masses. In this sense he made the king and nobles as the representatives of the people not their masters. Thus, the idea of representative Government and popular sovereignty got its evolution in the medieval era (Bal, 1997, p.67). This implies that the seeds of participation were visible in the medieval period as well.

The three social contract political thinkers in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century popularized the approval of the people over the ruler's authority. Hobbes in his work 'Leviathan' empowered Leviathan on the basis of social contract which was signed by the political community. Locke in 'Two Treatises on Civil Government' had talked about the concept of inalienable natural rights of the man and gave the concept of limited government which were quite in favour of the role of the people in the political sphere (Zolberg,1981). Rousseau in 18<sup>th</sup> century in his famous work General Will changed finally the political participation into popular sovereignty where real will actually governed and mattered (Misra, 2012, p.97). Thus, the increasing role of the political participation in administration can be found during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.

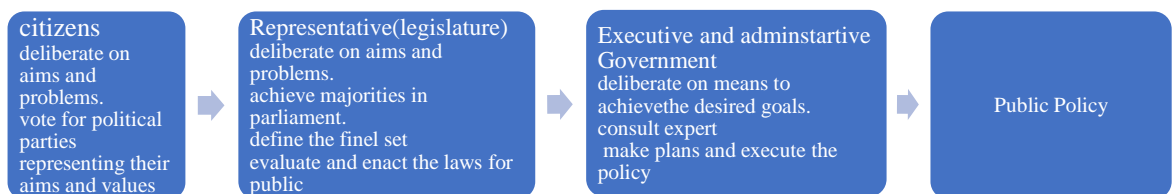
J.S Mill, who in the nineteenth century championed the cause of political participation supported the importance of the people's political participation in his famous work Representative Government and focused on the qualitative aspect of

people's participation in the decision-making process. Mill emphasized the plural voting system to make representative democracy more effective and gave importance to the political participation and unequal political power of the people (Cerovac, 2016). Mill expressed three main effects of the political participation

- 1 It inculcates sense of citizenship
- 2 It teaches citizens' practical discipline
- 3 It raises their moral development (Pedersen, 1982).

He made the citizens as base of the public policies which are enacted and executed by the legislature and executive. Mill introduced plural voting to give more weightage and importance to the opinion of those who are more qualified and have more understanding of the aims and problems of the society. Mill supported plural voting as it improved the quality of laws and put valuable pressure on the executive to implement those laws.

**Figure 2: Steps in the ways of final public policy**



Source: Cerovac, 2016

19<sup>th</sup> century had witnessed the popularity of Marxism. Marx reinforced the democracy to other forms of government. He believed that the suffrage is the symbol of coalition of the political and civil society and legislature is indicative of the individuals and their interest (Springborg, 1984), But he considered the state as a form of class antagonism. Even Engels in 'Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' held up the state as most powerful economic institution which is controlled by the capitalistic class and voting alone cannot give the working-class power to represent their interest and their representatives (Amato, 2000). Lenin also believed in Marxism and supported the socialist state where political power would be in the hands of the

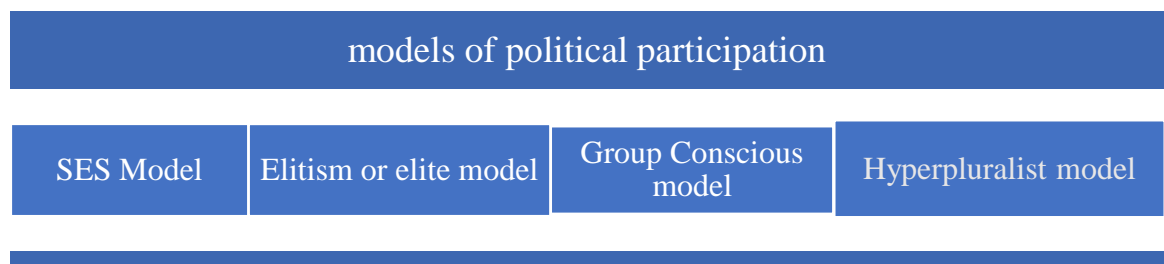


communist party consisting of the proletariat or the working class of the state. (Bal,1997 p.68).

### 1.3 Models/Theories of political participation

During the development of the history of political participation, some political theorists explain in details the political concept and phenomenon related with political participation in the form of political models and political theories. Some of the important models and theories of political participation are: -

**Figure 3: Models of political participation**



#### 1.3.1 Social Economic Status Model

The political scientists broadly accept the basic model of political participation as the standard ‘SES’ Model. This model is propounded mainly by Milbrath and developed by Nie and Verba. This model emphasizes individual socio-economic status and civic orientation as the main predictor of political participation. This model believes that ‘who participate’ in politics and ‘why participate’ depends upon the certain variables such as individual’s Income, age, gender, race and education and one’s involvement in civic life of his community. The more age, income, education and civic orientation, the more would be participation in all political activities (Leighley,1995). But Nie and Verba focused the impact of socio-economic status on over all political participation but recent studies found non-applicability of this model on particular types of political activities.

When ignorant apathetic masses are considered, migrant falls in this category. With no education qualification, they are unskilled labour, their lack of awareness and roots, hamper them to be actively participating in political matters.

### **1.3.2 Elitism or Elite Model of Participation**

In political arena some political theorists believed that in every political system there are only a few persons, called elite who are actually holder of the political power. **Pareto, Mosca, Michael, Burnham and Schumpeter** supported the view point that power is unevenly distributed in society because people have uneven control over socio, economic and political resources. So, on the basis of the resources and its outcome, there existed two classes in society These two classes were different from the Marxist two classes i.e., haves and have-nots. Elite group in every society is different. Pareto called them governing elite and non-governing ones. These governing elite came to power because of their psychological traits. According to Mosca elite class has organizational support so they are different from masses and constitute ruling class. Michels presented “Iron law of oligarchy”. on the basis of positions James Burnham called them Managerial elite. (Lopez, 2013)

So elitist reinforced that power is confined in every society in the hands of the creamy layer of the state. These few people may be wealthy, intellectual, resourceful or the key holder of the top offices. The elite form a small, dominant, and closed group. The members of the elite group may have difference of opinion on some issues but they are always having the consensus on maintaining the status quo as it suits them (Chaudhary, 1984, p.84). Election in the political systems is just of little significance as elite class is hardly influenced by the public opinion. The policies of the system reflect the values and ideology of the elite group not the demand and requirements of the masses. The political participation according to elitist model matters to elite group and not to general public.

In this model balance is tilted in favour of elites. They hold the power, call the shots, have the political participation. On the other hand, the non-governing class, is the neglected class, they have no say in the decision making of political and economic structures. They work, produce without having any means of production. They only have their labour and the profit earned from the goods made by them fulfills the offers of the elite. So, the majority does not have any say in the governing bodies or do not enjoy the political participation.

This implies that the elite class enjoys the political power and the participation of the ignorant apathetic masses is ultimately a mere eye wash.

### **1.3.3 The Hyperpluralist Model**

Hyper pluralist is the third model of political participation which is contrary to the elitist pluralism. This type of model is prevalent in the most matured liberal democracies like America. It is neo-elitism or reflective integral pluralism (Ferrara,2012). The supporters of this model believe that various interest groups exist in every political system and their nature is non-compromising and they are in conflict with each other, but in the mature democracies some of these interest groups develop their organizations so strong that they start dominating the policies of the government. Like the, pluralism hyper pluralism has faith in the relevance of the government structure but the structure becomes incapacitated in front of the groups, so there is an obvious of lost efficiency in the administration. These factions overcome the government institutions and make the legal structure unable to work with their Veto policy This is also called interest group liberalism. (Li, 2020). It has made politics of America as “**single issue politics**” (Chaoudhary, 2020).

The political participation of the people is exercised here more than in any of the categories mentioned above. The liberal policies of ruling groups enable the working and lower class to participate in the political matters.

### **1.3.4 Resource Model of Political Participation**

In the resource model for political participation, it is believed that, Time, money, and civic skills—are necessary for political activity. Depending on a group's socioeconomic position, these resources are dispersed differently. These resources significantly impact political engagement overall. Time and some civic skills are more stratified than money and others, yet money and some civic skills are closely tied to SES (Brady et al., 1995). Because social factors like membership in "congregational" churches, which serve as training grounds for civic ability, do not significantly correlate with SES, civic skills are less stratified by SES. As we move from resources to political activity, we may demonstrate how the significance of a resource depends on the particular activity. For instance, income is vital for some political activities because it

provides the financial means, yet education is important for others because it increases civic engagement and political interest.

#### **1.3.4 Group-Conscious Model**

Group consciousness model presents how the group identity consciousness influenced the political participation. Some studies have taken up the issue of group consciousness as one of the major determinantal factor which decide the volume of citizen political participation. Sanchez emphasized that there is direct relationship between group consciousness and political participation as it is the chief motivators for a particular community which decides the decision and direction of their political involvement. Group consciousness has mainly three components i.e., group identity, acknowledgement of disadvantage position of group and keenness to take collective action to reverse the position. Many political scientists focused only first part of the group consciousness means only on group identification. But group consciousness involves process of identification of one person with the other members of the group. This identification develops affinity, a sense of belonging, a sense of being part of the large whole. This ultimately leads to collective tendency to become politically more active (Sanchez, 2006). This model is very useful to study the political behaviour of minority groups in politics. The research in political arena supported that group consciousness increased the level of political participation and makes an individual rise above the concept of 'I' and 'mine' to 'we' and 'us.' But critics like Gitlin and Jean Elshtain found that this group identity consciousness promotes people to show their primary devotion to identity groups that are diametrically opposed to one another. People who adopt these identities assert their victim status and hence demand special treatment without also taking on any responsibilities. So, identity politics leads to politics of difference which further leads to interest group politics which further removes the room for citizens to solve the problems together (Young, 1997 p.384). However, Young supported strongly to this identity consciousness on the ground that the group difference urged paying attention to rather than ignoring the implications of such difference for concerns of freedom and equality. And she supported this as politics of difference instead politics of identity. Politics of difference encourages public

discussions on social groups problems and thus democracy becomes meaningful to all the groups of society ((Young, 1997 p.386).

There is no doubt that no model can hold universal values and universal applications. There are different factors affecting the political participation at different places at different levels. So, we are having different political theories that describe in more comprehensive way the political concept, political ideas and political phenomenon.

#### **1.4. Theories of political participation**

1.4.1 Classical Liberal theory

1.4.2 Rational Choice theory

1.4.3 Participatory theory

1.4.4 Marxist theory

##### **1.4.1 Classical Liberal theory**

The Liberal democracy focuses on the key elements like separation of powers, an independent judiciary and the system of the checks and balances between the branches/organs of the government. The term "liberal" in liberal democracy envisages a reference to the fact that the initial framework for the modern liberal democracy was founded and thus created during the era of the renaissance by various philosophers who advocated liberty. They emphasized the right of the individual to have immunity from the arbitrary exercise of the authoritarian regime or by the authority thereby. The liberal democratic constitution defines the democratic character of the state. The purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. There are numerous different political ideologies that support liberal democracy like conservatism: Christian Democracy, social democracy and some forms of socialism. A liberal democracy may even take the form of a constitutional republic or a constitutional monarchy.

In the liberal democracy, governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with the written, publicly disclosed statutes or laws adopted and enforced in accordance with the procedure established by the law. The liberal democracy is a

form of representative democratic government in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and the freedoms of the individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised. There seems to be an apparent contradiction in the nomenclature of the 'liberal democracy' Because in liberal democracy a moderated constitution places constraints on the extent to which the will of majority can be exercised. This sort of clause\provision would deter the majority from being active in political participation. The rights and freedoms protected by the constitutions of liberal democracies varies from state to state, country to country, but they usually include- right to due process, privacy, property and equality before the law, and freedoms of speech, assembly and religion etc. commonly known as liberal rights and are constitutionally guaranteed, or created by statutory laws<sup>1</sup>, which may in turn empower various civil institutions to administer or enforce these rights. The Liberal democracies today usually have universal suffrage, granting all eligible adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership (Bajpai. R. 2011). However, some countries believed that liberal democracies in fact had a more limited franchise in reality. Liberal democracies also tend to be characterized by tolerance and pluralism differing in so called political views and perspectives, even those viewed as extreme or fringe, are permitted to co-exist and compete for the political power on a democratic basis.

Liberal democracies periodically hold elections where groups with differing political views have the opportunity to expressed their ideas. therefore, the elections should be free, fair, and competitive. But Hanna Pitkin however criticised these representative bodies as "Pictorial representative sample of the nation." She found that modern liberal democracies focussed more on composition of these legislative bodies than on its activities. Thus, they failed to represent range of ideas, range of interests and range of significant socially different groups as they concentrate more on who is present than what he is doing? (Phillips,1998 p.3). Many democracies use federalism in order to prevent abuse and increase public input by dividing governing powers between the municipal, provincial and national governments (Ryan, 2017). The scope of political

participation is certainly there in liberal democracies where free, fair and competitive election are held at various levels.

Although they are not part of the system of the government as such, the presence of a middle class, and a broad and flourishing civil society are often seen as pre-conditions for the liberal democracy. Liberals usually assume and stand strong on the belief that government is necessary to protect the individuals from being harmed by others, recognize that government itself can pose a threat to liberty. Laws, judiciary and police are needed to secure the individual's life and liberty, but their coercive power may also be turned against him.

#### **1.4.2 Rational Choice theory**

This theory has great influence over the psyche of the people in the political arena in theory and a good impact over the practical politics. This theory owed its origin to economics where it believed that individual was rational enough to minimise the cost and maximise the benefits as a consumer. later on, the different social scientist used it in various disciplines such as sociology, political science and anthropology (Ogu, 2013). In the arena of political science this theory rejected the deliberative theory of democracy and its idea that interests of the people could be refined and protected by the deliberations of policy makers (Fedderson, 2004). It presented the psychological approach and made the human nature the foundation of all political functions. It helped in making clear that how and why people participated in politics actively or non-actively. As for Mill citizens are neither simply 'voter' nor only 'consumers' (Petracca, 1991). This theory makes room for the active participation of the people. The way enlightening them is to lift them from being mere voters. They should be aware of their rights and be motivated to take active part in decision making. Economists might treat them as consumers but political pundits must enthuse confidence in them to believe that there will matters.

Rational choice theory believes that man is rational enough to take care of his interests individually, in fact the individual interest by and large represents the interest of the groups and community. People should be given civil liberties so that they could know their common interests in society (Oppenheimer, 2008). The common interest leads to great influence over the law formulation bodies and they enact laws according

to the representation of the group's interest. The laws which are based on the choicest interests of people are having great usage than the laws of government (Petracca, 1991). The level of the electorate should be uplifted and they should be given broader vision to look beyond their personal interest and to participate actively for the interest of the groups.

Rational choice theory also found out reasons why people became indifferent to politics and showed apathy. According to this theory if individuals were apathetic or non-participant in politics, it did not indicate their unwillingness but instead it represented their dissatisfaction with the current policies of the system. So we could say that rational choice theory is supreme and foremost theory in the arena of politics which gave deep insight about the psychology of human actors in politics. Robert Abrams very aptly stated that the coming years of political analysis would depend upon the future of the Rational choice theory and it would rise as predominant theory for the millennium to come (Abrams, 1980). If the apathy of the people could be changed into keen interest, then this theory would be instrumental in forging the active participation of the masses.

### **1.4.3 Participatory theory**

The economic recession and job dissatisfaction in U.S.A led to the citizens alienation to politics (Macpherson, 1979. P.93) The low voter turnout, lack of faith in the political leaders, declining membership of the political parties and no zeal of the political participation in early 60s compelled the journalists, political scientists to focus on the shortcomings of the representative democracy. In the period from 1960 to 70 the Think tank in the political arena started integrating the qualities of direct democracy and representative democracy to overcome the shortcomings of the representative theory. Benjamin Barber too called representative democracy "A thin democracy" and stated that representation destroys participation and citizenship and there was urgent need to alter the system. (Parvin, 2020) So, the participatory theory came into being as a result of the failure of representative democracy to involve people's participation. Participatory theory owes its origin to Arnold Kaufman call for 'participatory politics.' Kaufman was highly influenced by John Dewey, C. Wright Mill and Paul Goodman writings (Kaufman, 1960). And he stated that with the help of citizen's political



participation in decision making process, human power of thinking, feeling and action can be improved.

The participatory theory presented progressive and peculiar conception of the citizen participation. This approach believed that wide spread citizen's participation in politics alone could make the democracy successful and system reliable and stable. Macpherson envisaged 'Pyramid of Participation' where authorities high in positions are less in numbers but won't be less controlled by the citizens at the bottom who are high in numbers. The top is narrow in numbers but accountable to the wide broad base of citizens who can recall them anytime (Macpherson, 1979. P. 93). Social and economic status (SES) determines the level of political participation. The less access to the social and economic resources proceed to civic decline, the elite governance and estrangement of the citizens which is bound to bring political participation down. so, the society should be participatory in civic and economic area to boost the participation (Pravin, 2020). The theory stands upon two principles First to treat' Government as care taker', whose prime duty is to protect and care the life, liberties of the people and take care of the distribution of resources. The second is "Government as citizenship" a platform where active and alert citizens perform function to govern themselves (Torma, 1989).

This theory has beautifully combined the political and economic aspect. There is no denying the fact that social and economic status determines the level of political participation. Those who leave less access to the economic resources automatically proceed to civic decline. The pertinent question here is what is the standing of the migrants in the economic arena and naturally in the political arena.

#### **1.4.4 Marxist theory**

The Marxist theory of democracy was given concrete shape by Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao-Tse-Tung in China. Marx believed that though political rights and political liberties do exist in capitalism but they are fake as these are tools in the hands of capitalistic class (Arora & Grover, 2001, p.219) Bourgeoisie democracy is a form of dictatorship in reality. Democracy would be in socialism or it would not be at all (Tabak, 2007, p.88). Political power according to Marx is nothing but organized

power in the hands of capitalistic class with the help of which they exploit the labour class (Mandel, 1982, p.27)

For Marx the political state and civic society were two different entities. Marxian theory presented a unique blend of Participation, Representation and legislation in his socialistic democracy. Marxist theory believed that participation is required in civic society whereas the representatives in the form of the deputies were needed in the political state. The legislative power in the true democracy would be in the hands of the deputies who would be delegates of the working class only. In Marxian model of democracy delegates would be no more than the hired 'agents' or the managers whose chief task was to fulfil the needs and wishes of working class. If they failed to do so, the voters had all rights to revoke them. Marx believed that in the capitalistic democracy representatives misrepresent the people in the parliament as the elections are held after three or six years but in the socialistic democracy suffrage would be a means to serve the people and send the qualified persons at the right place (Tabak, 2007, p.98). Thus, Marxian model is very close to Rousseau's self-government.

In Marxian arrangement of participation there would be three levels of democratic institutions and the members of each level would participate in electing the further higher level of the unit. At the bottom level of the commune system citizens would elect the 'rural communes' which would take part in the elections of the 'district assemblies' established in the central towns. The national assembly would be at the top-level institution of the delegates constituted by the district assemblies. Each unit is to administer in the affairs of his own area and only national level body was to check on inter related affairs. (Tabak, 2007, p.101) Thus in Marxian theory participation is connected with the commune system of socialism.

Marxian model connected freedom and rights with the economic system. It supported state control over the means of economy and connected liberty with the economic liberty and participation with the meaningful representation. Thus, this model integrated direct democracy with the representative system in a peculiar way that minimised the disadvantages of both.

## 1.5 Variables of political participation

Political participation is very significant indicator of the political development of the system. But it varies from society to society and from one political system to another. Political participation also varies from time to time also. Sometimes people are proactive in political activities some time they are apathetic or in different. The political scientists have found that such change of participation is because the political participation depends upon the different variables and factors. Milbrath had found that the degree of participation differed because of four factors (a) the political motivation received by an individual. (b) individual personal values. (c) individual's social environment and the political setting of the system and categorized' these variables into three types (Milbrath & Goel, 1977).

**Figure 4: Variables of political participation**

Psychological variable	Social/Economic variables	Political variables
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• political behaviour</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Education</li><li>• age</li><li>• gender</li><li>• Rural /urban divide</li><li>• Income</li><li>• Role of mass media</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Nature of party system</li><li>• Efficiency of the Government</li><li>• Legal framework</li></ul>

### 1.5.1 Psychological variable

Political psychology has been gaining its ground in the recent years widely. Political psychology is the application of psychological lens on the political issues. It has great implication on the study of the political elites and political public behavior (Rosema & Bakker, 2017).

It is interesting to note that the psychological factors determine the political participation to a great extent. The quest for power, loneliness, leisure, group involvement and mental set up of common individuals living in a particular society do exert impact on the political roles of the individuals. Man by nature is power seekers or power hungry. He wants to influence the behavior of others in such a way that others follow him. Lasswell had aptly commented that politics is the study of influence and influential. (Kirbis & Krajinc, 2013) Many times persons wearing political positions

claim that they are there to serve the people but these sugar-coated words are merely to impress or to protect the ideology but the harsh and bitter reality is that wearing the grab of humility, power is the central force to keep them in politics. Morgenthau in “Politics Among Nations” had concluded that politics is nothing but struggle for power. what may be apparent goal of politics but ultimate an end goal remained the capture of power (Zhang, 2017). Democratic system opens wide range of opportunities to acquire power so the quest to have power and to maintain it derives individuals to participate in politics.

The increasing modernization has made the life solitary and lonely. One may have plenty of friends on social media but very few in the actual life. The loneliness of man could be defeated by entering politics. When a person enters Politics, he forges association with others. A person who is active in politics, will have so many assignments to perform for which he will be surrounded by large number of people all the times. It is an interesting observation that the fear of isolation also leads to political participation (Lane, 1961, p. 357). Another psychological aspect is the presence of intra psychic tensions. Sometimes the thought process of an individual does not suit the outer environment which creates intra psychic tensions. The external forces and the mind setup further increase the gaps which leads the individual to face many psychological problems (Austin & Pinkleton, 2009). These tensions are subdued and eased when people get themselves involved in the political activities at various platforms. so people participate to be mentally healthy.

The above given observations have added a novel psychological angle to political participation. It is a remedy to overcome isolationism. On the other hand, psychological reasons do impact the decision-making process of the political leaders. Rosma and Bakker in their article had presented the ‘big five factors trait model’ that influenced the personality of the political leaders in politics. These are neuroticism (emotional consistency), extraversion (spirit or vitality), agreeableness (sociability), openness to new experiences and conscientiousness. Rubenzar, Faschingbauer (2004) analysed the personalities of some famous American presidents based upon their biographies and found that the strong presidents like Lincoln and Jefferson scored high

in neuroticism and extraversion but very low in sociability. This indicates the personal traits of the political leaders influenced the policies of the state. On the other hand, Mikhail Gorbachev scored high in the openness to new experiences and conscientiousness which resulted in policies of Perestroika and Glasnost in previous USSR (Rosema & Bekker, 2017, p.322).

On the other hand, the political participation brings to the forefront the psychological strengths and weaknesses of the leaders as well.

### **1.5.2 Social variables**

Apart from the psychological variables there are number of social variables that shape the political participation. Mostly people having good education, high income groups, high religious and caste status, permanent resident ship, urban area living, middle aged groups and having political background and so on (Maccloskov, 1968, p. 253).

#### **Education**

Education is one of the most important factors in the way of political participation. In most of the studies it has been found that people with high education have larger chances of being politically active. The politics is a complex phenomenon and it is not easy to be understood by everyone. Education broadens one's thinking and area of interest. It enhances the reasoning and rational outlook. The significance of the educated people in the political galleries have been valued by Mill in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by promoting plural voting (Miller, 2015).

The countries having high literacy rate have different pattern of political participation. In U.S.A and in European countries education appears to be the most important variable in the political activities especially during voting. (Dowse & Hughes, 1997) But in India case is quite the opposite. The educated Indian are more interested in discussing politics with their groups, but when it comes to attending meetings and playing active role, they lag behind than less educated. (Singh, K. 2020).

Thus, Political participation is a good measure to check the varied social variables.

## Gender

Though most democracies provide universal adult franchise and political rights are given equally now to male and females yet gender has its role in political participation. It is a fact that in so many modern democracies earlier women had to fight for their equal political rights. It is generally believed that women are conservative, having higher ethical values, more family oriented and detached from politics so they are misfit in political arena. The percentage of women participation in the most advanced countries is even lower in comparison than that of the male population. Despite making up 50% or more of the population, women still face discrimination and unfair treatment, just as minority groups. Women exhibit many of the same Minority-specific psychological traits, such as self-hatred, Denial of group affiliation, inferiority complexes, and the emergence of a distinct subculture inside the mainstream culture (Dahlerup,1988). The biological differences and man-made differences created by the institutional framework in the various societies led to low participation of women in the power sharing. Radical feminist Kate Miller in her famous work “Sexual politics” highlighted the how the society practiced “interior colonization’ and made the women feel that she is fit for domestic tasks (Poirot, 2014). Patriarchy was first challenged by J.S. Mill who supported equal political rights (Smith, 2001). But still only Scandavian countries have nearly equal participation and representation of women in legislative organ of the Government. In Asian and in African countries this is very low. Even in India Only 14% women are in the parliament and in Pakistan this percentage is 20%, Afghanistan 27% and in Brazil 15%., same is the case with higher positions\*. Some other countries of the world also tried to follow the Scandavian model by applying quota system but they were not as successful as these countries, as there needs to change the electoral system along with quota to increase the political representation of women in representative bodies. Dahlerup supported proportional representation system more suitable for quota system than majority system to make it more effective (**Dahlerup & Friendenvall, 2005**). Supporting Dahlerup **Neeraja Jayal** argued this in the case of India that though seats are reserved for the women in the local level electoral bodies

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\* Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments ...<https://data.worldbank.org/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>.

but it has supported the politics of presence not the politics of participation. She quoted that many duly elected chairpersons of village panchayats (rural level electoral bodies) of different states were voted no confidence to keep them out of power along with other procedural distortions like cancellation of meetings without informing them and quorum related tricks (Jayal,2005).

### **Age**

Studies have shown that aging has its impact on the political participation. It is generally observed that young people participate less in politics as they have different priorities. They are busy in job hunting, promotions, settling down their marital life and so on. But as the age grows people start taking more interest in the political life so the middle-aged people have been observed to be more active in politics. A study in America was done by the American Institute of Public Opinion (AIPO) after giving an interval of 8 years and it has been found that there was 10% increase in the participation. Earlier when the respondents were in the age group of 26 to 35, 67% were participating actively in politics but after 8 years gap when they were in the age group of 36 to 46 there was 79% active in politics. again, when the same respondents were contacted after 4 years, there was declining signs. (Crittenden, 1963) Even in India there is gap between the eligible voters and registered voters. Moreover, in political bodies the maximum number of people are above the age of 36 years. In the present Lok Sabha two third members are between the age group of 36 to 45. There is a difference in the activities of the political participation on the basis of the age as well. The Studies have shown that young people opt for nonconventional activities such as protest demonstration whereas the middle-aged people are more inclined to conventional practices like petition, voting and discussion over the political issues (Guerin et al., 2004). The nature of participation of the younger is more aggressive and by middle age it changes into traditional practices.

### **Rural/urban divide**

It is generally observed that political participation also depends upon the rural urban divide in the political system. The Urban dwellers are having more reach to the advanced means of communication, more exposed to public platforms for discussion and more opportunities to have membership of the various voluntary organizations than

the rural dwellers. Studies in America, Finland, Britain, Norway, Denmark and Sweden have established that people of cities are more inclined to the political activities than the rural people. But in some states the case is reverse. In Japan and in India rural people are higher in scale than the urban people (Goel, 1980, p.212).

There must be balance in the rural and urban participation. In India the rural persons may be less knowledgeable but are more aware, whereas the urban persons, despite being educated are apathetic and not actively involved. Their creative participation could be very beneficial.

### **Social status/caste/religion/race**

Social positions, caste and religion have key roles in the political participation. But the effect of these elements differs from society to society. The persons holding high social status have higher participation in decision making process than the person of low caste, religion and social status in society. Race is a dominant factor in USA politics. The studies have found that the Whites are more active in American politics than the blacks. The political realm remains mostly in the hands of one race only and negroes have little role in the power sharing (Dowse & Hughes, 1972, p.297).

Further religion too is a dominant factor in some states. Though modern democracies are secular democracies yet the religious values have always legitimized the policies and decisions taken by political leaders (Radu, 2014, p.5). in the study conducted in Poland and Romania found church as a dominant factor and the effect of the religious values in both the countries. In Poland religious people are less inclined to the nonconventional activities of the political participation whereas in Romania religious people are open to both the types of activities of political participation (Radu, 2014, p.7).

Caste is significant factor in Indian politics. Many studies have found the role of caste in the selection of the candidates at the local level election at the state level election and in the central level body election (Naqvi, 1989, p.22). Menon (2015) focused how caste, patriarchy, race, class has suppressed the natural identity of women in India. Traditional patriarchies and caste hierarchies are challenged by capitalist globalization but it is too difficult to shut their doors. It is also notable that some Dalit



feminists are opposed to the quotas established for other underprivileged groups within the number of seats to be designated for women in Parliament. The increasing hostilities between Dalit communities and non-Brahmin/Shudra/OBC groups are reflected in this.

### **Income**

Income decides the nature of the political participation. It is generally observed that people having high income are having less economic worries, more leisure and more contact to engage themselves in politics. The leadership roles in most of the developed countries are concentrated in the hands of high-income groups whereas the lower income groups participate in what Milbrath had called spectator activities. But in the underdeveloped and the developing countries leadership may go in the hands of the lower income group\* (Concise Encyclopedia of democracy, p.117). In fact, there is no proportionate connection between income and political participation. Studies in America found no impact of rise in income over political participation (Jungkunz & Marx. 2021). In Indian politics studies found electoral participation same in all the income groups. Personal economic growth if leads to higher education, it may lead to decreased interest in politics. (Goel, 1980 p.213)

### **Role of Mass media**

Recently it has been noticed that apart from the other socio-economic determinants media which is called, 'The fourth estate of government' has great role in the political life of state and individual (Basely et al., 2002). It exerts impact quantitatively and qualitatively. Media helps in creating, molding and shaping the political culture. Media has the capacity to influence people's attitude and behavior for the government's action. It includes television, cinema, newspaper, magazines and internet-based websites, blogs etc. Media is important bridge between the people and government but the entire role depends upon the relationship between the political agencies and the media. In the countries, having freedom of press media enables the citizens to exercise their voting right indicating by passing true information and in return making the accountability of the government a reality (Oswald, 2009).

### 1.5.3 Political variables

The major impact on the political participation apart from socio-economic determinants is the impact of the political factors. Nature of the political system, nature of party system, legal framework and political culture directs the nature of participation. In the democratic system citizens are provided freedom of thought, speech and expression which creates an institutional framework to integrate them into politics. Further this type of framework creates atmosphere of trust and it makes participation more encouraging and less risky. (Newton & Geibler, 2008, p.21)

**Nature of party system** also has significant role in participation. Political parties are the important agents of the political socialization. They provide the individuals political platform to play their role by opening their membership. The Political parties are the source of the political education for the masses. The electoral behavior of voters is structured by them most of the times. The movements launched by the political parties may attract a person who is absolutely apathetic to politics and can make one pro-active in politics. Involvement in the political arena and apathy are dependent to a great extent on the policies, programs and performances of the political parties. Most of the studies have found a relation between the election manifestoes of political party before the election and the government policies after the election (Nor et al.,2011).

**Efficiency of the government** in running the administration is also related to the political participation. The Research found that the more efficient is the government in meeting with the challenges, the more would the people trust politics and participation.

Apart from this **number of candidates contesting** the election in a constituency also affect & political participation. A Large number of candidates in a constituency makes the competition less interesting whereas it is tough when there is a bi-member constituency means where only two candidates are in the battlefield of ballots.

**The Legal framework** of the political system is one of the most important determinants of the political participation. If the constitution is based upon the theory of the liberal democracy; universal adult franchise, it catches more people in politics

than vice versa. If the constitution permits direct participation in the policy making, as is in the case of some cantons of Switzerland that involves the masses directly and makes them accountable but such practices require certain conditions which are difficult to find, so only Switzerland is practicing this way of political participation. (Luchhi, 2017)

Now it is clear that, Political participation and representation are of vital important for the survival of democracy. It provides chance to the citizens to express their opinions and to mobilize the political arrangements. Political participation guarantees that democracy and democratic institutions are true symbol of the will of the citizens. But in recent years it has become a great challenge for the new as well as to the old democracies to make democracy inclusive for all segment of society and to provide equal opportunities to all for political participation and representation irrespective of religion, region, race, colour, ethnicity, or any other ground (Cordenillo, 2017) There are gender base and group base unequal political participation and representation. Some groups still are either unrepresented or underrepresented and are having less opportunities and less interest of political participation. Migrants are one of those marginalised groups who do not get their due place in the decision-making bodies at the place of birth and at the place of work. They are excluded in the important democratic practices as political participation required certain stability but migration takes away their stability and permanence of place of residence (Ajeevika bureau report. 2012, p.4).

To understand the exclusion or inclusion of migrants politically in the leaving or host state in India, it is imperative to know the details about the concept of migration.

## **1.6 Migration**

The Human mobility is one of the important and integral phenomena responsible for development of individual and society. Human mobility is the ability to decide where to live. It is the capability of the individuals to choose better place for themselves to live. Human mobility can lead to better earning, better quality of life, increased opportunities for education, improved health a, better feel of self-respect and so on. (Haas & Rodríguez, 2010) With the increase in advanced means of communication, this phenomenon has increased manifold. Various social, economic,

political, psychological, and religious factors determine human mobility. Human mobility is called by several names like displacement, Migration, diaspora, and Exodus etc. Migration is one of the important forms of human mobility.

Migration is best understood as a strategy used by people, households, or communities to improve their standard of living. Contrary to popular belief, this tactic is significantly more prevalent today than it has ever been (Haan, 2000). When a person shifts his/her place of residence and starts earning livelihood across other political and administrative boundaries; this is known as migration and the person as migrant (Kumar & Sidhu, 2005; Kaur, 2003). (Sundari, 2005) has defined migration as a movement which is not of general nature, it is different from tour or visit. It is a movement of persons from one location to another for the sake of better prospects of future. However, there is not a universally accepted definition of the term migrant. According to UN Migration report, “Any person who is residing in a country which is not his/her place of origin is a migrant. (World Migration Report, 2020, p.312) The IOM defines a person as migrant “who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons” (IOM, 2019, p.132). The term migrant worker refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which (IPU, 2015) he or she is not a resident. In almost all the definitions migration is defined in terms of geographical shifting but Rubin has defined migration on social basis. According to him migration is the physical movement of an individual or a group from one civilization to another. This shift usually entails leaving one social context and entering a new one (Rubin, 1956).

Migration has great impact on the economic, social, cultural and psychological life of people, both at the place of migration from (leaving) as well as of destination (Kaur, 2003). In the era of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation the study of migration has become one of the most dynamic aspects of human beings (Sethi et al. 2010). After birth and death rate this is the most important phenomenon that changes the size and structure of society. The demography of an area is largely influenced by the inflow and outflow of the migration. The population count of a place is done after making mathematical equation between fertility, mortality and migration.

$$P_t - P_o = B - D + M^i - M^o$$

$P_t$  = population count at a later time  $t$

$P_o$  = population count at an earlier time  $o$

$B$  = number of births between time  $t$  and  $o$

$D$  = number of deaths between time  $t$  and  $o$

$I$  = number of immigrants between time  $t$  and  $o$

$O$  = number of emigrants between time  $t$  and  $o$

So, the above equation (Hamilton, 1965) makes it clear that population growth depends upon the birth and in migration of the place and the decline depends upon the death rates and out migration of the given area. Thus, the study of migration is of vital importance for making economic, social and political policies.

From the above definitions it can be said that migration is a movement to change the residence temporarily or permanently for an appreciable duration and for an appreciable distance.

### **1.7 Forms of migration**

Migration is basically divided into various types based upon reasons, spaces, distances, activities and purposes. Kant divided has migration into two categories

1 Inter-continental and Intra continental

2 Internal migration or external migration

Kant division of migration is on the basis of distance. Internal migration in his division is shift of place within the territorial boundaries of the state and external migration is crossing the boundaries of the state. Goldstein and Goldstein, (1999) had classified migration on the basis of duration of migration. In their division, migration is short term, repeat and return migration (Kumar, 2016, p.61). These are the generalised forms of migration. Premi categorised it on the basis of distance and equates the distance with time. In his classification he called inter district as short distance migration and intra district as medium distance migration and intra state as long-distance migration (Premi, 1980). Zachariah had also classified migration on the basis

of distance. On the basis of scale of distance, he had classified migration as International and internal migration, further he had sub-divided internal migration as Intra district, Interstate and Inter zonal migration. (Zachariah, 1964) Further migration according to this study can be classified into primary migration, secondary migration and return migration. Moreover, a primary migration occurs when the community of birth is the same as the community of origin. A secondary migration occurs when the community of origin and destination differs from the community of birth, and return migration occurs when the birthplace community is the final destination. Clarke had divided migration on the basis of its motivational factors as economic migration and social migration (Clarke,1979).

#### Migration of skilled labour

When the intellectuals like doctors, engineers, professors, scientists and researchers migrate from their place of work that is called brain drain. It started in the sixties when many intelligent people from Asian African countries migrated to the western industrial states or rich oil producing economies for greener pastures, social freedom and political stability. This is known as migration of the skilled labour. The skilled labour migration has negative impact on the out-going economies as it drains their intellectual property to the other states. it reduces the revenues also.

#### Migration of unskilled labour or general migration

Except the migration of intelligentsia other migrations come under the umbrella of unskilled migration. On the basis of the above contribution of economists and sociologists' migration can be primarily classified into two types: -

##### **External migration**

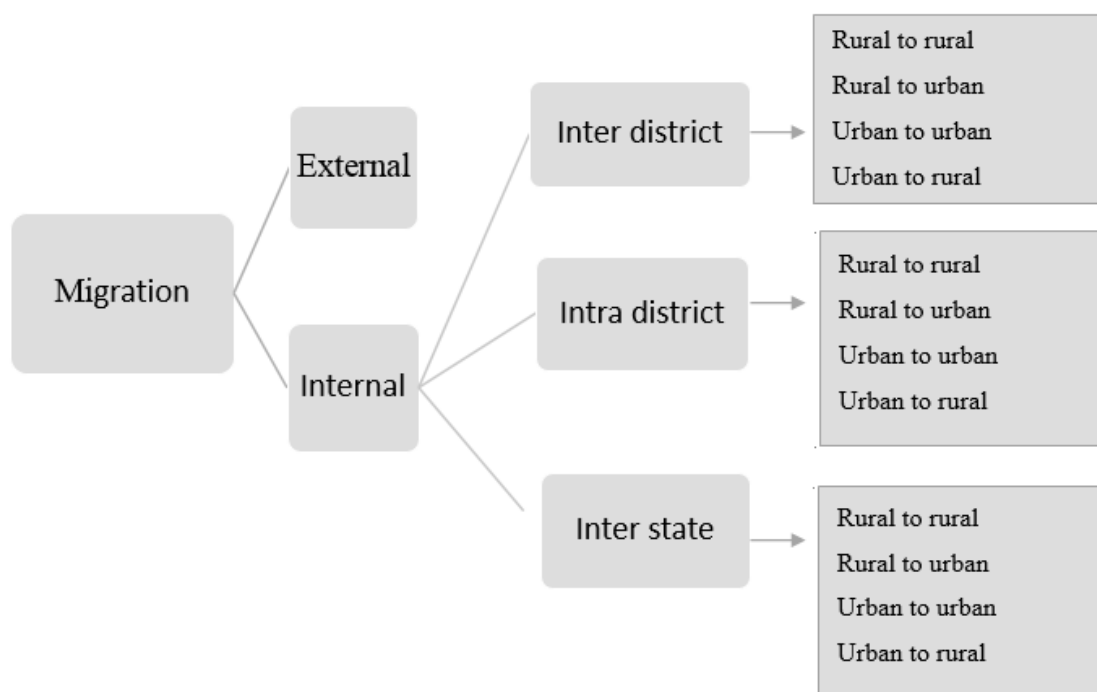
When a person leaves his place of birth or residence and starts earning his livelihood and living at another place crossing the territorial boundary of the state that is named as external migration.

##### **Internal migration**

When a person leaves his place of birth or residence and starts earning his livelihood and living at another place across the other administrative boundary but

within the territorial boundary of the country that is named as internal migration on the basis of the distance internal migration on division is as follows. Internal migration further can be classified into three categories as follows: -

**Figure 5: Types of migration**



**Inter district migration**

When the place of enumeration is different from the place of origin of the person or group at the time of census but the movement is within the same district. This is known as inter district migration.

**Intra district migration**

When the place of enumeration is different from the place of origin of the person or group at the time of census but the movement is outside the district but within the same state. This is known as intra district migration.

