CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY THE NORTHEAST MIGRANTS IN BANGALORE: TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF HOSPITALITY

THESIS

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In fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

Christian Theology

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Abstract

Migration of people has increased at an alarming rate and it has become an inevitable phenomenon across the globe. Among these, the trends of migration of people from the northeast states to metro cities in India have become an everyday mode. Many people from the northeast migrate to Bangalore to seek for job opportunities. One major challenging aspect face by the northeast migrants is discrimination based on ethnic appearance, coupled with various challenges related to work; non-payment of salary, insecurity, harassment, and various other vulnerable situations that affect migrants' life. Amidst these alarming situations, hospitality in welcoming all people is of much importance in considering migration.

This thesis makes use of *Social Analysis* as a methodological tool of investigation to identify the issues, causes and factors leading to migration in Bangalore. The study also employs *experience* and *action-reflection* as a starting point for praxis that is both transformative and liberating. Taking into account the complexity of the northeast migrant's experiences and increasing acts of racism and hostility, the biblical concept of hospitality and its implication on loving and extending hospitality to the strangers is very significant when one consider applying to the northeast migrating people who are considered as 'strangers' or 'others.' At the same time, reciprocal in hospitality between migrating and receiving community is crucial.

This thesis argues that hospitality needs to be understood within the wider concept of God's gracious hospitality. God's hospitality embodied in Jesus' love and welcome for all people then envisions a new community based upon the values of mutuality, acceptance and reciprocal partnership. Thus, by affirming and engaging in such inclusiveness, reciprocal hospitality can become truly life affirming initiatives for all people in the face of migration.

Keywords

Migration, northeast, migrants, restaurant workers, beauty parlour spa workers, hospitality, multi-religious, inclusive, strangers, others, vulnerability, experience, partnership, solidarity.

SELF ATTESTATION

I hereby attest that I have personally worked on the research entitled, ***Challenges Experienced by the Northeast Migrants in Bangalore: Towards a Theology of Hospitality,*** in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Christian Theology. The data mentioned in the research report have been generated during the work, and are genuine. Data/information obtained from other resources has been duly acknowledged. None of the findings/information pertaining to the work has been concealed. The results and findings of the research have not been submitted to any other university or Institute for the award of any degree or diploma.

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This is to certify that the Thesis entitled "Challenges experienced by the northeast migrants in Bangalore: Towards a theology of Hospitality" submitted for the Degree of PhD in Christian Theology is a bonafide research carried out by Anati K. Yeptho, I.D. No.14 PHTH101, during 2014-2019, under my guidance and supervision. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other Degree.

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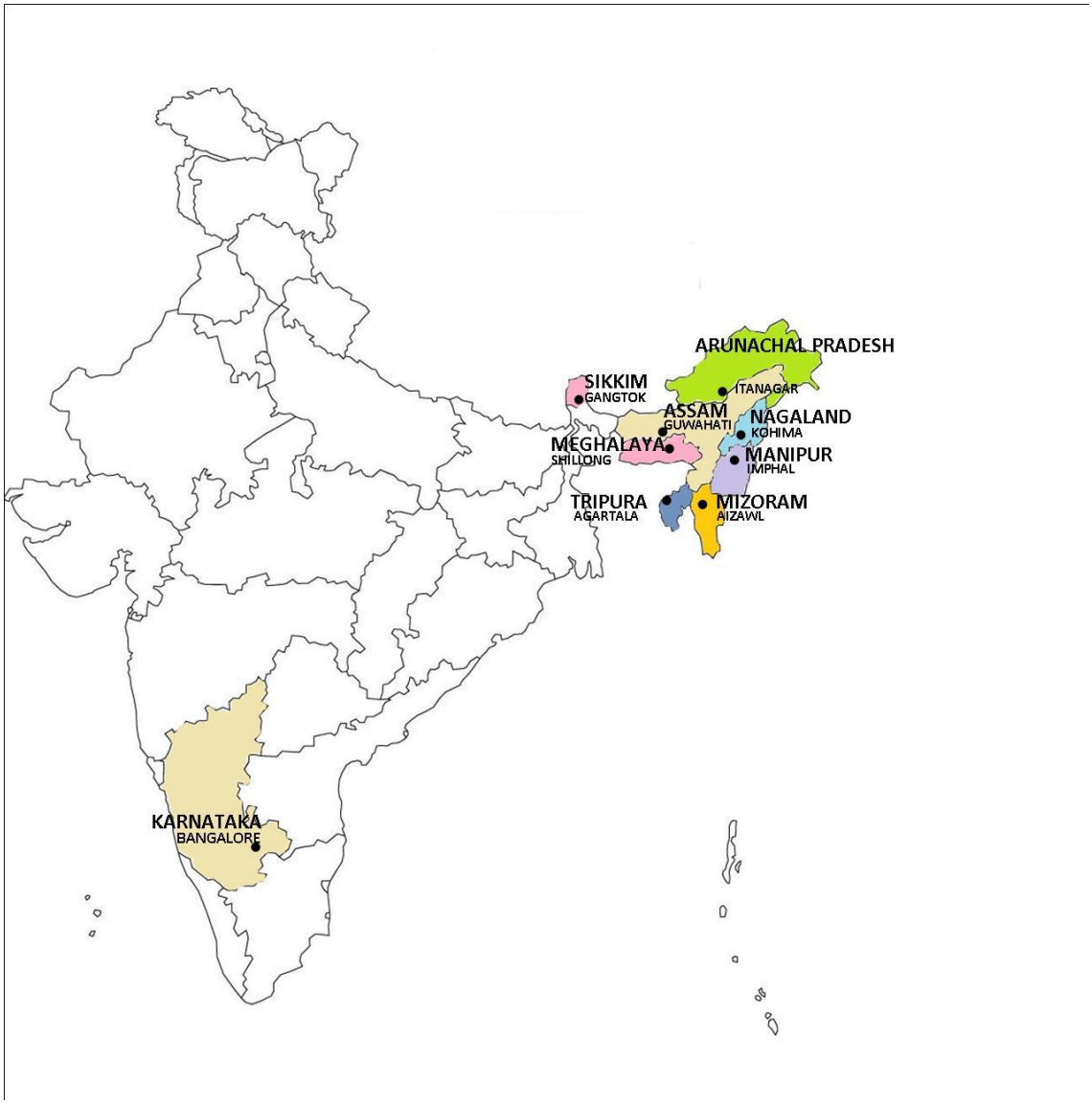
Abbreviations

%	Per Cent
CISRS	Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society
ECC	Ecumenical Christian Center
FIR	First Information Report
IOM	International Organization of Migration
ISI	Indian Social Institute
NER	North East Region
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NSS	National Sample Survey
SCMI	Students Christian Movement of India
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UN	United Nations
NES	Northeast Solidarity
NEWAK	North East Welfare Association Karnataka
RW	Restaurant Workers
PSW	Parlour and Spa Workers

Map of India

The map below highlights the blueprint of migration of people from the northeast states to Bangalore, Karnataka.



Introduction

Migration of people has been in existence from very early times. Migration is not something unforeseen, what concerns more alarming is the present trend of migration in India, and other parts of the globe. Globally, migration in most countries has been observed by and large due to the industrialization of social and economic development accompanied by a large scale movement of people from villages to towns, towns to cities, and from one country to another. Though the cause of migration of people can be define by a particular social, cultural, religious and economic context, the widespread changes precipitated by globalization and the number of people migrating to different parts of the world has increased more and more in the last few decades. Globalization along with the advancement of technology in communication and transportation, the world indeed has become a global hub and within this global hub, migration of people has become one of the major factors. Today, living in a globalized world has been a unique experience as migration of people across the world has become an inevitable phenomenon.

People migrate to different place for many various reasons owing to varied social, economic, political, religious and other environmental challenges etc. There are individual and mass migrations due to war, invasion, violence, socio-economic instability and ethnic cleansing based on caste, creed and colour etc. Similarly there has been internal as well as external displacement of people causing widespread presume on housing, employment, basic resources for life and rights. In such context, migration of people could be both a cause and a consequence of various social, cultural and economic constraints as experienced by an individual, families or a group of people in society. Thus, an individual, families or a group of people make the decisions to migrate from one's own location to another in different ways and under different circumstances. The phenomenon of migration of people is expressed by a number of secular and religious individuals in the contemporary era such as; the 'age of migration,' 'people on the move,' and 'signs of the times' etc., and this inevitable phenomenon of movement of people across the globe has become a major concern for both secular and religious authorities at the local, national, and at the global level.

The World Migration Report estimates 244 million international migrants in 2015, while the number of internal migrants had increased more than 740 million in 2009. In 2016, it is estimated that about 40.3 million people were internally displaced worldwide and 22.5 million refugees in 2016 in the worldwide scenario.[1] The United Nations estimated about 11 million Syrians fled their homes for safety, security and survival since the outbreak of civil war in March 2011 and another 13.1 million Syrians required humanitarian support.[2] In September 2015, a 4 year old Aylan Kurdi's body was washed ashore in the Mediterranean Sea, highlighting the horrific human cost of the global migrant crisis as many other lost their lives, been killed, murdered, and families separated. In yet another international refugee's crisis in recent times, an alarming hundreds of thousands Rohiangyas refugees (the Muslim minority) have been massing across the border to Bangladesh due to the increase of violence in Rakhine state as "the Myanmar army launched a ruthless campaign against the community since August 2017. The United Nations says the operation amounts to ethnic cleansing, but Myanmar has denied the charge, saying its troops targeted Rohingya militants."[3]

According to the United Nations reports, the flow of people from India to international countries is about 16 million which make Indians the largest diaspora in the world, compared to those 12 million from Mexico and other Asian countries.[4] Available statistical evidence confirms that in India, a total of about 26.13 million people were displaced between 2008- 2013 due to natural disaster, conflicts and violence related, second only to China which had 54.25 million people displacements.[5] The issues of migration and displacement of people in the Northeast[6] India are no exception. The problems of illegal migration and influx of immigrants from neighbouring countries of

[1] Marie McAuliffe and Martin Ruhs, "Report Overview: Making Sense of Migration in an increasingly interconnected World," in *World Migration Report 2018*, edited by Marie McAuliffe and Martin Ruhs, (Geneva: International Organizations for Migration, 2018)1.
[2] http: www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html (accessed 15 November 2016).
[3] *Bangalore Mirror*, Monday, April 16, 2018.
[4] https://un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2016/01 (accessed 23 February 2016).
[5]https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-over-2mn-displaced-in-india (accessed 25 February 2016).
[6] The word 'Northeast' has been used as 'North East' or 'North- East,' by writers and scholars from different discipline. Therefore, the word 'Northeast' or 'northeast' is used interchangeably throughout this paper.

Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan beside others have become a greater issue than before. In the recent reports, Assam has introduced "detect-delete-deport," campaign and has announced the eviction of 20 million illegal immigrants from Bangladesh,[7] and the situation is similar in Arunachal Pradesh, "anti-foreigners drive" is gaining momentum, where about 60,000 Chakmas and about 40,000 Tibetan and Hajong tribes find themselves nowhere to go,[8] the Chin, Bru and Chakmas in Mizoram etc. [9] All these groups of people have become refugees and displaced groups of people due to various religious, ethnic conflicts, political insurgency and development driven reasons etc. The issue of illegal immigration, refugees and displacement of people web together in the form of migration in northeast India. Parasuraman comments the situation of migration of people in India as,

> The movement is daily, weekly, seasonal and long term. The roads and railways carry endless streams of humanity across the country. The flow of migrants in and out of the country too is on the increase.[10]

This is very true when one glimpse about the migration of people in India as people of various backgrounds migrate to different parts of India on a daily basis. Although migrants, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers are all associated with migration, the reasons and issues are varied and multifaceted. Because of the complexity of international migration, immigration, and refugees etc., the distinctiveness in each individual context and the issue of migration of people from different social-cultural, political and religious background cannot be generalized as its nature varies. Hence, to be specific in its nature and issues, cause and consequences this research has focused only on the context of migration of people from the northeast states to Bangalore.

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[7] Kunal Anand, "India may deport 20 million illegal Bangladeshis living in Assam," in https://google.co.in/amp/amp.indiatimes.com//news/india/india-may-deport-20-million-illegal-bangaladeshis-living-in-assam-266404.html (accessed 21 March 2015).

[8] https://indiatoday.in/story/arunachal-residents-intensify- campaign- to- drive- out-Chakmas-refugees- determined- to- stay-on/1/29424.html (accessed 21 March 2015).

[9] "There are more than 53,000 Chakma refugees in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Tripura." J. H. Hre Mang, *Report on the Chin Refuges in Mizoram State of India* (New Delhi: Other Media Communications, 2000), 19.

[10] S. Parasuraman, "Migration and its Effect on the Family," in *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, vol.47, no.1 (April 1986): 1.

Speaking of migration of people from the North East Region[11] to other metro cities in India, there are no consistent statistics on the actual number of northeast migrants. Nevertheless, northeast helpline centers such as North East Support Center and Helpline Delhi and Northeast Solidarity Bangalore have made estimation about the number of northeast migrants to other mega cities in India. According to North East Support Center and Helpline Delhi, "over 314,850 people from the NER migrated to various parts of the city in India mainly for higher education and employment during 2005-2009 and in 2010. It is also reported that northeast migrants numbering over "414, 850 of which, about 200,000 migrant in Delhi alone."[12] According to Northeast Solidarity report, an estimation of about "five lakh northeast populations in Bangalore, half of the population from Assam state and the other half could have come from different states of the Northeast."[13] The patterns of migration of people from the northeast states to other metro cities in India are consistent with the growth seen in the recent past.

0.1. Statement of the Problem

Many people from the northeast migrate to Bangalore to seek for job opportunities. While many unfortunate events in various forms took place and is still for that matter taking place to those coming to the city. One major aspect is the acts of discriminating an individual basing on one's ethnic appearance. Such unto-ward events have been gaining momentum and seem ubiquitous and perpetual. This is alarming and a deep cause of concern; physical attacks, racial abuse, harassment and such other forms leading to even murders and deaths. Each time leaving people in shock and increased insecurity. Thus, this study asserts in addressing the challenges and emphasis hospitality as the catalyst to mitigate them. Hospitality as welcoming of all people would give hope to the northeast migrants at the same time, reciprocal hospitality is crucial.

0.2. Elaboration of the Problem

Migration from the northeast states can be traced long back from the First World War where many youngsters participated in the war in different states of India and in many

[11] Hereafter, the word, 'North East Region' is used as 'NER' throughout this paper.
[12] Madhu Chandra, *North East Migration and Challenges in National Capital Cities* (Delhi: North East Support Center and Helpline, 2011), 12.
[13] *Northeast Solidarity Report*, Bangalore, 2017.

other Commonwealth countries. Waves of people belonging to different ethnic groups from the region flocked to other parts of the cities for varied reasons and it has continued till date. Although migration of people has been in existence from the very early times, the trend of migration varies. The current era of migration particularly migration of people from the northeast states are by and large associated with socio-economic and political factors that lead or compel a person to migrate from one's native place to another place, in search of livelihood survival.

When one compare mainland Indian migration to northeast states it is much older comparatively. Many mainland Indians have been migrating to the region since colonial and post-colonial period. Many of whom migrate along with British colonials as traders, shopkeepers and in post-independent time as coolies, school teachers, mechanics, administrators, and various other jobs. A conversation and interaction with the mainlanders living in northeast India, particularly in a researcher's home state, where it could be observed that they are comparatively dignified and enjoy their work and life in the state.

On the other hand, the movement of people from northeast states to other metro cities such as; Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Chennai and Bangalore etc., have been noticeably increasing in the last few decades as many people particularly youth are often magnetize to pursue either higher education or job opportunities. Many young people migrating to Bangalore do so due to the acute unemployment problems, lack of communication and connectivity, electricity and other basic facilities etc., Nagaland in particular. In rural areas and even some towns there are no proper communication and facilities available for example, people get a daily newspaper *Nagaland Post*, after a day or two mostly in rural areas while internet facility is always slow and many times connections is not available to general public when needed.

Conversely, young people from the northeast states are on the move from a traditional agriculturist to emerging youth entrepreneurs in terms of employment patterns; shifting people from an agrarian society to skill development and self-employment one. For example in Nagaland, *Youth Net*; a well-established NGO runs and trains young people in different skill-related works, further so they can make their own livelihood earnings.

Likewise in most of the northeast states job opportunities are initiated and young entrepreneurs creating their own space, self-employment providing life-sustaining skills to native people. Still, many of the youth are unemployed due to limited job prospects both in government and private sectors.

Furthermore, the never ending insurgencies unrest in states like Manipur and Nagaland, lack of governance and instability of the State governments, insecurity issues between the tribes and ethnic conflicts etc., lead many young people to come out from the dismal situation, willing to escape from these realities to pursue freedom and independence thus leading many youth to migrate. Under such circumstances of discontent and thwart aspirations, a large number of people especially the youth of different ages move out from their homeland either to pursue education/higher education or aspire to get employment in other cities by and large for security, safety and livelihood survival. All these situations give rise for migration of northeast people to other mega cities in India and Bangalore in particular.

Bangalore offers varied opportunities and job prospects to work attracting many young people for better work and a hope of earning a good amount which ultimately leads to financial independence. Migrants and immigrants from all over the world come to Bangalore more or less permanent or temporary for various reasons. The researcher has categorized the northeast community into three different groups. The first group of northeast people in Bangalore consists of people working in Information Technology and other private companies who are well- educated with good income and are well-settled in the city permanently or temporarily. The second group can be categorized as education- related. Students from different academic backgrounds who are studying in different Christian institutions and other religious and non-religious institutions come to the city to pursue higher education or for better educational infrastructure outside their state. The third category of northeast population in Bangalore consists of working people in ‘unorganized’ sectors particularly, in beauty parlours and spas, hotels, restaurants, sales (retails) security services, and domestic workers etc.

Northeast people go to Bangalore with a dream to earn their livelihood and to support their families financially on hearing about a good pay in the metro city through friends,

relatives, or through newspapers and recruitment agencies. Consequently once they come to know about someone working outside the state/s, they are willing to do anything to move out from the place. Some migrants come to the city through proper contact with friends, siblings and relatives living in Bangalore. For most northeast migrants particularly migrant workers in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas, their real problems and difficulties begin once they arrive in the city. Problems related to non-payment of salary, insecurity, harassment, various forms of abuse like sexual, physical, mental and verbal abuse, and other vulnerable situations that affect migrants' life at various stages threatened the well-being of the northeast migrant in Bangalore. Thus, all these have created a feeling of insecurity and exclusion among the northeast people, migrants working particularly in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas in Bangalore.

0.3. Justification of the Study

Many studies have provided extensive information on the issues faced by the northeast migrants in general however, not much information is available with a specific focus on northeast migrant workers in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas and, thereby, this study has been taken up. Northeast migrant workers in 'unorganised sector,' particularly in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas are more vulnerable and their experiences continue to remain by and large at an individual level, and therefore, this study attempts to bring out their lived experiences through an academic research.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will bridge the gap of lack of sufficient information on the northeast migrant workers in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas. The findings of this study may also be useful to the various sectors such as government, private, NGOs, religious intuitions and civil society. For instance, in the government sector, private and NGOs, providing more employment opportunities and safety measures for the migrant workers. In the religious intuitions and civil society, it will help embrace diversities in fostering a harmonious and mutual acceptance between migrating and the host community. The results of the study are likely to influence further research by other researchers who may be interested in the area of migration and initiate appropriate mitigation.

0.4. Research Questions

- What are the factors that cause the northeast people to migrate to Bangalore and what are the challenges associated with their migration?
- How does scripture help in defining the practice of hospitality?
- In what ways can hospitality benefit both the migrating and the receiving community in a multi-religious context?

0.5. Objectives of the Study

- To examine the profiles and challenges of the northeast migrants in Bangalore
- To explore the biblical concept of hospitality
- To develop a theology of hospitality in a multi-religious context

0.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study

Bangalore is one of the accommodative cities where hundreds of thousands of youngsters from the northeast come to the city for studies as well as for employment. Consequently, it would not be feasible to make an extensive study of all these groups. Therefore, the study is limited to a pocket-size of the northeast community who come to Bangalore for the purpose of employment and specifically those working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas; those working for at least a year and above, both married and unmarried/single, and are between the age group of 18 to 32 years.

0.7. Locale of the Study

The selection of the eight areas/zones were chosen from Bangalore city keeping in view that a majority of the northeast people working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas live in these particular areas. The study areas were divided into two zones, North East of Bangalore and South East of Bangalore. Four locality from each zones were identified namely; Lingarajpuram, Banaswadi, Hennur and Kammanahalli from North East of Bangalore, and Indiranagar, Koramangala, Vivek Nagar and Ejipura from South East of Bangalore.

0.8. Methodology

The first part of the study employs *Social Analysis* as a methodological tool of investigation to identify the issues, causes and factors leading to migration in

Bangalore. The study also employs *experience* as a starting point for praxis that is both transformative and liberating, which is born out of a particular context and experience. Further, the study engages in *Action-reflection* exercise, to explore some of the aspects of hospitality as an entry point of migration. Accordingly theological sources are brought into a collaborative discourse with other interdisciplinary approach.[14]

0.8.1. Method of Study

Given the nature of the research, the study employed an empirical method using both quantitative and qualitative research method. Three methods are used for collecting empirical data, namely; questionnaire, interview and case study. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used as a primary source to engage with issues and challenges faced by the northeast migrants in Bangalore. In addition, books and articles are used in developing the theoretical framework of the study.

0.8.2. Questionnaire

A structured closed-ended questionnaire is used as a tool for collecting the primary data with the aim to gather information related to the northeast migrant's challenges in Bangalore. A total of 300 questionnaires were sent out mostly through personal meetings, and a few questionnaires were sent through student's associations' representatives. Majority of the respondents (for the questionnaire) were met personally at their work place, mostly during their lunch breaks and the other half at their rented accommodations during their week day off (frequently Monday to Thursday). Each individual took not less than an hour to fill the questionnaire on an average and in some cases about two hours when the questions were explained to the respondents.'

Of the 300 questionnaires distributed, 233 questionnaires were collected. However, only 200 migrants' responses are taken in which 100 are male respondents from restaurants and another 100 are female respondents from beauty parlours/spas. The final data collected is coded, tabulated and the percentage comparing the total number of responses to the total number of respondents i.e., the total number of male respondents

[14]Fernando Canale states that, "the question about a theological interdisciplinary methodology is a recent development in the history of Christian theology." For more detailed discussion, See, Fernando Canale, *Interdisciplinary Method in Christian Theology? In Search of a Working Proposal*, in https://www.ntslibrary.com. (accessed 14 January 2015).

working in restaurants and female respondents working in beauty parlours/spas are taken separately. The format of the questionnaire is attached in appendix.

0.8.3. Interview

Interviews constitute in this study are vital and helpful in knowing the different views and perspectives on the issues and concerns of northeast migrants in Bangalore. The interviews with a cross-section of people connected with northeast migrant were based on both structural and unstructured interviews. The researcher went out and met different students' association[15] leaders, NGOs, local activist, and individuals were personally interviewed depending on their convenience and time. Further, few migrants who were/are working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas were interviewed during the collection of the structured questionnaire.

0.8.4. Case Study

Case study method facilitated the study to focus on varied experiences of the northeast migrants in and outside their workplace. Besides, this method enables the researcher to present the experiences, struggles, and multiple forms of discriminations faced by the northeast migrants in Bangalore. Accordingly, 12 selected case studies of the northeast migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas are gathered as valid evidence of the varied lived experiences. Though these 12 cases may seem small to bring out the diversity of northeast migrants, they surely help in highlighting the nexus between different points such as varied problems they face, subject to racial discriminations and various form of violence due to their ethnic appearance and how each of the migrants encounter the challenges.

0.9. Definition of Terms

0.9.1. Migration

Migration is derived from the Latin word *Migrare* which involves a change of one's residence more or less permanently.[16] Migration of people from the northeast states can be seen mainly due to a constant search for employment and better livelihood. Thus,

[15] Here student's associations refer only to the northeast student's associations in Bangalore.
[16] S.C. Josh, *Migration to Metropolis* (Jaipur: RBSA Publishers, 1994), 3.

migration in this study refers only to the northeast people who migrate to Bangalore for the purpose of employment.

0.9.2. Types of Migration

Migration of an individual, family or a group of people has its varied nature and cause that determined the decision to migrate. Korra points out the three major types of migration, namely; individual migration, family migration and the group migration.[17] Joshi[18] points out to four major types of migration citing W. Peterson. They are; primitive migration, forced or impelled migration, free migration, and mass migration. From a sociological point of view, migration can be categorized into four types namely; Immigration and emigration, in-migration and out-migration, gross and net migration and internal migration and external migration.[19] Different scholars have defined the varied nature and types of migration of people and it is important to note that all these types of migration are not mutually exclusive.

0.9.3. Migrant

Migrant is a person who migrates to other place in order to find work or better living conditions. For the purpose of this study, the term 'migrant' here refers to people who migrated from the northeast states to Bangalore for the purpose of employment and are working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas to better their living conditions.

0.9.4. Migrant Worker

The term 'migrant worker' refers to a person who either migrates within one's country or outside country to pursue work.[20] Migrant workers in this study thus refer only to the northeast people who have voluntarily migrated to Bangalore and are working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas.

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[17] Vijay Korra, "Labour Migration in Mahabubnagar: Nature and Characteristics," in *Economy and Political Weekly*, vol. 46, no. 2 (January 8-14, 2011): 68.
[18] S.C Joshi, *Migration to a Metropolis*, 8-10.
[19] Divisha S, "Migration: Meaning, Types and Effects," https://www.sociology discussion.com/communication/migration-types-and-effects/3112 (accessed 15 January 2015).
[20] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Migrant_worker, (accessed 22 March 2015).

0.9.5. Hospitality

The term and definition of hospitality denotes varied meanings in different disciplines as such, scholars, academicians, practitioners from different faculty have used the metaphor of hospitality in broad terms including entertaining others, hotel/ restaurants, tourism industry as well as numerous kinds of hospitality in the business world.[21] Keeping this in mind, the term 'hospitality,' in this study focuses only on a biblical perspective. From the biblical and theological perspective, then, hospitality is seen as God's love and welcome for all.

0.10. Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter covers the literature review particularly studies relating to the internal migration and migration of people from the northeast states to other parts in India. The purpose of this chapter is to understand various causes and consequences of migration in India. Specific focus is given to the migrants from deprived socio-economic backgrounds who are employed in 'unorganized' or 'vulnerable occupation' such as; construction workers, domestic work and other casual labourers to understand the nexus with the issues and challenges faced by the northeast migrant workers in 'unorganized' sector such as, restaurants and beauty parlours, particularly in Bangalore.

The second chapter proceeds in attempt to understand the northeast people by various backgrounds and the people (who are homogenous) with diverse racial, linguistic and ethnic cluster, having diverse social-cultural heritages and a wide-range of economic, political and religious beliefs as it would serve a fillip to understand the process of migration for northeast people to Bangalore particularly.

The third chapter centers on 12 selected case studies (and aftermath interviews). These 12 cases of migrants who were/are working in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas sectors may seem small to bring out the diversity of northeast migrant workers in Bangalore, nonetheless they surely help in highlighting various forms of discrimination, violence and physical attacks and migrants resilient nature in facing these challenges.

[21] R.E.C Browne, "Hospitality," in *A Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, edited by John Macquarrie, (London: SCM Press, 1967), 155-156.

The fourth chapter then proceeds with the subject to examine the challenges experienced by the northeast migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas sectors, through an empirical data collected from 200 respondents followed by a data coding and analysis. The analysis include eight sections; socio-economic and demographic profiles, factors leading to migration, patterns of employment and income, work environment, health and impact on family, varied forms of discrimination in and outside the workplace, participation in socio-cultural and religious participation, response to the faced challenges, and migrants responses to migration and hospitality.

The fifth chapter attempts to explore some of the biblical concept of hospitality recounted in the biblical narratives. Attention is given to Abraham's hospitality in Genesis 18, hospitality in the book of Ruth, the parable of the last judgment in Mat. 25: 35- 46 and the parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10:29-37 etc. Biblical narratives provide that hospitality to the stranger, the alien and the sojourners was not only a mandate, but also seen as a grateful response to God's gracious hospitality. Thus, taking into account the complexity of the northeast migrant's experiences and increasing acts of racism and hostility, the biblical concept of hospitality and its implication on loving and extending hospitality to the strangers is very significant when one consider applying to the northeast migrating people who are considered as 'strangers' or 'others.' On the other hand, reciprocal hospitality between migrating and receiving community would mend alienation and exclusion of the 'other' or 'stranger.'

The sixth chapter builds on hospitality rooted in God's gracious hospitality for all people. God's hospitality embodied in Jesus' love and welcome for people of diverse communities set a paradigm of hospitality to strangers who in today's context are migrants. This thesis explores that hospitality needs to be understood within the wider concept of God's gracious hospitality for all people and the ways the church, civil society and individuals is to extend hospitality to migrants and vice versa through partnership, solidarity and mutual acceptance between migrating and receiving community.

CHAPTER ONE
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Many studies have been done about migration. Particularly; migration of people across India is studied by academicians, scholars, sociologists, geographers, economists, anthropologists and theologians alike, although from a variety of approaches and frameworks. The characteristics and patterns of migration from the northeast states to other metro cities may or may not be similar in nature as with the other people of other Indian states. Thus keeping this in mind, the selection of the review is to survey from a general-viewpoint of internal migration and migration of people from the northeast states to Bangalore as to find on whether the patterns and migration of people has increased or decreased in the last few decades. The specific focus is given to the migrants from deprived socio-economic backgrounds who are/were employed in 'unorganized' or 'vulnerable occupation' such as; construction workers, domestic work and other casual labourers to understand the nexus with the issues and challenges faced by the northeast migrant workers in 'unorganized' sector such as, restaurants and beauty parlours, particularly in Bangalore. Accordingly, the researcher use recent and relevant studies, both published and unpublished articles/books related to internal migration and migration from northeast India, in a sequential order.

1.1. Internal Migration in India

The study by Zachariah (1964)[22] examined the internal migration pattern of the 17 provinces using the census of three decades; age, sex and birth of a migrant from the native residence. Based on the descriptions of the census provided, the author estimated the average inhabitants migrating to towns and cities to be about 20,000 or more during 1901-1931.The author's estimation of people who move to another place is not homogeneous with respect to rural-urban migration. According to the survey, the highest frequency of people movement takes place among the age-group; 15- 29, and lesser for those aged 30 and above.

[22] K.C. Zachariah, *A Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Sub-Continent 1901-1931* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964), 1-295.

The author suggests that over the 30- year period, migration across India was particularly selective of male migrants and this is evidently seen in the number of male, which was more consistent than that of female. In his view, the reason for the inconsistency within the domestic states is due to the epidemic diseases, housing shortage etc. He also highlighted a common practice of the male especially in India, where a husband migrates alone and the family (wife or children) moves only when the conditions are favorable. "The reason why a group of people or a community migrates," Zachariah says, "may be attributed not only to economic development, but also to other peculiarities in the social organizations." This clearly shows in the types of migration that is generally varied based on the region and sex composition of the people, also depending on the distance women generally migrate to a short-distance and the preponderance of female migrants is mainly due to marriage migration among those moving.

Majumdar and Majumdar's study (1978)[23] on internal migration focused on two shanty colonies in Delhi, using a qualitative approach of an in-depth case study of 15 migrants. The study reflects that each migrant's story reveals a diverse and unique share of experiences before and after their arrival to the city. Each profile presented had a different story and migratory experiences yet they all share one common thing; a migrant. Further, the authors examined the factors; the causes and motivations in their migration. The common cause of migration as observed by the authors in both "group migration" and "individual migrants" is the "expanding employment opportunities in the growing city in contrast to the income constraints in the villages, encouragement or inducement in the cities gave them hopes and dreams for a better life, also, occasional cases of adventurism were seen." The study dealt with factors such as the migrant's motivations and the patterns of migration, their associations with their villages, the type of employment, living conditions, family and kinship relations, caste and religion. The book as a whole is a study of the rural migrants who are basically slum dwellers, who are socially and economically placed at the lower strata in the society and hence in

[23] Prasanta S. Majumdar and Ila Majumdar, *Rural Migrants in an Urban Setting: A Study of two shanty colonies in the capital city of India* (Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1978), vii-174.

order to have a better livelihood, these migrants come to the city and are willing to do any type of work viz. laundrying, car washing, barbers, cobblers etc., for their own survival and definitely for the sake of their family.

Nair's study (1978)[24] is centered on the attention paid to the role of ethnicity, adjustment and the integration of the South Indian migrants in a multifaceted urban setting. The study presents a historical report of the migration and settlement of the South Indian immigrants in the city of Poona before industrialization had set-in. The study also shows the motivational factors associated with their migration; 91 per cent of them came to Poona for employment, while a few of them for higher studies and another few came to join their relatives. In addition, the author provided variables which contribute to ethnicity such as caste, language, region and religion as well as the income of the immigrants in the city.

Occupation and educational background based on the homogeneity of the ethnic community are also specified in detail. The author spot-lighted some of the areas in which the migrants faced challenges such as; language barrier, economic and political insecurity etc., which affected their assimilation to the new environment. However, this seems relatively satisfactory when we talk of the adjustment patterns of the migrants in the new city initially. Nevertheless, migrants in course of time gradually establish themselves and adapts in new ways.

Singh's study (1986)[25] focuses on a comparative study of the rural to urban migration in three Indian states namely; Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala. The main underlying principle of the study is to show how regional-level diversities in the socio-cultural patterns and economic growth and in demographic settings relate to the differing patterns in migration among the three states. The book has analyzed and confirmed the problems of the migrants by using variables viz. age, sex, marital status, occupation, and education level of the migrants.

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[24] K.S Nair, *Ethnicity and Urbanization: A Case study of the ethnic identity of South Indian migrants in Poona* (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1978), vii-224.
[25] J. P. Singh, *Patterns of Rural-Urban Migration in India* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1986), viii-275.

The study reveals that, "the overall rate of migration in the state of Bihar is greater than in Kerala and West Bengal," while on the other hand male migrants in Kerala were more migratory than those in Bihar and West Bengal. The main reason for male members migrating is chiefly economic, female members' move due to social stigmas imposed, particularly after marriage which compels the female migrants to move to the husband's side of residence, unlike male migrants. The study shows that in all the three states (Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala) marriage seemed to be one of the major factor for female migration. The study also suggests that rural to urban migration is selective of a wide range of age-groups, from 15- 49 years and also highly selective of male migrants in all the three states

Gupta's study (1988)[26] is another significant study related to internal migration, giving attention particularly to the farm workers. For the study, Gupta uses a random sample taken from each of the 596 villages in Ludhiana district, Punjab. 12 villages were selected and 18 villages in Hoshiarpur was tabulated and analyzed. The motivational factors for migration of the migrants to Punjab seem to differ; a common motive Gupta found was primarily for economic reasons. 92.76% came to Punjab for "better employment," and 84% came to the city due to "unemployment or underemployment," reasons in their native places. He observed that the migrants acquired and earned increased income after coming to Punjab, so also had a better way of earning and an improved living standard.

Another area the author dealt is the process involved in the new social setting, in terms of; social adjustment, house-settlement, social participation, leisure time activities, co-operation of the locals and the acculturation of the workers in Punjab. He found that a majority of the migrants had a low social participation and were not well adjusted in the new social setting. Nevertheless, when it comes to acculturation of the migrants, it was found that most of the migrants had a tremendous change in their way of dressing, had acquired more skills and knowledge of agriculture and handling of farm equipment and machinery after moving to Punjab.

[26] Arun Kumar Gupta, *Sociological Implications of Rural to Rural Migration: A Case Study of Rural Immigrants in Punjab* (Allahabad: Vohra Publishers & Distributors, 1988), vii- 148.

The author concludes his investigation stating that, the positive impact of this process on the migrants was envisaged in terms of desirable changes brought about in life-style, children's education, better living and future aspirations. On the other hand, the negative impact of migration faced by the migrants was aggravated by the fact that the preference of migrant laborers was with regards to lower wages, longer working hours besides being submissive. This resulted in the fact that the migrants were deprived and frustrated and had a low level of social participation and adjustment with the new environment in Punjab.

Roy's (1991)[27] uses migration census data from 1971-1981, and variables of mobility in terms of place of birth (POB) and place of last residence (POLR). The survey observed that the pattern of in/ out and net migration in India increased in number to 203.5 million in 1981 against 166.7 million migrants in 1971. It was observed that the major flows of in-migration was in the states like; West Bengal, Maharashtra, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and Karnataka. On the other hand, states like; Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan were found to be out-migrating states. Further, states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Mizoram are to be of low migrating states, both in 1971 and 1981. In addition, the inter-district trend of migration in Haryana, Bihar, Manipur, Meghalaya and Nagaland reasonably increased in 1981 compared to 1971 census. The study shows that both male and female migrants move to different states however, the reasons are varied. It was observed that employment is the main cause for the male migrants and marriage or shifting to husband's household for female migrants. At the same time there was hardly any migrating for education during these decades. In addition, the proportion of male in-migrants has a higher percentage than females both in 1971-1981.

Josh's (1994)[28] study based on the Kumaon migrants who moved to Delhi spent at least five years in the city. The author identified 2096 households of Kumaonis in three districts namely; Pithoragarph, Almora and Nainital in the state of Uttar Pradesh. While

[27] B. K. Roy, "On the question of Migration in India: Challenges and Opportunities," in *GeoJournal*, vol. 23, no 3, (1991): 257-268.
[28] S.C. Josh, *Migration to Metropolis* (Jaipur: RBSA Publishers, 1994), 1-217.

giving a lot of credit to better job opportunities and better livelihood in the urban centers for both the educated and illiterate migrants, Josh also highlighted the reason behind their migration. He points that a large number of Kumaoni people moved owing to adverse economic condition in their native place, such as climate hazards and the absence of non-agricultural means of livelihood.

The study clearly points out how migration from Kumaon to Delhi has taken place at all socio-economic levels. The process of "chain-migration" played an important role in it for the lower strata groups. Speaking of the migrants' problem and adjustment to the new environment, Josh highlighted both the positive and negative experiences faced by the Kumaoni in Delhi. These problems include relating to housing, caste issue, attitudes towards inter-caste marriage etc. and also of positive factors viz. leisure and recreation through ethnic and cultural associations, celebrating ethnic festivals, social interaction and social process of migrants in the host city (Delhi). They also formed their own socio-cultural associations.

The author also highlighted the process of migration; its consequences and outcomes. His study of the Kumaoni is similar to the northeast migrants' experiences in Bangalore. However, as the author comes from a different cultural setting, his study does not bear fully on how the northeast people in Bangalore face their difficulties and problems, especially discrimination based on ethnicity. Nevertheless, the entire book gives details about the process of migration, conceptual frameworks and different theories related to migration and the people involved which is very substantial and significant. The book though set in the framework of Kumaoni to Delhi, has relevance wherever migrants find themselves deprived and exploited in the host city where justice, harmony and unity take different forms for the migrants and the local population.

Haan (1997)[29] conducted a study through field-work and interviews of the migrants from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Odisha, who moved to West Bengal to work in Jute and paper industries. The study found that easy access to transport and communication

[29] Arjan de Haan, "Rural- Urban Migration and Poverty: The Case of India," in *IDS Bulletin,* vol. 28, no 2, (1997): 35-46.

made it easier for migrants to move and earn their living while continuing to maintain close links with families and natives while not settled permanently in the city.

The study also reveals that a majority of the migrant workers' remittances have helped migrants to invest in agriculture production and even ownership of a plot of land in their native places, thus adding to the improvement of their socio-economic conditions. The study shows that most of the people who are economically unstable are more vulnerable to migrate. Though, not necessarily but evidently reflects the fact that most of the migrants are from the poor/poorest places. Further, salary and earnings between places differs so much, thus giving the migrants an edge to opt for migration to better-off states both for temporary and permanent settlements. In addition, migration and poverty is so complex that one cannot generalize the reason for migration from rural to urban to be poverty alone, while unequal distribution of resources in the place of origin also plays a factor in pushing the migrants to other states.

Zachariah, *et.al*, (2003)[30] have done a comprehensive exploration on the; *Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimensions, Differentials and Consequences*. The survey has provided the dynamics of the migrating situation in Kerala in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The book traces the historical appraisal of migration from Kerala to other states within and beyond India; dealing with the patterns of migration from Kerala, dimensions of migration, characteristics of the migrants, causes and costs and the sources of its financing for the process.

The study examines the causes and consequences involved, from a demographic and economic aspect, they examined Kerala based on certain structural, behavioral and demographic changes caused by migration, and also by gender dimensions of migration and how the process of migration has an impact especially on the elderly migrants in the state. The study shows that the major contributing factors of migration in Kerala both of the migrants and emigrants is largely due to the socio-economic factors such as; unemployment, poverty, impacts in agricultural development and in some cases for

[30] K.C. Zachariah, E.T. Mathew & S. Irudaya Rajan, *Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimensions, Differentials and Consequences* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2003), vii- 460.

children's education etc. Further, the authors put forward, that due to the increase in agricultural wage rates many people could not find work in the agricultural sector thus giving rise to migration to other states and countries in order to have better income sources.

Lusome and Bhagat (2004)[31] examine the *Trends and Patterns of Internal Migration in India*, based on the census data in the last three decades (1971- 2001). The study has been classified into three migration streams; intra-district, inter-district and interstate migrants by the census data based on a person's place of last residence and the place. Internal migrants were further categorized into four patterns of migration: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural, and urban-urban.

The study found that the number of migrant population has rapidly increased to 309 million people which was double the number recorded in the census of 1971; 159 million. According to the study, changes in socio-economic conditions affect migrants' mobility to move to other cities/states, with a significant increase in migration during the last three decades. The study also revealed that a majority of the male migrate for employment while marriage emerges as the main reason for the females.

The overall migration into rural areas declined during 1981. However, this does not belittle the fact that the growth of migration during 1991-2001 shows an increase in number for both male and female migrants. Besides, the study also found that the percentage of medium and long-distance migrants who are more urban-oriented have increased while the percentage of short distance migrants have decreased consistently. The study concludes that the trends of migration, "long distance rural to urban and urban to urban streams are likely to emerge as the dominant line of migration in future."

Mishra (2009)[32] evaluates the process for migration of labour from the neighboring states viz. Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh at *The Alang Ship Breaking Yard* (ASBY) in Gujarat region by examining the differentials like; age, education, family

[31] R. Lusome and R.B. Bhagat, "Trends and Patterns of Internal Migration in India, 1971-2001," in https://www.researchgate.net.links (accessed 26 November 2015).
[32] Hrudanand Mishra, "Rural- Urban Migration in India," in *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, vol.70, no.1 (January, 2009):7-25.

size, caste, income, and family income of the migrants. According to the study, over 58% of the respondents point to unemployment and low wages at their native place as the reason which compelled them to migrate. The study also shows that most of the migrants were pushed out of their native place to earn their livelihood while, so some pull factors were also responsible for it.

The study found that a majority of the migrants aged between 20-29 years with educational attainment are long-term migrants when compared to illiterate ones. Another important factor which influences migration is the presence of friends, relatives and fellow villagers at the place of destination who would help the new comers in getting employment and accommodation. The study found and asserts that the remittances have helped the families back home.

Mander and Sahgal's study on *Internal Migration in India: Distress and Opportunities*,[33] focuses on the internal migrants in "vulnerable occupations," such as waste picking, rickshaw pulling, domestic work, construction labour and other casual labour mostly belonging to the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims who moved to Delhi.

The sample surveyed a total of 500 randomly selected migrants consisting of 64.8% men and 35.2% women, of which, the majority were below the age of 40. Of the entire sample, most of 94% people were landless and another 37% were engaged in agriculture as tenants and farm workers before migrating. In most of the internal migration, studies have revealed the 'push' factor as the major cause for migration and the findings match this study with 75% of them being pushed out as there was limited means of survival opportunities in their native places.

Economic survival thus becomes the prime reason for their migration while a few percentiles of them move because a parent or spouse had chosen to migrate initially. They face challenges when they come to a new place especially in finding a new house,

[33] Harsh Mander and Gayatri Sahgal, "Internal Migration in India: Distress and Opportunities," in https://www.centerforequalitystudies.org>2017/07 (accessed on 26 November 2015).

job or language and cultural adjustments and this reality is confirmed in this study where half of the migrants who moved to Delhi faced it.

The study also reveals that half of the migrants send remittances to their families while migrants who are engaged in domestic work and waste-pickers could not due to their low earnings. Migrants of vulnerable occupations also face difficulties at work places as well as in social setting. Often they face verbal and physical abuse, denial of basic services, distress, insecurity, non-payment of wages by their employers and at times being treated as untouchables with those they work. Although most of the time indignity, humiliations, and other oppressive conditions are attached to these vulnerable occupations in the city, 92% of them consider migration as positive impacts on their lives. Positive impact in terms of psychological and social benefits which they do not get in their native places because of caste and religious discriminations, and most importantly; better prospects, accumulate and to better their future for themselves and their family.

Mahapatro attempted to evaluate on *The Changing Patterns of Internal Migration in India*, [34] using the NSS data drawn from 1999/00 and 2007/08. The study found that both push (poverty, unemployment, slow growth in agriculture etc.) and pull (employment, better wages/salary, education etc.) factors influence people to migrate to other districts/states and this has tremendously increased in the rural-urban areas which are largely dominated by the migrants from the poorer socio- economic sections.

The study regarded that, the female rural-urban migration are the majority and the cause of migration changes from marriage to other reasons, especially economic ones. While for male migrants, rural-urban movement seems to become a majority. On the other hand, because of the implementation of schemes like National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), migration from rural-rural has been declining. The author observed that "with globalization, urbanization and

[34] Sandhya Rani Mahapatro, "The Changing Pattern of Internal Migration in India: Issues and Challenges," in https://www.researchgate.net.links (accessed 26 November 2015).

accompanying changes in socio-economic conditions, migrants are attracted to urban areas in recent times."

Majumdar and Pritha's (2015)[35] study on *Migration in India: Questions of Social Exclusion*, begins by highlighting some recent incidents related to migrants who are being subjected to various kinds of harassment and physical abuse, even murder and other vulnerable situation that migrant/s face show how myths influence adjustment and practices that are associated with social exclusion.

The study attempted to evaluate the patterns of migration in India and the impact on them based on both; Census and the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) data on the place of destination and place of origin. The study highlighted the impact of migration and how the migrants adapt, acculturate and assimilate in the new environment throughout the process. The study reveal that marriage appears to be the major reason for women migration and employment related reasons for males, the former accounts for 91% and 61% while 29% and 56%for male migrants in rural and urban areas respectively.

The myths associated in migration with migrants being looked upon as draining the economy, and who are seen as stealing jobs likely leads to social exclusion. Social exclusion of the migrants in the host city is also reflected in denial to provide identity proof, voter's card, inadequate housing, denial of formal residency rights, high-paid jobs and often is subjected to extreme vulnerable situations basing on their race, colour, class, gender and most importantly; ethnicity. Thus the study suggests that, to ensure a more inclusive space for the migrants, social security, legal benefits and identity card like *Aadhar* card should be accessible so that the myths associated with migration can be prevented and varied forms of discrimination against them in India can be reduced while stressing the need to understand the issue of migration at a deeper level.

[35] Kar Suparna Majumdar and Dasgupta Pritha, "Migration in India: Question of Social Exclusion," in *International Research Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 4, no. 4 (April, 2015): 87-91.

Turrey (2016)[36] analyses the growing pattern of internal migration and its social and economic impact from states of Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh to migrants' destination states of Maharashtra, Delhi, Karnataka and Gujarat. The study particularly focused in the informal sector; construction, domestic work, textile, brick kiln, transport and agricultural sector. The finding of the study shows that migrants are predominantly young, less educated and mostly belonging from low-caste social and economic backgrounds.

The study reveals that both push and pull factors such as lack of jobs, poverty, natural disasters etc. push migrants to other district/states. While the labour demand sectors in the destination cities, higher wages, social security and safety are some of the major causes found for their migration. On the other hand, the study also found that migrants in the destination place often face problems like inadequate wages, long working hours, insecurity, unhygienic and poor living conditions etc. It is also found that due to lack of legal documents like ration card and electoral card, migrants are more vulnerable in the destined city. Overall, the study concludes that, "a crucial overview of internal migration in India shows that the migration phenomenon is complex and in spite of vast contribution of migrants to India's economy, the social protection available to them still remains negligible."

Abbas's (2016)[37] article, *Internal Migration and Citizenship in India proposes* problems in the changing nature of citizenship status in India. The author discusses the existing problem of citizenship in the context of internal migrant's experiences within the Indian nation-state. He argues that migrants experience curtailed citizenship within Indian nation-state not because they do not have equal legal status as citizens of India, but they are migrants from other states. The author showed this citizenship deficit of Indian nation-state from two case studies of internal migrants' experiences in the cities of Kolkata and Mumbai. The author asserts that the migrants coming from North India to

[36] Aijaz Ahmad Turrey, "An Analysis of Internal Migration Types in India in Purview of its Social and Economic Impacts," in *EPRA International Journal of Economic and Business Review*, vol. 4, no. 1 (January 2016); 157-164.
[37] Rameez Abbas, "Internal Migration and Citizenship in India," in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, no.1 (2016): 150-168.

other cities like Kolkata and Mumbai often experience discrimination from locals due to ethnic and language differences.

It is here the author observes a relevant identity-politic between the migrants and locals that otherwise contribute to the discriminatory practices of barring migrants from fully enjoying constitutionally empowered citizenship right. It has also partly resulted in the apprehension among the locals who are often threatened by the presence of their ethnically other members. They fear that these people would take away their jobs, drain public recourses, or transform the local culture and society.

1.2. Migration of Northeast People to Metropolitan Cites in India

Burking's (2007) [38] article *Language, Ethnicity and Migration in North-Eastern India,* explores the style of narratives found among numerous ethnic groups of the northeast India; the way they articulate and maintain their identities. The author's argument in this article builds around interrelated concepts of ethnic groups who imagine themselves differently in relation with others. The author argues that ethnic groups in northeast India dubiously construct and maintain their boundary of identity around narratives of origin and migration, its typical language affinity and ethnicity.

The author observes that ethnic groups in northeast India generally presume they have migrated to their present inhabited place from elsewhere. It was then illustrated by taking the case of Garos as one such. According to the author, like other ethnic groups in northeast India, the Garo too traces their origin story of migration from Tibet, Mandalay, even Palestine and so on, primarily through oral history. Hence, despite its inconsistent oral narratives theoretically, it had been an important approach through which they make sense of their unclear identity as one ethnic group.

He observes that most of these ethnic groups in India are generally identified by a category called 'tribes.' They perceive, talk and think of themselves as 'tribe' differently from the logic of what Westerners would generally connote with the term. In the lens of many north-easterners, it 'brings special education and occupational

[38] Robbins Burking, "Language, Ethnicity and Migration in North-Eastern India," in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3 (2007): 391-404.

privileges.' Hence unlike in the West which connotes backwardness, the author cautions its reader that the term 'tribe' in India has different meaning and implication. On the other hand, the term 'tribe' despite its legal and administrative category, it is also applied to the culturally defined set of people in India.

In other words, the author observes the category 'tribes' as it is often associated with particular linguistic group such as Mizo, Angami and so on. In a sense, tribes in northeast India are often presumed in linguistic terms, of which one speaks. Hence tribal identity is defined on the symbolism of language. However, language though an important aspect in defining identity, the author is skeptical as it does not always corresponds to the tribal identity it defines. For Burking, this is particularly true in cases where some tribes have sub-tribes who speak a distinct yet mutually understandable 'dialects' within the defined tribe for e.g. in Kuki group there are speakers of Paite, Hmar, Gangte, Thadou etc.

The author argues that the construction is often vague primarily because languages in general are also unstable as it has a tendency to change over a period of time. And presumption of equivalence between language and permanent tribal identity further mystifies its question of origin and migration. Hence the construction of identity based on these presumptive cultural symbols complicates its identity claims. It is thus he argues cultural symbols like language; which is seen as a basis for tribal identity among people of northeast India is more or less an imagined identity. He therefore observes that people of northeast often creatively invent new cultural symbols contrasting to already existing ones to differentiate and maintain a unique identity.

In this way it demonstrates colorful composition of how humankind can be and the region in particular. However, the author also warns that sentiments associated with such variability of humankinds and the region could sometimes take a superiority attitude on its real or perceived other. Hence to reduce such an attitude of the local people towards the outsiders, Burking suggests tolerance as an alternative strategy.

Chandra's (2011)[39] article; *North East Migrations and Challenges in Mega Cities* asserts that, Delhi being one of the main metropolitan cities in India, houses thousands of migrants from all over India for various activities. Like in any other metropolitan city most of the people come to Delhi for jobs in various private and governmental sectors, education, business and so on. Among these, are many people from the northeast states.

Over the years Delhi has been in bad light for growing incidences of notorious crimes. These incidents in many instances are faced by the minorities of the society. One such case the author also mentions was a gruesome crime of kidnap and gang rape case of a 30-year-old Mizo woman on the midnight of November 23, 2010. Similarly, there are many such cases which are still untold and unresolved. In this regard the author attempts to discuss some of these unanswered questions of atrocity faced by the people of northeast Indian in the Indian cities.