**Interstate migration**

When the place of the enumeration is different from the place of origin of the person or group at the time of census but the movement is outside the state to another state. This is known as interstate migration.

### 1.7.1 Classification of migrants

Migrants can be classified on the basis of birth and place of residence and duration during the enumeration.

On the basis of the duration, migrants can be classified as

**Permanent migrants.** Those migrants who left their place of birth and settled at a new place forever. Generally, they disposed off their immovable property and belongings and settle at a new place for their future life.

**semi-permanent migrant** and circular or seasonal migrants. Those migrants who left their place for the sake of some specific purpose mostly economic. They stay at the place of work for short period of time in a year and return back at their native place every year. Employment in agriculture is seasonal and short term and people return when the season of a particular crop is over.

On the basis of distance there are (Premi,1980) three types of migrants: -

**Short distance migrants.** These includes those persons whose place of enumeration is within the district. They are also called Inter district migrants.

**Medium distance migrants.** These includes those persons whose place of enumeration is within State but outside the district or in some other district. They are also called Inter district migrants.

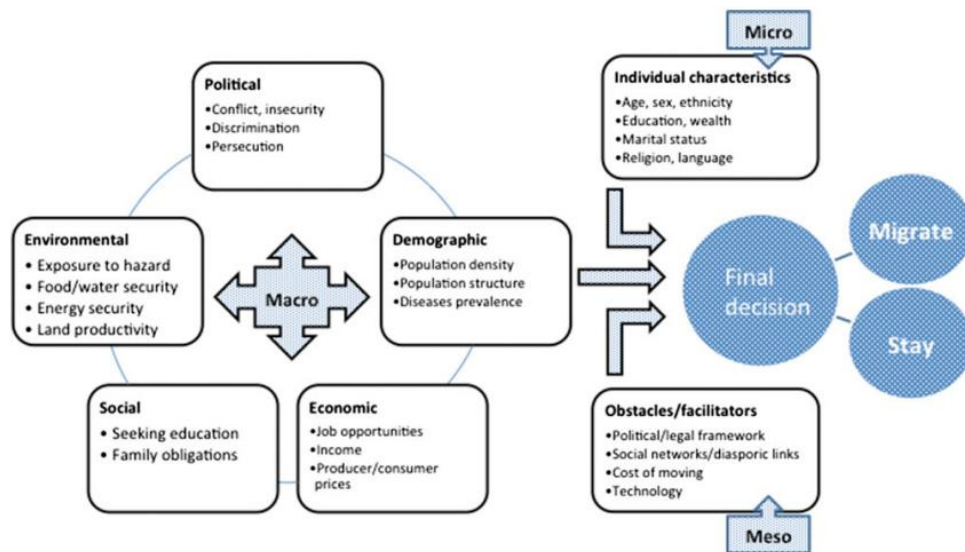
**Long distance migrants.** These includes those persons whose place of enumeration is not within State but outside the state. They are also called Inter-state migrants.

### 1.8 Determinants of migration

Migration is one of the most universal and old phenomena. People relocate themselves either for the sake of better living conditions for themselves or for their loved ones, or they escape from the socio-cultural conditions of their homeland. (Castelli, 2018) further Lee (Lee,1966) in his theory had summarised the causes and motivations of migration into two broad headings “Push’ and ‘Pull” factors. The main causes of the migration can be grouped into the following headings; economic, social, political natural and cultural.



**Figure 6: Determinants of migration**



Source: Foresight, Migration and Global environment change, project report, 2011.

### 1.8.1 Economic determinants

Migration is fundamentally rooted in the economic issues. Economic problems or matters are chiefly responsible for which people migrate. The foremost cause of migration is related with money, wealth and material resources, Poverty, Lack of economic opportunities, low wages, insecurities of continuous employment and food security and dependency on agriculture (Guha, 2016; Bird & Deshingkar, 2009, p.2) which further depends upon monsoon and frequent drought occurrence. These are the economic factors which compel people to leave their place and on the other side demand for human capital at the other place is also equally important factor that cause migration.

### 1.8.2 Social determinants

Social factors also cause migration. Encouragement from family and relatives, better health facilities, better educational opportunities (Sharma, 2017) motivate people to migrate to the urban areas. There is direct relationship between education and migration as skill based markets demands particular (skilled) type of labour and that encouraged brain drain and in return migrant remittance at home facilitates their children to avail better educational opportunities (Rao, 2010). Moreover, caste-kinship bonds and urban life style also cause rural population to locate different places (Mitra

and Murayama, 2009). The most significant reason for female migration is marriage. (Premi, 1979) According to the census, 2001, more than 58% female migration is caused by marriage in India (Mahapatro, 2010, p.8).

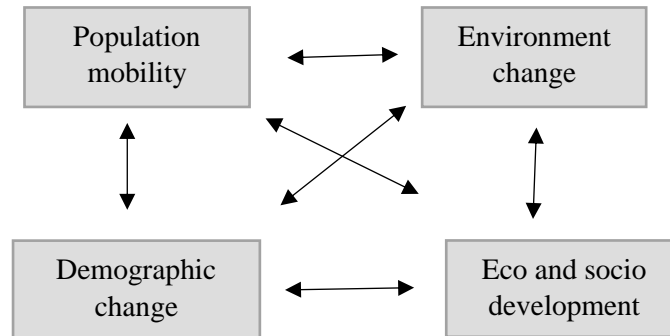
### **1.8.3 Political determinants**

Political administration is the key to the welfare of the citizens. Political conditions have direct as well as indirect impact on the pace of migration. Legal system of the state, policies of the government, nature of the party system, political instability, political corruption and quality of leadership are the political conditions that determine the pace of migration. Policies of the government accelerate or slow down the pace of emigration. Hirschman has highlighted the importance of exit (emigration) in his famous article "Exit, Voice and the State." He has pointed out that political managers sometimes promote out migration as the voice of possible revolutionaries may threaten their future political benefits. So, the emigration proves safety valve to those political organizations and political leaders. (Hirschman,1978) Political corruption has its direct and indirect impact on the decision to stay or leave the place. Political corruption may lead to the poorer quality of life and lower standards of living of the people which result into dissatisfaction of the people in the existing system and promote the migration. The use of public office for personal gain and corruption adversely affects the decision of potential migrants especially the skilled one. This type of emigration negatively affects the social spending, education and public health of the state of origin (Helms and Leblang, 2019).

### **Natural determinants**

Migration is also caused by natural causes. Frequent drought, floods and earthquake situations, shortage of water, food and agricultural resources are some of the natural reasons that force people to leave the place and choose the new ones. (Castelli, 2018) Hugo found a relationship between the climatic conditions and human mobility. He advocated that people move temporarily and permanently so that they can escape from the climate catastrophe. According to him most of the times, migration which is, due to the climate conditions are, temporary and within the country but it opens new corridors of development (Hugo,2011).

**Figure 7: Relationship between migration, climate change, demographic change and development.**



## 1.9 Theories of migration

Migration is explained through various lenses by economists, sociologists, geographers, thinkers and reformers. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, various thinkers penned down theories of migration on the basis of reasons, impacts, goals and location of migration. These theories are as follows.

### 1.9.1 Ravenstein theory (1865)

It is the oldest theory on migration. In 1865 on the basis of the data of internal migration in Britain and later on of some other countries, Ravenstein propounded certain principles which are known as ‘**Seven Laws of Migration**’ (Ravenstein,1889) (G rigg,1977) These principles are

#### Migration and Distance

Ravenstein found that there is reverse relationship between distance and migration. Majority of people like to migrate for short distance places. So, migration rate decreases with the increase in distance.

#### Migration by stages

Even if people migrate, they shift in stages. First, they shift in short distance place and then from there they shift to long distance places.

#### Stream and counter stream

Each migration current produces another migration current. People migrate from which area, in that area more people or labour force from less developed area to that came to fill the gap. So, balance is made and migration reach to the bottom area.

## Rural Urban differentiation in the context of migration

People living in the urban areas are less keen to migrate than the people living in rural areas. So, there is an inverse relation between rural area and migration.

## Impact of technology on migration

Ravenstein had found the impact of technology and advanced means of communication on migration. The advanced means of communication have helped in accelerating the pace of migration as these have narrowed the distances. So, the geographical areas having more advancement in technology are more prone to in-migration.

## Motives behind migration

No doubt, there are various social, economic, political, demographical and psychological reasons of migration but the economic motivation is the chief among all the reasons and motivations. Further most of the migration are from the rural to the urban because of the better employment opportunities and wage scales. Furthermore, economic gains surpass all other types of gains.

## Migration and Gender

Ravenstein had found that migration is gender related. The women migrate more than the men. (Corbett, 2003)

### **1.9.2 Stouffer's theory of Intervening opportunities**

Stouffer (1940) made a connection between the volume of migration and the availability of opportunities. Stouffer had found that the volume of migration did not depend on how far away is the destined place rather it depended upon how many opportunities were available at the destined place. He theorised that the proportion of migration was inversely related with the number of opportunities at the targeted place (Wadycki,1975). The faraway place could attract a greater number of people if it had the capacity to absorb more population. This law of intervening opportunities is also known as gravity model.

Here the urban areas which have various employment opportunities are the centre of attraction and the individuals are the subjects who get attracted towards these. The size and volume of attraction is inversely equal to the number of opportunities.

### **1.9.3 Zipf's inverse distance Law of migration**

Zipf gave his model of migration in 1949. His law is also known as gravity model as Zipf made a relation between migration and distance and migration and the efforts. This model professed that people migrated more to short distance place than to long distance places as cost and efforts increased with the increase in (Coombs, 1980) distance. The size of people migrating in cities depended upon the distance between the cities. The increased distance would increase the cost of distance travelled and the efforts involved so distance and size of migration move inversely.

### **1.9.4 Human investment theory of Sjaastad (1962)**

This theory had clarified that the decision to move is an investment decision. It is an analysis of costs and profits spread out over time from the location of departure and arrival, as well as the cost of transportation. This model had stated that a person should move if the present value of all monetary advantages from the migrating place exceeds the monetary costs of migration (Sjaastad, 1962). The cost and the benefit are the chief considerations according to this theory. The cost includes moving fees, opportunity costs of the missed earnings between employment, and non-monetary costs such as leaving one's own community and adjusting into a foreign setting. Because of having more life span at their hands, the educated youth have a higher mobility rate. In most of the cases, income disparities between the destinations are larger, and their magnitude is higher. And psychological costs of migration are likely to be lower for the young educated youth. When the same is compared with the elder individuals, they are less inclined to relocate since differential financial rewards from migration accumulate over a shorter remaining life span, and emotional costs may be higher.

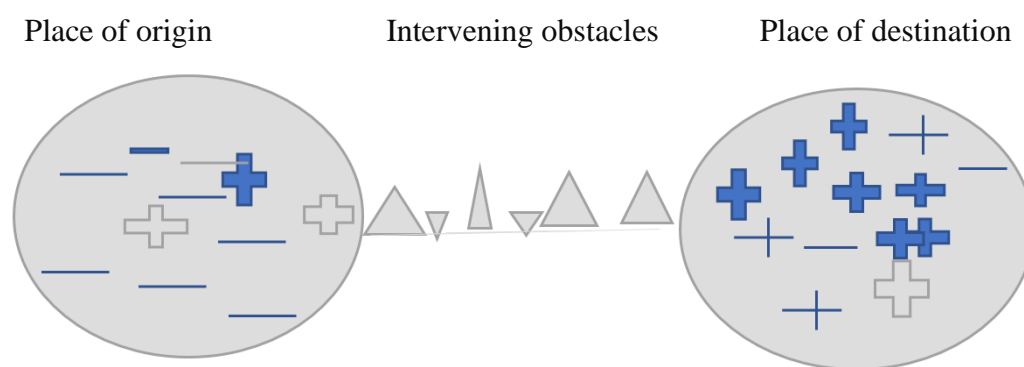
### **1.9.5 Lee theory of migration**

Lee gave his theory in 1966 which was popularly known as push and pull theory of migration. Lee based his model on three elements (a) place of origin (b) place of destination (c) intervening obstacles. Lee believed that the decision to migrate or not

depended upon “push” and “pull” factors. The influence of push and pull factors could be judged after analysing four factors.

- 1 Positive and negative factors of the place of origin  
Unemployment, lower wages, less educational and medical facilities are the main hazards which proved to be push factors for people to migrate.
- 2 Positive and negative factors of the place of destination  
On the other hand, the better employment opportunities, the higher wages, better quality of life are the main pull factors that attracts the people to travel far. (Lee, 1966)
- 3 In between the push and pull factors there are **intervening obstacles** like ocean, distance, migration laws of both the places also influence the decision to migrate.
- 4 personal traits and sensitivity, intelligence, knowledge about the other countries also exert their pressure on the decision to shift.

**Figure 8: Lee theory**



### 1.9.6 Todaro model

In view of the rising urban unemployment and underemployment, (Michael P Todaro, 1969) Todaro proposed a theory to explain the enormous movement of the rural populations to urban areas. The Todaro migration model focused on the fact that the rural-urban mobility is common and economic factors are the predominant factors. Though there is urban unemployment, people relocate in search of high-expected urban salaries. According to Todaro, migration occurred as a result of differences in expected rather than the actual salaries between the urban and the rural workers. According to

Todaro among the various labour markets for the job opportunities people select that location which is the closest to their expected gains after migration. The expected gains are the difference between the real income in the rural or urban job markets and the probability of getting the income after migration to the new location.

### **1.9.7 Consumption theory of migration**

(Wallace, 1997) This theory is as a contrast to the traditional theories of migration because the focus of the cause of migration is not income but the value maximization. Wallace in his theory pointed out that the benefits come not just from the ordinary items, but also from the material and the immaterial values. These things include closeness to the family, bonding with the neighbourhood, temperature of the geographical area and feeling of the safety and security and so many other things. The highly skilled migrants react differently than the low skilled migrants to certain features of the locality, such as the comfort and the enjoyment. Opera houses, theatres, and museums are only a few examples. (Liebeg, 2003)

After looking into the various theories of migration is clear that migration is basically motivated by the economic reasons but it has great social, economic and political impacts at both the places; at the place of origin and at the place of destination. (Kaur et al., 2011; Turry, 2016) It is commonly assumed that migration aids in the movement of villages to cities, but in reality, migration aids in the migration of villages to cities because migrants assist their families in enhancing the quality of living in their home country. (Bhaskaran, 2011)

### **1.10 Internal Migration in India**

The Migration of the people is rooted in history as old as human civilization. Migration is one of the important aspects of every economy. Indians experienced this phenomenon with the independence itself. Interstate migration of labour continued after independence because of so many reasons, but with the advent of liberalization and privatization, it has increased many folds. Nearly 14 crore people in India are internal migrants (Singh, 2019). According to Ravi Srivastava, as many as three out of every 10 Indians have moved away from their homes. (Srivastava, 2003). 1.21 billion i.e., 69% of population of India lives in the rural areas (Abbas & Verma, 2014) and in rural India there are not enough opportunities for economic activities. So, people move from the

rural to the urban areas for availability of jobs and higher wages. Haan too supported that economic opportunities constitute the key cause for internal labour migration as 50% of the urban male migrants migrated for employment related issues (Haan, 2011).

## 1.11 Types of migrants

Census in India classified migrant on two bases: -

### 1.11.1 Migrants on the basis of birth

Those people who at the time of census were working and earning at a place other than their birth place are called as migrants. In 2001, 307 million (30%) people were migrants on the basis of the place of birth whereas this figure was 27% in 1991. (Census of India, 1991, 2001)

### 1.11.2 Migrants on the basis of the last residence

Those people who are getting enumeration at a place which is different from their last place of residence are also called migrants. In 2001, the share of this migration was 34.7% and among these were the people who were in their new place for the last 2 to 20 years. (Census of India, 2001).

**Table 1: Volumes and percentage of migration in India**

Year	Population (in million)	Volume of migration (in million)	Migration in percentage to population
1961	439.2	144.8	33.0
1971	548.2	166.8	30.4
1981	683.8	203.5	30.6
1991	8388.6	230.0	27.4
2001	10286	307.1	29.9
2011	12108	450	36.7

Source: census of India, various years

Migration - Census of India <https://censusindia.gov.in> >

The Advanced means of communication, increasing modernization in the urban India and the better employment opportunities in the cities attract many people to leave their birth place or residence and find livelihood at the other places. This is the reason



that the number of internal migrants in India have been increasing rapidly. In 1983, migrants share on the basis of the last residence was 31.6%, it increased to 33% in 1991. In the census of 2001, the figure went to 35%. (Bhagat, 2011) and 2011 witnessed increase to 37% people who were internal migrants.

## **1.12 Categories of states on the basis of the migration in India**

On the basis of migration Indian states can be divided into three types.

### **1.12.1 In migration states**

These are the states which receive the migrants. Maharashtra, Gujrat, Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Haryana, and Punjab. Maharashtra and Delhi receive major chunk of internal migration. Das & Saha in their study revealed that Maharashtra has received 19% and Delhi has accommodated 13% of the total internal migrants up to 2013. (Das and Saha,2013)

### **1.12.2 Out migration states**

These are the states from where migrants moved to other places. Bihar Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram have witnessed maximum number of people leaving their place of residence since independence. (Abbas and Verma, 2014; Dandekar & Ghai, 2020)

### **1.12.3. In and Out migration states**

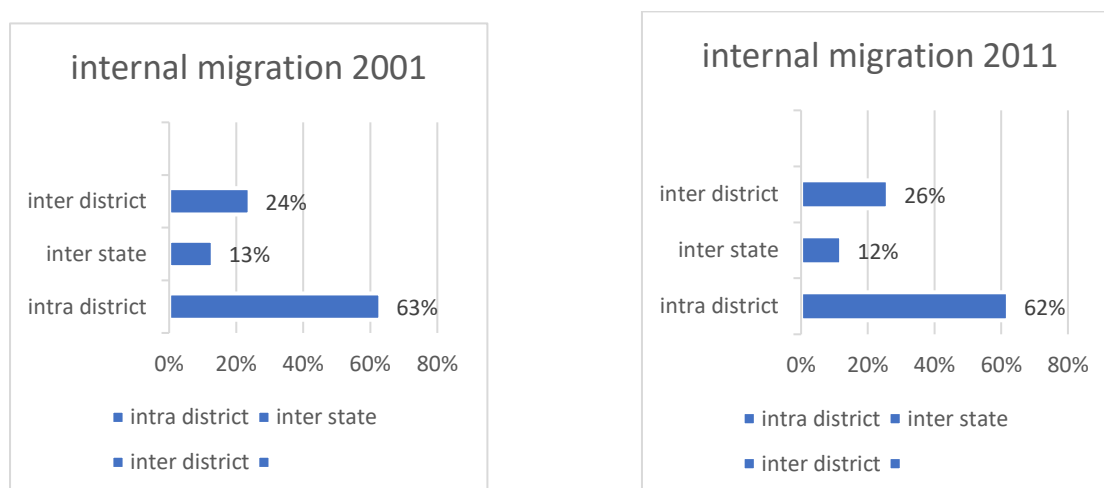
These are the states which receive internal migrants but the native people of these states have tendency to go to other countries. Thus, in and out migration both find place simultaneously in these states. Kerela Gujrat and Punjab are the examples of this type of migration (Das & Saha,2013). Haan called this pattern of migration in these states as ‘chain of migration’ (Haan, 2011).

## **1.13 Why do people migrate**

450 million people in India are the internal migrants and they constitute 92% of the workforce in India (Mishra, 2019). Marriage is the chief reason for female migration in India. 61.9% female migration is due to the marriage. Whereas for work and better economic opportunities at other places is the chief reason for the male migration.

Moreover 56 % migration among the males is due to this factor. Education is another important determinant of migration; only 3% internal migration is due to better educational facilities at other places. (Abbas and Verma, 2014) Among the three types of internal migration Interstate migration constitute just 12 % and this movement saw a decline from the last census of 2001 when it was 13% of the total migration. Whereas the inter district migration topped in India.

**Figure 9 : Fig: internal migration in 2001 and 2011**



Source: De, (2019)

### 1.14 Status of internal migration in Punjab

Punjab is one of the small but prosperous state of India. The population of Punjab is just 2.5% of the total Indian population but their per capita income is double than the national income<sup>1</sup>. Green revolution and then white revolution attracted many people from the less developed states to grab the employment opportunities in Punjab. This led to the rise of migrant population in the state. In 1981 the inflow of migrants from the other states was 8.87 lakhs which became 11.20 lakhs in 1991 and in 2001 the figure went to 17.49 Lakhs (Singh & Singh, 2016). This inflow has changed the entire demography of the state.

<sup>1</sup> [Punjab Population 2020/2021 - World Population](https://www.populationu.com/Punjab-population)  
<https://www.populationu.com/Punjab-population>

### 1.15 Profile of Punjab

Punjab is one of the small states of India. It has 1.5% of the total land of India and 2.4 % of the total population of India (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.1). It is one of the most important states of India also as this state has won National Productivity Award for agricultural extension services from 1991-1992 to 1998-1999 and from 2001 to 2004 (Kaler, 2016). Situated in the northern part of India, Punjab was known as the “sword arm” and lately as the “bread basket” of India. The state has common boundary with Jammu and Kashmir on the northern side, Pakistan in the western side, Himachal and Uttarakhand in the eastern side and Haryana and Rajasthan in the southern side.<sup>iii</sup> The name of the state came from Persian word Punj + ab which means territory of five rivers. Punjab was the homeland of five rivers namely Sutlej, Jhelum, Ravi, Beas and Chenab but it lost two of its rivers Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan in 1947. Now it is the motherland of three rivers Ravi, Beas and Satluj but still it has retained its previous name and these rivers are contributing in the development of Punjab. (Niti Ayog, 2019 p.3)

Punjab has a unique historical background. The state had to bear the attacks and many invasions from the advancing armies from the north side in the earlier times (Singh, 2017) and consequently witnessed many alterations in its territorial boundary. The Punjab before the British annexation was the Kingdom of Lahore under Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. The British empire took control of Punjab in 1849 and extended the boundary of Punjab by merging Delhi and parts of Northwest Province (Now Uttar Pradesh) in Punjab in 1858. Again in 1901 and 1912, the boundary of Punjab was changed by excluding the border areas across the Indus and Delhi from it (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.3). The Britishers expanded its boundary by including many areas between Yamuna and Indus rivers but they excluded many princely areas (Kumar, 2005).

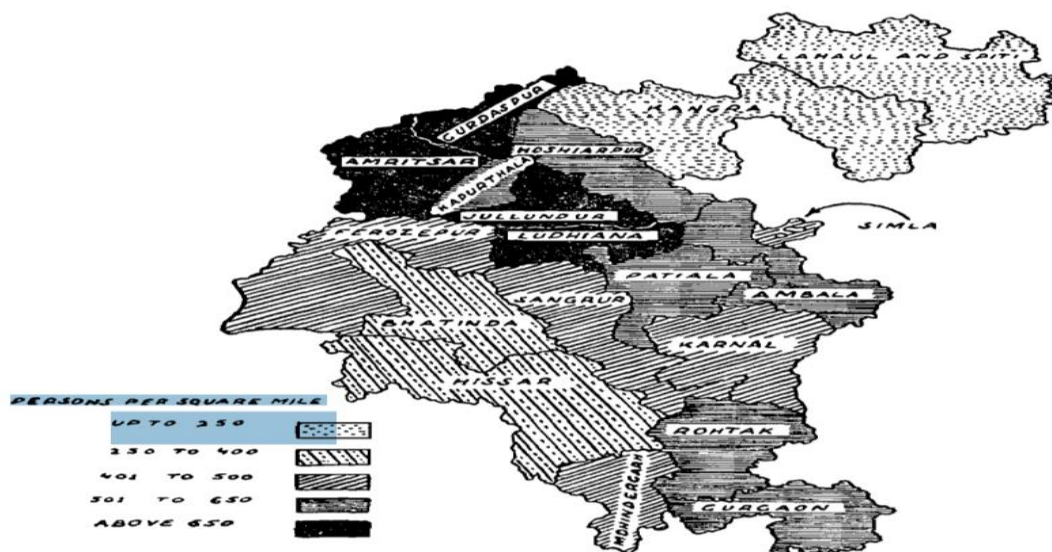
The Punjab is now barely one-seventh of what it was prior to Independence. (Census of India, Punjab, 2011. p.13) <sup>2</sup> The partition of 1947, partitioned the Punjab

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<sup>2</sup> Census of India, Punjab, Part XII B, Series 4, District Census handbook Ludhiana.

also. The western half of the country was given to Pakistan, that was the first event that reduced its size. The western part of Punjab which was more green and more bloomy went to Pakistan and the Eastern Punjab which was small and short of richness in productivity wise, became part of India. Punjab lost its 29 districts and 3,59,179 square kilometer area and the new Punjab of India has only 1,52,645 square kilometer area and 13 districts (Niti Ayog, 2019, p.3). After independence in 1948 Himachal Pradesh was created as a separate state from it. And again, in 1952, PEPSU was designed by Nehru government by merging Patiala, some princely states and Himachal Pradesh. In 1956 PEPSU and Punjab were integrated (Kaler, 2016: Singh, 2012, p.76)

**Figure 10: Map of Punjab before 1966**



Source: Census of India, 1961, p.11

The State again saw the Trifurcation on the linguistic basis in 1966 when Punjab Reorganization Bill, 1966 was passed. The Hindi speaking areas of the southern part were carved into a new state called Haryana by giving 35.80% of the land and 37% of the population. Some Hindi speaking hilly areas of the northern part were allocated to Himachal Pradesh by giving 23% of the land and 7% of the territory, the rest of the Punjabi speaking areas were retained as Punjab. (Kumar, 2005).

Punjab is a borderline state as it shares 553 km international border with Pakistan. Three districts of Punjab Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur have their

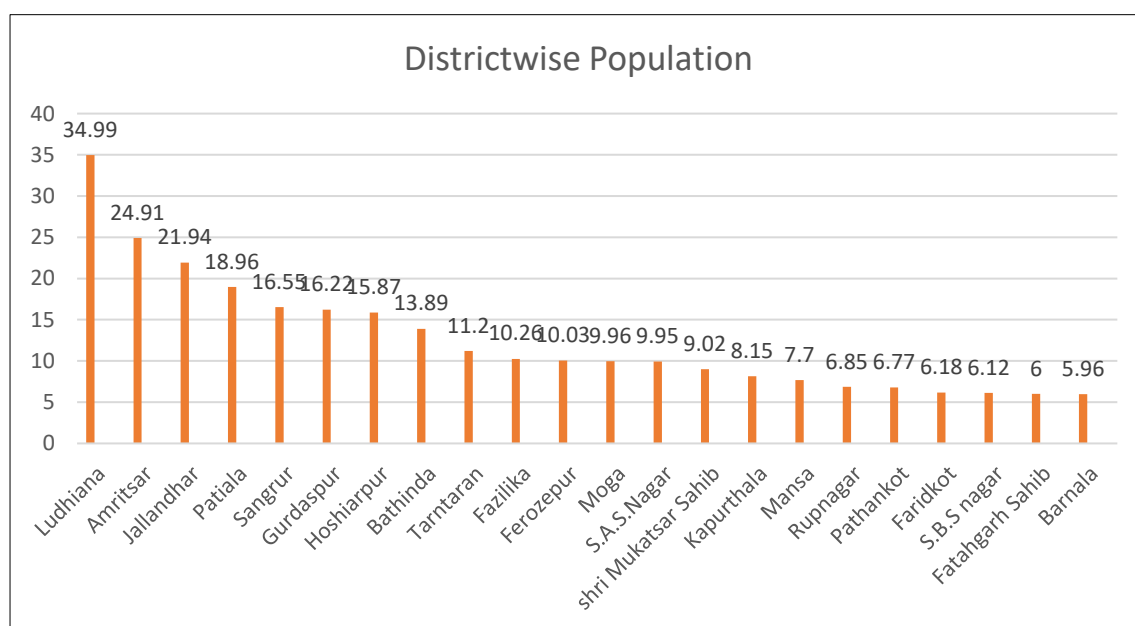
territorial boundary with Pakistan and this border area is quite a hot area of India (Jodhka, 2003, p. 4) climate wise and metaphorically because of the constant tension with Pakistan.

### 1.16 Political and Administrative set up

Punjab has been divided into 22 districts. Ludhiana is the most populated district of Punjab inhabited by 3.49 million people and Barnala is the least populated inhabited by just 0.56 million people.

District wise population of Ludhiana

**Figure 11: District wise population of Ludhiana**



Source: Punjab Population statistics report 1971-2011).

Ferozepur district of Punjab is the largest district in terms of area having 2,190 square kilometer and district Kapurthala is the smallest having 1,633 square km area

**Figure 12: District wise map of Punjab**



Source: <https://punjab.gov.in/districts-of-punjab/>.

The size of the district in Punjab is half than the average size of the districts of India. It is 6000 square kilometers for the national level but in Punjab the size is just 3000 square kilometers. (Jodhka, 2003, p.4). The 22 districts of Punjab are divided into five divisions. A division is a combination of some districts which are grouped for civil administration. These divisions are as follows: (Kaler,2016)

#### **1.16.1 Jalandhar division**

There total 7 districts are under this division namely Jalandhar, Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Kapurthala and Tarantaran.

#### **1.16.2 Patiala division**

There are 5 districts under this division namely Patiala, Fatehgarh Sahib, Ludhiana, Sangrur and Barnala.

#### **1.16.3 Ferozepur division**

There are 4 districts under this division, Ferozepur, Moga, Shri Mukatsar Sahib and Fazilika.

#### 1.16.4 Faridkot division

There are 3 districts under it, Faridkot, Bathinda and Mansa.

#### 1.16.5 Ropar division

It has 3 districts, Ropar, Nawan Shahr and Mohali.

The districts further have tehsils and sub tehsils. In Punjab there is no difference between tehsils and sub divisions though there is difference between them in some states of India. In all there are 82 Tehsils and 87 sub tehsils. In the rural Punjab there are blocks and villages at the bottom level. There are total 147 blocks in Punjab (Kaler, 2016).

#### 1.17 The socio-cultural aspect of Punjab

The demography of Punjab has unique dynamism in terms of population composition, population growth and population mobility rate. (Gill, 2017). Punjab has population of 30.49 million (nearly 3 crores) and it ranked on the 16<sup>th</sup> number population wise in India according to the Adhar identification data.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2: The Composition of population of Punjab**

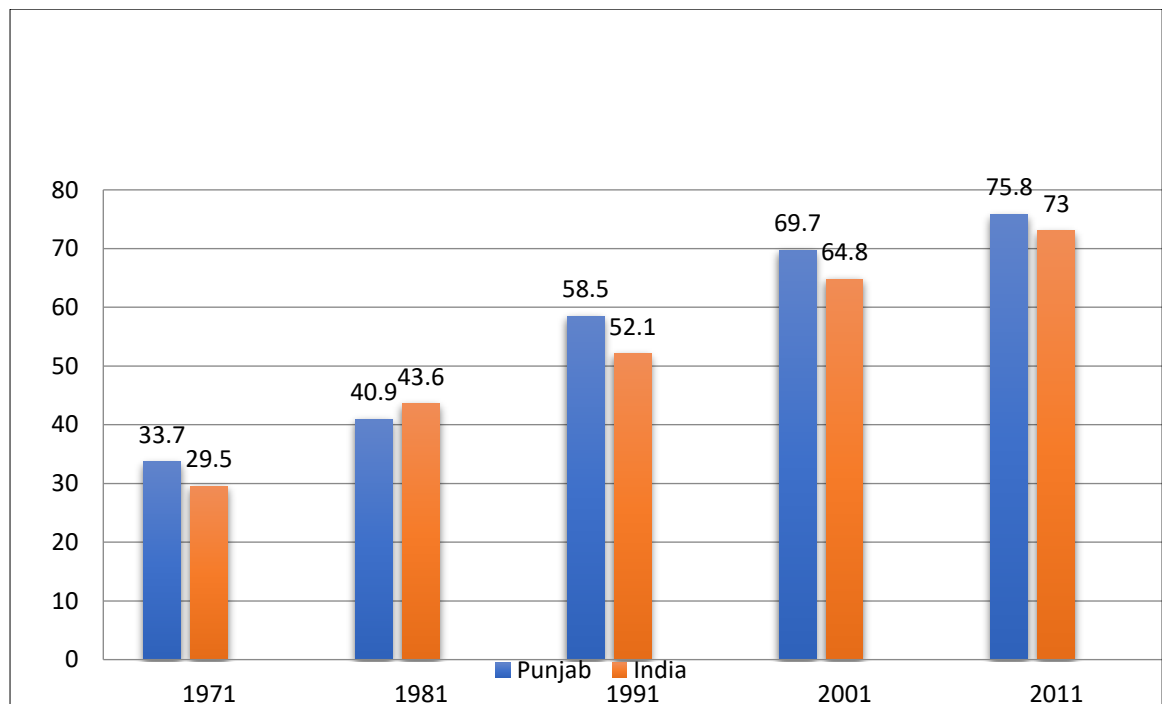
Decade	Male	Female	Total population	Growth rate (percentage)
1951-1961	1,11,553	94,334	2,05,887	21.56
1961-71	1,70,974	143921	3,14,895	21.70
1971-81	NA	NA	16,788,915	23.89
1981-91	NA	NA	20,281,969	20.81
1991-2001	12,985,045	11,373,954	24,358,999	19.76
2001-2011	14,639,465	13,103,873	27,743,338	13.89
2011-2021 (projected)	16,095,528	14,405,498	30,141,373	

Source: Census survey of India various years

<sup>3</sup> (<https://uidai.gov.in/images/state-wise-aadhaar-saturation.pdf>)

In composition, the table has shown that the population growth rate was high in Punjab during the initial years of creation of Punjab but it started dropping down. The last decade from 2001 to 2011 witnessed the lowest growth i.e., just 13.89%. The declining fertility rate, out migration to other countries, insecurities among the people after the terrorism and prevalence of the drug menace are the chief factors responsible for this decline. (Sandhu, 2017) Male female ratio male population is ahead of the population female. The literacy rate in Punjab has remained always ahead of the literacy rate in India which indicates Punjab is rich not only in agricultural and industrial sectors but human resources in Punjab are also of good quality.

**Figure 13: Literacy rate of Punjab**



Source: Population statistics of Punjab 1971-2011

In 2011 the literacy rate in India was 73% but Punjab was ahead of it having 75% literate people who inhabiting Punjab. The people of Punjab are not only literate but they are culturally so unique, developed, and progressive that within Punjab three regions coincide. This uniqueness of culture is because of the multi-regional and multireligious society of Punjab. Punjab is divided primarily into three regions Majha, Malwa and Doaba on the basis of the Sutlej and Beas rivers that flow on the land of Punjab.



**Figure 14: Region wise Map of Punjab**



Source: Majha Malwa Doab Area in Punjab. Punjab data.com

**Majha Region** The region that is halfway between river Ravi and Sutlej is called Majha. This region is also famous as “Cradle of Sikhism” as most of the sacred places of Sikhs are located in this region. (Mahajan 2021) The modern districts like Amritsar, Batala, Gurdaspur fall in this region. **Doab Region** consists of the fertile land between the river Ravi and Beas. Jalandhar is one of the most popular and important districts of this region and this region has the credit of having the maximum numbers of hospitals in Asia and the area across Sutlej is known as Malwa. This area has some of the most expensive and richest cities come under this region. Some of the most expensive and the richest cities of the region fall in this area. Ludhiana and Mohali are the popular districts of this region and this region controls the political power of Punjab has been controlling the since many decades (Kaler, 2016).

### **1.18 Religion in Punjab**

The people of all the regions have slight difference in culture as well as language. On the basis of religion in Punjab multi religious society exists. Punjab has multi-religious society with Sikh religion being predominant. Out of the total 13.1 million of Sikhs, 60% lives in Punjab (Deol, 2000 p.2). Next the Hindu religion, followed by Muslims who are in minority. The Religion wise demography of Punjab is as follows:

**Table 3: Religion wise population of Punjab**

Religion	1966-71	1971-1981	1981-1991	1991-2001	2001-2011
Sikhs	60.21	60.75	62.95	59.91	57.69
Hindu	37.54	36.93	34.46	36.94	38.49
Muslims	0.33	1.00	1.18	1.57	1.93
Christian	1.20	1.10	1.11	1.20	1.26
Jains	0.16	0.16	0.10	0.16	0.16
Buddhist	0.6	-	0.12	0.17	0.12
Any other	0.03	0.01	0.07	0.04	0.04

Source: Census of India. Various years

The Partition had its impact not only on the physical and political geography of Punjab but it altered the religious demography of the state. Historically this province was dominated by the Hindus and Muslims before partition later on Hindus came on the top and the population of Sikhs was at second place. but after the creation of Punjabi Suba the Hindu majority state changed into Sikh majority state (Sekhon, 2018; Wallace, 1986) The table has indicated the uniqueness of religious demography. The Sikhs are in minority in India having just 1.72% share in the total population of India,<sup>iv</sup> but they have a massive majority in Punjab. They constitute 58% of the total population followed by Hindus who constitute nearly 39% of the total population of Punjab. Another important indicator the table has shown that the population of Sikhs in Punjab is on the declining mode. One of the reasons for this is outmigration of Sikhs from Punjab to other countries (Mohan, 2015). but the religious harmony among all the religious communities is intact even today and has no trace of the terrorism of the horrible period of 1980's.<sup>4</sup>

### **1.19 Economy of Punjab**

The Punjab state is one of the most affluent states of India. Per capita income and poverty line are the two important indicators of the health of the economy and

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<sup>4</sup> “In Malerkotla to build a mosque, Sikh person donated his ancestral land and in Moga Hindus and Sikhs together collected funds to rebuild a mosque”. **Sikh and Hindu residents of a village in Punjab rebuild a mosque that has been in ruins since 1947**

Frontline, June 18, 2021.

<https://frontline.thehindu.com> >

Punjab has performed in both the parameters excellently which has made it one of the economically developed states of India. Punjab was among the top three states of India in 1995-1996. Moreover, in 1995-1996 per capita income of Punjab was higher than the per capita income of India. It was 16,042 at the current price though the national per capita income was 9,578. (Jodhka, 2003, p.12) further in 2010 the per capita income of Punjab was 38% higher than the national average. (PHD, P.6) In Punjab 11.77 % people were living below the poverty line whereas it was 35.97% for national level (Jodhka, 2003, p.23). An average Punjabi has double money in the banks in comparison to an average Indian has in the banks. The Same is the case with the consumption of energy. The Average consumption of energy of the Punjabi is double than the consumption of energy by an average Indian. (Shiva, 1991, p.13)

Though the state faced the loss of its rich geographical area during the partition but soon it made tremendous progress. Punjab is known as the “bread basket” as it contributes to India one fifth of the total wheat production and one third of the total rice production, now two third of the food grain production and one third of milk production is contributed by it to India.<sup>5</sup> The population of Punjab is just 2.5% of the total Indian population but their per capita income is double than the national income. Having 1.6% of the total land of India, Punjab provides 73% of wheat procurement and 48% of the rice, per acre production of wheat in Punjab is second only to Mexico and in rice next to Japan. (Mehra, 1983)

Punjab state which is rich in Agricultural sector was quite backward in the industrial sector. The Central government always hesitated in setting up industrial plants in Punjab because of its border state status. (Wallace, 1986). Recently Punjab has shown remarkable progress in the industrial sector. At the time of independence only a few industrial units based on agriculture like food processing and cotton based were there. In the fifties the cycle part units and hosiery goods industries came in Punjab. Green revolution again invited agro based industry like farm machinery and manufacturing units in the sixties. The Seventies are significant for industrial road of Punjab as it witnessed auto parts and electrical goods industry. Eighty onwards Punjab did not look back in the field of industrial development. (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.193)

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<sup>5</sup> India's Bread Basket, The Hindustan Times, Nov. 21, 2019. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/ht-school/india-s-bread-basket/story-YwTUaOYZCuKzs7JxBQ7O6J.html>

Now 95% of the woolen production of India, 85% of sewing machines production and 75% of the sport goods production have fallen in the lap of Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

Many districts of Punjab are famous for their different industrial contributions. Amritsar is known for the food products, paper mills and textiles, Jalandhar is outstanding in the sports goods production, Mandi Gobindgarh has more than 300 steel producing units and is called as “Steel Town of Punjab”, Batala is known for casting and machine tools, Mohali is becoming Centre of sunrise industries and Ludhiana is the industrial hub as it is the home of the Hosiery goods and readymade garments. bicycles and component, sewing machines and parts, auto parts and electrical goods. Ludhiana surpasses all the districts of Punjab as it contributes 28% towards the total industrial production and 21% of the industrial units are located in Ludhiana (Niti Ayog report, 2019, p.196).

### 1.20 Ludhiana

Ludhiana is the most industrially developed district of Punjab. This district map rectangular type which is bordered by Patiala on the south side. Ropar and Chandigarh at the eastern side, the Western side is touched by Moga and the southern east by Sangrur. The district is 96 km in length along the river Sutlej and 39 km in width at the north and south. (District survey report)

**Figure 15: Map of Ludhiana**



<sup>6</sup> Punjab State Presentation Report | IBEF  
<https://www.ibef.org › States/UT › Punjab>

### **1.20.1 Historical background of Ludhiana**

Ludhiana is one the most famous districts of Punjab. It has long history of its origin and Satluj has played a key role in its historical development. In the ancient times it was not easy to cross the rivers so most of the invaders had to stop across the Sutlej. At that time Satluj would flow by the side of Ludhiana, where now Budda Nala flow and it played the role of boundary wall in its development. (District Census handbook Ludhiana.p.8)

The history of Ludhiana starts with the time of Alaxander as it is believed that Ludhiana was a part of the kingdom of Magadh. This area had found its expression in the days of Maurya Empire also. When Chandra Gupta overthrow Nanda dynasty and expanded its boundaries up to Afghanistan, this part was part of his empire.

The land of Ludhiana got its identity when a powerful Khokhar leader Jasrat revolted against Delhi empire and made his establishment here. Jasrat made Ludhiana his base even against his battles against Sirhind. The main city Ludhiana at that time was a village named Mir Hota. The name Ludhiana came into time light during the Lodhi dynasty. Sikandar Lodhi deputed his two chiefs Yusuf Khan and Nihang Khan to check the interventions of Baluchi's in this region. While Yusuf Khan went ahead in the doab region, Nihang Khan stayed at this place (Mir Hota) to represent the Sultan's strength. He called this place Lodi Ana which means Home or town of Lodhi. Later on, his grandson, Jalal Khan made a fort here to make the base of Lodhi empire. and consequently, this place came to be known as Ludhiana. Lodhi rulers-controlled Ludhiana and kept it under the Sirhind division.

Ludhiana has always enjoyed a special place in the history of battles. Many wars between the Sikh Gurus and Mughals and between the Afghan invaders and the local emperors were fought on this land. It was in the forest area of Ludhiana (near Machhiwara) that Guru Gobind Singh had an encounter with the governor of Sirhind,

Ludhiana in fact it can be said that Punjab came in the eyes of Britishers in 1803 when East India company annexed Delhi. The Britishers planned to limit the expansionism of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Therefore, Metcalfe signed a treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh which bound the Maharaja to keep his empire across the other side of Sutlej and thus fort of Ludhiana came under the British empire and they made

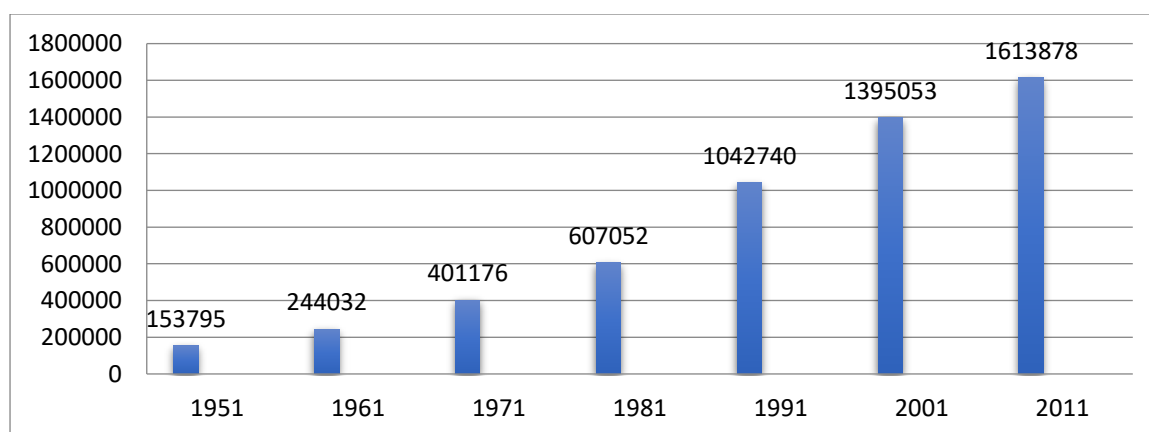
this city as their military outpost. (Census report, 2011). Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and this changed the political history of Punjab. The Britishers annexed Punjab on 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1849 after some wars with the Sikh army and many deceitful negotiations and treaties. The decline of the Sikh power in Punjab cleared the way for the British empire in North western side, as well as in overall India as no other active power was there to challenge the Britishers power to establish its rule. (Singh & Singh, 2020). The administration of Punjab was given to a board of administration and the Britishers deployed good number of forces to keep the state under its control till 1947. The colonial period has far reaching impacts on the social, economic and political development of the Indian Punjab even today. (Talbot,1991)

### 1.20.2 Demography and administrative set up of Ludhiana

Ludhiana has seen tremendous demographic and physical growth. The area and population of the city has increased during the last few decades. The area of the Ludhiana was 12.92 acre which has now expanded to 64.21 acre. (Population Statistics of Punjab 1971-2011, Publication no 947)

Ludhiana is the most populated district of Punjab. It is the first city in the North Western region which has crossed million in population and it is the first millennium city of Punjab (Jodhka, 2003, p. 8). The population of Ludhiana was 1.53 lakhs in 1951 and it has crossed 1.16 million people (Singh & Kalota,2019). Sadly, Ludhiana represents the lowest sex ratio in Punjab. It has 824 females after per 1000 male (Kaur, 2003, p.48).

**Figure 16: population of Ludhiana**



Source: Singh & Kalota, 2019

From the administrative point of view Ludhiana is divided into 7 Tehsils. Ludhiana east, Ludhiana west, Raikot, Payal, Jagraon, Samrala and Khanna, and 13 blocks. The district has representation of 14 members in the legislative assembly of 117 members which again has the largest representation among the 22 districts of Punjab. Following is the list of the name and numbers of the legislative constituencies of the Ludhiana district.

**Table 4: Legislative Constituencies of Ludhiana district**

Sr. No.	Name of constituency	Constituency no
1	Khanna	57
2	Samrala	58
3	Sahenewal	59
4	Ludhiana East	60
5	Ludhiana South	61
6	Atam Nagar	62
7	Ludhiana Central	63
8	Ludhiana West	64
9	Ludhiana North	65
10	Gill	66
11	Payal	67
12	Dakha	68
13	Raikot	69
14	Jagraon	70

Source: <https://Ludhiana.Nic.In> › Administration › Constituencies

The goods produced in the Ludhiana has market not only in the India but these goods have export value in the various countries of the world. The woollen and the cotton clothes of Ludhiana have demand in the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. (Tewari, 1999) Whereas the cycles and cycle parts of Ludhiana have market in some foreign countries also. The world's largest bicycle manufacturer, Hero Cycles, which produces nearly three million bicycles annually, is based here. Ludhiana

accounts for 90 per cent of the country's woollen hosiery industry and is nicknamed *The Manchester of Punjab*. (Sengupta & Benjamin, 2016; Goyal, 2005)

It is not wrong if we say Ludhiana city is the guide map for the rest of the cities of India. Out of the total factories which are registered in Punjab, nearly one third are in Ludhiana. (Bhagat, 2006, p.25) The employment opportunities in the industries of Ludhiana made it a dream land for the population of the less developed states of India like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, U.P and Odisha. Every fourth person in the city is a migrant from some other state of India (Mehra & Singh, 2014). This has resulted in massive growth of migrated population to the city of Ludhiana (Sidhu and Grewal, 1984). The population of Ludhiana increases more during the crop harvesting season and hosiery industry season time. The lucrative wages in Ludhiana have attracted not only the workers from the other states of India but from some neighbouring states like Nepal and Bangla Desh etc. Not only Industry but the restaurants, hospitals, educational institutions and even the households of Ludhiana are incomplete without the presence of migrants. Most of the Nepalis are seen in the kitchens of the restaurants, hotels and the homes of Ludhiana residents. Rajasthani migrants are dominating in the brick kiln industry whereas the migrants from Bihar have controlled the construction work. Sanitation and the allied work are monopolised by the migrants from Odisha and textile labour is over brimming with people from UP. It goes without saying that these migrants have become cog and wheel of Ludhiana.<sup>7</sup>

Their acculturation is so complete that they have started jumping into the political arena. If we read the migrant life between the lines, we get a fair and square study that if Ludhiana is the hub of the state of Punjab, the migrants have become the hub of the capital. The credit for green revolution, Industrial revolution, and to some extent, the white revolution goes to the migrant labour in Punjab (Dasgupta, 2019).

### **1.21 Statement of the problem**

The Indian Constitution guarantees people the fundamental right to move and work anywhere they want within the nation. The choice to relocate is influenced by a

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<sup>7</sup> (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org> ).



variety of economic, social, cultural, and political reasons and it has variety of economic, social, cultural, and political impacts (Luesome, & Bhagat, 2006).

Article 326 of the Indian Constitution states that every adult citizen is entitled to be registered in the electoral roll from his/her parliamentary and assembly constituency (Aggarwal, 2019). on the other hand, section 20 of the People Representation Act says that any person can be registered as a voter in any constituency where he/she is "ordinarily resident"(Jain, 2019). Migrants come in the category of ordinary residents and they can register at the place of work as "ordinarily resident" but the migration affects the exercise of right to vote of the migrants, so their other political participatory activities also get affected. Therefore, in India many migrants are politically excluded from their native places (Vardhan, 2019) but they do not get political inclusion in their work place.

The present study is an attempt to explore the extent and nature of the political participation of these migrants in Ludhiana city which is known as the migrant's hub of Punjab. The present study has taken up the extent of the political participation in both the forms as formal participation and informal participation in political activities.

Though Migration has many economic and social dimensions but its political implications have been gaining attention in the recent years. The study is an attempt to understand their role in the political arena through their political participation.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Review of literature gives an insight into the area under study. It helps the researcher to know all the pros and cons of the subject under study. Review of already existing literature helps the researcher to find the research gap in the areas of study. It enables the researcher to opt for the most appropriate tools and techniques for data collection and data analysis as the researcher comes to learn from the previous researches which tools has proved to be successful. It also benefits the society as unexplored areas are explored when one investigates the facts of the past studies. There are two main concepts in the present research i.e., migration and political participation. There has been a vast literature on the concept of migration as well as on political participation of different communities in India as well as in other countries. In the present study literature has been taken keeping in mind the objectives of the study.

#### **2.1 Studies related with the nature and reasons of migration**

Migration is an universal phenomenon and basically push and pull factors caused it. Different studies have found various reasons responsible for leaving a place going to a distant destination.

Gupta and Prajapati, (1998) focussed on the migration in Chhattisgarh (now state) region of Madhya Pradesh. The study found the causes for the out migration in the area. The study revealed that lack of irrigational facility, low productivity of the agricultural farms, low wages rates and lack of the implementation of Government schemes for labourers are the main reasons that people are compelled to leave their place and to search for their earnings elsewhere.

Mitra and Murayama (2008) had found that people liked short distance for migration for short term whereas long distance was chosen for long stay after migration. The study had found that economic factors were the main factors for the out migration but the desire to live in a nuclear family was also responsible for it. The study had highlighted good effect of migration on the place of origin and the place of migration. Both the places world gets economic benefits in terms of remittance and high

production respectively but it adversely affected the living conditions of the migrants, as maximum labour was being absorbed in the informal sector where they would get less facilities and more exploitation. They have to live in illegal settlements away from the basic facilities of life. The study had found that Labour unions, Donors and NGOs had started looking into the matter. The study had analysed the welfare policies and programmes 'of the various states for these migrants and suggested that there was need to regulate the migration by the government. Better employment opportunities in the rural sectors should be generated to check the migration. Rural industrialization, appropriate developmental policies, land development activities and irrigation development programmes could play very significant role in checking the migration from the under developed areas of India.

Mahapatra, (2012) study is in depth work of migration among the females in India elaborating its causes. The study had focused on the determinant factors that led to migration of the females. The study had made its base the census of 1971 to 2001. The study had divided the census into two parts to present a comparative analysis. The census of 1971 to 1991 on one side and 1991 to 2001 on the other side to see the spatial pattern of change. The study had presented into a changed view of the migration of females. Earlier it was considered that marriage was the most prominent factor for the female migration but the study finds this trend is declining in 2001. Earlier it was considered that the illiterate females migrated more economic reason than the literate ones; but the study had found changed pattern of the migration of females. Economic factor played equally significant role in the migration of females as it happened in case of migration among the males. The study had found the effect of literacy and higher education on the mobility among the females. Now the educated female happened to be equally conscious about the higher salary packages so they migrated due to the economic motivation. The study had found that 3.67 percent females migrated in 1991 due to employment whereas this figure touched 4.19 in 2001. So the study had established that economic reasons dominated the migration of the females than marriage, family shift and the other social factors.

Kochkin & Sircar (2014) in their study had presented the types and causes of migration. The study had highlighted that the short-term migration was the minimum

discussed area out of all the aspects of migration. The study was based on NSSO report of 2011 on migration. The study had stated that the short-term migration was not a rare phenomenon but a frequent practice. The study had used the case study method and had found that heavy debts were the main reason for temporary or short-term migration. The recruiters often helped the migrants to remove their indebtedness by paying advance money but settled their daily wages low in lieu of it. The study had found that the highest temporary migration is in the north eastern states i.e., Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Lakshadweep whereas the lowest was in Haryana and Madhya Pradesh. The study had found gender based and caste-based difference also in the area of the short-term migration. The study had covered 20 states and in all the states the female short-term migration was not more than 5%. The study had found the schedule Tribes also a vulnerable group for short term migration. Thus, the study had found a gap between the official data and its own findings based upon the case studies methods in twenty states.

Das & Saha (2016) in their study had found regional disparity as the main cause of migration. The had study analysed the pattern of interstate migration from 1991 to 2001. It had classified states into three categories, immigration (Maharashtra and Delhi), out-migration (UP, Bihar) and in and out both migrations (Punjab, Haryana and Chandigarh). The study had found employment opportunities due to the economic growth rate, urban centres, administrative headquarters, and presence of business centres the main reasons of in migration. Moreover, the study had also found opposite relationship between poverty and in migration. The study had also thrown light on the changing sex ratio of migration which was 90 males for 100 females in 1991 and now has 102 males for 100 females in 2001. The study had suggested balanced regional development and investment for reducing the negative impact of migration and making internal migration as a very desirable and prosperous phenomenon not the distressed phenomenon resulting in overcrowding cities.

These studies had highlighted the causes of migration. Regional imbalance, employment opportunities in industry, transportation, trade, and other services are abundant in urban centres. The feeling of being the member of a minority group on the basis of castes is also a major reason of migration. Also available are modern amenities

of living. As a result, they serve as "magnets" to draw in outsiders and the migrant population. The reasons given by these studies are applicable to the migrants coming to Ludhiana. To name only a few, unemployment underemployment, low productivity, poor economic condition, natural calamities, being a member of the marginalised group. Moreover, drought prone areas are also the push factors. Further, younger people migrate more than the older people; illiterate more than the literate and non-skilled labour migrated for seasonal work. Since, the present study is of the marginalised section, in this section women participate as a part of the family and they don't migrate independently. But once they come to the prosperous city of Ludhiana, they take up jobs to supplement the income of the family. As was as the families were concerned the debtness was a reason of short term or long-term migration and the native place and destination both are beneficiaries one with the remittance and the other with the production work.

## **2.2 Studies related with the trends of migration**

Srivastva & Sasikumar (2003) study had examined the trends of migration. The study had found that Kerala, Tamil Nādu, Andhra Pradesh and Punjab were the main external out migration states in India. From 1951 to 2000 whereas U.S.A, Canada, U.K and Australia were the main destinations but the trends have changed. Now from 1970 onwards migration to Middle East countries had increased considerably. Further it was found that nearly 3 million Indians were now in Gulf Countries. The study had also discussed the impact of the internal migration on the place of origin and had found that Migration acted as a safety valve to the resource poor areas but the policies regulating migration had become ineffective. The study had suggested that there was need to change the migration policy so that migration could strengthen the development.

Bird & Deshingkar (2009) had found that rural-urban migration was more increasing in the poorer area particularly in the drought prone area. it had further found that migration was more common among the poor, scheduled castes (SCs), scheduled tribes (STs) and Muslims. The Young people migrate more in than old people. It had further found that the migration of skilled and literate people was generally permanent whereas illiterate and non-skilled labourers migrated for seasonal work. Women in rural

areas migrated mostly within the state known as intrastate migration whereas male migration was prominently interstate migration.

Rajan (2018) had highlighted the trends in external and internal migration. The study had found that the western countries had considered migration responsible for unemployment and financial crises of their economies. The study had examined the approach of the western world towards the issue of migration. The victory of Donald Trump as the president of America and United Kingdom's decision to vote out of the European Union had indicated that immigration was going to be the biggest concern in the coming years. In Both these events migration of the workers was the chief issue. The study had concluded that though migration was a great leveller which provided livelihood and better facilities of life to the labourers of the developing countries but the policies of UK and USA were being unfavourable to these labourers. So, the balance between the developed and like undeveloped world may get disturbed due to the current policies of the western world.

### **2.3 The studies related with the impacts of migration**

Kaur et al. (2011) in her study on Punjab had found that after green revolution Punjab had attracted many workers from within and outside India. The study was conducted in the central zone of Punjab to know the impact of the migrant laborers on agriculture in Punjab especially on the agriculture of wheat and paddy. The study had found that migration has an adverse impact on the labour wage role. Moreover, social tension and crime rate has increased. Drug menace has spread and the culture of Punjab has suffused adverse effect with the entrance of these migrant labourers. But in spite of all this, farmers in Punjab have always give more preference to the migrated labour as it contributed more in their profit margins. The research had suggested that the government should intervene in the issue and verification measures from their native place should be taken to control the crime in the state and the state should also check the inflow of migrants to keep the demand and supply in balance.

Bhaskaran (2011) in his research article had explained the impact of migration on both the in and out migration places. The study was conducted in Samstipur, Bihar and Delhi were selected as destination place. The study had analysed the determinantal factors of migration i.e., age, education and skill. The study had found that due to rapid

means of communication and transportation it has become easy to find the work without any middle man. The study found that generally it was considered that migration helped in moving villages to the cities but in reality, migration helps in moving cities to villages as migrants supported their families in raising the standard of living at the place of their origin.

Singh (2011) in his doctoral thesis had focused on the impact of migration on the crime graph of the city and role of the police department in Ludhiana in the context of the migrated labourers. The study found that the migrant has become cog and wheel of Ludhiana and explored the role of the police department as the executive civil force in providing the safety and security to the residents. The study had proved to be an attempt to find out the causes why these migrants got involved in anti-social activities. The police records found that from 2000 to 2005 the crime graph of Ludhiana city almost doubled. So, Ludhiana has become the crime capital along with the economic capital of Punjab. It has been found in the study that the police department received maximum complaints against migrants by the residents. and on the other hand, migrants revealed their negative opinion about the police. The study had also focused on the perceptions and the observations of local citizens for these migrants. The study had revealed that the migrants were responsible for breaking the law and order of the city. Besides, they were behind the expansion of the slums and the spread up diseases like AIDS and unemployment for the local youth. All this further created fear and insecurity among the local people. The study had suggested strict action on the part of the police department to provide security to the local people. Further local administration should launch an awareness drive for the employers to give employment to the registered migrants only.

Turley (2016) in his article had highlighted the main streams, causes and socio-economic impact of migration on both the places i.e., the source place and the destination area. The study has been based upon the secondary sources mainly on the Census of India, 1991 and on NSSO. The study has found that as people migrate with small personal assets so they have to face deprivation of small necessary goods, clean drinking water and sanitation facilities. Their children lack schooling and educational facilities. They have to accept the lower wages of employers. The study found as male

members are generally more mobile so migration affects the gender balance in the native place. In their homeland there happened to be shortage of skilled labour. Migration results in loneliness among the migrants as well in the faraway places. The had study found the change in the pattern of migration. Earlier UP and Bihar were the main sending states in India but now according to the author Orrisa, MP, Rajasthan and North eastern states are the main areas which send the blue-collar workers. The study had found that the maximum migrant labour was absorbed in the construction work followed by textile, brick kiln, home and agricultural sectors.

Dandekar & Ghai (2020) examined the impact of migration on the agricultural sector at the native place. The work found that since in most of the villages men migrate first to the cities, so it resulted into feminisation of agriculture. This participation of women in agriculture is distress induced participation. And migrants 'slowdown interest in agriculture when they returned to their source place. All this resulted in low productivity, low investment, negligence in capital formation, debt ridden farming and improper price fixation The study went into detail on the districts in different states that serve as the source of migration and the districts in different states that serve as the destination. The research provided in-depth knowledge on the many industries in which these immigrants are employed in the states. Reverse migration and lockdown's effects were discussed in the paper. It also discovered that the lockdown would make these temporary migrants more impoverished and vulnerable. Debt problem may occur after all this is over.

Rajan et al (2020), had provided an insight into the impact of covid 19 and lock down on the migrant labour and presented the plight of the internal migrants in India. The study had revealed the apathy of Government for these internal migrants as without making any formal announcement for these migrants. The study highlighted three aspects of internal migrants i.e., Gendered aspect, mental health and limitations of the social security provisions for these people. It was found that the impact of covid 19 was different on the female segment than on the male counterpart. The study had categorised the migrant women into three categories first those who were left out by the families in the native place. Secondly those who had themselves migrated for better employment opportunities and third those who had migrated along with the families to the other



places. The had study found very vulnerable condition of all the categories. The study apprehended that sex trade, trafficking, bonded labour and exploitation may increase due to the economic crisis and uncertainties. The study had found the impact of covid on mental health of migrants also. The wide spread reports of the police aggression, maltreatment by the government officials and the delayed transport facilities resulted into depression, anxiety, distrust, and apprehensions and sleeplessness among the migrants. The study had found population of India at the lowest in the Asia and Pacific region in terms of social security. Even Bangla Desh and Sri Lanka are ahead of India. The study had suggested that NCEUS recommendations and One Nation One Ration Card should be implemented to remove the migrants 'neither here, nor there' status.

Haan (2020) too highlighted the plight of Indian migrant labour during the pandemic. The study found the failure of Government's policies to meet the health crisis. The study had also analysed the coverage of the migrant workers under various social welfare programmes and found had that 90 percent migrants worked in informal sectors and the government schemes were based upon the domicile conditions, so majority of the workers remained out of the social welfare programmes and the key legislations. The study presented the historical perspective of migrant return process with the situation in 1931 economic crisis when in Calcutta migrant workers return without protest. The study found the policy of the government silent and neglected to meet any crisis for migrant labour.

These studies have presented a heart rendering picture of the plight of the migrants during pandemic that is Covid 19. The migrants who are marginalised and very soon can be pushed towards poverty were the worst hit during the pandemic. Their journey back home was traumatic. The researcher had got a chance to interview the men who had dared to stay back. Their confidence was badly shaken and it was a difficult task to win their trust.

#### **2.4 Studies related with the socio-economic conditions of migrants**

Bhagat (2011). in his research paper highlighted the issue of rights of migrants especially the 'right to city'. The paper pointed out that with the advent of modernisation and urbanisation migration is increasing in India (NSSO 2010). The 2011 Census had shown that three largest cities, Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai were on

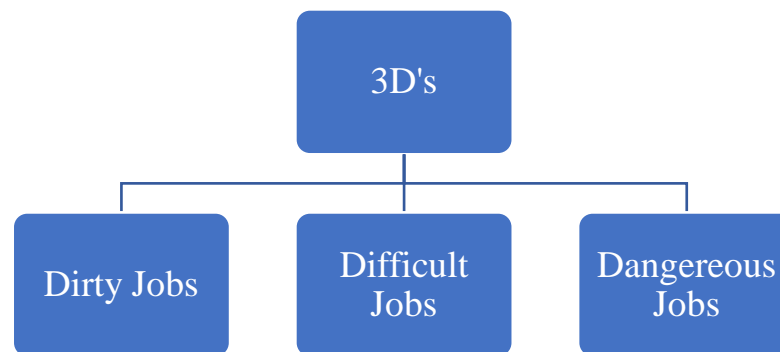
top for in migration and north-eastern India was not considered good for migration. had given a detailed analysis of RTTC (right to the city) and found that in 1951 that 19% population was in the cities whereas now in the 2011 only 31% i.e., nearly one third population of India has been urbanized. The urban areas in India are centre of economic the activities so push factors of scarcity areas are helping in increasing the number of migrants in the cities. The migrants have been deprived of so many facilities as they could not afford to pay the price of it. The migrants were made being a part of the civil society very slowly and in a very difficult way. They have the access to civil rights like right to move freely and transport easily but expensive civil amenities like owning house and participation in political activities is still a distant dream for them.

Sengupta and Benjamin, (2016), The study had highlighted the plight of migrants in Ludhiana. It had been found that most of the migrants got work in informal sector and were excluded from the benefits of the social protection programmes. They remained underpaid and exploited. They could not get housing and health facilities. They faced sanitation and drinking water problems as well. They were being deprived of the city that they have chosen as destination the right to. The study had found that one out of six persons in urban India lived in slums. It also highlighted that among the 40% slum dwellers of 60 the world, maximum was in South Asia and out of South Asia maximum were the residents of India. The study had revealed the good impact of migration as it facilitated the availability of labour to the places where there was deficiency of the name. In addition to it migration brought skill of labour and diversity of cultural life to the migrated area. Migration also brought prosperity to the native cities also as remittance helped in improving the living conditions of the families of the migrated labour. The study had found that migration was not an indication of lack of the development but an indication of the people's desire of rising high economically, socially and educationally.

Sharma, (2017) in his study had examined Mohali city from three locations by taking the sample of eighty in-migrants and using area purposive sampling method to know the reasons as well as causes of in--migrants in Mohali. The respondents were taken from Sleepwell Industry, Continental Engineering Works Mohali and Mahindra Swaraj Tractors R&D. The results found that immigrants were from seven states

namely Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Moreover, thirty percent of migration was from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. These labourers were on temporary basis and yet had no plans for future. Majority of the respondents were Hindu or Muslims and were from the rural areas. Migrated labourers were satisfied with their working condition but not with the salaries or wages. The researcher had explained that people migrate to big cities from every corner of the country having different cultural as well as social environment which can be called as melting pot of cultures. Migrants were considered as the second-class citizen as they were marginalised and had lower status from the status they had enjoyed in their native place and they were demoted with 3D's

**Figure 17: Quality of Jobs of Migrants**



**Source: Sharma, 2017**

It has been found that fifteen percent of labourers had their own home where as the rest were residing in the reviled accommodation ranging between 700-2500. The study had revealed that's Sixty percent of the labours were working for six days in a week whereas twenty-five percent for seven days.

The study of Bhullar & Verma (2018) had attempted to know the working conditions of the migrants in the urban areas of Punjab. The study had found that from 1951 to 1971 there was least shift from agriculture sector to the non-agricultural sector by the workers as the green revolution had made the agriculture as a profit giving sector but the trends changed drastically after 1991. The study was conducted in Punjab and three industrial districts mainly Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar were selected to know the socio-economic conditions of the migrant labour. It has been found in the study that people in these cities were mainly from UP and Bihar and they had migrated

basically due to the economic reasons. Further the study had found that migrants workers duration in their present job was the highest in Ludhiana followed by Jalandhar and Amritsar. The migrants are discriminated against in Punjab and their usual working hours were 10 hours against the standard 8 hours per day and they were not paid for their over work. It has also been found 61 that they were not paid on time also. The study revealed that migrants were not given jobs according to their skill also. They were given tough jobs when compared to local labours and this discrimination was higher in Amritsar than in Ludhiana and Jalandhar. The study had found that migrant's awareness about their Rights and about their labour unions was the highest in Ludhiana.

Ansari (2019) in his study had covered three districts Trivandrum, Calicut and Ernakulam of Kerala to find out the socio-economic rights, issues and challenges of the migrant workers. The study had emphasized that since the educated youth of Kerala had attraction for West and Western Asian countries to procure good job and earn more money So Kerala in the recent past had become an in-migration state or the Gulf for The Internal Migrants. The study had found that workers from West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Assam and Jharkhand came to Kerala. The study had found that the social and economic rights of migrant workers were lower than the local workers. The findings revealed that there was the difference between the wages of the local workers and the migrant workers though various Acts like Equal Remuneration convention 1951 and ILO guidelines had had been implemented there. The migrants were also facing linguistic barriers and social exclusion. But still Almost 65 percent of the migrants suggested that even though they faced discrimination in Kerala society, yet Kerala seemed to a be relatively better place than any other state. The study had suggested that Kerala State Government should ensure proper registration of these migrant workers to ensure equal payment to the migrant workers and local natives for similar work as presently 70% workers were not registered. The Kerala state government should implement certain Special Sensitive Programs (SSP) for the assistance of the migrant workers with the active support of the non-governmental institutions.

These studies attempting to concentrate on various parts of India have very well highlighted the socio-economic condition of the migrants and are very close to this

study which has examined the marginalised migrants of Ludhiana city. These studies have pointed out the discrimination faced by the migrants, disparity in wages, delay in the payment of wages, employment in informal sector and hence no peripheral benefits. The studies have talked about their being underpaid and exploited working for 10 hours per day instead of 8 hours stipulated in the country. The study had also mentioned that the awareness about the rights and labour union was maximum in Ludhiana. The study adds that most of the migrants migrated from the rural area and their living conditions there were also deplorable.

## **2.5 Studies on national and international laws for migrants**

The study of Salve has traced the impact of International Labour Organization and Declaration of Human Rights on the labour laws in India. The study had explained in details the various conventions conducted at the international level for labour welfare and their recommendations. The study has focused on term ‘decent work’ for labour. The study had found that out of total 8 core standards India had implemented 7 cores of decent work such as freedom of association, elimination of child labour, elimination of forced labour etc. The study had revealed that India being the founder member of ILO had implemented 7 core principles of ILO. Further it had been found that in India only 8% labour force is in the organized sector and are protected by labour laws but 92% are not covered by these laws. The study has discussed about Minimum Wage Act 1948, Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 and various others Acts that ensured the rights of labour class in India. Along with this the study had also examined the labour rights and labour standards of sugar industry in Maharashtra. The study had found that women workers of agro based industry in Maharashtra were facing various issues especially related with their health during pregnancy and miscarriages. And there was lack of medical facilities for women workers in sugar industry. The study had pointed out that the term decent work is not applicable to migrant workers who are not organized under any trade unions and their labour standards are not protected by the government as well as by the trade unions. These migrant workers are illiterate, ignorant, and belong to backward community. The real issue according to the author now a days was to provide labour rights to all segments of labour market.

Vinayakam (2013) in his unpublished thesis had analysed the socio-economic conditions of migrants and awareness and impact of Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 on the migrant labour in Tamil Nadu. The study was carried out in construction industry of Chennai city. The study had found that most of the migrants in Tamil Nadu were from Jharkhand, and had found that these labourers were not aware about their rights and various laws that protected them. The responsibility of implementation of the Act lies both with the states but the study had found that the out-migration state never bothered about the migrants and considered their protection and care the responsibility of the migration state. The study had found that the principal employers and contractors too were not aware about their obligations, responsibilities and duties towards them and migrant labourers were exploited in the state at every level. The study had highlighted that there were legal remedies under the Interstate Workmen Act, 1979 to give penalty to the exploiter.

Inter Parliament Union, (2015) The report had provided in details the issue of migration at the international level and had given a deep insight into the conditions, issues, policies and laws made by the international organizations and the various parliaments to protect the rights of the migrants. It had highlighted the trend of migration and had revealed that more than 3 million of the world population are migrants. The study had examined the conditions of the migrants at the time of economic crises in the destined place and had analysed the methods of ILO to control the violation of migrant's rights. The study had highlighted the various efforts made by the parliaments of Canada, Australia, Kenya, Thailand and Brazil for safeguarding the migrants and explained about the role of the various regional organizations like ASEAN, CEMAC (Central African Economic and Monetary Community), EAC (East African Community) to check the labour exploitation, forced labour, trafficking and arbitrary expulsions. The study had suggested that all parliaments should enact and modify the legislations in favour of the migrants.

Aggarwal et al (2020) The study focused on policies of several states to explore the extent to which state-level policy are helpful in integration of interstate migrants in India. The study presented an Interstate Migration Policy Index (IMPEX) which represents one of the first attempts in creating a set of indicators to understand the

state/region level policies for integrating internal migrants.in the receiving state, based on the IMPEX evaluation, Kerala's policies are noted to be significantly more inclusive for migrants than any other major migrant receiving states whereas Gujrat and Delhi are at the lowest in the metrics.

These studies have taken very pertinent topics about the national migrants and they have mentioned 8 core standards to be implemented for labours. This included elimination of child labour and elimination of forced labour. These studies also touched the provisions related with the women segment of Indian society and how they are not provided to the migrant women. These studies had pointed out that 'decent work' not applicable to migrant workers who are not organised under any trade union. The migrants are illiterate, ignorant and belong to backward communities. One of the studies had highlighted that the migrants were not aware of the various rights and laws which protected them. The debatable question is whether the state of out migration has any responsibility towards them or the entire responsibility rests with the state of in-migration. Even the employers were not aware of their responsibilities and obligations. Various forms of exploitation namely labour exploitation, forced labour, arbitrary compulsions should be solved through modifications in the legislations.

A few of these facts have been corroborated by the present study. Most of the migrants worked in the unorganised sector so they did not have any of the facilities that organised sector enjoys. The migrants were not very educated, and most of them were unskilled labour. They were not aware of their rights so they were vulnerable to exploitation. As they held temporary and sometimes part time employment, they could not claim the protection of the trade unions. Their native states did not own their responsibility and their immigration state Punjab did not provide them many rights so in the initial years of migration they were neither here nor there. Hopefully in future as per the guidance of international bodies legislation in favour of migrants would be enacted.

## **2.6 Studies related with the political participation and representation in other countries**

Deth (2016) had presented a detailed elaboration about the meaning and nature of the term political participation. The study had found the political participation as an action not as a mental disposition. In the book, there were 15 chapters divided in four parts. Each part of book had touched the political participation in relation with the other aspects like citizenship and democracy. The study is based upon the survey report which was conducted on 13 societies and 26 communities of the different countries of Europe. The study had revealed that institutions in the political system were the actors and the trust and confidence of the citizens depended upon the role of actors they played in society.

The study had also divided the democracies of various states on the basis of the scales as large-scale democracy and small-scale democracy. The study had highlighted that the scale of democracy depended upon the degree of the citizens involvement and the political activities performed by the citizens. Thus, participation and activities could be categorized into five types i.e., electoral participation, consumers participation, party activity, protest activity and contact activity. The study had revealed that in the small-scale democracy citizens were involved in the selection of the government whereas in the large-scale democracies' citizens had access to influence the decision-making process. On the basis of the participation, primarily four types of democracies existed; decisional democracy, liberal representative democracy, participatory democracy and unitary democracy. Social psychology does have a role to play in politics.

Rosema and Bakker (2017) highlighted how political participation is determined by the political attitudes and the political behaviour which is called political psychology of both the political leaders and of common voters. Political psychology depends upon the political leadership, voting behaviour and ideology. The study had suggested that five factors were basis of personality however their proportion was different in each individual. They are neuroticism (emotional consistency), extraversion (spirit or vitality), agreeableness (sociability), openness to new experiences and conscientiousness. The study justified these traits among political leaders on the basis



of the study of Rubenzer, Faschingbauer and Ones (2004) and found that the strong presidents like Lincoln and Jefferson had scored high in neuroticism and extraversion but very low in sociability. This indicated how the personal traits of the political leaders influenced the policies of the state. On the other hand, Mikhail Gorbachev scored high in openness to new experiences and conscientiousness which resulted in the policies of Perestroika and Glasnost in the erstwhile USSR. The decisions of the political leaders are determined by their belief system also. The leaders are influenced by the groups which they are surrounded. The study also touched group think theory of Janis which propounded that many times poor decisions were taken by political leaders because of the less informed and wrong informed group that the leaders surrounded. The study also highlighted the voting behaviour of common voters. It found that the citizens who are well informed and who are paid attention votes for in comparison to the vice versa.

## **2.7 Studies related with the political participation and representation in India**

Diwakar (2008) had presented that the economically deprived section of the society displays a greater turn-out than the advantaged section. The research highlighted that Voter turnout used to be high in rural area than in urban area and educated people voted less relatively to uneducated people. The study also engaged with the several factors responsible for the low turnout in democracy. The study had pointed out that lower turnout was expected where parties did not clearly communicate their policies to the voters, and a high turnout was expected when policies were well presented, or where electoral competition was expected to be close.

Chima (2012) had reviewed eight articles on political representation in 15 states of India from 1970 to 1990 and stated that political participation and representation has got changed in India during the recent decades. The domination of single party has ended and party system has undergone drastic transformation at all the levels. At the regional level national political parties are losing their control and regional political parties are becoming more competitive. The impact of class and caste is very much prevented in Indian politics despite the increased level of education and economic reforms in the form of economic liberalization. The article had also analysed the impact of various factors on voting. It had highlighted that the middle and high class in India

were mostly influenced by caste and class identities whereas the marginalized segment in India got influenced by welfare and material patronage. Even The phenomenon of reserved constituencies had its own repercussions. It had influenced political efficacy among the voters. It had also been found that the reserved category voters had more personal contact in the reserved constituency than in the general constituency.so that had increased the political efficacy among the reserved castes voters in those constituencies.

Banerjee (2013) had examined the role of Indian youth in electoral politics. The study found that political participation of young generation both as representatives and voters is declining. Only 17% young representatives (below the age of 40) were there in the 15th Lok Sabha and out of 36% of urban voters in India only 9% voted. The study examined the reasons of low political participation of young people in politics. It found that there were two types of youth i.e., student youth and non-student youth. And there was no difference between the political participation of student youth and non-student youth. But there was a difference between the reasons for the political apathy of both the youth. The study also highlighted the role of Election Commission, educational institutions and various NGOs in increasing youth political participation. In order to correct the declining participation of youth in the electoral process, the study had appreciated efforts being made by the Election Commission and the government, educational institutions and civil society groups to increase the youth participation in the elections. The study advocated that voting be included as a Fundamental Duty in part 4th of the constitution. Finally, the paper had also emphasized the importance of the idea of NOTA (None of the Above) as a button on the Voting Machine so as to encourage all to come and cast their votes. Overall, the idea behind the research had taken inspiration from Harld Laski's dictum- 'Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy'.

Aytac and Stoke (2016) had emphasized the causes and the consequences of the people's choice to vote, their choice to abstain and their decision to take part in protest against the government. The study had presented its dissatisfaction with the conventional theories of the political participation i.e., the rational choice theory and Economic approach to Democracy which took no care of role of psychological aspects

like fear, anger and happiness in political participation. These factors according to the study has no less role in the political participation. It had been argued that people abstain from paying attention to political issues not because they are disinterested but because of their dissatisfaction with the system. And they participate in political activities not because of the campaigning of political parties that compelled voters to participate but fear and anger that forced voters to participate or remain abstain from voting. The study highlighted that voting turnout also depends upon the political parties. If general voters find ideology, political and economic programme of the political parties different from each other, people feel happy and satisfied in voting but if there is not much difference in these, people became apathetic and abstain from voting. The study pointed out that people are matured and they know the price they have to pay if they participate in political activities or if they remained absent in political affairs? People are now mature enough to face the consequences if they participate actively in political protests. They have to face opposition and even physical harm in protests and if they keep themselves absent, they have to bear social pressure which previous theories are ignoring. In order to further explain political participation, the research had emphasized on the need to focus less on economics and more on psychology

Sardesi & Attri (2017) had focussed on the twin issue; when the Indian voters decide to vote and whether there are factors that determined the choice of Indian voters during the national elections or they cast their vote independently. The study found that every third out of 10 voters is guided for his/her choice for voting. The study found that while the bulk of voters make their own decisions on whom they would vote for, a significant proportion of voters' vote based on the advice of others. The study supported largely that external factors influenced the voting choice of the voters. The study asserted that the voters belonging to marginalized and minority social groups and women voters from socio economically backward states were more likely to be influenced by external factors. The study found that the number of voters who voted according to the wishes of others has increased now as compared to the mid-1990s. Further, the study suggested that Hindu Adivasis and Dalits have been most consistent in following someone's advice. Similarly, the study also found that women who classified themselves as 'housewives' have continually been more prone to be swayed

(primarily by their husbands) than other women. The study found that voters belonging to marginalized and minority social groups and women voters from socio-economically backward states were more likely to be influenced by others than men and majority group voters. The study revealed that the influence of family members is now declining and the influence of community leaders, party leaders and local activists is increasing.

These studies touched political participation and representation in India, its determinate factors and how they have been successful in building trust and confidence among Indian citizens. The context of the present study is different from the above studies. This study took the Indian democracy as a large democracy where citizens can play their roles in different political activities but it also presents the challenges of various groups especially migrants in the ways of political participation. The study highlighted how the migrants who are uprooted made their political roots in another place. None of the above study talked about this marginalised group of Indian society. As Migrants used to be less educated, so to get new identity proof at another place is tough for them and this restrict their political participation.