Chandra observes some key factors which prompts people from the northeast move to the cities. Broadly he talks about the push and pull factors. He argues, it was only after globalization that many youngsters from the region went out of their states in search of jobs, better education and so on which is scantly available within their region. Globalization has attracted youngsters in both skilled and semi-professional sectors such as BPOs, hospitality industries, shopping malls etc. Hence, over the year's migration to the cities have considerably increased.

However, with the increase of the northeast population in the cities there are also challenges attached to it. One challenge stems from most of who are ethnically and racially different from the mainlanders. Hence the dominant mainlanders often have an attitude that discriminates on the basis of certain majoritarian prejudices. Thus, the ethnic-other coming from the same region often face racial profiling, insult, various gender-based violence etc. Even though most of the cases go unnoticed, some cases such as sexual assault, rape, racial attack, trauma at times come up in the media. In this way education, employment, and livelihood of many north eastern people are often affected in the mainland cities. Hence, the author urges that certain inclusive majors

[39] Madhu Chandra, "*North East Migrations and Challenges in Mega Cities,"* in *NCC Review*, vol.131. no.1, (January- February, 2011): 4-9.

including preventive policies need to be instituted for the well-being of the minority section in the society.

McDuie-Ra's (2012)[40] ethnographic study; *Northeast Migration in Delhi: Race, Refuge and Retail,* is a remarkable book on the northeast people in Delhi. The author explores the diverse society structure in terms of geographical location, socio-economic, cultural, religious, ethnicity and languages of the eight northeast states in India. Adding to the diversity of the region, the author explores the causes and factors of the northeast migration to Delhi and identifies both push and pull factor as one of the reasons for the northeast people to migrate to Delhi.

The author elaborates the various forms of discrimination, harassment and violence faced by the northeast people in the city, elaborating beyond the concept of northeast migrants as mere victims, the author presents a picture of how the migrants create their own places in the city through neighborhood relations, food, religion, and other socio-cultural gatherings that brings them together, relate and help develop a sense of belonging. Further, by making a marking the city through solidarity, fashion and music etc. it gives them a unique identity, they can move beyond the victim stage when at times they raise certain issues in solidarity. McDuie-Ra shares his findings by using an ethnographical approach of northeast migrants who are living, studying and working in Delhi particularly. Overall, the book provides the reader with different facets of lived experiences of the northeast people in that place.

Ramesh's (2012)[41] *Migration from North East to Urban Centers: A Study of Delhi Region,* analyses the problems and motives for moving to Delhi. The author points out that one of the reason for the migration of northeast people to the cities is due to the lack of adequate avenues for higher and technical educational system in northeast. Most of the youth from the NER prefer to move out mainly for education motives, so also for employment. Reasons for the migration of youth are also due to the socio-political

[40] Duncan McDuie-Ra, *Northeast Migration in Delhi: Race, Refuge and Retail* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 7-201.

[41] Babu P. Ramesh, *Migration from North East to Urban Centers: A study of Delhi Region* (Delhi, Noida: V.V. Giri National Labour Institute), 2012.

unrest in some parts of the Northeast states. To supplement the study, the author made a field survey with a total respondent of 402 migrants from every northeast state, except Sikkim. The survey shows that a majority of the respondents were from the age group of 25-30 years, 93.2% reported as single migrants who came to the city to pursue their degree/post degree academics and also stayed for employment.

While the youth from the NER enjoy a high status in terms of job opportunities, they still feel insecure and vulnerable in the city mainly due to their distinct identity. Distinct in their lifestyle, dressing, food-habits, social-system, cultural difference and especially as a Mongolian with distinct features and skin texture, that make them different and perceptible in public spaces. Another aspect of discriminatory practices faced by majority of them in the city is verbal abuse, being called *Chinki*s, *momos etc.* also accompanied by physical abuse and varied forms of harassment and violence.

An important area where the researcher finds fascinating is that, even though the youth from the NER face varied forms of discrimination and violence, there are always collective action initiated by different support groups like religious and social groups and student associations in terms of legal, moral and financial support. This reflects an aspect of unity and diversity. Though the study unveils the cause and reason of migration of the NER to Delhi and of various problems, and difficulties experienced, the study however has not given much attention on 'how' we as individuals and a civil society come together in diminishing and eradicating the varied forms of violence that northeast migrants encounter in a day to day life in the city.

McDuie-Ra's (2013)[42] *Leaving the Northeast Borderland*: *Place-making and the Inward Pull of Citizenship in India*, spotlights the dynamics of migration from the borderlands, who usually are categorized as a "distinctive ethnic minorities" belonging to the NER and moving to the heartlands like Delhi. The study assessed the effects of racism, violence and discrimination experience by the northeast migrants in Delhi. The author highlights various forms of discrimination such as, excess charge of house rents, restriction of food habits, directing of what to wear and not, hostile attitudes, attacks,

[42] Duncan McDuie-Ra, "leaving the Northeast Borderland: Place-making and the Inward Pull of Citizenship in India," in *Eurasia Review*, vol.4, no, 1 (2013): 1-18.

violence, harassment, rapes and even to the extent of murdering because of their ethnicity and those sort of reasons.

Nonetheless, the borderlands of northeast communities establish life beyond being "victims of the city" to being resilient and finding ways to navigate and negotiate through thus attempting to create a sense of belonging and harmony through friendship, socio-cultural and religious activities and thus sharing a common space with the other communities also. The author also portrays the multiple identities of the northeast and the ways how these people, though coming from diverse backgrounds engage in active citizenship through means of participating and exercising their votes as citizens of India, celebration of national integrity and nationalism in the city.

Angelova's (2015)[43] *Building a 'Home' away from home: The experience of young Naga migrant in Delhi*, provides an ethnographic study on the lives of Naga migrants in Indian cities. She says that although there are no reliable written statistical documents, the migrants from NER of India constitute a significant number, most of them in pursuit of higher education and employment. It is thus within this setting, she argues that most of the northeast Indian migrants, in this case the Nagas find their social location in the city with ambiguous position. The condition of social existence of most Naga migrants, she feels often caught in between extreme economic inclusion, social exclusion and marginalization. She argues that this condition arises as most of the migrants from NER of India are ethnically, culturally different from the main-landers. The author tries to understand the everyday living or lived experiences of the northeast migrants and it is within these described experiences, she observes that most of the Nagas find a space for themselves. She observes various ways in which the Nagas make sense of their existence in the cities. She points out in her article the role of networking among migrants as an important feature.

The local church, she says provides most of the support to the migrant communities, where the new ones in the cities are often admonished by the older ones. She asserts that the close knitted network among them exists in the form of kinship relations, which

[43] Iliyan Angelova, "Building a Home Away From: The Experience of Young Naga Migrations in Delhi," in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, vol.7, no 2, (2015): 153-167.

becomes/is pivotal for guidance, support, assistance in employment and education. Thus, the network among Nagas in Delhi, she says, serves a multipurpose work and brings about a sense of a home away from home.

Reimeingam's (2016)[44] *Migration from North-Eastern Region to Bangalore: Level and Trend Analysis*, examined the patterns of migration from the NER to Bangalore using census data from 1991 and 2001, based on birth-of-place (BOP) and place of last residence (POLR). The study shows that migration from the NER to Bangalore has increased from "0.77 to 0.80 percent during 1991-2001." For those coming from urban areas, the reasons for their moving were mainly employment, marriage, education and business. While the study also reveals that during 1991-2001, "northeast people from the rural areas have increased in employment sectors from 20% to 30%." The analysis showed that movement from the NER to Bangalore (Karnataka) and other cities was mainly for employment and marriage for both male and female. Further, the study confirms that migration of people from the NER to Bangalore has increased in the recent times giving the reason for migration mainly for the purpose of employment and education.

Lalrampuii (2016) [45] *Economic Perspective of Migration in North-East India*, examined the patterns of migration using NSS 55th round data. According to the survey analysis, migration related to employment and other type of work related reasons are found to be the major cause of migration for males from both urban and rural. On the other hand, female migrants had "other" reasons except for those from Manipur. Further, the study shows that, the reason for migration apart from employment is educational. It is seen that majority of the migrants from the NER (both male and female) migrate mainly for better employment and education.

[44] Marchang Reimeingam, *Migration from North-Eastern Region to Bangalore: Level and Trend Analysis* (Bangalore: The Institute for Social Change and Economic Change, 2016).
[45] Rosie Lalrampuii, "Economic Perspective of Migration in North-East India," in *DU Journal of Undergraduate Research and Innovation*, vol.2 no, 2 (2016): 128-136.

Summary

The internal migration and migration of people from the northeast states to the different cities across India gives ample of evidences that the issues of migration are very much dealt from a variety of approaches and frameworks. Accordingly, studies have been done to describe and understand the diverse causes and consequences of migration in India that lay the theoretical groundwork and develop the distinctive nature and cause of migration and in ways it surely show the dynamic patterns for this study. Unemployment and under development factors by and large dominated as one of the major cause that motivate people to migrate. On the other hand, migration across India was particularly selective of male migrants. At the same time, there was hardly any migrating for education during these decades (Zachariah, 1964 and J. P. Singh 1986). Majority of the male migrate for employment, while marriage emerges as the main reason for the females (B.K. Roy, 1991; Lusome and Bhagat, 2004; K. S. Majumdar and Pritha, 2015).

Migration of people began to be provoked by globalization and industrialization in the recent times. The number of migration across India is increased to 203.5 million in 1981 against 166.7 million migrants in 1971 (Roy, 1991), and in 2001, the number of migrant population has rapidly increased to 309 million people (Lusome and Bhagat, 2004). Today, the flow of migrants is on the raise due to expand in employment opportunities, education, and many other socio-economic conditions. Both push and pull influence people to migrate. Push factors like; unemployment, poverty, impacts in agricultural and other socio-economic conditions etc., and pull factors of employment, better wages/salary, social security and education etc., motives people to move out from their native place to another state/city. Migrants from deprived socio-economic backgrounds are mostly employed in ‘unorganized’ sector or ‘vulnerable occupations, such as; agriculture sector, domestic work, construction and other casual labourers. Similarly, the survey respondents of the northeast migrants are largely dominated by people from socio-economic deprivation class, mostly working in restaurants and beauty parlours.

Some similarities found between the migrants from northeast and the rest of India working in ‘unorganized’ sectors is that both groups of migrant face comparable

challenges basing on their race, colour, class, gender and most importantly; ethnicity. These group of migrants come to the destined city to seek a better life, only to find themselves targets of various situations; denial of wages, lower wages, longer working hours, verbal/physical abuse, insecurity, language and cultural adjustments besides being submissive. This resulted in the fact that the migrants were deprived and frustrated and had a low level of social participation and adjustment in the destination places. Social exclusion of the migrants in the destined places also reflected in denial to provide or due to lack of legal documents such as; identity proof, voter's card, ration card and aadhar card etc. On the other hand, there has been an enormous positive outcome of migration among these two groups of migrants. For the majority of the migrants, remittances have helped the families back home and in ways migrants adapt and assimilate in the new environment. Also, the close knitted network among the migrants exists in the form of kinship relations, local church and ethnic associations etc becomes/is pivotal for guidance, support, assistance in employment and accommodation.

There are also some contrasting elements found in terms of the difference between the migrants from northeast and the rest of India is that in the case of the former, unmarried men and women migrate in equal numbers. In contrast, majority of the migrant workers from other states tend to be male. On the other hand, there are many factors responsible for alienation of northeast people from the rest of the country- the difference in cultural practices, racism, harassment and abuse etc. All these factors contribute to making northeast migrants feel like a stranger in their own country. Thus, the present study has made an attempt to bring out the multifaceted challenges experience by the northeast migrants and propose 'hospitality' as a catalyst to mitigate them. To ensure more inclusive space, some have highlighted policies and recommendations in terms of legal, moral and collective action (Madhu Chandra, 2011; Babu P. Ramesh, 2012; Duncan McDuie-Ra, 2013; and K. S. Majumdar and Pritha, 2015) etc. Nonetheless, not much attention has been given on ways by which both migrants and host community can come together in eradicating the exclusion of the 'other.' Therefore, this study attempts to offer reciprocal hospitality as a means for affirming the inclusiveness of all people.

CHAPTER TWO

PROFILES OF THE NORTHEAST: COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Introduction

Northeast people are homogenous with numerous communities. In each eight states there are numerous communities, each with its own diverse language, ethnic cluster, history, cultural heritages and a wide-range of socio- economic, political and religious beliefs. To understand its commonalities and differences, the researcher has selected a few community and tribes of the northeast states to highlight their unique, colorful and diverse setting. Moreover, it attempts to understand the ways in which transportation and mode of communication facilitated and paved the way for the northeast communities to move to other cities, Bangalore in particular.

2.1. Demographic and Population of the Northeast India

Northeast India is referred as the 'seven sister' states viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim (also known as the brother of the 7 sisters). The NER is largely occupied by three distinct groups of people mostly tribes such as, the hill tribes, the valleys/the plains tribes, and the non-tribal population of the plains.[46] Geographically, the region is connected with the 'mainland' Indian states through West Bengal, called "Chicken's Neck."[47] Saikia opines that, "North East India is physically located in a backward and disadvantageous position."[48] This perhaps could be true in some aspects with the location and also considering the developmental structures, and even the people as they are perceived by the mainland people with a neglecting attitude.

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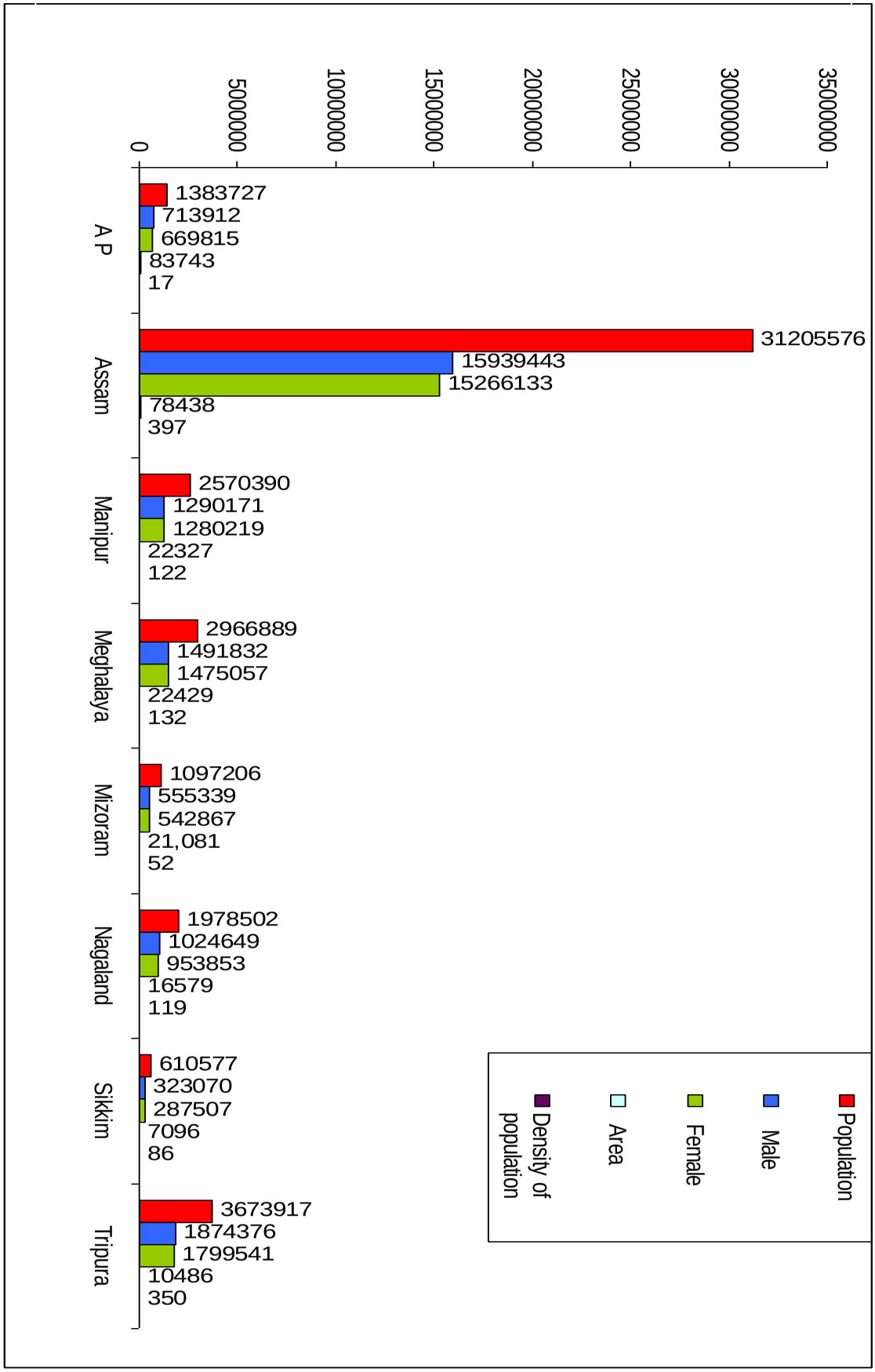
[46] Suruchi Tewari, "The Concept of Tribe in India," in *Tribes in India: Concepts, Institutions and Practices*, edited by Vinay Kumar Srivastava (New Delhi: Serials Publication, 2013), 9.

[47] Ahao Vashum elaborates the meaning of 'chicken- neck,' which often refers to the north east states that, "…the real significance of this 'neck' is that it symbolizes the profound isolation, neglect, and the exploited people of this region has suffer at the hands of India. The alienation, exploitation, and neglect resulting from decades of underdevelopment have produced far-reaching consequences in the life of the people." See, Ahao Vashum, "Emerging Vision of Indigenous/ Tribal Theology in *Dalit- Tribal Theologies* edited by, James Massey and Shimreingam Shimray (Jorhat: Eastern Theological College, 2007), 17.

[48] Jogamaya Saikia, "Socio-Technological Problems in the Growth of Small Towns in the North-East India," in *Urban Development in North-East India: Potentially and Problems*, 83.

Figure 2.1 Demographic and Population of the North East India



The analysis of the 2011 census data reveals that the geographical area of the northeast state of India covers approximately 261,879 Sq.km, with a total population of 45, 486,784 and 1275 density population. Each state has its own distinct socio-economic, ethnic, linguistic, political and religious beliefs.

2.2. Ethnicity and Language Diversity

The term 'ethnicity'[49] is derived from the Greek word *ethnos* simply to mean "nation or people." *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* defines ethnicity as "a social group or category of the population that, in a larger society, is set apart and bound together by common ties or race, language, nationality or culture."[50] Smith defines ethnic as, "human populations with shared ancestry, myth, histories, cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity."[51] India being a plural society, its diversities are baffling. Not only it has numerous linguistic and religious groups, it is bound in racial groups too and in terms of ethnic multiplicity the area is unique.[52]

Ethnically, the hill areas of the northeast states are mostly inhabited by the tribes of which, a majority belonging to the Mongoloid origin, an ethnic group with their origins in Indo-Burmese, Indo-Tibetan, Kuki-Lushais, Meties, Chin-Kukis, and Indo-Aryan races.[53] Speaking of the diverse ethnic community found in the northeast region Kar opines, "the people of North-East India may appropriately be divided into two groups: Indic and Mongoloid. The first comprise mostly of Hindus and Muslims, while the latter groups refer mainly to various hill and plains tribes."[54]

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[49] The first use of the term ethnicity is credited to the American sociologist David Riesman in 1953. For a detailed study, see, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Ethnicity, Race and Nationalism," in *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration* edited by Montserral Guibernau and John Rex (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 33.

[50] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 582.

[51] Anthony D. Smith, "Structure and Persistence Ethnic," in *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration* edited by Montserral Guibernau and John Rex (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 27.

[52] Bhawani Singh, *Politics of Alienation in Assam* (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1984), 62.

[53] B. P. Singh, *The Problem of Change: A Study of North-East India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), 9.

[54] R. K. Kar, "Tribal Social Organisation," in *North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology*, edited by T.B. Subba (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan Private Limited, 2012), 327.

The ethnic diversity of the northeast states, Keitzer says, "is a melting pot of races, all races are represented here in a characteristic ethnic blend to be identified as North East Indians."[55] Das describes the NER as, "with her diverse population, speaking different languages and professing divergent faiths, it may be regarded as an epitome of India."[56] Consequently, northeast India displays a distinctive "geo-ethnic character,"[57] in terms of the diverse ethnic composition, geographical location, socio-economic, political, religious and cultural heritage.

Besides the baffling diversity of ethnic groups and races of the northeast there is also a great heterogeneity of languages and dialects. As diverse as the ethnic groups are, the linguistic composition of the region is also extremely diverse. Languages vary as racial distinctiveness. With regard to language variation and disparity, Sahu's book; *Tribes of North-East India*, identifies three linguistic families that the northeast Indians represent; the Austric (Austro-Asiatic sub-family, Mon-Khamer), the Sino- Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman sub-family and Sintic sub-family), the Indo-European (Indo-Aryan sub family).[58] In the words of Downs, "No one even knows precisely how many languages are spoken."[59] Though a great number of people speak what Downs calls, "Sanskrit-based languages (mainly Assamese and Bengali)," the numerous languages spoken by various groups of people are identified as Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Mongolian group of languages.[60] According to Plathottom, "Northeast India is a home to about 240 language and dialects,"[61] while Singh opines that, "each group has its own language and culture, and more than four hundred languages and dialects are spoken."[62] It is said that Arunachal is a home to about 63 tribal languages, 62 belonging to the Tibeto-Burman

[55] Renthy Keitzer, *In Search of Relevant Gospel Message* (Guwahati: Christian Literature Centre, 1995), 32.
[56] S. T. Das, *Tribal Life of North East India* (Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1986), vi.
[57] N. K. Das, *Ethnic Identity, Ethnicity and Social Stratification in North-East India* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1989), 28.
[58] Chaturbhuj Sahu, *Tribes of North East India* (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2002), 5.
[59] Frederick S. Downs, *History of Christianity in India*: *North East India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Bangalore: The Church History Association of India, 1992), 1.
[60] Frederick S. Downs, *History of Christianity in India*, 4.
[61] George Plathottom, "Language Plurality, Biodiversity and Ethnicity: Identity and Change in Northeast India," in *Christianity and Change in Northeast India*, T.B. Subba et al., (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2009), 162.
[62] B. P. Singh, *The Problem of Change*, 9.

sub-family and one to Siamese-Chinese subfamily of the Tibeto-Chinese family.[63] Singh points out that "over 50 languages are spoken in the state of Arunachal Pradesh alone."[64] Similarly, the people of Assam can be generally classified into three language-speaking groups; Austroasiatic, Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European and several other ethnic languages, while the Nagas consists of more than 40 languages speaking groups. Each tribe has their own language yet some tribes like Ao, Chakhesang, Rengma,[65] and Zeliangrong combination of three distinct tribes i.e Zeme, Liangmai, Rongmai with their independent language.

Northeast India represents a huge amount of diversity and heterogeneity in ethnic, race, language, religion, political and socio-cultural variety. However, unity amidst diversity has always been part and parcel of the northeast people, of which Datta depicts a picture when he says northeast India a "bewildering variety where apparently there is little of commonness and compatibility. And yet, there runs through the heart of the region a stream of affinity and togetherness that, on the other hand, binds it together and, on the other, marks it out from the rest of India."[66] Most of the tribes, sub-tribes and other communities of the northeast states, traditions were passed down orally from generation to generation. Datta observes that, "while some of the tribal languages have developed written literature in more recent times, all the communities, whether tribal or non- tribal, have extremely rich stories of oral literature and other genres of folklore."[67] For instance, the Nagas have their share of legends and folklore regarding their origin and evolution through the ages and the people maintain a set of basic social factors like language, clan, tribe, kinship, cultural values and economic independence.

[63] Pratibha Mandal, *An Approach to the Cultural Mapping of North-East India in Respect of Tribal Tales* (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society, 2009), 24.
[64] Bhawani Singh, *Politics of Alienation in Assam*, 62.
[65] Joseph S. Thong and Phanenmo Kath, *Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture* (Kottayam: Society for Naga Student's Welfare, 2011), 175-176.
[66] Birendranath Datta, *Cultural Contours of North-east India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), xiv.
[67] Birendranath Datta, *Cultural Contours of North-east India*, 6.

2.3. Social and Cultural Diversity

The socio-cultural diversity in the northeast states is populated by various tribes and sub-tribes and each has their own unique history, customs, tradition and laws. Like any other communities, family is the basic unit of the Arunachali community. Here, the father plays the major and dominating role in the family, making decisions and alloting duties and responsibilities for the other members. Tribes like Adi and Karbis in Arunachal Pradesh follow the patrilineal system and Joint family is commonly found in the Gallong tribe while other tribes and sub-tribes commonly follow the nuclear family. The social institution in the form of the youth dormitory is found in Adi tribes called *Moshup* for boys and *Rasheng* for girls, while the other tribes/communities do not feel the need of the youth dormitory as it is mostly single clan villages like in the case of the Gallong.[68] Festivals form an essential part of the socio-cultural life of the Aruncahalies for example, *Oriah* is a festival celebrated by the Wancho tribes. This festival lasts six to twelve days; it is combined with songs, dances and prayers. During this festival, "the community exchange bamboo tubes with rice beer as an indication of greeting and goodwill."[69]

Assam, one of the seven sisters' state of northeast India is also described as a 'mini' India, being one of the largest states in terms of population and geographical area. People residing in the region have their diversity and heterogeneity composed of about 90 ethnic groups with varied socio-economic, political, religious, linguistic and racial characteristic.[70] It can be stated that the hills are mostly the habitats of the tribals, the valleys/plains are settled largely by non-tribals. Racially, the tribes in the hills belong to the Indo-Mongoloid stock while the non-tribal from the valleys and plains area consist of the indigenous population and a majority are of the Aryan race.[71]

Each festival has a significance, which reflects the rich cultural heritage of Assam. *Bihu* being the major festival marks the beginning of agriculture, while *Bwisagu* that marks

[68] Chaturbhuj Sahu, *Tribes of North East India*, 39-41.
[69] Kamal Sangma, "Festivals and Dances of Arunachal Pradesh," in *The North East Frontier*, vol. 5, no.2 (May 2003): 17.
[70] Chaturbhuj Sahu, *Tribes of North East India*, 77.
[71] Birendranath Datta, *Cultural Contours of North-East India*, 55.

the beginning of New Year is celebrated with songs and dances by the people Bodoland. For the Dimasa people, Bushu Dima is a big festival celebrated with varied musical instruments and dances marking the harvest festival. *Rongker* is another important festival for the Karbi community.[72]

The social and cultural practices in Manipur vary. For example, the Hmar community is said to be patrilineal. Patriarchal and joint family is also commonly found among the Hmar community, while nuclear families are mostly found among the Maram community in rural areas of Manipur. Among the Maram community the youth dormitory is called *Hangsaki* for boys and *Kailiu* for girls. In this dormitory the youth learn their customs, folklore, folktales, dance music; discipline etc.[73] Likewise, the Anal community in Manipur follows both nuclear and extended family types.

Basically there are two castes in Manipur, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. The Lois although referred to as Scheduled Caste seems to represent a socially depressed class rather than a caste. A major population belonging to the Hindu community resides in Assam and Manipur, however, there is still no rigid caste system practiced as like in other parts of India.[74] One of the most important festivals celebrated by the Meiteis is *Ningol Chakouba.*[75] It is a festival of celebration by inviting married women to their parental house and served with meal and gifts. Another festival celebrated by the Naga tribes of Manipur is *Lui Ngai Ni*,[76] it signifies the seed-sowing period that marks the onset of the sowing season. During this festival, the Naga tribes in Manipur come

[72] Interview with Hom Singh Timung, General Secretary, Karbi Students Association Bangalore, 17 October 2016.

[73] Chaturbhuj Sahu, *Tribes of North East India*, 144.

[74] Birendranath Datta, *Cultural Contours of North-east India*, 55-56.

[75] The researcher was invited to *Ningoal Chakouba* festivals organized by the Manipur Meitei Association Bangalore on 15th November 2015. During the festivals of *Ningoal Chakouba*, the parents and family members invite their married daughter/women (Ningol/s) and their children are invited (Chakouba) for a meal. On this occasion, the married daughters are given expensive gifts and are served with the best meal. The researcher also observed that during the festival girls/women were not allowed to cook only the men folk cook and serve the women.

[76] It is said that the word *Lui Ngai Ni* is a combination of three different Naga languages. "Lui" from a Tangkhul language is seed sowing, "Ngai" from Rongmei language meaning festival and "Ni" from a Mao language which means the seed sowing festival. Thus *Lui Ngai Ni* is a festival of the Naga tribes settled in Manipur and signifies seed sowing season. Interview with Shmrisoaphau, the Founder and Director, Faith Trust Bangalore, 23 May 2016.

together and showcase the rich traditional and cultural heritage, attires and through dances, fashion shows and songs that mark the beginning of the year and seed sowing. Likewise each community, both tribal and non- tribal in Manipur have their own social and cultural set up and have various traditions and customs that signify the importance of their social and cultural life in the form of dance, art, crafts, music and folktales of celebrations and of merrymaking.

Distinct from the rest of the northeast and other Indian states, the major indigenous groups in Meghalaya viz. the Khasi, Jaintia and Garos follow the traditional matrilineal system where lineage and property inheritance is passed down from mother to daughter. Among the Khasi and Jaintia, property and inheritance are passed from mother to youngest daughter.[77] Interestingly, Mukhim points out that, "in Khasi society, the youngest daughter (*ka khatduh*) is the custodian of ancestral and parental property, and not an inheritor as she would like to believe."[78] The Garo tribes trace their lineage to a common ancestress which is through the mother and thus also replicate with regards to ownership of property that is passed down from a mother to daughter/female line.[79] Although lineage and property is passed from mother to daughter/s in these three major indigenous groups, one can clearly see the culture and practices whereby men have the full right to own self-acquired property. This is clearly seen in the family system of the Garos where the men folk are permitted to become the head of the family- *nokma*, though he is not allowed to inherit the ancestral property. So also, the community ownership of property is possessed by male, known as *A'khing*. In rural areas, the

[77] According to Gurdon, "the rule amongst the Khasis is that the youngest daughter holds the religion… her house is called *ka iingseng*, and it is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Here is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on the death of their mother's death are entitles, each of them, to share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share." See, P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1975) 83.

[78] Mukhim, remarked, "though ancestral property passes through the *khatduh* she is really not the owner. She is the stewardess or custodian with the maternal uncle as the chief executer…as far as the ancestral property is concerned she is only a titular head." See, Patricia Mukhim, "Myths, Tradition and Identity: Women in Khasi Matriliny," in *Ethno-Narratives: Identity and Experience in North East India*, edited by Sukalpa Bhattacharjee and Rajesh Dev, (Delhi: Anshah Publishing House, 2006,), 189-193.

[79] A. Playfair, *The Garos* (Gauhati: United Publishers, 1975), 171.

Khasi's village headmen is known as *Dorbar*- a local decision making institution, women folk are not included here.[80]

One can say that the Khasis, Jaintias and the Garos are a Patri-matrialineal society. Nonetheless, every of these tribes have their own socio-cultural distinctiveness, varied customs, rituals, traditions, beliefs, dress, language and ethnic diversity. Of the many socio-cultural festivals celebrated in the state, two very important festivals of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills in relation to agriculture are the *Pomblang*[81] festival of Khasi Hills and *Behdienkhlam*[82]of the Jaintia Hills. Besides these two festivals, the Khasi-Jaintias have a number of other festivals and dances as well.[83] The dances of Garos are categorized into two groups- *Santalochroka*[84](outdoor dances) and *A ban Kamrangko Mesokanirang*[85] (cultivation and harvesting dance). Several other dances are performed related to their history, origin, culture and ways of life in remembrance and honoring. Thus, celebrating festivals sustain their unique and diverse cultural heritage.

The social life of the *Mizos* follows the patriarchal and patrilineal system where the family lineage is taken from the men's side. The property and inheritance are divided among the sons, among Mizos the youngest son inherits all the movable and immovable

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[80] A. Playfair, *The Garos*, 172- 173.

[81] According to Sen, the Khasi festival *Pomblang* meaning "goat-killing," is a religious ceremony based on ancestor worship with libations, sacrifices and dances by virgins. All these are associated with the principle of fertility and are performed usually among and by an agriculture community." See, Soumen Sen, *Social and State Formation in Khasi-Jaintia Hills*, 44.

[82] "*Behdienkhlam*, a religious festival held annually at Jowai in Jaintia Hills in the month of July, after sowing is done is admittedly a ritual-cum-festival connected to agriculture. Literally it means to drive away all evils that plague the human life by a wooden stick." See, Soumen Sen, *Social and State Formation*, 46.

[83] There are many festivals of the Khasi-Jaintias connecting to nature, agriculture, religion and other social-cultural significance. Some of the popular dances of the Khasi are *Laho* dance and *Longhai* dance. Interview with Enolyen Lyngdoh, Research Student at United Theological College, Bangalore, 7 August 2016.

[84] "Most of the Garo dances belong to this group and are performed by young girls and boys in their natural surroundings…all the dances are performed in front of the *Nokma's* or the village/ clan chief's house. See, Chaturbhuj Sahu, *Tribes of North East India*, 153-155.

[85] *A baniKamrangko Mesokanirang* "are a serious of group dances which represents each stage in cultivation and harvesting of crops… one can take part in the dance but the young girls and boys performing vital role. Young girls dance while boys accompany them in musical instruments." See, Chaturbhuj Sahu, *Tribes of North East India*, 155- 156.

property and the elder sons are supposed to move out of the parental home after marriage while the responsibility to look after the aged parents are shouldered on to the younger sons.[86] Family types in Mizo community are mostly nuclear and extended family ones. Racially, the Mizo belong to Indo-Mongoloid race and the dialects and languages spoken by the Mizo come under the fold of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family.[87] The region is rich with diverse cultural backgrounds of various tribes and sub-tribes and other communities settled in the state. Each community has its own distinct social and cultural celebration that signifies the life and ecological surroundings. Some of the festivals celebrated in Mizoram are connected to agriculture. Some important festivals of such are *Chapchar Kut*, *Pawl Kut* and *MimKut*,[88] which are celebrated by the people of different communities in Mizoram. The very famous and an old form of dance *Cheraw* is still performed on various occasions in the state as well as outside with colorful and unique attires showcasing the rich cultural heritage of the Mizos.

The Nagas too belong to an Indo-Mongoloid race with more than seventeen major tribes and sub-tribes living in Nagaland. Many other Naga tribes and sub-tribes live in other parts of the northeastern states. It is said that there are more than forty Naga tribes populated in Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Myanmar (Burma).[89] The Nagas trace their family lineage from the father's side and thus the Naga society is patrilineal and patriarchal.[90] Traditionally, the Nagas follow a nuclear family system and till today a majority of the Nagas follow the traditional nuclear family,[91] though a

[86] R. Kumar and S. Ram, *Culture and Religion of North-East India*, 137.
[87] Pratibha Mandal, *An Approach to the Cultural Mapping*, 56.
[88] *Chapchar Kut* is celebrated after the competition of the cutting of *jhum*. *Pawl Kut* festival is held after the harvest is collected hence it was called harvest festival and celebrated at the end of the year sort of thanks- giving festival and *MimKut* "autumn festival" takes place in the month of September when the crops were reaped and completion of the weeding works in the jhum. See, V.S. Lalrinawma, *Mizo Ethos: Changes and Challenges* (Aizawl: Mizoram Publication Board, 2005), 138- 146.
[89] Joseph S. Thong and Phanenmo Kath, *Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture*, 175.
[90] M. Horam, *Nagas Old Ways and New Trends* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1998), 65.
[91] Even today, majority of the Naga families follow nuclear family both in rural and urban areas as well. As soon as the son (s) married they move out from his parent's house and settled in another house (same village, or moves from the village to urban areas depending on his profession or job allocation. So also, when a daughter (s) married she moves to her husband house (not necessarily in-law's house). The married couples live separately from their parents.

few follow the joint family system. Their communitarian life is based on *morung*[92] (youth dormitory) that signifies the importance of social upbringing of an individual. According to Thong and Kath, *morung* "serves as a guard house, recreation, center of education, art and discipline and have its own importance for ceremonial purposes."[93] Pongener opines, "the overall function of *morung was* closely interlocked with the cultural, social, moral, economic and religious life of the community."[94] For the Nagas, *morung* was a place where an individual would learn different kinds of work skills, discipline, and other socio-cultural customs and values. However, *morung* no longer exists today due to modernization along with coming of Christianity and various other factors.[95] Some of the festivals celebrated by a few Naga tribes; the Sumi Nagas celebrates *Ahuna*,[96] the Angami Nagas celebrates *Sekhrinyi*,[97] the Ao Nagas celebrates *Moatsu*,[98] etc., each Naga tribe celebrates their festival which is directly or indirectly related with the life of the people, land and agriculture. Traditional, social and cultural festivals like Naga folk song and folk dance are commonly practiced by every Naga tribe.

The three main ethnic groups in Sikkim consist of the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Limbus. The Lepchas who are believed to be the earliest settlers of the state call themselves *Rongkup*, meaning children of the Rong. The Limbus (Nepalis) are said to

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[92] For example, the Ao Nagas call *Ariju* (male dormitory) and *Tsuki* (female dormitory), the Sumi Nagas call *Apuki* (bachelors' dormitory) and *Illiki* (spinster's dormitory) and the Mao-Nagas call *Khrochi* (boys dormitory) and *Elochi* (girls dormitory) etc.

[93] Joseph S. Thong and Phanenmo Kath, *Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture*, 93.

[94] Mar Pongener, *Morung Speaks: Cultural Values and Elements for the Enrichment of Naga Christian Community* (Mokokchung: Clark Theological College and Tribal Development and Communication Centre, 2011), 39.

[95] Some of the factors leading to the disintegration of the *morung* are due to, "perceptions of the *morung* system by the British Colonial Administration, perceptions of the *morung* system by the *mission society*, perceptions of the *morung* system by the Christians etc." See, Mar Pongener, *Morung Speaks*, 82-86.

[96] *Ahuna* means rice cooked in bamboo. *Ahuna* festival is related to land and agriculture and celebrated by the Sumi Nagas in the month of November when the harvest is completed and the grains are stored in the granary.

[97] *Sekrenyi* is celebrated by the Angami Nagas in the month of December. *Sekrenyi* festival is "connected with the renovation of the village gate, which is a colourful celebration centering round the pulling of a huge wooden door, hewed of a large tree and designed with beautifully carved images." Joseph S. Thong and Phanenmo Kath, *Glimpses of Naga Legacy*, 93.

[98] *Moatsu* falls in the month of May after sowing the paddy seeds.

be the largest in number with diverse ethnic groups followed by the Bhutias and Lepchas in Sikkim and a small number of people like the Tibetians, the Marwaris, the Biharis, Muslims, Bengalis and hosts of other communities have also settled in Sikkim.[99] The Lepcha dances, songs and folktales reflect a wonderful synthesis between human and nature. For the Bhutias in Sikkim, the monasteries and the monks play an important part in the social, cultural and religious aspects of life, so also in their daily lives. For e.g. the rituals, marriage, birth, death ceremonies and agriculture rites are conducted by the monks. Some of the important festivals observed by the Bhutia community include *Losoong*, *Pang Lhabsol*, *Kagyat* dance and *Saga Dawa*, and the major festivals of the Hindu Nepalese in Sikkim are *Dasain*, *Teohar*, *maker*, *Sankranti* and *Baisakhi*.[100]

The people living in Tripura are mostly known as the Tripuris and two ethnic groups make up a bulk of the population in Tripura. First, the Bengalis, a non-tribal community belonging to Indo-Aryan by origin with 68% of the state's population and then 31.1% belonging to the major tribes' viz. Tripuris, Jamatis, Noatias, Halams, Chakmas, Mogh, Kukis and Lushai mostly belonging to Indo-Mongoloids origin and 19 other Scheduled Tribes.[101] The family system is mostly a nuclear one and is told that for the tribes of Ranglong, the youngest son or daughter in a family looks after and takes care of the parents in their old age so also the property and inheritance are given to the youngest one in the family.[102] Different social and culture festivals are celebrated throughout the year. Of the many religious festivals celebrated in the state, the worship of 14 Devtas properly known as Kharchi Puja is said to be hugely celebrated by both the tribals and non-tribals.[103] Likewise each community has its own variety of folktales, songs and dances preformed at different occasions.

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[99] Interview with Rahul Rai, Founder Director, NEP India, Bangalore, 11 August 2016.
[100] C. K. Dorjee, "The Ethnic people of Sikkim," in *The North East Frontier*, vol. 6, no. 1 (April 2004): 20- 22.
[101] O.P. Ralhan, *Documents on the North- East of India* (New Delhi: Sarup Book Publishers PVT. LTD, 2009), 32.
[102] Interview with Robert Mani, President Ranglong Youth Association Bangalore, 16 May 2016.
[103] R. Kumar and S. Ram, *Culture and Religion of North East India*, 200.

2.4. Economic Potential of Northeast India

The economic life and status of the north east people can be generally classified into three groups; the first includes the elite, politicians, industrialists, first grade government officers and academicians who enjoy most/all of the privileges. The second groups are the business people, office assistants, physicians and technicians who are usually known as middle-class people, the third is the majority and numerous sections of people who constitute the lowest/lower strata in the society.[104] Economically, each individual has a way of earning her/his daily living based on one's quantity and quality of works. The occupations and functions of the different tribes, castes are not entirely exclusive, but the economic system of the rural in the northeast region is set up mostly depending on their functional specialization and interdependence. For instance, the Nagas in Nagaland, Karbis in Assam, Anals and Hmar in Manipur, Garo and Khasi in Meghalaya, Mizos in Mizoram, Chakma and Jamatia in Tripura and other parts; agriculture was/is the main traditional occupation and especially for people living in the rural areas, shifting cultivation or *jhum* cultivation is traditionally practiced. Basically the people in the hill areas mostly depend on subsistent *jhum* cultivation depending on the geographical area.

A comprehensive survey of *Shifting Cultivation in North-East India* has been made by Jonali Devi. According to her, among the hill tribe's only three communities in northeast namely; Apatani and Monpa of Arunachal and Hajong of Meghalaya, do not practice shifting cultivation. Except for Sikkim, the rest of the northeast states practice *jhum* cultivation. However, there is a variation in the *jhum* cycle among the states.[105] Along with the process of agriculture, *jhum* cultivation and other natural resources sustain the living of the people in the region. Various forms of agriculture provide the daily needs of the people and most of the tribes depend on agriculture both in the rural and urban areas. As a result; land and agriculture or farming becomes important for an individual irrespective of their financial statuses. Land and agriculture is so pivotal that it has relation with the social and cultural festivals as well.

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[104] M. L. Bose, *Social History of Assam* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 77.
[105] Jonali Devi, "Shifting Cultivation in North-East India," in *North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology* edited by T.B. Subba (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan Private Limited, 2012), 389-393.

The NER can be called underdeveloped as compared to other parts of India despite its great variety of resources and potential within the region. On the other hand, "in the realm of economy, a new kind of enterprise began to be founded in the set-up of new industrial and commercial enterprises. New conditions and opportunity for people avails now."[106] For instance, the economy of Assam has undergone changes due to the advanced technology and mechanism, factories, industries, plantations, oil, and other new markets infrastructure provide livelihood to the people of the region.

The other side for economic instability in the northeast region is perhaps due to the various climatological changes, ecological problems, deforestation and other natural and unnatural causes, which affects the people specially those involved in agriculture. Many people who lost their crops and other productive resources and could not continue their livelihood have been forced or compelled to shift from their traditional livelihood style to more convenient and easier ways. The increase in population and decline of employment sectors also cause economic imbalances, the victims in most cases, are the middle-class people.[107] The disparity in terms of infrastructural aspect in most of the rural areas seem to be the major reason for differences in standards of living of the people in rural and urban areas. One of the crucial considerations is to improve infrastructure services in small towns and neighbouring rural areas so to enhance their feasibility and reduce the incentives for migration.[108]

2.5. Political Life of Northeast India

The political life of the northeast region has been hugely portrayed by political instability and a level of militarization that has engulfed India's northeast under the grab of insurgency and counter-insurgency. Long before the advent of the British rule, the indigenous people in the hills of the northeast had organized themselves under the

[106] M. L. Bose, *Social History of Assam,* 76.
[107] For example in Assam, "the white collar jobs are taken by Hindu Bengalis, agriculture by Muslim Bengalis, tea- plantation labour jobs by Biharis, Business by Marwaris and transport trade by Punjabis and Nepalese. The sweepers and the rickshaw-pullers are from U.P and Bihar and barbers are from Bihar and Bengal. Being better skilled, they corner all jobs. This is causing a spate of unemployment in Assam." See, Bhawani Singh, *Politics of Alienation in Assam*, 94.
[108] A. K. Agarwal, "Potentiality and Problems of Small Towns in North East India," in *Urban Development in North-East India: Potentially and Problems* ,edited by B. Datta Ray, A.K. Neog and H.K Mazhari, (New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, 1999),65- 66.

political systems of their own. The region of the northeast was neither a part of the then Assam nor with the rest of India. However with the coming of British rule, the northeast region which was considered an 'excluded' and 'restricted area' was integrated as a part of Assam and later given autonomous status.

In most of the tribal hill areas the traditional political system exists in the clan- based village societies controlled by the village headmen, or chieftainship controlled by the clan or village chiefs. For example, the Mizos during the advent of the British in the pre-independence era, the chieftains took control of all the socio-political internal administration and concerns of the community. The traditional Mizo chief or chieftainship[109] and traditional bachelors' dormitory called *zawlbuk* which was an integral part of the Mizos social, cultural and political life. However, the systems were abolished.[110] Like the Mizos, the Nagas too had their governing chiefs; for the Sumi Nagas *Akaku*, for the Ao Nagas *Tatra* (headman), and for the Konyak, chiefs or rulers called the *Angh* etc. The administration and governance were bestowed over the chief/s to oversee all the socio-cultural and political life of the village. Dubey gives a clear picture of the northeast states by stating;

> The traditional authority was vested in Chiefs, or village councils. Family, village, clan, caste, tribe, religion and youth dormitories and village councils were the principal agencies of political socialization. These institutions are still there, but along with them, political parties, mass media, elections, village panchayats, town committees, assembly and parliament, have also started performing the role of political socialization.[111]

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[109] In Mizoram, the village chief system was abolished in 1854; and the village administration in Mizoram was vested in the democratically constituted Village Council which started its function with effect from August 1954. See, V.S. Lalrinawma, *Mizo Ethos*, 303.

[110] According to Lalrinawma, " *Zawlbuk* acted as a source of reserve manpower for the village administration that has been taken over by the Government and the missionaries with a view to continuing to provide the cultural aspect of *Zawlbuk* founded the social organization like Young Men Association (YMA)." Another view expressed by the author is- new churches and schools sprang up and the confidence of Christian leaders was greatly enhanced and although there was an attempt to maintain *Zawlbuk*, the rapid spread of education made it increasingly difficult to maintain it. See, V.S. Lalrinawma, *Mizo Ethos: Changes and Challenges*, 203-207.

[111] S.M. Dubey, "North East India: A Sociological perspective," in *North East India: A Sociological Study*, edited by S. M. Dubey (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1978), 14.

Each of the major tribes, especially in the hill regions had a kind of 'village state' as their own political organization, which they managed, according to their customs and traditions. However, at present the governance of the chiefs in rural areas and villages is now limited and the traditional institution of chieftainship have been replaced by village council under the Village Development Board (VDB) and Panchayats. Even today in many villages in the hill region, chieftaincy is maintained; however, he no longer holds the important position of the executive head, in fact, his role on behalf of his village has been reduced to only theoretical importance.[112]

On the other hand, the influence and the endurance of insurgency in the northeast are due to the fact that armed groups are embedded in the workings of northeastern civilian politics. As insurgent group can cut political deals and influence elections and become enmeshed in a network of exhortation and corruption that makes it difficult for politicians to bureaucrats to act independently of the insurgent group.[113] Pachuau, comments,

> Since India's independence in 1947, political turmoil has characterized the region. Of the seven states, five have experienced armed insurrections. As the armed revolts of varying intensity continue in four of these states (Assam, Manipur, Tripura, and Nagaland), 'peace agreements' have ended such revolts in Mizoram. Though armed uprising has not occurred in these two states, especially (Arunachal and Meghalaya), the situation, especially in Meghalaya, is far from calm.[114]

Insurgency flourishes when the people of the region have a feeling of separate identity on the basis of ethnicity, culture or history. This is compounded by a sense of neglect, exploitation and discrimination, and immensely aggravated by the lack of good

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[112] M. Horam, *Nagas Old Ways and New Trends*, 75.

[113] Bethany Lacina, "Rethinking Delhi's Northeast India Policy Why neither Counter-insurgency nor Winning Hearts and Minds is the Way Forward," in *Beyond Counter-insurgency Breaking the Impasse in Northeast India*, edited by Sanjib Baruah (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 333.

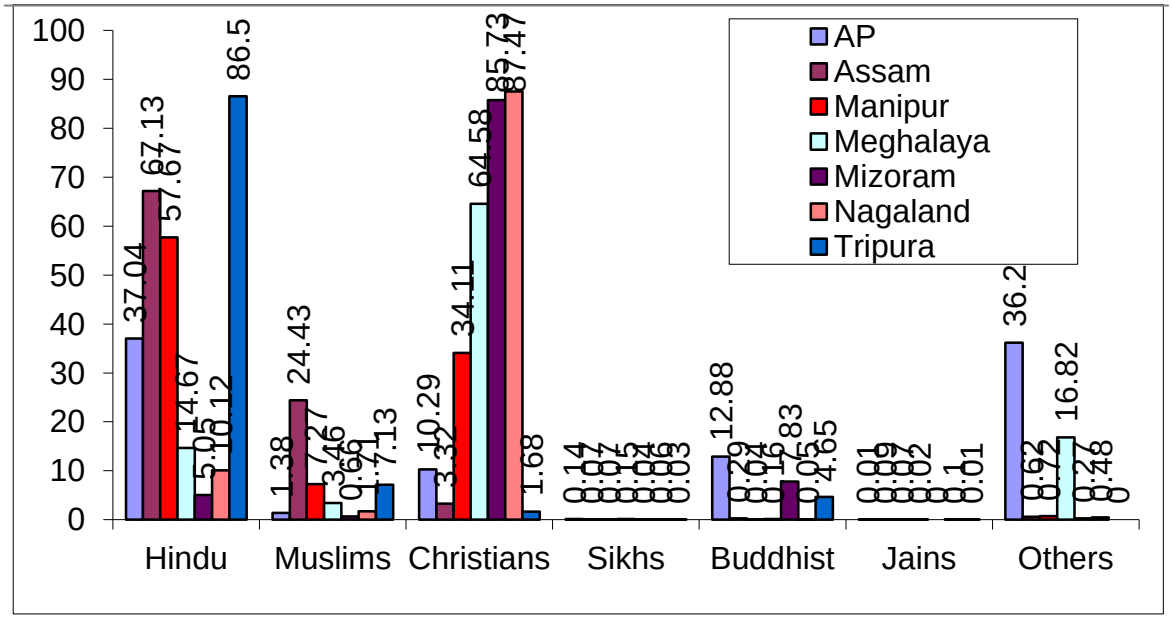
[114] Lalsangkima Pachuau, *Ethnic Identity and Christianity in North East India: A socio-Historical and Missological Study with Special Reference to Mizoram* (Bangalore: Centre for Contemporary Christianity/ CFCC, 2012), 1.

governance, corruption and economic backwardness. All these factors exist in the northeast states affected the lives of the people in the region.

2.6. Religion, Beliefs and Practices in Northeast India

The northeast states presents a diversity of religious persuasions covering almost all the major religions; Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Christianity. A small number of the population in states like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and other few states still holds to their traditional beliefs. The Hindus constitute the largest segment and a majority of them are found in the valleys of Assam, Manipur, Parts of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Tripura. Another major population, mostly from the hill areas of states like Mizoram, Meghalaya and Nagaland follow Christianity. Other religions like Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism and many traditional (tribal) religion and beliefs are also found in almost all the northeast states. Figure 2.6[115] shows varied religion professed by the people of the northeast.

Figure 2.6 Religion, Beliefs and Practices in Northeast India



[115] Lalsangkima Pachuau, *Ethnic Identity and Christianity in North East India,* 8.

2.7. Literacy Rate of Northeast India

Education emerged as an eye-opener for the common people with the coming of the various missionaries to the NER. Before its coming, there were only a handful who were introduced to education, mostly belonging to the well-off families. The credit for the massive impact of education on the people goes to the missionaries. Education is still the most effective instrument for socio-economic empowerment and there has been visible ascent in the literacy rates of the NER in the recent past. The growth and development in the educational fields have led to an exceptional increase in the northeast states with several times more number of government servants, contractors and highly educated people from both secular and theological background.