## **2.8 Studies related with the political participation of various groups (marginalised) and women in India**

The study of Mallick (2017) had revealed that tribal people in India are considered non-national and colonized people. In spite of many progressive laws, policies and programmes tribals have been playing marginal role up to the panchayats level but they are not being integrated politically up to state and central level political institutions.

Vijayluxmi (2004) focussed that being both 'Dalits' and 'women' in India also restricts political inclusion. The government has reserved 33% seats in the lower level of democratic institutions but Dalit women are not allowed to hold the position of Pradhan. The study had found that in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and in Punjab Dalit women were restricted to contest the seat of the chairperson of the gram panchayats or they were forced to resign so that the way of the opposing candidate could be made secure.

Bala (2011), in her Ph.D. thesis had shed light on the political participation of women at the grass root level in democratic institutions in the Gurdaspur district of Punjab. The study had aimed at knowing the voice of women members in the Panchayati Raj institutions and how far 70 the 73rd amendment had been successful in empowering the women politically. The study had been conducted in the six blocks of Gurdaspur by taking 210 respondents. The study had found that more than 80% women members appreciated the reservation policy under the amendment and had believed that they could get a chance only due to it otherwise the male members in the family would have captured the seats. The study had also revealed that their social status had improved due to their membership in PRI and they were experiencing enhancement of their image in the society and family. The study had pointed out that 73rd amendment had been successful in increasing the women members in PRI numerically but their effective role in decision making was far away because of the non-cooperation from the male members, and the Government officials, their domestic work load and inconvenient timings were challenges that they had to surpass to get real empowerment.

Jayal (2005) presented analytical study how the reservation in local self-institutions for women have failed to serve the purpose. The study presented the steps taken by other countries to increase the representation of women in various institutions. The study also highlighted the ways and efforts adopted by male members in India to keep them out of decision-making power. Legislating effective participation is impossible. It requires creating a political, social, and cultural climate where women may become conscious, have a solid knowledge basis, and feel confident in expressing their concerns, as well as an institutional framework that is sensitive and responsive to such articulations. Therefore, political parties and civil society, particularly women's groups and the women's movement, have a significant role to play in establishing the conditions for effective participation, even while laws and institutions can undoubtedly create the conditions for representation.

Kumar (2011) in his Ph.D. thesis had shed light on the political participation of Dalits in Nawanshahr and Patiala districts of Punjab. The study had aimed at throwing light on the political awareness, political activities and emerging leadership among the Dalits in these districts. The study had revealed that Dalits constituted 40% and 23 %

of the population in these districts but still their political awareness and political participation was very low. The study had revealed that after collecting data from 300 respondents from both the districts that the Dalits in Punjab still had low socio-economic status. The study had found that their political awareness and active political participation was very low. Though they had all the political rights but apart from voting their active involvement in the other activities like becoming members of political parties and campaigning of the elections etc. was negligible. They are members of almost all the political parties of Punjab but the high positions in the parties except of BSP are not held by the Dalits. The study had found that though BSP is active in Punjab politics but Dalits considered Congress political party as the protector of their interests in these districts. So far as the leadership is concerned constitutional provisions have provided these castes, opportunities so the political parties do give them tickets for reserved constituency. Other than the reserved constituency they are hardly given the opportunity. The study had revealed that their leadership is confined up to the legislature and local level bodies but they have marginal share in the ministerial portfolio and party organizational hierarchy. The study had found political participation of the Dalits in Punjab very low compared to their share in the total population.

Ferreira & Gyourko (2012) in their study had found that where women were in decision making bodies in the public sector in those areas crime got reduced, efficiency of administration had increased. public utility services also had increased.

Rao's (2016) study was an analytical study of the Guntur village of Andhra Pradesh and Murugan's study was a study of Sivagangui district of Tamil Nadu. These studies had found out that after passing the constitutional amendments, various plans and programs were meant for women, their participation had increased but their participation had touched up to the voting level. so far as their representation at the central and state level bodies were concerned their presence was negligible. Along with the other factors "non-political" nature of women was also responsible for their not emerging as autonomous categories. The study had found that there was significant role of gender equality in the successful working of the democratic institutions and all the legal framework. Equal rights and reservation could do nothing so long as gender equality was not there in the social and economic fields of society. The findings of the

study were that it was the social discrimination which was leading to political discrimination and thus lowering the women's political participation in India.

Women of different strata of caste, class, and economic status women have failed to become a strong vote bank. It has been further found that 20% of the female electorate have failed to register themselves in the electoral rolls.

These studies have taken up the issue of Dalits, tribes and women in India whose participation and representation carry 'minority status'. But the same will hold the truth for migrants. They, like Dalits are marginalised sections of society. They are also as per the various studies victim of social exclusion. Though their displacement legally has no impact over their political rights but practical problems do not let them to be politically active. Their maximum participation is up to the level of voting, representation at the new place is far away dream for them.

Above studies have found that in spite of the passing of constitutional amendments the political participation of women has not touched up to the mark. They have made their presence felt so far as voting is considered but actual representation has not taken place. Our social system which is constructed on gender inequality, has made them second class citizens and the stereotype thinking of men folk are not letting them to be actually empowered. As women have become marginalised in respect of political participation same is the case with migrants. They are considered second class citizens in their destined place. Many similar factors are found to be responsible for their low representation in the work place in India.

## **2.9 Studies related to the political participation and migration in India**

Abbas (2016) had defined in detail the meaning of the term citizen and citizenship in the context of the internal migrants in India. The study had pointed out that though the constitution of India provides so many social, economic and political rights to its citizens but migrants found it very difficult to avail of these rights. The study was conducted in Mumbai and Kolkata and it found that in Mumbai and Kolkata there was ethnic consciousness in the society and people in general did not give due place to non-Marathi and non-Bengali people on their lands so the migrants found it very difficult to mingle in the society. The Maharashtra and West Bengal bureaucracy

also desire to preserve their dominance against the North and did not let easily non-Marathi and non-Bengali people to let in the jobs. So, migrants felt like non-citizens there. As they lack the residence proof so their voting right also gets affected by it.

Thapa (2018) in his study had highlighted the issue of community identity and community leadership of the migrants' labourers in Ludhiana. The study had focused on the cultural identity and consciousness among the migrant labourers in the city. The study was confined to the migrants from UP and Bihar which constituted nearly 80% of the migrant's work force. The study had highlighted that the cause for the massive inflow of migration in the city was because of the non-willingness of the Punjabi labour to work in their own state. The study had covered two type of leaders formal and informal community leaders of the migrants and covered 7 wards of the south constituency of Ludhiana district. The study had found that the migrants as community had their own social organizations. The study had also covered the Punjab legislative assembly election in the context of the migrant labourers in Ludhiana. It had been found that the migrant workers were considered "outsiders" by the local people and local administration. So, community leadership has started in the city.

The article by Aggarwal (2019) had presented a correlation between the rate of migration and voting turn out of a state. The study had found that with higher rate of migration voting turn out becomes lower in the states. It has been further found that in 2014 elections 834 million 280 million did not use their right to vote and the major reason for not using this right was that they were not available in their registered constituency. The study had highlighted that the state Governments were not putting in earnest efforts to integrate these migrated people with the new place. This has been indicated by the ISMP (interstate migration policy) Index. In Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Delhi this index was just 26 out of 100. The study had found that lack of will on the part of the political representative was the main cause for the hurdles faced by the migrants in the new system. The study had found that the migrants were keen on getting registered in the voter list of the new place as this ensured residence proof which could help them in many ways.



Lal (2019) had examined that true democracy did not only depend upon the conduct of the free and fair elections but also on making the democracy politically inclusive to all. Further the paper had highlighted the problems of those laborers who were not registered as voters in their destined place. In addition to this, the article had argued that government is interested in taking steps to include those Indians who are abroad by making the provision of proxy voting but within the territorial boundary of India no efforts could be seen for increasing the political participation of internal migrants.

Rajan (2019) The study found that in India 10% of the total labour force was migrants The study had thrown light on the important but neglected issue of migrant voting right. The study was conducted in Kerala on daily wage labourers. The study had categorized voters into three category namely general electors, service electors and overseas electors. The study had highlighted the problems in the way of exercising the voting right of migrants. The study had pointed out that most of the migrant workers got employment in the informal sector so lack of official documentation proved a major hurdle in the way of enrolment. The study had highlighted the legislative lacunae in India faced by migrants. The author had stressed that except Internal Migrant Workmen Act 1979, there is no other concrete law or policy for migrant socio economic and political rights. Many times, Government had discussed the issue of overseas electors voting right by proxy voting but no attention being paid to safeguard the voting rights of the internal migrants.

Singh (2020) in his study had analysed how the distance restricts the migrants from participating in the electoral system in the Indian democracy. The study had highlighted those students and the workers were the main sections of the Indian society who had migrated from their place of origin. The study had found out that social and economic development and opportunities of the higher education were the main reasons for the internal migration to the urban centres such as Delhi, Kota and Allahabad. The study had revealed that nearly 50 million people moved out within India for economic purposes and 3.7 million students migrated for higher education in India. The study was conducted in Delhi to see the impact of migration on the political participation. The study had included the workers from the informal sectors and the students from Delhi

University. The study had found that the most of the migrant workers and students in Delhi did not exercise their democratic right in the 2019 elections. The lack of sufficient funds and fear of losing the job were the main reasons for not participating whereas for the 71 student's financial dependence on the parents, influence of the relatives and the peer group and visiting the native place just for voting was considered a sign of immaturity, these were the main cause of absence. The study suggested the Election commission of India to look into the constraints of the Internal migrants and the government should frame the policies keeping their problems in mind.

These studies are very relevant to the present research. There is no denying the fact that migration is caused by the "push" and "pull" factors. But the important aspect is when a person leaves a place/state and enters into new one place/state, there is a period when they are excluded from both the places. The present study besides taking the above aspects of political participation corroborated the fact that migration has least impact on the migrants' keenness of political participation. Even the poor living conditions do not restrict migrants from political participation but the lower participation is caused by the fear of losing the subsidies under the PDS which is based upon the residence proof and indifferent approach of political parties who hardly address their issues.

## **2.10 Studies related to political awareness among migrants**

Ajeevika bureau Report (2012) focussed had been primarily on the issue of political participation of the migrant workers through election and the other institutional agencies. The study was an attempt to find out the political relevance of these seasonal migrants at both the places from where they had migrated and at their work place. The study was conducted in the 15 areas of five states mainly UP, Bihar, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat. The study had found that 68% of the migrant voters had missed their voting rights at least once as they were away from their homes. The study found that these migrants were more active and interested in the elections of the local level bodies. They make a special trip for the local level or the migrant elections but their participation is less in the assembly and Lok Sabha elections. Their participation decreased by 10% with every higher step of election. The study had highlighted that

these workers faced political exclusion from their native place as the political parties and the active political agencies were aware of their non-availability during the elections. So, they hardly paid any attention to the value of their vote. Even some of them did not have their names in the voter list. The dark side of the aspect was that even these migrants did not get political inclusion as they lacked their identity proofs at their work place. Their political participation in the work place is less also because they lack knowledge about the polity of that place. Further it had been found that the migrants had very limited political role in India.

Gaikwad & Nellis (2018) in their study had presented the approach of the political leaders especially the councillors towards the migrants. The study had found that the councillors did discriminate between the migrants and the native people when the former approached them for their problems. The study conducted in 28 major cities in India and 2933 councillors were contacted out of whom 427 answered. The study had focused on the letters and phone calls of the migrants and the native people regarding the general problems of the councillors and had found that there was a sharp difference in the approach of the councillors. The study had found that like councillors responded very rarely to the migrants as compared to the native people. Only 13.9% letters and 12.9% phone calls of the migrants had been answered. The study had expressed that the probable reason of this discrimination was the migrant's political exclusion at the present living place. The suggested political leaders' approach towards the migrants could be changed by the political inclusion of the migrants.

Urs (2019) in his article presented the status of the awareness level of the urban migrants about their right to vote in the migrated place. The study was conducted in the metropolitan cities of Mumbai, Bengaluru, Delhi, Hyderabad and Pune taking at least 1100 urban migrants. It had been found that the urban migrants were not aware about the fact that they could cast their vote at their present place simply by changing the address in the voter Id card. The article found that 91% of the migrants were not registered as voters in their current cities though they wished to exercise their right to franchise. Moreover 73% urban migrant were not aware about the procedure of shifting their voter registration and another 41 % believed that if they had the voter id card, they could vote in any part of India. The paper had suggested that the government should

make the process of registrations simple so that all the eligible voters could enjoy their right to vote.

These studies raised very significant issue of electoral registration. Majority of the migrants are uneducated strata of Indian society. They are unaware of the details of form number 7 according to which they can change their address on the voter id card and cast their vote. But lack of awareness and some misconceptions about the voter id card creates hurdles on the way of political participation and makes Indian democracy less participatory democracy.

## **2.11 Studies related with political participation of migrants in other countries**

Ramakrishnan & Espenshade (2001) in their study had examined various factors that had influenced the political inclusion of immigrants in USA. The study had found the linguistic barrier along with the anti-immigrant legislation responsible for less active political participation. The study differentiated the political participation of the first-generation Latino and second or third generation Latino people in US. The study had found that Latino especially Spanish first generation were less politically active largely due to the language problem whereas this problem had no effect on second or third generation of Latino immigrants. So, the study had found individual variables like language, age and duration of stay in US as the main determinants of the electoral political participation of Latino and non-Latino (Latino born in US). The study was based on CPS (current population survey) of 1994, 1996 and 1998 and on NES (National Election Study).

Leal (2002) had analysed the extent of political participation by Latino non-citizens in US. The study had found that there was difference in the degree of political participation between the noncitizens and the citizens in US. The study had highlighted that Latino non-citizen were conscious about their ethnic identity and were active in non-electoral activities. Their less participation in electoral activities was not due to age, income or education etc. traditional factors but their political information and political perception about both the political parties were determining it.

Bevelander & Pendakur, (2009) aimed at finding the influence and co-relation between social capital and voting participation with respect to immigrants and

minorities in Canada. The study looked at the '2002 Wave of the Equality Security Community Survey' to see how voting is linked to things like 'personal characteristics,' 'work characteristics,' 'social capital traits,' and 'ethnic characteristics.' For this the study divided the voters into three categories, the natural Canadian citizens, the permanent immigrants and the natural citizens belonged to ethnic minorities in Canada. The goal of the study was to see how voting behaviour was affected by majority, minority, and permanent citizenship status. Instead of being influenced by a voter's ethnicity, the study looked at the characteristics such as immigrant status or majority/minority status, as well as 'sociodemographic' and 'social capital qualities,' affect voting behaviour. The study found that personal characteristics like age, degree of education, and level of civic participation have an impact on the likelihood of voting, both federally and provincially. The study found that trust in government has more direct impact on voting than of religion on voters. People who have higher faith in the government's philosophy and performance are more likely to engage, and this trust is based on their knowledge of current events. According to the study, official gatherings and discussions on political topics have a greater influence than personal conversations and visits with friends and relatives. The study focused on demographic, socioeconomic, and social capital variables.

(Barrio et al, 2013) The study is a project report conducted by INTERACT, the project looked at how governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, particularly the media, create transnational links and developed instruments that function economically, culturally, and legally to assess how EU member states approach immigration. The research effort revealed that there are 25 million people from third-world nations living in EU countries, accounting for around 5% of the overall population. Migrants are citizens of both their home country and the country where they are now living, but it is the obligation of the receiving state to develop and implement laws for their integration. The study pointed out that two types of actors i.e., state and non - state actors at both the places played key role in determining political participation of migrants. The study found significant impact of political participation of immigrants on civic integration, social interactions, labour market integration and on educational and religious practices.

Kapur, (2014) in his study had thrown light on the political effects of out migration on the country. The study had examined the impact of migration on political economy, and on nationalism, citizenship and particularly on political institutions of the country of origin. The study had pointed out that the number of people migrating from south to north had increased manifold during the last decade whereas only 6% people migrated from north to south out of the total migration. The study had found out the impact of the migration and on political behaviour on the basis of the four channels; prospective channel, absence channel, Diaspora channel and return channel. The study had revealed that the voter turnout was directly related to the scale of migration. It was high in areas where out migration was low. Even the political participation of the elite group was affected if they saw their children getting settled abroad.

The study had pointed out that the migration affected the working of the political institutions of the country of origin. When the talented people left the country then the institutions had to manage with the less capable persons. This was the reason some political system considered emigration as a safety valve. The third channel study had highlighted the Diaspora channel. The members of Diaspora participate in politics directly and indirectly. The families of the emigrants normally get financial assistance so they are influenced by the policies of the state. They are concerned whether the political parties or political groups would be giving them funds or not. The last channel the study had discussed is the return channel. The study had found that the origin country gets benefited if the migrants return to their native place both in terms of remittance and remaining emotionally attached. Usually, the feeling of nationalism is higher in those who returned from abroad than those who are permanently living. The study had found that going abroad reshaped attitude, expectations and identities of the people.

Abraham (2015) This research work has presented a noticeable lack of political participation amongst the Asian Immigrants in the United States. The study has investigated why some immigrant groups (particularly, Indian and Chinese) politically participated lesser than others. The purpose of this research was to look at the rates of political participation amongst the Asian immigrants and to point towards factors that influence the immigrant political experience. Largely, work on political participation

has focused on elements of voting behaviours and partisanship. This however, according to the author, does not fit the definition of political participation that is relevant to the study. Political participation, according to this study, is defined as "non-voting forms of political activity that improve political engagement in one's local community." The aforementioned methods aim to assess political engagement by looking at things like "a group's role in donating to a political campaign; their participation in socially discussing politics," and so on. In order to better understand the lack of political involvement described in this study, it has focused on the levels of 'native democratisation' and 'corruption,' stating that the two are critical aspects that ultimately influence immigrant political value in America. The research has paid attention to the relation between the impact of an individual's political socialization and their post-migration political participation. In this respect, it has been argued in the research that the individuals from these countries that are not effective democracies and where, there exists a significant rate of corruption are less likely to participate in a range of political activities. With respect to the policy outcomes, the study had focused on more direct measures in order to include the Asian immigrants in the political process with specific focus on the additional language options in the political paraphernalia including the voter registration forms, voting ballots, TV ads et al. The study had asserted that in order to create a truly inclusive political system, the need was to focus on both institutional as well as social shifts.

Muggie et al (2019) had presented an empirical analysis of the political participation of Dutch Turkish people in Western European countries especially Netherland. The study had highlighted that the people of 115 countries had the external voting rights. The study was a survey of the exit poll in the two polling stations of Netherlands i.e., Rotterdam in 2014 of the Turkish presidential election and Rijswijk of 2015 Turkish Parliamentary elections. The study was based upon three components first on turnout rates, second on political trust and interest and third on candidate and party choices of the Dutch Turkish citizens in the Netherlands. The study had found low turnout of Turkish voters just 19% of the eligible voters in 2014 elections in the Netherlands though it was 77% in Turkey. It went to 37% in 2015 parliamentary elections abroad (Netherland) whereas it was 86% in the homeland (Turkey). The study

had found that the second component interest and trust were determined by the demographic variables like age, gender, educational level and country of birth.

So far as the candidate and party choices were concerned Erdogan got 52% of votes in Turkey but 78% in Netherland. In the Parliamentary election also the attitude and behaviour of the people in Turkey was different from the migrants from Turkey in the Netherlands. Further AKP was the more popular party with 64% votes in the Netherlands than in Turkey itself where it captured just 46%. The author had also found the apprehension among the native people in these countries that external voting might create obstacles in integrating the migrants into the political life of their present country and might divert their local culture as well.

The study of Bhojwani had raised the need of political inclusion of the migrants and minorities for making democracy a true democracy that established equality for all. The author had explained there were three levels of political power namely opportunity to work, to be represented and to have a voice in the policy making. The study had revealed various programme in U.S.A France and UK which promoted political inclusion in the respective countries. The author gave insight about” Partnership for Immigrants Leadership and Action” programme in California. This study touched “count us in” programme 2011 in 78 Ireland U K which made citizens aware about their right to vote. The author had also brought into light the Representations for All programme which compelled the govt to pass “Chicago Voting Right Act of 2011” The article appreciated Paris Mayor Bertrand Delaneo ‘s policy named All Persian All Citizens which offer all non-European a platform to have a dialogue with the municipal bodies.

Parvin (2020) had presented the problem of low and unequal political participation in the liberal democracies. The author highlighted the correlation between income and wealth distribution and political participation in the democratic states. The author had found that this socio-economic inequality in Canada, USA, New Zealand and Britain were the main cause of the unequal political participation whereas in Norway, Sweden and Denmark less gap in the economic resource’s distribution led to high and stable political participation. The author had also emphasised on formal and



informal political participation. The author had found that poor people were involved in these liberal democracies only in the formal political activities like electoral participation and the wealthy people did participate in the informal political activities like the petition filling, campaigning for candidates and funding for elections. There was need to change the approach. These states should bring such institutional changes which could increase informal political participation rather than merely increasing voting. These democracies should work for the deliberative democracy than representative democracy.

## **2.12 Studies related with the political clientelism**

Lindbirg et al, (2022) in world development presented a deep insight the relationship between political clientelism, corruption and rule of law in various countries during the period from 1900 to 2018. The study found that there is a link between political clientelism and poor governance; as clientelism rises, political corruption and the rule of law deteriorate. Furthermore, the study discovered that non-programmatic party ties, rather than the act of buying votes, are what have the worst effects of political clientelism.

(Gherghina 2017; Hilgers, 2008; Roniger, 2004 Medina and Stokes, 2002) In their studies these authors had talked about the meaning of the term clientelism. Gherghina and Hilgers's study had analysed the contribution of the political clientelism in Romania and Brazil. Moreover, these studies had highlighted how political parties had become important instrument of the political clientelism. Roniger L (2004) in his study had explained the meaning and scope of the term clientelism in politics. It analysed the traditional system of patronage and modern party directed clientelism. It had also highlighted how federal and unitary systems differed in their way of clientelism.

Stokes (2011) in her study explained various aspects of political clientelism apart from defining the term in details. The study highlighted the two waves of the study of political clientelism. The study found that vote buying and patronage are the two sub classes of clientelism which were analysed in the first wave during the emergence of new states in the post-world war period. Second wave of the study analysed the

clientelism in the mode of commitment. The study found instances when voters ignored the material benefits and showed commitment to ideology. The study also focused on causes of clientelism and found that there is a relation between poverty and clientelism. Poverty encourages clientelism and clientelism encourages poverty too as political parties' chief interest is to stay in power not to remove the poverty. The study also found electoral rules responsible for the trends of clientelism.

Bardhan et al. (2008) had analysed factors that determine the voting behaviour of the rural west Bengal. The study had analysed various factors like caste, wealth education and the impact of various welfare programmes of the local bodies on the voting behaviour. The study had found that political clientelism overshadowed the other factors. People felt voting was a gratitude in favour of that political party which provides benefits like credits, employment, relief from debts. voters were less conscious about the group benefits like roads and water facility than their personal benefits.

Harriss (2005) in his study which is a sample survey done on 1401 people of Delhi, has tried to see the approach of urban poor people towards their political representatives. The study had found that the lower middle class was moving towards its social networks, voluntary associations and autonomous organisations for their problems whereas the poorer people in the juggies were still looking towards the political parties or the political groups as their problem solvers.

Auyero (1999) in his study on Latin America found a relationship between political parties and organized popular groups. The study found that there are three main actors in political clientelism the patrons, the brokers, and the clients. This article explored the opinions and perceptions of those who receive favours, products, and services from party brokers, who definitely do so in an effort to "earn their support," as well as their opinions of the brokers' actions and politics in general. The study mainly focussed how the political rallies played important roles in clientelism. People attend the rallies out of gratitude and feel that their participation in the rallies is mandatory out of appreciation for or in support of the broker's requirements. The study highlighted that though the clientelist politics in the literature is considered a "negative determinant" but it has "positive attraction" also.

### **2.13 Studies related to the study area**

Sekhon & Singh (2015) in their study presented the historical background of the Punjab with special focus on the period when Punjab was passing through the militant movement. The study described the political rise and fall of the Sikh community from the Mughal period to the enforcement of the Indian constitution. The study explained the reasons for the emergence of militancy in Punjab and found that the fallout of the green revolution and central government failure to understand the disappointment of the Sikh community for its discriminatory policies led to the emergence of militancy in Punjab. The study discussed the various political developments like Rajiv-Longowal agreements, elections in 1987, Surjeet Singh Barnala government failure to control the law and order and subsequently its fall led to many Human Rights Violation Acts by the police in Punjab. In the last part of study highlighted how the role played by common people who resisted to the communal and militant forces and supported the security forces and efforts by the central government and democratic forces of the state finally helped in ending the violence in Punjab.

Ram (2016) in his study throws light on the social structure in Punjab. The study described the Punjab as food bowl of North India. The study narrates that the history of Punjab witnessed that the state stood against all sorts of discrimination and domination by citing the example of formation of Ghadar party to militant movement in 1980. But social structure of Punjab especially the caste system of Punjab presents the other side of the state. The study highlighted that the Dalits are in highest number i.e., 31% in Punjab but they occupy just 3 % of the total cultivated area in Punjab. Their presence in the trade, industry, media, health, and financial sector is too negligible. The quest for social emancipation and empowerment among Dalits in Punjab gave rise to increase in various Deras. These Deras in Punjab are the religious way for the social mobility of the Dalits and reflects Dalit consciousness and their separate identity in the state. The study pointed out the various kinds of Deras in Punjab and focussed on Ravidass Deras. These Ravidass Deras presents unique blend of their religious and political leader. Guru Ravidas represent their Bhakti based culture of social protest whereas Dr. B.R. Ambedkar represents their political guide.

Thus, these studies give knowledge about the historical, cultural and social aspect about the area under study so that one can understand the migrants view point with more clear way.

#### **2.14 The summary of literature review**

The above review of literature is about the general meaning, types, trends and political aspect of migrants. Some studies analysed socio economic conditions of the migrants Chitra, (2019); Gill et al., (2017); Sharma, (2017); Sengupta and Benjamin, (2016); (IPU, 2015); Mahapatra, (2012); Bhagat, (2011); Mitra and Murayama, (2008); Bird and Deshingkar, (2009); Kumar and Sidhu, (2005); Srivastva and Sasikumar, (2003) and (Salve) these studies reveals positive and negative impacts of migration on the native place and the place of origin. Rajan, (2018); Kapur, (2014); Srivastva and Sasikumar, (2003) and (Bhojwani) talked about the trends of external migration and policies of various countries to deal with the issue of migration. Kaur et al., (2011) and Singh, (2011) studied the impact of migrated labour on the economy and crime graph of Punjab. Aggarwal, (2019); Lal, (2019); Thapa, (2018) and Ajeevika bureau Report, (2012) highlight the low political role of migrants in their present place of work. Mallick (2017); Ravi et al., (2014); and Vijayluxmi (2004) the studies talk about the political exclusion of some communities in India. Chitra, (2019) and Gaikwad and Nellis, (2018) presented the level of political awareness among the migrants.

#### **2.14 Research Gap**

The nature of Migration is an interdisciplinary issue. Various aspects of the migration have been studied in the discipline of Geography, economics, sociology and legal studies, but a little has been done to study the political aspect of the internal migrants. It has been found from the above literature that lots of literature is available on the conceptualization of migration, its causes and trends. Some studies are available on the socio-economic conditions of the migrated labour in a specific area. Some studies are there on the impact of the migrated labour on the economy of that area in terms of wages, production etc. The Studies are available that have focused on laws and Acts that regulate the migration especially on the labour legislation, but there is little information available about their political role in the present place. The political aspect

of any place is affected by the inflow of migrant population as migrants also perform political activities but very few works are available that have dealt with the political participation, political awareness and the leadership issues of the migrants in India especially in Punjab. Less studies are there, that explain the migrants as the determinantal factors in the election of a place. The current research fills that gap. Ludhiana city serves as a centre for migrants, the study seeks to examine the political engagement of internal migrants in their present place. The study presents their participation in formal and informal political activities in Ludhiana which is less explored phenomenon of previous research.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter an attempt has been made to explain the Research methodology used to obtain the objectives of the study and to get answers of the research questions related with the objectives. The chapter explains area under the study and why this area has been chosen for study. The chapter highlights the source of the data collected, sampling technique and sample size. An effort has been made to highlight the tools with the help of which the data has been analysed.

#### **3.1 Objectives**

##### **3.1.1 General objectives**

General objective of the study is to find out the level of political participation of internal migrants in Ludhiana city of Punjab, as this district of Punjab is most populated district of Punjab and it is industrial hub of India also. To achieve this general objective some specific objectives are kept in the study. These are as follows: -

##### **3.1.2 Specific objectives**

To explore the socio-economic conditions of migrants.

To access the extent of political activism of migrants.

To examine the emerging political leadership of migrants.

To analyse the trends of clientelism in migrants.

To find out the obstacles in the way of political participation of migrants.

To suggest the measures for enhancing the political participation level among migrants.

##### **3.1.3 Research Questions**

Following are the research questions of the study

Q1. Whether political participation gets affected by the socio-economic conditions of migrants

Q2. To what extent migrants are politically active in the Ludhiana city?

- Q3. What is the pattern of political leadership among migrants in Ludhiana city?
- Q4. What are the factors influencing political participation of migrants in Ludhiana city?
- Q5. Which are the problems migrants face in performing their political role?
- Q6. What are the different measures that can increased political participation of migrant?

### **3.2 Type of Research**

The research is descriptive in its nature. Descriptive research is based upon careful observations supported by scientific documentation. This documentation may be statistics based upon surveys or census which are precise and thus reliable more than casual observations (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 6). The research was conducted by using descriptive survey method. A survey based upon questionnaire was done in Ludhiana to get the information from the migrants about their political participation and related issues.

### **3.3 Research Design**

The study is quantitative and qualitative. Cross section study was conducted to collect the data from the respondents through questionnaire, at a single period of time by drawing sample from the target population. The study was conducted in the Ludhiana city which is the first metropolitan city of Punjab, a city which has more than a million people. (Singh, 2016) It is the largest city of Punjab comprising population of 16,93,653 people as per the census of 2011 and 2.06504 million in 2019.<sup>8</sup>

### **3.4 Key Concepts and Constructs**

**Concepts** in the research needs explanations of observed phenomenon. Specific characteristics of the unit of analysis are the concepts of the study (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p.10).

**Political participation** is the key concept of the study. Sum total of activities of people that do impact directly or indirectly the politics of the nation. In the study

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/punjab.html>

political participation is the main concept, however the study has used constructs too to explain more precisely the main concept i.e., political participation (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p.11). The study includes formal and informal both political activities of migrants as constructs of the main concept. It includes formal political activities such as voting, becoming member of any political party and to contest for the election at any level of democratic institutions. It includes participation in informal political activities such as participation in political discussions, attending political meetings, participation in campaigning, role in the selection of candidates as informal activities of political participation. These activities are constructs of political participation in the study.

**Political Activism** Political activism refers to participation in politics and showing interest in political events. Political activism is a type of political activity that has an influence on political decisions and serves as a political lobby. Political activism is defined in a variety of ways that show the total amount of effort expended by individuals and social groups to change their political status and surround them. Political activism is often considered synonym with “political participation”, “political activity of citizen”, “lobby”, and “political movement” (Drozd, 2015, pg. 229). Political activism has two levels The lower level and Higher level. The lower level includes taking part in political activities like voting, campaigning, taking part in meetings, manifestations and strikes etc. The higher level includes professional political activity (Drozd, 2015).

The study has included only lower level of political activism and used the term to see the political participation of migrants in formal and informal political activities.

### **Political Clientelism**

There is lack of agreement on the definition of clientelism and it affects more than most other concepts. Political clientelism is a method of electoral mobilisation. Political clientelism is defined by Susan as the offering of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron uses (Stokes, 2011). Political clientelism is getting political support from individual or from group in exchange for selective benefits to individual or group (Hopkins, 2006). It is generally obligation paid by the people especially voters to political parties which promised them



to serve goods and services after the election. Traditional system of patronage in modern times has become party directed clientelism (Roninger, 2004).

In the study an attempt has been made to see whether migrants' political participation is directed by the political clientelism or they are influenced by the performance of the candidate or policies or programmes of political parties. In other words what are the determinantal factors that influenced the voting behaviour of migrant voters when they participate in politics of Ludhiana.

### **Political leadership**

Democracy and leadership are closely related with each other. Leadership is the act of leading a group of people to achieve desired goals and tasks. Leadership qualities vary from organization to organization and political leadership is different from managerial, professional, academic, and civic leadership (Hartley, 2011 pg-132). It is a completely different kind of activity in the political arena. Political leadership is the act of motivating people to support a cause. (Gibb,1968). Political leaders are the main driving force behind the socio economic and political changes in a society. Political leaders provide the right direction for the benefits and development of the society. Political leaders are of two types Formal leaders and informal leaders. Formal leaders are the holders of authority and in most of the democratic political systems they acquire the authority from the people through election and continue to exercise the authority with their support. Thus, political leaders act as people representatives and represent their interest in the decision making bodies (Hartley, 2011 p.139).

In the present study an attempt has been made to see the emerging political leadership among the migrants. In other words, it was intended in the study to know whether migrants contest the elections and provide leadership to their community or not.

### **3.5 Variables**

Political participation of migrants is the dependable variable in the study which is directed by socio economic and political conditions.

### 3.6 Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis are individual migrants in the Ludhiana city of Punjab who came here from other places.

### 3.7 Operational definition of migrants

In the present study migrant is considered a person

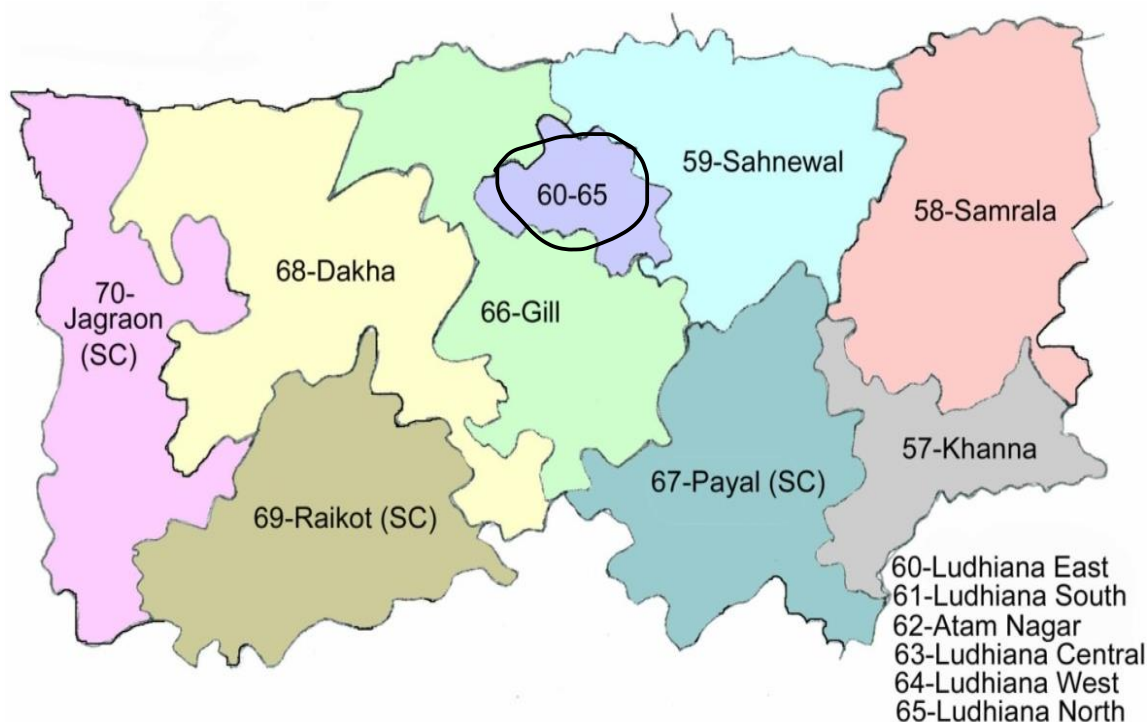
- who is living and working at a place which is not his/her birth place but the birth place is within India.
- Secondly in the study inter district or intra district migrant are not taken only interstate migrant are taken for the survey irrespective the migrant is seasonal migrant or permanent migrant.
- The study further took into consideration the political participation of migrants who are having voter id card of present address.
- The study has included only migrant workers (person having fixed monthly salary), Labourer (based on daily wages) and self-employed. Migrant professionals and government employees' migrants are not part of the study.

### 3.8 Area under study and rationale of selecting the area

Ludhiana city of Ludhiana district is the hub of a number of industries such as hosiery, machine tools, dyes, cycle parts, auto components, sewing machine, diesel engines, tyre tubes and motor parts etc. (Mehra & Singh, 2014). The migrated population in Punjab was estimated more than 40 lakhs and Ludhiana alone has a home for nearly 20 lakhs migrated people (Thapa, 2018). A study conducted in 2014-15 estimated that there were about 5000 fruit sellers in the city and out of them 50% were migrants (Kumar and Goyal, 2018). **So, the area chosen for the study is appropriate for the problem under study.**

Ludhiana city contains 6 constituencies for legislative assembly and 1 for Lok Sabha. The area under study is from constituency 60 to 65 as shown in the map.

**Figure 18: Constituency Map of Ludhiana**



### 3.9 Population of the study

The population of the study are migrants falling under the Ludhiana city. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of migrants in the Punjab as well as in the Ludhiana city because most of these migrants are in informal sector and they do not get themselves registered to the labour department. The estimated population of migrants' labour in all the constituencies of Ludhiana is as follows

**Table 5: Population of migrants in Ludhiana**

Name of Constituency	Approx. No of migrants
(60) Ludhiana East	20,000 to 30,000
(61) Ludhiana South	60,000 to 70,000
(62) Atam Nagar	5,000 to 10,000
(63) Ludhiana Central	10,000 to 15,000
(64) Ludhiana West	15,000 to 20,000
(65) Ludhiana North	8,000 to 12,000

Source: (Thapa, 2018)

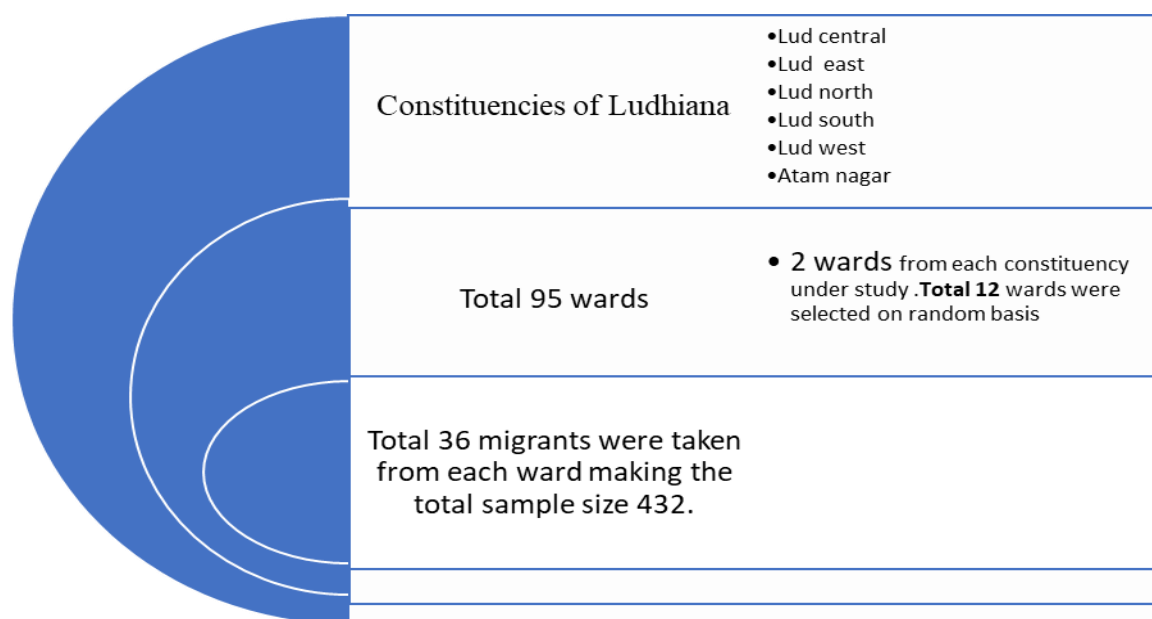
### 3.10 Sample size

There are six constituencies in Ludhiana city and it has 95 wards divided on the basis of size of population in the area. Each ward has minimum population of 16000 thousand and maximum of 20000 populations (Jagga, 2017).<sup>9</sup> In the study all the six constituencies were taken and further 2 wards from every constituency were selected. 36 migrants were taken from each ward making the sample size 432 following the Moregan Krejice table.

### 3.11 Sampling designs and technique

There are mainly two types of sampling Probability sampling and non probability sampling. These types are further divided into various catagories. Probability sampling is applied where every unit of the sample of the population is having equal chance of being selected (Bhattacharjee, 2012. p.67). In the present study multistage stratafied random snowball sampling is applied. For this three stages were opted for the sampling.

**Figure 19: Sampling technique**



<sup>9</sup> <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/ludhiana/number-of-wards-in-ludhiana-mc-increased-from-75-to-95/>

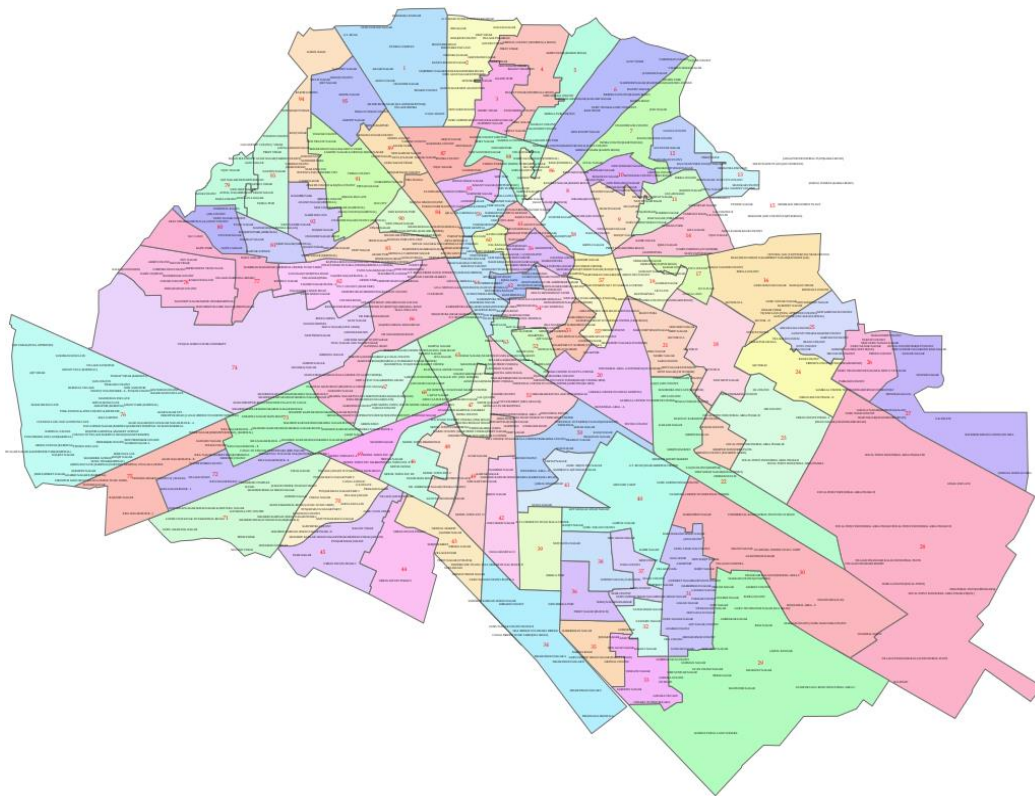
### 3.11.1 Stage 1

There are 117 total electoral constituencies in Punjab for legislative assembly. Ludhiana is the largest district in terms of population in Punjab. It has total 14 constituencies. Constituency number 57 to 70 comes under the jurisdiction of Ludhiana. In the first stage the researcher selected the migrant strata of only six constituencies which fall under the Ludhiana city. These are Ludhiana East, (60) Ludhiana South (61), Atam Nagar Constituency (62), Ludhiana Central (63), Ludhiana West (64) and Ludhiana North (65).

### 3.11.2 Stage 2

In the next stage two wards are selected from each of the six constituency. There are total 95 wards in these 6 constituencies of Ludhiana. Two wards are selected from each constituency and it makes total ward under study 12.

**Figure 20: Ward Map of Ludhiana**



**Table 6: Serial Number of wards and number of migrants**

<b>Name of the Constituency</b>	<b>Number of the constituency</b>	<b>Wards selected</b>	<b>Total no migrants selected</b>
Ludhiana East	60	19 and 17	72
Ludhiana South	61	29 and 31	72
Atam Nagar	62	41 and 47	72
Ludhiana Central	63	58 and 62	72
Ludhiana west	64	42 and 77	72
Ludhiana North	65	83 and 84	72

### **3.11.3 Stage 3**

At the third stage migrants from the areas under wards were selected and were contacted for response. Total 432 migrants were approached from 12 wards .36 migrants were selected on simple random basis for getting the response

### **3.12 Rationale of the selection of wards**

Wards were selected on the basis of random sampling. Selection of the wards were done keeping in mind the population of the study. Ludhiana is industrial city and majority of the industries are having workers/labourers who are migrants from other Indian states so industrial areas were selected for the study. Migrants were divided into 3 categories namely workers, labourers, and self-employed. In most parts of Ludhiana industrial and residential areas are combined so in most of colonies the migrants were having their work place and residence nearby.

In Ludhiana East (constituency no 60) ward no 19, Ravidaspura and LIG colony was selected. Sandhu enclave was also selected to collect the data. From ward no 17 Sherpur Kalan, Tajpur road and Labour colony was selected to collect the data.

In Ludhiana South constituency (constituency no 61) ward no 29 and 31 were selected which comes under Giaspura area. This area is residential cum industrial area full of migrant workers. For ward no 29 migrants from Mahadev Nagar, Ambedkar Nagar and Indra colony were interviewed. Data was collected from 39 migrants from

this ward. For ward no 31 Guru Harkishanshan Nagar, Pakhar colony and Gagan Vihar were selected and total 43 migrants were contacted to get the response. This area is one of the least develop area of Ludhiana and there was very bad condition of roads in these wards but most of the migrants were having voter id cards in these wards. Migrants were quite politically aware and mobilised in this area.

From Ludhiana Atam Nagar constituency (constituency no 62) ward no 41 and 47 were selected. From ward no 41, 30 respondents from Partap Nagar and Janta Nagar were contacted and data was collected. From ward no 47 Indra colony, Vishwakarma town and Dhuri Pathak area were selected to collect the data. 42 migrants were contacted to get the data. Numerous migrants live in this area. Migrants in this area are not much politically mobilised.

In Ludhiana Central constituency (constituency no 63) ward no 58 and ward no 62 were selected. This area is hub of hosiery industry. Various industrial units manufacturing woollen clothes and allied units were full of migrant labour. The researcher found many migrant entrepreneurs in this area. Many migrants have started their own units ranging from cottage industry to small scale industry. From ward no 58 migrants from Madhopuri, Sunder Nagar and Kirpal Nagar were interviewed based on the questionnaire. From ward no 62 Rahon road area was selected. Many Migrants were having their small shops of fruits and vegetables, grocery items and construction labourers were interviewed. Migrants from Mahavir colony and Nirankari colony were also contacted.

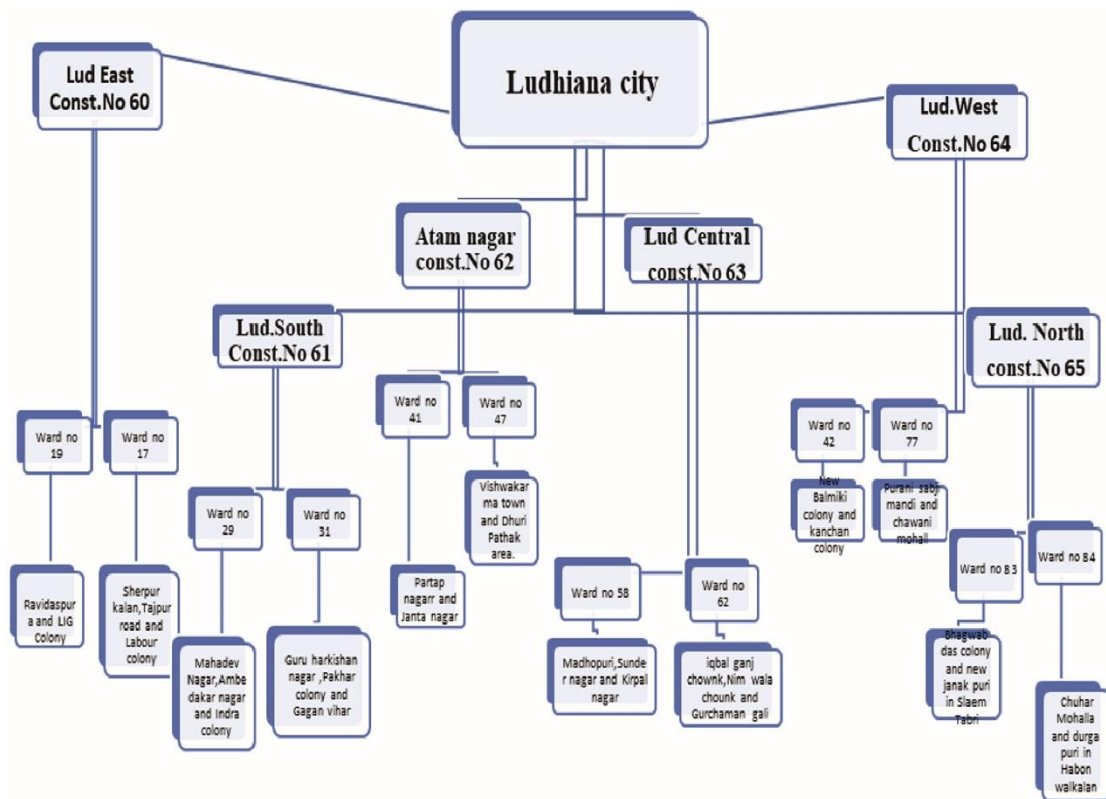
In Ludhiana west constituency (constituency no 64) ward number 42 and 77 Balmiki colony, Kanchan colony, Purani Sabji mandi and Chhawani Mohalla were selected. Most of the migrants in this area are self-employed having vegetable and fruit sellers. Some are employed in near-by established showrooms

In Ludhiana North constituency (constituency no 65) ward number 83 and 84 were selected. Data was collected from Bhagwan das colony, new Janak puri in Salem Tabri, Chuhar Mohalla and Durga puri in Habon Wala kalan.

### 3.13 Duration of data collection

It took 8 months to collect the data from dec.2020 to July 2021. The data was collected with utmost care. The researcher used the language in which migrants were most comfortable and approached them in the time which was suitable to them.

**Figure 21: Selection of areas in the wards**



### 3.14 Source of data collection

The study is based upon the primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data of the study is backbone of the study and it is essentially based on it and was collected with the help of well-known method of sample survey. The primary data for the study was collected through a comprehensive questionnaire which was constructed after extensive review of literature and by taking expert opinion and suggestions. The instrument (questionnaire) was prepared keeping in view the objectives of the study. The study has six objectives and the questionnaire too is divided mainly into five parts and each part have some questions that helps to achieve the specific objective. The first part of the questionnaire is Section A contains questions related with the general



demographical information about the migrants. Second part B contains questions related with issue of migration of the migrants in the Ludhiana city. Part C and D of questionnaire is having questions that helps to know the social and economic condition and status of migrants in Ludhiana. Section E related with the main problem of the study. It contains question to have deep insight about the political awareness, political participation whether active or inactive, obstacles in the ways of political participation. Section F has questions that tell us about the emerging leadership among the migrants in Ludhiana city. The study has Migrant population in Ludhiana as the source of primary data. They were approached personally. The data was collected through personal interviews in order to get the detailed in-depth information. The respondents were contacted personally and relevant information was gathered from them with the utmost care. Whereas. the secondary data is based upon the following sources

The data for the proposed study was drawn upon from various books, journal articles, government reports, the annual statistical abstract of India, and the findings of individual researchers.

### **3.15 Tools and Techniques**

The data has been analysed using descriptive statistics. The percentage method is used to interpret, present and analysis of primary data. This method is applied to analyse the data in order to finalise with the relevant conclusion and suggestion. Pie charts, bar diagram and tabular representation are used to represent it graphically.

### **3.16 Validity and Reliability**

Very important step of a study is to measure its variables accurately and correctly. Therefore, the questionnaire of the study upon which primary data was based, was sent for expert opinion and pilot testing. First of all, the questionnaire was given to a panel of five members who were knowledgeable about the content of the study. They also checked whether the language and content are simple enough to be understand by the respondents of the study i.e., Migrants. On the advice of the experts and discussion with supervisor sir some items were deleted which were taking the research to another direction, some were modified and even some were added to fulfil the objectives of the study and to ensure the validity of the questionnaire.

Further, it is also double checked that the scales of measurement should be appropriate to measure the variable for which they are applied. For checking the reliability, pilot study was done. On the basis of Bajpai (2011) and Cann.et al (2008), 10% of the sample was selected for pilot study. So, a sub set of 45 responses was collected and Cronbach alfa test was used to test the reliability. The result of the pilot study is given below which is 0.844 which indicates that the questionnaire is suitable for data collection and it could be used to get the results. Reliability result is given below.

**Table 7: Result of pilot study**

Scale reliability statistics	Cronbach Alfa $\alpha$	McDonald's
Scale	0.841	0.944

### **3.17 Contribution of the study**

The present study shed light on the political importance of urban migrants. The study helps government and non-government agencies to know the extent of political awareness of the migrants about their present living place. The study also helps in finding the status of political role of migrants. The study brings into light the problems faced by the migrants while performing their political roles and thus helping the policy makers to make the policies in such a way that can increase the political participation of migrants in their present place. The study helps in knowing the extent of political clientelism in Ludhiana city. The study supports the government agencies like ECI to find out the alternative ways of voting like proxy voting or online voting etc. The study also suggests the government to legislate in favour of migrants who are treated as non-citizens within India. For this chaptalization is done as below: -

### **3.18 Chaptalization of the study**

Chapter 1 Introduction deals with the Conceptual framework of political participation and migration in details, Status of migration in India and profile of Punjab and Ludhiana.

Chapter 2 deals with the existing literature on the phenomenon and titled as Review of Literature

Chapter 3 is all about methodology section. It contains objectives of the study, Research questions, operational definition of the phenomenon, research design, sampling design and technique, source of data collection and tools to analyse the data.

Chapter 4 deals with the results obtained about the socio-economic status of the migrants with the help of questionnaire and associated discussions in the study area.

Chapter 5 describes the results of the current status of the political activism of the migrants with the help of questionnaire and associated discussions in the study area.

Chapter 6 presents the objective wise Findings based upon the results obtained through the survey, recommendations, limitation and future scope for the study. The chapter is also attached with the references used in the study, questionnaire and photographs taken during the survey.

## CHAPTER 4

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MIGRANTS

The demographic characteristics, social inclusion, economic condition are the important determinants of political participation. In the field survey, adequate importance had been given to these factors and they were employed as variables to substantiate the analysis. During the collection of the data these factors were kept in mind. Before explaining the questions related to the political participation the socio-economic profile of the respondents and their migration related status was given due consideration which is as follows:

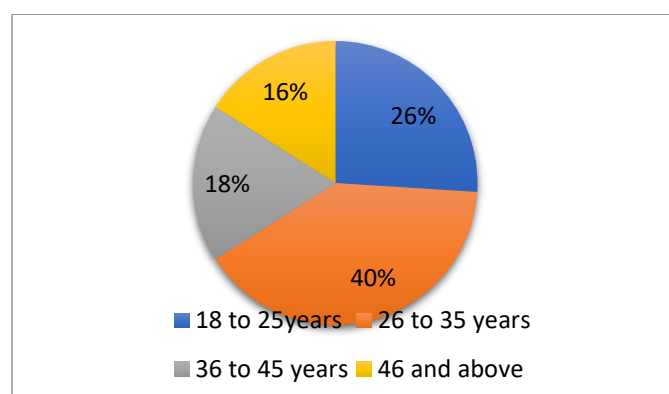
**Table 8: Age Wise Breakup**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
18 to 25 years	112	26%
26 to 35 years	173	40%
36 to 45 years	77	18%
46 years and above	70	16%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Age is an important element that has a significant impact on political participation. There is curvilinear relationship between age and political participation. The desire to participate develops in the early years, peaks in the middle age, and then steadily declines in the following stages (Solevid & Gyllenspetz, 2022, p.235) according to a general tendency. The chart below has shown the age groups of the people who were interviewed.

**Figure 22: Age wise breakup**



It has been found in the survey that that 40% migrants who were interviewed, were in between the age of 26 to 35 years. It means they were quite young who decided to shift their place of residence. 26% were in the age group of 36 to 45 and 18% and 16% were in the age group of 18 to 25 and 46 and above.

This clearly shows that in youth, when a person is unattached or not married and not has family of his own, he can take risks and has ambition to be adventurous and to improve his economic condition. With the passage of time, enthusiasm mellows down and by old age, this enthusiasm and risk-taking capacity ended completely.

**Table 9: Gender Wise Breakup**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
Male	268	62%
Female	164	38%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table has shown the gender wise division of the sample. In the survey 268 male migrants were interviewed which constitutes 62% of the total sample and 164 females constituting 38% of the sample. The proportion of male migrants dominates the number of female migrants, it may be because of the reason as male left their birth place in the in beginning and their families comes later on. Moreover, in the factories of Ludhiana maximum labour force is of male workers so the proportion of males are more in the survey than the females.

**Table 10: Martial status**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
Married	329	76%
Unmarried	103	24%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The individuals' perceptions of their socio-political motivation might also be influenced by their marital status. As a result, the respondents' marital status was regarded as an essential factor in determining their political participation. The respondents were asked to state their marital status at the beginning of the survey. The table has shown the marital status of the sample. In the survey out of the total number of migrants, 329 migrants i.e., 76% of the sample were married persons with and remaining 103 i.e., 24% of the sample were unmarried. Marriage entails responsibilities and more mouth to feed, So, naturally the family persons with more responsibilities look for greener pastures.

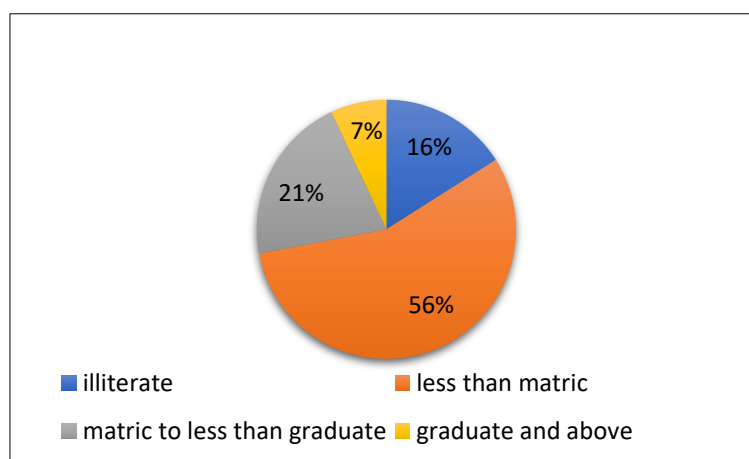
**Table 11: Education Wise Breakup**

Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
Illiterate	69	16%
Less than matric	242	56%
less than graduate	91	21%
Graduate and above	30	7%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

A persons' educational background significantly influences his perspectives, either directly or indirectly. The most important socioeconomic component that influences political engagement is education. It is widely accepted that citizen education is a necessary precondition for playing a larger role in the political process, and that higher education increases efficiency. J.S. Mill considered education one of the most important determinant factors in political participation which influence directly one's decision of voting (Roellinger,1952). The educational level has been separated into four groups for the purpose of conducting the survey. It has been found that majority of the migrants i.e., 56% migrants had less qualification than matric, followed by 21% who had less qualification than graduation. Only 7% migrants out of the total sample in Ludhiana are graduate or more than graduation qualification. Since most of the migrants belong to the lower income bracket, so in that category persons having less education migrate for unskilled labor jobs.

**Figure 23: Education wise breakup**



The data has highlighted important indicators that most of the less educated people from the other states had come to Ludhiana. 16% migrants were totally illiterate and the highest figure was of those who had not qualified up to matriculation. Only 7% were either graduate or more than graduates. It has made it clear that Ludhiana is suitable for absorbing unskilled labor whereas the skilled and educated migrants prefer some other place for work and livelihood. The educational status of migrants is different from the other people of Punjab. 18% people in Punjab are either graduate or post graduate but it is just 7% in case of the migrants. The population of Less than matric migrants too are quite high in comparison with other people of Punjab. 56% migrants in Ludhiana are having less than matric educational level whereas in Punjab 41% other people are less than matric (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.42).

#### 4.2 Migration Related Analysis

**Table 12: The Place of Origin**

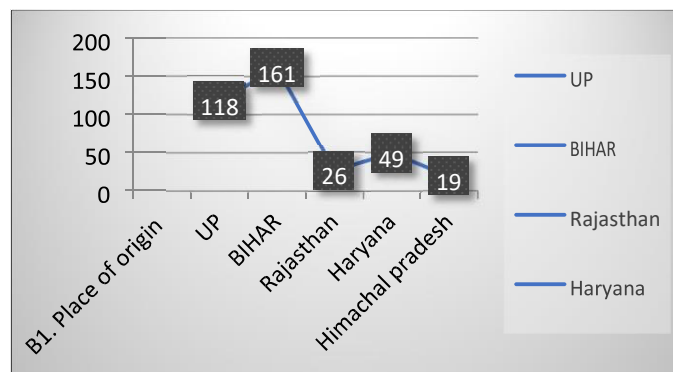
Categories	Frequency	% Respondents
UP	138	32%
Bihar	185	43%
Rajasthan	31	7%
Haryana	56	13%
Himachal Pradesh	22	5%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The Table has pointed out the place from where the migrants had come to Ludhiana city. It had been found that out of the total number of 432 respondents, 32% of the total respondents were from UP, 43% of the respondents were from Bihar, 7% of the respondents were from Rajasthan, 13% of the respondents were from Haryana and 5% were from Himachal Pradesh. It was found that the highest percentage of the respondents were from Bihar and the lowest were from Himachal Pradesh. It has indicated that the main out migration states in India are Bihar and Uttar Pradesh followed by Haryana.

There can be two reasons responsible for this fact. First of all, U.P and Bihar are thickly populated states and secondly, they are economically not good going states which resulted into less employment opportunities in these states. The persons migrating from these states are driven by poverty, unemployment and drawn by prosperity in Ludhiana.

**Figure 24: Place of Origin of the Respondents**



**Table 13: Year of Migration**

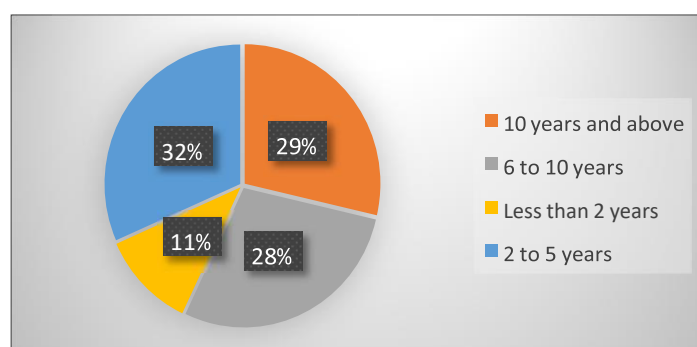
Categories	Frequency	% Percentage
Less than 2 Years	49	11%
2 to 5 years	137	32%
6 to 10 years	122	28%
10 years and above	124	29%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data



It has been found that out of all the 432 respondents, 11% of the respondents had migrated within less than last 2 years, 32% had migrated within 2-5 years, 28% of the respondents had migrated within 6 to 10 years, and 29% of the respondents had migrated 10 years and above. Therefore, from this analysis, it became clear that the highest number of respondents migrated within last 2 to 5 years.

**Figure 25: year of migration**



**Table 14 : Nature of Work at the place of Origin**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Not working	204	47%
Self-Employed	97	23%
An unskilled labourer	131	30%
Total	432	100%

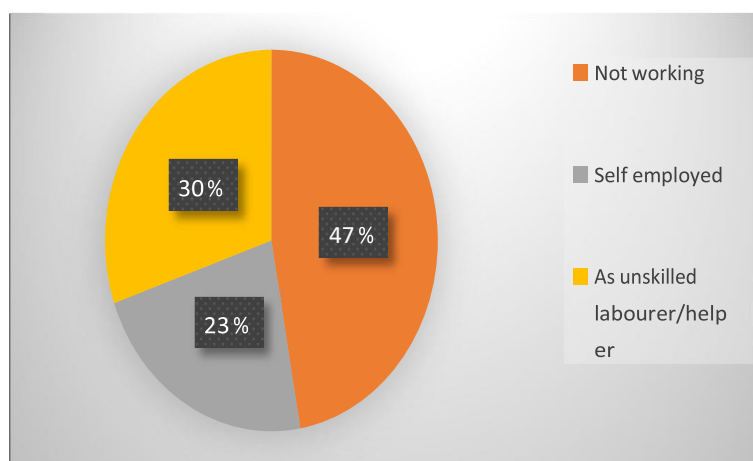
Source: Primary Data

The study had found that maximum number of people who had migrated were workless in their native place. 47% were not having any employment in the place so they migrated. Another 23% of the total respondents were self-employed and 30% of the total respondents were unskilled labour. Therefore, it was found that the highest number of the respondents came for the sake of earning. And it has been found that economic reasons were the main push factors of migration to Ludhiana.

The Table is self-explanatory. Those who do not have employment in their native place would look for more fertile lands. Secondly unskilled persons form the marginalized section in their native land as well, so they migrate and remain

marginalized in their place of migration. Thirdly self-employed persons are not bound so it is easy for them to migrate.

**Figure 26: Nature of the work at the place of origin**



**Table 15: Basis of selecting the present place**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Own Decision	202	47%
Agents	29	7%
Family/Friends/ Relative Guidance	201	46%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the data provided above, out of 432 respondents, 47% of the respondents chose their present place on the basis of their own decision, as they were aware about the job providing capacity of the industry of the city. 7% of the respondents agreed that they were influenced by the agents, these were those migrants who were especially in the construction works. 46% of the respondents were influenced by family, friends, relative and guidance. The highest chart of basis selecting the present place is by one's own decision.

The influence of family, friends and acquaintances carry weight. When those persons paint rosy pictures of the city life and possibilities of economic opportunities but obvious, then a person is fascinated. So, majority of migrants in Ludhiana chose the present place on their own. They are in this place without the help of any agents.

**Table 16: Factors responsible for migration**

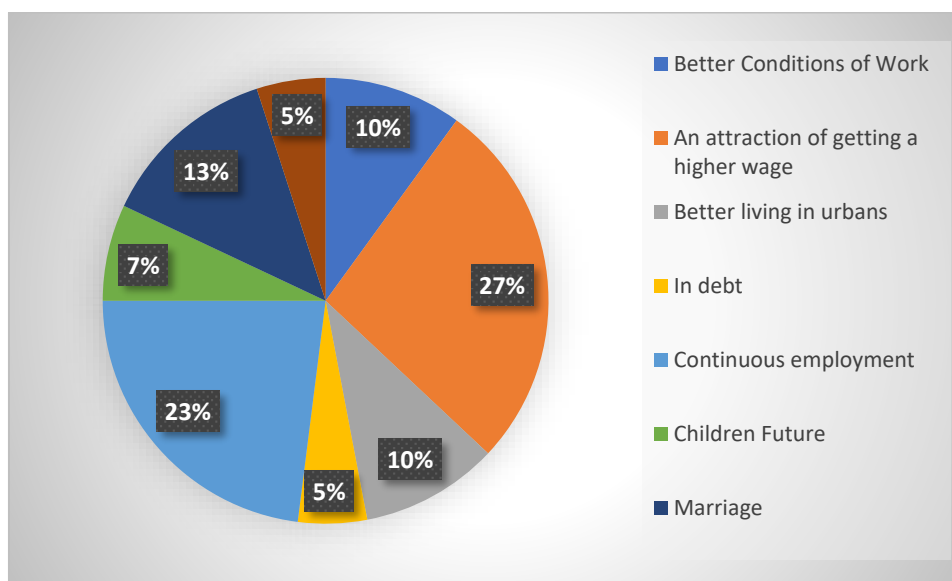
Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Better Conditions of Work	43	10%
An attraction of getting a higher wage	116	27%
Better living in urbans	44	10%
In debt	22	5%
Continuous employment	99	23%
Children Future	28	7%
Marriage	58	13%
Off Season of work in the native place	22	5%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the data, it was found that out of all the respondents, around 27% of the respondents migrated due to an attraction of getting higher wages, as they were not paid up to the mark in their native place, another 10% of the respondents migrated because they were attracted towards the better living in the urbans areas, just 5% of the respondents migrated because of being under debts, further 23% of the respondents migrated because of the continuous employment in Ludhiana which was not available, in their native place 7% of respondents migrated for the sake of making their children's future and 5% of the respondents migrated because of the off season of work in their native place and they wanted to utilize that time. It has been analysed that the highest number of respondents migrated because they wanted to get higher wages. It indicates clearly that the chief reason of internal migration in India is economic.

The 'lure of green pasture' has always been very strong with mankind. An individual's wants to improve his own standard, he is desirous of giving bright future to his children, he is keen on steady jobs and last but not the least high wages are always a hold a strong attraction.

**Figure 27: Factors responsible for migration**



### 4.3 Social Status of migrants in Ludhiana

**Table 17: Address of the local people to migrants in Ludhiana City**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
With your name	380	88%
With your surname or with convenient name	52	12%
Any other name	-	-
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

From the data, it was found that maximum number of respondents accepted that people of Ludhiana called them by their original name. only 12% people called them by their sir surname name, second name or convenient name which they feel derogatory. But majority of the migrants, 88% believed that they are respected and have identity with their name in Ludhiana society. People do not call them with the name of their region, state, caste, or community.

**Table 18: Behaviour of the Locals Towards Migrants**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Good	334	77%
Neutral	98	23%
Bad	-	-
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the data, it has been found that out of all the respondents 77% of the respondents In Ludhiana, an industrial hub is broad minded enough to accept the migrants. The industrialist realize that they are hardworking and the fellow workers exhibit Punjabi spirit of cordiality and good will., however 23% of the respondents found the behaviour of the locals as neutral in this matter. For them the local people are neither good nor bad for the migrant community in the society. The data revealed that no one had bad storey to talk about the behaviour of employer and locals. Most of the people in Punjab especially in Ludhiana are friendly and forth coming. Generally, they are not narrow minded for these migrants. So, on the behaviour front, the acceptance of the migrants is commendable.

**Table 19: Social inclusion indicators; participation in festivals**

Do you participate in the festivals of Punjab?	Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
	Yes	220	51%
	No	35	8%
	sometimes	177	41%

Source: Primary Data

There was a mixed response about the celebrations of the festivals. More than half the respondents heavily participated in the festivals, the acceptance was these from both the sides, barely 8% did not participate their percentage is negligible overall they were all facing the phase of transition. According to the survey, it was found that out of the total number respondents, 51% of them liked to celebrate the festivals of Punjab, just 8% of the respondents did not like to celebrate the festivals of Punjab. It indicated

that they had not accepted the culture of Punjab. 41% of the respondents sometimes joined in the festivals and sometimes they preferred not to join.

**Table 20: Regarding language**

In what language do the locals talk to you?	Hindi	82	19%
	Punjabi	95	22%
	both	255	59%
Do you know and like to speak in Punjabi?	Yes	144	33%
	No	128	30%
	Understand but cannot speak	160	37%

Source: Primary Data

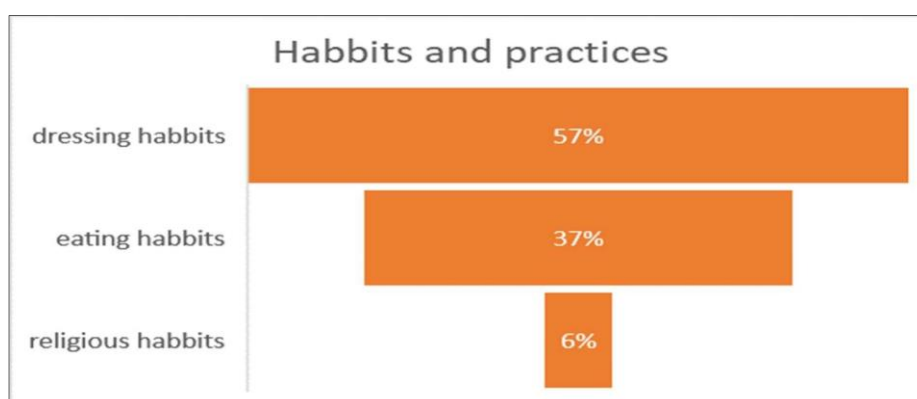
Language is the mode of reaching out and expressing. some of the migrants could learn Punjabi and it became easy for them to bridge gap. Those who could not learn the language for any reason, would continue being an outsider. The study had found that 19% of the respondents admitted that local people spoke to with them in Hindi, 69% of the respondents agreed that local people communicated with them in both Punjabi and Hindi language keeping in mind that they may not understand Punjabi, but 22% of the respondents had the communication in Punjabi with the local people. The study had found that out of the total respondents, 33% of the respondents agreed that they knew how to speak Punjabi and they liked speaking, whereas, 30% of the respondents agreed that they did not like speaking Punjabi and 37% of the respondents shared that they liked but could not speak Punjabi. It shows that for almost one third of the migrant's language was not a barrier for communication.

**Table 21: change in the dressing, eating and religious practices after shifting to Ludhiana?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Dressing Habits	160	57%
Eating Habits	246	37%
Religious Habits	26	6%
TOTAL	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 28: Habbits and practices**



From this above given analysis, it was found that 34% of the total respondents had found that their dressing sense had undergone a change after shifting to Ludhiana, 58% had found that there was a change in their eating habits and 8% had found that there was a change in their religious practices. Majority of the respondents found the change in their eating habits as well.

Language, dress-sense, eating habits, religious practices are all part of socialization. The famous saying ‘while in Rome do as the Romans do’s is very apt. So, the migrants have started dressing up like Punjabis, Punjabi suits getting preference over sarees, eating habits of Punjabis have been picked up by them roti preferred over rice and the religious practices form the adaptation to the new set up.

**Table 22: Regarding invitation from the local people/ co-workers**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Are you invited to the social gatherings or family functions by the locals or	Yes	62%	66%	63%	86%	62%	66%
	No	10%	14%	17%	4%	13%	12%
	Some times	28%	20%	20%	10%	25%	22%

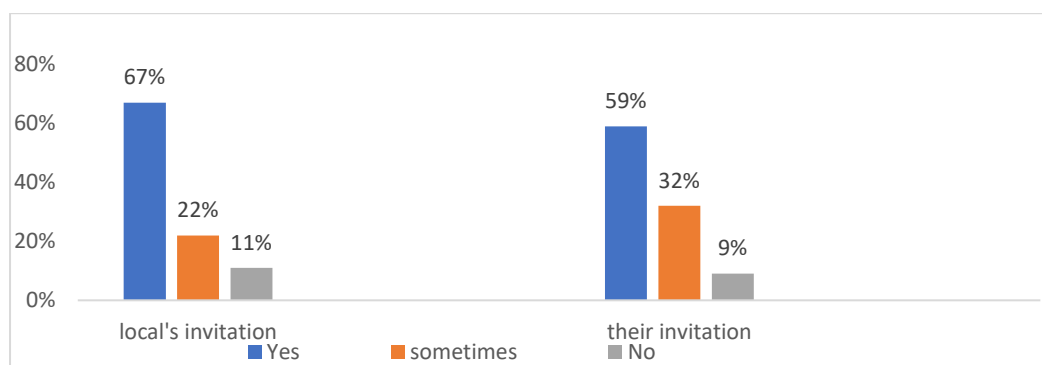
by the co-workers?							
Do you invite locals to your family functions or your social gatherings here?	Yes	56%	62%	51%	77%	58%	51%
	No	14%	10%	8%	3%	10%	8%
	Sometimes	30%	28%	41%	20%	32%	41%

Source: Primary Data

The survey had found that out of the total number of respondents, on an average 60% of the respondents were regularly being invited to the social gatherings by their locals, 4% to 14% of the respondents were not invited and nearly 20 to 28% of the respondents were sometimes invited by the locals to the social functions of their co-workers and friends. However, it has been found that more than half of the respondents were invited to the public gatherings.

According to the study, it has been found that among the total number of respondents, 50 to 70% of the respondents were being invited by the locals regularly, round 8% of the respondents were not invited by the local families in their functions and 30 to 40% of the respondents were sometimes invited by their friends and family. However, it was found that majority of the respondents did invite locals in their functions.

**Figure 29: Regarding invitation in the family function**



There are many aspects of social inclusion. One important aspect is to invite others and be invited by them. Since migrants are the marginalized group. Their



inclusion is quite slow. The local Punjabi people often extend invitation to them and they do participate, but as far as reciprocating is concerned, the migrants perhaps have their reservations as there is difference in percentage of the people who get invitation from the local people and who themselves invite them.

**Table 23: Preference of Work of place where other migrant work**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
No	346	80%
Yes	86	20%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Among all the respondents, it was found that 80% of the respondents did not like working in a place where other migrant workers worked, whereas 20% of the respondents shared that they liked to work in such a workplace where the other migrant workers were also working.

Having their fellow workers by their side must be giving the migrants comfort level but then it must be making them a ‘closed group’. On the other hand, majority of migrants preferred to work with the Punjabi workers, that exhibits the keenness of migrants to imbibe Punjabi habits and language.

**Table 24: Do You Face Any Problem from The Police**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
No	241	56%
Sometimes	72	17%
Yes	29	27%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Police is there to take care of law and order the given above data has helped in understanding that 56% of the total respondents did not face any kind of issues or problems from the local police, 17% said that they sometimes faced the problems and 27% said that they had faced many problems by the local police while their stay in

Ludhiana. The survey reveals that majority of the migrants did not experience the high handedness of police. But good proportion of migrants had problems with the institution of police as they lack identity proof and police suspects them.

**Table 25: Do the Government Offices and Government Employees Co-Operate When You Visit a Government Office?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
YES	104	24%
Sometimes	173	40%
No	155	36%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

This above analysis has helped in understanding that out of the total number of respondents, 24% of the respondents replied affirmatively that the government offices and employees had co-operated with them when they visited their offices. It was found that 40% shared that they had sometimes co-operated, whereas, 36% of the respondents strictly said that the government employees did not co-operate with them.

The attitude of the bureaucracy and the working class is same throughout the country. The files move at a very slow pace and red tapism prevails; the migrants also suffer because of the system.

#### **4.4 Economic Status of Migrants in Ludhiana**

**Table 26: Does the Employer Give You Work According to Your Skills?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	394	91%
No	38	9%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

According to the above Table, it has been found that out of the total number of respondents 91% of the respondents replied affirmatively that their employers gave

them according to their skills, whereas only 9% of the respondents shared that their employer did not provide them work according to their skills.

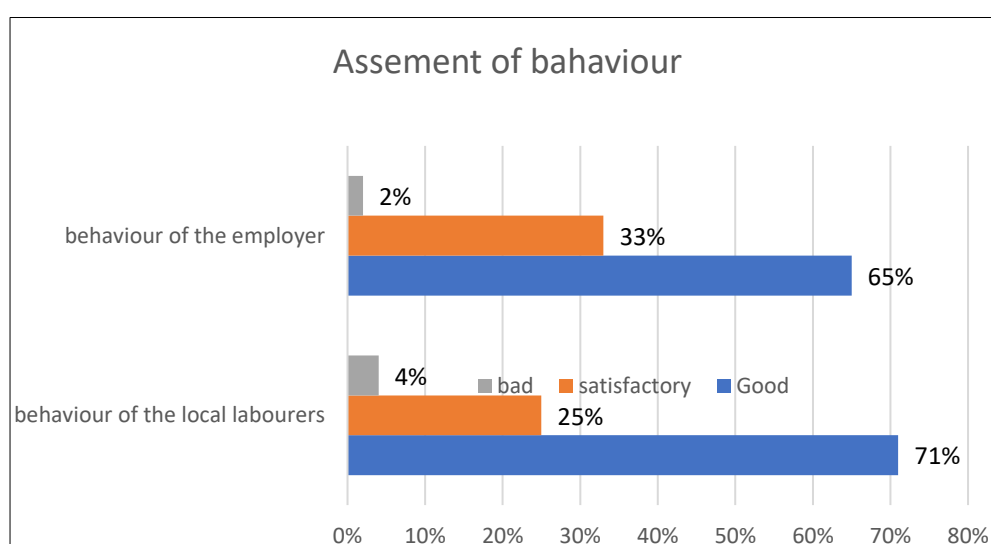
The employers are businessmen; they make profit only when they follow the ethics of business. Every employer values skill and hard work and duly rewards that same. Most of the migrants were satisfied that they were allocated work as their skill. That implies there was no discrimination and these are the things that make the business prosperous.