Figure 2.7 Literacy Rate of the Northeast India

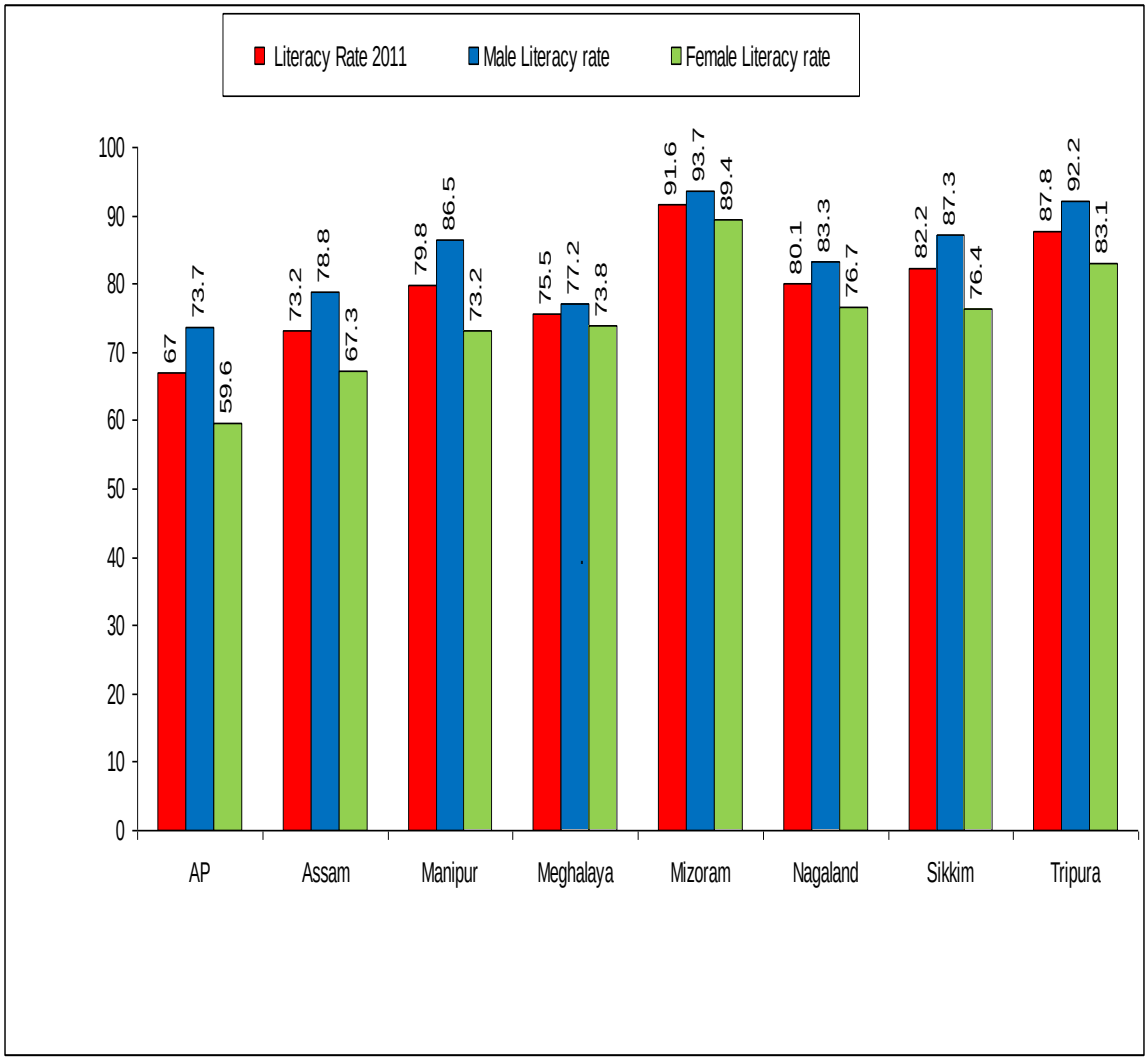


Figure 2.7[116] shows that the literacy rate of the northeast states had an overwhelming growth with 91.6% for Mizoram; the highest literacy rate within the northeast states and 2nd after Kerala which has 93.91%. Tripura has 87.8%, Sikkim; 82.2%, Nagaland; 80.1%, Manipur; 79.3%, Meghalaya; 75.5%, Assam; 73.2% and Arunachal Pradesh with a literacy rate of 67%.

The overall rate of literacy in northeast India is good however; it is widely understood that despite a high literacy rate, the region is still characterized by a visible lack of sufficient opportunity for higher/ technical/ vocational trainings and under-development has its own impact on employment and other opportunities in the region. As far as better employment opportunities are concerned the options of employment are presumed to be very limited that cause most of the northeast states, unemployment issues as one of the major problem.

2.8. Transport and Communication in Northeast India

Technology and communication with the advancement of different mode of transportation services available on a daily basis, has definitely opened a new possibility for the northeast people for migration. Many incidents were highlighted during interview with the respondents on how they first came to Bangalore. Most of the responded said they got the information through family, relatives, and friends living in the cities or some newspaper ads. Some are influenced by promises of good salary, living accommodation and so on through telephonic communication and other means like Facebook and WhatsApp etc., they move out from their native places.

The northeast state is connected to other parts of the country with both railways and airways. Guwahati (Assam) is the main railway head that connects the northeast to the other parts of India. Usually the train journey from Guwahati to Bangalore is about four days. In-spite of challenges people come to Bangalore.[117] These groups of people

[116] https://www.mapsofindia.com/2011/literacy-rate.html (accessed 21 May 2015).

[117] The researcher went to different railway stations; Yeshantpur, Bangalore East, Khrishnarajapuram, Cantonment, and Majestic/City railway in Bangalore on many occasions to observe and know the process of migration of northeast people and how people from the NER come to the city. Many people especially youth come to the city in a huge number sometimes in a group of 5 or more, sometimes 3- 4 in groups.

mostly belong to the middle-class families or the upper lower class ones with some economic constraints usually come by railway means, whereas individuals coming from a good family background can afford to travel by air. In all, for the eight northeast states, flight connectivity is accessible either from the capital or few districts and affordability is not a boon for all. On the connectivity available, Rai points that "there is no direct flight transport to Bangalore hence people come to NJP (New Jalpaiguri) by buses or taxies which is about 125 kilometers from Sikkim (4-5 hours journey) and board a train from NJP to Bangalore or any other part of India."[118] According to Kishor, about "80% of people travel by train and 20% percent travel by flight. The flight costs a minimum of Rs. 8000, which most of the people coming for work in the city cannot afford thus they prefer to travel by train."[119] All these advancement of communications, road connectivity, railways and flights connectivity, people from northeast are introduced to going/moving to other cities mainly for studies or for work opportunities. Thus, various modes of communication and transport accessibility in the northeast states also endorse people to move to new places.

Summary

Each northeast state has its own history, tradition, custom and practices that are unique, vibrant and colorful. The people of the region preserve and revive the rich cultural heritage through handicrafts is equally highlighted in the indigenous hand-crafts, hand-looms and arte-facts which are hastened by promoting the richness of the region and identification of each northeast state. Festivals are by and large associated and depict a communitarian life. In terms of development, northeast have undergone many changes in the last few decades and the process of change has been very rapid that one can be seen incredibly in many developed and ongoing projects.[120]

[118] Interview with Rahul Rai, Founder Director, NEP India, Bangalore, 11 August 2016.

[119] Interview with Kishor Rai, Restaurant Owner, Koramangala, Bangalore, 15 October 2016.

[120] Some of the development projects in the NER are; road, railways, air, communication, waterways and telecom network, tourism and hydro projects etc. it is said that, "A total of 197 on-going road development projects in the North Eastern states… North Eastern Council is implementing 715 development projects in North Eastern states." in pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRealease.aspx?relid=148326 (accessed 26 March 2016).

Nevertheless, employment prospects are limited both in the government and private sectors and this cause many young people move out from their states in search of job opportunities. This vividly shows a change from living a communitarian life to an individual/family life which also in one approach, paved ways for people to migrate.

In recent times, the participation and work force in many of the metro cities in India are represented by people from the northeast and their contribution is widening in many aspects' impacting their own lives, their family's lives and for those in the city where they move to. Keeping in mind the diversity of socio-political-economic-cultural contexts, the following chapter centers on 12 selected case studies to explore their lived experiences and to work out modes of their aspirations, hopes and challenges that influence the northeast migrants in Bangalore.

CHAPTER THREE

UNDERSTANDING THE LIVED EXPERIENCES: A CASE STUDY

Introduction

The engagement of the researcher in a Northeast Solidarity, a not-for profit entity that runs a helpline and intervenes in crisis management began during the "mass exodus,"[121] in August 2012. During the mass exodus, hundreds of thousands of northeast people left Bangalore due to the 'hate' message circulated in the city.[122] T he researcher was given a helpline phone number 0941285744, to help and assist the northeast migrants in Bangalore. The voluntary works that the researcher involved were; from writing a complaint or First Information Report (FIR) against the culprit/offender, taking the victims to different police stations depending on the jurisdiction of the victims, to different courts depending on their cases like, civil courts, labour court and district court in Bangalore and giving the victims and survivors a continuous support during their court appearing/hearing and trials. The researcher also accompanied victim(s) to the central prison Bangalore to identify the culprit and sometimes to prison to bail out victims who are wrongly fabricated in the case. Some cases involve strategic planning and rescue mission for the trafficked and rape victims for medical examination and tests.

As a volunteer the researcher have extend help and support to many people, particularly northeast migrants in restaurant and beauty parlour sectors. These groups of migrants are more vulnerable to varied form of abuse, violence, physical attack, harassment

[121] During the exodus of northeastern people in August 2012, thousands of northeast people living in Bangalore left the city for fear of their life as rumors spread through Short Message Service (SMS). Within 4 to 5 days (from August 15 to August 19), it was estimated that about 35,000 people left the city (Bangalore). The SMS was believed to be rumors initially however; there were incidents of attacks, threat, and violence during and after the mass exodus. More than 300 cases of attacks, violence, and threat were reported during 2012 to 2016. See, *Northeast Solidarity Report*, 2.

[122] The content of the message was, "it's a request to everyone to call their relatives, sons and daughters at Bangalore to call them as soon as possible. Last night 4 northeast guys were killed by Muslim at Bangalore (2 Manipuri and 2 Nepali). And also the reports are after August 20, 2012 i.e. Ramzan after 2 pm they are going to attack every northeastern people. The main reason that started this entire riot was the situation at Kokrajar, Assam." See, *Northeast Solidarity Report*, 3.

(sexual) and discriminations in the city as compared to northeast people working in white- collar jobs. Thus, the purpose of this study was to accumulate the lived experiences of migrants as different as possible from each other. In order to protect the identity and confidentiality of the migrants, names are used in a short form while in some cases; the full names are used with their permission. The first section consists of northeast women who were/are working in a beauty parlours/spas industry, and northeast men working in restaurants. The second section focuses on the two cases of labour trafficking and human trafficking to highlight the nexus between migration and human trafficking.

3. 1. Experiences of women in Beauty Parlours and Spas

3.1.1. The other side of being a Beautician

ST a 26 year old who belongs to the Kuki community from Manipur came to Bangalore to work and earn her livelihood, and to look after her 3 younger siblings and parents back home. She came to know about a job opportunity at Pearl Salon and spa at Koramangala 5th block, through her cousin. ST and her friend JN who is 25 years old and also belongs to Kuki community from Manipur were given jobs as beauticians by the proprietor of the salon Mr. Anand Kumar,[123] a 38 years old resident of Austin Town.

Both ST and JN joined the work on September 2014 with a promised salary of Rs. 20,000 each per month. From the very first day they joined they were made to work long hours, almost 12 hours a day and were harshly treated. Anand Kumar began to ask them for sexual favors and allegedly tried to get them to indulge in a physical relation and assured them that he would increase their pay. For more than two months they were not given salary because they refused his sickening demand. On November 24, Anand Kumar approached ST again and ordered her to massage and sleep with him. ST felt humiliated by his behavior and scared at the same time. She was left with no other option but to quit the job immediately. Both ST and JN quit their job the same day. When they asked for their salaries which come to Rs. 86,000, Rs. 43,000 each for 65 days of work, they were paid only Rs. Rs. 7500.

[123] Case: Non-payment of salary, Harassment and sexual Intimidation. The FIR was lodged on 3rd December 2014, at Koramangala Police Station bearing the case number: CV. No 885/14 VIS 354 (A) IPC.

Anger, frustration and humiliation finally with courage they decided to go to the police to complain against the owner but since they were new to the city they did not know the procedure so they called the Kuki Student's Association leaders in Bangalore but they declined to help saying that they cannot help and told them to contact the NES. On 3rd December 2014, NES got a call from ST and JN. The researcher along with other volunteers immediately rushed to meet them and they narrated their ordeal. FIR was lodged against the owner of beauty parlour.

Case Reflection

This case reflects the issues and challenges faced by the northeast migrant women working in a beauty parlour/spa industry. They face various forms of abuse, violence, and humiliation from the employer, and are very vulnerable to the system. Cheating, non- payment of salary, long working hours, verbal abuse, sexual abuse and discrimination based on the features is some of the common areas that is experienced by many of the northeast women migrants working in beauty parlour/spa industry. Till date there is no sign of remorse and the due salary to both ST and JN has not been paid. In addition, the issues and challenges faced by many of the working migrants when they face problems is that, on approaching their own community, student's associations, etc., in most of the cases they are not willing to help the victims if they are not registered members of the community/association. Another issue seen in this case; when the victims lodged an FIR they were asked to narrate the incident in Kannada and the investigation process is as slow as a snail-walk. With no proper investigation from the police department the charge sheet is submitted wrongly and thus it clearly indicates loopholes in the law system, judiciary and especially in the police personnel/ and department as a whole. The case is still pending.

3.1.2. Beauties and the Beast

Leroy Ashley Tills[124] the proprietor of Lorna Blossom Healthcare and Spa located in Grace Town with its branches in Hennur, Rajajinagar and Koramangala employed eight northeast girls to work for his company between the year 2012 to 2014. During this time, all eight girls were abused verbally and sexually in and outside the workplace. In addition, their salary, provident fund and original marks card and other training certificates were all withheld by Ashely Tilles. The girls were between the age group of 20 to 32 years, from Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Sikkim and one from Kerala. The cases are briefly highlighted below.

24 years old AG from Sikkim was employed as a therapist and a trainer in September 10, 2012 and later promoted as a Branch Manager. Her original HSLC and HSSLC marks card were withheld and non-payment of salary comes to Rs. 65,000. When AG requested for her due salary, Ashely Tills hired local goondas and she was beaten black and blue. She also faced harassment at the workplace, abusive sexual languages and was threatened not to complain to the police or to anyone about the case.

23 years old PR was appointed in January 24, 2013 as a Spa Therapist, and was promoted as a Branch manager located at Hennur branch. PR due salary and Provident Fund come upto Rs. 84,000. She was raped, blackmailed, forced to smoke, forced to stand naked, beaten black and blue, threatened and tortured by Ashley Tills (employer).

20 year old HB from Nagaland was appointed as a therapist in June 13, 2013. After 3 months she was promoted as a Branch Manager. She did not get her 3 months' salary and PF Rs. 68,000. She was abused verbally, sexually, harassed, forced to smoke, and

[124] Case: Non-payment of salary, cheating, threat, criminal intimidation, sexual harassment, and Rape. On January 28, 2015, a case was registered against Ashely Tills, the proprietor of Lorna Blossam Healthcare and Spa at three Police Stations bearing registered case No: 0085/2015, under IPC 1860(U/s-354 (A), 354 (B); Koramangala Police Station, case no. 0023/2015, under IPC 1860(U/s- 506, 406, 420; Subramanyanagar Police Station, case no. 0028/2015, under IPC 1860(U/s- 323, 504, 354 (B), 376); Hennur Police Station, on January 2015.On January 30, 2015 Ashely Tills was arrested by Central Crime Branch (CCB) led by DCP (crime) Abishek Goyal (the case was also reported by *Times of India, Bangalore*, Saturday, January 30, 2015).

forced to stand naked on terrace whole night because she resisted the employer who made sexual advances.

22 year old DR from Nagaland was appointed as a beautician in 14 December 2013, with a promised salary of Rs. 20,000 per month. Her due salary for five months and provident fund comes to Rs, 1, 24,000. When she asked for her salary, she was abused sexually, verbally harassed, and threatened by Ashely Tills. The employer ordered her not to resist when customers ask for sexual favors, sexual advancement and promised to increase her salary if she pleases the customers.

30 year old HH from Manipur was appointed as a therapist in November 30, 2014. During her one year of work at Lorna Blossom Healthcare and Spa, she faced daily harassment, verbal, sexual harassment and was humiliated on many occasions. She was not given her 2 months' salary and provident fund which comes to Rs. 68,000.

23 year old MB from Manipur was appointed as a beautician in November 2013 on one-year contract. While joining the work she was told to submit her original marks card which she did. Right after she joined the work, Ashely Tills began to verbally and sexually harass her and she was made to work till late hours. Because of harassment and abuse she did not complete one year contract and resigned from work. After resigning she was not given her due salary of 2 months and provident fund which comes to 48,000 and her original marks card was withheld.

22 year old PZ from Nagaland was appointed as a therapist on 7th October, 2013 for one year contract. She was verbally and sexually harassed by Ashley Tills at the work place. PZ resigned from work and her due salary (2 months) and provident fund comes to RS. 48,000.

32 year old BT from Manipur was appointed as a therapist on one- year contract basis on 30th November, 2013. She faced daily abuse at the work place, extra working hours till late night, sexual harassment, insult in front of the clients/ customers, outraging modesty and non-payment of salary and provident fund of Rs. 95,000.

Case Reflection

On 16th January, 2015 the NES received a called from eight girls. Immediately they were told to come to the NES office. The NES and the volunteers were informed about non-payment of their salary and other provident fund. Initially, they mentioned only about due salary and provident fund and were hesitant to disclose about harassment and abuses. After getting assurance and support, they began to open up to tell about their problems, harassments and abuses they face from their employer.

Ashely Tills used vulgar languages to the employees. Quoted from the employees' complaint and FIR, "you guys are from northeast state, from poor family and you have to work by any means," "If you leave my company I will make sure that you don't get any job in Bangalore," "Even if I bet or kill you no one will say anything," "even if you are sick to death, I don't care you have to come to work," " you cannot leave or resign as you like, I hired you and I will fire you anytime and when I want," "if you try to act smart I will put a fraud case against you," "even if you complaint to police they all know me, they will support me and not you." On one occasion, an employee was beaten black and blue while coming from the work place by local goondas hired by Ashely Tills. The next day when she came to work with a swollen face, Ashely Tills said, "if you make me angry than I can do anything, now you got to know me right"?

All these eight girls belong to the middle class from northeastern states (except one girl, from Kerala). They came to Bangalore to work in a beauty parlour/spa industry and to support their families back home. While they got an opportunity to work, they were also exposed to various forms of discrimination, harassment, and humiliation in and outside the work place. Right after they join the work, Ashely Tills would begin to abuse them verbally, sexually and made them to work till midnight, called them to his house and let them massage him and when they resisted he told them that it is part of their training. All the eight women employees were forced into obscene acts and tortured physically, mentally, emotionally, and psychologically. Their workplace became unsafe and they became vulnerable but they couldn't walk out from this pathetic situation because they were conditioned to work due to their original marks card, certificates, salary and provident fund that was withheld by Ashely Tills.

3.1.3. Vulnerabilities in Workplace

On March 18 Tuesday, 2015, around 2 pm the researcher received a call from RH, one of the three victims. The researcher was told about the abuse and harassment they went through. After getting all the information provided by them (RH, CC and YM) the next day on 19th March the researcher along with other volunteers took them to the police station and lodged a case against the proprietor of the Dreamer's Delight Beauty Parlour, Karishma and her husband Ramesh.[125] All three of them from Manipur were employed at Dreamers Delight Beauty Parlour at Marathahalli, Bangalore by the proprietor Karishma and her husband Ramesh. The cases are highlighted below;

CC 23 years old from Senapati, Manipur joined the beauty parlour in December 2013 for a salary of Rs. 8000 per month. Right after she joined the work, the employer's husband Ramesh sexually abused and harassed her almost every day and was forced to go for room services. When she could not bear the harassment she resigned and her employer Karshima threatened her that if she resigned she will complain to the police. Since she didn't know anyone in Bangalore, for fear she continued her work. She was forced to go for home service and her weekday leave was often denied.

YM 20 years old from Ukrul Manipur joined the beauty parlour in July 2014 with a salary of Rs. 5000 per month. Like CC, right after she joined the work she was forced to go for room service and whenever she resisted, the proprietor abused her and threatened her of the consequences. Out of fear she went for room service in which she was not at all comfortable. She was made to work for extra hours and was not given a day off even after a year. She was sexually harassed by the proprietor's husband Mr. Ramesh and when she reported that to her employer Karishma, she took the side of her husband and accused YM of lying. The employer even threatened her that if again any false report was raised against her husband, she would complain to the police. With no one to share her problems and afraid of her employer turning a false case against her, she was made to keep silent.

[125] Case: Sexual harassment, criminal intimidation and loss of belongings. Registered case No: 0225/2015 under IPC 1860 (u/s-354(A), 506, 34, and 380, at H.A.L. Police Station, on March 2015.

26 years old RH from Ukrul, Manipur came to Bangalore in 2012 and joined the parlour in July 2012 for a salary of Rs. 9000 per month. For about three years RH worked in the parlour where she was forced to do home service, and whenever she refused to go, the owner Karishma abused and threaten to call the police. Frightened by the threat, RH continued to go for home service. Work harassment and abuse was an everyday affair and RH was not allowed to take leave at any given time.

On March 18, 2015, RH came back to staff room for a lunch break only to find that all her belongings were missing; two suitcases, one bag, purse with other items, certificates, bank card, pan card, pass book, and Rs. 1000 cash. With no doubt RH suspected Karshima (her employer) the only person who had the extra key of the staff room. When RH confronted her about the missing items, she denied and threatened her with consequences. RH could not bear the abuse, harassments and loss of her belongings and the same day RH went to the police station for complain. RH says, "That day itself I called the Northeast Solidarity helpline and they came to our rescue."

Case Reflection

This case highlight the vulnerability of women from the northeast various situations. Broadly speaking, northeast women working in beauty parlour/spa are made to impress the clients as entertainers. So also, the high promised salary is always withheld or denied. Adding to these vulnerable conditions; work harassment, verbal harassment, sexual harassment, and extra hours work till late night. When they refused to go along with the employer/s demand they were threatened to slap false cases on them. The above case highlight the criminal intimidation, verbal abuse, work harassment, cheating, threat, sexual harassment and outraging the modesty of these three northeast women.

3.1.4. A Post Graduate Woman: Challenges and Choices

HL a 29 year old is a post graduate from Mizoram. She did her graduation from Aizawl North College and post graduate in sociology from Indira Gandhi National Open University. She took training in beauty industry for six months in Delhi, after which she got employed as a hair stylist in Delhi airport in Terminal 3. While working in Delhi she got a call from a lady by the name Sujutha who happened to be her friend's client.

Everyday Sujutha called her to come and join her company in Bangalore promising of Rs. 20,000 salary with 10% incentives and 7% commission. Sujutha made her very hopeful and promised her if she joined her parlour she will get Rs. 50-60,000 per month along free accommodation and food.

With so much hope and aspiring to earn more and support her sisters and widowed father back home, she resigned from her work in Delhi and came to Bangalore on January 2016. After reaching Bangalore, the lady who promised a job in her beauty parlour did not even have a salon and kept saying that her salon is about to be completed within a few weeks time. After two months of waiting for the promised job, HL finished here savings which she had earned from the previous job. With no money left for her daily survival, she began to search for a job and finally got a job at Glamour Quotient Spa and Salon owned by Mr Rajesh Sisla and Pooja.[126]

HL joined the work on 1st August 2016 as a therapist and a beautician with a promised salary of Rs. 15,000 and 10% incentive per month. The first two months she was given a salary as promised but without incentive. From the month of October the owner refused to give her salary. With no alternate job she was forced to work with no salary. The owner began to verbally and sexual abuse and harass her and when she complained to the proprietor's wife (Puja) she refused to listen to her and began to lay blame on her. The work place became very unsafe for her and she couldn't bear the humiliation anymore, and on 15th December she quit her job.

On 1st of February, 2017, HL approached the Northeast Solidarity forum to help her in getting the due payment which comes to Rs. 45,700. The team met Mr. Rajesh Sisla and he agreed to pay back the balance amount on or before the 28th of February, 2017, which he failed to pay on the mentioned date. On the 28th February, Rajesh Sisla was brought to the police station. He made an agreement to pay by 15th of March 2015 but again he failed to pay the said amount. With the help of Manahor Elavarthi and R. Khalleem Ullah (local activists), Rajesh made an agreement of a post-dated cheque of Rs. 28,000 dated 1st April, 2017 in Koromangala police station and the same was witnessed by Sub-inspector of Koramangala Police. Finally, with the help from the

[126] Case: Non-payment of salary, cheating, verbal and sexual harassment.

police, NES team and human rights activists, HL got the amount of Rs. 28,000 on April 3, 2017.

Case Reflection

The case above highlights about a woman who had a post degree graduate however, her degree couldn't help her in finding a job at her native place. She was obligated to migrate to Bangalore with a hope to earn and support a family back home. However, HL's hope and aspirations of getting a decent for her livelihood survival become a consequence for her. Northeast women working in a beauty parlour/spa faces difficulties and challenges being migrant workers. In HL's case; cheating, non- payment of salary, verbal abuses, and sexual harassment (by the employer) are some of the discriminatory factors that she faced. Consequently her physical, emotional, mental, psychological and overall well being was affected.

Manahor Elavarthi and R. Khalleem Ullah were very helpful in negotiating with the accused for almost a week to clear the due salary for HL. They both had their own share of work however; they were committed to help and support, they sacrificed their time, energy, and covered travel expenses by themselves to support the victim. The help rendered by the host individuals through hospitality and solidarity to the northeast migrants particularly to the victim is worth appreciation.

3.2. Experiences of men in Restaurants

3.2.1. Traumatized Experience of a Young Migrant

L.V. Benjamin a 24 year old from Manipur was working as a manager in a restaurant in Koramangala for a salary of Rs. 26,000 when he came across a job opening in Overseas posted by the Global Match Consultancy on 11th May 2015. He contacted the consultancy and had discussion with a person by name Bhuvan Kumar over the phone who requested Benjamin to visit the office in Badrappa Layout, Bangalore. The same day, Benjamin visited the office and Bhuvan Kumar who was working for Eshwari[127] introduced him to Eshwari, the owner of the consultancy.

Benjamin was told about the job opening in Singapore for a salary starting from Rs. 75,000 (Indian rupees), with two years Singapore work visa. He was promised to get the

[127] Case: Cheating, July 2015.

job through by the consultancy. The total service charges was Rs. 3,00,000 (Rupees three lakh), out of which Rs. 2,00,000 (two lakh) had to be paid in Bangalore and the remaining amount of Rs. 1,00,000 had to be carried by him to Singapore after converting to Singapore Dollar.

Accordingly, an agreement was signed on May 13, 2015 between Benjamin and Eshwari. Benjamin paid Rs. 2, 00,000 (two lakh) in cash to Eshwari on the same day. An agreement was made that the service charge will refund in full if the job is not provided. As per the consultancy, the Global Match Consultancy will provide three months multiple entry visitor's visa within ten days and he has to travel to Singapore with the visitor visa within three months from visa issued date. Singapore visitor's visa was to be issued on June 26, 2015 and as per their discussion, Benjamin was scheduled to travel to Singapore in the first week of July.

On June 1, 2015 Benjamin called Eshwari to follow up with his visa permit and he was told that everything was as scheduled. The whole of June Benjamin didn't receive any call from the consultancy. When there was no response from the consultancy, Benjamin visited the office only to be told that the consultancy has lost contact in Singapore. On June 28, 2015, Benjamin request Eshwari to return the money (Rs. 2, 00,000) as she failed to provide the job, but he was asked to wait for two months. Even after two months he was not given back the money, as promised. On October 2015, through the help and recommendation[128] from V.S. D'Souza, Benjamin receives Rs. 1, 00,000 however; the remaining amount could not be recovered.

[128] V. S. D'Souza forwarded the complaint letter to DCP North East division Mr. Vikhas Kumar. Vikhas Kumar, DCP called Satesh (Inspector of Kodigehalli Police Station) to take the issue seriously and to give the report within 10 days. Two police officers were sent to Eshwari and in no time Eshwari was brought to the police station. After much argument in delaying the payment, Inspector Satesh, insisted Eshwari to issue post-dated cheque of Rs. 2, 00,000 of her bank account ICICI 020401537922 dated September 18, 2015. On the mentioned date Benjamin went to withdraw the amount only to find a bounced check.

Case Reflection

Benjamin saved all his earning and gave the money to Eshwari, the owner of Global Match Consultancy in hope of getting a better job and better salary. But at the end, all his hopes and dreams were shattered. Not only was he in a position of losing all his hard earned money, but this unpleasant incident also made him vulnerable, frustrated, mentally exhausted and financially bankrupt. On the other hand, Eshwari was not willing to give the amount even with the interference from the police. She even went up to the extent of challenging him to register a case. However, Benjamin was not willing to file a case because of his personal commitments. He hesitated to register a case knowing that, if he registers a case it will take time to recover the money which he was in need for another job. There are similar cases where northeast migrant workers are being cheated by consultancy firms and other job-recruitment companies promising them new and better job opportunities. Many young people without checking the validity and authenticity of those service providers blindly trust and end up in a vulnerable situation. There are also many cheating cases related to admissions in reputed colleges in Bangalore by agents, middle man and other fraudulent recruitment companies where northeast people become victims and fall prey to this booming business.

3.2.2. Loss of an Innocent Life with no fault of His

Shimreiso Maluk[129] a 25 year old and his younger brother a 22 year old came to Bangalore in 2015 to earn their livelihood and support the family back home. They both were in a restaurant in Koramangala for a salary of Rs.8000 per month. On August 20, Saturday 2016, Shimreiso did not come back to their rented place. Thinking that he went to a friend house for the night, his brother did not bother to call or inquire and the next morning as usual he left for work.

Shimreiso Maluk was hit by a car and the driver ran off from the accident area without helping or attending to his injuries. The Adugodi traffic police saw him lying in the middle of the road in an unconscious state while patrolling on August 21, Sunday 2016,

[129] Case: Rash driving, causing hurt and endangering life of others. A case was registered in Adugodi Traffic Police Station bearing the case No. 0177/2016 under IPC 1860 (U/s- 279, 337), against the cab driver.

around 1am. The police could not identify the victim as there was no identity card, phone or any other identity proof. The police admitted him at St John's Hospital, Koromangala in the ICU ward by name, "unknown."

On August 21, Sunday 2016 around 9 am, Northeast Solidarity helpline received a call from Adugodi police about a person who was found unconscious and admitted at St. John Hospital Koramangala. The team rushed to the hospital got detailed information about the incident. According to the doctor's report, the "unknown" patient's condition was "head and brain injury, artery block and low blood pressure." The patient's identity was unknown for an hours until Northeast Solidarity team and few other individuals particularly, Soumya Reddy[130] who requested the police and other hospital authorities to take a picture of the victim to circulate over the social media. After getting the permission, the team shared the victim's picture and some of his cloths; red shirt, rosary, and black trouser over the social media.

The Northeast Solidarity and team did all the possible way in circulating about the incident and the pictures of the victim on facebook, whatsaap and other social media platforms as the victim could not be identified. To identify the "unknown" patient, the News 9, a local news channel telecast the live updates of the patient's case. Around 3 pm, ZK (victim's brother,) saw the picture and clothes of his brother in some whatsapp group and came to the hospital for identification and confirmed his brother's identity.

On the other hand, the accused was not at all remorseful of his action. The CCTV footage shows that the accused (driver) bearing the cab number (A1), KA01AC0860 Bengaluru, Karnataka, came from the wrong side, hit the victim (Shimreiso) and ran off. The driver was arrested on August 22, 2016. After two days, the accused got the anticipatory bail and walked freely from the police custody not even offering compensation towards the victim's medical expense. Due to the financial constraints, the parents and the family members of the victim (Shimreiso) could not afford to follow-up the case adding to the medical expenses.

[130] Soumya Reddy, an elected member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) from Jayanagar, Bangalore, was one of the first few people who got the news about the incident and rushed to the hospital for help.

Case Reflection

This case shows how vulnerable northeast people are, affected as such by various forms of violence and racial attacks. Shimreiso who hoped for a secure life was made to undergo various miseries that took his life. All his dreams and hopes in life, to get a job and support his family were crushed by someone's blunder. For more than a month Shimreiso Maluk was kept in St. John's Hospital. However, his condition did not improve much due to head and brain injury and damage, artery block and low BP. To help and support his medical expenses, the Tangkhul community in Bangalore raised funds, and several other NGOs including Northeast Solidarity and individuals raised funds for his medical expense. During his stay in the St. John's hospital, number of northeast community and local community, associations and individuals contributed to his medical bills. However, the help rendered by the individuals and the community could not fully cover the expenses as the hospital bills and other expenses increased day by day. Therefore, his family decided to shift him to Manipur for further treatment. On January 2017, Shimreiso succumbed to his injuries in Manipur. A disheartening fact of the case was that the life of an innocent boy (Shimreiso) was exposed to death with no fault of his, and justice was delayed and denied till his death.

3.2.3. Shattered Dreams of a Young Migrant

In 2016, a 23 year old Khaudun Khangham[131] from Arunachal Pradesh came to Bangalore and was employed as a waiter in a Satally Tober restaurant in Koramangala with a salary of Rs.8000 per month. On January 7, 2017, while Khaudun was on his way to his rented accommodation from work place around 1: 30 AM, he was attacked seriously. Khaudun Khangham was later found by the Koramangala police (while patrolling) in an unconscious state with injuries all over his body in the early hours on January 7, 2017.

When Khaudun failed to return to the rented accommodation, Kevin (who is also from Arunachal Pradesh and works in the same restaurant) called Khaudun to inquire his

[131] Case: Racial attack, voluntarily causing grievous hurt, and attempt to murder. A case was registered in Koramangala Police Station bearing Case No: 0010/2017, IPC 1860 (U/s- 326), on January 2017.

whereabouts. The phone call was received by the police and he was told about Khaudun's accident and was asked to come to the directed location. Meanwhile the Northeast Solidarity also got the information about the fateful attack. Upon reaching the hospital at National Institute of Mental Health and Neurosciences (NIMHANS), the team visited him and witnessed the injury on his forehead, cheekbones, nose, marks on his neck, left hand, and right hand and leg that was inflicted upon with a sharp- edged weapon. Due to multiple injuries, especially on the head he was paralyzed, and he slipped into coma.

Once inquiring about his health condition and other initial formalities with the hospital staff, an FIR was registered at the Koramangala Police Station. Initially, the police claimed that it was a road accident, but later registered a case of "causing grievous injury with dangerous weapon." Meanwhile, police sources claimed that two separate teams were formed to crack the case. One of the CCTV footages in the accident site showed an autorickshaw and the shadow of a man. The CCTV footage is not clear to come to a definite conclusion.[132]

Khuadun's condition was stabilized, and a slight movement appeared in the left side of his body which was completely paralyzed at the time of his injury but is still in coma. Khuadun had not been able to record his statement as he was paralyzed and slipped into coma from the severe head injury suffered in the attack, the police are yet to make any breakthrough in his case. In addition, the medical expenses are huge and due to financial constraints the family members requested the doctor to certify for further treatment at home town. The Northeast Solidarity initiated fundraising for which many individuals and community came forward to pay his travel expenses and initial medical expenses. On January 26, 2017 Khuadun was taken back home for further treatment.

Case Reflection

The life of a young migrant was shattered because of a racial attack. A hope to earn a livelihood and support his humble family ended in a lifeless state. This shows a clear case of racial attack and continuous violence towards the northeast people. It portrays

[132] The case was covered by *Bangalore Miirror*, Saturday, January 10, 2017.

how a 'safe' city becomes 'unsafe' and unfriendly as the city of Bangalore has become to the northeast community living and working in Bangalore. Various forms of racial attacks and discrimination of the northeast people have become an accepted reality in Bangalore city. Physical attacks, violence, racial discrimination and attacks based on one's ethnic origin pose a serious threat to the people belonging to the north east states in Bangalore. Attacks on Shimreiso, Hosea and Khuadun are a few reported cases while there are many innocent victims of the racial attacks in Bangalore whose case/incident goes unnoticed. On the other hand, the hospitality and solidarity extended by many of the northeast community and host community are immeasurable. Mr. Pradeep Esteves, Indian Social Institute[133] and many other individuals and organizations came forward to support and financially helped the victim's travel expenses and covered medical bill.

3.2.4. A Vulnerable Migrant Worker

Johnny[134] a 27 year old from Nagaland came to Bangalore in 2015 to work in a restaurant and got a job at Hungry Hippie, a restaurant in Koramangala for the salary of Rs. 12,000 per month. Johnny worked full time in the restaurant to sustain his daily needs and to support the needs of his family back home. Johnny was allocated an accommodation by his employer along with two of his friends from Nagaland. Everything was going on well, until the night on March 20, 2017 when he was attacked by his neighbor.

Johnny and his friends were inside their room when there was a knock on the door around 11:30 pm; it was Prashant, the boy who lived next to their building. Prashant asked Johnny to give his phone as he wanted to make a phone call to his friend. Assuming that it could be urgent, without hesitation Johnny gave his phone to make a call. The moment Johnny gave his phone, Prashant ran off from the door toward the gate. Without knowing what to do he began to call Prashant's name and asking to give back the phone only to find Prashant running off towards the road. Johnny started to run

[133] Pradeep Esteves, former Director of Agriculture Development and Training Society (ADATS) paid for Khuadun's air ticket from Bangalore to Arunachal and Indian Social Institute paid for Khudan's brother air ticket.

[134] Case**:** Racial attack and voluntarily caused hurt by dangerous weapon. A case was registered in Koramangala Police Station, bearing case No: 0078/2017, IPC 1860 (U/s-324), March 2017.

after Prashant and when he was about to reach Prashant's side, suddenly Prashant stopped, took a stone and hit him on his head. Within seconds Johnny felt something heavy on his head and fell down on the road only to find Prashant run off with the phone.

Johnny couldn't stand on his feet until his friends came to his rescue and saw him covered with blood all over his face. Realizing that there were no hospitals close by and medical clinics were closed for the night, his friends managed to clean the blood stains on his face, neck and shoulders and covered his head with some piece of cloth. The whole night Johnny couldn't sleep due to high fever and headache. After the incident, Johnny called up his employer Arun and narrated the whole incident and requested the salary that was due and if possible a few thousands as advance as he needed it for urgent treatment. The employer denied saying that, "this is not the month end, I cannot give you salary or advance money, and now it looks like a police case I do not want to involve in the case, you better not come to work again, you are fired." The next day (March 21, 2017), Johnny was taken to General Hospital Jayanagar and his injuries were attended. The same day a case was filed in Adugodi police station and the accused was arrested.

Case Reflection

Johnny's case is one of the few cases highlight here. There are many incidents of such attacks on the northeast people in Bangalore. Most of the northeast people working in restaurants face varied problems at the workplace as well as outside the work place. They are treated differently by the co-workers and even by the employers. In Johnny's case, he worked for almost two years in Hungry Hippie giving all his time, energy and hard labour. However, when he was faced with financial difficulties and attack, the employer instead of helping him on humanitarian grounds, sacked him and told not to come to the work place again. There are many employers like Arun who have the intention of hiring northeast people with a meager salary, needing their labour and dedication at workplace but when the need arises, their needs are denied. Not only their needs but the due salaries are being denied once the employee faces problems/difficulties. Till date there is no update on the case. The investigation from the

police department has not proceeded yet and we are not sure when the charge-sheet of the report would be submitted to the court. The victim had undergone so many difficulties as and his economic survival and earning has been cut short due to this incident, while for the accused Prasant, the penalty and punishment seem ordinary.

3.2.5. Violence based on Racism

Five Northeastern men who were between the age of 19 to 22 years; Aremo 22 years from Nagaland, Jekugha 20 years from Nagaland, Calvin 20 years from Nagaland, Kaikuba 20 years from Manipur, and Gaiguiba 20 years from Sikkim came to Bangalore for work in 2016. All five were employed at Kargeens Cafe, Koramangala for a salary of Rs.12, 000 per month and they were allocated an accommodation close to their work place.

On March 21, 2017, after their work shift they came back to their place and while having dinner around 12:30am their neighbour Rajath and Praveen[135] came inside their room and stated to beat them with hockey sticks for no reason. When they question as to why they were being beaten, the two neighbours accused them of 'making loud noise,' and 'eating/cooking smellish food.' The boys tried to defend themselves by running out of the room only to find other neighbours (five to six people) joined the two accused and started to beat them black and blue. One of the victim fractured hand his while defending from being beaten, the other four had minor injuries.

The five victims realized that they were surrounded by a group of people; some people with hockey sticks, stones, sticks and brooms. Immediately one of the victims called their employer who lives close by, and within few minutes the employer came to their rescue. The employer took the victims to a nearby hospital to attend to their injuries. Following morning at around 9am the researcher received a call from the victims about the incident that had happened. The researcher took the victims to Koramangala Police

[135] Case: Criminal intimidation and voluntarily causing hurt and endangering life of others. A case was registered in Koramangala Police Station, bearing case no.0139/2017, IPC 1860 (U/s-324, 34), March 2017. The case is still pending in the police station. We are yet to hear from the police about the investigation and charge-sheet of the case.

Station and registered a case of assault and racial attack. The Koramangala police took quick action against by arresting the accused Rajath and Praveen.

Case Reflection

The case highlights how vulnerable the northeastern communities are even outside their workplace. They were beaten up because of 'making noise' and cooking the food which seemed unacceptable to their neighbours. From tagging northeast people as 'loud' people to complaining about their food habits is unacceptable. The intolerance and unacceptable act of the neighbors to the northeast people in general is always an issue. India being a democratic country, every individual has his/her right on what to eat and what to wear. However, this case of racial attack just because they were from the northeast states and just because they eat what they like doesn't give anybody the right to interfere in their personal life or find fault on their eating habits.

Vikram Ahuja, the employer was very helpful. When the victims (employees) called him, he immediately responded to their call and came to their rescue. Not only rescuing them but he also took them to the hospital and the medical bill and other expenses were all covered by him. Their employer not only needed the employees' service but also helped them out when there was an unsympathetic behavior from their neighbours unlike Johnny's case, whose employer was not at all ready to help at any cost, Mr. Vikram Ahuja, the employer of Kargeens Cafe showed a good example and acted as a Good Samaritan to his employees.

3.2.6. Racism, the Ugly Truth!

Hosea Kom[136] a 24 year old from Manipur residing in Ejipura was attacked by 3 people in the wee hours. On July 12, 2016, while on his way back home from a cyber café in Ejipura when some people in a group came and blocked his way and took his cap. When Hosea demanded his cap back, two others joined them and started passing the cap between themselves. Hosea said, "They were making fun of me. I tried to take my cap

[136] Case: Racist bully, physical attack and attempt to murder. This case was also reported in *Bangalore Mirror*, Wednesday, July 13, 2016.

back but they would snatch it away. When I told them to stop making fun of me, they started punching and beating me. I fought back, and then one of them took a sharp weapon and slashed my face." Many people gathered around, but no one came to his rescue. After about 10 minutes of tussle with the attackers, some passersby interfered and stopped the attackers and the attackers escaped.

Hosea hadn't realized that he had been cut till a witness pointed it out. When he tried to wipe his face he realized he was deeply cut and bleeding. Immediately he rushed home and a friend took him to a private hospital. The northeast solidarity team was informed and we rushed to the private hospital where his injuries were attended to with 13 stitches on his face. The next day NES took Hosea to Viveknagar police station and lodged an FIR against the attackers. With the help of DCP Sandeep Patil, the police registered a case of attempt to murder against the three men.

Case Reflection

Hosea with no fault of his was beaten up in the busy road in Viveknagar. He did nothing to provoke them or instigate the attack, yet he was attacked and was attempted to murder just because he looked different. Attacks and violence based on one's ethnic origin especially of the northeast people is growing enormously. Northeast people in the city are being targeted and are subject to vulnerability with no fault of theirs, be it day or night with no security, protection and their lives are always threatened and at risk. The worrying act is even when there were many people who witnessed the incident they did not care to come to his rescue. The following day, July 14, 2016, the Viveknagar police arrested the three men namely, Prabhu, Yogi and Prashanth in connection with the attempt to murder. The case is still pending and there is no whereabouts of the attackers as they were bailed out the following week. Till date there is no hearing from the court or from the police. This is one case out of hundreds related to racial attacks against the northeast people in Bangalore. The victims are subject to psychological fear, insecurity, and made vulnerable throughout their lives by such kinds of attack and discriminations.

3.3. Migration nexus Trafficking: A Case of Northeast

Many young girls and boys are being trafficked from the northeast region and some are placed as domestic helpers, baby sitters, forced labours and some for commercial sex labour who are kept in the same condition. The scenario continues when young and adults women are trafficked from Assam and other northeast states to cover the gap of females in the states like Punjab and Haryana. It is revealed that these women are on the market called "Order bride" or "sexual brides."[137] It is a weary some situation if continued deliberations of women/human trafficking are made on a daily basis, the society we live in will no way protect the life of young girls and women/men at large. Trafficked survivors are rescued through the help of various NGOs and rehabilitated in safe place but there are also many young girls who are trafficked for varied reasons and are facing with different form of violence. The expectation and experiences of the migrants who are trafficked, especially the north east women and girls can be related to, thus,

> Trafficking of women and children for exploitation has become a big business. For the migrant, using services of traffickers is often seen as the only way to escape poverty and move to a country where it is possible to find employment. But migrants are abused at the hands of traffickers. In addition, the presence and inevitable integration of migrants who have put down roots provokes xenophobic and racial violence in many places.[138]

3.3.1. Hope of Earning a Livelihood become an Insensible Trap

Three women, MS a 26 year old, RA a 29 years old, LZ 30 years old and a 16 year old boy (PT), all from Manipur came to Bangalore in April 2014. All four of them were promised jobs in a beauty parlour and restaurant for the salary of Rs. 12,000 per month by a Manipuri lady name Jennie Simte and her husband Prince John,[139] a Nigerian

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[137] Vrinda Sharma, "Brides Purchased, then Exploited in Haryana, Punjab," in https://www.google.co.in/amp/www.thehindu.com/news/national/brides-purchased-then-exploited-inharyana-punjab/article2400857.ece/amp/ (accessed 26 May 2017).

[138] Andre Jacques and Elizabeth G. Ferris, "Migration," in *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, Nicholas Lossky et al., (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002): 768-770.

[139] Case: Labour trafficking, cheating, non-payment and rape**.** On June 2014, an FIR was registered in KR Puram Police Station against the accused Prince John, James Dothanglien and Jennie Simte. All the three accused were taken to police custody for cheating, trafficking and

national. Jennie Simte, with the help of a middle man by name James Dothanglien (also from Manipur) contacted these three women and a boy and arranged their travel expense from Guwhati to Bangalore.

All four victims were placed in a restaurant owned by Jennie Simte and her husband in KR Puram, right after they came to Bangalore. The victims were made to work in the restaurant whole day and night without the promised salary. Two women were continuously raped by Prince John. On June 5, the two raped victims MS and RA ran away from their work and came to one Mizo family in Kothanur. The Northeast Solidarity was informed about the plight and incident. On that same night itself, the team approached KR Puram police and the other two victims were rescued from the house of Jennie Simte. After the rescue, the victims they were kept to a secure shelter home and were provided with counseling, food, clothes and some other basic needs. The two women were taken for a medical checkup and the reports confirmed rape.

Jennie Simte, her husband Prince John and James Dothanglien used LZ's bank account for illegal money transaction. Rs. 11 lakh was deposited by a woman from Manipur for a promise of a Nurse's Job in London. This incident was found by the CBI when LZ and other three filed a case against Jennie and her husband. Since the money was in LZ's bank account, the CBI arrested LZ along with the three other accused.

LZ went through a psychological trauma and torture as her bank account was used for money transactions by the accusers and without knowing any idea of the bank procedure she was framed in cheating case by the three accused. LZ was taken to jail by the CBI for inquiry and 2 days after she was bailed out by the Northeast Solidarity. After her bail out, LZ was ordered to appear in the Magistrate's court from June 2014 till August 2015. Within this one year period, LZ appeared 18 times in the Magistrate's court, 14 times the researcher accompanied LZ for her court appearances and the case is still on hold.

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rape. While Jennie Simte got the bail, the other two (Prince John and James Dothanglien) remained in police custody for 3 months and the case is still on trial.

Case Reflection

These four victims were made to migrate willingly from Mizoram on the pretext of job opportunities in beauty parlour and restaurant with a salary of 12,000 per month. However, the sad reality was; they were trafficked to the city. All four were subjected to conditions of involuntary servitude, including non-payment of salary; restrictions of their movements, debarred from making calls, physically and sexually abused by the employer.

The two girls were raped continuously by the trafficker (employer). The traffickers were not unknown people or outsiders; in this case the trafficker/s was well known to the victims whom they trusted. Taking their vulnerable condition at home, the middleman (James Dothanglien, from a same native place with the victims) took advantage and these young people and they were brought to the city. The victims were trafficked for the purpose of commercial forced labour and forced sexual exploitation at the risk of their health and life. The victims were abused and exploited; emotionally psychologically, mentally and physically exposed to severe ordeal.

The case highlights how migration nexus trafficking. There are various types of trafficking; labour trafficking, girl child trafficking, women trafficking and many other modes of trafficking in the name of job opportunity, economic stability, and for a better life prospects. Without knowing the consequences these young people from the northeast states were lured. As seen in this case, there are many other migrants who are the victims of fraudulent recruitment agencies, consultancy, middle men/women that lure them directly into situations of sexual exploitation and various other form of exploitation in the destination place.

3.3.2. A Multi-dimension Aspect of Trafficking

A 15 year old P. Chakma from Chantoy village, Mizoram was trafficked and brought to Bangalore by a 27 year Birmal,[140] from Silchar. Birmal used to work in a construction site in Chantoy village, Mizoram and befriended PC. Birmal convinced PC with the idea of going to a nearby place for sightseeing and buying for her some new clothes.

[140] Case: Intimidation, torture, rape and trafficking.

PC was excited as she has never been to other places, except her village. Since Birmal was very well known to her parents and other villagers, PC's parents gave consent to go with Birmal. PC went with Birmal to a nearby town on 13th January 2015, but they did not return home the same day itself or the following days. PC's parents did not know the whereabouts of their daughter and waited for days and weeks thinking she will come home but all was in vain. The following month PC's parents inform about PC's disappearance to the local Students Association and the case of a 'missing girl' was reported to a nearby district police station. Even after the police report and months of waiting, they couldn't get any information about PC and her whereabouts.

On 1st July, 2015, Sahil and his wife suspected PC's condition and helped her to use their phone to make a call to her parents. PC managed to contact her parents and immediately PC parents contacted Students Association in their village and the Student leader contacted the Bangalore Chakma students association. The same day Northeast Solidarity received a call about the missing girl.

The following day, 2nd July 2015, Northeast Solidarity team called Sahil and he was willing to help and give the location of PC. Knowing the area and location given by Sahil, the northeast solidarity team carried out the rescue mission in collaboration with a reputed NGO in Bangalore. The team went to the given address and shocked to see the girl was locked in from outside. PC was locked inside the room for almost 6 months in a small room used both for kitchen and room.

The team rescued PC and took her the Koramangala police station. PC narrated how she was first taken to Silchar and then to different other places. She did not realize which place she was in, until she was told. After coming to Bangalore, Birmal started to work in a restaurant in Koromangala, and Whenever Birmal go for work, he would lock PC inside to cook and clean the tiny room. At times Birmal would come from work threaten PC with knifes if she resisted his sexual advances. Everyday PC was locked inside and even for nature's call, Brimal used to chain her to the toilet.

The case was file against Birmal and within an hour, the police went in search of Birmal at his work place and brought him in to the police station. Birmal was questioned by the police kept in a lockup right away. The same night PC was taken to the protective shelter home and counselling was given to her by the professional counselor. After two weeks, PC was taken to the court to record her statement. Initially, PC's case was registered in Mizoram so the Koramangala Police transfered the case to Mizoram. On 15th July, 2015, a female sub-inspector and a male sub-inspector came from Mizoram and took Birmal (the accused) and the rescued girl to Mizoram for further trial on the case.

Case Reflection

PC's case is a typical case of trafficking. However, without knowing the outcome of a happy joy ride and anticipating for sightseeing and some new clothes, PC was cheated. PC did not know where and for what she was being taken. Until the time of her rescue, she did not know that she was in Bangalore. Upon reaching the place (Bangalore) she was kept in confinement in a small room and even though she tried to run away it became impossible for her to do so, she was forced to remain in the same situation for about six months. During these six months, PC was forced to live in exploitative conditions and whenever she resisted his sexual advances, she faced extremely brutal attacks of knife on her face, wrists, thighs and other parts of her body. She faced different violent forms during these six months, physical, emotional, mental, psychological and sexual torture. After days and weeks of resistance and attempts to escape from that confined room, PC finally succumbed to the torture of various kinds. When the team rescued her, she broke down in tears out of joy, happiness, a feeling of safety, security and freedom from all the harsh torture that she underwent. The two cases highlighted are only a tip of the iceberg of different layers beneath migration nexus trafficking.