**Table 27: Assessment of the behaviour of the Local Labourers and the employer**

Assessment of the behavior	Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
How do the Local Labourers at Your Work Place Behave with You?	Good	306	71%
	Satisfactory	108	25%
	Bad	18	4%
How Do You Assess the Behavior of the Employer at Your Work Place?	Good	280	65%
	Satisfactory	143	33%
	Bad	9	2%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 30: Assessment of employer and local labourers' behaviour**



Man is social being and socialization entail interaction. Interaction at a workplace could be with the employer or/and with fellow workers. According to the

data, it was found that out of the total respondents 71% of them revealed that the local laborers were good and behaved in a good way with them at the workplace, whereas 25% of the respondents shared that the local laborers at their workplace behaved in a satisfactory manner. It had also been found that 65% of the respondents felt that the behavior of their employees at the workplace was good with them and 33% of the respondents informed that the behavior of their employers towards them was satisfactory. Only some of migrant find the behavior of the local laborers and employers was bad. So, over all the behaviour of some co-workers very well with the migrants, other were passable and still a handful were intolerant and rude.

**Table 28: For How Many Hours Do You Work?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
10-12 Hours	294	68%
8-10 hours	108	25%
12 hours above	30	7%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table has made it clear that migrants are hardworking people. Among all the respondents, it has been found that 68% of the respondents worked for 10-12 hours in a day, 25% of the respondents worked between 8-10 hours in a day and 7% of the respondents worked for more than 12 hours a day. Therefore, it was found that majority of the respondents worked between 10-12 hours in this region. As the data reveals earlier too that the migrants came in this city for the sake of better economic status so the study found that they were making every possible effort to fulfill their goal. Moreover, this diligence of the migrants makes them acceptable to their employers.

**Table 29: Are you comfortable at your workplace?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	419	97%
No	13	3%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

Among all the employees, it was found that 97% of the respondents agreed that they were comfortable at their workplace, whereas, it was found that only 3% of the respondents were not happy working at their workplace. The migrants, are in the process of settling down and the working atmosphere of Punjab and especially the city of Ludhiana is very conducive, sufficiently conducive to make the migrants feel at home.

**Table 30: How Many Holidays You Get in A Month?**

Categories	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
<b>4 (Sundays)</b>	95	22%
<b>Sundays + Govt holidays</b>	177	41%
<b>No Holidays (daily wagers)</b>	48	11%
<b>NA (self - employed)</b>	112	26%

Source: Primary Data

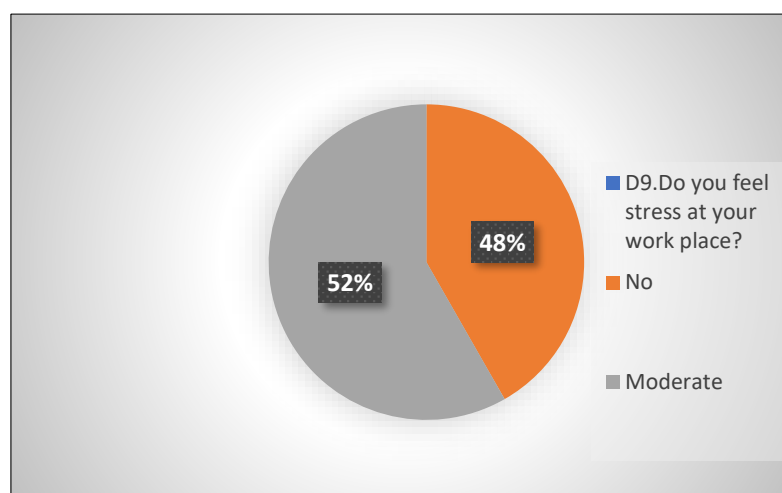
It has been found that among all the respondents, 33% of the respondents are entitled to get 4 holidays in a month, that means that they have Sunday as holidays. Moreover 41% of the respondents had replied that they were given government gazetted holidays also such as Republic Day, Independence Day and on certain festivals further, 12% of the respondents did not get any holidays It meant that they were either daily wagers or they were self-employed. The plight of the daily wages is worse than that of the regular workers. The regular worker is entitled to have certain benefits but the daily wages do not have any break or holiday which is quite tough for them.

**Table 31: How Much Stress You Feel at Your Work Place?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
No	207	48%
Moderate	225	52%
High	-	-
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 31: stress at the workplace**

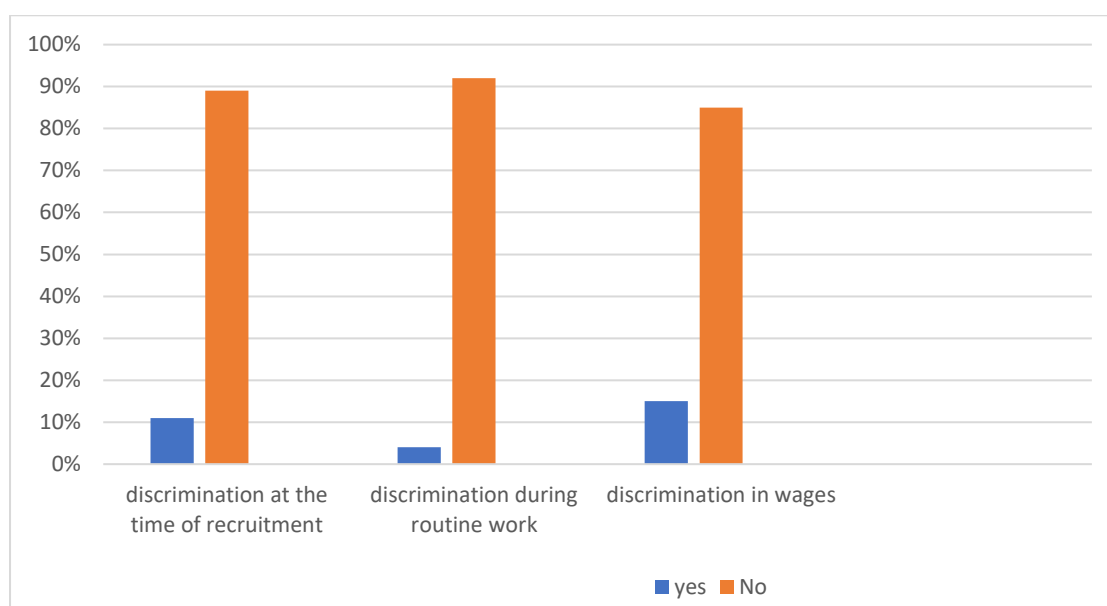


Stress is an inseparable part of human life. Among all the respondents, it was found that 48% of the respondents were not feeling any stress at their workplace, whereas it was discovered that 52% of the respondents were experiencing stress at their workplace. Some Migrants feel the stress of competing with others, and some, the stress of coming up to their own expectations. The stress could be mastering the skills and not to invoke the wrath of the manager or owner. The migrants are also a mixed lot, those who can cope up with stress and those who remain stressed in cut-throat competition.

**Table 32: Regarding Discrimination**

	Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Did you face any discrimination at the time of recruitment as compared to the locals?	NO	384	89%
	YES	48	11%
Do you face any discrimination during the routine work?	No	396	92%
	Yes	17	4%
	Sometimes	17	4%
Is there any discrimination in the wages given to you as compared to the locals?	No	367	85%
	Yes	65	15%

**Figure 32: Regarding discrimination at work place**



In response to the question ‘did you face any discrimination at the time of recruitment as compared to the locals?’ The respondents replied quite positively, 89% of the respondents did not face any kind of discrimination at their workplace, whereas it was found that 11% of the respondents felt discrimination at their work place. The study had found that almost all the migrants agreed that they did not face any discrimination during their routine work. Just a negligible portion only i.e., 4% felt that sometimes they felt the employer was giving an edge to locals over them and just 4% felt that there was a difference of behavior of their employer towards them. Among all the respondents 85% of the respondents replied in the negative by adding that they did not face any discrimination regarding their wages compared to the locals, whereas 15% of the respondents agreed to this.

Overall majority of the migrants did not face any discrimination at the time of recruitment. It has already been seen that they are skilled and diligent and a good employer/manager would not let go a skilled hardworking worker. The work atmosphere is very cordial and the discrimination at workplace, either in the allocation of work or wages is almost non-existent. Those on the other hand (a very small percentage) who felt the discrimination must be because of their own sensitivities and they were a few exceptions only.

#### **D24. Does Your Employer Abuse or Manhandle You?**

No, all the respondents agreed that they have not received any kind of abuse or manhandling by their employer. So, the survey found the physical assault is a thing of the bygone days.

#### **D25. Is Your Health Being Affected by The Work You Have to Do at The Factory?**

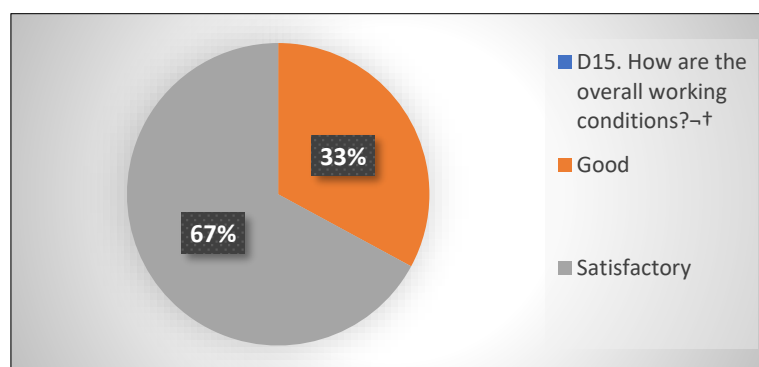
No, all the respondents agreed that their health is not getting affected by the work or working conditions at the work place.

**Table 33: How Are the Overall Working Conditions?**

Categories	Frequency	Percentage %
Good	143	33%
Satisfactory	289	67%
Total	432	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 33: Regarding overall working condition**



Among all the respondents, 67% of the respondents found the overall working condition satisfactory, whereas 33% of the total respondents found that the overall working condition were good.

#### **D27. Do You Get Any Extra Benefits Other Than the Salary?**

All the respondents responded in the negative. It indicated that the migrants were not getting any PF like benefits as was happening in most of the small-scale level private units. They just hired the labor either on the daily basis or on monthly basis but



just provided the salary. The authorities should look into this matter and provide economic security and other peripheral benefits to them.

It can be easily concluded that the migrants are in the process of settling down and being socially included. They are happy with their new surroundings. The employers, the managers fellow workers, all of them have made the working place a good one that is how Ludhiana has become a business hub and migrant hub as well.

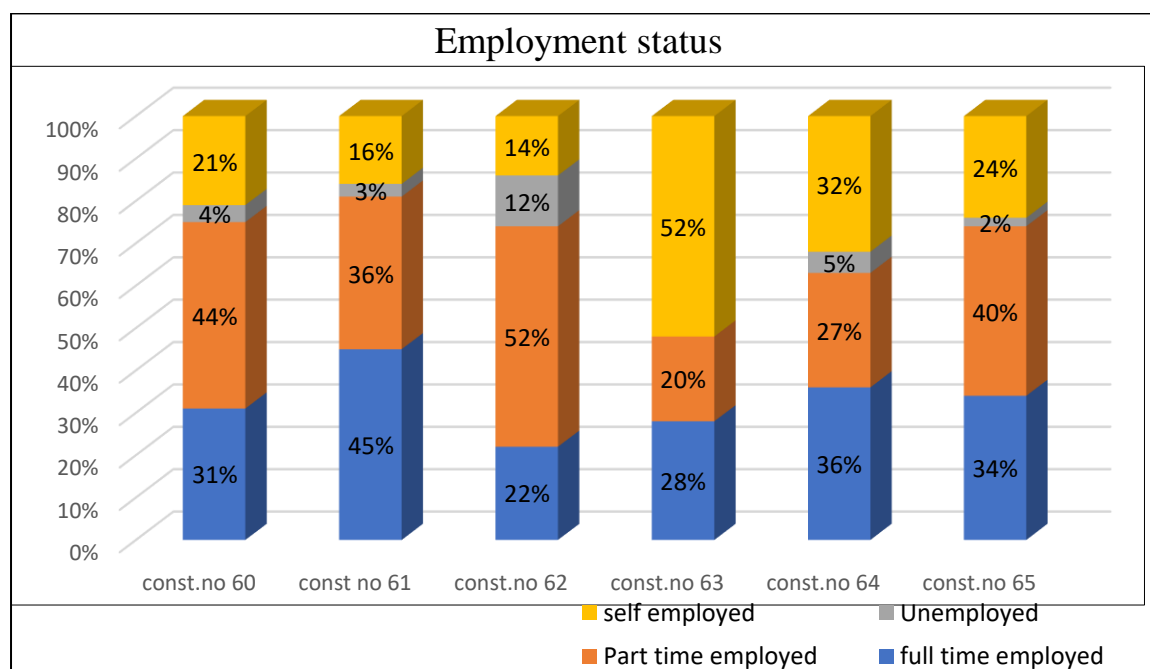
#### 4.5 Economic Condition Indicators

**Table 34: Present employment status**

Response	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Full Time Employed	31%	45%	22%	28%	36%	34%
Part Time Employed	44%	36%	52%	20%	27%	40%
Unemployed	4%	3%	12%	-	5%	2%
Self- Employed	21%	16%	14%	52%	32%	24%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 34: Employment status of the migrants**



In the survey it has found that out of all the respondents, unemployed category of the migrants was very low. In all the constituencies the unemployed category ranged from 2 to 12%. Otherwise, people were either semi employed or full time employed. Both the categories' people ranged from 20% to 50%. In south constituency and Atam Nagar constituency the number of people who were self-employed, was very less; just 16% and 14%. Full time employed are maximum i.e., 36% in constituency number 64 and self-employed were maximum in constituency number 63 i.e., 52%.

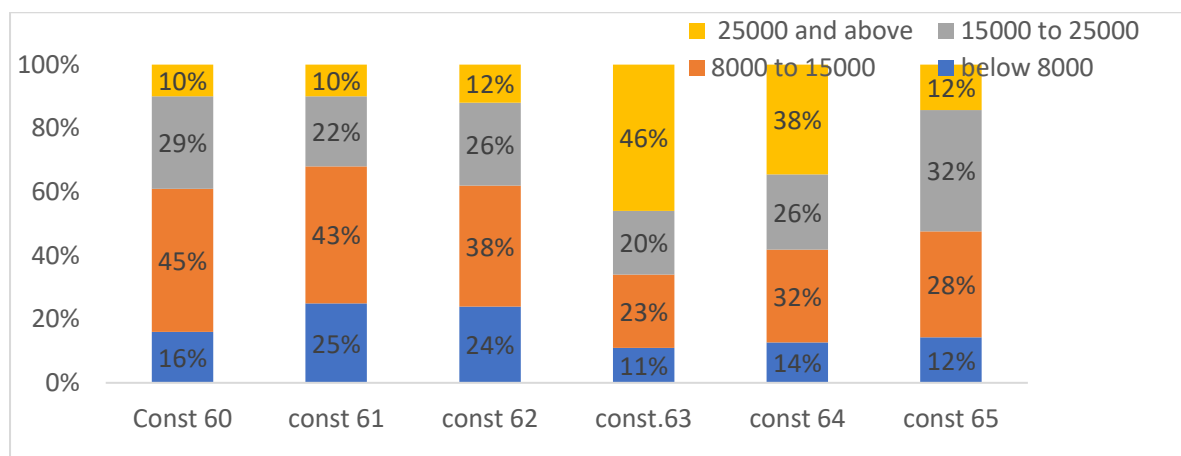
The category of the unemployed migrants was the lowest. That clearly shows that Ludhiana has plenty of opportunities to offer to absorb migrants. The next category was partially employed and fully employed migrants. This is a strong indicator that with employments in their hands, they are in the process of settling down and in some cases more than one member of the family was employed.

**Table 35: Income groups of migrants in Ludhiana**

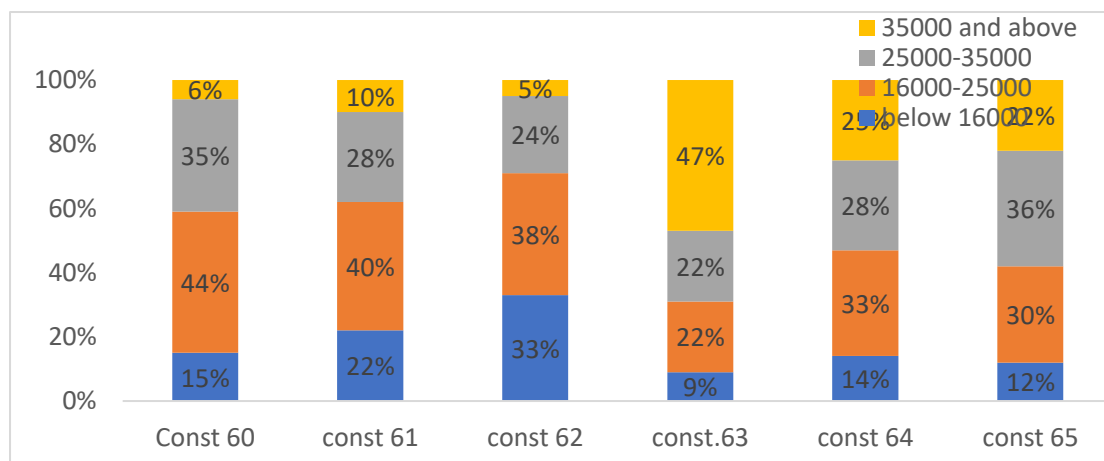
Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Your income	Below 8000	16%	25% Max.	24%	11% Least	14%	12%
	8000-15000	45% Max.	43%	38%	23% Least	32%	28%
	15000-25000	29%	22%	26%	20% Least	26	32% Max.
	25000 and above	10% Least	10% Least	12%	46% Max.	38%	28%
Family income	Below 16000	15%	22%	33% Max.	9% Least	14%	12%
	16000-25000	44% Max.	40%	38%	22% Least	33%	30%
	25000 - 35000	35%	28%	24% Least	22%	28%	36% Max.
	35000 and above	6%	10%	5%	47% Max.	25%	22%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 35: Individual income of migrants in Ludhiana**



**Figure 36: Family income of migrants in Ludhiana**



Diversity was seen in various constituencies when the splitting of groups was done on the basis of income. Starting from the lowest personal income (less than 8000) Ludhiana central had 11% persons in this range Ldh. South had 25% in the range. The next category of (8000-15000) income Ldh. Central had 23% in this category and Ldh East has 45% in this category. The third category (15000-25000) Ludhiana central again had the least 23% in this category and Ludhiana north had 32% maximum in this, the fourth category of (25000 and above) Ludhiana south had only 10% and Ludhiana central was again on the top of the table with 46%. Coming to family income, the first category (below 16000) Ludhiana central had least 9% and Ldh. Atam Nagar had 33% maximum. In this group 2<sup>nd</sup> category of 16000-25000 Ldh. Atam Nagar with 36%

maximum percentage fourth category 35000 and above Ldh. East with 6% had least percentage and Ldh. Central with 47% had maximum.

**Table 35 A: Status of women migrant’s contribution in the family.**

Total no of female migrants		unemployed		Partially employed/Employed		Families’ income below 16000 where women are not working		Families’ income above 16000 where women are not working	
164	38%	15	9.1%	126	77%	11	73%	4	27%

Source: Primary Data

The above table indicates the contribution of the women in supplementing the family income. It has been found in the study that majority of migrant women are working and are amplifying the family income. 77% women migrants were either partially employed or employed and just 9 % women were not working. It has been found that only 27% such families were there which were having above 16000 income without having any support from the women migrants.

**Table 36: House, Land and other immovable property**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Do you own your house here?	Yes	12%	7%	3%	29%	18%	14%
	No	88%	93%	97%	71%	82%	86%
Do you have any land other than the house?	Yes	3%	5%	2%	19%	9%	2%
	No	97%	95%	98%	81%	91%	98%
Any other immovable property	Yes	4%	3%	2%	18%	5%	2%
	No	96%	97%	98%	82%	95%	98%

Source: Primary Data

After income, the second indicator of economic condition is having immovable property and one's own house etc. The survey found that not many migrants had their own houses in Ludhiana. The percentage of migrants having own houses ranged from 3 to 18%. Only in Ludhiana central constituency 29% migrants had their own houses. The same was trend is visible regarding any other immovable property or land etc. In almost all the constituencies except the central constituency less than 10% people had their other immovable property.

Comparing Table D4.30 and D4.29, it can be inferred that the constituency where the family income was maximum had those few respondents who owned houses. It is but obvious that buying house or any other asset is directly linked with income. Better income naturally leads to better possessions.

### **D31: Rental payment**

As most of the migrants did not have having their own houses, so they were living in the rental accommodation. When asked about the status of accommodation the following replies were given.

**Table 37: Size of accommodation of migrants**

How many rooms are there where you are living?	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Accommodation having 1 room	54%	52%	55%	28%	42%	46%
Accommodation having 2 rooms	25%	29%	33%	29%	28%	32%
Accommodation having 3 or more rooms	21%	19%	12%	43% max.	30%	22%

Source: Primary Data

So, it is clear from the above data that majority of the migrants were living in the one room accommodation. nearly 50% migrants in almost all the constituencies

except Ldh. central constituency lived in one room accommodation. In almost all the constituencies 20% to 30% of migrants lived in either two room or three-room accommodation. The rental accommodation of the migrants generally was of one room and only 20-30% respondents had 2 to 3 roomed rental accommodation. All these findings are further strengthening the marginalized status/condition of migrants.

**Table 38: Status of accommodation furnishing wise**

<b>Do you have furnished following</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Kitchen	Furnished	4%	2%	5%	28%	22%	14%
	unfurnished	56%	68%	57%	32%	36%	46%
	semi furnished	40%	30%	38%	40%	42%	40%
Bath room furnished	Furnished	4%	2%	5%	28%	22%	14%
	Unfurnished	56%	68%	57%	32%	36%	46%
	Semi-furnished	40%	30%	38%	40%	42%	40%

Source: Primary Data

This Table has presented the status of accommodation in which the migrants were living. So far as the furnishing of the kitchen and bath rooms were concerned almost 40% migrants were living in the semi furnished kitchens and bathrooms whereas 58% in the South const. of Ludhiana were living in totally unfurnished house. The Ldh. central and west const. the status of the homes of migrants were quite high as 28% and 22% migrants were having fully furnished bathrooms and kitchens.

The relatively better income bracket enabled the migrants to have better accommodation. Those who had family income of 35000 and above could afford even three roomed accommodations and that too was fully furnished. So, the living conditions have an upward trend. When the income goes up, that can be clearly seen from the standard of living of the migrants.

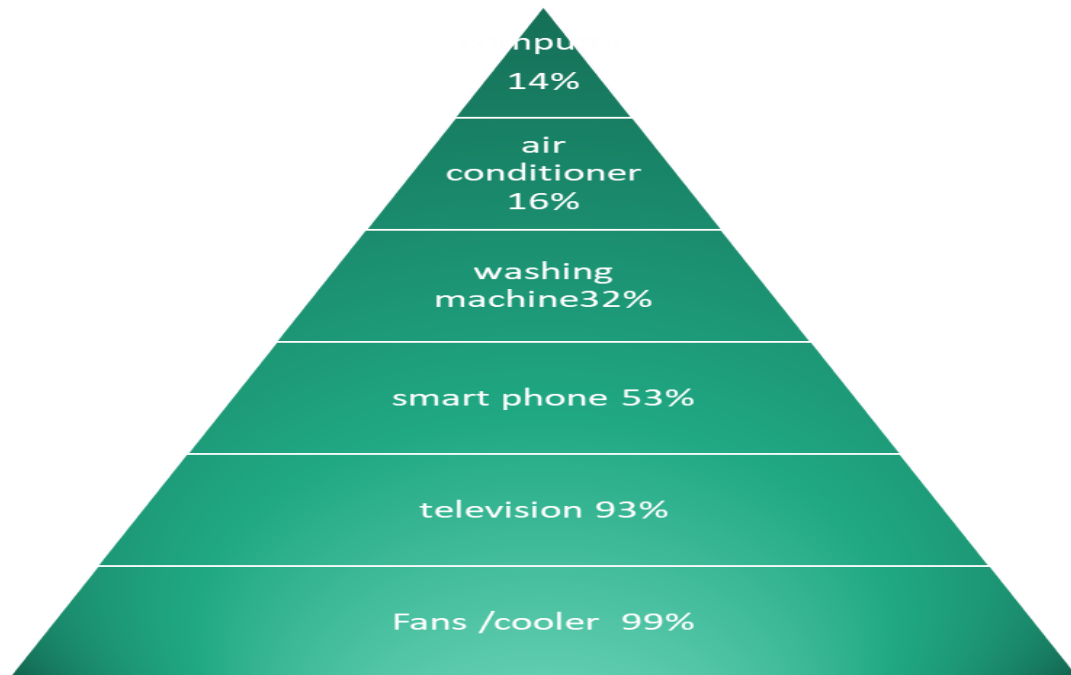
**Table: 39 Use of Household utility items**

Do you have following items		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
TV	Yes	94%	92%	93%	98%	92%	94%
	No	6%	8%	7%	2%	8%	6%
Washing machine	Yes	23%	25%	10%	59%	48%	32%
	No	77%	75%	90%	41%	52%	68%
Fans/cooler	Yes	99%	98	100%	100%	100%	98%
	No	1%	2%	-	-	-	2%
Air conditioner	Yes	11%	5%	4%	35%	25%	20%
	No	89%	95%	96%	65%	75%	80%
Computer/laptop	Yes	5%	4%	6%	23%	24%	22%
	No	95%	96%	94%	77%	76%	78%
Smart phone	Yes	52%	46%	41%	73%	53%	54%
	No	48%	56%	59%	27%	47%	46%

Source: Primary Data

Another component of analyzing the financial soundness of any person is the use of the items of utility and comfort. The survey was based upon six items ranging from the basic necessities to comfort. It has been found that the use of TV, fans/cooler is maximum by the migrants. In almost all the constituencies more than 95% of the migrants had fans, coolers and T.V. The use of the smart phone is on the second number as 40% to 73% migrants possessed the smart phone. The washing machine is on the third number. Nearly 20% to 30% migrants use it except const.no 63 where this figure went to 59%. It indicates one more thing; that the products which are primarily of interest to the males are more purchased than the products targeting females. Similarly, the portable products which can be easily relocated are also used more than the nonportable products

**Figure 37: Use of Household utility items**



Air conditioner and computers are items of luxury in most of the household of Punjab especially in Ludhiana. And for migrants too, the use of these items is very low. Other people use of air conditioner and computer is 23% and 28% (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.57) whereas migrants too less than 20% migrants have its access. If we combine the results of all the constituencies, the maximum number and the percentage of the migrants were using T.V, fans/cooler. Nearly 95% people in Punjab have made use of Television and Fans/cooler as part and parcel of their life (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.59). With the level of awareness increasing, the use of media and exposure to the media is normally perceived. T.V offers visual and auditory delight – with the interest in Indian politics and sports T.V has become an item of priority even in the barest of household. Fans and cooler are also very essential to beat the scorching heat of the summer of Northern India. The use of mobile is very popular and high if one compares its use with the other people of Punjab in Ludhiana. 53% of the migrants have the smart phone where as 31% of other people in Punjab made use of it (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.53). In the male dominated society, the interests of the menfolk become uppermost and the portable items are more desirable for those who reside in rental accommodation; that is to be changed from time to time.



**Table 40: Awareness about labour legislation and supporting agencies**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Awareness about Projects of state/central government for workers/ laborer's	Yes	5	7	3	23	8	4
	No	95%	93%	97%	67%	92%	96%
Knowledge of labour legislation	Yes	3%	5%	2%	19%	9%	2%
	No	97%	95%	98%	81%	91%	98%
Knowledge of Labour Union	Yes	24%	23%	32%	48%	45%	22%
	No	76%	77%	68%	52%	55%	78%
Knowledge of Labour Rights	Yes	48%	42%	38%	53%	47%	41%
	No	52%	58%	62%	47%	53%	59%

Source: Primary Data

This Table has revealed the knowledge of migrants about the projects taken up by the central and the state government for the Labourers. More than 90% of the respondents replied in the negative, showing their ignorance and less than 10% of the individuals replied in the affirmative that they were aware about state and central led projects. This table also represents the vote bank of the respondents who were aware of the labor legislation and policies. Out of the 432 respondents, again more than 90% of the individuals were not aware of such a legislation, hence replied in the negative. whereas less than 10% were aware of the labor legislation. Nearly 20% to 30% migrants in Ldh. East, Ldh. North, Ldh. South and Ldh Atam Nagar constituency were aware about the existence of the labor unions in the industry and in Ludhiana central constituency and Ldh. West constituency 48% and 45% migrants were aware about these unions.

So far as the knowledge about the various rights of labourers and workers are concerned a large number of migrants are vigilant about their rights. In the survey it was found that around 40% of the individuals were aware about the labor rights given

by the various provisions of the constitution. 53% in Ldh. Central const. migrants were alert and the lowest 38% in Atam Nagar const. were aware of this important fact. This actually deals with their political participation. To be aware of legislation concerning them, and to be aware of the trade unions that fight for their rights, shifts their apathy to interest and to being vigilant voters.

#### **4.6 Summary of the chapter**

93% of the workforce in India is in the informal sector and facing the inequalities (Haan, 2011). So is the case in Ludhiana migrant workforce. Majority of the migrants in Ludhiana are from the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and they are in informal sector. It is a well-known fact that job prospects in these states are not promising because of the lack of economic development in comparison to other states of India. Moreover, poor health and education facilities also pushed the migrants to migrate in other places. Thus, compelled by hunger, starvation, unemployment and disturbed law and order situation, migrants leave their native place. Most of them were young that is between 26 to 40 years old. This is an age when an individual has a spirit of adventure and risk-taking capability. The 'push' factors were their circumstances and the 'pull' factors were the rosy pictures painted by their relatives and friends of green pastures.

Thus, these migrants shifted, driven by poverty and hunger, with dreams of bright futures for themselves and their families. The educational background of these migrants was very low and they fell in the category of unskilled labour. The study found that the economic condition of the migrants started improving. Majority of the migrants fall in the income bracket of rupees 10,000-25,000 per month. This economic condition is far better than what they had in their native place but it is also true that this group is close to the lowest income group of Ludhiana or the lowest per capita income of Punjab that is 1.15 lakhs. Migrants work for 10-12 hours per day, which is more than the standard hours of work prescribed in India that is 8 hours per day. They are not paid extra for these additional hours.

The study found that the migrant socio-cultural lives have been restructured in Ludhiana. They are greatly influenced by the local culture. Majority of the migrants have modified their eating habits and acquired the local language and customs. Even their dressing style has undergone a transformation. The migrants have been socially

included in Ludhiana. The locals do invite them to their functions and personal celebrations but they are hesitant in extending that cordiality towards them. This could be due to lack of confidence and certain complexes manifesting thereof. Migrants do not face any discrimination at the workplace from the employer viz-a-viz a local laborer.

The study found chief source of migration to Ludhiana was the 'network' or presence of their relatives or friends nor the agents. Hence forth, the decision of migrating to Punjab especially to Ludhiana, the industrial hub of Punjab was taken under the guidance/influence of relatives which later on becomes the major cause of non-registration of the migrants. Henceforth they work in unorganized sector and do not have any statutory benefits, like EPF, etc. They are not given any subsidies in Ludhiana also as they are not registered. The data found the healthy sign of Indian economy as majority of the migrants have bank accounts and they use net banking to send money to their family and relatives. Migrants in Ldh are aware about labour unions but they are not aware of the broader spectrum that is to have knowledge about labour legislation and even about labour rights. Thus, migrants are partially aware about their economic rights. But how much their, this socio-economic condition paves the way for political participation; would be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANTS

Political participation is one of the important indicators of the health and success of democracy. True democracy demands participation of each segment of society in the political activities so that policies can be framed in accordance with the requirement of every section of society and no one feel alienated or deprived. In this chapter attempt has been made to know whether migrants feel politically alienated or they had started participating in the political life of Ludhiana. What is the nature of political participation of migrants? The chapter has taken their political participation under two headings formal participation under which three political activities are taken i.e., exercising right to vote, becoming member of any political party and contesting the election. In the second category informal political participation is taken into consideration under which some activities are taken into consideration. These are attending political meetings, taking part in the political discussions, taking part in campaigning and role in the selection of candidates. The study also investigated the factors influencing their political participation and their level of political awareness.

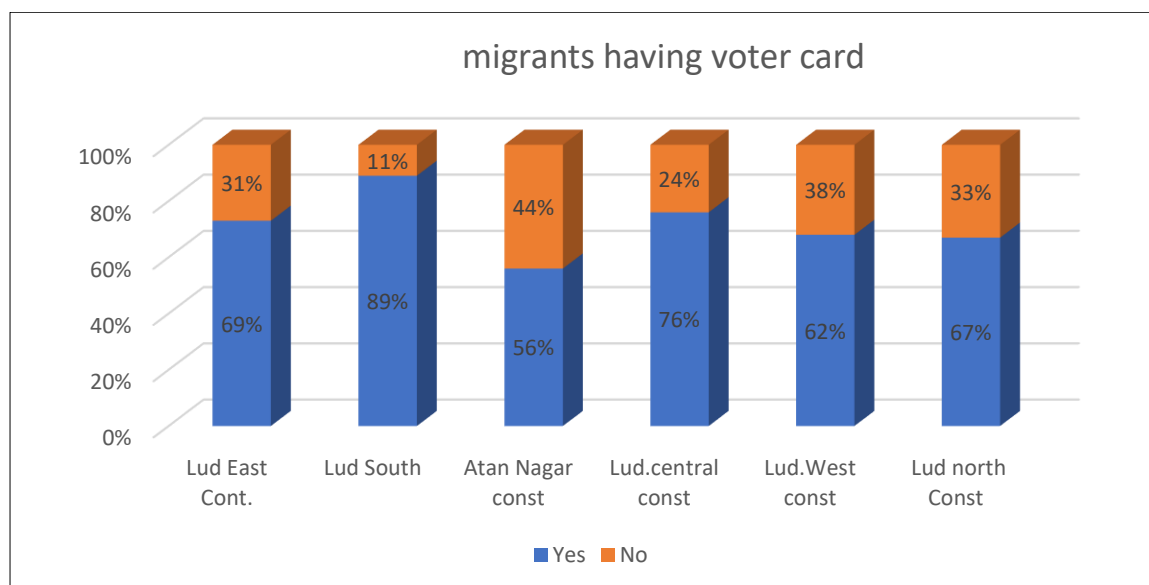
#### 5.1 Formal Political Participation of migrants in Ludhiana.

**Table 42: Whether having Voter id card**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Yes	69%	89%	56%	76%	62%	67%
No	31%	11%	44%	24%	38%	33%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 38: migrants having voter card**



Though the study has included political participation of only those migrants who have voter id card of the address at Ldh but the survey also attempted to find how many migrants in Ludhiana had voter card. In almost all the constituencies, migrants had made their voter cards so that they could avail their political rights. In almost all the constituencies more than 50% migrants did have their voter id card of Ludhiana address. In Ludhiana South const. maximum number i.e., 89% of migrants have voter id card followed by Ludhiana central constituency where 76% migrants had voter id cards. In Atam Nagar constituency only 56% migrants had the voter card which had the least percentage. In all other constituencies more than 65% migrants were with voter card holding Ludhiana address.

The reason for not having voter card was that the migrants considered voter card as their identity card and they did not want to shift their identity from their native place. They were getting economic benefit like subsidies etc. for their families at the place of origin. The migrant usually went back to cast their vote at the local level so that they could have the access to the local leaders. As a result, shifting of voter card may lead to losing of economic subsidies. Secondly the migrants had found the procedure of changing the address at the voter id card complicated and tedious. So, they preferred to maintain the status quo. The most important factor in this regard was the initiative of the local leaders. In the south constituency in ward number 31, as in the last election

migrant leader contested and won the election of the councilor. That factors motivated the migrants to enroll in the voter list and participate in the elections and the candidate too had helped them a lot to be the voter at this place.

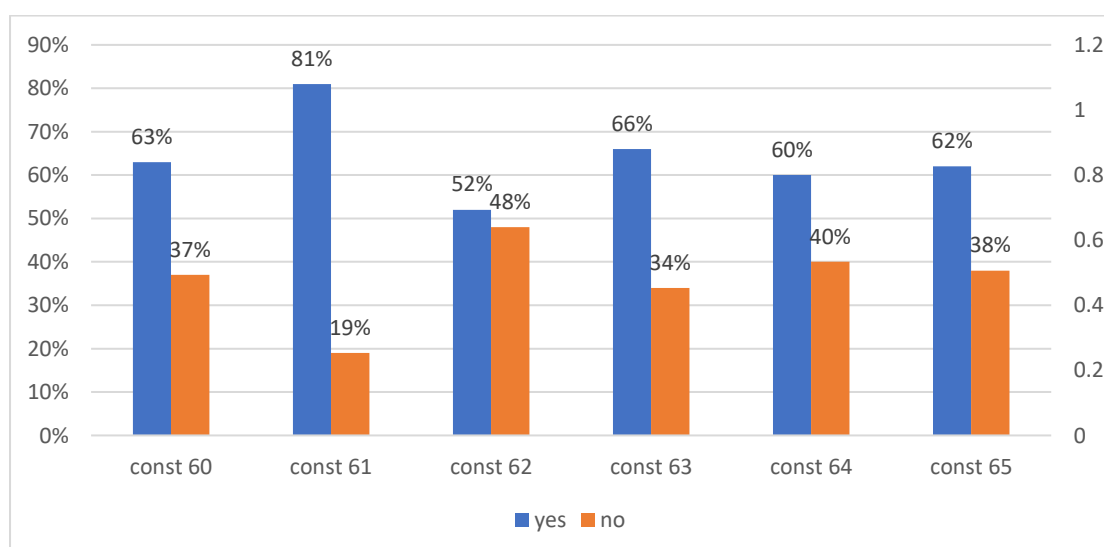
**Table 43: Ever casting of votes since 2015 after having voter id card**

Response	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Yes	63%	81%	52%	66%	60%	62%
No	37%	19%	48%	34%	40%	38%

Source: Primary Data

By casting their votes, voters can influence the political process of their representatives and reveal to the public their thoughts, attitudes, and intentions regarding the political system. It was found that for the last five years more than 50% of the voters, who had voter id of Ludhiana cast their votes. The highest number of migrants who exercised their right to vote are in South constituency where 81% migrants had their voter id card and the lowest figure is in Atam Nagar Constituency where 48% people never exercised their Right to vote. The rest of the constituencies ranged from 60 to 70%.

**Figure 39: Exercise of right to vote**



The study had found that there is a difference between the people who had having voter id card and people who had exercised their right to vote. Almost 5 to 8 % gap was there. It was realized that the people in Ludhiana central constituency 76% people were having voter id card but 66% migrants used it. In the South constituency 89% people had having voter id card but 81% migrants had used it. In Atam Nagar constituency 56% migrants had voter id card but only 52% had exercised it. In Ldh. east constituency 69% migrants have voter id card but only 63% exercised it. Ldh. west constituency 60% migrants had voter id card but only 62% exercised it. In Ldh. North constituency 67% migrants had voter id card but only 62% had exercised it.

**Table 44: Reasons for voting in election**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Vote is our political right	13%	19%	18%	11%	16%	14%
to choose right and responsible government	55%	57	38	65	63	54%
as a responsible citizen we should deliver our franchise	4%	3%	2%	6%	7%	2%
through voting our economic/ social needs will be fulfilled	1%	1%	-	-	-	-
all the above reasons	27%	20%	42%	18%	15%	30%

Source: Primary Data

In almost all the constituencies, more than the 50% of the migrants voted for the sake of selecting responsible candidates. The maximum number of migrants who voted to choose the right candidate were in Ldh. Central constituency where 65% migrants opted for exercising voting right. Moreover, 11% to 19% migrants voted just because

they thought that voting is their political right and they should exercise. The survey has indicated that less than 10% of migrants considered voting as a duty which they should perform. But 42% of the migrants considered all of the above grounds for their franchise. The study had found that majority of the migrants were aware that by exercising their right to vote they could choose responsible and the right candidate as per their perception. So, voting became a tool for them to choose the leader of their choice who could serve them. Further voting is neither a Right nor a duty according to the survey as less than 10% migrants selected this option. It has shown that the migrants have clear cut approach about their tasks and goals.

**Table 45: Reasons for Not Voting**

Major reasons	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Apathy towards politics /no interest in local politics	43%	49%	58%	31%	43%	44%
Voting means wastage of time	5	7	8	5	6	4
Out of station	14%	13%	12%	16%	15%	12%
Illness	-	-	-	-	-	-
Was busy in domestic duties	29%	20%	11%	35%	24%	32%
Some other reasons	9	11	11	13	12	8

Source: Primary Data

The Table has indicated the reasons why some of the migrants had the voter id cards but preferred not to vote. It is not surprising that 30 to 58% people expressed their apathy towards politics. They had never shown any interest in voting. In Atam Nagar constituency 58% migrants had apathetic attitude towards politics followed by Ldh. south const. where 49% migrants lacked interest in politics. The second important reason for not casting their vote was that they were busy in their household duties. In Ldh. Central const. the highest number of migrants mentioned their busy schedule as a factor responsible for not voting. Further 35% migrants in this const. were busy on that day followed by Ldh. North const. where 32% migrants gave the same reason.



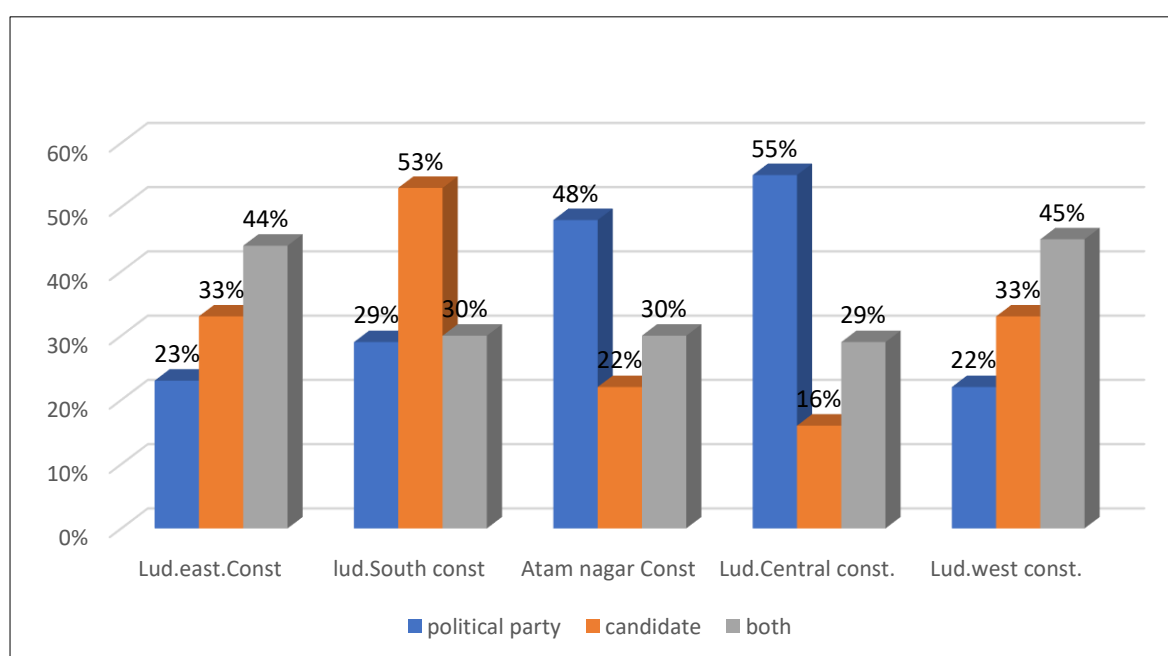
The reasons for which migrants did not cast their vote is very different to the reasons for which other people in Punjab did not cast their vote. CSDS, survey found most of voters either out of station or physical illness as the chief cause for not voting. In 2017, during assembly election, 29% and 18% respectively (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.3) and in 2019, Lok Sabha election, 19% and 14% people in Punjab (CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.15) did not cast their vote for these reasons whereas migrants were apathetic means they lack interest in Ludhiana politics for which they preferred to remain absent.

**Table 46: Whom you give importance given while voting**

Major considerations	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Political party	23%	29%	48%	55%	22%	34%
Candidate	33%	53%	22%	16%	33%	22%
Both	44%	30%	30%	29%	45%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 40: Voters' consideration while voting**



There are numerous justifications for why voters choose certain candidates. Some claim that the party matters more than the leader, while others hold a different perspective. The above table has revealed that the consideration of the migrant voters while casting their vote. In Ludhiana central constituency 55% migrant voters mentioned the political party as their chief consideration while casting their vote, they paid less attention to the candidate and both the things. In the same manner in Atam Nagar constituency 48% people paid more attention to the political party than the candidate. Here the migrants 'consideration is close to the consideration of the people of Punjab in 2017 Assembly elections and Lok Sabha election of 2019. In 2017 elections 49% people preferred to party than the other considerations (Sekhon, 2018) and in 2019 42% people preferred party to candidate or other things (CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.19). In South constituency 29%; in Ludhiana. North const. 34%; in Ludhiana. East and west const. 23% and 34% migrant respectively paid attention to the political party. In the Ludhiana. East and west cont.33% migrants preferred candidate to the political party and their preference reflects the preference expressed by Punjabis in 2017 when 39% voters preferred either the CM candidate or the PM candidate over the party. (Sekhon, 2018). In the Ludhiana. North. const.22% voters voted for the sake of candidate. In all the constituencies nearly 30 to 45% migrant voters considered both the things while exercising their right to vote.

From the perspective of the consideration of the migrants while casting their vote, the survey has presented a very volatile result. The Ludhiana. South and Ludhiana central constituency have presented a different picture of voter's choice. In Ldh. Central constituency. the migrant voters regarded the political party as their main consideration and a big margin is there between the preference of party and candidate. Further, 55% viewed political party and only 16% paid attention to the candidate profile. Contrary to this, chief consideration of the migrants in Ldh. South constituency was candidate and again a big difference was there between the preference for the party and the candidate. Further, 53% considered the candidate in comparison to 29% who had paid attention to the political party.

Since the candidate in the last election contesting from the south constituency belonged to their community, so they were mobilized in favour of the candidate irrespective of his status as being member of any political party. The probable reason

for the wave in favour of the political party in the central const.no 63 is the popular and effective role of the local leaders who are strong supporters of specific political ideology and party. They had been able to mobilize them in favour of a particular ideology.

**Table 47: The most important consideration in favour of the party**

<b>Major considerations</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Leadership of the party	21%	20%	32%	28%	23%	34%
The overall programme of the party is good	61%	45%	48%	62%	60%	47%
People of my caste /community supported that party	13%	29%	16%	09%	12%	14%
Family is traditional supporters/voters of the party.	1%	3%	2%	-	-	3%
I/my family have benefitted, or expect to benefit from the party.	4%	3%	2%	1%	5%	2%

Source: Primary Data

This table has presented the reason behind supporting a particular political party while voting. In Ludhiana. East, Central and West constituency in the elections 61%, 60% and 62% voters respectively supported in election the political party on the basis of the programme of political party. Whereas in Ludhiana. South const. 29% voters gave weightage to the fact that the people of their caste and community have been supporting that party so they also supported it. The Leadership of the political party has a reasonable impact over the voters. Nearly 20 to 35% migrant voters in all the constituencies voted due to leadership of political party. The impact of the economic gain or the traditional support to any political party is just below 10%.

The chief reason of the favoring any political party by the migrant voters is the programme of the political party. It reflects the rationality of the migrant voters. They are not swayed by the personality of the leader of a political party nor do they give weightage to the fact that their family had been the traditional supporter of that political party. The socio, economic and political programme or the election manifesto of political party is the key consideration for their support to any political group in elections. One more very healthy sign of the politics of Ludhiana is that the migrant voters were not giving any weightage to the factor that if local political party leader promised to give some economic benefit to them.

The electorate is gradually becoming mature, they are not allured by false promises or the assurance of some petty gains at the local level. They are not even dependent on the mindset of their relatives, friends, and acquaintance. The weightage given by them is to the past performance, the ideology of the party and the performance of the candidate.

**Table 48: The most important consideration in favour of the candidate.**

<b>Major considerations</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
The candidate has worked a lot in my area	55%	45%	49%	62%	58%	47%
The candidate is accessible	32%	30%	32%	30%	33%	35%
candidate's personality.	3%	5%	5%	3%	-	2%
Religion of the candidate	1%	1%	2%	-	-	-
The group or the faction in the ward supported the candidate	4%	10%	2%	1%	5%	6%
Candidate belongs to my state /region	5%	9%	10%	4%	8%	8%

Source: Primary Data

The table has shown the reason for supporting any candidate during the election. It is to be noted that 45% to 62% migrant voters in all the constituencies supported by voting for a candidate whose performance in the past had been good in locality. The highest 62% migrant in Ldh. Central constituency and lowest 45% in South constituency voted for a candidate keeping in mind the fact whether the candidate had worked in the past in the area or not. The second important factor behind supporting a candidate by the migrant workers was if the candidate was accessible to them. In all the constituencies more than 30% voters voted for a candidate if he/she was easily available if they had approached them for any task. The percentage of the migrants who supported any candidate on the basis of the caste/ community/religion and personality was very low. Below 5% migrants had given the consideration to exhibited this in all the constituencies.

The analysis has reveals very significant and healthy indicator for Indian politics. It has reflected that migrant have become mature and sensible voters. The candidates in the election fray could not score well if they had made caste or religion as issues. Moreover, more than 50% migrant voters' consideration for the performance of the candidates was a very healthy sign. The personality of the candidate was also not an attractive issue for the migrants. The migrants had also focused this factor in the election whether the candidate could be accessible if they wished to approach. One third of the migrant voters voted giving weightage to this factor. So, it can be inferred that the migrant voters have fully grown up.

## **5.2 Political Clientelism**

As it is very difficult to get the accurate answers of the elements of political clientelism among the voters, so the survey has tried to know this indirectly from the migrants. The survey attempted to know the element of clientelism with the help of four bases.

These are as follow:

When they finally decided to whom they were to vote

Secondly whether candidate or his representative met them met them personally?

They take the voting decision independently?

Impact on their economic condition after the political participation

**Table 49: When did you finally make up your mind about whom to vote for**

<b>Political clientelism</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Well before the election process started	58%	53%	58%	86%	72%	64%
On the day election dates were Announced	13%	11%	21%	12%	09%	10%
On the day of election.	3%	2%	6%	2%	1%	4%
Can't say	26%	24%	15%	-	18%	22%

Source: Primary Data

The Table has shown further, that more than 50% migrant voters were clear in their mind that in whose favour they were to cast their vote. In Ldh. Central const. 86% of the migrant voters, followed by Ldh. West const and Ldh. North const. where 72% and 64%. The migrant voters, even before the election procedure was initiated, had decided in whose favour they were to cast their vote. In South constituency the highest 21% decided when the election dates were announced. Another 24% voters in the same constituency were unable to recall when they had decided for whom to vote for. Further, In Atam Nagar constituency 6% voters decided on that very day in whose favour they would cast their vote.

The analysis presented above has clearly demonstrated that majority of the migrant voters in Ludhiana city had made up their mind for the vote/support even when the election was not at all imminent. Here the survey is very close to Lokniti post poll survey, 2017 Assembly election and NES 2019 findings where also 50% voters decided their preference well before the beginning of the campaigning for election (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.2; CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.10). Majority of them had decided either on the basis of the programme of the political party or on the basis of the performance of any candidate well before the election. They moved with their predetermined mind set.

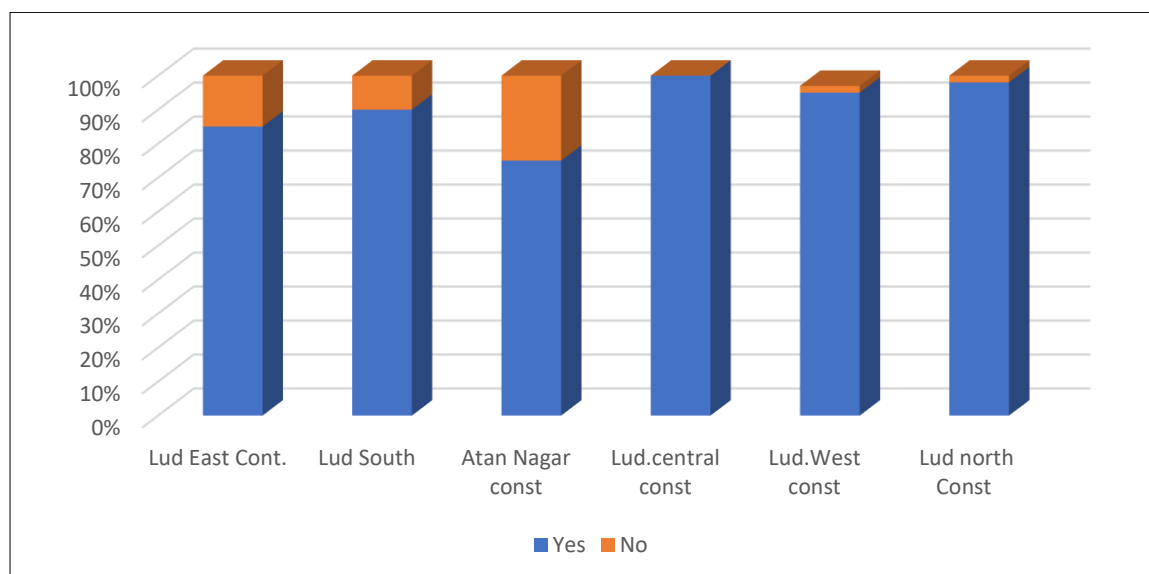
They were very clear whom they were to support in the election with the help of their vote and other political activities. They did not change their minds on the basis of the campaigning or on the basis of the manifesto of the political parties or the issues raised by the political party. Just less than 5% were those voters who decided on that very day i.e., on the election day, in whose favor should they cast their vote. So, it is clear that they do not happen to be fickle minded people and could not be swayed on the basis of petty personal issues.

**Table 50: Independence while 1decision making about Voting**

Political clientelism		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Do you take voting decision by yourselves	yes	85%	90%	75%	100	95%	98%
	No	15%	10%	25%	-	5%	2%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 41: Decision making of voting**



The Table has thrown light on the fact that how far the decision of voting is taken independently by the migrants. In all the constituencies more than 75% migrants

claimed that they had voted independently. Ldh. central const. led all the constituencies. In this const.100% migrants voted independently without any pressure or consultation from the family or friends. This trend was followed by Ldh. North const. where 98% migrants voted without any influence. The lowest graph has been presented by Ldh. Atam Nagar const. where 75% voted independently but 25% voted according to the dictates of the spouse/friends/family or any other.

The study has demonstrated very encouraging facts. It has been found that migrant voters used their right to vote by their own will. The Atam Nagar constituency was the only constituency where 25% voters considered the views or the opinion of their family/friends or relatives before exercising their vote. Otherwise in the other constituencies e.g., Ludhiana. Central, Ldh. West and Ldh. North constituency, majority of the voters claimed to have used their independent will and power of observation to cast their vote.

Comparing this with the poll surveys of Assembly elections, 2017 and Parliamentary elections, 2019 we find that In Assembly elections 73% CSDS and in Lok Sabha election 75% voted people voted without taking advice from anyone else.

**Table 51: Interaction with candidate and his/her representative**

<b>Political clientelism</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Were you approached by the candidate or his agent personally during the campaign	Yes	33%	55%	29%	49%	39%	29%
	No	67%	45%	71%	51%	61%	71%
	Yes	4%	13%	2%	8%	5%	2%



Did you decide to vote because your vote was sought for personally by the candidate or his agents?	No	96%	87%	98%	92%	95%	98%
Does your present representative help you to achieve economic gains? or does the voting have any impact on your financial status – is it increased?	Yes	-	2	-	4%	-	-
	No	100%	98%	100%	96%	100%	100%

Source: Primary Data

It has been again found that nearly more than one third of the voters were approached personally by the local leaders during the campaign period. In the Ludhiana central constituency 49% voters were approached personally whereas in Ldh. South const. 55% voters were contacted personally followed by Ludhiana West const. where 39% were approached. The lowest figure was found in Ldh. North and Atam Nagar const. where only 29% people were approached. The Table has revealed that majority of the migrant voters did not make up their mind just for one reason that the candidate had visited to them personally. The significant observation of the survey was that the migrant voters were not selling their votes to get any financial gain from their representatives. Their financial status remained as it was before and after the voting. Just 2% in Ldh. South Const. and 4% in Ldh. Central Const. admitted that their present representative helped them in gaining some financial benefits.

The analysis has presented a correlation between the Table no 4.40 and this Table 5.10. The findings have revealed that in Atam Nagar const. and in Ldh. North const. candidates did not meet the people personally. Perhaps this was the reason that in both these constituencies only 22% expressed that candidate was an important

consideration for them during voting (Table No.45). Majority of the Migrant voters (55%) in Ludhiana South constituency were contacted personally and the voters in this constituency have expressed their consideration for the candidate while exercising their voting right. So, it is clear that the personal visits of the candidates do have their impact on the choice of the voters.

If we compare this with the CSDS data it reveals that in Assembly elections, 2017, 63% people replied positive that candidate, party worker or canvasser visited their area (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.8) but in 2019 Lok Sabha election 80% denied that anyone come to their place (CSDS, Punjab, 2019, p.17).

The personal visit of the candidates adds personal touch to the electoral procedure. First of all, visual impact is lasting, secondly it gives a sense of importance to the one who is being appealed for votes. It makes the process very humane that of recipient and giver. Democratic system raises voters on an elevated platform on the day of voting and the candidates are humility personified, at their best with fake smiles and false problems, more often than not, withing the hearts of gullible vulnerable electorate.

### 5.3 Emerging leadership.

**Table 52: Membership of any organization**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Are you member of any organization	yes	15%	33%	15%	34%	32%	16%
	No	85%	67%	85%	66%	68%	84%
If yes, type of organization	Social	43%	45%	42%	23%	28%	32%
	Political	8%	22%	8%	42%	33%	32%
	Economic	29%	33%	15%	35%	29%	36%

Source: Primary Data

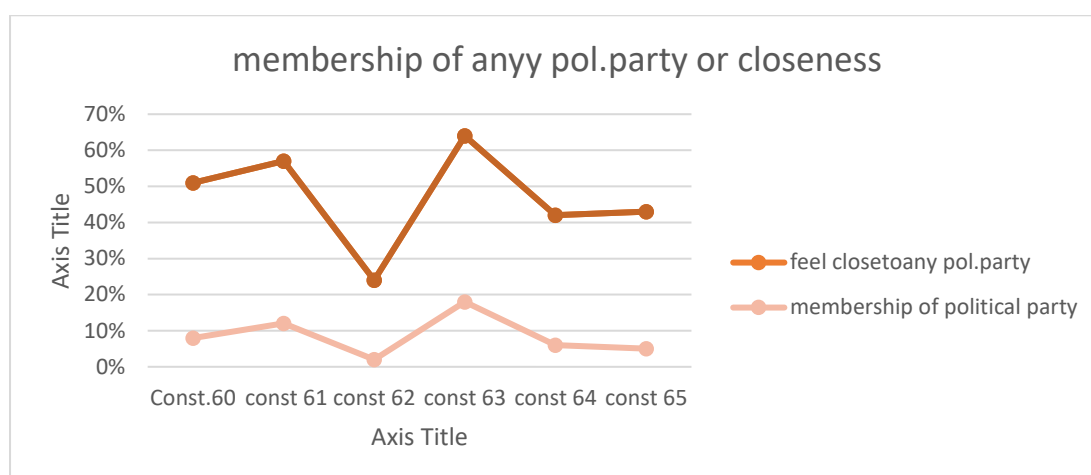
The Table has presented the data of migrants being the member of any organization. The data has revealed that in Ldh. South, Ldh. Central and Lud west constituencies more than 30% migrants had joined some type of organization whereas In Ldh. Atam Nagar Const, Ldh. North and Ldh. East Const. more than 80% migrants were not member of any type of organization. It has also been found that **out of the negligible number of migrants** who were members of any organization, there were member of either social organization or of economic organization. In Ldh. south const.45% migrants were members of social organization followed by Ldh. Atam Nagar const and Lud East const where 42% and 43% migrants were members of the social organization. So far as the economic organization membership was concerned Ldh. 29% migrants were members of economic organization and in South const. only 15% migrants were member of any economic group. The Ldh. central const. had witnessed the highest members of any political group. It had 42% migrants' members of the political organization followed by Ldh. west const where 36% migrants were members of any political organization.

**Table 53: Membership of any political party**

Response		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Whether member of any political party	Yes	8%	12%	2%	18%	6%	5%
	No	92%	88%	98%	82%	94%	95%
If no, Feel close to any political party	Yes	43%	45%	22%	46%	36%	38%
	No	57%	55%	58%	69%	64%	68%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 42: membership of any political party and closeness**



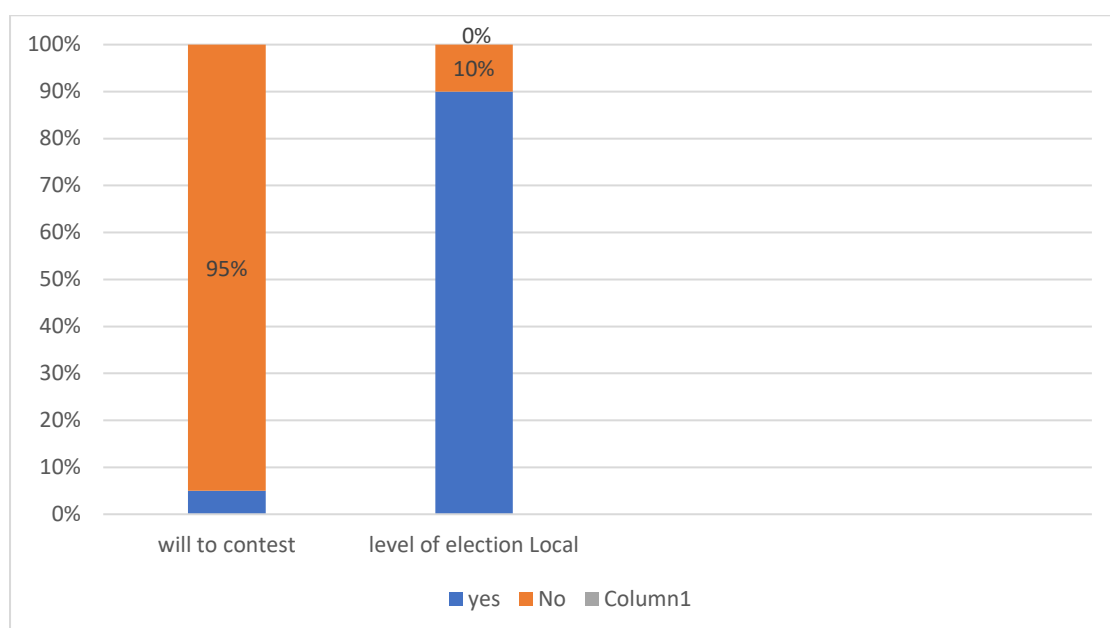
The Table has revealed the migrant’s membership of any political party. It had been found that in Ldh. east and Ldh Atam Nagar constituency only 8% migrants were members of any political party. In Ludhiana. Central Const. 18% migrants were members of any political party followed by Ludhiana North south where 12% were the members. It had also been found that some of the migrants were not directly member of any political party, but felt close to some or the other political party. It was also noted that out of those who were not directly member of any political party, 45% in South const, 43% in Lud East and 42% in Ludhiana Atam Nagar const felt close to some political party.

**Table 54: Will to contest the election**

Response		Ldh East Const . 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Will you contest the election if get opportunity?	Yes	3%	9%	2%	6%	3%	4%
	No	97%	91%	98%	94%	97%	96%
If yes, Level for the contesting election	Local level	100%	86%	100%%	60%	100%	90%
	Assembly level	-	14%	-	40%		10%
	Central level	-	-	-	-		

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 43: will to contest and the level at which wish to contest**



The Table has shown the pattern of the emerging leadership among the migrants. When asked whether they would like to contest election and enter into policy making structures, In Ldh. South 9%, Ldh Central 6% and in Ldh west const.3% migrants expressed their will to contest the election and be a part of the leadership. It was also found that out of those who wanted to be leaders, majority wished to contest at the local body level i.e., municipal corporation. Only in Ldh. Central, Ldh. South and Lud North, out of those who wanted to be leaders, 40%, 14% and 10% migrants wished to contest at the state assembly level election. It was surprising that not even a single member expressed to contest at the central level. The figure shows the result in totality of all the constituencies. Just 5% migrants wish to be the representatives of the voice of their community in the decision-making bodies and that too at the level of municipal level election. Contesting at local level could still be acceptable, contesting at state level is a far cry, almost an impossible task for the migrants, but the central level election is virtually impossible to dream of for these migrants according to the survey.

**Table 55: Stimulus for Contesting the Election**

<b>Stimulus that led to contest the election?</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
To serve the people	23%	36%	28%	54%	23%	24%
To make a stepping stone for higher election	70%	64%	72%	20%	77%	76%
For making professional career	7%	3%	-	26%	-	2%
To be in power and exert authority	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Primary Data

The Table has shown the stimulus or motivational factor behind the will of the migrants who wished to be the leaders. It was interesting to note that 77% in Ludhiana West, followed by Ldh. North where 76% and 72% migrants in and Ldh. Atam Nagar const. where 72% migrants wished to be the leader because they wanted to go higher up the ladder of authority. They wanted to be elected at M.C level so that they could make their way for the assembly level and then the central level. Further, 54% migrants wished to be leaders as they want to serve the people, followed by Ldh. South and Ldh. Atam Nagar const. where 36% and 28% migrants expressed the same reason.

As far as the choice of ‘To be in power and exert authority’ was concerned it was a very distant dream and migrants could not dream to achieve this, in the same way making politics as a professional career also is not their choice, only a very few had opted for this option as a reason behind the will to be the representatives of the people.

## 5.4 Informal political participation

**Table 56: Do you participate in politics other than voting?**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
No	83%	79%	92%	76%	84%	87%
Yes	17%	21%	8%	24%	16%	13%

Source: Primary Data

The table has revealed that more than 70% migrants in all the constituencies did not take part in any political activities except voting. In Atam Nagar const. 92% migrants performed their role as a voter only. They did not take part in any other political activity. Further 8% to 24% migrants in Ldh. city participate in the political activities other than voting.

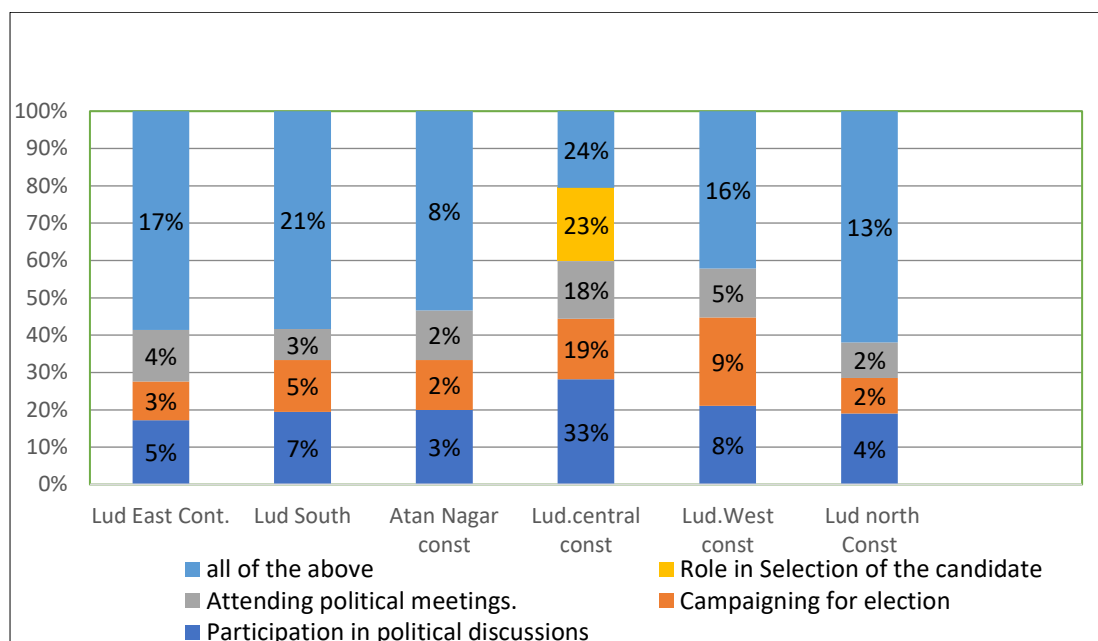
The analysis has revealed the fact that the active political participation of the migrants in Ldh. city is not very encouraging. In Ldh. South and Ldh. Central const. the participation of the migrants in political activities is at slightly visible level. Otherwise, they have limited themselves up to the level of voting only. It is quite understandable, because the other political activities require, money, resources, time and manpower and the migrants are in no position to address rallies conduct meetings collect contribution and perform many such duties.

**Table 57: Participations in informal political activities**

<b>Activities</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Participation in political discussions	Yes	15%	27%	8%	33%	28%	14%
	No	85%	73%	92%	67%	72%	86%
Campaigning for election	Yes	3%	5%	2%	19%	9%	2%
	No	97%	95%	98%	81%	91%	98%
Attending political meetings.	Yes	4%	3%	2%	18%	5%	2%
	No	96%	97%	98%	82%	95%	98%
Role in Selection of the candidate	Yes	-	-	-	23%	-	-
	No	100%	100%	100%	77%	100%	100%
All of the above		17%	21%	8%	24%	16%	13%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 44: Participation in informal political activities**



The Table and chart have presented the percentage of the migrants who are participating actively in political life of Ludhiana. It has been found that out of those migrants who fell in the category of contributing more than voting 8% to 24% migrants participated in political discussions. Less than 20% migrants were even involved in campaigning for some political party during the election period. Just nominal percentage of migrants less than 10% in all constituencies, attended political meetings and they had no role in the selection of any candidate for the elections at any level.

The analysis has revealed the discouraging picture of Ludhiana politics where every fourth person is a migrant but still their political participation is very limited. Overall, less than 10% migrant people are active in politics. Majority of them are confined to their political role only as voters.

But it has been found that not only migrants but other people participation in informal politics is also not very encouraging. If one compares the findings with the surveys of Assembly elections and Lok Sabha election, one finds that political participation in informal activities by migrants as well as other people in Punjab are not very encouraging. In Assembly elections 78% (CSDS, Punjab, 2017 p.5) and in Lok Sabha elections 75% (CSDS, 2019, Punjab, p.16) people never attended the political meetings. So far as the participation in campaigning is concerned again 86% (CSDS,



2019, Punjab, p.16) people in Lok Sabha election and 75% (CSDS, 2019, Punjab, p.5) in Assembly election showed their no involvement in campaigning for any candidate before the election.

**Table 58: Reasons for active participation in informal politics.**

<b>Major reasons</b>	<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Feel interest in politics	13%	9%	8%	11%	13%	14%
Greater participation ensures democratic governance	39%	36%	36%	20%	37%	50%
Could exchange ideas	4%	3%	2%	6%	5%	2%
All of the above	44%	52%	54%	63%	45%	34%

Source: Primary Data

The migrants were asked about for political participation. The first aspect was whether they felt interested in politics or not. In Ldh. (E) constituency 13%, Ldh (south) constituency only 9% Atam Nagar Const. just 8% Ldh (W) 13% in Ldh. Central and Ludhiana North 14% felt interested in politics. That clearly reflects their negligible interest in politics. In the next question whether greater participation ensured better governance. 39% in Ludhiana (E), 36% in Ldh (S) another 36% in Atam Nagar, 20% in Ldh (central) 20% in Ldh (W) 37% and Ldh (N) 50% believed that participation would increase democratic governance. That clearly indicates that the awareness level of the migrants is on the rise. As far as exchanging ideas was concurred, not many gave

this reason but all the above reason were given by the maximum number of migrants 44% in Ldh (E), 52% in Ldh (S), 54% in Atam Nagar 63% Ldh (C) 45% in Ldh (W) and 34% in Ldh (E). This analysis has clearly indicated that the migrants took part in informal political activities very seriously and sincerely.

**Table 59: Reasons for Not participating in informal politics**

Major reasons	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar, Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
No interest in politics	43%	49%	58%	31%	43%	44%
Lack of time	39%	27%	21%	43%	34%	38%
Lack of knowledge	6%	9%	10%	5%	8%	8%
Do not know politicians	2%	3%	-	-	2%	-
All of the above reasons	10%	12%	11%	21%	13%	10%
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data

The Table has indicated the reasons why some of the migrants were not taking active part in political participation. It was noted that 21% to 58% people expressed their apathy for politics. They had no interest in political activities. In Ldh. North constituency 44% migrants had apathetic attitude towards politics, Ldh. East const. 43% migrants were lacking interest in politics. The Ldh. South const. had the highest number i.e., 58% migrants had shown their disinterest in active political participation. The next important reason for not participating in political activities was they were busy in their duties. In Ldh. Central const. The highest number of migrants expressed their busy schedule as the factor responsible for not participating actively, their percentage was 43% migrants in this const. who expressed lack of time for politics, followed by

Ldh. East const. where 39% migrants expressed the same reason. Ranging from 5% to 10% migrants in Ludhiana expressed their lack of knowledge. They had no ideas how to participate actively. This was the main barrier in the way of active political participation.

It is a well-known fact that when one feel necessary or find interest, he/she spare time for that also. But migrants expressed chief reason for not participation lack of time which indicates they lacked interest because of have their limitation. The country cannot have high hopes from those who are barely managing to have two square meals a day.

### 5.5 Interest in politics

**Table 60: Interest in politics**

<b>Response</b>		<b>Ldh East Const. 60</b>	<b>Ldh South Const. 61</b>	<b>Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62</b>	<b>Ldh Central Const. 63</b>	<b>Ldh West Const. 64</b>	<b>Ldh North Const. 65</b>
Have interest in politics	Yes	67%	66%	63%	86%	62%	66%
	No	33%	34%	37%	14%	38%	34%
degree of interest	Strong	46%	45%	32%	67%	44%	51%
	Medium	45%	43%	60%	23%	50%	38%
	Low	9	12	8	10	6	11

Source: Primary Data

The survey has revealed that the migrant voters have interest in the political field. Ldh. central const. is at the top of the chart. Interestingly 86% migrants responded affirmatively about their interest in politics. Only 14% migrants did not show any interest in politics in this constituency. In all other constituencies more than 60% migrants had exhibited interest in politics and below 40% had responded in the negative. So far as the degree of interest is concerned, in all the constituencies again Ldh. central constituency topped where 67% migrants had shaded very strong interest

and 10% had very low interest. In South const.45% voted strong interest and 43% had medium and 12 % had low degree of interest. On the other hand, in Atam Nagar constituency only 32% had strong interest and 60% had medium interest and only 8% had low degree of interest.

The above data has indicated that in the Ldh. central constituency migrants were more politically inclined in than the other constituencies and whole of the city. In general, most of the participants had medium degree of interest in politics. This is understandable. They have long working hours, they are relatively new to the place, they are steeped in the process of settling down, cowed down by financial pressures of fending for the family. With all these time-consuming functions, strong political interest on their part would be very difficult to attain. Those who are still alienated have very low degree of political interest.

## 5.6 Political Awareness

**Table 61: Political Awareness**

Political Awareness		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Do you keep in touch with political news	Yes	49%	23%	15%	42%	45%	46%
	No	15%	19%	26%	11%	13%	15%
	To Some extent	36%	58%	59%	47%	42%	39%

Source: Primary Data

The data has expressed the level of the awareness of the migrants about the political happenings. Except Ldh. South and Atam Nagar Const.in all others const. more than 40% migrants were aware about the political news. In Ldh. East maximum 49% migrants kept themselves in touch with the political news while 15% in the same const. did not have any updates on political events. The lowest awareness about political

news is in the Atam Nagar const. where only 15% migrants had updates about politics and 59% had somewhat updates and 26% had no awareness at all about the political news.

The survey has highlighted that Ludhiana Central and Ludhiana West constituency are full relatively of politically aware migrants. These constituencies had more than 40% migrants who were either fully aware of political updates or only partial updates of it and these constituencies has the least number i.e., just 11 and 13% migrants who were politically unaware.

**Table 62: Source of political awareness**

Main Source of getting political news		Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
1	T.V	49%	68%	60%	42%	45%	46%
2	News paper	24%	9%	7%	36%	26%	29%
3	Discussion with friends	23%	18%	27%	20%	28%	24%
4	Posters	2%	5%	6%	-	-	1%
5	Party magazine	2%	-	-	2%	1%	-

Source: Primary Data

The Table has indicated the major sources of political news for the migrants in Ludhiana city. It has been found that the main source of the political awareness was the medium of television. 68% migrants in South constituency and 60% migrants in Atam Nagar constituency use to get information about the political happenings from the television. In Ludhiana. East, Ludhiana Central Ludhiana West and Ludhiana North this percentage fell below 40%. There was 49%, 42%, 45% and 46% respectively. There is a trend of discussion on political events and political issues among migrants in Ludhiana also. More than 20% migrants in all the constituencies except the South constituency discussed politics with their friends. Newspapers are very important

source of information but in Ludhiana South constituency just 9% migrants used this source. This is more popular in Ldh. Central and Ldh. North constituency where 36% and 29% migrants used this medium. This has indicated the literacy level of the migrants also. It has presented a relationship between the economic wellbeing and the source of information. In Ludhiana. Central and Ludhiana North constituency migrants are comparatively economically sound so their political habits are different from the migrants of the south and Atam Nagar constituency.

Here the results are close to CSDS data. In 2017 assembly election survey too find TV as the main source of information as 50% people daily watch the TV for getting political information (CSDS, Punjab, 2017, p.34).

**Table 63: Political Awareness about the area**

Do you know the names of political parties contested the election last time at the local level, state level and central level election?	Response	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
	Yes	59%	69%	43%	62%	55%	61%
	No	41%	31%	57%	38%	45%	39%
Do you know which party and candidate in your area won the election?	Yes	63%	79%	47%	72%	62%	61%
	No	37%	21%	53%	28%	38%	39%

Source: Primary Data

The Table has presented the data about how much the migrants are aware about the political representatives of their area. In all the constituencies except Atam Nagar Constituency more than 50% migrants were aware about the political parties that had contested last time elections in their area at all the levels. The migrants in South const. topped the table as 69% were aware followed by Ludhiana. Central and Ludhiana. North const. where 62% and 61% migrants are aware about the names of candidates and the political parties that had contested the election. So far as the winners and the names of the present M.P, M.L.A and M.C are concerned 79% migrants in Ludhiana South const. were fully updated about their present representatives at all the levels followed by Ldh. Central and Ludhiana. East Const. where 72% and 63% migrants knew the names of their present representatives and their political parties.

Their level of political awareness among migrants is commendable. The survey reveals that though migrants were not educated but they were not unaware. They can no longer be led like the herd of sheep. They keep their eyes and ears open and are well informed.

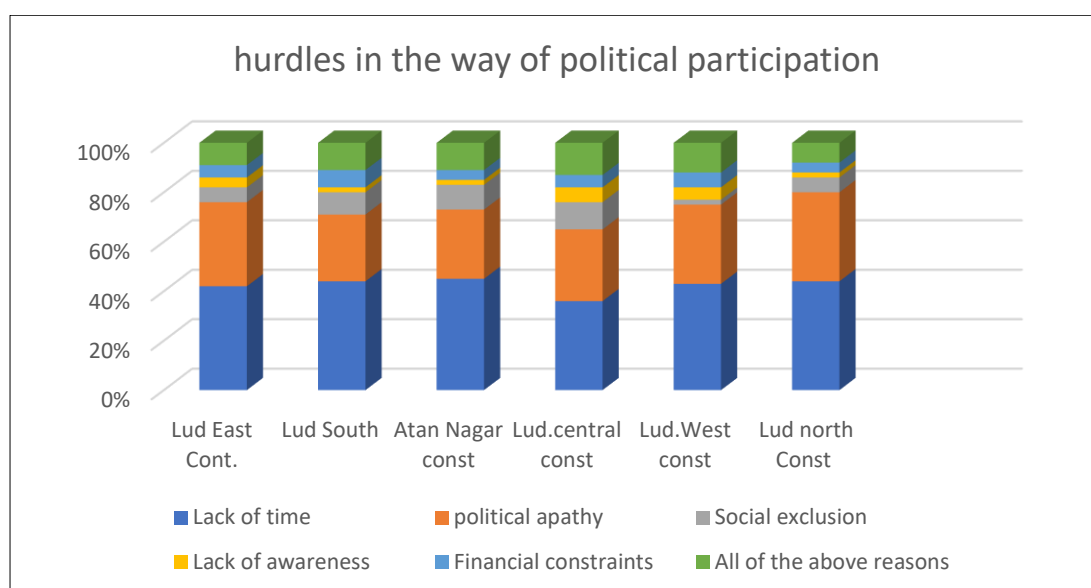
### 5.7 Obstacles in the way of political participation

**Table 64: Main hurdles in the way of political participation**

Major reasons	Ldh East Const. 60	Ldh South Const. 61	Ldh Atam Nagar Const. 62	Ldh Central Const. 63	Ldh West Const. 64	Ldh North Const. 65
Lack of time	42%	44%	45%	36%	43%	44%
Political apathy	34%	27%	28%	29%	32%	36%
Social exclusion	6%	9%	10%	11%	2%	6%
Lack of awareness	4%	2%	2%	6%	5%	2%
Financial constraints	5%	7%	4%	5%	6%	4%
All the above reasons	9%	11%	11%	13%	12%	8%

Source: Primary Data

**Figure 45: hurdles in the way of political participation**



The chart has presented the major obstacles faced by the migrants while performing their political role in Ludhiana city. It has been found that shortage of time and political apathy were the main hurdles for the low political participation of the migrants. More than 40 % migrants in all the constituencies agreed that they wished to perform political role but they lacked time, another 27% to 36% migrants admitted that they were politically apathetic so they keep themselves away from politics. Next important hurdles the migrants faced were they felt socially excluded. Nearly 10% migrants felt that they were not part of the society in Ludhiana. So, they should not play any role here rather they should keep their resources for their native place. Further around 5% migrants ranging from 5 to 7% migrants felt that if they had enough financial resources, they could have played more political roles. So, for them financial constraint was the major hurdle. Nearly 10% considered that no one factor was responsible rather all the above reasons had contributed for the restricted or no political participation by the migrants.