3.4. Migrants Speak of Registered and Unregistered Cases

The gender composition of the above 12 cases of northeast migrants workers in Bangalore is equally the same. However, the problems and difficulties faced by these groups of migrants are as under: the women migrants who were/ are employed in beauty

parlours and spas faced sexual abuse, sexual harassment, molestation, and other racial abuse and discrimination. While the men who works in restaurants go through racial abuse, physical attack including attacks and violence in and outside their work place. In most of the cases, the commonality of problems faced by both these working groups are; non- payment of salary, cheating, threat, absence of employment letter, long/extra working hours, and varied forms of racial attacks which is racial by nature.

Most of the migrants face problems such as; sexual harassment, non-payment of salary, abuse, physical attacks, racial discrimination, racial attacks and various other forms of violence etc., at workplace as well as outside the workplace. In many cases, the victims are hesitant to register a case for varied reasons. One of the victim mentions that, "if I register a case what would other people think? In our place only the bad people who break the law go to the police station. Here in Bangalore, if I go to the police station my own people/community will think that I am criminal." Some other victims mentions; "huge amount involved in following up the case," "time and money constrains," "I don't want to get involved in any legal issues," "the cases are registered only for justice to be denied, which I don't like," "I came to Bangalore to work and support my family, if I involve in any police case I won't able to work," "even if I register a case, police will not take my case seriously," if I register a case, my employer has a big influence and he knows all the police in the area so he will definitely bribe the police and my case will be delayed."

Miachel Haokip said, "Every time northeast people are attacked in the city due to ethnicity, and when one registers a case of racial attack, the response from the police will be always, 'not a racial attack.'" In Miachel Haokip's case, the then Commissioner of Police M.N Reddi stated, "Attack on Manipuri (Miachel Haokip) is not racial, the attack stemmed from a misunderstanding."[141]

Another migrant worker points out that, "denial from the police department as well as the slow investigation process is the reason why I would not put myself into all those trouble, I better not register a case, be it." Another victim mention, "just to get a few

[141] *Bangalore Mirror*, Friday, October 17, 2014.

amount of my due salary, I don't want to spend triple amount in terms of hiring a lawyer, my time and go through all the psychological unrest." These are a few opinions expressed by the victims who did not want to file the case and a few others who hesitate to register a case, when asked.

Some who registered a case expressed, "the Koramangala Police took very seriously of my case and nabbed the accused on the day itself, I am so relieved and satisfied of their help," Another victim said, "the police in charge of my case updates about my case, I am very grateful," I am very grateful to Dr. Boralingaiah DCP (Law and Order), for his prompt action of my case," "the northeast solidarity was prompt in taking up my case, and with their help, I was able to register a case." Another migrant expressed, "when in Rome, do as the Romans do, is very applicable to me personally. In order to avoid conflicts or any other violent attacks, northeast people should also need to adapt and make a bridge of adoption and be keen in the new environment." The voices of these migrants especially the victims who expressed both their grievances and appreciation helped us to understand their thoughts and how we as a community, civil society and as an individual needs to be more empathetic and supportive to what they have undergone.

Similarly being involved in crisis intervention, the researcher experience in the police stations is both good and bad. There are a few policemen who take the case lightly or show less serious and concern nevertheless, there are also many good police who are always ready to assist and support in different police jurisdictions. The researcher joined Traffic Warden Organization (TWO)[142] as it always makes easer to communicate and approach the police when it comes to crisis help and intervention of the victims. So also the help rendered by the host community, individuals of various domains,

[142] Traffic Warden Organization (TWO) Bangalore is a voluntary organization. Commissioner of Police and Addl. Commissioner of Police Traffic are the heads of the TWO. The TWO aims for road safety and twice a week traffic wardens are involved in enforcement duties in different allocated areas. Apart from traffic duties, traffic wardens conducts seminars, workshops on awareness campaigns in connection with traffic rules and regulation and education on road safety in school and colleges.

particularly the help and support extended by the northeast Nodal officers[143] are notable and worth mentioning.

3.5. Realities of Registered and Unregistered Cases in Bangalore

The information obtained by Bhaskaran on the number of pending cases in Bangalore under the RTI Act (Right to Information) was published in the *Bangalore Mirror*. According to Bhaskaran's report, "from 2011, 1,850 cases were under investigation. This rose to 2,287 in 2012 and 2, 552 in 2013. In 2014, it reached 3,490, scaling to 8,909 in 2015 and reaching a whopping 27,259 cases under investigation by 2016. By the end of the year, the tally was 46,347.[144] These are the pending cases in Bangalore alone; there are more than hundred northeast people who have registered cases in different police jurisdictions in Bangalore.

The Northeast Solidarity report, "from the year 2012 to 2017 there are about 60 cases of Northeast people registered in various police jurisdictions in Bangalore."[145] Another report from Akho, "we have about 38 cases registered in different police jurisdiction."[146] Brahma says, "we have 15 registered cases in Bangalore."[147] According to Kai, "within 4 to 5 years there are about 50 to 60 case registered,"[148] Likewise there are many other northeast organizations in Bangalore who are involved in crisis intervention and handle the cases within their own community and states- wise associations. However, by seeing the pending cases in Bangalore, "it seems the cases are being registered only for justice to be denied." Of the cases registered in different police jurisdictions by the northeast people only a few cases are on trial while the bulk numbers of cases are still pending. The huge delay in completion of investigation is

[143] To address the problems and issues of northeast community in Bangalore, the Nodal Officers for the Northeast community are appointed by the Commissionaire of Police, Bangalore. V.S. D'Souza, Commissionaire of Police, (Intelligence) was appointed as nodal officer for the northeast community from 2012- 2015 and Dr. Boralingaiah. M.B, IPS (DCP, Law and Order) was appointed from 2015- till date.

[144] *The Bangalore Mirror*, Bengaluru, Sunday, March 26, 2017.

[145] *Northeast Solidarity Report*, Bangalore 2017.

[146] Interview with Vezokho Resu (Akho) President, North East Welfare Association Karnataka, 21 July 2017.

[147] Interview with Uraideo Brahma, President of Bodo Students Association Bangalore, 8 July 2017.

[148] Interview with Kai Khongsai, President, Kuki Students Union Bangalore, 10 July 2017.

evidence to the fact of indifference, while in the aftermath, the lives and psychological trauma that the victim/s and their families undergoes are for throughout their lives.

3.6. Racism at its Peak in Bangalore

Michael L. Haokip and his two friends were attacked by three men (Arum Kumar, 26, Karunakar 25 and James, 23 years) while they were in a food court nearby the roadside. The incident happened when the attackers demanded that Michael and his friends speak in Kannada and when they objected to it, the attackers took a chair and threw towards where Michael and his friends were seated, and began pelting stones at them after which Michael had five stitches on his forehead and bruises all over his body, while his two friends got away with minor injuries.[149] Regarding this case, the *Hindustan Times* reports, "if you outsider know how to eat food that is produced in Karnataka, you must also know how to speak in Kannada. This is India not China."[150] Just because of a language with which the victims were not familiar (Kannada language), Michael and his friends who do not know or speak Kannada language were being subjected to racist attack and violence.

Three youth from Assam who were employed as banking executives in different MNCs in Bangalore were allegedly assaulted by nearly six to seven miscreants, aged between 25 -30 years when the accused saw the youth (victims) and heard them speak in English leaving them with serious injuries.[151] Abhijeet Saikia an MBA graduate from Assam was called 'Chinki,' racially abused and assaulted on his chest and hands with an iron rod by his neighbor Adrien Seddon of 27 years. The accused was arrested by JP Nagar police and was later released on bail.[152] Even Rachel Sangliana, the daughter of former Bangalore city police commissioner H T. Sangliana, was not immune to racial abuse and discrimination. Rachel was abused, kicked, punched and manhandled by two women in the supermarket when she politely asked the two women to join the queue leading to the checkout. The two women were not satisfied of abuse and they started to yell at her by saying, 'you should go back to China and that she didn't belong in

[149] *Bangalore Mirror*, Thursday, October 16, 2014.
[150] *Hindustan Times*, Bangalore, October 15, 2014
[151] *Bangalore Mirror*, Saturday, December 6, 2014.
[152] *Bangalore Mirror*, Wednesday, April, 8, 2015.

India.'[153] Racial attacks on Arunachlee boy, a student of Christ University was allegedly made to lick Landlord's shoes (Himanth Kumar, an advocate) following a row over water. The boy was dragged from 1st floor to the 3rd floor and was mercilessly beaten black and blue.

3.7. An Initiative to Fight against Racism

The then, Home Minister of Karnataka, K. J. George called a meeting of northeast people on Friday October 24, 2014 and the following day, Saturday October 25, 2014, the Karnataka-BJP North East India Samparak Cell (NEISC) called for a meeting with the northeast community in Bangalore. So true to the news headlines carried by the *Bangalore Mirror* that says, "George VS BJP: Wooing the N-E youth."[154]

On October 25, 2014, to address the various discrimination and racial attacks faced by the northeast community living in Bangalore, the Karnataka- BJP North East India Samparak Cell (NEISC) organized and invited the northeast community to share their grievances and concerns. The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Kiren Rijiju was invited as the guest of honour, ministers[155] and many other Government officials and bureaucrats were invited as chief guests and about 600 northeast people attended the programme. The speech given by the guest of honour and chief guest were all about development and how crores and crores of rupees are spent for development in northeast states in railways and other development sectors.

The long speech about development in the northeast states and a cultural programme took precedence over the crisis issues that northeast people face on daily basis in the Bangalore. People who came for the programme to share their problems and difficulties were not given an opportunity to voice their grievances and issues. Some of the victims of racial abuse and attacks who wished to share their experiences and concerns requested a few times to speak. Yet, their requests were declined.

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[153] *Bangalore Mirror*, Tuesday, December 9, 2014.
[154] *Bangalore Mirror,* Sunday, October 26, 2014.
[155] Ananth Kumar, Minister for Chemicals and fertilizers, D.V. Sadananda Gowda, Minister of Railways, P.C. Mohan, Member of Parliament and many other government officials were invited for the programme.

The researcher attended both the meetings and it looked as if the talk on development was going to make the northeast people 'safe' in the city; safety and security of the northeast people in Bangalore were promised and made with their own political components by both the political parties. However, the 'butterfly speeches' were kept up as it is only in the meeting hall, and there was no real action shown by the Government officials or from the Government side. Broadly speaking, when the issue of racism surfaced and the northeast community faced various forms of racial attacks and discriminations, most of the time, the local people (people living in Bangalore), the police and the government denied that is any racism in the country. India, (its people) are not ready or willing to accept that racism really exists. On the other hand, when one of Indian origin who lives or works outside the country faces issues of race and other racial discrimination, the whole issue of 'racism' is confronted by the media agencies, government, non-governmental and the whole nation talks and says 'racism' is unacceptable. Such are the hypocrites we are all today.

Northeast community in Bangalore and other metro cities in India experienced much of racial discrimination just because the northeast communities look different, different facial features which presume to be 'not look like an Indian.' Racial discrimination is not only limited to ones 'facial features,' but it also exists on the dress that one wears. Adding to that, racial abuse and discrimination has no age bar or gender. The issue of discriminating an individual based on one's ethnic origin, the way northeast people dress, to eating habits and so forth. All these issues of racial abuse, racial discrimination and attacks that people from the northeast face on a daily basis in metro cities, only proves how unsafe and vulnerable the northeast community are and why the need to implement anti-discrimination policy is important for north east people in general. Thus, a law specific to mitigate racial discrimination and attacks must be inserted in the Indian Penal Code in order to control the alarming racial discriminations toward the northeastern people in Bangalore as well as in other metropolitan cities in India. Having said that, the Central government took the initiative by forming the *Bezbaruah Committee* to look into the issues and concerns related to northeast communities living outside their states. According to the *Bezbaruah Committee*, "the Union Government is considering the introduction of two new Sections in the IPC, Section 153- C and

Section 509- A to address discrimination against north east residents."[156] Nonetheless, the proposed provision in IPC to book anyone for racial discrimination has not been put into action. It is still in a written form and the practicality to implement of the provision is still a dream for many of the northeast people who face racial discrimination of various kinds in Bangalore and other parts of the city in India.

Summary

Varied lived experiences of the migrants it shared a common premise and concerns that surfaced in their everyday life experience. From initially experiencing the journey of migration for economic survival, to encountering various problems and crisis that threaten their life in the destined city, these cases echoed the belief that migrant's life challenges can be compressed through discovering the common premise related to their life, work, and relations to others. Northeast migrants' experiences serve as the 'lens' through which we can discover how people from the NER are subjected to vulnerable situations in and outside their work place. Migrants' experiences are not exceptional individual's experiences but show a link with social identities, ethnic/racial identities, and discriminations of various forms associated with their migration and in the process how these migrants face various challenges in their daily lives yet, managed to have the resilient of survival.

The experiences of the northeast migrants in the city show how their hope and dream of earning a good amount outside their state are shattered yet, each migrant keeps challenging the problem by taking up the responsibility to work, earn and survive for their livelihood. Having discussed the varied lived experiences of the 12 selected cases of the northeast migrants associated with their migration, the following chapter will explore the varied challenges face by the northeast migrants within a larger framework. For this, 200 sample of the respondents working in beauty parlours/spas and restaurants have been taken up for a detailed empirical survey.

[156] *Bangalore Mirror*, Wednesday, April 8, 2015

CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS OF EMPERICAL DATA

Introduction

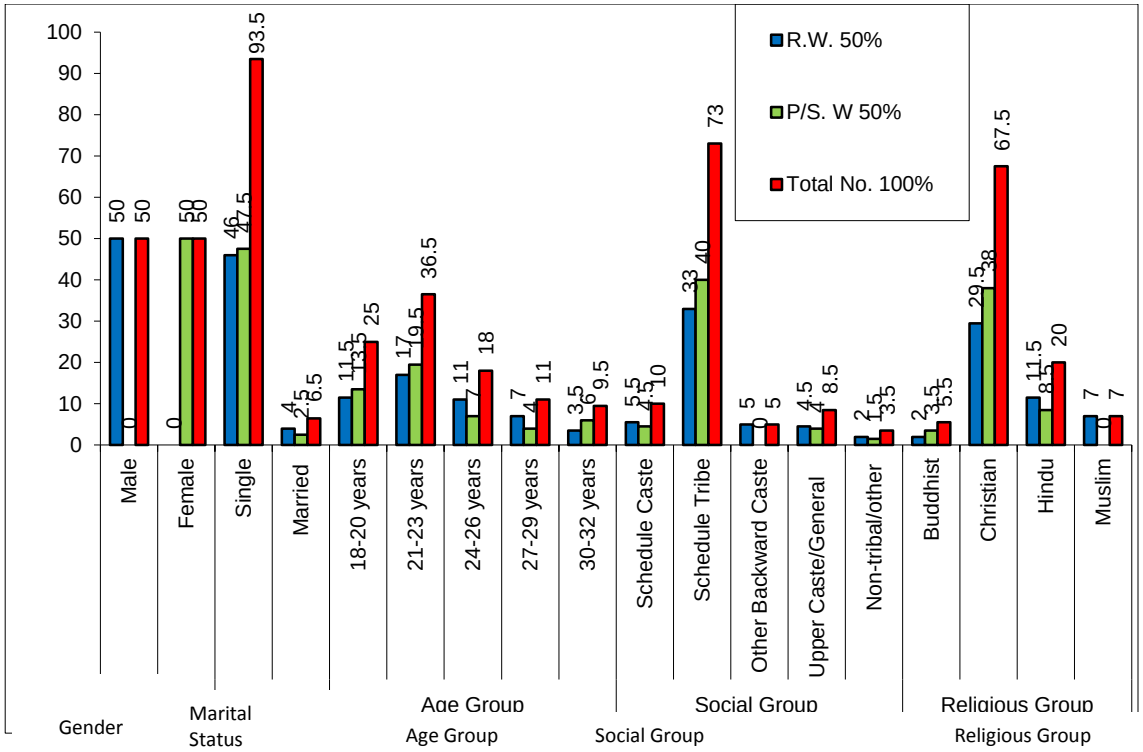
The first step in understanding the process of migration of the northeast people to Bangalore requires a descriptive analysis on the socio-economic profile of the migrants and the different factors associated to their migration. In order to identify the contributory factors and impact of migration of the northeast migrants in Bangalore, a total of two hundred respondents were selected of which, hundred men from restaurant sector and another hundred women from beauty parlour/spa sectors were chosen and used for the empirical study. These two hundred (200) human experiences/subjects under study was not a homogeneous group, rather it was characterized by heterogeneity in terms of social backgrounds, economic differentiation, religious diversity, their varied experience and challenges in the destined city. These elements offer the information to readers of the work who the migrants are, and the multiple factors that enhance their migration process.

This chapter is divided into eight sections of the study in order to categorize the experiences of the northeast migrants within a larger framework. The data collected from two hundred respondents through questionnaire and interviews were coded, tabulated and interpreted following each representation of data presented under the eight sections. The first section focuses on the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the respondents (figure 4.1 to 4.3); the second section focuses on the contributory factors leading to migration (figure 4.4 to 4.5); the third section centers on the patterns of employment and income (figure 4.6 to 4.7); the fourth section focus on the issues related to work environment, health issues and impact on family (figure 4.8 to 4.9); the fifth section focuses on various forms of discrimination, harassment and physical attacks in and outside the workplace (figure 4.10 to 4.14); the sixth section focuses on the socio-cultural and religious participation of the respondents (figure 4.15); the seventh section highlights the migrants response to the faced challenges (figure 4.16); and the eight section centers on migration and hospitality (4.17); followed by the findings of the empirical data.

4.1. Socio- economic Profile

The socio- economic and demographic profile of the respondents is vital to understand the process of migration and the mobility of the migrant workers. Therefore, to know the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the northeast migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlour/ spa, the researcher have taken up five variables namely; sex composition, marital status, age group, social group and religious group.

Figure 4.1 Socio-economic Profile



4.1.1. Gender Composition and Marital Status

The above figure 4.1 reflects the gender composition of the respondents. Of 200 total respondents, 50% of the respondents were males working in restaurants, and another 50% of the respondents were females, working in beauty parlours and spas. A majority of the respondents, with a total of 93.5% were single/unmarried at the time of study, 46% in restaurants and 47.5% in beauty parlours/spas. While a small proportion of the respondents of 6.5% were married at the time of the study, 4% were in restaurants and 2.5% in beauty parlours/spas.

4.1.2. Age Group

Age group indicate that 25% of the respondents were between 18-20 years, out of which, 11.5% were the ones working in restaurants and 13.5% in beauty parlours/spas; while a majority, that is, 36.5% of the respondents at the time of the study were between the age group of 21-23 years, out of which, 17% worked in restaurants and 19.5% in beauty parlours/spas. Another 18% of the respondents were between the age group of 24-26 years, out of which, 11% were in restaurants and 7% in beauty parlours/spas. Further, 11% of the respondents were of 27-29 years, of which, 7% were in restaurants and 4% in beauty parlour/spa, and the remaining 9.5% of the respondents were between the age group of 30-32 years, of which, 3.5% in restaurants and 6% in beauty parlours/spas respectively.

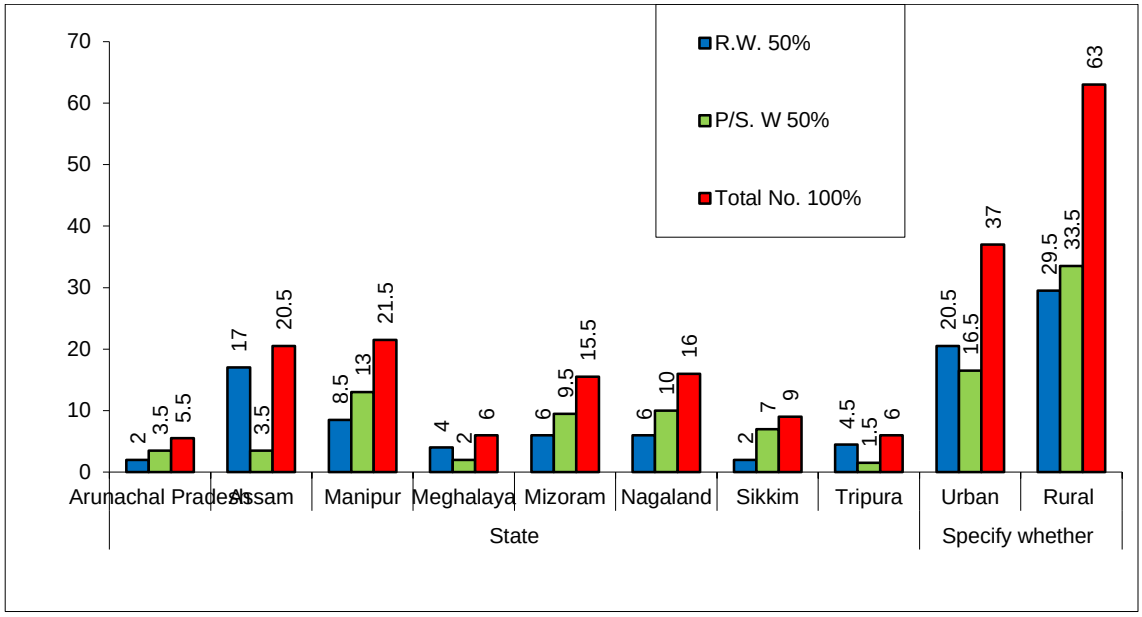
4.1.3. Social Group

The social group of the respondents shows that 10% of the respondents belong to Schedule Caste, 5.5% male respondents work in restaurants and 4.5% female respondents work in beauty parlours/spas. A majority, 73% of the respondents belongs to the Schedule Tribe, 33% are in restaurants and 40% are in beauty parlour/spa, while 5% of the male respondents who work in restaurants belong to Other Backward Class (OBC). Another 8.5% of the respondents belong to Upper Caste, 4.5% in restaurants and 4% in beauty parlours/spas, and the remaining 3.5% of the respondents belong to non-tribal of which, 2% work in restaurants and 1.5% in beauty parlours/spas.

4.1.4. Religious Group

Perusal of figure 4.1 shows that, 5.5% of the respondents believe in Buddhism, of which 2% work in restaurants and 3.5% in beauty parlour/spa, while a majority 67.5% of the respondents believe in Christianity, of them 29.5% work in restaurants and 38% in beauty parlour/spas. Another 20% of the respondents believe in Hinduism of which, 11.5% in restaurants and 8.5% in beauty parlour/spas, and the remaining 7% of the male respondents who work in restaurants believe in Islam.

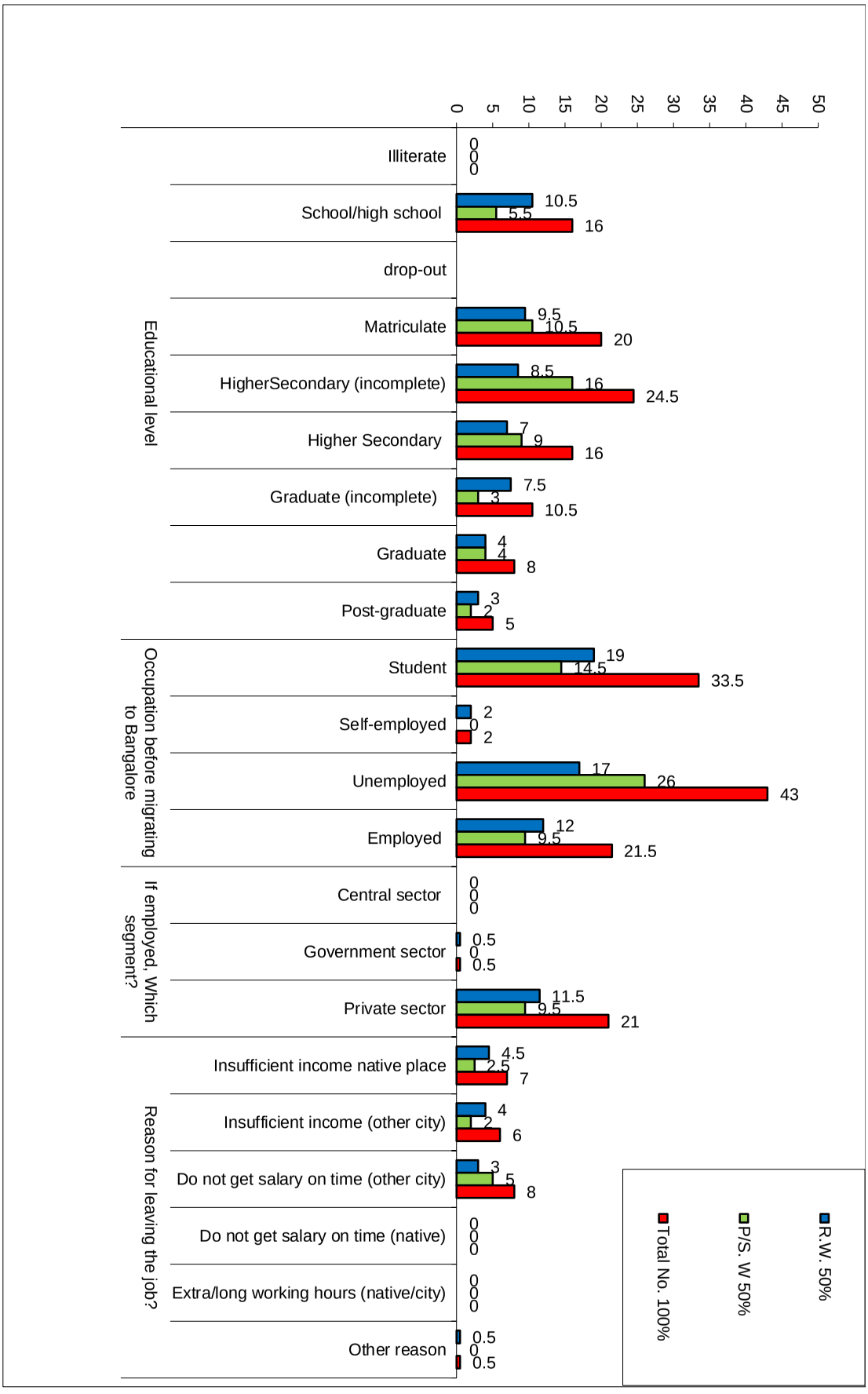
Figure 4.2 Demographic Profile



4.2.1. Demographic Profile

The demographic profile of the respondents indicates that, 5.5% of the respondents are from the state of Arunachal Pradesh, of which 2% were male respondents and 3.5% were female respondents. Another 20.5% of the respondents are from the state of Assam of which, 17% were male and 3.5% were female. A vast number of respondents of 21.5% are from the state of Manipur of which, 8.5% were male and 13% were female while a small portion, 6% of the respondents are from the state of Meghalaya of which, 4% were male and 2% were female. Further, 15.5% of the respondents are from Mizoram, 6% were male and 9.5%were female. From the state of Nagaland there are a total of 16% respondents, 6% were male and 10% were female, about 9% of the respondents are from the state of Sikkim of which, 2% were male and 7% were female, and the remaining 6% of the respondents are from the state of Tripura, of which 4.5% and 1.5% were male and female respectively. In addition, a majority 63% of the respondents are from the rural area, 29.5% of the male respondents in restaurants and 33.5% of female respondents in beauty parlours/spas and a total of 37% of the respondents are from the urban area, 20.5% of male respondents in restaurants and 16.5% of the female respondents are in beauty parlours and spas.

Figure 4.3 Education and Occupation before Migration



4.3.1. Education Level

Figure 4.3 concerning educational characteristics indicates that, 16% of the respondents are school and high school drop-outs of which, 10.5% work in restaurants and 5.5% of the respondents in beauty parlour/spa, and about 20% of the respondents are matriculate, 9.5% in restaurant work and 10.5% in beauty parlour/spa. Another educational characteristic of the respondents who did not complete their higher secondary are 24.5%, 8.5% work in restaurant and a majority of 16% in beauty parlour/spa while the respondents who completed higher secondary are 16%, 7% in restaurant and 9% in beauty parlour/spa.

Further, 10.5% of the respondents did not complete their graduate studies of which, 7.5% work in restaurant and 3% in beauty parlour/spa and about 8% of the total respondents completed their graduate studies, 4% each in restaurant and beauty parlour respectively. The remaining 5% of the respondents completed their post-graduate studies of which, 3% in work restaurants and 2% in beauty parlour/spas.

4.3.2. Occupation before Migrating to Bangalore

Figure 4.3 shows that out of the 200 respondents, 33.5% of the respondents were students before migrating to Bangalore, 19% are now working in restaurants and 14.5% in beauty parlour/spas, while 2% of the male respondents were self-employed in their native place before migrating to Bangalore. A majority 43% of the respondents were unemployed before coming to Bangalore, of which 17% are male respondents and 26% are female respondents. Further, 21.5% of the respondents were employed in their native place and in other cities like Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, and Hyderabad (to mention a few) before migrating to Bangalore, of which, 12% are male respondents and 9.5% are female respondents.

4.3.3. Previous Employment Sector and Reason for Leaving the Job

Respondents who were employed before migrating to Bangalore consist of 21.5% of which, a majority of 21% of the respondents were employed in private sectors, of which 11.5% were male respondents and 9.5% were female respondents, while 0.5% of the male respondents were employed in the government sector. Following are the reasons given by the respondents for leaving the job in their native place and in other cities: 7%

of the respondents left the job in their native place due to 'insufficient income,' of which, 4.5% are male respondents and 2.5 % are female respondents. Another 6% of the respondents indicate 'insufficient income' as the reason for leaving the job in other city/cities, of which, 4% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents.

The remaining 8% of the respondents indicate 'did not get salary on time' as the reason for leaving the job in other cities of which, 3% are male respondents and 5% are female respondents. Only 0.5% of male respondent was employed as teacher in the government sector (native place). In an interview, when asked why he left the job, the respondent mentions the termination from the job due to "unavoidable circumstances."

4.4. Contributory Factors Leading to Migration

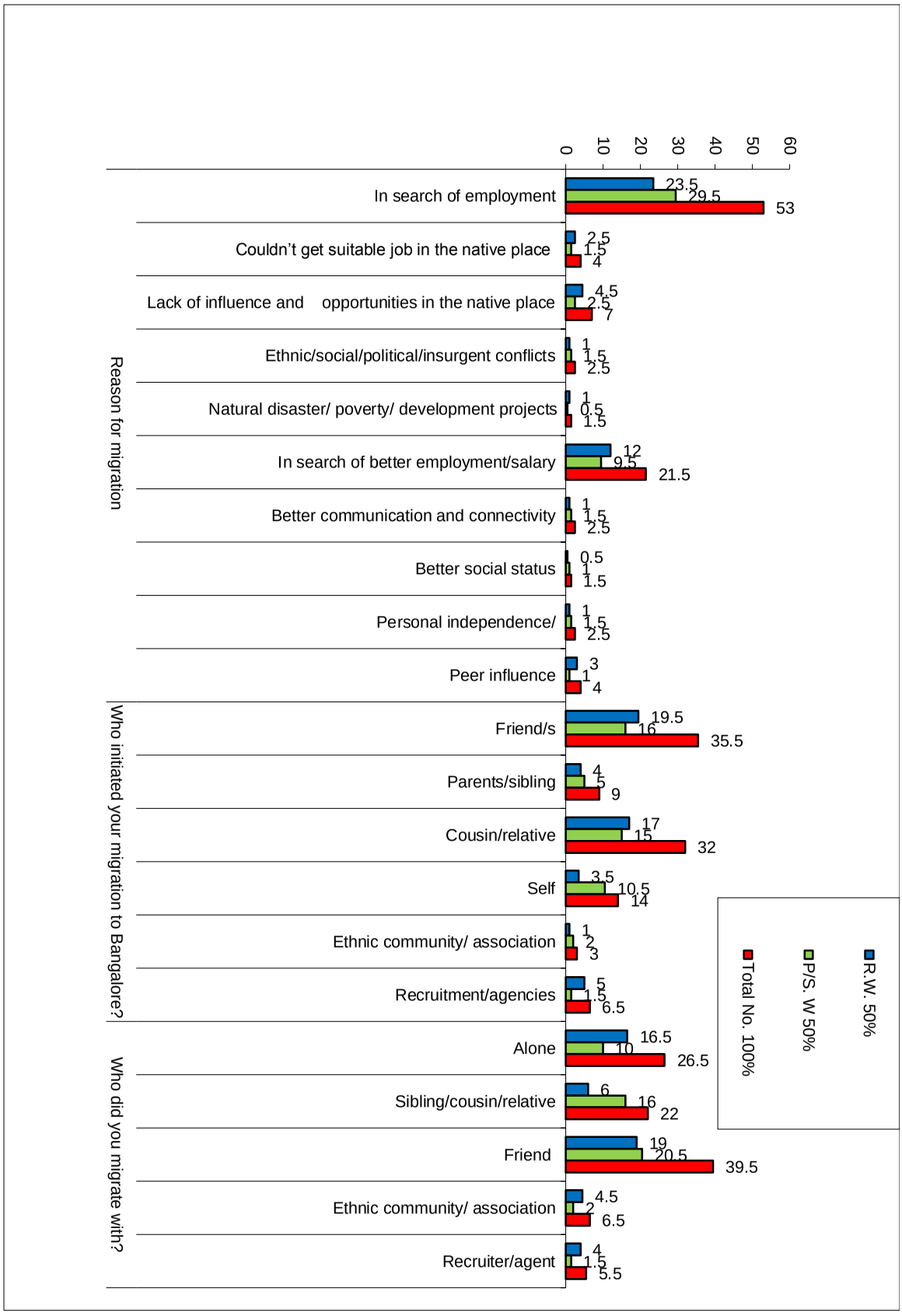
The process of migration of people from the NER to metro cities in India has been widely expressed. People from the region tend to migrate under various circumstances or situations. Broadly speaking, the causes of migration are generally seen as push and pull factors, and the same can be applied to the migration from NER. The push factors due to which people migrate involve lack of employment, conflict, environmental degradation, natural disasters and other situations that affect one's livelihood and surroundings etc., while there are push factors, the pull factors include growing opportunities for employment and the need to have a better life, and also influence by the standard of living in the metropolitan cities, etc. According to Aurora, higher standard of living, better treatment, improved educational facilities are a set of pull factors, while factors like high population pressure on land, unsettled political condition, and economic insecurity of the people are some of the push factors.[157] Similarly Joshi states that, "pull factors are those which attract individuals to migrate, e.g. better employment opportunities, education, recreational facilities, housing facilities etc, and there are several push factors like poverty, indebtedness, social discrimination, unemployment and natural calamities etc., which force people to move out."[158]

[157] G. S. Aurora, *The New Frontier Man: A Sociological Study of Immigrants in United Kingdom* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967), 11.
[158] S. C. Joshi, *Migration to Metropolis*, 52.

In this sense, both push and pull factors do not necessarily work in a reverse cycle, rather, they may often coexist and may influence the decision-making process of migration simultaneously. Broadly speaking, it can be said that both push and pull factors possibly give rise to northeast people migrating to Bangalore and other metropolitan cities. Thus to understand the process of migration of northeast people to Bangalore, it is necessary to know the factors and causes leading to the migration process.

This section explores some of the contributory factors (push and pull) into two categories that respondents specified as their reason for migration to Bangalore. In addition, there are various factors that influence migrants to move out from their native place to another place such as: influence by friends, family and other reasons. On the other hand, there are also many other challenging factors involved after their migration to the city: getting a suitable work, accommodation and challenges they face in the process of leaving from the native place to the destined city. Accordingly, this section will focus on the factors leading to migration and other sources of challenges that the northeast migrants working in beauty parlours/spas and restaurants encounter.

Figure 4.4 Contributory factors leading to migration



4.4.1 (a) The Push Factor

Perusal of figure 4.4 shows two factors of migration, the push and pull factors. Interestingly the variables of push factors show that a majority, 53% of the respondents migrated to Bangalore 'in search of employment' (this group of respondents include both students and the unemployed), of which 23.5 % were male respondents and 29.5% female respondents. A majority of the respondents indicated their reason to migrate as in 'search of employment; that pushed them to go/migrate beyond their limited resources and explore other possibilities in order to sustain their economic survival and family sustainability.

Push factor leading to their migration is when 4% of the respondents 'couldn't get a suitable job in the native place,' of which, 2.5% were male respondents and 1.5% were female respondents. During an interview, it was clearly expressed by some of these respondents that, they could not get suitable jobs in their respective state even though they were graduates/ post- graduates which in some cases did not qualify them degree or job designation, and thus this reason pushed them to find/get a suitable job depending on their skills in Bangalore.

Another 7% of the respondents migrated to Bangalore due to 'lack of influence and opportunities; in social and economic status in the native place that undermined their ability to get a job, of which, 4.5% were male respondents and 2.5% were female respondents. Another, 2.5% per cent of the respondents indicate their reason for migrating to Bangalore, due to 'ethnic/social/political/insurgent conflicts' that pushed them to move out from the habituated place to another place (Bangalore) for safety, and survival, 1% were male respondents and 1.5% were female respondents. Further, 1.5% of the respondents indicate 'natural disaster/poverty/ development projects' in their native place as their reason for migration, 1% were male respondents and 0.5% of female respondent.

4.4.1. (b) The Pull Factor

The push factor affects or facilitates the respondents to migrate to Bangalore, so do the pull factors. The effect and persuasion of pull factor that the respondents indicated are seen here: a majority 21.5% of the respondents indicate, 'better employment and salary'

outside their native place and a few from other cities, as their reason for migrating to Bangalore, of which 12% are male respondents and 9.5% female respondents. These groups of respondents were employed in the native place as well as in other cities however due to the reasons mentioned; they migrated to Bangalore to earn a better salary and for better job opportunities. Thus the need for better living and better earning pulled or persuaded these groups of migrants to another place (Bangalore).

Another pull factor leading to their migration was, 'better communication and connectivity,' 2.5% of the respondents indicate the same for which, 1% were male respondents and 1.5% were female respondents. Further, 1.5% of the respondents indicate, the perusal of wanting to have a 'better social status,' 0.5% of male respondent and 1% of female respondents. In addition, 2.5% of the respondents indicate 'personal independence' as the reason for migration, 1% male respondents and 1.5% female respondents. The remaining 4% of the respondents indicate 'peer influence' as their reason for migration, 3% were male respondents and 1% female respondents. Thus from the above analysis it is clearly confirmed that both push and pull factors weigh in terms of the respondents' reasons to migrate to Bangalore.

4.4.2. Source of Initiative for Migration to Bangalore

Figure 4.4 shows that a majority, 35.5% of the respondents reported 'friends' initiated their coming to Bangalore, where in 19.5% are male respondents and 16% are female respondents. Another 9% of the respondents' migration to Bangalore was initiated by parents and siblings, 4% are male respondents and 5% are female respondents. Further, a majority 32% of the respondents' migration to Bangalore was initiated by cousins and relatives, where in 17% are male respondents and 15% are female respondents. While 14% of the respondents' themselves initiated, where in 3.5% are male respondents and 10.5% are female respondents, and about 3% of the respondents indicate 'ethnic community/associations' as the source of initiative in their migration process, of which, 1% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents. The remaining 6.5% of the respondents indicate 'recruitment and agencies' as the source of initiative for migration of which, 5% are male and 1.5% are female respondents respectively.

4.4.3. Migrating to Bangalore with Person/s

Figure 4.4 shows that 26.5% of the respondents migrate to Bangalore alone, 16.5% were male and 10% were female respondents respectively, another 22% of the respondents migrate to Bangalore with sibling, cousins, and relatives, 6% are male respondents and a majority, 16% were female respondents. Further, a majority 39.5% of the respondents specify that they migrate to Bangalore with 'friends,'19 % were male respondents and 20.5% were female respondents. Another 6.5% of the respondents migrate with ethnic community/association,' 4.5% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents and about 5.5% of the respondents come to Bangalore with 'recruiter and agent,' where 4% were male and 1.5% were female respondents respectively. From the above analysis we find that, friends and immediate family played a vital role in the process of the respondents' migration to Bangalore.

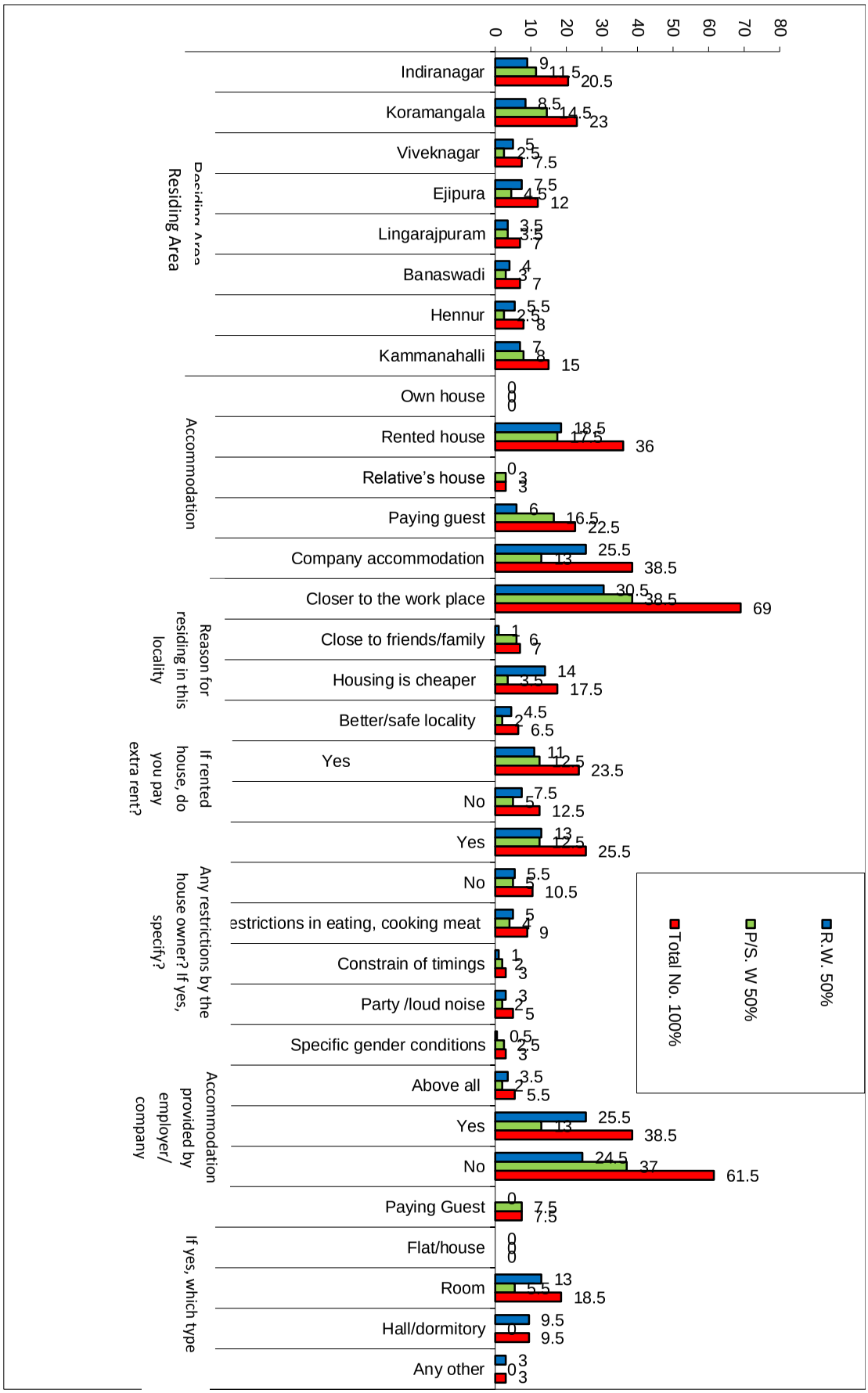
4.5. Locale and Accommodation

There are many stereotypes and unfairness attached to the northeast tenants to find a rented place in the city. Some common misconceptions are; northeast people party all the time with loud noise, drinks, eat foul-smelling food, come home late with specific gender conditions, etc., from the need for pure vegetarians to subletting the house only to a specific gender or conditioned gender, the conditions are many. One of the respondents shared, "I looked to rent a house for almost four months. Each time, the house/land owner had specific condition by asking for my religion, my eating habits, sometimes conditions of not allowing friends, and after 10 PM no water or electricity use, etc. I had to approach 13 house owners to find the house I'm currently renting, and it does have some conditions but it's manageable somehow."[159] Such is the reality; it becomes very difficult for northeast people to find a house for rent in the city when land/house owners are very particular about who they want to rent their houses to.

The locale of the study areas were divided into 2 Zones viz North East of Bangalore and South East of Bangalore. The four zones that come under South East Zone are; Indiranagar, Koramangala, Vivek Nagar, Ejipura, and four areas which come under North East Zone are; Lingarajpuram, Banaswadi, Hennur and Kammanahalli.

[159] Interview with Kishor Rai, Restaurant Owner, Koramangala, Bangalore, 15 October 2016.

Figure 4.5 Locale and Accommodation



4.5.1. Residing Area of the Respondents

The residing locale of the respondents found that 20.5% of the respondents were residing in Indiranagar at the time of the study, of which 9% are male respondents and 11.5% are female respondents, while 23% of the respondents in Koramangala, 8.5% are male respondents and 14.5% are female respondents. Another 7.5% of the respondents resided in Viveknagar, of which 5% are male respondents and 2.5% are female respondents. Further, 12% of the respondents were residing in Ejipura, of which 7.5% are male and 4.5% are female, and about 7% of the respondents were residing in Lingarajpuram, of which 3.5% are male and another 3.5% are female. While another 7% of the respondents were residing in Banaswadi at the time of the study, 4% are male respondents and 3% are female respondents, and about 8% of the respondents were residing in Hennur, of which 5.5% are male respondents and 2.5% are female respondents. The remaining 15% of the respondents resided in Kammanahalli, where in 7% are male respondents and 8% are female respondents.

4.5.2. Accommodation

A majority, 36% of the respondents who pointed that they are residing in a rented house during the time of the study, 18.5% are male respondents and 17.5% are female respondents, while 3% of the female respondents resided in their relative's house. Another 22.5% of the respondents resided in the paying guest house, of which 6% are male respondents and 16.5% are female respondents. While 38.5% of the respondents indicated that they were residing at the accommodation provided by the company/employer, of which a majority 25.5% are male respondents and 13% are female respondents. From the above table, it clearly shows that none of the respondent, both working and those who own restaurants and beauty parlours and spas own a house in Bangalore.

4.5.3. Reason for Residing in the Locale

The following reasons were indicated by the respondents for residing in the locale. Of the 200 respondents, 69% of the respondents indicate their reason for residing in the locale because the locale is relatively close to their work place, of which 30.5% are male respondents and 38.5% are female. Another 7% of the respondents' reason is,

'close to friends and family.' The respondents seem to be more secure and comfortable staying close to their friends and the immediate family, of which, 1% are male and 6 per cent are female. While 17.5% of the respondents indicate that the reason for residing in the mentioned areas is because the 'housing rent/deposit' is reasonable and affordable compared to other areas, of which, 14% are male respondents and 3.5% are female respondents. The remaining 6.5% of the respondents specify their reason for residing as 'better and safe locality' of which, 4.5% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents.

4.5.4. Extra rent/deposit

Of the 36% of the respondents staying in rented houses, a majority of 23.5% of the respondents indicate that they are charged extra rent and deposit by the house/land owner, of which, 11% are male respondents and 12.5% are female respondents. While 12.5% of the respondents mention that they are not charged any extra rent or deposit, 7.5% are male respondents and 5% are female respondents.

4.5.4. (a) Restrictions by the House Owner

Of the 36 % of the respondents staying in rented houses, a majority of 25.5% of the respondents indicate that they had problems and restrictions imposed by the house owner, 13% are male respondents and 12.5% are female respondents, and another 10.5% of the respondents indicate that they are not imposed with any restrictions by the house owner of which, 5.5% are male respondents and 5% are female respondents.

Further, following are the problems and restrictions faced by 25.5% of the respondents; 9% of the respondents indicate the restrictions as, 'not allowed to cook/eat meat of various kind' and other unwanted foul-smelling food items, of which 5% are male respondents and 4% are female respondents; another 3% of the respondents indicate the restriction imposed by the house owner as 'constrain of timings' as when to go and when to come, of which 1% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents; while 5% of the respondents indicate 'party/loud music and noise', of which 3% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents; another 3% of the respondents indicate 'specific gender conditions' imposed by the house owner, of which 0.5% are male respondents and 2.5% are female respondents, and the remaining 5.5% of the

respondents mentioned that they are restricted from cooking/eating meat, foul-smelling food items, constraint of timings, not to party/play loud music or loud noise and certain specific gender conditions, of which 3.5% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents.

4.5.5. Accommodation provided by the Employer

38.5% of the respondents indicate that their employer/company does provide them with accommodation, where in 25.5% are male respondents and 13% are female respondents, while a majority 61.5% of the respondents manage their own accommodation, of which 24.5% and 37% of male and female respondents respectively.

4.5.5 (a) Type of Accommodation provided by Employer

The total 38.5% of the respondents who indicate accommodation provided by the employer, following are the types of accommodation: 7.5% of the female respondents working in a beauty parlour/spa are provided with accommodation in a paying guest, while none of the male respondents working in restaurant are provided with accommodation in paying guest. While about 18.5% of the respondents are provided a room (supposedly small and shared by 6 to 7 other workers), of which, 13% are male respondents and 5.5% are female respondents. Further, 9.5% of the male respondents indicate 'hall and dormitory' that is provided by the employer (which again is shared by number of other workers) and the remaining 3% are the male respondents indicate 'any other.' When asked about the accommodation type, a few of them working in restaurants mention that they do not have a rigid accommodation, the only place they can lie down for the night is the working place itself (restaurant) when the customers depart from the restaurant, it becomes their room. The researcher had personally visited a few restaurants and their type of accommodation and witnessed how these groups of young boys are made to sleep in the restaurant itself, be it on the table or chair (wherever they find comfortable, only after the customers have left) without proper facility. Such is the pitiable condition they are placed in.

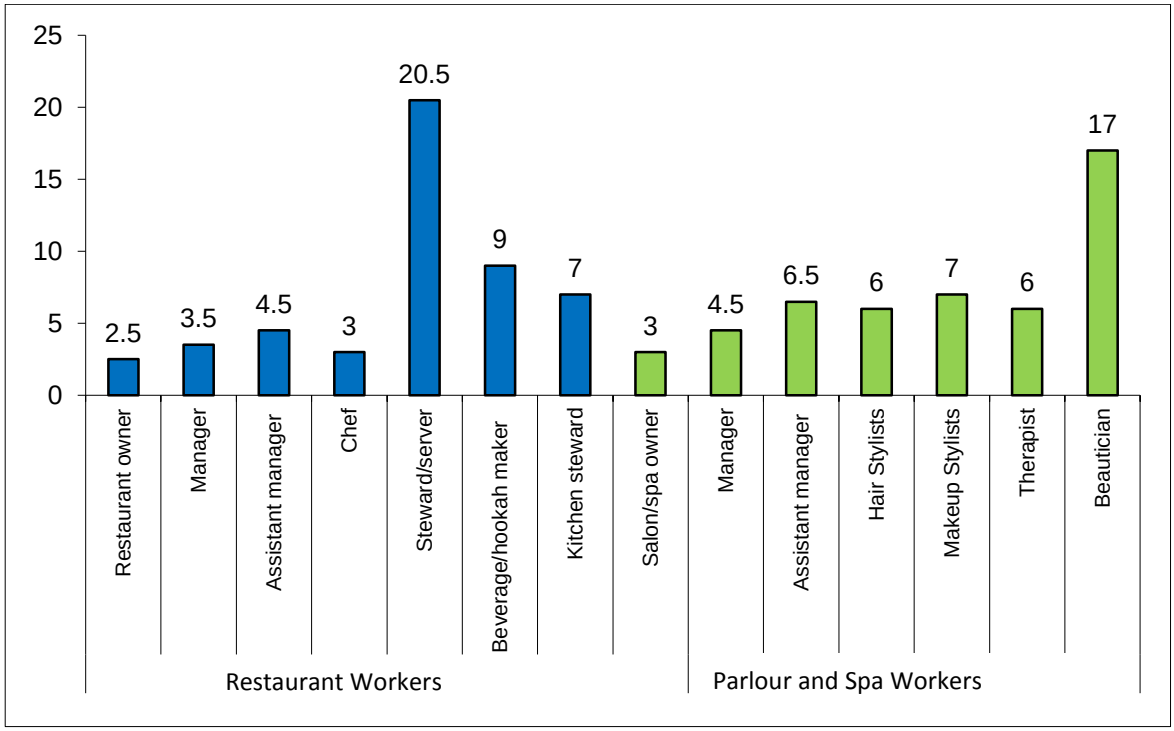
4.6. Designations in Restaurants and Beauty Parlours and Spas

Bangalore has grown rapidly into one of India's cosmopolitan centers of Information Technology firms and the same booming of beauty parlour/spa and restaurant industry and other industries. There are many northeast people entrepreneurs in Bangalore who own different business firms in Bangalore. According to Kai Khaogsai, there are "20 beauty parlours and spas, 6 retail, 4 restaurants, 3 grocery shops owned by the Kuki community in Bangalore."[160] This report is only within the Kuki communities in Bangalore, while there are many other northeast communities in Bangalore who either run beauty parlours/spas or restaurants. Likewise, the booming business of beauty parlour/spa and restaurants in Bangalore is on the rise. The need of job seekers in these sectors is a towering demand especially in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas and the demands for northeast people are high.

Many who run a business of beauty/parlour/spa and restaurants prefer to hire northeasterners as they are dedicated and hard working. In addition, many are hired to entertain or impress customers/clients. While the demand for northeast workers is high, their salaries are low. When it comes to the salary, usually they are paid less or sometimes denied their salary, adding to long working hours and other challenges and discrimination they face in the work place. One of the respondents pointed that, "we northeast people easily get jobs in beauty parlours/spas and restaurants, but they are not paid on time, and sometimes we are first to hire and first to sack." There are many other issues and challenges they face when they migrate to city and start working for their livelihood. Thus, this section will explore some of the issues and challenges they face in the work place.

[160] Interview with Kai Khongsai, President, Kuki Students Union Bangalore, 10 September 2016.

Figure 4.6 Designations in Restaurants and Beauty Parlours and Spas



4.6.1. Designations in Restaurants and Beauty Parlours and Spas

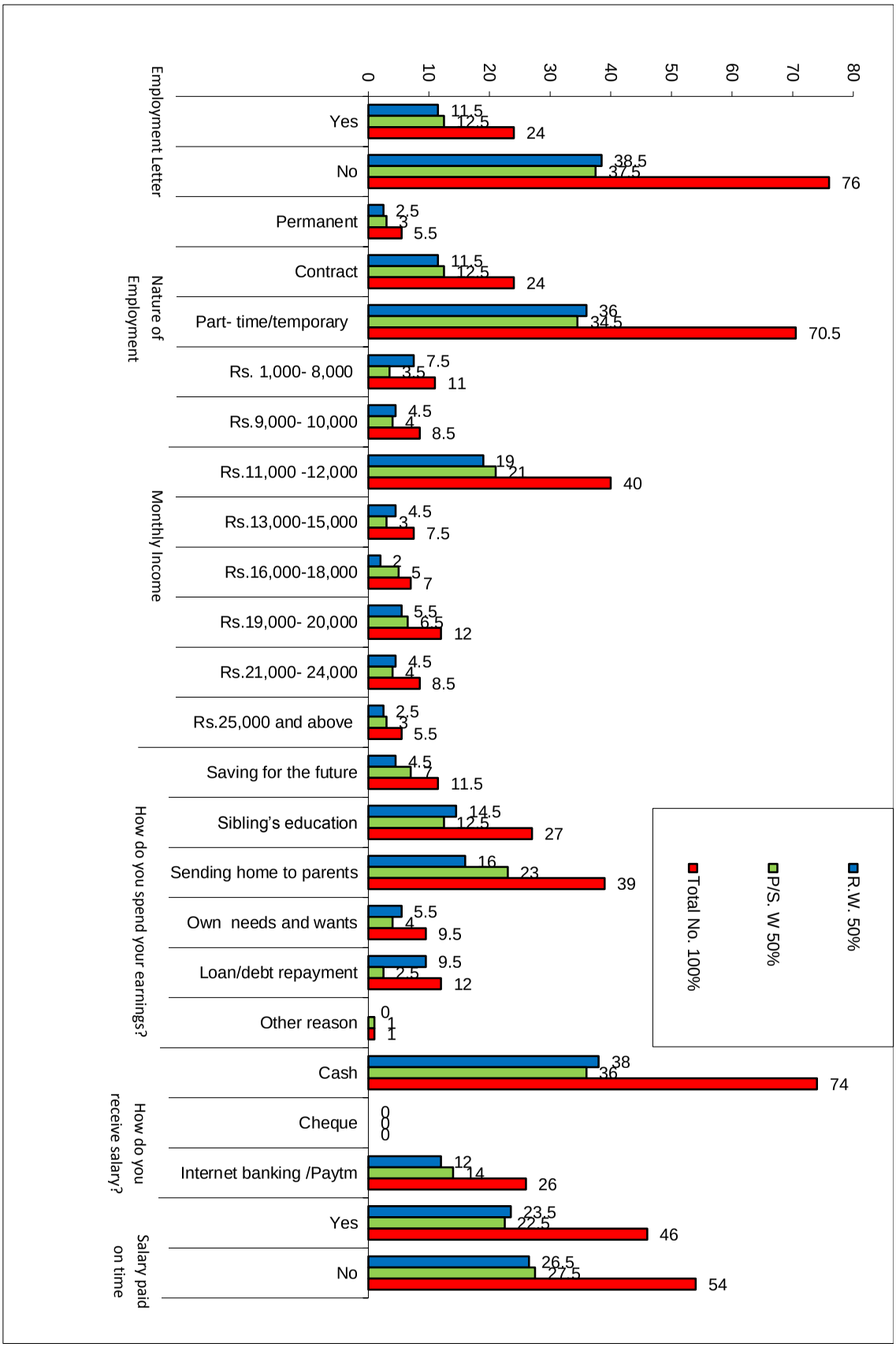
Of 200 total respondents identified in restaurants and beauty parlour/spas sector, 2.5% male respondents own restaurants and 3% female respondents own beauty parlour/spas. While 3.5% of the male respondents are working as managers in restaurants, 4.5% of the female respondents are managers in beauty parlour/spas. Another 4.5% of the male respondents are assistant managers in restaurants and 6.5% of the female respondents are working as assistant managers in beauty parlour/spas. About 3% of the male respondents are chefs in restaurants and 6% of the female respondents are hair stylists. A majority 20.5% of the males are working as 'stewards and servers' in restaurants and another majority 17% of female respondents are beauticians in beauty parlour/spas. About 9% of the male respondents are 'beverage and hookah makers' in restaurants and 7% of the female respondents are makeup stylists/artist, followed by another 7% of male respondents who are 'kitchen stewards' in restaurants and 6% of female respondents are therapists in beauty parlour and spas.

4.7. Patterns of Employment and Income

One of the major reasons the respondents come to Bangalore is to search for employment as there are only a few opportunities in the native places and the anticipation of sending their earnings back to family members or supporting sibling's education etc. This group of respondents who come from diverse socio-economic backgrounds show that the amount they earn in the city and remittances contributed for the wellbeing of the family back home becomes their priority.

A majority of the respondents working in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas find the nature of employment as informal and verbal. Work timings, amount of leave, salary and other matters related to their job and work are briefed verbally during a few minutes of interview. Some respondents also mentioned that, through telephonic interview they are asked to join the work immediately, which means a day or two following the interview. In all these, there is no proper agreement or contract between the employer and employees. These groups of people both working in restaurant and beauty parlour/spas do not get any appointment letter or do they work on a contract basis. However, some of them work for a year and a few continue to work for more than a year or two years even though their nature of employment is part-time or temporary. This section explores the respondents' employment pattern, income and remittances, and their responses are highlighted in the following analysis.

Figure 4.7 Patterns of Employment and Income



4.7.1. Patterns of Employment

The employment pattern of respondents shows that, 24% of the respondents were given official employment letter, 11.5% in restaurant and 12.5% in beauty parlour spa. A majority, 76 % of the respondents were not given any employment letter when they joined the work, 38.5% of the respondents in restaurant and 37.5% of respondents in beauty parlour/spa.

4.7.2. Nature of Employment

The nature of employment reveals that, 5.5% of the respondents are permanent in their work sector, of which 2.5% own restaurants and 3% own beauty parlour/spas. Another 24% of the respondents are on a contract basis, 11.5% are male respondents and 12.5% are female respondents, while the remaining majority 70.5% of the respondents work as temporary or part-time employees, of which 36% are male respondents and 34.5% are female respondents.

4.7.3. Monthly Income

Perusal of figure 4.7 relating to monthly income/salary, one finds that 11% of the respondents earn between Rs. 1000-8,000 per month, 7.5% are male respondents and 3.5% are female respondents, another 8.5% of the respondents earn between Rs. 9,000-10,000 per month, of which 4.5% are male respondents and 4% are female respondents. A majority 40% of the respondents both working in restaurants and beauty parlour/spas were in the income group of Rs. 11,000- 12,000, of which 19% are male respondents and 21% are female respondents. Another 7.5% of the respondents earn between Rs. 13,000- 15,000, 4.5 % are male respondents and 3% are female respondents, while 7% of the respondents were in the income group of Rs. 16,000- 18,000, of which 2% are male respondents and 5% are female respondents. Further, 12% of the respondents earn between Rs. 19,000- 20,000, 5.5% are male respondents and 6.5% are female respondents. About 8.5% of the respondents' income per month comes between Rs. 21,000- 24,000, of which 4.5% are male and 4% are female respondents. The remaining 5.5% of the respondents earn Rs. 25,000 and above, of which 2.5% are male respondents and 3% are female respondents who own restaurants and beauty parlour/spas.

4.7.4. Pattern of Saving and Remittances

Perusal of figure 4.7 enlists that, 11.5% of the respondents specified 'save their earnings,' of which 4.5% of the respondents work in restaurants and 7% respondents in beauty parlour/spa, while 27% of the respondents indicated their answer as 'support sibling's education,' of which 14.5% of respondents in restaurants and 12.5% respondents in beauty parlour/spas. An overwhelming 39% of the respondents indicate that they 'send money to parents,' in the native place of which, 16% respondents are in restaurants and 23% respondents in beauty parlour/spa. Another 9.5% of the respondents specified that they spend their income on 'own needs and wants,' 5.5% respondents in restaurants and 4% respondents in beauty parlour/spas, while 12% of the respondents indicated 'loan/debt repayment,' 9.5% respondents in restaurant and 2.5% respondents in beauty parlour/spa. The remaining 1% of the respondents who are in beauty parlour/spa indicates 'other reason.'

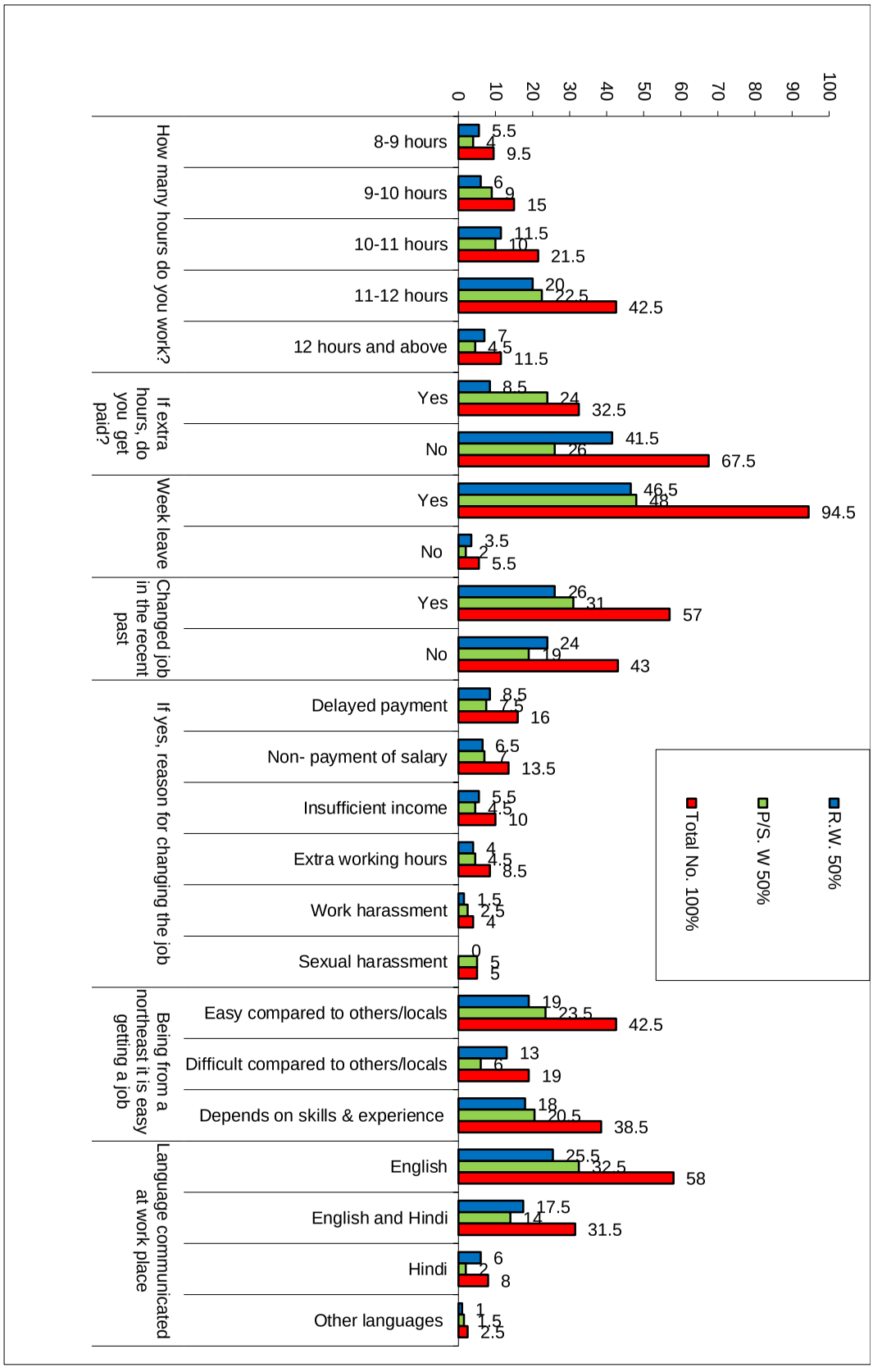
4.7.5. Salary Paid by Cash/ Banking

The question on 'how do you receive your salary'? a majority of the respondents who replied that they receive their salary by cash. They are 74% both in restaurants and beauty parlour/spa, of which 38% of male respondents working in restaurants received salary by cash and another 36% of females working in beauty parlour/spa receive salary by cash. Only a small segment 26% of the respondents receives salary through banking/paytm, of which 12% are male respondents working in restaurants and 14 % of female respondents working in beauty parlour/spas.

4.7.6. Regular and Irregular Salary

Figure 4.7 relating to 'regular' and 'irregular' payment of salary shows that, a majority of 54% of the respondents mentioned that they do not get salary on time, 26.5% were male respondents and 27.5% were female respondents. Another 46% of the respondents mentioned that they do get salary on time, 23.5% were male respondents and another 22.5% were female respondents.

Figure 4.8 Work Environment



4.8.1. Working Hours

The findings of the above figure 4.8 reveal that 9.5% of the respondents work for 8- 9 hours, 5.5% were male respondents and 4% were female respondents, while 15% of the respondents work for about 9- 10 hours, of which 6% were male respondents and 9% were female respondents. Another 21.5% of the respondents work for 10-11 hours, of which 11.5% were male respondents and 10% were female respondents, and a majority 42.5% of the respondents work for 11-12 hours, of which 20% were male respondents and 22.5% were female respondents. The remaining 11.5% of the respondents work for more than 12 hours a day, of which 7% were male respondents and another 4.5% were female respondents.

4.8.1. (a) Extra Working Hours and Week leave

A majority, 67.5% of the respondents are not paid even if they work for extra hours, of which 41.5% were male respondents and 26% were female respondents, while 32.5% of the respondents are paid for extra working hours, of which 8.5% and 24% were male and female respondents respectively. Adding to these pathetic working hours, 5.5% of the respondents are not given a day off or week's leave, 3.5% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents.

4.8.2. Change of Job

The respondents' answer to the question whether they had to change their job/work in the recent past, an overwhelming number of respondents specified that they did change their job/work. Of the total respondents, a majority 57% of the respondents changed their jobs, 26% were male respondents and 31% were female respondents.

4.8.2. (a) Reason for Changing the Job

Of the 57% of the respondents who left their previous jobs in Bangalore, following are the reasons: 16% of the respondents indicated that they left the job due to the 'delay in payment of salary,' of which 8.5% were male respondents and another 7.5% were female respondents. Another 13.5% of the respondents specified 'non-payment of salary,' as the reason for leaving the previous job, 6.5% and 7% were male and female respectively. Further, 10% of the respondents' reason for changing the job is due to 'insufficient income,' 5.5% were male respondents and 4.5% were female respondents;

while 8.5% of the respondents signify the reason as ‘extra working hours,’ of which, 4% were male respondents and 4.5% were female respondents. In addition, 4% of the respondents indicate the reason for changing the job as ‘work harassment’ in work place, 1.5% male respondents and 2.5% female respondents, and the remaining 5% of the female respondents indicate ‘sexual harassment’ in work place.

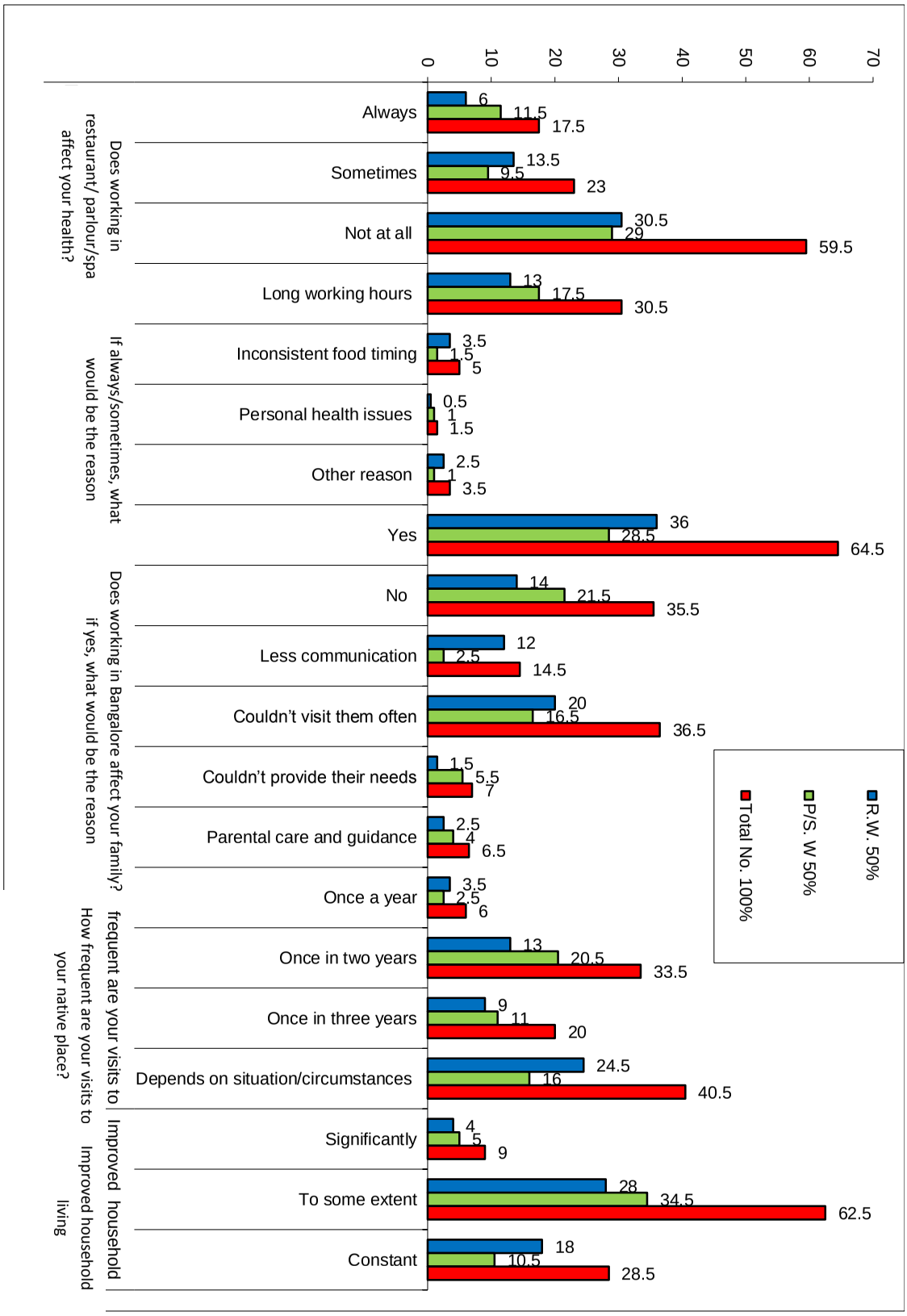
4.8.3. Finding another Job

The respondents mentioned that it is easy for northeast people to get a job/work especially in restaurants and in beauty parlour/spas sector. A majority 42.5% of the respondents indicate that they get jobs ‘easily’ compared to other people, of which 19% are male respondents and 23.5% are female respondents; while only a small proportion, that is, 19% of the respondents felt that it is ‘difficult’ for northeast people to get a job in restaurants and beauty parlour/spas compared to other groups of people, of which 13% are male respondents and 6% are female respondents. Another 38.5% of the respondents felt that it is neither easy nor difficult for both the northeast people and locals but ‘depends on one’s skills and experience’ to get a job/work, 18% are male respondents and 20.5% are female respondents.

4.8.4. Language Communicated at Work Place

The data highlights that a majority 58% of the respondents communicate with other people in English language at work place, 25.5% are male respondents and 32.5% are female respondents. Another 31% of respondents indicated ‘English and Hindi,’17.5% are male respondents and 14% are female respondents. About 8% of the respondents communicate in ‘Hindi’ language, 6% are male respondents and 2% are female, and the remaining 2.5% of the respondents indicate ‘other languages’ as means of communicating at work place, 1% and 1.5% male and female respectively.

Figure 4.9 Health Issues and Impact on Family



4.9.1. Health Hazards

Factors associated with the respondents' health conditions is due to excessive working hours, 17.5% of the respondents indicate that working in restaurants and in beauty parlour/spas affect their health 'always,' 6% are male respondents and a majority 11.5% are female respondents; while 23% of the respondents denote that working in restaurant and in beauty parlour/spa does 'sometimes' affect their health, of which 13.5% are male respondents and 9.5% are female respondents. The remaining 59.5% of the respondents indicate that working in restaurant /beauty parlour and spa does 'not affect' their health, of which a majority 30.5% are male respondents and 29% are female respondents.

4.9.1. (a) Reason for Health Hazards

The reason given by the 40.5% of the respondents who indicate that working in restaurant and beauty parlour does 'always' and 'sometimes' affect their health conditions are as follows; a majority 30.5% of the respondents mentioned that it is due to 'long working hours,' of which 13% are male respondents and 17.5% are female respondents, while 5 per cent of the respondents specified 'inconsistent food timing,' as their reason for health hazard, 3.5% are male respondents and 1.5% are female respondents. Another 1.5% of the respondents indicate 'personal health issues,' 0.5% male respondents and 1% are female respondents and the remaining 3.5% of the respondents, for 'other reasons,' 2.5% and 1% male and female respondents respectively. The table highlights that a majority of the respondents working in restaurant and beauty parlour/spa do lack proper rest, proper food, and long working hours which in turn affects their health conditions.

4.9.2. Impact on Family

Figure 4.9 suggests, a significant 64.5% of the respondents indicate that working in Bangalore does affect their relationship with family members back home, of which, 36% are male respondents and 28.5% are female respondents, while, 35.5% of the respondents indicate that, working in Bangalore does not affect the family relation back home, 14% are male respondents and 21.5% are female respondents.

4.9.2. (a) Reason of Impact on Family

A significant majority, 64.5% who mentioned that working in Bangalore affects their family relations back home, of which 14.5% indicate 'less communication' with parents and families as the reason, 12% are male respondents and 2.5% are female respondents. Another 36.5% respondents specified that they 'couldn't visit them often' as the reason that affects family relations, of which 20% are male respondents and 16.5% are female respondents. Further, 7% of the respondents indicate the reason as 'couldn't provide the needs of the family,' of which 1.5% are male respondents and 5.5% are female respondents, and the remaining 6.5% of the respondents mentioned less 'parental care and guidance' as the reason that affects their relation with their family members back home, of which 2.5% and 4% are male and female respondents respectively.

4.9.3. Frequency of Visits to Native Place

Data regarding the frequency of respondents' visits to native place suggests that only 6% of the respondents visit their families yearly, 3.5% and 2.5% of male and female respondents respectively. While a majority 33.5% of the respondents visit parents and other family members once in two years, of which 13% are male respondents and 20.5% are female respondents, another 20% of the respondents visit their native place once in three years, 9% are male and 11% are female respondents. The remaining majority 40.5% of the respondents indicate 'depending on the situation/circumstances' as the reason for visiting parents/family members in the native place, of which 24.5% are male respondents and another 16% are female respondents.

4.9.4. Improved Household Living

The household living standard of the respondents has improved after migrating to Bangalore of which, 9% of the respondents mentioned that their household living standard has 'significantly' improved, of which 4% respondents are in restaurants and 5% respondents in beauty parlour/spas. An overwhelming 62.5% indicate that household living has improved 'to some extent' due to their migration, of which 28% respondents are in restaurant work and 34.5% respondents in beauty parlour/spa. The remaining 28.5% of the respondents indicate that household living has been 'constant,' of which 18% respondents in restaurant and 10.5% respondents in beauty parlour/spa.

4.10. Racial Discrimination, Harassment and Physical Attacks

Racism to some extend is bound to exist to people of various groups. It is ingrained in an individual psyche adding to the community/societal notion that interweaves "throughout the existing structures and collective mentalities" of both the dominant and the dominated with an assumption that the 'others' are different."[161] According to Orobator, "racism is a global phenomenon. It may be socially active, economically prevalent, and historically contextualized in the societies in U.S. but it is a reality that is present in the world."[162] Varied forms of racism affect the well- being of an individual and a community as a whole and it must, therefore, be confronted regardless of race, ethnicity, caste, class, culture, and economic status.[163] As Elizondo notes, "eliminating racism is not a matter of doing away with differences, but of transforming our valuation of differences…each one needs the others in their otherness; and together, all will be enriched."[164]

Racism is an extremely complex phenomenon which cannot be depicted or explained as it has been institutionalized by various means. However, from a sociological perspective, it has been perceived that racial discrimination based on one's race and ethnicity develops due to the result of "institutional structures" (social, economic and political) that facilitate organized patterns of human behavior that provide a facade, govern and forms the lives of an individual that are connected with cultural beliefs.[165] According to Elizondo, "racism is an ideology taken up by the dominant in order to ensure and perpetuate their domination and status as masters."[166] Every individual /society identifies itself in terms of belonging to a particular family, lineage, ethnicity, group or community as 'others' from 'otherness.' In the northeast Indian scenario, Lalsangkima Pachuau, by raising the question, "who is the other?" points out the

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[161] Virgilio Elizondo, "Analysis of Racism," in *Concilium* (1993/4): 52.
[162] Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, "The Struggle against Racism and the Global Horizon of Christian Hope," in *Ecclesiology and Exclusion: Boundaries of Being and Belonging in Postmodern Times*, Dennis M. Doyle et al., (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2012), 126.
[163] Benjamin Valentin, *Mapping Public Theology: Beyond Culture, Identity, and Difference* (London: Trinity Press International, 2002), 101.
[164] Virgil Elizondo, Analysis of Racism," 59.
[165] Frank R. Scarpitti and Margaret L. Andersen, *Social Problems* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1989), 212.
[166] Virgilio Elizondo, "Analysis of Racism," 58.

negative connotation of the term 'other' which carries a "negative attitude by non-tribals towards the tribals" and he continues to say, "this concept of the 'other' may appear as if India is owned by the 'other' and there are groups who are of lesser status called other."[167] Anthropologist McDuie-Ra in his article *The 'North-East' Map of Delhi* also points out that "India contains many communities earmarked as 'others' based on religion, caste, and even ethnicity, yet the nationality and origin of these communities are not questioned at every turn. They can 'blend in' to the heartland (rarely completely) in ways that north-east migrants cannot."[168] This is very much true to what people from the NER feel and experience outside their home states, in metropolitan cities. Many of the northeast people living in different parts of India especially in metropolitan cities experience the 'otherness' in their own home country, and this experience of labeling as 'others' is often witnessed in the form of racial discrimination and stereotyping on race/ethnicity (because of a different facial feature) consequently leading to various racial, harassment, attacks, and violence.

The question of racism based on a person's body, race, colour and identity is either 'value' or 'devalue' based on a person's status. A person with less socio-economic and political power is always subject to profiling and discrimination for example the Africans and northeast Indians share a similar experience of racial discrimination in Bangalore. On the other hand, a person belonging to better status in their race, colour, or identities are always valued. Citing from an article published in *Bangalore Mirror*, which relates an individual and society's perception on whom to value and to devalue, "we're racist but we're very clear in our heads- we will dislike dark-skinned people until they become somebody. Chris Gayle isn't a black man for us, he's a celebrity so we love him….the skin colour of our heroes doesn't matter."[169] While the same people/society makes violent and racial attacks on many Nigerian nationals in Bangalore.

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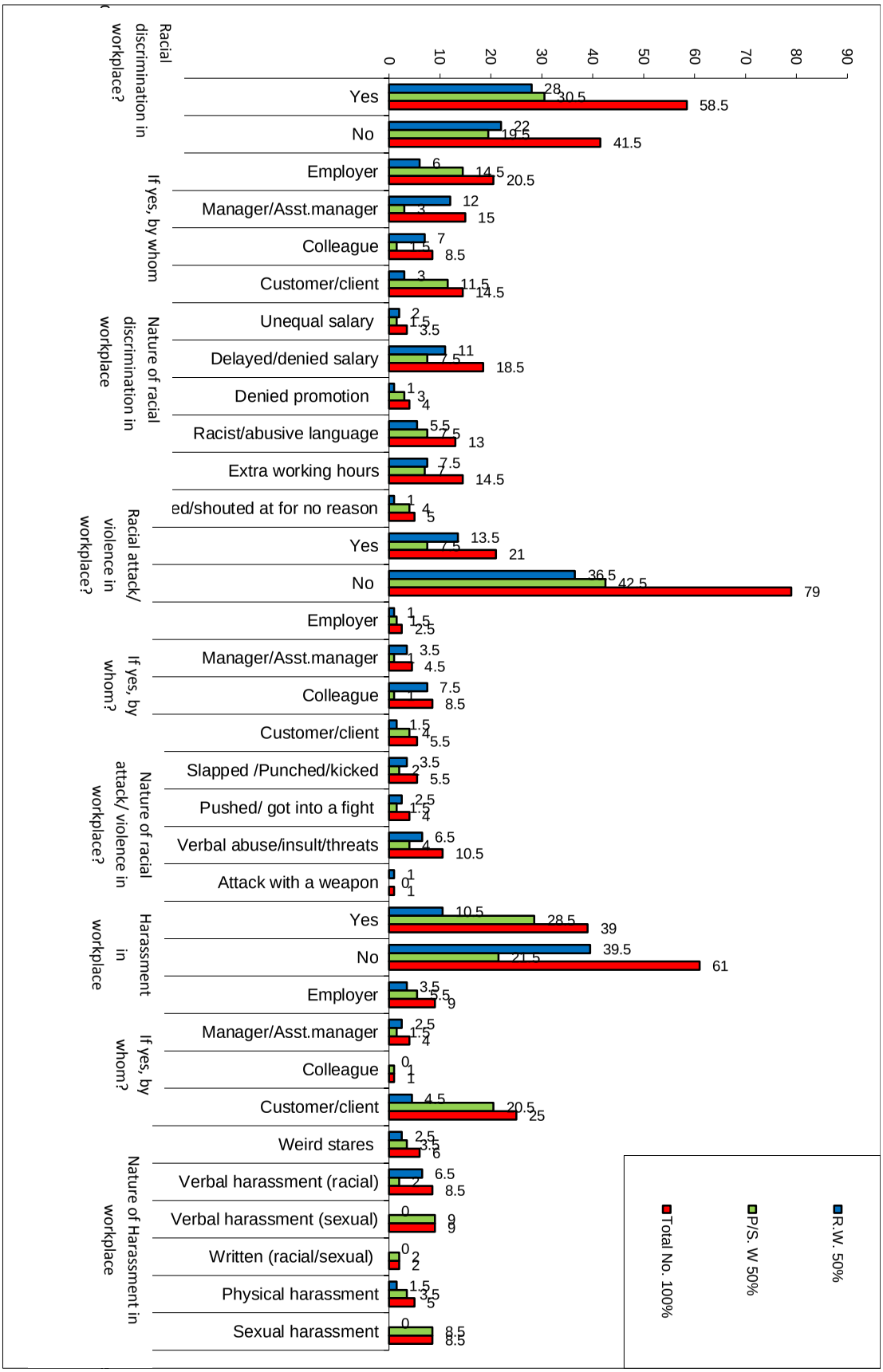
[167] Lalsangkima Pachuau, "Search of a Context for a Contextual Theology," in *In Search of Identity and Tribal Theology*, edited by A. Wati Longchar (Jorhat: Eastern Theological College, 2001), 37.
[168] Duncan Mcduie-Ra, "The 'North-East' Map of Delhi," in *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 47, no. 30 (July 28, 2012): 69-77.
[169] *Bangalore Mirror*, Sunday, April 16, 2017.

Similarly the northeast community particularly the migrants experience comparable incidents where racial discrimination, attacks, and violence are perpetuated on the migrants who are mostly from lower socio-economic backgrounds like in the case of migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlour/spas. Akhou pointed that, "racial discrimination and attacks are mostly on those groups of people working in restaurants, retails, security, and beauty parlour, while those migrants working in IT sector and other white color jobs racial discrimination are a least."[170] Narka also mentioned that, "Majority of the calls and cases I receive is from restaurant workers, related to non-payment of salary."[171]

Various kinds of racism and racial discriminations has acted upon many other racialized and disadvantaged ethnic and cultural groups like in the case of the northeast people in India. The northeast community who mostly belong to a Mongolian race with distinct features and skin texture, they are without doubt, being targeted to various form of racial discrimination, harassment, verbal and physical abuse etc. In the light of the ways in which northeast migrants experience racial discrimination, harassment and violence are undeniably the facts of every day experience. Within this overarching framework, the question laid out to the respondents on their experience of various racial discrimination, abuse, attacks and other forms of violence has been examined in the following sections.

[170] Interview with Vezokho Resu, President, North East Welfare Association Karnataka, 21 August 2016.
[171] Interview with Narka Awomi, President, Sumi Students Union Bangalore, 19 June 2016.

Figure 4.10 Racial Discrimination, Harassment and Physical Attacks in Workplace



4.10.1. Racial Discrimination in Workplace

A majority, 58.5% of the respondents point out that they are discriminated or faced with various forms of racial discrimination in the work place, 28% are male respondents and majority, 30.5% are female respondents. Another 41.5% of the respondents mention that they do not experience any form of discrimination based on ethnicity in work place of which, 22% are male respondents and 19.5% are female respondents.

4.10.1. (a) Racial Discrimination By

A majority, 58.5% of respondents who faced racial discrimination in the work place, 20.5% of the respondents indicate that they faced discrimination from the 'employer,' 6% are male respondents and a majority 14.5% are female respondents. Another 15% of the respondents faced discrimination from 'manager/assistant manager,' of which, a majority 12% are male respondents and 3% are female respondents. Further, 8.5% of the respondents faced discrimination from 'colleague' and other staff, 7% are male respondents and 1.5% are female respondents, and the remaining 14.5% of the respondents faced discrimination from 'costumer and clients' in work place of which, 3% are male respondents and a majority 11.5% are female respondents.

4.10.1 (b) Nature of Racial Discrimination in Workplace

Following are the 'nature of racial discrimination' experienced by 58.5% of the respondents; 3.5% of the respondents indicate the nature of racial discrimination based on 'unequal salary' with other co-workers or colleagues of which, 2% are male respondents and 1.5% are female respondents. A majority of 18.5% respondents mention the nature of racial discrimination in terms of 'delay/denied of salary' of which, 11% are male respondents and 7.5% are female respondents. Another 4% of the respondents specify the nature of racial discrimination on 'denied promotion' in work place of which, 1% and 3% are male and female respondents. Further, 13% of the respondents specify use of 'racist and abusive language' to them in the work place, of which, 5.5% are male respondents and 7.5% are female respondents. In addition, a majority 14.5% of the respondents indicate 'extra working hours' as nature of racial discrimination in work place, 7.5% are male respondents an 7% are female respondents. The remaining 5% of the respondents mention that they are discriminated by being

‘scolded or shouted at for no reason’ in work place of which, 1% male respondents and 4% female respondents.

4.10.1 (c) Racial Attack and Violence in Workplace

A total of 21% of the respondents faced racial attack and violence in work place, 13.5% are male respondents and 7.5% are female respondents. While 79% of the respondents did not face any racial attack or violence in work place of which, 36.5% are male respondents and 42.5% are female respondents.

4.10.1 (d) Racial Attack and Violence By

Of the 21% respondents who faced racial attack and violence in work place, 2.5% of the respondents were racially attacked by the ‘employer,’ of which 1% male respondents and 1.5% female respondents, another 4.5% of the respondents face attack and violence from ‘manager and assistant manager,’ 3.5% are male respondents and 1% female respondents. Further, 8.5% of the respondents experienced racial attack and violence from ‘colleague’ in work place of which, a majority 7.5% are male respondents and 1% female respondents, and the remaining 5.5% of the respondents experienced racial attacks and violence from ‘customers and clients’ of which, 1.5% male respondents and 4% female respondents.

4.10.1 (e) Nature of Racial Attack and Violence in Workplace

The findings of the data show that, 21% respondents experienced racial attack and violence in the work place. Following are the ‘nature’ of attack and violence experienced by the respondents; 5.5% of the respondents mentioned that they were ‘slapped, punched and kicked’ in work place, of which, 3.5% are male respondents and 2% are female respondents. Another 4% of the respondents were attacked violently, ‘pushed and got into fight’ in work place, of which 2.5% are male respondents and 1.5% are female respondents. Further, 10.5% of the respondents were ‘racially and verbally abused,’ ‘insulted’ and were ‘threatened’ in work place, 6.5% are male respondents and 4% are female respondents. The remaining 1% of the male respondents was ‘attacked with weapon,’ (knife) in work place by their co-workers.

4.10.1 (f) Harassment in Workplace

Of the total number of respondents working in restaurant and beauty parlour/spa, 39% reported that they faced racial harassment in work place, of which, 10.5% are male respondents and a majority 28.5% are female respondents, while 61% of the respondents do not face any harassment in work place, 39.5% are male respondents and 21.5% are female respondents.

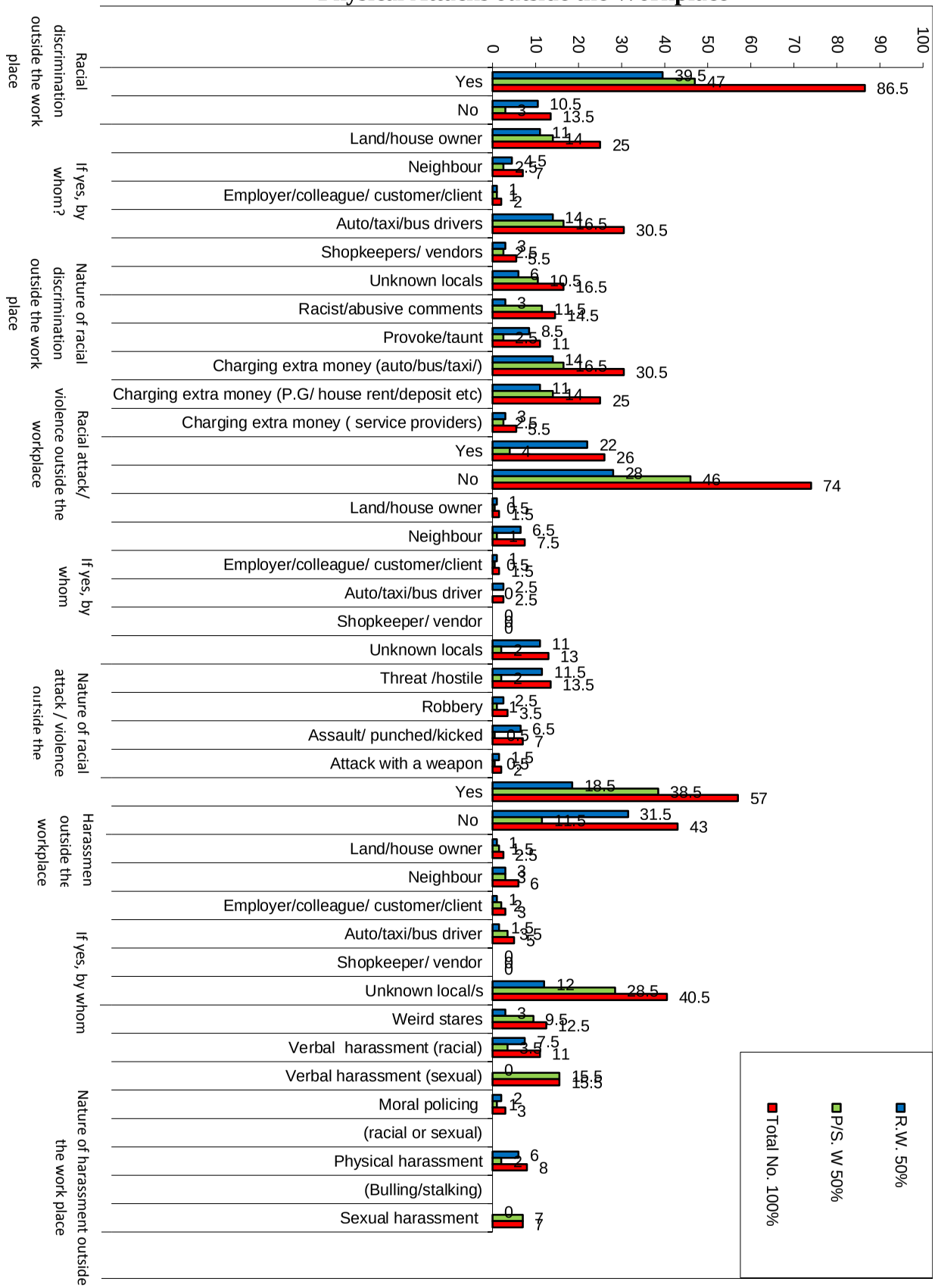
4.10.1 (g) Harassment By

A total of 39% respondents faced racial harassment and sexual harassment in work place, 9% of the respondents face harassment from 'employer' of which, 3.5% are male respondents and 5.5% are female respondents, another 4% of the respondents faced harassment from 'manager and assistant manager,' of which, 2.5% are male respondents and 1.5% are female respondents. Further, 1% of the female respondents experienced harassment from 'colleague,' and the remaining 25% of the respondents experienced harassment from 'customers and clients' in work place of which, 4.5% are male and a majority 20.5% are female.

4.10.1 (h) Nature of Harassment in Workplace

Following are the 'nature' of harassment of various types indicated by 39% of respondents: 6% of the respondents indicate 'weird stares' in work place, 2.5% of the respondents were male and 3.5% of the respondents were female. Another 8.5% of the respondents specify 'verbal harassment' which is racial in nature, 6.5% are male and 2% are female. While 9% and another 2% of the female respondents specify 'verbal harassment,' and 'written' (sending text message/pictures in phones), which are racial and sexual in nature. Further, 5% of the respondents' specified 'physical harassment,' 1.5% male and 3.5% female, and the remaining 8.5% of the female respondent were 'harassed sexually' in the work place.

Figure 4.11 Racial Discrimination, Harassment and Physical Attacks outside the Workplace



4.11.1 Racial Discrimination outside the Workplace

The findings of the data on racial discrimination outside the work place shows that, a majority 86.5% of the respondents expressed that they face various forms of discrimination outside the work place (market places, neighbourhood, and other public places etc) of which, 39.5% were male respondents and 47 per cent were female respondents. While only a small proportion of 13.5 per cent of the respondents indicate that they do not face any racial discrimination outside the work place, 10.5 per cent are male respondents and 3% are female respondents.

4.11.1 (a) Racial Discrimination By

The obtained results of 86.5% of respondents found that, a majority 25% of the respondents indicate that they face racial discrimination from the 'land/house owner' 11% male respondents and 14% female respondents. While 7% of the respondents indicate 'neighbours,' of which, 4.5% male respondents and 2.5% female respondents, and another 2% of the respondents indicate 'employer, colleague, customer and clients,'1 % male respondents and another 1% female respondents. Further, a majority of 30.5% respondents indicate that they face racial discrimination from 'auto drivers, taxi drivers, bus drivers and conductors' of which, 14% male respondents and 16.5% female respondents. About 5.5% of the respondents indicate 'shopkeepers, vendors and other service providers' of which, 3% male respondents and 2.5% female respondents. The remaining 16.5% of the respondents indicate 'unknown locals,' of which 6% male and 10.5% female.

4.11.1 (b) Nature of Racial Discrimination outside the Workplace

The analysis on the nature of racial discrimination faced by the 86.5% of the respondents outside the work place shows that, 14.5% of the respondents state the nature of racial discrimination as 'using racial/racist and abusive comments' to them of which, 3% male respondents and a majority of 11.5 % female respondents. While 11% of the respondents indicate the nature of discrimination as 'provoke or taunt,' of which, 8.5% are male respondents and 2.5% are female. A majority, 30.5% per cent of the respondents state 'charging extra money' by the transport providers both in private transport and public transport, of which, 14% male respondents and 16.5% female

respondents. Another 25% of the respondents indicate the nature of racial discrimination in terms of charging 'extra house rent/deposit,' of which, 11% were male respondents and 14% were female respondents, and the remaining 5.5% of the respondents indicate 'charging extra money by the shopkeepers, vendors,' retail and other service providers of which, 3% were male respondents and 2.5% were female respondents.

Many respondents specified that they are discriminated because they 'look different' and the forms of discrimination based on the look varied. As seen in the above data many of the respondents who are in rented house shared their grievances and problems faced. A few of the respondents during an interview indicated that, not only are they charged with extra house rent and deposits but also they are told to pay extra electricity and water bills.' on the other hand, there are also instances when the employer, colleagues and customers/clients harass them even outside the work place, as specified by the respondents.

4.11.1 (c) Racial Attack and Violence outside the Workplace

Racial attack and violence towards northeast people is rampant. In answer to a question about racial attack and violence outside the work place, of the total respondents, 26% of the respondents expressed that they faced racial attacks and violence outside the work place, of which 22% were male respondents and 4% were female respondents. While 74% of the respondents have not faced any racial attack or violence outside the work place, 28% were male respondents and 46% were female respondents.

4.11.1 (d) Racial Attack and Violence By

The obtained data of 26% respondents who experienced racial attacks and violence outside the work place are as follows: 1.5% of the respondents faced racial attack and violence from the 'house owner' of which, 1% male respondents and 0.5% female respondent. Another 7.5% of the respondents indicated 'neighbour,' of which 6.5% were male respondents and 1% female respondents, and about 1.5% of the respondents indicated 'employer, colleague, customer and clients,' of which 1% male and 0.5% were female respectively. Further, 2.5% of the male respondents were racially attacked by 'auto and taxi drivers,' and the remaining 13% of the respondents expressed that

they were racially attacked by 'unknown locals,' of which, 11% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents. None of the respondents experienced racial attack and violence from 'shopkeeper or vendors.' However, there are some cases when the respondents' friends or same ethnic community were attacked by shop vendors nevertheless; this analysis is only taken from the respondents who apparently have not faced any such unfortunate incidents.

4.11.1 (e) Nature of Racial Attack and Violence Outside the Workplace

The data indicated that 26% of the respondents experienced violence and were attacked racially outside the work place. Following are the nature of racial attack and violence experienced by the respondents: 13.5% of respondents were 'threatened' and have faced hostile approach outside the work place, of which, 11.5% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents. Another 3.5% of the respondents were 'robbed,' of which 2.5% were male respondents and 1% female respondents, about 7% of the respondents were ' assault, punched and kicked' outside the work place, of which, 6.5% and 0.5% male and female respectively. The remaining 2% of the respondents were 'attacked with a weapon,'1.5% male respondents and 0.5% female respondents.

4.11.1 (f) Harassment Outside the Workplace

Figure 4.11 reveals that 57% of the respondents faced harassment of various kinds of which, 18.5% were male respondents and 38.5% were female respondents. While 43% of the respondents indicate that they did not experience any forms of harassment outside the work place, 31.5% were male respondents and 11.5% were female respondents.

4.11.1 (g) Harassment By

The obtained data shows a majority, 57% of the respondents experienced harassment; 2.5% of the respondents indicate harassment from 'land/house owner,' 1% and 1.5% male and female respondents respectively. Another 6% of the respondents indicate harassment from 'neighbour,' 3% male respondents and another 3% of female respondents. About 3% of the respondents faced harassment from 'employer/colleague/customers and clients,' outside the work place, of which, 1% male respondents and 2% were female respondents. Further, 5% of the respondents reported that they faced/experienced harassment from 'auto, taxi, bus drivers and conductors,' of

which, 1.5% were male respondents and 3.5% were female respondents. The remaining majority, 40.5% of the respondents indicate that they faced harassment from 'unknown locals,' of which, 12% were male respondents and 28.5% were female respondents. While there are cases of extra charge of money by shopkeepers and other vendors, none of the respondents however reported harassment from shopkeepers and vendors.

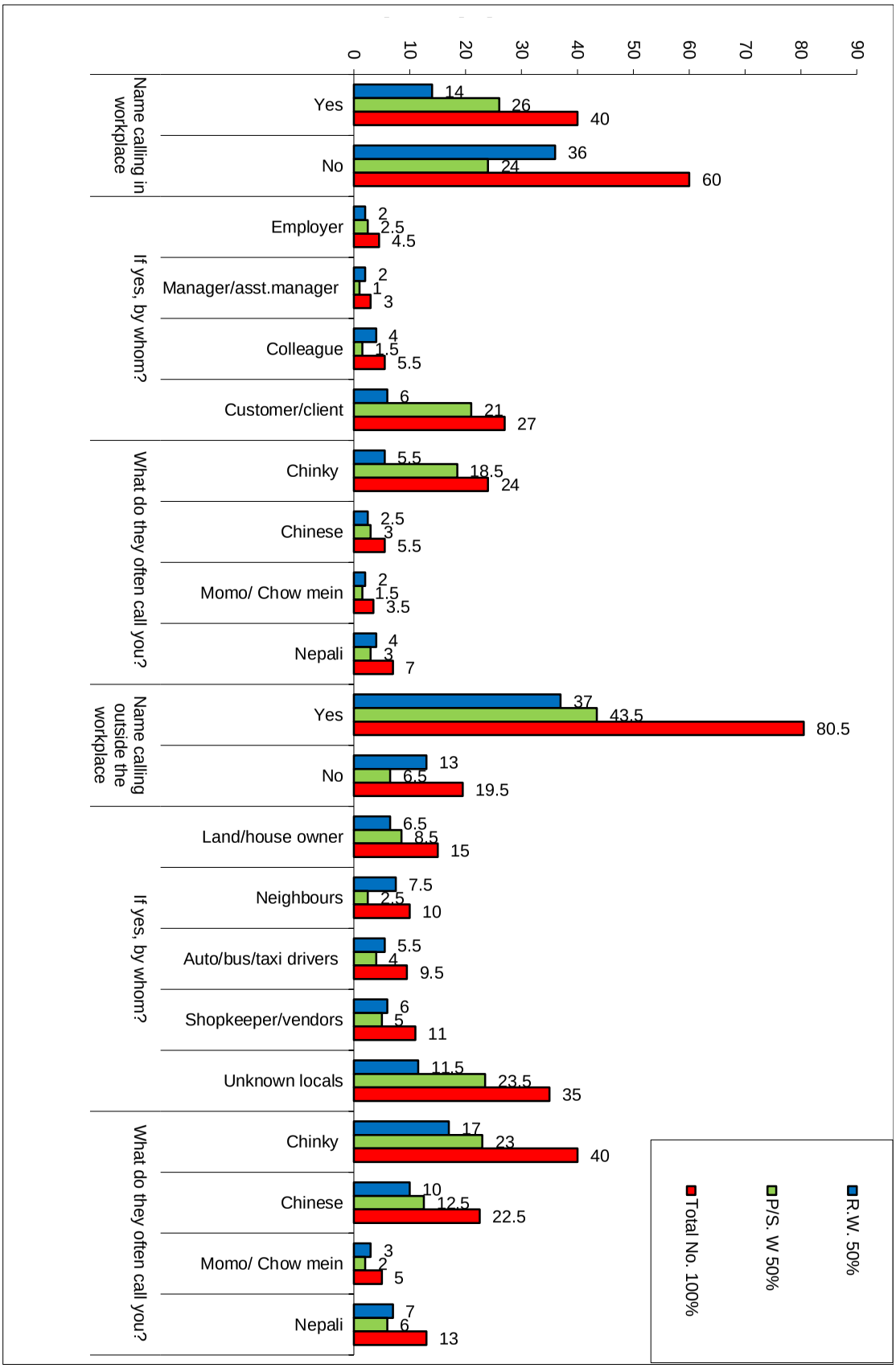
4.11.1 (h) Nature of Harassment outside the Workplace

The data with regard to the 'nature of harassment' faced by 57% of the respondents indicates racial, physical and sexual. It is reported that, 12.5% respondents faced harassment in the form of 'weird stares,' outside the work place, in market places, road and other public and private places, of which, 3% were male and 9.5% were female. Another 11% respondents were 'verbally harassed,' and abused because of their ethnicity of which, 7.5% were male and 3.5% were female. About 15.5% of the female respondents were 'verbally harassed,' which is sexual in nature while about, 3% of the respondents were imposed of 'moral policing,' of which, 2% were male respondents and 1% female respondents. Further, 8% respondents indicate that they were 'physically harassed,' 'bullied, and stalked,' of which, 6% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents. The remaining 7% of the female respondents were 'sexually harassed' outside the work place.