The analysis has highlighted the main obstacles in the way of the political participation faced by the migrants. Lack of time is the main problem for them. As they came to Ludhiana for economic reasons (Table:4.9), so their focus is on earning and to be sounder financially not on performing political roles or participation in the political activities. Secondly, they feel politically apathetic too. They lack interest in politics.



Their interest and priorities are different. They feel socially excluded as well. Financial limitations are also a significant barrier. As most of them are in the low-income group, so, within these limited financial resources it is not possible to play active political participation.

### **Summary of Chapter 5**

The chapter has brought forth the marginalised political participation of migrants. It was but obvious that for the migrants the main mode of political participation was casting their votes, in other fields their participation was negligible.

Migrants exhibited maturity as political voters. Their voting behaviour was largely not influenced by religion / caste / educational qualification or the personality of the candidate but their main focus was on the performance of the candidate in the past in terms of service. The second important consideration in favour of the candidate was whether the candidate was accessible or not. These were the two main solid reasons for giving performance to the candidate. Another good indicator of the maturity of their political behaviour was that they supported any political party only if the party had given assurances and made good promises for group welfare. Thus, they paid more importance to the plans and programmes of the party and, not to the charismatic leadership of the party.

The study found that migrants fully realised the importance of their role as voters. They had fully understood that their political participation could ensure democratic governance. But after all migrants are also humans. Their affinity with their own people was visible and hence forth the political mobilization was higher in areas where either a migrant leader was a representative at any level of the democratic setup or had been the candidate for it.

The study found that migrants were fully aware of their economic limitations and scarcity of resources for contesting the elections. Many of the migrants have migrated on permanent basis, they have voter IDs issued at their present address so active participation in terms of casting votes is not a problem for them. But there are other activities where the study found their negligible presence like discussion on political topics, campaigning for elections or becoming an active member of any

political party. Those migrants who are living here on temporary basis for financial reasons, the study found their reservations in changing their address as they do not want to lose their benefits at their native places. Their political interests are hampered here but they are sacrificing political interests for the sake of their economic interest and the greater good of the family. Thus, the chapter has taken all the aspects of political participation of the migrants as voter, as more than voters and their representation in the city of Ludhiana. On the basis of the level of political participation of this chapter, suggestions are given in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **FINDINGS AND THE SUGGESTIONS**

Political participation is of vital importance. It is an important tool to test the legitimacy of the government. In a democratic system, it ensures the long continuity of the system, but democracy requires political participation and representation of all segments of society. India has embraced democratic system with strong principles of “justice, liberty, equality and fraternity assuring the individual dignity and unity and integrity of the nation” (Gawas, 2019). However, due to the lack of economic, social, cultural settings, the roots of democracy have yet to reached deep into the Indian soil. Many groups and communities have been excluded from the country's political life. Because of poverty, illiteracy, conservatism, economic inequalities, and lack of social resources these groups show disinterest in political life or are apathetic. Migrants are one of those excluded groups.

Interstate migration in India is quite low in comparison to the intrastate migration. Among the three types of internal migration Interstate migration constitute just 4 % of the total migration which is quite less if it is compared it with the other countries. In USA it is 10% and in China it is 5% though there exists household registration system called hukou (De, 2019). The study is all about the internal migration in India with the lens of political participation in Ludhiana city of Punjab.

#### **6.1 Findings of the study with respect to the objectives**

##### **6.1.1 To explore the socio-economic conditions of the migrants**

Q 1 Whether political participation gets effected by the socio-economic condition?

It is generally believed, and SES Model of political participation by Milbrath also support that political participation is determined by the socio-economic status of the citizens in politics. So, the first objective of the study was to know about the socio-economic condition of the migrants and its impact on their political participation in Ludhiana city. To achieve this objective the sample survey method was used with the help of questionnaire as a tool. Questionnaire contained questions related with the socio-economic conditions of the migrants. The survey had found that so far as the

social status of the migrants was concerned, they have been accepted by the society in Ludhiana and they too have accepted the changed social environment. Apparently, the host society welcomed them with open arms. The Migrants have started participating in the festivals of Punjab. The people in Ludhiana addressed them using their first name. and they have earned respect in the society. Some of the migrants (12%) were addressed by surname or the convenient name like *bhaiya*. (Based on the survey; see also Mehra, 2012, p. 264). The behaviour of the local people in Ludhiana was quite good as was found in the survey. The migrants in Ludhiana have formed their social circle now and they have mixed up well in the social circle. Most of the migrants would normally be invited from their local co-workers and neighbours for their social functions. They too invite them to their social gatherings. It has been found that they have established healthy relationship with the locals.

So, it was clear that they had not socially been excluded but their social condition was not very good, as most of the migrants lived in the colonies inhabited by the people of their community only. The migrants preferred to live at the place where people of their own region lived not in the areas where the local Punjabi workers lived. So legally and theoretically their social condition was good but practically they were a part of the ghettoization of Ludhiana. The study had found that Indra colony, Ambedkar Nagar and Mahadev Nagar (ward no 29) full of people who were from Bihar whereas in Sandhu enclave area maximum number of migrants are from Uttar Pradesh.

A happy life requires support from the administration also, but the migrants would not get support whenever they would visit the Government offices for any task. Majority of them were dissatisfied with the non-cooperative attitude of the government's officers. (Based on the survey; see also Singh, 2011, p.162). The Police as an institution is normally always there to provide safety and security to the citizens but one fourth of the migrants had faced harassment at the hands of the police. Police suspects and doubts them unnecessarily on account of their being migrants. The police are biased towards them and suspects and doubts them unnecessarily. The police and other institutions had an unwelcoming attitude towards the migrants due to their lack of address or identity proofs in the host city, leading to hassles in their daily lives. (Based on the survey; see also Ansari, 2016)

The language, eating habits and dressing habits are important social indicators. The study had found that the migrants were conversed by the people in both the languages Hindi and Punjabi or in Hindi only. This might be due to the fact that the local people realising the migrant's difficulty of understanding other language than theirs or this could be due to the fact that the local people happen to be selfish, they have always wanted to grind their own axe. They have the target of getting work done from the labourers. Hence the usage of Hindi makes it convenient for all. But the migrants started liking Punjabi language and they understood it now, although they could not speak it fluently. The migrants had changed their conventional way of dressing up after coming to Ludhiana. It is interesting to note that 57% migrants had changed their dressing styles and had started wearing Punjabi style dresses or suits in Ludhiana. Their eating habits have also undergone a change. Further 37% migrants agreed that they had changed their eating habits and started taking Punjabi meal. This indicated their will and wish to settle down in Ludhiana and make their routine work comfortable for themselves. The social inclusion of the migrants is indicated more when majority of them expressed their will not to work at a place where only the migrant workers work rather this aspect had no impact on their choice of work place. **So, it can be said that the social status of the migrants has no impact by and large on their being migrants or locals.**

The economic status of the migrants too presented similar findings. The migrants were getting good behaviour from the local labourers and the employers. Majority of the migrants found the behaviour of both the employer and the local labourers good and 25% found it satisfactory. They did not find any discrimination against them while getting the job, nor they were receiving any discrimination in the routine work at ((based on survey)) the workplace. Their working conditions were at par with the local labourers and they got equal holidays and equal working hours with their local co-worker.

Here one important aspect to notice was that in Ludhiana labourers worked for more than 10 hours. Moreover 68% workers work for 10 to 12 hours per day, though normal working hours in India are 8 hours a day. For these extra hours of work, they did not get any extra benefits. It indicated that the *small-scale capital* Ludhiana had

different working set up in India. Though the workers and labourers were not under high level of stress but their working hours were more than the fixed working hours set up under the Industrial Act 1948.<sup>10</sup> Secondly the migrants were not getting any other benefit except the salary that is provident fund etc.

It has been found that majority of the migrants were now employed either on part time basis or full-time basis or they were self-employed. The unemployment rate among the migrants in Ludhiana was quite low. Just below 10% migrants were unemployed in Ludhiana whereas 47% were not working in their native place (based on survey, Table: 4.28) So, job- wise their condition has improved. Most of the migrants in Ludhiana were earning between 15000 to 25000 per month. Very less percentages of the migrants were below the income group of 8000 and above 25000 per month. So far as their family income is concerned again most of them had family income from 16000 to 35000 per month. The study had found that only those migrants who were self-employed and living in Ludhiana for long time, were settled and were earning above 35000. This group of migrants had even immovable property in Ludhiana as well.

With regard to the accommodation and the housing facilities, majority of the migrants were living in the rented accommodation which was either semi furnished or unfurnished. Only one fifth had their own house and immovable property. In Ludhiana central constituency where many of the migrants had started their own business related with the hosiery industry, they had their own house and that too was furnished. Majority of the migrants were living in a single room, rented and unfurnished accommodation where very poor facility of water and sanitation was available. The household utility items were also the barometer of the economic condition of any individual or group. Most of the migrants had basic utility items. They had fans/coolers, gas stove, TV, but only a few had washing machine, air conditioner and computer/laptop, which are still considered items of luxury for the migrants. These items were being used in the area where hosiery industry was there but the use of these items was almost invisible in Giaspura area of South constituency. One very interesting finding was that many of the

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<sup>10</sup> Working Hours and Overtime as Per the Factories Act, 1948  
<https://lawcorner.in › working-hours-and-overtime-as-p...>

migrants had the smart mobile phones. It shows they preferred to spend on portable items and on the items which were multifunctional and were very useful for their routine life. Majority of the migrants had the bank account which happened to be a very good sign of their financial inclusion. They invariably send money to their families with through banking and this way had reduced the risk caused by the middleman.

So, the study had found that the economic condition of migrants was having better economic condition than their native place as they had got somewhat permanent employment and better wages here for the purpose which they had migrated. But overall, they continued belonging to the low-income group of Indian society.

### **6.1.2 To access the extent of political activism of migrants.**

Q. 2 To what extent migrants are politically active in Ludhiana city?

To study the extent of the political activism of migrants was the second objective of the study. The study had attempted to know the political activism on the basis of their political participation. The study classified their political participation as participation in formal political activities and participation in informal political activities. In the formal participation voting, becoming member of any political party and contesting the election were analysed and in the informal political participation taking part in political discussions, campaigning and role in the selection of candidates were considered. It had been found that the migrants had made their voter ID card and started exercising their right to vote in Ludhiana city but this exercise is subject to various factors. It had been found that their zeal to participate depended not solely upon them but much upon the efforts of the local leaders or the activists. The registration and use of their voting right was maximum where either the candidate for any level of election belonged to their community or where some activist had taken special or personal care of the vote bank of the migrants. In Giaspura area of south constituency almost all (81%) had exercised their right to vote too. In the last MC elections Radhakrishna, candidate from their community had contested the elections and won too. So, the political mobilization was the highest in this area. On the other hand, the least registration was in the Atam Nagar constituency wards as neither the candidate nor any local migrant activist belonged to their area. Otherwise, the migrant's political participation was similar to the national voting participation i.e., around 60%.

A good number of migrants had shown apathy towards politics as well by not getting registered here as the voters. Though the study has taken the political participation of only those migrants who were possessing voter id card at the address of Ludhiana but the researcher found numerous migrants who were living in Ludhiana for the last many years but still hesitate to shift their voter id card here in Ludhiana. The lack of possession of the voter cards by the migrants was due to the fact that migrants regarded their voter card to be their Identity Card, and therefore did not want to change their identify from their place of origin. They had been receiving financial assistance in the form of subsidies under the public distribution system (PDS) in their native place with the help of the Adhar card and voter card there (Bhattacharjee, 2018). So those who were here without families and were temporary migrants, hesitated in switching over their voter ID card to this place and could not cast their vote there.

The study had found the migrant voters to be very rational while exercising their voting right. The Migrant considered both the political party and the candidate while exercising their franchise. If they considered the political party, they did not consider the leadership rather they took into consideration the programme of the political party and while focussing on the candidate, they did not consider the caste/religion of the candidate but the performance of the candidate in the previous period. This had shown their very impressive mature way of using their right to vote.

The migrant's participation in informal political activities did not seem to be encouraging. The study had attempted to know informal political participation in four political activities. These were participation in the political discussions, attending political meetings, campaigning for any candidate, participation in the political meetings and role in the selection of the candidate. The study had found very low percentage of the migrant's role in almost all the constituencies in campaigning, participation in the political meetings and political discussions and the role in selection of the candidate in almost all the constituencies. One important finding of the study was the role of the migrants in these activities as bouncy in the central constituency. The migrants took keen interest in the political discussions in ward no 58 and they participated in political meetings. They claimed they had role in the selection of the



candidates at the local level election. This active participation in this ward might have been due to the better economic condition of the migrants in this area.

So, the answer of the first question is that there is no direct relation between social condition and political participation as participation in formal political activities up to the voting has by and large same in almost all constituencies. But the study found there is relation between economic condition and participation in formal and informal political participation except the exercising right to vote.

Political participation of the migrants indicates the rationality of the migrants in the city of Ludhiana. The rationality of the migrants here supports the **Rational Choice Theory**. The migrants in Ludhiana determine their political participation in an election after doing a thorough analysis and evaluating how and how much they will benefit if they **pay the price** in the form of voting and participate in the other political activities. The migrant's pay the cost in the form of time and money invested in participating for political activities. The migrant's decision however, whether to exercise their right to vote or not to vote in the city of Ludhiana and furthermore for whom to vote for is based entirely on their rationality and decision-making. Migrants transfer their voting cards to Ludhiana when they are confident that their socio-economic interests are safe and secure here. In the constituencies where the registration and voting turnout is higher, it has been observed that either the migrants have a candidate of their own community or the candidate has paid personal attention to the migrants. Accordingly, active political participation has been seen in such constituencies i.e., the South and Central constituency and the least in Atam Nagar constituency because of these factors.

### **6.1.3 To explore the emerging political leadership of migrants.**

Q. 3 What is the pattern of political leadership among migrants in Ludhiana city?

The study had attempted to explore the emerging leadership among the migrants. The study had found that the migrants in Ludhiana were the members of various social and economic organizations like Avadh Navyug Sabha, Vidya Prayas, Navdurga Mahotasva committee, Purvanchal Vikas parishad, Bihar Swarankar samiti, Bihar Yuva parishad. These organizations were in the form of 'societies' based on the community identity or the occupational basis. The heads of the majority of these

societies are popularly known as *Pradhan*. It had been found that there was an element of leadership among these Pradhan's. They were vocal about the problems and the concerns of the migrants. They made efforts to keep the migrants united on the basis of community by arranging meetings and organizing Langar's (free meals). But the study had found a very poor element of the political leadership among the migrants. A very small percentage of the migrants were members of any political party though they felt close to some or the other political party. The average migrants were not interested in contesting the elections at any level. However, if at all some of them had the will to contest the elections, they liked to contest at the local level.

The test of democracy is the extent to which it succeeds in representing various groups. Representation is a tool that can make participation easier. Representation in electoral bodies leads to representation of interests of disadvantage groups in the decision-making bodies and, ideally, result in a change in policy (Jayal, 2009). It had been found that the migrant feel major political parties in Ludhiana were very much concerned about the strength of the migrants as the vote bank. Before the elections they had patronised the activists of the migrant's colony. They would arrange camps etc for their vote registration, would even convince these activists to campaign from door to door but so far as the representation of the migrants in the decision-making bodies or giving tickets to them for election was concerned, the political parties did not give them the chance. In the last election of MC 2018. Three migrant leaders contested the election as independent candidates but could not win. One of migrant candidate Radhekrishna said, "even though I won in the last election as a councillor and but I was denied the ticket this time opportunity by the BJP" (Jagga, 2019). So, most of the migrants were reluctant as they did not find sufficient resources for contesting the elections.

The leadership among the migrants is thought provoking question. They live in colonies or vohras, where other migrants from their states alone live. The feeling of brother hood emerges, some confident persons emerge as leaders, but the jurisdiction of these leaders is only to arrange functions at the level of colonies , organizing celebrations together e.g. Navratri, Chat puja, Holi etc. and some of the migrants who have been living there as the leaders for a decade or so, know the local leaders of the various parties and act as go-between in getting their fellow migrants ID cards, benefits

or once in a while if a migrants is facing a problem at their work place, these small scale leaders can take their fellows to the union leaders. This role is played by the budding leaders in the utmost since they feel that contesting an election is a far cry for them, since its entrails a lot of expenditure and due to financial constraints, they are not able to take the advantage of their political right.

Here the findings are very near to resource model of political participation. Resource model of political participation answers the question Why people don't participate in political activities. The model gives the answers that 'time, money and civic skills' are the resources that an individual spends to participate in politics (Brady et al., 1995). And another supporter of this model believe 'physical, human and social capital' are the resources which determine the degree of political participation. Political participation depends upon the availability of these resources and the logical grounds to utilize these resources. In the study area less than five percent migrants expressed their will for becoming the representatives in the decision-making bodies. And they expressed the reason that due to shortage of time, lack of resources (Financial) they are unable to make their presence in these bodies. This low percentage is not because of unwillingness or lack of interest. Migrants have their social organizations and they played their leadership role as Pradhan in such organizations but they show no interest in contesting the elections and making their representation in Ludhiana because elections cost huge time, money and political resources. Most of the Migrants came to Ludhiana for economic reasons. Their purpose in this city is to make money. If in some migrants who are settled in Ludhiana for a long period and having the zeal for election and to be representatives, migrants expressed that political parties do not provide them support by allocating their tickets. (Based upon survey and see also Jagga, 2018). So, lack of resources prohibits migrants to jump into the election fray. Thus, the meagre political representation of migrants indicates not their unwillingness but their dissatisfaction with the system which is not supporting them in the study area (Saini, 2019)<sup>11</sup> and confirmed that political opportunities are not distributed evenly in the study area.

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.businesstoday.in/amp/pti-feed/story/ludhianas-migrant-workforce-struggling-with-waste-problem-feels-ignored-in-poll-season-196385-2019-05-16>

#### **6.1.4 To analyse the trends of clientelism in migrants.**

Q.4 What are the factors influencing political participation of migrants in Ludhiana city?

Clientelism is the offering of material goods and services for the sake of electoral support. The study had also attempted to know how far the trend of clientelism is prevalent among the migrants in Ludhiana. It had been found that directly the trend of clientelism was apparently negligible. just 2 to 4% migrant's financial condition increased after the elections. (Table: 50) And that too could be due to some other reason. Majority of the migrants made up their mind to whom they were to vote well before even the starting of the election process. (Table:48). This indicates the clientelist politics has no role in the study area. Moreover, one more important indicator for clientelism was the personal meeting of the migrants with the candidate or their representative. Except in the two constituencies less than 30% were approached by the candidate or their representatives (see also Table: 49) which substantiated the fact that openly there was no trend of clientelism among the migrants. The data found that the migrant group in the study area are exercising their political rights after considering the performance of political party or of candidate in the area during the previous term. They deny the consideration of caste/religion/penny financial benefits (based on survey and Khanna, 2017) of the candidate. Majority of the migrants vote for the candidate who performed well for them. So, the study found the migrants political participation motivated by common good not by the selective material benefits.

#### **6.1.5 To know the obstacles in the way of political participation of migrants**

Q.5 Which are the problems migrants face in performing their political role?

One of the important objectives of the study was to know about the hurdles that were being faced in the way of playing their political role in Ludhiana. The study had attempted to know the hurdles that restrict the migrants from participating as a voter, more than voter as an active participant and the obstacles in the way of becoming representative of the migrants in the democratic institutions. It had been found that the obstacles in all the three roles were more or less similar. The migrants found first of all the shortage of time the prime thing that restricted them from being politically active.

Most of them came to Ludhiana for economic purposes. So, their priority was to earn money. Their economic condition was better than their native place but still many of them fall in the low economic group and their economic compulsions had kept them away from the political interests. Secondly the political apathy had kept them far away from participating in the political activities. It had been found that the migrants did not feel themselves attached to the local issues. The political parties and candidates in Ludhiana did not address their issues. They sought votes on the general issues of unemployment, poverty, infra structure etc. but they failed to understand that migrants had different issues along with these general problems (Majeed, 2017) They had identity issues, hygiene and sanitation issues in their colonies, subsidies for various facilities and subsidized grocery etc. The problems which no political party had taken care of.

As their fair share in the representation was also not there, migrants were very much annoyed with the political parties for not giving them tickets for contesting the elections. The political parties used them as a vote bank but hesitated in giving them opportunities to contest in the name of their political party. As they had financial issues without support, it had become difficult to win in the battle field. So, the major cause of their political apathy was the attitude of the political parties.

The problem of the migrants is quite different form the problems of the natives of Ludhiana. Their residences in the colonies\vehras have extreme problems of hygiene, sanitation, water supply, electricity. Then there is exploitation at the work place. Working for minimum 10 hours and no bonus or extra payment, that leaves them with less time and less money. If they don't have ID card of the new place, then the subsidized provision and other facilities are not available to them, so their dilemma is to decide between the two boats, whether to surrender the first one and suffer the consequences there or have advantages here by getting a new ID. There are various problems like admission of the children to school, language problems, in fact these migrants are without their basic roots. So, the district level, state level or national level problems do not have any relevance for them. So, their tackling with their personal and familial problems are the main obstacles in exhibiting any participations in the politics of the place.

### **6.1.6 To suggest the measures for enhancing the political participation level among migrants.**

Q.6 What are the different measures that can increased political participation of migrant.

There is a close relationship between the social, economic, and political role of an individual and community as a whole, so to increase the political participation of the migrants first of all the social and economic issues should be addressed. As most of migrants are illiterate or have poor level of literacy (Usami, 2012) efforts needed to be put in to educate the migrants and their children so that society could become aware and enlighten. Special programmes should be implemented which encourage the migrants to go in learning. As most of them understand Punjabi language, there should be special classes to enable them to read and write in Punjabi as well so that they themselves and their children should not face difficulty in the official works.

The local people should be sensitized to be empathetic towards the migrants as they work for the benefit of the local people. Strict action should be taken against those who use derogatory words like *bhaiya* to address and or to refer to them. They are an important part of the society and deserve equal respect as do the locals.

As most of the migrants came to Ludhiana for the economic reasons, so they work more and spend little and save more to send the money as remittance to their families. For these reasons they live in small pucca houses or in 'vehras' in the colonies. The government should take care of the condition of these colonies and special attention should be paid to improve the living condition of the migrants.

One fifth of the migrants face problems with the local police and they find non-cooperative behaviour in the government offices as well. These organizations exist to help people from all walks of life. Special efforts should be made to create specific cells within these organizations that deal effectively with the difficulties of these workers and ensure that they are treated fairly. The government should provide legal and social protection to this vulnerable group. These actions would instill a sense of security in these workers, which would encourage them to be connected with the political life of the city.

If the extra hours are not to be considered as overtime work and amply rewarded industrial migrant laborer should not be pushed to work for longer than the required eight hours. The government must put in special efforts to avoid the exploitation of the workers to work for unpaid overtime.

The migrant laborer's grievance cells must be established, and their proceedings must be swift and effective, so that the workers are encouraged to voice their concerns without the fear of retaliation.

If these social and economic efforts are built in, the migrants would start feeling themselves as part of the Ludhiana society and would definitely integrate with the political life of the city.

Last not the least now the extra government bodies especially the political parties should come forward to put in efforts in increasing the level of the political participation of the migrants at the place of work. The political parties should take special care of these migrants' problems and issues and stop using them just as the vote banks. They should give them fair representation while distributing the tickets during the election. It is but obvious when they would have fair representation; there would be fair political participation as well.

## **6.2 Limitations of the study and future scope**

The study has taken the migrants as a whole without having any barriers of age, gender, educational qualifications and duration of migration. The future study can be more at a micro level by applying these borders and divisions.

The study is limited to investigate self-employed, workers and Labourers only. The future study can be done on professionals as well.

The study has investigated the political participation on the whole without classifying it on the basis of activities. Future studies can be taken up on the basis of taking any specific activity.

The current study is based solely on the data obtained in Punjab, specifically from Ludhiana. So, generalization cannot be scaled to national level. The methodology

can be used in future studies to investigate the issue at the national level or the entire state of Punjab.

The study is cross sectional in design. With the help of this we cannot have any idea about the changes in the level and the nature of the political participation among the migrants. The future study can be longitudinal in design and can examine the changes in the voting behaviour of the migrants over some defined or fixed period of time.

The researcher is culturally different from the migrants. Had this been taken up by any person of their region or community, migrants could have been more open to the matter.

The data was collected during the outbreak of the pandemic. It limited the researcher to visit certain areas as they were declared containment zones. Secondly due to the lockdown situations many migrants had gone back to their native places due to the lack of employment opportunities. Those who were in Ludhiana were so stressed that some of them were not even willing to talk on the issue of politics. So, to get the information from the respondents in such a situation was a great challenge.

### **6.3 Implications of the study**

#### **6.3.1 Implications for the academicians**

Any study contributes a lot towards the collective data. The present study could be helpful for the academicians to draw their attention to an area which has been paid less attention. This study is going to help the academicians a lot in being familiar with the social, economic, psychological human profile of the migrants. The period of pandemic was a good test of the attitude and behaviours of the persons in power towards the marginalised class i.e., the migrants. If everything is going well, then tall claims can be made of migrants gradually becoming part of the society. Their yearning for their native place was uppermost, they just wanted to get back to their families. There were many who helped them but on the other hand, the business minded people were fishing in troubled water. The psychological angle of the situation could be a significant topic for the academicians to take besides other things. The study has provided an in-depth insight into the migrant's socio, economic and political issues in the migrant hub that



is the city of Ludhiana. The internal migrants constitute nearly 35% of the Indian population. There are other in migration centres in India such as Surat, Mumbai, Delhi etc. The nature of problems of the migrants may be different at the micro level but by and large at the macro level, they are of the same type. Their social exclusion, caste-based discrimination and economic differentiation could be more area of interest for further research. The analysis and suggestions of the study may be valuable to the academicians of the other universities and the research centres to look into the issues at the other centres of in migration as well.

### **6.3.2 Implications for the policy makers**

The study has striven to provide a deep insight into Art.326 and section 20 of the People Representation Act, which allows all citizens to avail the Right to vote. The internal migrants fall in the category of the 'ordinary voters. So, they do not have rights such as e-voting or proxy voting which are given to NRI's and service voters in India. Now the problem with the Migrants is they do not go to their place of origin just for the sake of voting and to perform their other political activities effectively because of the distance, nor they wish to get their voter id card transferred to this place. The study has provided valuable inputs to the policy makers to pay attention to this aspect of the migrants and modify their legislation to ease the making of new voter ID.

A more compelling case for representation is based on the idea that without the participation of all groups that are underrepresented in society, policy decisions will not be made in their best interests. The study could be helpful on guiding the leaders responsible for the interest articulation to put forward the need to give a fair representation to this segment of Indian society in the place of their work.

The government should enhance the ambit of Interstate Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 and should include in it the migrants who are not registered and are working in the informal sector also. Much more should be done to advance migrant workers' rights in the unofficial sector, to make sure that social policies cover migrant workers (and the families they leave behind), to encourage small-scale projects, and to increase migrant workers' understanding of their rights.

### **6.3.3 Implications for the Society**

Migration is beneficial not only for an individual family but it contributes to the district, to the state and to the society at large at both the places. The study has highlighted the problems faced by the migrants from the social lens also. Migrants are being taken as workers that serves in the economic growth of the society. The study highlights the plights of migrants and makes the employer sensitive to their issues for their own benefits. If the employers will work for improving their living condition, educate their children and will take care of their health and make them feel secure and safe, it would be going to increase their profit also as, a happy and secure individual can give best output at the workplace.

The society also needs to acknowledge the daily inconveniences that the migrants face due to the language barriers and the cultural shocks as they adjust to a new life style at a new place. The society needs to adopt an open and magnanimous attitude towards the migrants and acknowledge the contribution of the migrants instead of neglecting them and treating them as outcasts.

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## Questionnaire

Demographic profile	1	Whether having Voter ID	Yes			No	
	2	Parliamentary Constituency No					
	3	Legislative Constituency No.					
	4	Polling Station No					
	6	Age (in years )	18 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 45	46 and above	
	7	Gender	Male	Female		Third Gender	
	8	Educational qualification	Illiterate	Less than matric	Higher secondary	Graduation and above	
	9	Marital Status	Married	Unmarried	Divorced	Widow/ Widower	
			Migration related				
Migration related	1	Place of origin	UP		Bihar	Other state	
	2	Year of migration	Less than 2 years	2 to 5 years	6 to 10 years	10 years and above	
	3	Nature of work at the place of origin	Self employed	As skilled labourer		As unskilled labourer/helper	Not working
	5	Nature of work at the present place of Work	Self employed	As skilled labourer		As unskilled labourer/helper	Not working
	14	Basis of selecting the present place:	agents	Family/friends/relative guidance		Own decision	
	15	factors responsible for migration	A attraction of getting a higher wage		Better living in urbans		
			Continuous employment		Children future		
			. Off season of work in the native place.		indebttness		
			. Better conditions of work				
	16	Present employment status	Full time employed		Part time Employed	Unemployed	

	17	If in public employment, nature of appointment	Regular	Contractual	Daily wage	Others
	18	If in private sector, nature of appointment	Regular	Contractual	Daily wage	Others
<b>Social And Cultural Status Of The Migrants</b>						
	20	How do the local people address you in Ludhiana city	Your original name	Any other name		
	21	Are you invited at the social gatherings or family functions by the locals or by the co-workers?	occasionally	Sometimes	Regularly	
		Do you invite locals in your family functions or your social gathering here?				
	22	Behavior of the locals towards you and your other migrant fellows.	Good	Bad	Neutral	
	23	Do you participate in the festivals of Punjab?	Yes	No	Some festivals	
	24	Do you like speaking Punjabi?	Yes	No	Cant speak	
	25	In what language do the locals talk to you	Punjabi	Hindi	The language you speak	
	26	Have you undergone any change in the following, after shifting to Ludhiana?				
	(ii)	Eating habits	yes	No		
	(iii)	Dressing habits	yes	No		
	27	Do you face any problem from the local police?	yes	No	Some times	
	28	Do the government office and government employees co-operate when you visit a government office?	yes	No	Some times	
<b>ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE MIGRANT LABOURER IN LUDHIANA CITY</b>						
	1	Does the employer give you work according to your skills?	Yes	No		
	2	How do the local labourers at your work place behave with you?	Good	Bad	Satisfactory	
	3	How do you assess the behavior of the employer at your work place?	Good	Bad	Satisfactory	
	4	For how many hours do you work?	8-10 hrs.	10-12 hrs.	12-above	
	5	Do you prefer to work at a place where other migrant workers work?	Yes	No		
	6	Are you comfortable at your work place?	Yes	No		

	9	Do you get the per hour wage for over time similar to regular per hour wage?	Yes	No	
	10	How many holidays you get in a month?			
	11	What is the level of stress at your work place?	Very little	Moderate	High
	12	Did you face any discrimination at the time of recruitment as compared to the locals?	Yes	No	
	13	Do you face any discrimination during the routine work?	Yes	No	
	14	Is there any discrimination in the wages given to you as compared to the locals?	Yes	No	
	15	Does your employer abuse or manhandle you?	Yes	No	
	16	Is your health being affected by the work you have to do at the factory?	Yes	no	
	17	How are the overall working conditions?	Good	Bad	Satisfactory
	18	Do you get any extra benefits other than the salary (PF, insurance etc.)?	Yes	No	

	Income (individual Rs per month)	Below 8000	8000 to 15000	15000 to 25000	25000and above
	Family income( Rs per month)	Below 16000	16000 to 25000	25000to 35000	35000 and above
Immovable	Land Ownership	Yes		No	
	House Ownership	Yes		No	
	Any Other Immovable Property	Yes		No	
	Rental payments (if any)				
	No of Rooms				
	Kitchen	Furnished		Unfurnished	Semi-Furnished
	Bathrooms	Furnished		Unfurnished	Semi-Furnished
Banking Services	19 Bank Account	Yes		No	
	20 Availed any loan	Yes		No	
	21 If yes, nature of financier	Bank	Other Public Financial Institution	Private Finance Company	From employer



Educational/ Entertainment Utilities	Computer/Laptop		Yes	No	
	Smart Phone		Yes	No	
	Internet Access		Yes	No	
	TV		Yes	No	
Household Utilities	gazette	Air Conditioner	Nil	1	2
		Fans /cooler	Nil	1	2
		Gas /stove	Yes	no	
		Washing Machine	Yes		No
		Microwave	Yes		No
		Geyser	Yes		No
Financial	1	Any fee concession availed for children	Yes		No
	2	Subsidised ration			
	5	Subsidised medical aid			
	6	Financial support at child birth			
	7	Financial support at the marriage of a child			
	8	Subsidised kitchen fuel			
	9	Any other subsidy availed			

**Political participation , political representation and political awareness**

Political Participation	1.	Do you have interest in politics?	Yes		No		
		If (yes) how much interest do you have in politics?	A lot	some	little	Not at all	
	2	Do you participate in politics?	Yes		No		
		If (yes) why do you participate in politics? State your opinion.	a) feel interest in politics				
			b) greater participation meant better democratic governance				
			c) could exchange ideas.				
			d) cast vote				
	e) all of the above reasons						
	3	Out of the following forms of participation in which do you take part?	a) very much busy				
			b) lack of time				
c) Domestic duties							
d) family problems							
e) no interest in politics							
f) politics appeared to be complicated							
g) do not know politicians							
h) all the above reasons							
		a) casting vote					
		b) election campaign					
		c) contesting in the election					
		d) selection of the candidate					
		e) attend political meetings at times other than election.					
		f) discussion of politics					
		g) others					

			i) all the above reasons			
	Political participation as a voter and clientelism					
4	Did you cast your vote ever since 2015?	Yes		No		
	If yes at which level	local	state	central	All the levels	
	If (yes) why do you exercise franchise?	a) Vote is our political right				
		(b) to choose right and responsible government				
		(c) as a responsible citizen we should deliver our franchise				
		(d) through voting our economic/ social needs will be fulfilled				
		(e) all the above reasons				
	If (no) why do you not cast your vote?	a) out of station				
		b) illness				
		c) occupied with some other engagement				
d) apathy towards voting						
e) voting means wastage of time						
f) some other reasons						
5	While voting what is more important to you	Political party	Candidate	Both	none	
	What was the most important consideration in favour of the <b>party</b> ?	People of my caste /community supported that party.				
		My family members are traditional supporters/voters of the party.				
		I/members of my family have benefitted, or expect to benefit from the party.				
		The party has good leadership				
		The overall programme of the party is good				
		Other (Specify)				
	While voting what was the most imp consideration in favors of <b>candidate</b> ?	Religion of the candidate				
		The candidate is accessible				
		The candidate has worked a lot in my area				
The group or the faction in the ward supported the candidate						
We have family ties or good relations with the candidate.						
I/members of my family have benefitted, or expect to benefit from the candidate.						
I am impressed by the candidate's personality.						
Candidate belongs to my state /region.						
6	(If Voted) When did you finally make up your mind about whom to vote for	C not say/NA				
		On the day of election.				
		The day election dates were announced				
		Well before the election process started				

		Can not say		
		NA		
7	Do you take voting decision by yourselves or you are told by family members to vote for a particular candidate/party	By your self	By family member Or anyone else	
8	Were you approached by the candidate or his agent personally during the campaign	Yes	No	
	Did you decide to vote because your vote was sought for personally by the candidate and / or his agents?	yes	no	
9	Does the voting have any impact on your financial status – is it increased?	Yes	no	
	Does your present representative help you to achieve economic gains?	Yes	no	
Active political participation more than as a voter				
10	Did you participate in the election campaign in the last election?	Yes/	No	
	If (yes) how did you participate?	a) requested others to cast vote?		
		b) requested others to cast vote in favor of a candidate of your choice		
		c) donated to the election fund		
		d) collected subscription for election		
		e) attended any election meeting		
		f) helped in organizing any election meeting		
		g) participated in any election procession		
		h) prepared slips/ posters/ banners etc.		
		i) distributed slips/ posters/ leaflets etc. in favor of any candidate		
		j) campaigned from door to door		
		k) anything else		
	l) all the ways			
If (no) why did not you participate in the election campaign?	a) no interest in politics			
	b) no trust in politicians.			
	c) lack of time			
	d) indifferent			
	e) don't have any scope			
	f) some other reason			

		g) all of the above reasons.				
	11	Would you please specify the principal factors that stand in the way of people's participation in politics?	Lack of awareness Lack of interest Lack of time Social exclusion Complex system of political participation Financial constrained Political apathy			
	Political awareness					
	12	Do you keep in touch with political news?	Yes	No	To some extent	
	13	Which of the following structures helps you the most in the matter of collecting political news?	a) party magazine			
			b) discussion with respectable persons			
			c) newspaper			
			d) radio			
			e) television			
			f) posters anything else			
	14	Do you read newspaper?	Yes	No		
		(If yes) Do you read it daily?	Yes	No	Once in a while	
	15	Do you discuss politics with your friend?	Yes	No	rarely	
	16	Some people think that politics and running of the government are so complicated that common people find it difficult to understand politics - what do you think?	Yes	No	Can not say	To some extent
Political representation	17	Please mention the name of the parties contested for the last election	Congress		AAP	
			Akali Dal (SAD)		BSP	
			CPI (M)		Lok Insaaf Party	
			BJP		Independent	
			No idea			
		Please mention which party in your area won the election and what is the name of the candidate.				
	Emerging Political leadership					
	17 A	Are you member of any organisation	Yes	No		
		If yes what type of organization	Social /cultural /economic/ political			

		Would you contest the election if you were given the opportunity?	yes	No	Can think later	Decide later
	18	0. What is the stimulus or impulse that led you to contest?	To be in power and wield authority over others			
			To make it a stepping-stone to becoming an M.L.A. or M.P			
			To serve the people.			
			To make it a source of livelihood.			
			To settle old scores with opponents.			
			To contest for the sake of contesting, Le., as a fun			
		To contest for the sake of contesting, Le., as a fun.				
		At which level you are interested in contesting the election?	At local level		State level	Central level
	19	Are you a member of any political party?	Yes			No
		If (yes) which is the party?				
		If (party member) what is the degree of your attachment towards this party?	very strong	strong	medium	
	20	If you are not a member of any political party, is there any party to which you feel close?	Yes			No
		If (yes) please state the name of the political party.				
		If (yes), what is the degree of attachment towards the party?	Very strong	strong	medium	
	21	Do you consider that public opinion has any impact on the functioning of the government?	Yes	No	To some extent	No idea
	22	Does any of your family member is in politics	Yes			No
	23	Is your desire for active participation in politics depend solely upon you?	yes			no
	24	Are you aware of various projects of state/central government for workers/ labourers	Yes			No
		Do you have knowledge of labour union?	yes			no

		Do you have knowledge of labour legislation?	yes	no
		Do you have knowledge of minimum wages/compensation etc.	yes	no
		Do you have knowledge of labour rights	yes	no

<b>S. No</b>	<b>Type of Paper (Journal Paper/Conference proceeding/Book Chapter)</b>	<b>Title of paper with author names</b>	<b>Volume &amp; Issue Number</b>	<b>Published Date</b>	<b>Journal indexing (Scopus/UGC /Web of Science)</b>
1	Journal paper	Socio Political Rights of Migrant Labourers in India A Case Study of Chandigarh City by SEEMA KUMARI and Javeed Ahmad Bhat	NIU International Journal of Human Rights. ISSN: 2394 – 0298 Volume 8(XVI), 2021	2021	UGC Care list
2	conference paper	Impact of Covid -19 And Lock Down on The Mental Well Being of The Students-A Case study of Chandigarh.	National E-Conference on Education and Development: Post COVID-19	26. 9. 2020	School of Education, Lovely Professional University, Punjab.
3	conference paper	Internal migration, Covid 19 and the state evidence from Punjab.	International Conference on Equality, Diversity and Inclusivity: Issues and Concerns	25.9.2021	School of Education & School of Humanities, Lovely Professional University, Punjab.

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