4.12. Experience of Name calling in and outside the Workplace

Human beings are known by different name tags which is quite different from the 'name' given by parents/ family members. One categorize people by their 'looks' and or stereotype an individual who looks 'different' than oneself. For example, there are many cases of stereotyping people or a community (intentionally or unintentionally), like 'Biharis, Punjabis' Bengalis and so on. Name calling or profiling of a person could be due to different racial and ethnic diversity, however, when name calling is attached with a derogatory meanings and discriminatory in nature it then becomes 'hatred' or 'hostility' to that particular group of people or community. To know the types of name calling and profiling based on ethnic features of the northeast Indians in the city, the respondents were asked if they had experienced name calling and other forms of discrimination violence and harassment in and outside the workplace.

Figure 4.12 Experience of Name Calling in and outside the Workplace



4.12.1. (a) Name Calling in Workplace

Name calling experienced by 40% of the respondents in workplace indicate that they are being called by various names which are racial and discriminatory in nature, of which, 14% are male respondents and 26% are female respondents. Another 60% of the respondents do not experience name calling in the work place, 36% are male respondents and 24% are female respondents.

4.12.1. (b) Name Called by

Of the 40% respondents who experienced name calling, 4.5% respondents indicate that they are being called by names by the 'employer' in work place, 2% and 2.5% of male and female respondents respectively. Another 3% of the respondents indicate 'manager and assistant manager,' 2% are male respondents and 1% are female respondents, while 5.5% of the respondents experienced name calling from 'colleague' in work place, of which, 4% and 1.5% are male and female respondents respectively. A majority 27% of the respondents indicate that they experienced name calling from 'customers and clients,' of which, 6% are male respondents and a majority 21% are female respondents.

4.12.1. (c) Name Called As

The data reveals that name calling is derogatory and racial in nature. A majority, 24% of the respondents point that they are called or referred as 'Chinky' in the work place, 5.5% are male respondents and 18.5% are female respondents, another 5.5% of the respondents indicate that they are being called 'Chinese' in the work place, of which, 2.5% are male respondents and 3% are female respondents. Further, 3.5% of the respondents indicate that they are being called 'Momo/chowmein' in work place, of which 2% are male respondents and 1.5% are female respondents, and the remaining 7% of the respondents indicate that they are referred or called as 'Nepali' in work place, of which, 4% are male respondents and 3% are female respondents.

4.12.1. (d) Name Calling outside the Workplace

A majority, 80.5% of the respondents indicate that they did experienced name calling, of which 37% were male respondents and 43.5% were female respondents, while 19.5%

of the respondents did not experience name calling outside the work place, 13% were male respondents and 6.5% were female respondents.

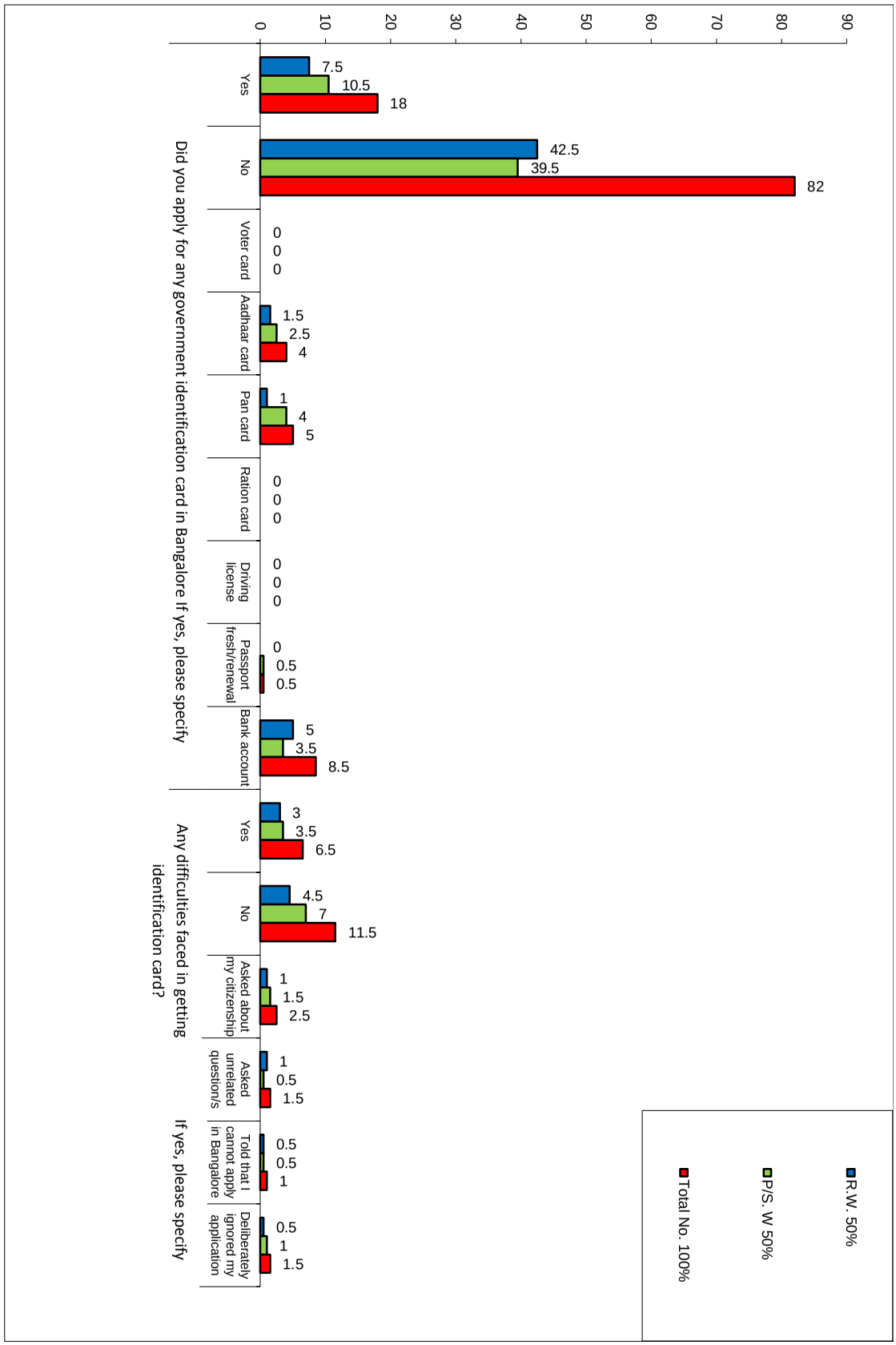
4.12.1 (e) Name Called By

Of the 80.5% respondents who experienced 'name calling' outside the work place, 15% of the respondents indicate that they experience 'name calling' from land/house owner, 6.5% were male respondents and 8.5% were female respondents, another 10% specified as 'neighbours,' of which, 7.5% were male respondents and 2.5% were female respondents. About 9.5% of the respondents indicate 'by auto, taxi, bus drivers and conductors,' of which 5.5% were male respondents and 4%, were female respondents. Further, 11% of the respondents indicate 'shopkeepers,' 'vendors' and other service providers, of which, 6% were male respondents and 5% were female respondents. The remaining 35% of the respondents indicate 'unknown locals,' of which, 11.5% were male respondents and 23.5% were female respondents.

4.12.1 (f) Name Called As

The analysis of the data revealed that 80.5% of the respondents who indicated that they are being called by various names a majority, 40% of respondents alleged that they are called by name 'Chinkey,' of which, 17% were male respondents and 23% were female respondents. Another 22.5% of the respondents specified 'Chinese,' of which 10% were male respondents and 12.5% were female respondents. Further, 5% of the respondents indicate 'Momo/chow mein,' of which, 3% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents, and the remaining 13% of the respondents specified that they are being called by name 'Nepali,' of which, 7% were male respondents and 6% were female respondents.

Figure 4.13 Applied for Identity Card/s and Bank Account



4.13.1. Applied for Identity Card and Bank Account in Bangalore

The question on whether the respondents applied for any government identity card and other Bank accounts, a majority 82% of the respondents did not apply in Bangalore, of which 42.5% were male respondents and 39.5% were female respondents. Most of these groups of respondents applied or received their identity cards in their native places. While 18% of the respondents applied for identity cards and bank accounts in Bangalore, of which 7.5% were male respondents and 10.5% were female respondents.

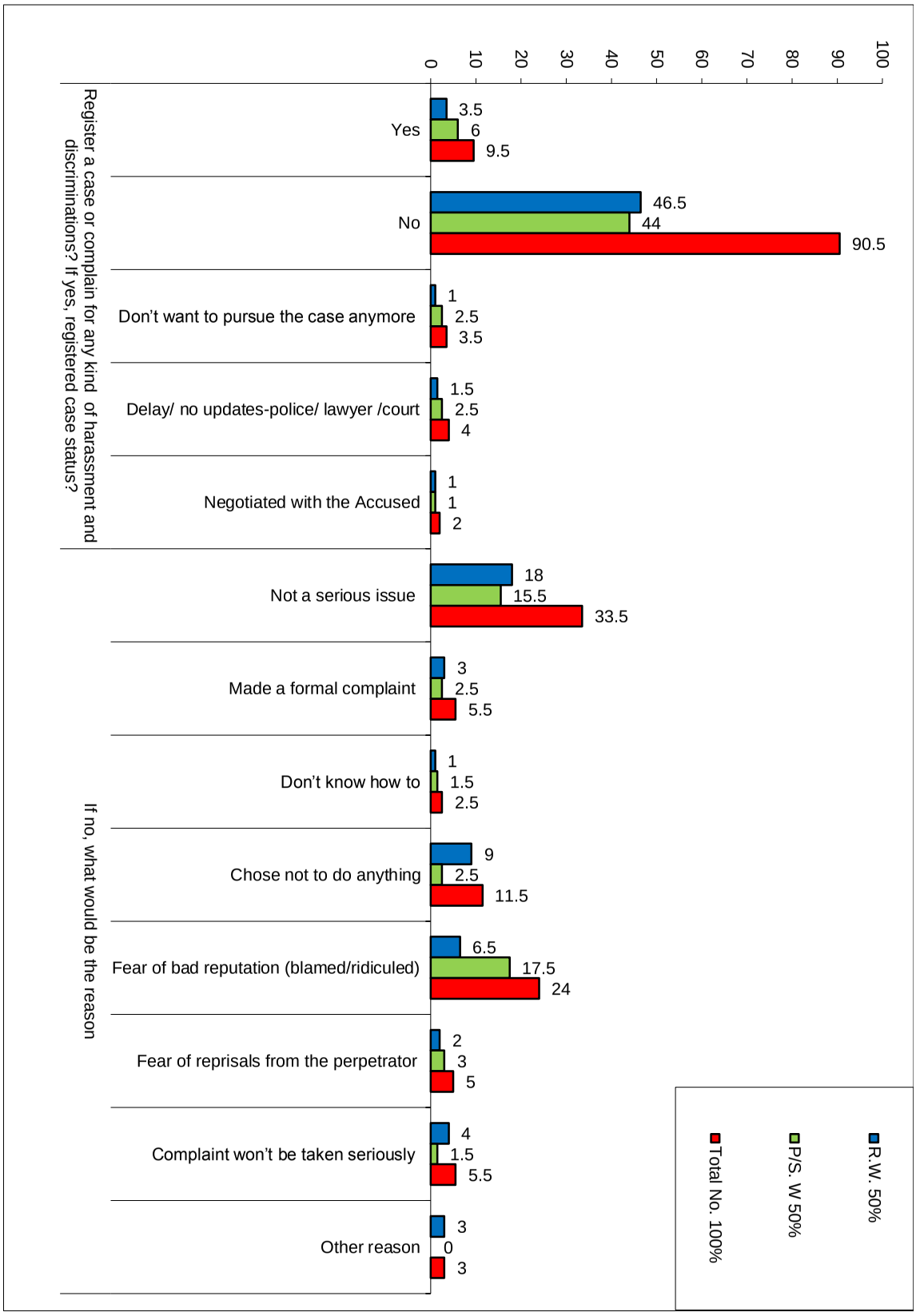
4.13.1 (a) Those Applied for Identity Card and Bank Account

Of the 18% of the respondents who applied for various identity card and bank account, 4% of the respondents applied for Aadhaar card, 1.5% were male respondents and 2.5% were female respondents, another 5% of the respondents applied for pan card, 1% were male respondents and 4% were female respondents. While 0.5% of the female respondents applied for 'passport,' and the remaining 8.5% of the respondents applied for bank accounts in Bangalore, of which, 5% were male respondents and 3.5% were female respondents. From the data it is seen that, none of the respondents applied for voter card, ration card and driving license in Bangalore.

4.13.1. (b)) Difficulties Faced

Of the 18% respondents who applied for various identity cards in Bangalore, 6.5% of the respondents faced challenges, of which 3% were male and 3.5% were female while 11.5% of the respondents did not face any challenges when applied, of which 4.5% were male and 7% were female. Of the 6.5% respondents who faced difficulties following are the reasons; 2.5% of the respondents mentioned that they were asked about their 'citizenship', of which 1% and 1.5% were male and female. Another 1.5% of the respondents were 'asked unrelated questions' when they applied, of which 1% were male respondents and 0.5% female respondents, and about 1% of the respondents were 'told that they cannot apply in Bangalore' by the concerned authorities/ heads, of which 0.5% and another 0.5% were male and female respondents respectively. The remaining 1.5% of the respondents indicates that their applications were 'deliberately' ignored, of which 0.5% male respondent and 1% female respondents

Figure 4.14 Action Taken and Reasons for Not



4.14.1 Action Taken and Reasons for Not

The data reflected on figure 4.14 shows that 9.5% of the respondents filed complaint and FIR against the perpetrator, of which 3.5% were male respondents and 6% were female respondents, while a majority 90.5% of the respondents did not register a complaint or lodge FIR for varied reasons given below in 4.14.1 (b).

4.14.1. (a) Action Taken

Following are the reasons indicated by the respondents: of the 9.5% respondents who filed a complaint /registered a case, 3.5% of the respondents indicate that they 'do not want to pursue the case anymore,' of which 1% male and 2.5% female. 4% of the respondents who registered complaint/ FIR indicated that they 'do not get updates,' some from the police department, some from the lawyers and some from the court, of which 1.5% were male and 2.5% were female, while 2% of the respondents indicated that they have 'negotiated with the accused/ perpetrator,' of which 1% male and another 1% female.

4.14.1. (b) Reasons for not Taking Action

A majority, 90.5% respondents did give complain or file an FIR. Following are the reasons given: a majority of 33.5% of the respondents indicates 'not a serious issue,' of which 18% were male and 15.5% were female. While 5.5% of the respondents indicated that they 'made a formal complaint,' 3% were male and 2.5% were female, another 2.5% of the respondents indicated that they 'do not know how to' take legal or approach legal assistance, of which 1% and 1.5% male and female. Another 11.5% of the respondents specified that they 'chose not to do anything' (reason known to them), 9% were male and 2.5% were female. A majority 24% of the respondents indicated 'fear of bad reputation' or being blamed/ridiculed on complaining to the police or to any other, of which 6.5% were male and a majority 17.5% were female. In addition, 5% of the respondents indicate 'fear of reprisals from the perpetrator,' of which 2% were male and 3% were female, another 5.5% of the respondents felt that their 'complaint or case won't be taken seriously,' of which 4% were male and 1.5% were female. The remaining 3% of the male respondents indicated 'other reasons' for not complaining or registering a case.

4. 15. Socio-cultural and Religious Participation

Migration from one locale to another involves a change not only in physical adjustment but also in social-cultural settings in the new environment.[172] Punekar on the *Study on North Indians in Bangalore* rightly pointed out that, "in India as soon as there are a few families of a particular language group in a town, they form an association of their group."[173] This is very true of the northeast communities in Bangalore as most of the northeast communities living in Bangalore have formed their own ethnic associations[174] and religious based affiliations.[175]Accordingly each ethnic association in Bangalore organizes various activities in a way to promote their regional culture through sports, music, cultural night, food festivals, social gatherings etc., to remain connected as well as to maintain their own cultural identity. The varied festivals and socio-cultural gatherings and activities are not restricted only to one's own ethnic community, but to various other communities and people of all faiths are invited, and participate during these occasions in Bangalore. Irrespective of community/associations and religious affiliations, people of diverse community background come together on a single platform and celebrate its vibrant and communitarian life that depicts, binds and shares a sense of belonging in a multi-socio-cultural and linguistic diversity in Bangalore. This section focuses on how and in what way does the working migrants' engage themselves in religious, social and cultural festivals/ gatherings when organized by their own community in Bangalore? Do they have a social support system within one's own ethnic associations in the city as working migrants? Or do these working migrants maintain a limited distinctiveness within their workplace, friends and family circles only? Such an inquiry has been considered in the following sections.

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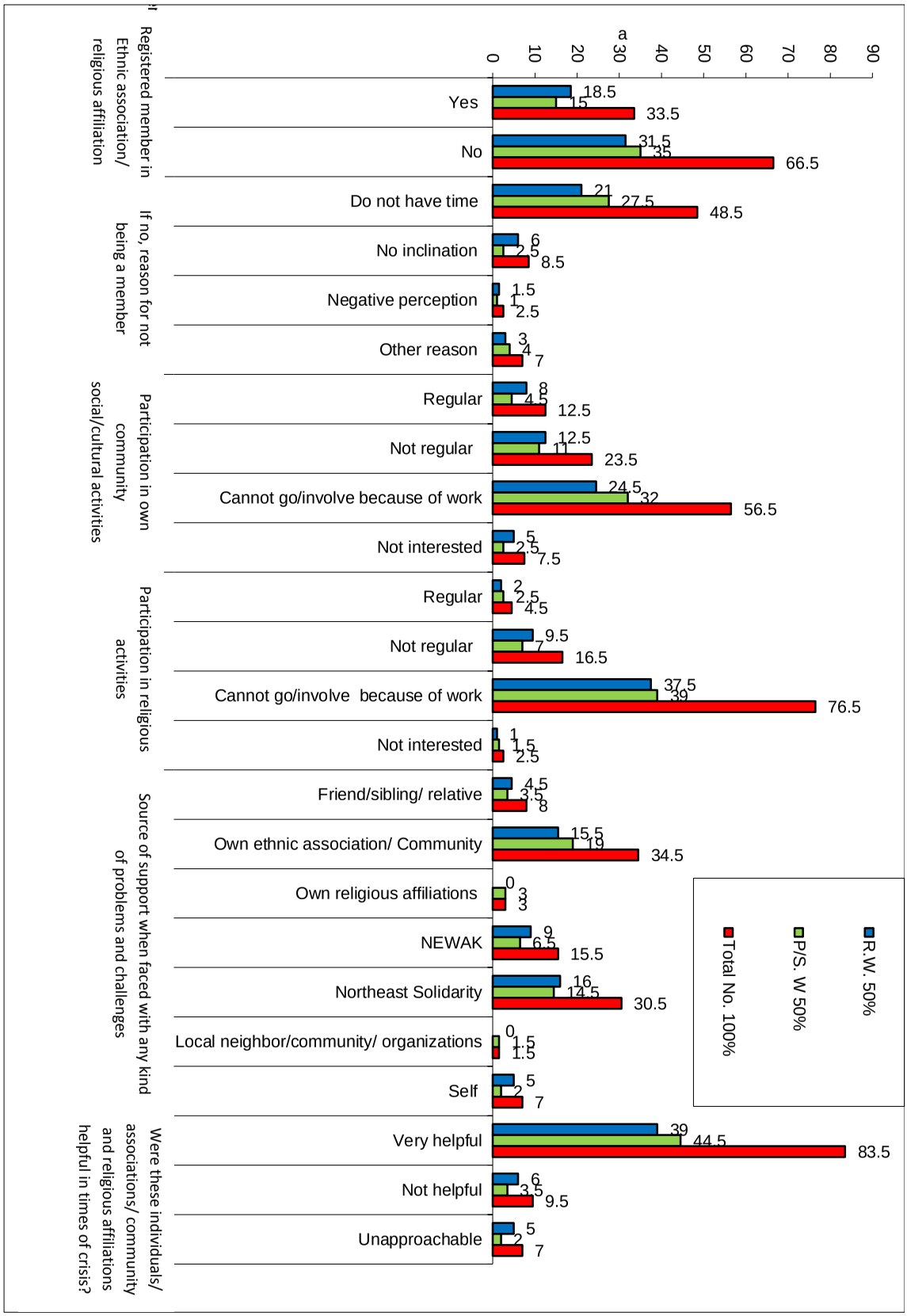
[172] Prasanta S. Majumdar and Ila Majumdar, *Rural Migrants in An Urban Setting* (Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1978), 146.

[173] Vijay B. Punekar, *Assimilation: A Study of North Indians in Bangalore* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1974), 142.

[174]By the ethnic- based associations I refer here only the northeast community associations or community based organizations like the students unions/associations and ethnic based organizations in Bangalore.

[175]Since the respondents in this research were of different religious belonging I specifically employed the term 'Religious based affiliation' rather than 'churches/ or "Christians," "Hindus," "Muslims," and "Buddhists," to encompass the wider range of religious belonging all of which may or may not identify themselves specifically as a 'Christian' or 'Church.'

Figure 4.15 Socio-cultural and Religious Participation



4.15.1. Registered Member in Association

A majority, 66.5% of the respondents said that they are not registered members in their own ethnic associations/community, neither in their own religious based affiliations, while 33.5% of the respondents are members in their own ethnic associations/communities and religious affiliations in Bangalore. Accordingly, 31.5% of restaurant workers were not in any organizations as members and 35% in beauty parlour/spa, while those who had membership in association/organizations comprised 33.5 percent overall, of which 18.5% were the ones working in restaurants and 15% beauty parlours/spas.

Some of the northeast associations'[176] leaders in Bangalore mentioned that, "there are more than thousands of people but many are not registered. Right now we have 900 registered members in Tripura People's Society which includes both the students and working people."[177] Hnamte mentions, "958 new members registered in Bangalore Mizo association for the session 2017-2018 and many renewed their membership while a majority of Mizo people are not being registered."[178] Another association leader mentions, "there are about 800 registered members in Bodo student's association both students and workers."[179] According to Kichu about 3103 Nagas both students and workers registered in Naga students union Bangalore in the year 2017,"[180] while Nienu adds, "every year we publicized about the membership registration through various

[176] In Bangalore there are more than 40 northeast students' union/ associations that represent particular language speaking groups and particular ethnic community, and few other welfare associations and NGOs. Thus it is not feasible to bring or single out all the northeast ethnic association or community based organizations in Bangalore, therefore, for the convenient of the study I have categories all students associations and ethnic based community organizations together as 'association' referring to respondents own ethnic associations, student's union or any other ethnic based organizations.

[177] Interview with Dinesh Dibbaram, President, Tripura Peoples Society Bangalore, 12 February 2017.

[178] Interview with Jim Hnamte, President, Bangalore Mizo Association, 17 January 2017.

[179] Interview with Karnel Narzasy, Vice-President, Bodo Students Association Bangalore, 2 November 2016.

[180] The above data includes 15 sub-units student's association under the apex body of Naga students union Bangalore. Following are the lists 15 sub-units member registered in the year 2017. "Ao 188, Angami 124, Anal 106, Chakhesang 126, Lamkang 100, Lotha 100, Maram 62, Mao 162, Maring 125, Poumai 417, Sumi 178, Tangkhul 1211, Zeliangrong 160, Rengma 32, and Mongsang 12." Interview with Bendangkala Kichu, General Secretary, Naga Students Union Bangalore, 23 September 2017.

social media but only few turns up for registration, about 30 per cent of Naga students and workers are registered members while the remaining 70 per cent are not being registered with the student's association."[181] Potsangbam mentions, "we take yearly membership of students and workers in various sectors during the annual meet. Many new people from our community come for registration and for some who could not come do get registration or renewal through phone calls or in other social gatherings."[182] It is observed that most of the students associations have a membership pattern that includes both students and workers.

Apart from students associations that are many other welfare association and community based organizations that do not follow the pattern of registered membership. For example like the Assam society and Assam association Bangalore they do not have formal membership pattern. Borkotoky said, "thousands of people from Assam comes to Bangalore every month and it is very difficult for one to enroll membership however every year we the associations leaders try to spread about the association through facebook."[183] Borah also mentions, "we do not have a formal kind of membership patterns as it is not possible to collect all the data relating to migrants from Assam, however, the association provides help and assistance particularly people from Assam when approached."[184]

4.15.1 (a) Reason for not being a Member

The respondents were asked to cite reasons for not being member in their own ethnic association/community and religious affiliations, of which a majority, 48.5% of the respondents said that they 'do not have time' to involve in association/organizations, of which 21% are restaurant workers and 27.5% in beauty parlours/spas. Another 8.5% of the respondents expressed their reason for not joining the association/organizations as 'no inclination,' of which 6% of respondents work in restaurant and 2.5% in beauty

[181] Interview with Nuthipru Nienu, President, Naga Students Union, Bangalore, 23 September December 2017.
[182] Interview with Omprakash Potsangbam, President, Meitei Association Bangalore, 13 June 2016.
[183] Interview with D.C. Borkotoky, President, Assam Association Bangalore, 9 October 2016.
[184] Interview with Pranab Jyoti Borah, General Secretary, Assam Association Bangalore, 13 November 2016.

parlour/spa, while a few of the respondents, 2.5% indicate that they have a 'negative perception,' of which 1.5% of respondents work in restaurant and 1% in beauty parlour and spa and the remaining 7% gave 'other reason' for not being a member, of which 3% of respondents work in restaurant and 4% in beauty parlour/spa. In some cases, respondents do not even know that their ethnic association/organizations exists in Bangalore when asked.

4.15.2. Participation in Socio-cultural Activities

The above figure 4.15 shows that a majority of the respondents do not involve or participate in community social and cultural progammes and activities when organized by their own community or other northeast community in general, due to varied reasons. Of the total respondents, a small proportion of the respondents comprised of 12.5% who go or attend social/cultural programmes and activities 'regularly' of which, 8 percent work in restaurant and 4.5% in beauty parlour/spa sector, another 23.5% of the respondents indicate 'not regular' of which, 12.5% are in restaurant work and 11% in beauty parlour/spa sector.

A majority 56.5% of the respondents mentioned that they 'cannot go and get involved' in community social/cultural activities due to their work, of which 24.5% of the respondents work in restaurants and 32% in beauty parlours/spas. The remaining 7.5% of the respondents indicate that they are 'not interested' in involving themselves in social and cultural activities and programmes (reasons known to them) of which, 5% in restaurant and 2.5% in beauty parlour/spa.

4.15.3. Participation in Religious Gathering/Activities

Answers about participation and non-participation in religious activities as indicated by the respondents showed that, a small proportion of 4.5% of the respondents are 'regular' in religious gatherings and activities, of which 2 percent of the respondents are in restaurant work and 2.5% in beauty parlour/spa. Another 16.5% of the respondents are 'not regular' in religious gatherings or activities, of which, 9.5% of respondents work in restaurants and 7% of respondents are in beauty parlour/spas. While a majority 76.5% of the respondents indicate that they 'cannot go or involve' in religious gatherings and activities due to their 'work' of which, 37.5% of respondents are in restaurants and 39%

of respondents in beauty parlour/spas. The remaining 2.5% of the respondents indicate that they are 'not interested' in any religious gatherings or activities of which, and 1% of the respondents work in restaurant and 1.5% of respondents in beauty parlour/spas.

4.15.4. Source of Support when faced with Problems

The challenges faced by the migrants are very vital to identify and know what are the contributing factors associated in terms of source and support, particularly when they are faced with crisis, inside and outside their workplace. As mentioned earlier it is not feasible to bring out all the ethnic based associations and thus the researcher has specifically mentioned two organizations which are officially recognized in Bangalore city as a 'parent organization' that represents the people of northeast in Bangalore, namely, NEWAK and Northeast Solidarity organization. In addition, a few ethnic associations and religious associations are incorporated as to understand and acknowledge in ways the other organizations contribute to the issues and concerns of northeast people in Bangalore.

Respondents indication from the collected survey found that, a majority 34.5% signify 'own ethnic association/community,' as a source of support when they are faced with problems, of which 15.5% in restaurants and 19% of respondents are in beauty parlours/spas. Another majority of 30.5% of the respondents indicates 'northeast solidarity,' as their source of support that comprised of 16% in restaurant and 14.5% in beauty parlour/spa and about 15.5% of the respondents indicate North East Welfare Association Karnataka (NEWAK), of which 9% respondents in restaurant and 6.5% in beauty parlour/spa.

Another 8% specify 'friend/sibling/relative,' as their social support, they comprised of 4.5% in restaurant and 3.5% in beauty parlour /spa. Only respondents in beauty parlour spa specify 'own religious affiliations,' and 'local neighbor/community/organizations,' as source of support of which, 3% and another 1.5% respectively. The remaining 7% of the respondents indicate 'self' of which, 5% in restaurant and 2 percent in beauty parlour/spa.

4.15.5. Support from Individuals and Associations

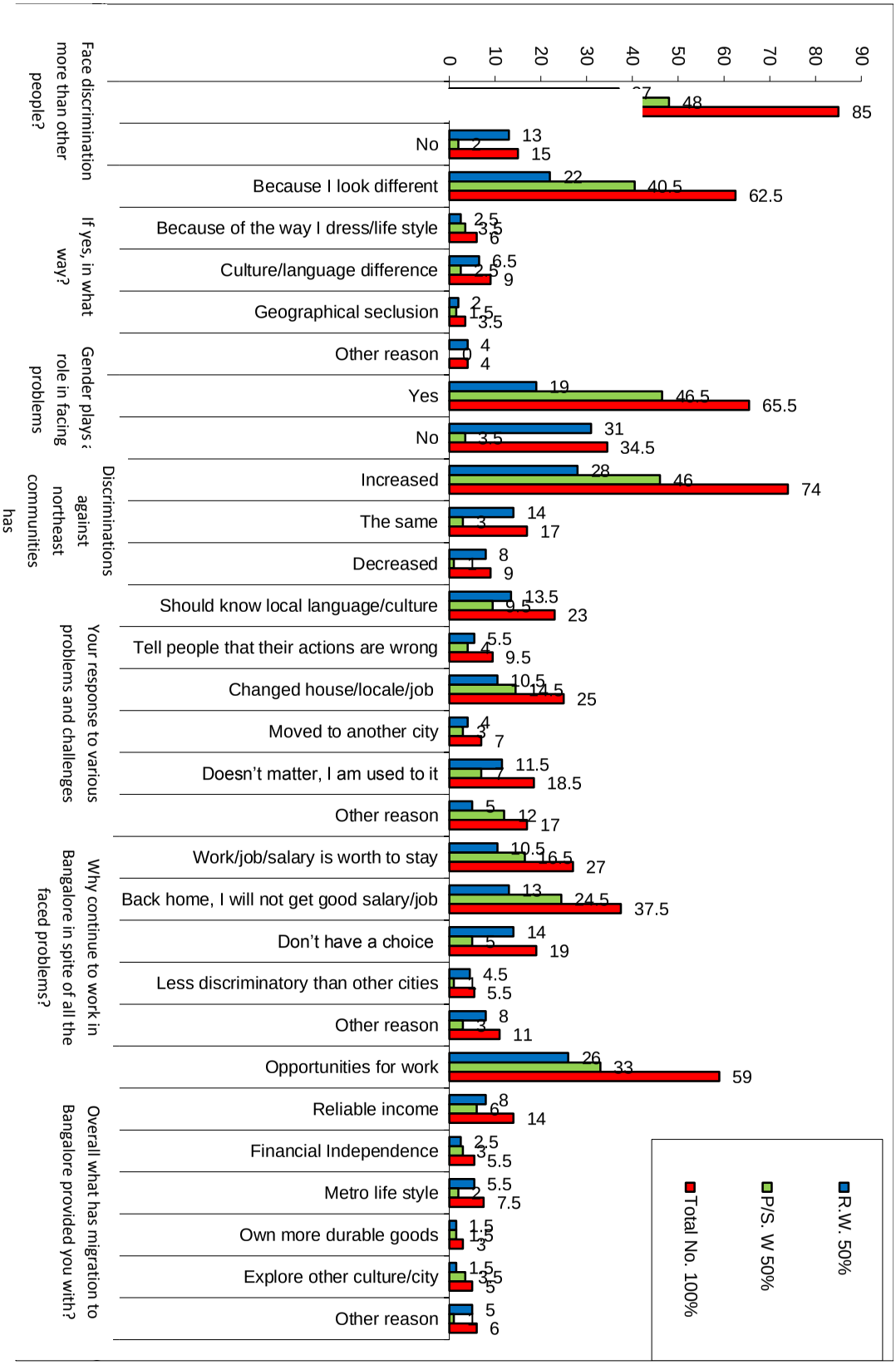
The question on whether the concerned individuals/associations and religious affiliations were 'helpful' or 'not helpful' when they (migrants) approached for help and support in times of problems/crisis, a majority of the respondents 83.5% mentioned 'very helpful' when ask for any help and assistance with regard to problems faced, of which 39% of the respondents are in restaurant work and majority 44.5% are in beauty parlour/spa. Another 9.5% of the respondents cited 'not helpful,' of which 6% of respondents in restaurants and 3.5% of respondents in beauty parlour/spa. The remaining 7% of the respondents indicate 'unapproachable,' of which 5% respondents are restaurant workers and 2% respondents are from beauty parlour/spa.

It is found that a majority, 66.5% of the migrants are not a registered member in any social or religious organizations however, when in times of problems and challenges it is found that many migrants seek support and solidarity from various organizations when need arises. Awomi rightly points that, "there are more than thousands of Sumi Naga community in Bangalore that includes both the students and workers although only few hundred are registered members. In most of the cases, people who are not a registered members are the ones who always seek association when they face problems, problems mostly related to non-payment of salary, denial and house rental issues etc., and we can't even say no when they seek our help."[185]

Migrants need to have a better information about the existence of own ethnic community/associations in the destined city and to enroll themselves as members so that whatever situations comes they can feel that there is always an individual/community who can stand for them both in good and bad times. Similarly, association leaders should also be more active in locating and reaching out to the most vulnerable migrants like those in restaurant and in beauty parlour/spa and by doing so, both the migrants and the organizations in general can have a better communication and support system when one is far away from home.

[185] Interview with Narka Awomi, President, Sumi Students Union Bangalore, 19 June 2016.

Figure 4.16 Response to the Faced Challenges



4.16.1. More Discrimination

The data on the question about the opinion with regards to racial discrimination, attacks, violence, harassment and various other challenges faced being a northeast migrant workers in Bangalore, a majority 85% of the respondents agreed to the fact that they do face discrimination of various forms more than other people (locals and other ethnic community) in and outside the work place, of which, 37% were male respondents and 48 per cent were female respondents. A small proportion of 15% respondents did not agree to the question asked of which, 13% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents.

4.16.1. (a) Reasons of Discrimination

85% of the respondents who indicate that they faced discrimination and challenges more than other groups of people, a majority 62.5% of the respondents indicate that they face discrimination mostly because they 'look different,' 22% were male respondents and a majority 40.5% were female respondents. Another 6% of the respondents indicate that they face more discrimination than other group of people, 'because of the way they dress and their way of living,' of which, 2.5% were male respondents and 3.5% were female respondents, while 9% of the respondents specify due to 'culture and language difference' they face more discrimination than other groups of people, of which 6.5% were male respondents and 2.5% were female respondents. Further, 4% of the male respondents specify 'other reason,' and the remaining 3.5% of the respondents felt that they face more discrimination because of 'geographical seclusion,' 2% were male respondents and 1.5% were female respondents.

4.16.2. Gender Disparity

Gender had influenced in the ways migrants face challenges as majority, 65.5% of the respondents felt that gender played a role of which, a small proportion of 19% were male respondents and a majority 46.5% were female respondents. Another 34.5% of the respondents do not think that gender played a role in the challenges and discrimination they face of which, 31% were male respondents and 3.5% were female respondents. The analysis shows the complex issues like the xenophobia that northeast Indians face

in the city, as well as gender stereotypes and thus northeast women migrants are more vulnerable due to their gender adding to being northeast migrants.

4.16.3. Racial Discrimination against Northeast Communities

A significant majority, 74% of the respondents' indication reveals that racial discrimination, violence and attacks against northeast people in Bangalore have 'increased' of which, 28% were male respondents and 46% were female respondents, while 17% of the respondents indicate that racial discrimination of various forms in the city has been 'the same' of which, 14% were male respondents and 3% were female respondents. The remaining 9% of the respondents indicate that racial discrimination against northeast communities has 'decreased' of which, 8% were male respondents and 1% female respondents.

4.16.4. Migrants Response to the Faced Challenges

The response regarding the faced challenges, 23% of the respondents indicate that one should 'know local language' and 'understand local culture,' of which 13.5% were male respondents and 9.5 per cent were female respondents. Another 9.5% of the respondents specify that they 'tell people that their actions are wrong,' 5.5% were male respondents and 4% were female respondents. While a majority, 25% of the respondents indicates that when faced with challenges they 'change house/locale/job,' of which 10.5% were male respondents and 14.5% were female respondents.

About 7% of the respondents mention that they 'move to another city,' of which 4% were male respondents and 3% were female respondents. Another majority, 18.5% of the respondents feel that whatever challenges they face that do not affect them or 'doesn't matter, as they are used to it,' of which 11.5% were male respondents and 7% were female respondents. The remaining 17% of the respondents indicate 'other reason,' of which 5% and 12% in restaurants and beauty parlour/spa respectively.

Some of the respondents pointed that they are adjusted with local culture and also learn local language especially to communicate and negotiate when situation demands. John mentions, "if you are in Karnataka, be like one, most importantly, humble and respect their sentiment be at work place or outside work place. If you are good to others you get

the same response and if you show arrogance you get the same."[186] Timung also points, "sometimes it is difficult being migrants especially when you look different, but you can still make your life easy by way of accommodating and learning others culture and way of life that makes life easier and contented and being a migrant you have to be resilient, thankful, and hopeful for the best."[187] While most of the respondents in order to avoid discrimination and challenges they either move to other cities, another locale, moved jobs and moved to different work sector etc., but apparently not much of change happens when it comes to discrimination especially non-payment or delay of salary in work place and various forms of discrimination they face in and outside the work place.

4.16.5. Why continue to Work in Bangalore

Northeast migrants continue to work in Bangalore in spite of all the challenges. Varied responses were specified by the respondents: 27% of the respondents specified that they continue to work as 'job/salary is worth,' of which 10.5% were male respondents and 16.5% were female respondents, while a majority 37.5% of the respondents felt that 'they will not get salary or job in the native place,' of which 13% were male respondents and 24.5 % were female respondents.

Further, 19% of the respondents indicate that they 'don't have a choice,' which means even if they face discrimination on various grounds, they need to stay and work for their 'family sustainability,' of which 14% were male respondents and 5% were female respondents. About 5.5% of the respondents felt that Bangalore is 'less discriminatory' when compared to other cities like, Delhi, Hyderabad and Mumbai etc., of which 4.5 per cent were male respondents and 1% female respondents. The remaining 11% of the respondents indicated 'other reason,' 8% and 3% of male and female respondents respectively.

4.16.6. Migration to Bangalore has provided

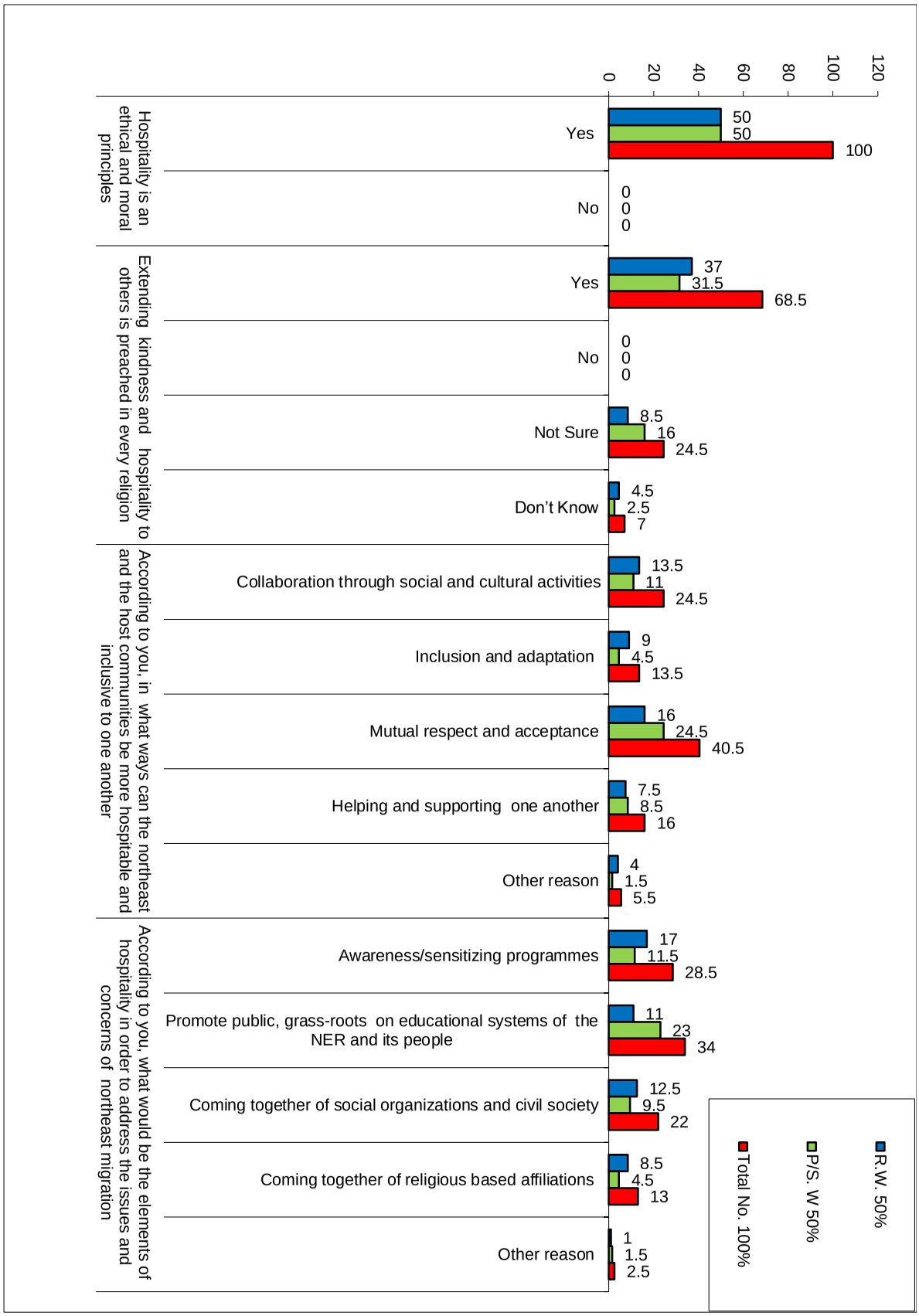
A majority, 59% of the respondents indicate that migration to Bangalore has provided them with an 'opportunity for work,' 26% were male respondents and 33% were female

[186] Jotham K. John, Jotham K. John, President, Arunachal Students Union of Karnataka, 16 June 2016.
[187] Hom Singh Timung, General Secretary, Karbi Students Association Bangalore, 17 October 2016.

respondents, while 14% of the respondents specify that migration to Bangalore has provided them a 'reliable income,' 8% were male respondents and 6% were female respondents. Another 5.5% of the respondents' mention that migration to Bangalore has provided them with a 'financial independence,' of which 2.5% were male respondents and 3% were female respondents.

Further, 7.5% of the respondents indicated that they like the 'metro life/city life style,' 5.5% were male respondents and 2% were female respondents, about 3% of the respondents indicate that migration to Bangalore has provided them resources to 'own more durable goods,' 1.5% were male respondents and another 1.5% were female respondents. Another 5% of the respondents indicated that migration has provided them an opportunity to 'explore other culture/city,' 1.5% were male respondents and 3.5 per cent were female respondents, and the remaining 6% of the respondents indicated 'other reasons,' 5% were male respondents and 1% were female respondents.

Figure 4.17 Migration and Hospitality



4.17.1. Migration and Hospitality

The question on whether extending hospitality to one another is ethical and moral principle in an individual's life, all the 200 respondents agreed. While another question related to kindness and hospitality to 'others' is preached/practiced in every religion; out of the 200 respondents a majority, 68.5% of the respondents agreed that all religious traditions do preach/practice hospitality to others, of which 37% are male respondents and 31.5% are female respondents. Another, 24.5% of the respondents indicated 'not sure,' of which 8.5% are male respondents and 16% are female respondents. Further, 7% of the respondents indicated 'don't know, 'of which 4.5% are male respondents and 2.5% are female respondents.

4.17.2. Hospitality as Inclusive

Hospitality as inclusive in terms of the ways in which the northeast and the host communities be more hospitable to one another, it is found that among 200 respondents, 24.5% of the respondents indicated 'collaboration through social and cultural activities,' the migrating and receiving community could be more hospitable and inclusive to one another, of which 13.5% are in restaurants and 11% are in beauty parlour/spa sector. Another 13.5% view 'inclusion and adaptation,' of other culture in terms of way of living, one can be more hospitable to others, of which 9% are in restaurant and another 4.5% are in beauty parlour/spa.

A majority, 40.5% of the respondents indicated 'mutual respect and acceptance,' of which 16% are in restaurant and 24.5% are in beauty parlour/spa. Further, 16% of the respondents indicate 'helping and supporting one another,' of which 7.5% and 8.5% are in restaurant and beauty parlour/spa respectively. The remaining 5.5% of the respondents indicate 'other reason,' of which 4% work in restaurant and 1.5% in beauty parlour/spa.

4.17.3. Elements of Hospitality

The respondents' opinion with regard to the elements of hospitality in order to address the issues and concerns of northeast migrants in Bangalore, a majority of the respondents indicated 'awareness and sensitizing programmes.' They are 28.5% both in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas, of which 17% were male respondents and 11.5%

were female respondents. Another majority 34% of the respondents indicated ‘promote public and grass-roots levels on educational systems about the NER and its people,’ of which 11% were male respondents and 23% were female respondents. Further, 22% of the respondents indicate ‘coming together of social organizations and civil society,’ of which 12.5% were male respondents and another 9.5% were female respondents. While 13% of the respondents indicate ‘coming together of religious based affiliations,’ of which 8.5% were male respondents and 4.5% were female respondents. The remaining 2.5% of the respondents indicated ‘other reason,’ of which 1% male respondents and 1.5% were female respondents.

Findings of the Empirical Data

Socio-economic and Demographic Profile

Age Group, Gender composition and Demographic Profiles

The findings from the survey data shows that 50% were male respondents working in restaurants and another 50% were female respondents working in beauty parlours and spas of which a majority, 93.5% were unmarried/single and a small proportion of 6.5% were married at the time of the study. Another 36.5% of the respondents were between the age group of 21-23 years; 25 % were between 18-20 years, 18% were between 24-26 years, 11% were 27-29 years, and the remaining 9.5 per cent of the respondents were between the age group of 30-32 years.

A vast number of the respondents of 21.5% are from the state of Manipur; while 20.5% from Assam, another 16% from Nagaland, 15.5% from Mizoram, 9% from Sikkim, 6% each from the state of Meghalaya and Tripura and 5.5% from Arunachal Pradesh. Of the eight states a majority, 63% of the respondents are from the rural area, and 37% of the respondents are from the urban area.

Social and Religious Group

A majority, 73% of the respondent belongs to Schedule Tribe; another 10% were Schedule Caste, about 8.5% Upper Caste, while 5% belong to Other Backward Class, and 3.5% of the respondents were non-tribal. Further, majority 67.5% of the respondents were Christians, another 20% were Hindus, 7% male respondents were Muslims, and 5.5% of the respondents were Buddhists.

Education Level

Majority, 60.5% of the respondents were school/high school, or higher secondary school drop-outs; another 16% completed higher secondary schools, about 10.5% did not complete their graduate studies, while 8% and 5% of the respondents completed their graduate and post-graduate studies.

Occupation before Migrating

A significant majority, 43% of the respondents' were unemployed before migrating to Bangalore; another 33.5% were students, while 21.5% were employed in private sectors in the native place and other metro cities before coming to Bangalore and 2% were self-employed.

Reason for leaving the Job

Of the 21.5% of the respondents who were employed before coming to Bangalore: 8% left the job in other cities due to 'non-payment of salary,' another 7% indicate 'insufficient income,' in the native place and 6% specify 'insufficient income,' in other metro cities.

Contributory Factors Leading to Migration

Reason for Migration

A significant majority, 53% of the respondents migrate to Bangalore to seek for 'job opportunities,' another 21.5% migrated for 'better employment and salary.' The remaining 25% migrate due to varied reasons such as; Ethnic/social/political/ insurgent conflicts, natural disaster, peer influence, better social status, and personal independence etc. From the findings, it is confirmed that both push and pull factors weigh in terms of the respondents' reasons to migrate to Bangalore.

Source of Initiative for Migration to Bangalore

A bulk, 35.5% of the respondents reported 'friends' initiated their migration to Bangalore; while another 32 per cent of the respondents' migration to Bangalore was initiated by cousins and relatives, 14% respondents' themselves initiated, about 9% were initiated by parents or siblings, 6.5% indicate 'recruitment and agencies' as the source of initiative for migration, and 3% indicate own 'ethnic community/associations' as the source of initiative in their migration process.

Migrating to Bangalore with Person/s

A majority, 39.5% specify that they migrate to Bangalore with 'friends,' about 26.5% migrate 'alone,' another 22% migrate with sibling, cousins, and relatives. Further, 6.5%

migrate with own 'ethnic community,' and 5.5% come to Bangalore with 'recruiter and agent.'

Residing Area

The findings reveals that a majority, 23% of the respondents were residing in Koramangala; 20.5% in Indiranagar, 15% in Kammanahalli, 12% in Ejipura, 8% in Hennur, 7.5% in Viveknagar, and about 7% each were residing in Lingarajpuram and Banaswadi at the time of the study.

Accommodation

A majority, 38% of the respondents indicated that they were residing at the accommodation provided by the company/employer, of which, a majority 25.5% are male respondents and 13% are female respondents. Another majority, 36% of the respondents are residing in a rented house, about 22.5% in the paying guest house/s and 3% of the female respondents resided in their relative's house during the time of the study. It is found that none of the respondent, both working and those who own restaurants and beauty parlours and spas own a house in Bangalore.

Patterns of Employment

A majority, 76% of the total respondents were not given any employment letter while joining work, of which 38.5% in restaurants and 37.5% in beauty parlours/spas. The nature of employment is often informal and verbal. There is no proper agreement or contract between the employer and employees. Thus the trend across these survey locales where the northeast people working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas, don't get employment letter, neither do they work as a permanent nor work on a contract basis. They continue to shift from one job to another in most of the cases due to work timings, amount of leave, salary and other matters related to their job and work.

Monthly Income

A significant majority, 40% of the respondents both working in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas were in the income group of Rs. 11,000- 12,000; another 12% earn between Rs. 19,000- 20,000, about 11% earn between Rs. 1000-8,000 per month, 8.5% earn between Rs. 9,000- 10,000. Another 8.5% of the respondents income per month

comes between Rs. 21,000- 24,000, while 7.5% earn between Rs. 13,000- 15,000, about 7% of the respondents were in the income group of Rs. 16,000- 18,000 and the remaining 5.5% of the respondents earn Rs. 25,000 and above per month.

Patterns of Saving

An overwhelming majority, 39% of the respondents indicate that they 'send money to parents,' in the native place, while 27% of the respondents indicated their answer as 'support sibling's education.' Another 12% indicated 'loan/debt repayment,' about 11.5% respondents specified 'save their earnings,' 9.5% specified that they spend their income on 'own needs and wants,' and the remaining 1% of the respondents who are in beauty parlour/spa indicates 'other reason.'

Regular and Irregular Salary

It is found that a majority, 54% of the total respondents mentioned that they 'do not get salary on time,' of which 26.5% are male respondents and 27.5% are female respondents.

Work Environment, Health Issues and Impact on Family

Working Hours

It is found that a majority, 42.5% of the respondents work for 11-12 hours; another 21.5% of the respondents work for 10-11 hours, about 15% of the respondents work for about 9- 10 hours, while 11.5% of the respondents work for more than 12 hours a day and the remaining 9.5% of the respondents work for 8- 9 hours. Most respondents (both restaurants and beauty parlour/spas) work from 10:30 AM to 12 PM, but are not paid for extra working hours as reported by 67.5% of the respondents. On the other hand, safety and security of these groups of people are always at risk especially when they have to go back to their accommodation late night or mid morning. Many incidents have taken place in the recent past, especially those working in restaurants, for instance, while going back from the work place, some of them have been robbed, attacked, threatened, hit and run and in some cases, leading to even deaths.

Change of Job and Reason for Changing the Job

A majority, 57% of the respondents changed their jobs, of which 26% are male respondents and 31% are female respondents. Of the 57% respondents who left their previous jobs, following are the reasons: 16 per cent of the respondents indicated that they left the job due to the 'delay in payment of salary,' another 13.5 per specified 'non-payment of salary,' about 10% indicate 'insufficient income,' while 8.5% specified 'extra working hours,' 4% specified 'work harassment,' and the remaining 5% of the female respondents indicate 'sexual harassment.'

Finding another Job

A majority, 42.5% of the respondents indicate that they get jobs 'easily' compared to local people, another 38.5% indicate 'depends on one's skills and experience' to get a job/work, while 19 % of the respondents felt that it is 'difficult' to get a job in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas.

It is clearly evident that a majority of the northeast migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlour/spas sector felt that they get job easily and this is also true. Depending on the salary they get, one continues to work in the same place for about a year or more. Though in most of the cases, both in restaurant and beauty parlour, when they are not given their due salary or faced with any situation, they move to another job or work sector.

It is found that the trend across these survey locales where the northeast people working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas, don't get employment letter, neither do they work as a permanent nor work on a contract basis. They continue to shift from one job to another in most of the cases and are easily hired to work in both the sectors with no proper agreement however. When one enters into the mentioned sectors, they face a lot of challenges (salary, extra work, harassment etc), which perhaps lead them to find another job, and in some cases, when these workers are not tuned to the same as what the employers wanted, they are the first to be sacked from work.

Health Hazards

One factor associated with the respondents' health conditions is due to excessive working hours, 17.5 % indicate that working in restaurant and in beauty parlour/spa 'always,' affect their health, while 23% signify that working in restaurant and in beauty parlour/spa does 'sometimes' affect their health. The remaining 59.5% of the respondents thinks otherwise.

Reason for Health Hazards

The reason given by the 40.5% of the respondents who indicate that working in restaurant and beauty parlour does 'always' and 'sometimes' affect their health conditions are as follows; A majority, 30.5% of the respondents mentioned that it is due to 'long working hours,' while 5% specified 'inconsistent food timing,' as their reason for health hazard. Another 1.5% indicates 'personal health issues,' and the remaining 3.5% of the respondents, indicate 'other reasons.'

Impact on Family and its Reason

A significant majority, 64.5% of the respondents indicate that working in Bangalore does affect their relationship with family members back home while, 35.5% of the respondents indicate the opposite. 14.5% indicate 'less communication' with parents and families as the reason, while a majority, 36.5% specified that they 'couldn't visit parents/family members often,' as the reason. Further, 7% of the respondents indicate the reason as 'couldn't provide the needs of the family,' while the remaining 6.5% of the respondents mentioned less 'parental care and guidance,' as the reason that affects their relation with their family members back home.

Improved Household Living

It is found that an overwhelming majority, 62.5% of the respondents indicate that household living has improved 'to some extent' due to their migration, while 28.5% indicate that household living has been 'constant.' Another 9% of the respondents mentioned that their household living standard has 'significantly' improved after migrating to Bangalore.

Racial Discrimination, Harassment and Physical Attacks in and outside the Workplace

Racial Discrimination in and outside the Workplace

A majority, 58.5% of the respondents points out that they are discriminated based on 'ethnic appearance,' in the work place, while 41.5% does not get biased. Of the 58.8%, 20.5% indicate racial discrimination from the 'employer,' another 15% indicate 'manager/assistant manager, 14.5% 'costumer and clients,' and 8.5% of the respondents faced racial discrimination from 'colleague.'

A majority, 86.5% of the respondents expressed that they face racial discrimination outside the work place (market places, neighbourhood, and other public places etc), only a small proportion of 13.5% does not. Of the 86.5% of the respondents a majority, 30.5% indicate that they face racial discrimination from 'auto drivers, taxi drivers, bus drivers and conductors,' another 25% indicate 'land/house owner,' 16.5% indicate 'unknown locals,' 7% indicate 'neighbours,' 5.5% indicate 'shopkeepers, vendors and other service providers,' and the remaining 2% of the respondents indicate 'employer, colleague, customer and clients.'

Nature of Racial Discrimination in and outside the Workplace

The nature of racial discrimination experienced by 58.5% of the respondents indicate: a majority, 18.5% respondents mention the nature of racial discrimination in terms of 'delay/denied of salary,' 14.5% indicate 'extra working hours,' 13% specify use of 'racist and abusive language,' 5% mentioned being 'scolded or shouted at for no reason,' 4% specify 'denied of promotion,' and the remaining 3.5% of the respondents indicate the nature of racial discrimination based on 'unequal salary.'

The nature of racial discrimination faced by the 86.5% of the respondents outside the work place shows that a majority, 30.5% of the respondents state 'charging extra money' by the transport providers both private transport and public transport. Another majority, 25% indicate 'extra house rent/deposit,' about 14.5% state 'racial and abusive comments,' while 11% indicate the nature of discrimination as 'provoke or taunt,' and

the remaining 5.5% of the respondents indicate ‘charging extra money by the shopkeepers, vendors,’ retail and other service providers.

Racial Attack and Violence in and outside the Workplace

A total of 21% respondents faced racial attack and violence in work place, while a majority, 79% of the respondents did not face any racial attack or violence in work place. Of the 21% of the respondents’ who experienced racial attack and violence in workplace: 8.5% indicate ‘colleague,’ 5.5% specify ‘customers and clients,’ 4.5% indicate ‘manager and assistant manager,’ and 2.5% of the respondents were racially attacked by the ‘employer’ in workplace.

A majority, 74% of the respondents do not faced any racial attack or violence outside the work place, while 26% of the respondents expressed that they faced racial attacks and violence outside the work place. Of the 26% of the respondents a majority, 13% respondents expressed that they were racially attacked by ‘unknown locals,’ another 7.5% indicate ‘neighbour,’ and about 2.5% of the male respondents were racially attacked by ‘auto and taxi drivers.’ Further, 1.5% indicate ‘house owner,’ and another 1.5% indicate ‘employer, colleague, customer and clients.’

Nature of Racial Attack and Violence in and outside the Workplace

The nature of attack and violence experienced by the respondent are as follows; 10.5% of the respondents were ‘racially and verbally abused,’ ‘insulted’ and were ‘threatened’ in work place, 5.5% of the respondents were ‘slapped, punched and kicked,’ 4% of the respondents were attacked violently, ‘pushed and got into fight,’ in work place, 1% of the male respondents was ‘attacked with weapon,’ (knife) in work place by their co-workers.

The nature of racial attack and violence experienced by the 26% of the respondents are as follows: 13.5% of respondents were ‘threatened’ and have faced hostile approach outside the work place, 7% of the respondents were ‘ assault, punched and kicked,’ 3.5% of the respondents were ‘robbed,’ and 2% of the respondents were ‘attacked with a weapon,’ outside the workplace.

Harassment in and outside the Workplace

It is found that 39% of the respondents reported that they faced racial and sexual harassment in the workplace, while 61% of the respondents do not face any harassment in work place. Of the 39% respondents reported racial harassment and sexual harassment in work place a majority, 25% indicate harassment from 'customer/client,' 9% indicate 'employer,' 4% specify 'manager and assistant manager,' and 1% of the female respondents experienced harassment from 'colleague.'

A majority, 57% of the respondents faced harassment of various kinds outside the workplace, while 43% of the respondents indicate that they did not experience any forms of harassment outside the work place. Of the 57% respondents who experienced harassment a majority, 40.5% of the respondents indicate that they faced harassment from 'unknown locals.' Further, 6% reported that they faced harassment 'neighbour,' another 5% indicate 'auto, taxi, bus drivers and conductors,' about 3% indicate 'employer/colleague/customers and clients,' and the 2.5% respondents indicate harassment from the 'land/house owner. '

Nature of Harassment in and outside the Workplace

Following are the 'nature' of harassment indicated by 39% of the respondents: a majority, 9% and 8.5% of the female respondents indicate 'verbal harassment,' and 'sexual harassment,' in workplace. While 8.5% of the respondents indicate 'verbal harassment' which is racial in nature, 6% of the respondents indicate 'weird stares,' another 5% specified 'physical harassment,' and the remaining 2% of the female respondents indicate 'written' (sending text message/pictures in phones), which are racial and sexual in nature. In most of the cases men are beaten, abused and assaulted physically while women are physically, sexually abused and harassed.

The types and 'nature of harassment' faced by a majority, 57% of the respondents outside the workplace: 15.5% of the female respondents were 'verbally harassed,' which is sexual in nature, another 12.5% of the respondents faced harassment in the form of 'weird stares,' outside the work place, in market places, road and other public and private places. Further, 11% of respondents were 'verbally harassed,' and abused because of their ethnicity/racial (facial features), about 8% respondents indicate

'physical harassment,' while 7% of the female respondents were 'sexually harassed,' the remaining 3% of the respondents were imposed of 'moral policing,' which is both racial and sexual. Gender plays an important role as most of the female respondents were verbally and physically harassed (sexual in nature), while male respondents were verbally and physically harassed (which in most of the cases are racial in nature).Thus gender also plays different roles to both men and women in terms of discrimination, attacks, violent behavior and harassment of various kinds in and outside the work place.

Experience of Name calling in and outside the Work Place

It is found that 40% of the respondents in workplace indicate that they are being called by various names which are racial and discriminatory in nature such as 'Chinky,' 'Chinese,' and 'Chowmein' in the work place, and another 80.5% of the respondents indicate that they did experienced name calling outside the work place.

Socio-cultural and Religious Participation

Registered Member in Associations

Majority 66.5% of the respondents' were not registered members in their own ethnic associations/community or religious based affiliations, while 33.5% of the respondents are members in their own ethnic associations/communities and religious affiliations in Bangalore.

Participation in Social and Religious Activities

The respondents were asked to cite reasons for not being member in their own ethnic a majority, 56.5% of the respondents mentioned that they 'cannot go or involve' association/community activities 'due to their work.' Another 76.5% reported the same for religious gathering and activities. A majority of the migrants mentioned the reason being that, most of the ethnic gatherings like students fresher's meet, socio- cultural activities etc., are usually organized on weekends and thus for the migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlours, weekends are always hectic and demanding that they do not get leave from work.

Source of Support when faced with Problems

Respondents indication from the collected survey found that a majority, 34.5% signify 'own ethnic association/community' as a source of support when they are faced with

problems. Another majority of 30.5% of the respondents indicates 'Northeast Solidarity,' about 15.5% of the respondents indicate 'NEWAK.' Further, 8% specify 'friend/sibling/relative,' while only female respondents specify 'own religious affiliations,' and 'local neighbor/community/organizations,' as source of support.

Response to the Faced Challenges

More Discrimination

A majority, 85% of the respondents agreed to the fact that they do face discrimination more than other people (locals and other ethnic community) in and outside the work place, while a small proportion of 15% respondents disagree.

Reasons of Discrimination

Of the 85% respondents who indicate that they faced discrimination and challenges more than other groups of people, a majority 62.5% of the respondents indicate because they 'look different,' while 9% of the respondents specify due to 'culture and language difference.' Another 6% of the respondents indicate 'because of the way they dress and their way of living,' about 4% of the male respondents specify 'other reason,' and the remaining 3.5% of the respondents felt that they face more discrimination because of 'geographical seclusion.' It is evident from the respondents' indication that one of the major aspects is the acts of discriminating an individual basing on his/her 'ethnic appearance.' Thus it confirm that, northeast people working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas face various forms of racial discrimination and harassment more than other ethnic groups or people from other Indian states.

Racial Discrimination against Northeast Communities

A significant majority, 74% of the respondents' indication reveals that racial discrimination, violence and attacks against northeast people in Bangalore have 'increased,' while 17% of the respondents indicate 'the same,' and the remaining 9% of the respondents indicate that racial discrimination against northeast communities has 'decreased.'

Response to the Faced Challenges

It is found out that a majority, 25% of the respondents 'change house/locale/job,' when faced with problems, another 23% of the respondents opines that one should 'know local language' and 'understand local culture.' About 18.5% of the respondents feel that whatever challenges they face that do not affect them or 'doesn't matter, as they are used to it,' while 17% of the respondents indicate 'other reason.' Further 9.5% of the respondents specify that they 'tell people that their actions are wrong,' and another 7% of the respondents mention that they 'move to another city.'

Why continue to Work in Bangalore

Northeast migrants continue to work in Bangalore in spite of all the challenges one face on a daily basis. Varied responses were indicated by the respondents, of which a majority, 37.5% of the respondents felt that 'they will not get a sufficient salary or adequate job in the native place.' Another 27% of the respondents specify that they continue to work in Bangalore as 'job and salary are significant.' Further, 19% of the respondents indicate that they 'don't have a choice,' which means even if they face discrimination on various grounds, they need to stay and work for their 'family sustainability.' About 11% of the respondents indicated 'other reason,' and 5.5% of the respondents felt that Bangalore is 'less discriminatory,' when compared to other cities like, Delhi, Hyderabad and Mumbai.

Migration to Bangalore has provided

A majority, 59% of the respondents indicated that migration to Bangalore has provided them with an 'opportunity for work,' while 14% of the respondents' specified 'reliable income.' Another 7.5% of the respondents indicate 'metro life/city life style,' about 6% of the respondents indicate 'other reasons.' Further, 5.5% of the respondents' mentions that migration to Bangalore has provided them with a 'financial independence,' another 5% of the respondents indicate 'explore other culture/city,' and about 3% of the respondents indicate that migration to Bangalore has provided them resources to 'own more durable goods.'

Migration and Hospitality

The question on whether extending hospitality to one another is ethical and moral principle in an individual's life, all the 200 respondents agreed. Further, question related to kindness and hospitality to 'others' is preached in every religion, a majority, 68.5% of the respondents agreed. Another, 24.5% of the respondents indicated 'not sure,' 7% of the respondents indicated 'don't know.'

Hospitality as inclusive in terms of the ways in which the northeast and the host community can be reciprocally hospitable to one another; a majority, 40.5% of the respondents indicated 'mutual respect and acceptance,' and 24.5% of the respondents indicated 'collaboration through social and cultural activities.' Further, 16% of the respondents indicate 'helping and supporting one another,' about 13.5% view 'inclusion and adaptation,' of other culture in terms of way of living, and 5.5% of the respondents indicate 'other reason.'

The respondents' opinion with regard to the elements of hospitality to address the issues and concerns of northeast migrants in Bangalore, a majority 34% of the respondents indicated 'promotes public and grass-roots levels on educational systems about the NER and its people,' and 28.5% of the respondents indicated 'awareness and sensitizing programmes.' Further, 22% of the respondents indicate 'coming together of social organizations and civil society,' about 13% of the respondents indicate 'coming together of religious based affiliations,' and 2.5% of the respondents indicated 'other reason.'

The analysis and findings of the empirical data shows that, one of the primary reasons for migration is, 'search of job opportunities' and better job prospects to sustain their livelihood. Drawing from the migrants accounts, both push and pull factors have influenced the respondents to migrate to Bangalore. For many of the respondents, migrating to Bangalore was a dream come true in terms of migrating, living in the new environment, and earning a good amount to sustain their needs and wants. Such is their reality of experiencing what they had been hearing from their friends, relatives and ethnic community before their migration and thus, with the growing opportunities available in Bangalore, respondents migrate to the city. Migrating to Bangalore gives

the migrants a positive outlook in terms of financial security, able to look after the family members back home, improvement of their social status, access to city life of independence, and opportunity to explore other people's culture etc. Upon coming to the destined city, the respondents undergo a rapid process of change and adjustment, usually going through a culture-shock, language barrier, long working hours, non-payment of salary, racial discrimination, harassment and other vulnerable situations after migrating to Bangalore. Opportunities for work and to earn a decent income outside the native place are attached with various challenges: from having to make linguistic, cultural, and even physical adjustments including finding a job and accommodation in the new environment. The experiences of varied forms of discrimination, alienation, and physical attacks faced by the respondents in and outside the work place are evident in countless incidents one hears in every-day life as borne out by the facts presented.

In such situation of vulnerability, migrants are not only 'victims,' but are, 'survivors.' In order to make sense of their contingency of existence migrants take courage and move beyond the concept of being victimhood. They taking solace in resilient spirit and creating a space of belonging, through celebrations, festivals and solidarity meeting with one another in Bangalore. Partly it is because; they are also deeply oriented towards their communitarian way of life. Further, employers, individuals and the host community in general with tolerant attitude have helped the migrants to facilitate for work opportunities in the destined city. Basing on the lived experiences and varied challenges faced by the migrants, the following chapter will look at some of the concept of hospitality from the biblical narratives and explore as to how hospitality can be a means to facilitate the northeast migrants and vice versa.

CHAPTER FIVE
A BIBLICAL CONCEPT OF HOSPITALITY

Introduction

Biblical accounts recount many examples of hospitality that speak of a particular context, and how people were received and shown hospitality. This chapter attempts to explore some of the biblical concept of hospitality recounted in the biblical narratives however, the accounts of hospitality are neither comprehensive nor detailed survey in biblical exegesis rather; it seeks to look at selected passages for example like Abraham's hospitality in Genesis 18, the parable of the last judgment in Mat. 25: 35-46 the parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10:29-37, and the account of hospitality in Acts 10 etc. The biblical implications on loving and extending hospitality to the strangers and other socio-religious community found in these passages are very significant when one consider applying to the migrating people who are considered as the 'other' or 'stranger.'

5.1. Hospitality in the Old Testament

Hospitality is embedded in God's love for welcoming His creation. God, the Great Host, invites His guests into His house, the created world so that his creation could share their livelihood and their life, with their fellow guests on His earth. The example of hospitality of that is found in the Old Testament where God offers His creation a living space to Adam and Eve (Genesis 2).[188] God as the host exemplar abounds in the Scripture illustrating the hospitable acts of God that takes place in divine hospitality in the history of Israel, and thus this proves the gift of God's hospitality and gives birth to an ethic of welcoming others.[189] The Old Testament does not have a specific word for the concept of hospitality although the practice is evident throughout the whole Hebrew Scripture. Hospitality is extolled in many examples in the Old Testament.[190]

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[188] Kevin D. O'Gorman, "Modern Hospitality: Lessons from the Past," in *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management,* vol. 12, no. 2 (August, 2005): 146-147.
[189] Mathew Illathuparampil, "Generous Imaginings: Theology of Hospitality," in *Jeevadhara: A Journal for Socio-Religious Research*, vol. xi, no. 240, (November 2010): 431.
[190] Andrew E. Arterbury, "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality, the Greek Novels, and Acts 10:1-11:18," in *Perspectives in Religious Studies*, vol.29, no.1 (Spring 2002): 55.

Abraham's hospitality to three strangers in Genesis 18: 1- 15; in this passage, Yahweh in the form of three strangers appears to Abraham (Genesis 18:1a), without realizing the divine visitation, he offers hospitality to three strangers. Abraham not only greets his visitors, but also rushes to serve and offers them the best that he had.[191] According to Richard, "Abraham's hospitality to the three strangers is hospitality to God. Abraham hurries to find food, he kneels before his hosts, washes their feet, and gives them bread and milk."[192] Pohl similarly notes, "Abraham graciously welcomed three visitors who mysteriously appeared as he sat outside his tent in the heat of the day. He addressed, the unexpected guests with honour and deference, offered them water to wash their feet and an opportunity to rest."[193] Such hospitality on the part of Abraham is made even more significant when one realizes that Abraham is the "archetypal migrant, called to leave all and to become intentionally homeless in a view of a promise yet to be fulfilled- was sitting beneath the Oak at Mamre."[194]

Abraham engages in an act of hospitality with no expectations of anything good in return, but blessed with a message concerning God's fulfilling of the covenant established between them, the fulfillment of the Lord's promise to grant Abraham a son by Sarah. The story of Abraham and Sarah is the finest example of showing hospitality toward strangers.[195] In receiving and being hospitable to strangers /others, Abraham and Sarah not only received God's blessings but God Himself. Thus, in the Old Testament one find hospitality as a fundamental moral practice and belief to welcome and receive others that is associated with God, covenant and blessing.[196]

Two notable stories in the Old Testament that describe the hospitality of women to travelling prophets, one who offers hospitality in the face of starvation. Elijah travelling

[191] Andrew E. Arterbury, "Abraham's Hospitality," 359- 376.
[192] Lucien Richard, *Living the Hospitality of God* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2000), 29.
[193] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 24.
[194] Mike Purcell, "Christ, the Stranger: The Ethical Originality of Homelessness," in *Concilium* (2008/5): 64.
[195] Hemchand Gossai, *Power and Marginality in the Abraham Narrative* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2010), 27
[196] Christine D. Pohl, "Biblical Issues in Mission and Migration," in *Missiology: An International Review*, vol. 31, no. 1, (January, 2003): 7.

to a foreign town, asks a widow there for hospitality 1 Kings 17: 7-24. In the midst of a drought, and on the brink of starvation, the widow of Zarephath shares the last of her meager resources with Elijah, and receives abundant blessings in return, for not only does the lord provide sustenance throughout the drought, but Elijah is able to restore life to widow's son.[197] Another foreigner, a wealthy Shunammite woman, provides hospitality to the prophet Elisha 2 Kings 4: 8-36. The Shunammite woman arranged to build a room for Elisha so that he could stay in whenever he passed Shunem. The story offers details of the furnishing of the special room for Prophet Elisha: a bed, table, chair, and lamp. The woman and her husband are rewarded with a blessing of a son, and, when the son later dies, he is brought back to life by Elisha.[198]

The book of Ruth depicts a story of Ruth, her survival and safety in a foreign land. After the death of Elimelech and his sons, Naomi and Ruth return to Bethlehem, Judah (Ruth. 1: 19). One sees the story of Ruth and Naomi's hospitality toward one another despite differences of ethnicity and religion shows that "differences are not hindrances and that God's welcome is a form of partnership with the other."[199]

Similarly, Boaz's hospitality to Ruth when she goes to the field and distinguishes herself by her hard work, and Boaz let her continue to glean, drink, eat and his instruction to his workers to pull out some stalks for her to pick, point to creating a welcoming for Ruth. Moreover Boaz acts not only with great generosity but also announcement to marry Ruth demonstrates hospitality regardless of the boundaries set by tradition and community.[200] Boaz not only welcomes a Moabite woman who was a stranger an outsider, but his acts of hospitality built-in of stranger/foreigner into the

[197] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 25- 26.
[198] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 26.
[199] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*: *God's Welcome in a World of Difference* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009). 99.
[200] Lucas Chan, "The Hebrew Bible and the Discourse on Migration: A Reflection on the virtue of Hospitality in the Book of Ruth," in *Asian Horizons*, vol, 8, no.4, (December 2014): 674-675.

community. In other words, Boaz's hospitality to Ruth is seen as the "outworking of God's plan of salvation in the world."[201]

The practice of hospitality has a long heritage as a valued custom since time immemorial and even among the Greeks and the Jews; Arterbury differentiates the nature of hospitality as practiced by the Greco-Roman and Jewish as diverse,[202] yet shared by many of its characteristics. Jewish hosts were expected to address the physical needs, as well as the safety of their guest(s). The host approaches the guest, greets or receives him/her, brings the guest into the home, where the guest is seated, fed, and given water to wash.[203]

Jewish hosts also provided water to wash one's feet, or bathed their guest's feet themselves, only after the initial customs were finished, could the host ask the guest's identity, for the reason that the basis for Jewish hospitality was grounded to be faithful and loyalty and often, the relationship between guest and host was reciprocal. The synagogue was also a likely place to seek a host and it became more a custom for Jewish travelers to stay with distant relatives or fellow Israelites.[204] In the Jewish culture, Abraham's hospitality was often seen as a perfect model of hospitality and the paradigmatic story of exemplary hospitality for both the ancient Israelite, Jewish and early Christian hospitality.[205]

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[201] J. D. Payne, *Strangers Next Door: Immigration, Migration and Mission*. (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2012). 73.

[202] Arterbury notes, "Greco-Roman hospitality often resulted in an extended stay by the guests. Greco-Roman hospitality carried with it the expectation that the host should make substantial sacrifices in order to provide the guests with expensive or valuable gifts. Conversely, in Jewish hospitality, the guest stayed for shorter lengths of time, often only for a meal (eg, Gen 18:1-33). In addition, Jewish hosts were obligated to provide a meal, but much less emphasis was placed upon giving expensive gifts to the guest." See Andrew E Arterbury, "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality, 56.

[203] Andrew E. Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels: Early Christian Hospitality in its Mediterranean Setting* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Phoenix Press Ltd, 2005), 51.

[204] Andrew E. Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 83.

[205] Andrew E Arterbury, "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality," 55.

5.2. Hospitality to the Stranger in the Old Testament

The exhortation to welcome the strangers occurs no less than thirty-six times in Hebrew Scripture.[206] Carroll points four terms used in the Old Testament to refer to outsiders. They are; *ger*, *tosab*, *nokri* and *zar*.[207] The term *ger* is translated as 'stranger' and it occurs over ninety times in the Old Testament. *Tosab* usually refer to 'sojourner,' and the term *nokri* and *zar* are often referring to "something or someone is non-Israelite."[208] Phan also differentiates the terms that describe a stranger, foreigner, and the sojourner; *zar* mean to refer to a stranger or an enemy, *nokri* refer to a foreigner, and the term *ger* refer to mean sojourner.[209]

Pettena refers to the *ger* as "the alien to be respected," and he continues to states; "the status and privileges of the *gherim* derived from the bond of hospitality in which a guest is inviolable, with claims of protection and full sustenance in return for loyalty."[210] According to Magonet, the significance of the word *ger* or stranger in the Hebrew Scripture implies to the mandate to "remember that you were *strangers* in Egypt," by which the Israelites were to treat the strangers. To demonstrate how the Israelite is to treat the stranger, Magonet draws a similar commands expressed in Leviticus chapter

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[206] Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilization* (London, New York: Continuum, 2002), 58.

[207] M. Daniel Carroll R, *Christians at the Border, Immigration, the Church and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 99, 168.

[208] Carroll opines that, "the term *tosab* is almost always found in parallel, either with the nouns 'hireling' (Exod. 12:25; Lev. 22:10; 25:6, 40) or 'sojourner' (Lev. 25:23, 35, 47; Num. 35:15). That these persons can be hired hands and that they are listed with the sojourner…there must have been some distinction between the *tosab* and the sojourner for them to be mentioned together sometimes. See, M. Daniel Carroll R, *Christians at the Border*, 101.

[209] According to Phan, "*a stranger* (Hebrew *zar*, Greek *xenos*, Latin *hospes*) is one who does not belong to the house or community or nation in which he or she lives and is often considered enemy (Isa. 1:17; Jer. 5:19; Ezekiel. 7:21; 28:7, 10). A *foreigner* (Hebrew *nokri*, Greek *allotrios*, Latin *alienus*) is one of another race, and because non-Jews were regarded as idolatrous, the term also designates someone worshipping idols… A *sojourner* (Hebrew *ger*, Greek *paroikos*, Latin *peregrinus*), is someone who permanent residence is in another nation, in contrast to the foreigner whose stay is only temporary." See, Peter C. Phan, "Migration in the Patristic Era: History and Theology," 48.

[210] Maurizio Pettena, "Migration in the Bible: The Commandment of Hospitality," in *Exodus Series 2- A Resource Guide for the Migrant Ministry in Asia*, edited by Fabio Baggio (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2005), 6-7.

19: 18, you shall love your neighbor as you love yourself, and Leviticus 19: 33- 34, when a stranger dwells with you in your land you shall not oppress them.[211]

Crusemann similarly draws attention to 'stranger' in terms of exile, particularly referring to Israel's exodus from Egypt, "because Israel has experienced this Exodus, or rather, because its identity as the people of this God is grounded in this Exodus and permanently consists in it, it can act towards people who are now in a comparable situation only as God had acted towards it."[212] The expressions of hospitality to the strangers, aliens and the sojourners are more prominent in the Old Testament with hosts and guest experiencing mutual well-being.[213] And the love of God in action both in Israel and among strangers at the same time builds a bridge between Israel and the strangers.[214]

The Israelites were conscious of their identity as wondering Aramean/s welcomed by God Deut. 26:5-11, this self- reflection becomes their basis for the command to be hospitable towards strangers Lev.19:33-34.[215] Welcoming a stranger, alien, foreigner and a sojourner becomes, in these terms, the realization of God's love for the Israelite that, in turn, is extended to others. As Israel lived by God's grace and their identity as "chosen-yet-alien was a continual reminder of this relationship of independence and faithfulness, gratitude and obedience."[216] The Israelites as the 'chosen people' experienced the life as sojourners, strangers, an alien and a wanderer seeking acceptance and refuge, during the course of their journey to the promised land. Hospitality thus for the Israelites was firmly embedded within their own experience of having being a stranger, alien and a sojourner, and God's hospitality toward them, becomes a basis to welcome others as they had been welcomed.[217]

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[211] Jonathan Magonet, "Guests and Hosts," in *Heythtop Journal*, vol.36, no.4 (1995): 416- 421.
[212] Frank Crusemann, "You Know the Heart of a Stranger' (Ex 23:9). A Reconciliation of the Torah in the Face of New Nationalism and Xenophobia," in *Concilium*, (1993/4):105.
[213] Diane C. Kessler, *Receive One Another: Hospitality in Ecumenical Perspective* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2005), 1.
[214] Frank Crusemann, "You Know the Heart of a, Stranger," 99.
[215] Lucas Chan, "The Hebrew Bible and the Discourse on Migration," 669.
[216] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 27- 28.
[217] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 5.

Some of the basis for Israel's treatment to others including; the orphans, widows, hired workers, servants, power and those who were powerless. They are to be invited to the great banquets and festivals (Deut. 16:11, 14); gleaning laws are established to ensure their sustenance (Deut. 24:19, 21); their pledges are to be protected (Deut. 24: 17); and laws are put in place to dedicate the tithe to landless group every third year (Deut. 14: 28). Work laws established timely payment of wages (Deut. 24: 15) and the rest on the Sabbath (Deut. 5: 14). They were to receive fair treatment in court and laws cautioned against prejudice (Deut. 1:16-17) and taking advantage of those who were powerless (Deut. 24: 17-18; 27:19).[218]

5.3. Hospitality in the New Testament

Hospitality is woven into the very fabric of the Judeo-Christian faith and practice. Contemporary Christian scholars from varied denominations and disciplines have explored from the scriptural and theological sources of hospitality as both a virtue and a moral practice though, in quite diverse perspectives and contexts.[219] Sutherland describes hospitality "in the light of Jesus' life, death, resurrection, and return, Christian hospitality is the intentional, responsible, and caring act of welcoming or visiting, in either public or private places."[220] For Reynolds, hospitality is to be discovered in God's initiative love, and that hospitality is a response to that initiative.[221] The practice of hospitality is always located within the larger picture of Jesus' sacrificial welcome,[222] and hospitality of God is the central point of Jesus' proclamation and life.[223] For early Christians, therefore, Jesus himself served as the most powerful example of the way in

[218] M. Daniel Carroll R, *Christians at the Border*, 103, 169.

[219] Amos Yong, *Hospitality and the Other: Pentecost, Christian Practices, and the Neighbor* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2008); John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985); Thomas E. Reynolds, *Vulnerable Communion: A Theology of Disability and Hospitality* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2008); Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality: God's Welcome in a World of Difference* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009) etc.

[220]Arthur Sutherland, *I Was a Stranger: A Christian Theology of Hospitality* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006), xiii.

[221] Thomas E. Reynolds, "Toward a Wider Hospitality: Rethinking Love of Neighbour in Religions of the Book," in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2 (May 2010): 187.

[222] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 17.

[223] John D. Lottes, "Toward a Christian Theology of Hospitality to Other Religious on Campus," in *Currents in Theology and Mission*, vol 32, no.1 (February 2005):31.

which to practice hospitality. He was a stranger, guest, host, and meal (bread of life).[224] Christ was incarnated into a hostile world as a stranger, died as a "stranger," and having lived so much of his life as a teacher and healer among "strangers" who are considered as marginalized, and outcast.[225]

The New Testament provides some of the specific aspects of hospitality found in the synoptic gospels. In the gospel of Luke, one find references to the table fellowship, communal meals, and travel etc.[226] Koenig views Luke 9:51 to 19:28 as "travel narrative," and portrayed Jesus as a traveler seeking hospitality, sometimes finding hospitality with others (Luke 10:38-42; 11:37-54; 14:1-24; 19:1-10), sometimes experiencing rejection (Luke 9:52-53; 13:31, 34-35),which is perhaps the most descriptive in terms of the practice of hospitality. [227]

LaVerdiere similarly describes the gospel of Luke as "a story of meals and journeys with Jesus,"[228] and notes ten meals,[229] a meal that links hospitality in Luke's gospel. The illustrations of the kingdom of God in the New Testament often portrayed with

[224] Christine D. Pohl, "Biblical Issues in Mission and Migration," 7.
[225] Lucien Richard, *Living the Hospitality of God*, 29, 34.
[226] Linh Hoang, "Hospitality in a Time of Migration: Reflecting on Racism and Poverty," in *Asian Horizons*, vol.8, no.4 (December 2014): 775.
[227] John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality*, 85-87.
[228] The journey of Mary to Judea (1:39-56); Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem (2:1-40); Jesus and his parents to Jerusalem for Passover (2:41-52); As part of Jesus' ministry and mission, there is the return from his baptism (3:21-22); returned from the Jordan and was led by the spirit in the desert (4:1-13) to Galilee, then to where he had grown up in Nazareth (4:16-30); a journey to Capernaum (4:31-44),; went to other towns to proclaim the good news of the kingdom (4:43); the twelve and others accompany Jesus from one town and village to another proclaiming the kingdom and preaching (8:1-3), then are sent out on their way to do the same (9:1-6). The final journey is to Jerusalem (9:51- 19:44), but with an ultimate destination beyond earthly cities (24:50-53). See, Eugene LaVerdiere, *Dining in the Kingdom of God: The Origins of the Eucharist in the Gospel of Luke* (Chicago: Archdiocese of Chicago, Liturgy Training Publication, 1994), 9-10.
[229] The ten meals namely, "banquet at the house of Levi (5:27-39); Dinner at the house of Simon the Pharisee (7:36-50); The breaking of the bread at Bethsaida (9:10-17); Hospitality at the home of Martha (10:38-42); Meal at the home of a Pharisee (11:37-54); Sabbath meal at the home of a Pharisee (14:1-24); Hospitality at the house of Zacchaeus (19:1-10); The last supper (27:7-38); The breaking of the bread at Emmaus (24:13-35); With the community in Jerusalem (24:36-53)." See, Eugene LaVerdiere, *Dining in the Kingdom of God*, 12.

images of food, drink, and banquet. Jesus practiced what he preached by feeding the hungry, befriending tax collectors and sinners, and sharing table fellowships.[230]

Hospitality of Jesus' was not only limited to sharing of meals, but also beyond, through healing people belonging to various backgrounds. Jesus not only showed his act of hospitality to the vulnerable people but also challenges the norms of the society by touching and healing the most vulnerable people like the healing of the blind and mute in Mat. 9:27-31; the Canaanite woman, Mat. 15:21-28; the bleeding woman, Mark 5:35-42; raise a widow's son, Luke 7:11-16; woman crippled by a spirit for eighteen years, healed on Sabbath day, Luke 13:10-13; ten healed of Leprosy, Luke 17:15-19; a Samaritan woman, John 4: 7-26 etc. Jesus extends hospitality to people of various socio-cultural and religious backgrounds, without partiality.[231]

Jesus demolished the traditional ideas of power, and spend his life as an exile; sought refuge to escape Herod's threat, and he spend his ministry on the move with "nowhere to lay his head," (Mat.8: 20). He refused the false security of "royalty," and until his crucifixion he identified himself with the people who are oppressed in the society for various reasons. Jesus by identifying himself with those not "rooted" in the "establishment" shows "a clear, final and radical expression of justice and love."[232] Throughout Jesus' life and ministry, the center of his teaching was hospitality for all, and Jesus is portrayed as exemplifying in washing of the disciples' feet in John 13, both in words and in deeds. [233]

5.4. Hospitality to the Stranger in the New Testament

Hospitality is the heart and practice of the Gospel. Being hospitable to others including strangers in terms of welcoming is not only an act of hospitality, but it is also the concrete attribute and character of God and believers are to extent the same hospitality

[230] Peter C. Phan, "Migration in the Patristic Era," 50.
[231] Martin William Mittelstadt, "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry: A Theology of Hospitality in Luke-Acts," in *Word and World*, vol.34, no.2, (Spring 2014): 137.
[232]Andre Jacques, *The Stranger Within Your Gates: Uprooted People in The World Today* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 64-65.
[233] David H. Smith, "Hospitality," in *The Westminister Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, edited by James F. Childress and John Macquarrie, (Philadelphia: The Westminister Press, 1967): 277.

to the other, the stranger, the outsider, and the foreigner.[234] Just as Jesus extends his hospitality to all people by breaking the dividing walls in expressing solidarity with 'the other' and thereby demonstrating clearly the radical message of Jesus' hospitality and also instructed his disciples to do the same.[235] Oden describes hospitality as a "welcoming of the stranger" which "responds to the physical, social, and spiritual needs of the stranger."[236] She further expresses hospitality as, "readiness, ready to welcome, ready to enter another's world, ready to be vulnerable. Such readiness takes courage, gratitude, and radical openness."[237] Malina likewise defines hospitality as, "the process of receiving outsiders and changing them from strangers to guests."[238] In this sense, hospitality should not be only of welcoming a person, providing food, and shelter etc., but also to accept a person who are often placed outside the 'defined space.'

The term and meaning associated with a 'stranger' is explained and defined by various scholars. The basic team of the word *xenos* in Greek signifies two different concepts as "enemy" or "stranger."[239] *Xenos* also means a stranger or foreigner and it is the most common word for "stranger" in the New Testament for example in Mat. 25:35.[240] In other words, *xenos* also signifies "to receive as a guest," (Acts 10:23, 28:7),[241] simultaneously *xenos* denotes "a guest, a host, or a stranger."[242] On the other hand, hospitality or *Philoxenia* implies "hospitality to strangers" (Hebrew 13:2),[243] and hospitality *philoxenia* involves love of the stranger.[244] Richard points that, "in Jesus'

[234] K. M. George, *The Silent Roots: Orthodox Perspectivess on Christian Spirituality* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1994), 43.
[235] E. J. Choge, "Hospitality," in *Dictionary of Mission Theology: Evangelical Foundations*, edited by John Corrie (Nottingham: Intervarsity Press, 2007): 170.
[236] Amy G. Oden, *And You Welcomed Me: A Sourcebook on Hospitality in Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 13-14.
[237] Amy G. Oden, *And You Welcomed Me*, 15.
[238] Bruce J. Malina, "Hospitality," in *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*, edited by John J. Pilch and Bruce J. Milina, (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998). 115.
[239] https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/xenos_(Greek) (accessed 19 September 2017).
[240] Maurizio Pettena, "Migration in the Bible: The Commandment of Hospitality," 11.
[241] Anupama Hial, "Faith Possibilities in an Interfaith Context: From Hostility to Hospitality," in *NCC Review*, vol.130, no.11 (December 2010): 37.
[242] John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality*, 8.
[243] Diane C. Kessler, *Receive One Another*, 10.
[244] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality:* 20.

message, love for the *xenos*, the stranger, is an essential command to love the neighbor. Not only toleration of the stranger is it called but also love of the stranger."[245]

Jesus deepens the implications of hospitality in the parable of the last judgment in Matthew 25:35-46. This passage is considered to be one of the specific biblical passages that depict 'strangers' who are hungry, thirsty, naked, sick and imprisoned and "shows the breadth of Jesus' concern for the needy and demand emphasizes the ethical demand placed on all humankind."[246] Jesus by identifying himself with the needy, the sick, the poor and the least encourages everyone to be kind and hospitable to others. This passage also reflects that "it is not conversion from one religion to another; rather the enlightenment of self to acknowledge the others as God's own image and likeness."[247] Pohl maintains that, "I was a stranger and you welcomed me," has been the most significant passage for the entire tradition on Christian hospitality and the possibility that, in welcoming strangers, one might welcome Jesus.[248] The strangers in the Gospel of Matthew according to Koenig, "are seen as those who give us a chance to show our love for God or Christ by ministering to the needs of others."[249] Jesus' teaching on including one's enemies in the circle of love (Matthew 5:39-44, Luke 6:27-31), have tended to broaden interpretation of "the least of these,"[250] in Christian practice of hospitality. For Groody, the "least" in Matthew 25 describes the social location of the migrants or a group of people who are often estranged and marginalized and are looked upon as strangers or others in a society.[251]

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[245] Lucien Richard, *Living the Hospitality of God*, 30.
[246] Daniel Carroll R, *Christians at the Border*, 123.
[247] Jose Chittadiyil and Joseph Elanjimattom, "Serving at the Table of God: Hospitable Church," in *Jeevadhara*, vol. 40, no.240 (November 2010): 459.
[248] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 22.
[249] John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality*, 4.
[250] Pohl points that, "the least of these" refers to any person in need, to Christian missionaries and apostles, or to any Christian who is suffering, the passage has often been interpreted and applied in ways that are broader than its immediate context … a more universal statement of Jesus' identification with those in need." See, Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 22-23.
[251] Daniel G. Groody writes, "the text describes the social location of many migrants and refugees: hungry in their homelands, thirsty in deserts they attempts to cross, naked after being robbed of their possessions, imprisoned in detention centers, sick in hospitals and, if they make it to their destination, they are often estranged and marginalized." See, Daniel G. Groody,

Another account of hospitality shown to the stranger is found in the gospel of Luke 10:29-37. Here the parable of the Good Samaritan expands the boundaries of difference and exemplifies the hospitable actions of one who have been considered a stranger himself. In this parable, it is the Samaritan who reaches out to bind another stranger's wounds; he feeds and houses this person in need and provides for his care and thus welcomes the stranger specifically through his actions. The parable of the Good Samaritan justifies the meaning of hospitality and invites a new perception of the other, the other who also happens to be a stranger liberating him from social, cultural, and religious prejudice.[252]

The lawyer's question to Jesus regarding "who is my neighbor" involves the basic character of the real neighbor, when the Samaritan despite of socio-cultural and religious barriers showed mercy and love to the half-dead man.[253] Chuang notes, "the man attacked by the robber was the Other, the neighbor…the responsibility to the Other is an action out of love and mercy. To love your neighbor as yourself is to be generous to him /her, a gift without asking for any return as the Good Samaritan did in the parable."[254] And Jesus' message to "Go and do likewise," is a command to show love and concern to one's neighbor as oneself and an invitation to cross the boundaries that alienate people due to various systems. The interpretation of the Good Samaritan's hospitality, Sutherland writes:

> A stranger is no longer a stranger for the person who must *become a neighbor* to someone in need, to the point of accepting responsibility for his life, as the parable of the Good Samaritan shows so clearly. Even an enemy ceases to be an enemy for the person who is obliged to love, to 'do good' to him and respond to his immediate needs promptly and with no expectation of payment.[255]

"Homeward Bound: A Theology of Migration for Fullness of Life Justice and Peace," in *The Ecumenical Review*, vol.64, no.3 (October 2012): 311.

[252] Jorge E. Castillo Guerra, "From Faith and Life of a Migrant," 121.

[253] C. I. David Joy, *Hermeneutics: Foundations and New Trends A Postcolonial Reading of John 4* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2012), 147.

[254] Ya-Tang Chuang, "A Theological Hermeneutics of the Other for Interreligious Dialogue," in *Doing Contextual Theologies in Asia: Essay in Honour of Huang Po Ho*, edited by Wati Longchar (Tainan :Programme for Theology and Cultures in Asia, 2014), 30.

[255] Arthur Sutherland, *I Was a Stranger*, xiv.

Hospitality to the stranger in the New Testament accounts is momentous through Jesus' life, ministry as sojourn on earth.[256] Consequently, Hospitality to the stranger, the alien, the outsider and other marginalized communities become a way of life that is essential to Christian tradition.[257]

5.6. Hospitality in the Early Christian Communities

The hospitality of God manifests in "Jesus' gracious sacrificial hospitality- expressed in his life, ministry, and death- undergirds the hospitality of his followers."[258] Richard opines, "Hospitality was a fundamental condition of the mission and expansion of the early church. The practice of hospitality is presented in as the common virtue of the church."[259] Hospitality is seen as not simply the practice of a virtue, but also a fundamental to the Christian's understanding of God, self, and the world.[260] Rather than a practice, hospitality is a central way of life, one that is both an *imitation Christi*, and essential to the Christian identity.[261]

The practice of hospitality with the Christian mission to the Gentiles provides an account in the light of Luke's narrative on the acts of hospitality in Acts 10- 11, that brought together Cornelius, a Roman centurion from Caesarea and Peter, a Jewish Christian from Jerusalem under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The act of hospitality shared by these two individuals who comes from a completely different socio, political, cultural and religious backgrounds provides the starting point and vehicle for the cross-cultural interaction through act of hospitality.[262] Consequently, peter's transformation led to the transformation of the perspective of the Jewish Christian leadership in Jerusalem. Thus, according to Luke in Acts 10 and 11, God used the custom of hospitality to convert Cornelius's household, Peter, and the Jewish Christian leadership.[263]

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[256] Christine D. Pohl, "*Biblical Issues in Mission and Migration*," 7.
[257] Gemma Tulud Cruz, *An Intercultural Theology of Migration*, 125.
[258] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 29.
[259]Lucien Richard, *Living the Hospitality of God*, 35.
[260]Arthur Sutherland, *I Was a Stranger*, xvi.
[261] Andrew E Arterbury, "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality," 57.
[262] Andrew E. Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 158- 181.
[263] Andrew E. Arterbury, "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality,"72.

Depicting the story of Peter and Cornelius as taking turns staying in each other's homes and acting as the beneficiaries of each other's hospitality, Luke alludes to the custom of guest-friendship, thereby portraying the binding of the two diverse groups together into an empathy relationship. Furthermore, Luke connects the practice of hospitality with the Gentile mission in particular, and portrays it as the means by which Christianity become open to the stranger.[264]

The importance of welcome and sharing meals in the early Christian communities reflects God's new humanity, and this sharing of meal becomes the central feature of the early church that shapes Jesus' followers into a new way: "*Koinonia* at table becomes the socioreligious hallmark of the young Jerusalem church (Acts 2:42, 46)."[265] Thus, for the early Christians, *koinonia* and the house churches became "a new household, God's household," where believers gathered irrespective of their status and backgrounds. In this new community of household, the *oikos/oikonomia*- believers were family to one another, "formerly alienated persons could view themselves as brothers and sisters at God's table."[266] *Koinonia* and the "Household of God" becomes therefore a primary metaphor to symbolize unity among people of various backgrounds.[267] Furthermore, *Koinonia* embrace the new humanity not just Christians but all creation, most importantly the 'other,' in building and sharing hospitality. As Cruz rightly points that, "theology must go beyond *koinonia*, or communion among Christians, to more egalitarian and inclusive community."[268]

Hospitality enabled early Christians to transcend and transform relationships that no longer made distinctions of Jews and Greek, slave and free, male and female (Galatians 3:28), both strangers in need of welcome as well as missioned to welcome.[269] Hospitality then is the coming together of people in a new form of belonging that clearly show "a new and different way of looking at people who are outside the circle of

[264] Andrew E. Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 179.
[265] John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality*, 89.
[266] Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room*, 42.
[267] Amy G. Oden, *And You Welcomed Me*, 87.
[268] Gemma Tulud Cruz, *Toward a Theology of Migration*, 95.
[269] Christine D. Pohl, "Hospitality from the Edge," 126.

the known and beyond acceptability."[270] *Just hospitality* says, Russell, "requires us to recognize the 'otherness' in the relationship of hospitality and to respond in a manner reflective of God's welcoming example."[271] In this understanding, a new and transformed pattern of hospitality, then, is central meaning to the early Christian communities and Christians today through which one can participate in welcoming and extending hospitality to one another not only to Christian communities but also to other religious groups who are also considered as the 'other.'

The Biblical accounts provide the events and stories of God's hospitality to all people irrespective of social, cultural and religious diversity. From Abraham hospitality to three strangers; from widow's hospitality; to hospitality in the book of Ruth; to the parables of the last judgment; the parable of the Good Samaritan; to the early Christian communities of the Church, Peter and Cornelius hospitality to one another that cross cultural barriers. The stories and acts of hospitality in the biblical narratives thus provide an insight that, "the identity of people of God is intertwined with stories of movements, risk and hospitality."[272] The risk did not define the people; their hospitality did, for they knew such hospitality was central to the character of their God.

Summary

The Biblical accounts provide rich sources of insight of hospitality. Hospitality extended to the stranger, the alien, the sojourner, the marginalized and the needy expressed in the biblical narratives in terms of acceptance, welcome and hospitality are very noteworthy. Taking into account the complexity of the northeast migrant's experiences and increasing acts of racism and hostility, the biblical implication on loving and extending hospitality to the strangers, alien and the sojourners is very significant when one consider applying to the migrating people who are considered as strangers. Today's stranger or outsider in the form of migrants suggests a way of describing and dealing with the challenges of migration and perceiving hospitality as a possibility to learn justice, peace, and living together in diversity.

[270] Daniel Carroll R, *Christians at the Border*, 120.
[271] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality,* 102.
[272] Daniel G. Groody, "Homeward Bound," 312.

CHAPTER SIX
TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF HOSPITALITY: SOLIDARITY ACROSS DIFFERENCE

Introduction

Hospitality is an attempt to being about ways in which people of diverse community can participate. Hospitality also connotes a struggle to overcome the hostility forces like hatred, violence, attacks, and racial discrimination etc., which can be seen in the communities of persons. Hospitality is also a struggle for the rights and duties of individuals when they are deprived by others of their rights. Conversely, hospitality should be mutual so that everybody can participate reciprocally in hospitality. Hospitality demands thus an entry point in seeking common ground in welcoming all people through reciprocal partnership, solidarity and acceptance between the migrating and receiving communities.

6.1. The Hospitality of God

The supreme act of God's hospitality of welcome and compassion reflects the hospitable God through "Christ's self- giving love which overcomes human enmity and the creation of space in himself to receive estranges humanity."[273] Mannion views that God's act of caring and self-emptying is an exercise of love and generosity, and an act of self-limitation and self- humiliation on the part of God.[274] Reynolds notes, "Christ embodies God's self-emptying embrace of creaturely limitation and interdependence, making possible our active openness to God and others."[275] God's hospitality is revealed in Jesus when Jesus enters into the condition of the people who are victimized due to various conditions and "accepts abasement, so low that, even he, has to raise the cry raised by the people of God since the days of the Exodus."[276]

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[273] Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*: *A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996) 127.

[274] Gerard Mannion, "Response: Ecclesiology and the Humility of God: Embracing the Risk of Loving World," in *Ecclesiology and Embrace: Boundaries of Being and Belonging in Postmodern Times*, Dennis M. Doyle, et al., (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012), 36.

[275] Thomas E Reynolds, *Vulnerable Communion*, 197.

[276] George Therukattil, "God's Compassionate Hospitality: A Challenge to Christian Ethics," in *Jeevadhara*: *A Journal for Socio-Religious Research*, vol. 40, no. 240 (November 2010): 439.

God's hospitality is displayed in Jesus most especially in the life and misery of Jesus as a "visit" to the world, seeking hospitality. The One who came as visitor and guest becomes the host and offers a hospitality in which the people of various backgrounds can participate.[277] God's hospitality is also an event as well as a gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. In extending God's hospitality to the world, the spirit enables table fellowship and empowers relationships across cultural, ethnic, language, and religious boundaries, while affirming God's welcome of difference.[278] God's compassion and inclusiveness lived by Jesus thus annihilates barriers and boundaries of differences leading us into new frontiers of hospitality.[279] He further embraces vulnerability and marginality an identification with the "least of these," and in his extension of God's inclusive welcome through the table fellowship and meals.[280] Those who participate in God's hospitality, then, are called into the same posture of generosity to offer and receive hospitality.[281]

6.2. Reconciliation as God's Hospitality

Reconciliation is embedded in the biblical narratives that human beings were alienated from the presence of God because of the enmity and of sin and yet, were reconciled by God through Jesus Christ in "overcoming of hatred and enmity and the achievement of peace and love between God and human beings, and among all people."[282] Reconciliation is thus a strictly theological concept; a supreme term to describe God's redeeming work.[283]

Taking the view of the 'other,' the concept of reconciliation is important because of the inherent difficulty in dealing with the other. On the other hand, reconciliation takes an account to embrace the other; as Volf writes, "reconciliation between human beings

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[277] George Therukattil, "God's Compassionate Hospitality," 440.
[278] Amos Yong, *Hospitality and the Other*, 126.
[279] John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality*, 134.
[280]David Bosch, "The Vulnerability of Mission," in *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization 2: Theological Foundations*, edited by James Scherer and Stephen Bevans (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994), 78.
[281] Amos Yong, *Hospitality and the Other*, 126.
[282] Harold Wells, "Theology for Reconciliation: Biblical Perspectives on Forgiveness and Grace," in *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenges to the Churches*, edited by Gregory Baum and Harold Wells (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997), 3.
[283]Geiko Muller-Fahrenholz, *The Art of Forgiveness: Theological Reflections on Healing and Reconciliation* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996), 4.

estranged on account of injustice, deception, and violence must be at the center of mission we pursue. We should not rest until… citizens and strangers have extended their arms to each other in joyful embrace."[284] As an expression to embrace the 'other,' "forgiveness"[285] ought to be the perimeter between exclusion and embrace, as it would mean to "heal the wound that the power-acts of exclusion have inflicted and breaks down the dividing wall of hostility."[286]

An individual or a community need to go through the process of reconciliation in order to forgive the other, however, "reconciliation involves a diverse and complex set of related tasks including justice and accountability, forgiveness, and creation of new relationships based on trust and mutual acceptance."[287] Similarly Phan understands reconciliation as a crucial part of Christian mission; he equates it with a restoration of harmony, and finds within it an emphasis on the ethics of right relationship. In emphasizing harmony, Phan envisages a web of peaceful relationship- between and among oneself, individuals, the cosmos, and God, which both seek communion and make an active commitment to peacemaking and reconciliation with the community.[288]

The mission of God through Jesus Christ who "reconcile divided humanity created in the image of likeness of God entrusts a responsibility on humankind to act on behalf of God

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[284]Volf views that, "reconciliation is a way of justifying the unjust and *overcoming* the opponent's enmity- no so as to condone their unjust and affirm their enmity, but to open up the possibility of *doing* justice and living in peace, whose ultimate shape is a community of love." See, Miroslav Volf, *Against the Tide: Love in a Time of Petty Dreams and Persisting Enmities* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010), 185, 191.

[285] For Volf, "At the heart of the cross is Christ's stance of not letting the other remain an enemy and of creating space in himself for the offender to come in…the goal of the cross is the dwelling of human beings 'in the spirit,' 'in Christ,' and 'in God." Forgiveness is therefore not the culmination of Christ's relation to the offending other; it is a passage leading to embrace. The arms of the crucified are open- a sign of a space in God's self and an invitation for the enemy to come in." See, Miroslav Volf, Exclusion and Embrace, 126.

[286] Miroslav Volf, "Exclusion and Embrace: Theological Reflections in the Wake of Ethnic Cleansing," in *Journal of Ecumenical Studie*s, vol.29, no.2 (spring, 1992): 285.

[287] Elizabeth G. Ferris, "Crisis Situations, Humanitarian Assistance, Preventive Measures and Churches Response," in *Rights of Internally Displaced People: Asian Churches' Response*, edited by Mathews George Chunakara (Hong Kong: Clear-Cut Publishing & Printing Co., 2000) 42.

[288] Peter C. Phan, *In Our Own Tongues: Perspectives from Asia on Mission and Inculturation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2003), 142.

in order to fulfill God's mission."[289] Jacques notes, "the Church is reconciliation of individuals with their neighbours, of societies with one another and of humankind with God."[290] And we are called to affirm God's compassionate hospitality and reconciliation to build a bridge of peace and harmony to the 'other' and with one another. Forgiveness and reconciliation is significantly important when people of diverse community come together through "shared spaces,"[291] that would mean that members within the community should be involved in the process of the search for reconciling with each other. Then would the barriers and boundaries of hatred, prejudice and segregation between people of various backgrounds and communities mend, and evolve towards harmony and an inclusive community.[292]

An authentic experience in which people came together through 'shared space' in order to forgive and reconcile, and to create a mutual acceptance between the northeast migrating community and host community in recent years. Different communities both religious and secular, NGO's and individuals came together to bridge the differences that divide the northeast community and the host community in Bangalore through peace building and reconciliation programmes. Amidst of indisputable attacks, racial discrimination, and hostility experience by the northeast migrants peace building and reconciliation between the northeast migrants and the host community was made available. Envisioning an inclusive community among people belonging to various race, caste, class, and religious belongings, through mutual respect, acceptance and acknowledging the 'others' as brothers and sisters despite of diversity and differences.

This also resulted into a large number of people coming from different communities to celebrate oneness and inclusions of all people. Programme such as; cultural exchange,

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[289] Purna Chandra Jena, *Towards a Fuller Humanity: A Theological Reflection on Christian Understanding on Human Rights* (Delhi: ISPCK, 1999) 104.
[290]Genevieve Jacques, *Beyond Impunity*, 49.
[291] C.T. Kurien writes, "A boundary, any boundary at all, will separate those inside it from those who are outside it. We refer to it as "us *versus* them"- that's perfectly all right. "Us *versus* others," that's fine too. But, when the boundary becomes hardened, the others become almost enemies. We become suspicious of them. We begin to hate them. In this sense…boundaries may tend to separate people, if you look for shared spaces, you can find a great deal that is common, irrespective of communities." See, C.T. Kurien, *Communal Harmony: A Societal Perspective* (Bangalore: Bangalore Initiative for Religious Dialogue, 2003), 8.
[292] C.T. Kurien, *Communal Harmony*, 9.

food festivals, games, and other socio-cultural programmes helped and played a central role in reconciliation between the northeast and the host community. Reconciliation and peace building programmes were held in different locations in Bangalore for example like, Indian Social Institute, Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society and Students' Christian Movement, Bangalore etc. On 20th August, 2012, more than 50 NGOs representatives and religious leaders come together at ISI for reconciliation and peace meeting. On 21st August, 2012, another peace and reconciliation programme was initiated by the CISRS. On 23rd August, 2012, United Theological Collage conducted a programme for northeast migrants and on 24th August, 2012, SCMI initiated a peace building programme. Another programme was organized by the Board of Theological Education of the Senate of Serampore College etc.[293] In addition; neighbourhood meetings,[294] friendly meetings and monthly meetings with the police department[295] were initiated by different organizations in order to build peace and acceptance among the migrating and the host community.

6.3. Hermeneutics of Hospitality

Hermeneutics of hospitality centers on the priority to the perspective of the outsider. When one begin from the outsider's perspective; one builds up the practice of listening to the pain of others and responds to their initiatives.[296] In her posthumous book, *Just hospitality*, Russell explains her thinking in shifting from "hermeneutics of the other," to "hermeneutics of hospitality."[297] Hermeneutics of hospitality paves the way to the pain and experiences of the other then becomes the starting point to engage in a mutual relationship centering on the host and the guest (stranger/other). Hermeneutics of

[293] *Northeast Solidarity Report*, 59.

[294]Neighborhood meeting was initiated under the leadership of Sandeep Patil, DCP-North. The meeting mainly focuses on the issues and concerns of northeast migrants and the host community. It also focuses on the hospitality and acceptance of each other.

[295]The joint meeting with the police department and the northeast community particularly, the working migrants was initiated by the then, DGP, Lalrokhuma Pachuau in 2012 and the meetings continue till date.

[296]Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 46.

[297]Russell writes, "I have decided to move my thinking from *hermeneutics of the other* to a *hermeneutics of hospitality.* I no longer want to use the distancing, dualistic language of otherness. Instead I want to look within the Christian tradition for ways to affirm the key importance of difference while sharing in God's hospitality and welcome for all people and for the whole creation." Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 24.

hospitality, thus, gives ways to affirm the difference while sharing in God's hospitality and welcome for all people and for the whole creation.[298] On the other hand, hermeneutics of the other often does not take into account the fact that, as postcolonial subjects, people are neither solely the colonizer nor colonized.[299] In such a context, people's history, socio-cultural and religio-political flow together particularly in the context of globalization and the experiences of migrants in the process of migration, that there is a need, by acknowledging the interconnectedness of systems of discrimination, to foster a new hermeneutics of seeing the humans embedded in their complex realities and weaving together as partners. Hermeneutics of hospitality, then, *emancipator difference,* that allow people of different communities to define and claim their own differences and to affirm diversity.[300]

Hermeneutics from other to partner thus provides a mutual acceptance, and empathic openness to listen to "the cries and hope that are offered by our brothers and sisters, and to join them in imagining a different way of relationship that points to God' intention to mend the whole of creation beginning with ourselves."[301] In this way, hermeneutics of hospitality identifies the safety of the marginalized as the most urgent and important task of theological reflection and action.

6.4. Hospitality as Partnership

The understanding of hospitality as partnership is an attempt to bring about ways in which people of diverse community can participate in God's welcome for all. Hospitality connotes a struggle to overcome hostile forces like hatred, violence, attacks, and racial discrimination etc; that is seen in the communities of persons and in which an individual and a community participates in the act of mutual acceptance and respect for each other. According to Russell, hospitality as partnership is "described as a new focus

[298] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 24.
[299] By postcolonial subjects, Russell explains, "Whether colonizer or colonized, we are all postcolonial subjects continually affected by the history and ongoing economic, religious, cultural, and political implications of colonialism, although in very different ways. As postcolonial subjects, that is, all those who have been affected by the colonist activities of the past, we share our groaning and unjust world together, and are sometimes both 'colonizer' and 'colonized' at the same time." Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 26.
[300] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 31.
[301] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 49-50.

of relationship in which there is continuing commitment and common struggle in interaction with a wider and to a new community."[302] The concept of hospitality as partnership is much more practical; partnership involves in interaction with a wider community of persons, irrespective of socio-cultural values and beliefs that can create a pattern of equal regard and mutual acceptance among partners.[303]

Hospitality as partnership thus in an ethical sense must take on a practical aspect of initiating an interaction with the purpose of listening and understanding the 'other' on the premise that, both the oppressed and the oppressor, the marginalized and the dominant group must come to a common ground. For example, instead of the northeast migrants complaining of various forms of discrimination, harassment and violence faced, or the host community acting as the dominant of rights, both groups of people need to come together as partners for inclusivity, through recognizing equal regard and mutual acceptance.

Here the researcher would like to bring out the relevancy of hospitality as partnership between the northeast migrants and the host community in Bangalore. Bangalore experienced instability in economy and business was hit and suffered, business industry in particular hotel, restaurants and beauty parlours and spas as many northeast workers left the city due to fear of the 'mass exodus.' Report confirms that, "traders and business persons are worried that large-scale exit of workers hailing from the northeast would jeopardize their business; it would be very difficult to find replacement. The most affected are hotels and restaurants, security agencies and beauty parlours."[304] Many restaurants and beauty parlours and spas in Bangalore were closed for weeks due to unavailability of the northeast staff.

The experience of the 'mass exodus' thus gives an example of how both the migrating community and the host community in general and in particular restaurants and beauty

[302] Letty M. Russell, *The Future of Partnership*, (Philadelphia: The Westminister Press, 1979), 18.
[303] Letty M. Russell, *The Future of Partnership*, 29.
[304] htpp://www.google.co.in/amp/wap.buisness-standard.com/article/economy-policy/exodus-of-northeastern-people-hits-buisnesses-in-bangalore-112081702027_1.html (accessed 21 September 2017).

parlours industry are in need of each other's support in terms of work and job opportunities for northeast migrants, and the host community's need for the 'workers' especially beauty parlour/spa and restaurant sector. Consequently, it is necessary to work together in terms of adaptability and accommodating each other's socio-culture, and religious values, by way of tolerance, respect and acceptance in promoting a shared partnership to better their lives is the best alternative.

Hospitality as partnership with each other and accepting responsibility for the well-being of one another is the ideal that one must strive for.[305] Hospitality as partnership then would be more responsive to God's actions in freely becoming partner with humanity, as well as the actions of Jesus in reaching out to restore human wholeness and community.[306] The understanding of hospitality as partnership sheds light on a shared experience of being migrants and the host community, and thus, by identifying the common experience, hospitality as partnership would intervene in terms of accepting the difference irrespective of socio-cultural, language, ethnicity, religio-political diversity.

6.5. Hospitality as Solidarity

Hospitality as solidarity takes on a practical aspect with the intent to put oneself to listen, understand and be empathetic to the other. Solidarity then becomes one's "actions of genuine solidarity with those who are different," from us.[307] Solidarity in which, no members feel excluded on the basis of caste, gender, race, class, and physical abilities or any other characteristics. It is a community in which all members feel a sense of belonging.[308] Min differentiates "solidarity *of* others" and "solidarity *with* others." The former affirms solidarity of all humanity in grace, mutual dependence and participation in Christ, and the interdependence of human existence in which all "can live *together* in their *differences*." While the latter tend to attribute privilege and power

[305] John Swinton, Building *a Church for Strangers* (Edinburgh: Contact Pastoral Trust, 1999), 38.
[306] Letty M. Russell, "Good Housekeeping," in *Feminist Theology: A Reader*, edited by Ann Loades (London: SPCK, 1990), 230.
[307] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, xv.
[308] Aruna Gnanadason, *No Longer a Secret: The Church and Violence against Women* (Geneva: WCC, 1999), 1.

to those who are determine with whom to be in solidarity that tends "to regard others as *passive* objects of *our* assistance."[309]

Hinze also speaks of what it means to be in true solidarity with the other.[310] In this sense, solidarity is a virtue. It is an approach that greatly influences how person act to the other. As a virtue solidarity becomes a way of life. It becomes the new way of living out the love of neighbor as oneself.[311] Massey writes, "solidarity is our action in response to God" as God has first shown God's own solidarity with human beings in history."[312] Beginning with the creation acts of Adam and Eve, to calling of Abraham, and throughout the Israelites' experience of struggles and their deliverance from the Egyptians to receiving their liberation. The most explicit way of God's acting in solidarity is through his incarnation, becoming flesh (John 1:14). Massey continues to say that, "God identified with human beings, not just by becoming a human being, but by becoming part of human history and making home among us."[313] God's welcome of solidarity action to human beings thus challenges us to participate in solidarity to fellow human beings so that our actions of solidarity bear out our response to God's love and welcome to all.

6.6. An Extended Hospitality

Northeast migrants having come from a diverse backgrounds and numerous race, ethnicity and language speaking, when migrates they are usually confined with siblings, friends and with their own ethnic community for support of various kinds in the destined city. From the respondents' survey it is clearly seen that most of the migrants when it comes to social life and acquaintances are mostly confined to their friends,

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[309] Anselm Kyongsuk Min, "Liberating Political Theology Today: Elements of a New Paradigm," in *Asian Christian Review*, vol. 1, no.2 (Summer 2007): 40-41.

[310] Hinze notes, "being in solidarity" with someone, the reality of hospitality, is quite costly, and involves one's time and energies in "the midst of blood, sweat, and tears of the real world, in practice of the presence of service." See, Christine Firer Hinze, "Straining toward Solidarity in a Suffering World: *Gaudium et Spes* 'After Forty Years,'" in *Vatican II: Forty Years Later*, edited by William Madges (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 174.

[311] Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, *Mujerista Theology: A Theology for the Twenty-First Century* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), 101.

[312] James Massey, *Down Trodden: The Struggle of India's Dalit for Identity, Solidarity and Liberation* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997), 60.

[313] James Massey, *Down Trodden*, 61.

however when they are faced with problems, the migrants frequently approach various associations/organizations even if they are not registered members. Though most of the migrants are not registered members in particular association/s, in times of crisis and varied forms of discrimination, harassment and attacks, migrants approach various associations for help and support. And there is always a collective action of solidarity by the different support groups like own ethnic associations, social welfare groups, NGOs, religious groups, civil society and individuals etc., that shows 'unity in diversity' of people coming together in welcoming, sharing and extending solidarity through actions to ones neighbors.

The study is not feasible to bring out the diversity of each association/community and organizations into one fraction or category with regards to their participation and contribution on the issues and concerns of the northeast migrants in Bangalore. Hence, the researcher would like to specifically bring out six organizations (both religious and secular groups) and their contribution and role in terms of hospitality and solidarity towards the northeast migrants in Bangalore.

6.6.1. Host Community

Alienation and prejudices between the northeast community and the host community ought to be broken down in order to enter into mutual partnership and hospitality to one another. In this approach of allowing oneself to be more concerned towards others, relationships are understood as the means of hospitality. The researcher would like to bring out some of the exceptional hospitality and solidarity extended by the host community to the northeast migrants in Bangalore. The help and support extended by host community and individuals especially by Advocate Venkatesh Bubberjung, a former state public prosecutor at high court of Karnataka, who also has his own legal consultation center *ReachLaw* continue to render free service of consultation to the northeast community since 2012.

Another group of individuals in *Alternative Law Forum*, an NGO based in Bangalore consist of ten advocates and lawyers has been helping the northeast community in Bangalore especially cases related to sexual harassment of various forms, non-payment of salary, discrimination and hit and run case etc. So also, activists like Manohar

Elavarthi, founder of *Sangama* and *Suraksha,* R. Kaleem Ullah, a Human Rights activist, Pushpa Achanta, a Journalist at *Media arts* and Akkai Padmashali, founder of *Ondede* and *Swatnatra* and many other volunteers continue to render their voluntary services to the northeast community in particular, victims of various assaults and attacks through legal matters, counselling and workshops etc. Irrespective of socio-cultural, religio-political and religious backgrounds the mentioned individuals set an example of genuine hospitality and solidarity toward the northeast community. All these individuals and organizations continue to render their voluntary service assisting in protests, rallies, court rooms, police stations etc., without any benefits. Their action, sacrifice, and practice of hospitality show a true sense of being in solidarity with the northeast migrants in Bangalore. Different communities and individuals in Bangalore stood out in solidarity with the northeast people to show that they are not enemies but friends. All these evidences show how in spite of the tension and circumstances people from diverse communities stood in solidarity with the distressed migrants.

Various NGOS's, civil society groups and individuals came together in extending hospitality and solidarity to the northeast community. Elavarthi mentions, "it was only during the northeast exodus 2012, a coalition of around 50 local NGO representing different communities, and individuals came together at Indian Social Institute (ISI) and helped the northeast community to form the Northeast Solidarity on 20th August 2012 to extend support to people of northeast, in Bangalore."[314] Mitra also says, "the aim of coming together of various organizations and individuals was to restore peace, to build confidence, provide support (with regard to issues and challenges that northeast migrants face), and to build a lasting peace and solidarity between migrating community and host community in Bangalore."[315] This was the most astonishing moment for both the northeast community and the host community of coming together in solidarity that challenges the stereotype of the 'strangers'/ the 'other' and move beyond the perception of the 'other' by sharing the same vision of hospitality and solidarity for an inclusive and more humane society.

[314] Interview with Manohar Elavarthi, Advisor, Northeast Solidarity Bangalore, 19 August 2016.
[315] Interview with Darshana Mitra, Advocate, Alternative Law Forum Bangalore, 5 December 2016.

6.6.2. Northeast Solidarity

The Northeast Solidarity (NES) began running a vibrant 24x7 helpline services (9901934371/9741285744) since 2012, coupled with the mass distribution of helpline cards through pamphlets, media and advertisement. Helpline numbers are distributed by volunteers in bus stops, railway stations, college institutions, shopping malls, and police stations etc. Rini mentions that, "before the northeast exodus there were no official organizations/NGO's except students associations, ethnic based churches and fellowships, trust and society run by different northeast individuals which most of the time limited its activities and support to own community. In this context, with the help of local individuals and communities, the NES was formed to extend support to northeast people in Bangalore." [316] Some of the role and contribution of the NES and the team of NES volunteers[317] is to assist and bring awareness to the issues related to northeast migrants living and working in Bangalore.

The NES reports, from August 2012 to March 2017 with regards to issues and problems faced by the northeast migrants in Bangalore are categorized under 17 different categories, problems and crime related issues faced by the northeast people in Bangalore with a total number of 665 cases attended. The 17 categories of problems and crime related issues are as follows; 1 kidnapping case, 1 bailout imprisonment from fabricating case, 6 human trafficking case, 7 rape case, 7 job relocation case, 9 missing case, 11 murdered case, 15 cheating and robbery case, 23 threat and intimidation, 26 housing related issues, 33 sexual harassment case, 36 students institutional issues, 38 beauty parlour/spa related issues, 52 extortion of money case, 93 physical attacks, 138 psycho social help and 169 non-payment of back wages etc.[318] Even though the mass exodus of northeast people has ended (from 15 August to 20 August, 2012), yet, the problems and challenges faced by the northeast people in Bangalore have not lessened, as it is so evident in the everyday life experiences of the migrants presented in the previous chapters (three and four).

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[316] Interview with, Rini Ralte, President, Northeast Solidarity Bangalore, 12 June 2016.

[317] The team of volunteers consists of people belonging to both the northeasterners and local individuals who come from varied fields of expertise raging from academics, journalism, human rights, law, community-based organizations and social workers etc.

[318] *See, Northeast Solidarity Report,* 21.

Further, Northeast Solidarity in collaboration with the Bangalore City Police has initiated neighbourhood meetings between the northeast migrants and local community leaders in a few areas in Bangalore. Occasionally, the NES also organises seminars and workshops related to the issues of migration and migrants in Bangalore. To discourage racism in any form, awareness programmes such as; cultural exchange activities, food festivals, candlelight protests, and the rallies are organized in order to promote a secular outlook in the nation. As Chanam notes, "the vision and mission of northeast solidarity is to eliminate discrimination against northeast people in the city and to bring an environment of peace, cultural integrity, solidarity and co-habitation."[319] In order to address the issues and concerns much more needs to be done to create an environment of safety and security for northeast people so that, both the migrating community and the host community can share a sense of hospitality, solidarity and friendship between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds residing in Bangalore. It can be said that, NES extends its hospitality and solidarity to the northeast migrants on an everyday basis.

6.6.3. North East Welfare Association Karnataka

The North East Welfare Association Karnataka (NEWAK) since its inception in 2012, represented by all eight northeast states as its members has been taking up various issues and problems faced by the northeast people in Bangalore. The association has been actively involved with the northeast people's movement and issues with the help and support from the host community, particularly; police department, NGO's, human rights activists, social activists, local community organizations, lawyers and many other organizations. NEWAK organization represents northeast people in Bangalore and in every possible manner the organization extends help and support which is overwhelming and appreciated. Resu mentions, "NEWAK is a parent association that represents all the north east states in Bangalore, but we do have a formal (paid) registered membership patterns like the student's associations however, we have about ten thousand (non-pay registered/informal) members and followers in social media. For

[319] Interview with, Urmila Chanam, General Secretary, Northeast Solidarity Bangalore, 13 September 2016.

the past 6 years NEWAK has been involved in many crisis interventions and support for more than 91cases and a number of 152 people."[320]

The problem faced by the northeast people in Bangalore varies in most cases. Students face problems related to cheating cases in admissions, forged college certificates and sometimes they are cheated by the brokers for admission in fake colleges/universities. While working migrants who mostly work in lower sectors, like in security, hotel/restaurants, beauty parlour and garment sectors faced are with problems non-payment of back wages, house-rent related issues, mistreatment by the employers, and over-time of work.

Physical attacks, death and murder due to racial elements and other forms of violence and discrimination towards northeast migrants are on a daily basis. Tachu, says, "people from the north-east face discrimination on a daily basis but we often tend to ignore minor incidents. However, when things go out of control, it is time to speak up, protest and demand our right to live with dignity in our own country,"[321] Apart from crisis intervention and support, NEWAK also organizes various activities and programmes such as sports meet, cultural programmes, workshops and seminars to promote harmony, friendship and solidarity between the migrating community and the host community.

6.6.4. Northeast Students' Associations

Extending hospitality to the migrants in a crisis sometimes becomes a barrier even within the northeast community. For example, if a migrant does not belong to same language speaking, same ethnic community or religious belonging for that matter, it is difficult to show hospitality to that person. We human beings are bound to by certain identity traits, and within that, if one or the other does not 'fit' into that 'particular' category, people tend to overlook them even when 'the other' is in need of help. The stranger within the stranger (the other within the other) is clearly visible even within the

[320]Interview with Vezokho Resu, President, North East Welfare Association Karnataka, 21 August 2016.
[321]Interview with Ruhi Tachu, General Secretary, North East Welfare Association Karnataka, 14 January 2017.

northeast communities and it continues to segregate one another because of socio-cultural and religious affiliations. Many of the respondents mention that, they seek help from their own ethnic students' organizations. However, in some cases they denied to help.

On the other hand, the role and contribution of the students associations and other northeast community based associations' plays a very important role in the life of the northeast migrating people in Bangalore. Coming from diverse backgrounds, when an individual/family or a group of people come to Bangalore for varied reasons it is very important for them to connect with their own community, and most of the migrants do so. Like any other migrants, after migrating in course of time, the northeast migrants do bond with their own ethnic association/communities who have already migrated before them. Evidently seen from the respondents' survey and interviews, almost all the northeast communities formed either based on ethnic association, same language speaking associations, or region based associations with a common vision to help and support each other in the destined city.

The students associations generally have a membership pattern that includes both the students and working people whereby each individual belonging to a particular association can registered themselves as a member for better communication and support. Through interaction and interviews with the students association's leaders and with the respondents it is evident that most of the working migrants do not have a membership in associations. However when problems arise, migrants who are not registered members are the ones who seek help from associations and the associations do not hesitate to extend help and support to those migrants.

Each students association takes up the issues and concerns of problems faced by the migrating people in Bangalore through various platforms. For example, during the freshers' meet, the associations organize both formal and informal sessions and usually invite key speakers to exhort the students and workers. As Nienu points, "when we organized programmes we invite speakers from different areas and request the speakers to address the issues and concerns of northeast people in Bangalore and Nagas in particular. So also we do organize cultural activities and programmes to remind and

encourage people of our roots, our identity as a community adding to moral and ethical values on how to be positive and harmonious toward one another that shares a communitarian life and values in the new environment."[322] Yanga also mentions that, "when programmes like freshers' meet, sports meet, social and cultural programmes and activities are organized by students' association the attendance are always from students and professional working people. Many working in private sectors do not attend programs for reasons known to them and these groups of people are mostly vulnerable to different forms of discrimination and attacks in the city. Strangely in most of the cases, people working in private sectors particularly in hotels, restaurants, retail stores and security sectors are the ones who seek help from associations when they are faced with problems."[323] Maheo says, "most of the calls we receive are from the working migrants in restaurants and security people are related to non-payment of salary and these migrants happen to be a non- registered members in associations."[324] Kamei also says, "when association is approached for help and support we do not ask whether they are registered members or not. But interestingly, many of the people who we extend our help are unregistered members, but still we do extend help and support in every capability we could."[325]

The responses of some of these students' association leaders is evident that, their contributions toward the well- being of the migrants sets an example irrespective of a migrant whether being a member of a particular ethnic community, or do not when they seek the help and support from the associations. The associations leaders are always open to their problems and issues and do extend their support towards individuals in need of help. Varied forms of solidarity extended by the students' associations towards the migrants who face problems such as, problems related to migrants' house rent, non-payment of salary, college/university related and other racial attacks and discriminations are worth mentioning when we talk of hospitality and solidarity.

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[322] Interview with Nuthipru Nienu, President, Naga Students Union Bangalore, 23 September 2017.
[323] Interview with Daniel Yanga, President, Tangkhul Students Union Bangalore, 21 January 2017.
[324] Interview with Levi Maheo, President, Mao Students Union Bangalore, 18 August 2016.
[325] Interview with Eric Kamei, President, Zeliangrong Students Union Bangalore, 11 December 2016.

6.6.5. Ecumenical Organizations

Hospitality and solidarity extended by various ecumenical organizations like Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society (CISRS), Students Christian Movement of India (SCMI), Ecumenical Christian Centre (ECC) and Bible Society of India (BSI) etc., toward the issues and challenges face by the northeast migrants in Bangalore are very much valued and appreciated. All these ecumenical organizations are involved with the issues and problems of the northeast migrants in Bangalore through various ways such as; conducting workshops, seminars and programmes relating to racial discrimination, violence and other issues of northeast migrants particularly in Bangalore and migration in general. In the context of increasing migration of people from the northeast states to metro cities particularly Bangalore, even in the midst of the consequent vulnerabilities and hostile attitudes attached towards the northeast migrants by a few individuals, there is always a sense of solidarity and hospitality toward the northeast migrants irrespective of differences and shares a sense of solidarity with one another.

6.6.6. Hospitality Extended by the Church

The aspects of hospitality and solidarity extended by the church[326] belonging to different denominations to the northeast migrants take different forms. During the mass exodus, many churches, Christian fellowship groups, individuals and families in Bangalore extended hospitality and solidarity in providing safety and rehabilitation to the northeast migrants for a period of 5 to15 days for 629 northeast migrants in different parts of Bangalore.[327] Churches, fellowships and individuals extend hospitality and solidarity in providing them food, shelter and counselling as these migrants were physically and psychologically affected due to mass exodus. Many other Church and

[326] Here the word 'church' I refer only to the church/s in Bangalore and northeast church and fellowship groups in Bangalore.

[327] St. Joseph College accommodated 50 northeast migrants, Bangalore Mizo Presbyterian Church accommodated 100 northeast migrants, Naga Christian Fellowship Bangalore accommodated 50migrants, Tangkhul Baptist Church Bangalore accommodated 50 migrants, Kuki Baptist Church Bangalore 60 migrants, Mizoram House, 45 migrants, United Theological college, 14 migrants, Hamlet, Kammanahalli, 5 migrants, Naga hostel, Koramangala, 20 migrants, Mizo hostel, Koramangala, 10 migrants, Darjeeling families, Neelasandra, 13 migrants, Angang Haokip, 57 migrants, Dhruba Jyoti Bhuyan, 80 migrants and Manjula Gupta accommodated 30 migrants. See, *Northeast Solidarity Report*, 61.

Christian Fellowship groups (both northeast church/fellowships and church/s and its members in Bangalore) came forward to accommodate and facilitate to extend help to the needs of the migrants during the mass exodus and aftermath.

There are also varied platforms provided particularly for the working migrants initiated by the church. For example, the Naga Christian Fellowship Bangalore provides a forum call "working peoples' forum," in which Naga working migrants come together once or twice a year for fellowship and other socio-cultural activities. The forum provides an opportunity for the migrants to share their experiences, to explore and interact with one another thus help to ensure a well-build relation of trust, security, and acceptance between the working migrants and the church.

The Northeast Catholic Community actively involves on the issues and challenges faced by the migrants particularly with the northeast migrants working in garment factories and other informal sectors in Bangalore.[328] Each year the Commission for the migrants, Archdiocese of Bangalore organized the International Migrant's Day and in 14th January, 2018 about 700 northeast working migrants attended the program. The program includes fellowship and prayers for the migrants, allowing them to share their experiences as migrants, and also cultural dances and songs by different northeast communities were incorporated. Most importantly, encouragement and presentations on the issues and concerns of the northeast migrants initiated by both secular and religious leaders like, Rev Dr. Bernard Moras, the then Archbishop of Bangalore, in his message to the northeast migrant community assured, "we are called as shepherds of the new flock and I assure you all assistance to make your lives meaningful."

Likewise, northeast churches, fellowship groups and mainline churches are involved in bringing awareness of safety, security and well-being of the migrants through different programmes like, workshops, seminars and other church activities. Such programmes and activities bring together both the host community and the migrants into a 'shared space' in building and extending friendship through hospitality and solidarity. It also

[328] Fr.Shaju Kalappurakkal, an Executive Secretary and Commission for the migrants' work and assists the northeast migrants, particularly the Catholic Christians migrants in Bangalore.

assures the migrants a sense of safety, security and belonging in the destined city. On the other hand, there are a few instances where the church and other religious-based affiliations seem to have gone unnoticed to the cries and needs of the migrant community in Bangalore. Russell asserts;

> We are often strangers to one another, but the problem that we face is not that we are different, but that we are often fear that difference and reject those outside our church, our community, our nation….And churches unfortunately reinforce this fear and rejection by becoming 'safe havens' from difference, welcoming only certain groups and misusing theological teachings to exclude those who don't fit.[329]

Here the researcher would like to highlight a few of the respondents experiences on their approach to church and fellowship groups in seeking help when faced with racial discrimination, attacks and other problems. One respondent mentioned, "I was dragged from one room to another, beaten black and blue, and forced to lick the shoes such inhuman torture by my landlord on the issue of overuse of water. When I approached some of my church leaders and elders to accompany me to the police station for complain, they referred me to the northeast helpline saying that they are not in a position to help me in this matter." [330]

Chakma says, "after vacating the house I was not given back rental deposit as mentioned in agreement letter so I requested my church pastor to talk to the landowner but the pastor said that if I talk about money matters people will take me in a wrong way and it would also bring bad name being a pastor. He then advised me to approach students' associations and other individuals for help."[331]

Another respondent mentions, "Me and my three friends were not given three months salary so I requested my pastor to talk to my employer. Since I am church member, he talked about my due salary to my employer but refused to talk on behalf of my friends as they belong from a different religious and ethnic community." In this sense,

[329] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 21.
[330] Interview with Heigo Guntey, 15 June 2017.
[331] Interview with Abish Chakma, President, Chakma Students Union Bangalore, 21 July 2016.

hospitality and solidarity toward the northeast migrants is often missing from one's action as seen from this case. The experiences of a few respondents reveals that; Christian leaders, pastors, churches and fellowship groups are not always open to 'other' community or other religious denomination.

There are some Christians who only confine the practice and an act of welcoming and extending hospitality to one's church members or within Christian community, often exclude persons from 'other' religious backgrounds and ethnic community. Jin rightly points that, "the new ways of being church are modeled and implied, based on the value characteristics, and qualities of the new as embodied in the person, life and value system of Jesus."[332] As Christians, the praxis of hospitality must understand itself as hospitality to all people and must reflect Gods loving embrace of the world. Human beings are created in the image of God and thus, we are called to carry on the love of God to all people by extending hospitality to one another. By understanding and accepting one another irrespective of ethnic or religious backgrounds, one can thus diminish the 'culture' of alienation and exclusion that exists among people of various communities.

Being hospitable to one another should be the center act of the Christian church today. The church should be like a "round table."[333] A round table is a metaphor and a symbol of hospitality among people of various communities for new possibility of unity and difference. This metaphor of round table is inclusive of race, class, caste, gender, and age etc. It speaks of people gathered around the table and in the world to connect faith and life in action to work for justice in solidarity with those at the margins of church

[332] Young Ting Jin, "A Protestant Perspective," 47.

[333] Russell describes the church in a metaphorical description as, "the round table." Russell notes, "the round table has become a symbol of hospitality and a metaphor for gathering for sharing and dialogue. Round table is a sign of coming unity of humanity…the table is spread by God and hosted by Christ; it must be a table with many connections. The primary connection for people gathered around is the connection to Christ. The church is the community of faith in Jesus Christ… Because Christ is present in the world, especially among those who are neglected, oppressed, both church and society, always welcoming the stranger to the feast to sharing the feast where the 'others' gather… the round table itself emphasizes this connection, for when we gather around we are connected, in an association or relationship with one another." See Letty M. Russell, *Church in the Round: Feminist Interpretation of the Church* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox Press, 1993), 17-18.

and society.[334] The understanding of hospitality derived from the church in the round reflects living with and among 'other' being drawn into a partnership of sharing and welcoming. Such a sense of inclusivity of all people may help one risk showing hospitality to strangers and those with different cultures and religious backgrounds. In this way Christian community gains its identity through the gift of faith in Christ, who welcomes all.[335]

6.7. Hospitality in a Multi- Religious Context

The biblical and theological understanding of hospitality is rooted in the hospitality of God. God's hospitality presents an active to people from the very beginning, "the Bible testifies to God as God of all nations and peoples, whose love and compassion includes all humankind."[336] God's welcome and hospitality reflected in His openness to humanity, an openness embodied in Jesus' love for the strangers without boundaries.[337] The perfect paradigm of love for humanity seen in the life and ministry of Jesus who not only heal, feed, and befriend people who were part of his own tradition but also responded and shown the same amount of love and concern in extending hospitality to people of various socio-cultural and religious backgrounds (to the needy, the sick, the poor, the Canaanite woman and Samaritan woman) etc. The inclusiveness of the 'stranger' set by Jesus is that of a community of equals which is modeled in the "*basileia* vision of Jesus as the praxis of inclusive wholeness."[338] Reynolds writes,

> *Basileia* or Kingdom of God is a relational praxis, a communal and social support for a realm shaped by God's empowering 'rule' of welcome. It is an eschatological ideal, a future hope, but one that is productive in the present, challenging the world's economics of domination and exclusion not through coercion but by power of compassion, gratuitous, and unconditional regard- in a word hospitality.

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[334] Letty M. Russell, *Church in the Round*, 12- 17.
[335] Letty M. Russell, *Church in the Round*, 158.
[336]"Religious Plurality and Christian Self- understanding," in https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/docunment/s (accessed 15 November 2017).
[337] Thomas E Reynolds, "Welcoming without Reserve: A Case in Christian Hospitality," in *Theology Today*, vol. 63, no. 2 (July 2006): 201
[338] Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 118.

> This kingdom is demonstrated by a love that crosses boundaries, where distinctions between inside and outside become blurred, where one's neighbour includes one's enemy (cf. Matt 5:43-45 and the Good Samaritan Luke 10:29-37).[339]

Jesus chose a 'stranger,' the Samaritan, to demonstrate the fulfilling of the commandment to love one's neighbour through love and hospitality. The parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29-37) who himself was the 'stranger,' yet showed hospitality to the 'other' who happens be a 'stranger.' The parable of the last judgment (Mat. 25:31- 46) goes "further to identify openness to the victims of society, hospitality to strangers and acceptance of the others as unexpected ways of being in communion with the risen Christ."[340] Such community stands for egalitarianism and inclusiveness of hospitality that promotes the sense of belonging, inter-connectedness and interrelationships of all people that fosters harmony and mutual growth in faith, love and hope.[341] Reynolds writes,

> Out of a sense of abundance and the gratitude that accompanies it, this community accommodated and attended to 'the stranger'- a different religious who 'had no place.' Out of the experience of God's abundant grace in Christ poured genuine openness and availability to others. Such hospitality was a gift that arose neither out of an expectation for something in return nor merely because of a command. It did not give in order to get or in order to fulfill an imposed duty; it gave because a gift had first been given. The love of God becomes a love of neighbour; conversely, the love of neighbour becomes a way of loving God.[342]

The love of God and love of ones neighbour gives emphasis to the centrality of hospitality in Christian faith.[343] It is also believe that hospitality is fundamental in all the

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[339] Thomas E. Reynolds, "Welcoming without Reserve," 200.
[340] "Religious Plurality and Christian Self- understanding," in https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/docunment/s (accessed 15 November 2017).
[341] Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals*, 330.
[342] Thomas E. Reynolds, "Welcoming without Reserve," 200-201.
[343] Thomas E. Reynolds, "Welcoming without Reserve," 191.

major world religions[344] that mark the moment when an individual or a community extends a welcome to the stranger. Hospitality to strangers and other marginalized groups is "a highly regarded virtue."[345] Yet this in no easy matter, to welcome, and embrace the stranger in the midst of religious difference, particularly when the migrants and person belonging to different religious beliefs are perceived as 'strangers' or 'others' and at time are seen as a 'threat'[346] to an individual or a particular community. Hospitality to stranger involves the risk and challenges, nevertheless; ones commitment to welcoming unconditionally, willingness for a dialogue between cultures and beliefs through a shared-space can in fact learn and accommodate others.[347]

The crucial first step as Christian, toward extending hospitality is by way of openness and making space for others in sharing the inclusive hospitality of God amidst multi-religious difference.[348] Each individual should see the gracious hospitality of God as both the result of the multiple ways in which God has related to peoples and nations. It is our Christian faith in God which challenges us to share the gracious hospitality of God to the strangers and other religious community. In today's context the 'stranger' includes not only the people unknown to us, the migrants, the poor and marginalized, but also those who are ethnically, culturally and religiously 'other' to us.

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[344]The Jewish scripture tells about Abraham's welcome and hospitality to three strangers. Christianity teaches God's love and hospitality "of receptivity to a Word becoming flesh," Islam teaches hospitality to the stranger as a fundamental to their faith, "Hinduism recognizes the guest as a manifestation of the divine – *Atithi Devo Bhava* (God is not manifested through the guest; rather the guest by being a guest manifests God)." Buddhism teaches a radical hospitality in order to overcome the misleading between friend and enemy." See, Richard Kearney and James Taylor, "Introduction," in *Hosting the Strangers: Between Religions*, edited by Richard Kearney and James Taylor (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 1. See also, vanThanh Nguyen, "An Asian View of Biblical Hospitality," in *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection*, vol 74 (2010): 445-459.

[345] vanThanh Nguyen, "Asia in Motion: A Biblical Reflection on Migration," in *Asian Christian Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Winter 2010):18-31.

[346] Here the word 'threat,' I mean to express that since a person or a community are generally grouped under differing nationality, socio-cultural, political, religious and ethnic identities etc., that often sees an individual or a community as the 'other' and creates a division between 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' The 'other' or the 'outsider/s' are most often perceived as posing a threat to the values and beliefs of the insiders.

[347] George Newlands and Allen Smith, *Hospitable God: The Transformative Dream* (England ASHGATE, 2010), 19.

[348] Thomas E Reynolds, "Welcoming without Reserve? A Case in Christian Hospitality," in *Theology Today*, vol. 63, no. 2 (July 2006): 202.

Xenophilia, love for the strangers, says Rivera- Pagan "should be our duty and vocation, as a faith affirmation not only of our common humanity but also of the ethical priority in the eyes of God of those vulnerable beings living in the shadows and margins of our society."[349] Hospitality of welcoming the 'other' or 'stranger' creates a space for solidarity and acceptance. One can also draw example from Pope Francis who washes feet of both men and women of different religions and cultural backgrounds, the prisoners, the sick, the migrants/asylum seekers etc. All these exemplar redefines a true sense of love for the stranger and the 'other' religious community without boundaries. Christians are thus call to initiate by allowing one to be more hospitable and welcoming to 'stranger,' or 'other,' in a multi-religious context.

Hospitality in a multi-religious context calls us to an attitude of openness in our relationships to others and "to live together in diversity while recognizing differences"[350] by promoting unity based on diversity and not uniformity. For one "must stand in solidarity with strangers by working against the oppressive structures that make them outsiders within their own societies and in the process, we may discover God's hospitality in our own communities for an inclusive community."[351]

An egalitarian and inclusive community is possible only with the collaboration of both the migrants and the host community committed to human wholeness by just being humane. Moon asserts, "if the meaning of God's image is found not in the unique characteristic of human beings, but rather in becoming human, then all differences between human beings, between religions, and between Christians and non-Christians disappear."[352] Each individual is made in the image of God and are wanderers and migrants thus, one's ability to welcome and extend hospitality to migrants "is a responsibility of every human person on the globe. It is not just a Christian mandate but rather a human condition similar to migration."[353] It is alongside this picture that the

[349] Luis N. Rivera- Pagan, "Xenophilia or Xenophobia: Towards a Theology of Migration," in *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*, edited by Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 40.
[350] Regina Polak, "Questions and Remarks from a Practical-Theological Perspective," 60.
[351] Letty M. Russell, *Just Hospitality*, 22.
[352] Cyris H. S. Moon, *A Korean Minjung Theology,* 72.
[353] Linh Hoang, "Hospitality in a Time of Migration," 780.

Church, different religious groups and civil society are called upon to be more welcoming and hospitable towards the migrants and vice versa that each individual feel welcomed and accepted.

Summary

The understanding of hospitality rooted in God's gracious hospitality embodied in Jesus' love for the strangers and welcome for all widens ones practice of welcome and hospitality in creating a space for inclusion of strangers and others. Irrespective of diverse social, cultural, economic and religious backgrounds, one's act of welcoming and extending hospitality to one another in times of need is essential. God's welcome for all can in fact enhance the act of hospitality in understanding one another through mutual respect and acceptance across differences. In this way, reciprocal hospitality is necessary between the migrating and the host community and it is imagined that welcoming and extending hospitality to the migrant and vice versa can only start from one's genuine commitment that fosters in building a shared respect, trust, and acceptance irrespective of socio-cultural and religious diversity.

Conclusion

This thesis attempts to map out wide-range of socio-economic, cultural and religious backgrounds of northeast migrants in Bangalore. To which, the researcher explore and identify various cause for migration of northeast people to Bangalore. It is found out that, 53% of the total respondents came to Bangalore in search of employment. This is primarily because in northeast Indian state, job opportunities are limited. Among these respondents, 59% and another 62.5% of the respondents are contended in finding job opportunity in Bangalore, as their earning helps improve their family economic condition. The high percentage of response from respondents substantiates the claim that, lack of employment opportunities in the northeast states, and hope for better employment and living standard motivated northeast people to migrate. Figure/s also shows that migration of people from the northeast states particularly to Bangalore have no doubt contributed to the migrant's life in terms of economy and financial independence. However, it was also found out that, there are considerable difference between the migrants' expectations and the multifaceted everyday life realities of challenges migrants had to face once they reach the destination place.

Many a time, northeast people are said to have perceived and received as the 'other' or 'foreigner,' do so of their difference in terms of social-cultural, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. It is evident that out of the total respondents, 62.5% of the respondents mentioned that they are looked down as 'different' because of their ethnic appearance; a Mongoloid feature with distinct skin texture which does not fit the usual/typical 'look' as that of mainlanders in general. This kind of notion and perception made the northeast community a distinct and perceptible both in private and in public spaces. People coming from the northeast states to Bangalore and other metropolitan city of India are often treated as people with distinct identity in terms of; life style, dress, food habits, social system, and other cultural difference. So it is in this apparent or covert socio-cultural and language difference, northeast migrants are often misinterpreted within the category as 'foreigner' or 'Chinese' and so on. They are often labeled as a 'Chinese' or 'Chinkey,' a term which never heard of or referred to in the northeast region. It is where perception and treatment of the northeast migrants as 'outsider' is due to their

distinctive ethnic features, such as their racial and ethnic origin. And through this category people from the northeast are prone to be subjected to various forms of stereotype and discrimination. Nonetheless despite various forms of discrimination experienced by the northeast migrants being highlighted, migration of people from the northeast states to metro cities particularly to Bangalore does not seem to end.

Comparatively, northeast migrants working in restaurants and beauty parlours and spas in Bangalore are better off in terms of 'better pay' or 'better job' as compared to their counterparts back home. However, the irony of 'better job,' 'better pay,' and 'better opportunities,' etc., are often attached with varied forms of problems and challenges as evident in countless incidents borne out by the facts presented. It is found that the common issues cited by a majority of respondents are related to; non-payment of salary, insecurity, harassment, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and other vulnerable situations that affect migrants' life at various stages threatened their well-being. A majority, 86.5% and another 58.5% of the respondents experienced racial discrimination in and outside the workplace. Adding to all these, thus, have created a feeling of insecurity and exclusion among the northeast people in Bangalore.

Nevertheless, from the facts presented, migrants are not only 'victims,' but are, 'survivors.' This is very much relevant and surely helps in locating the context of northeast migrants as this hopeful mind-set is confirmed in the migrants lived experiences. One respondent mentions, "Sometimes it is difficult being northeast migrant especially when you look different, but one can still make life easy by way of accommodating and learning others' culture and way of life." Another respondent says, "being a migrant you have to be resilient, thankful, and hopeful for the best in every situation." All these provoked migrants to take courage and move beyond the concept of being victimhood. And taking solace in resilient spirit and creating a space of belonging, through celebrations, festivals and solidarity meeting with one another in Bangalore. Partly it is because; they are also deeply oriented towards their communitarian way of life.

It is evident from the respondents' survey that the growing hostile mind-set towards the northeast migrants, particularly those working in restaurants and beauty parlours/spas

are alarming. To navigate this alarming situation; welcoming, accepting and extending a helping hand to migrants who are voiceless, powerless and vulnerable to diverse situations is considered necessary. When one look into the biblical narratives, hospitality was not only a virtue and fundamental practice, but also seen as a grateful response to God's own gracious hospitality, and an expression and imitation of it. In the early church, shared meals, table fellowship, and households that transcended cultural, societal, and other differences were some of the symbolic expressions of hospitality for the early Christian communities, an anticipation of the kingdom of God, as well as the means by which new partnership and *koinonia* were born.

Hospitality in the biblical narratives continues to serve as a powerful reminder for us today. God's gracious hospitality embodied in Jesus' love and hospitality for all make accessible to humankind. The perfect paradigm of God's love for humanity through the life and ministry of Jesus who not only heal, feed, and befriend people who were part of his own tradition. But Jesus also responded and shown the same amount of love and concern in extending hospitality to people irrespective of various socio-cultural and religious backgrounds; to the needy, the sick, the poor, the Canaanite woman and Samaritan woman etc. Jesus breaks the socio-cultural and religious barriers by engaging in a dialogue and demonstrates the commandment to love one's neighbour through the parable of the Good Samaritan. As followers of the One who created us in his own image, we are called to extend hospitality to all people, without bias.

Vulnerability of the host is a paradigm that cannot be neglected. The story of Lot in the biblical narrative is a classic example. It demonstrates that when hospitality is contrary to the intentions of the larger group, it can be dangerous. Lot was subjected to humiliation as well as sacrifice something difficult to fandom, yet, Lot's treatment of strangers distinguished him from his social context, and for this he is commended in the latter tradition in 2 Peter 2:7-8. Even in a modern society the host may be challenged to welcome a stranger when identity of the strangers is questionable.

The Samaritan act of hospitality (Luke 10:25-37) to the man who was beaten to death is remarkable, and Jesus command to the lawyer to "go and do likewise," is a theological challenge for the Christians. Human beings are created in God's own image and thus,

humanity and dignity of an individual must be respected by recognizing the image of God in an individual despite the differences in language, ethnicity, race, culture, and religious diversity. Each individual can take a step forward in welcoming and embracing the other/stranger/migrants, so that, hospitality would mend a bridge of tolerance and acceptance among people of diverse community. The biblical and theological implication on loving and extending hospitality to the strangers, alien and the sojourners is very significant when we reflect on applying thus to the migrating people who are considered as strangers, others or outsiders in today's context. Today's stranger, outsider in the form of migrants suggests a way of describing and dealing with the challenges of migration and perceiving hospitality as a possibility to learn justice, peace, and living together in diversity.

The New Testament presents hospitality as the concrete expression of the living Gospel. Jesus teaching about the final judgment shows that hospitality is what the mission is about. Hospitality is theologically challenging where Jesus intensifies the implications of hospitality in the parable of the last judgment Mat. 25: 35, "I was a stranger and you welcomed me." This passage makes it clear; every act of kindness done to anyone in need is done to Christ himself. Strangers in today's context can be referred to as migrants who are being mistreated and neglected by church and society at large. Thus from an ethical theological perspective the main concern should be the existential wellbeing of the "least of these," of the most vulnerable and marginalized members of God's humanity, among them those who sojourn far away from their homeland, constantly scrutinized by the humiliating gaze of many native citizens.

Hospitality therefore needs to be understood within the wider concept of God's gracious hospitality for all people and the ways the church, civil society and individuals are to extend hospitality to strangers who in today's context are migrants. When one allows God's gracious hospitality to lead and guide in extending hospitality to the migrants, migrants no longer will endure insecurity, alienation and discriminations rather; a sense of belonging, and acceptance.

Hospitality should not be merely an act of sympathy or charity expressed in welcoming migrants/others including strangers and being polite to them, but, it is the solid attribute

and character of God. It is astonishing to note that Christians have a rich biblical heritage of hospitality as a mission, and so also, the concept of hospitality as welcoming others is evident almost in all religions and cultures. To be a Christian means to see the strangers as Christ and by implications showing the hospitality to the stranger. Hospitality is the lens through which the life of a person can be understood. Obedience to the command of God to be hospitable to stranger and to love neighbour is Christianity's attempt to interpret the world. Embodying the hospitality of the gospel requires a radical, costly reorientation of our lives, where we share not only our resources, and a message, but also our very selves. Welcoming strangers/migrants is then not something we do for a few hours a week in a fixed program, but how we live out and how we orient our families, churches, and society at large.

Hospitality across difference irrespective of caste, class, race, gender, cultural, political and religious- based affiliation, would then, reflect God's gracious hospitality. The aspects of hospitality of welcoming, acceptance and openness should be one's action that can foster the gift of unity and mutual understanding among people of diverse community. One can also draw example from Pope Francis who washes feet of both men and women of different religions and cultural backgrounds. These groups of people who are considered the least in the society due to varied circumstances; the prisoners, the sick, the migrants/asylum seekers etc. All these exemplar redefined a true sense of hospitality and welcome for the 'stranger' and the 'other' without boundaries. Sharing God's gracious hospitality to all people paves the way of embracing others and today, one is called to initiate by allowing oneself to be more welcoming and hospitable to one another.

Here in appreciating differences among people, there are enormous possibility of developing idea of inclusiveness and culture of hospitality through social-cultural activities, festivals and celebrations etc. And in doing so, prejudices, discrimination and misconception could be overcome in order to bridge the gap of trust deficit between people. In this way, one can create more humane and sensitive society for peaceful co-existence and progress. It is thus, opening a space in making migrating community everywhere safe, peaceful and protected from vulnerable situations. Expecting such

social atmosphere, migrants everywhere could appreciate and take step in furthering common hope cherished values, trust, respecting customs, traditions and cultures of the host community.

Juxtaposing the mainland Indian migrants to northeast states is a perspective needs further exploration. One cannot rule out various incidents where mainland Indian migrants experience prejudices among the majority tribal community. Such is the typical pattern of relationship in situations where majority and minority community share common space. Some northeast states are predominantly tribal and Christians, whose traditional culture revolve around the values of honesty, mutual respect and community- centeredness, even to a totally stranger.

Hospitality in north-eastern context has a different connotation. The Ao Naga society is governed and sustained as a community by the principle of *Sobaliba.* The principle of *Sobaliba*- self- sacrifice is characterized by the traditional etiquette, social manner, honesty, integrity, virtues, attitude of a person towards others and much more. It is a socio-ethical principle of a person to deny oneself or one's own wishes for the sake of the community; or loses oneself for the common cause. It finds its equivalent in the socio-ethical principle of the Mizos of Mizoram, called the principle of *Tlawmngaihna,* meaning on the part of everyone to be hospitable, kind, unselfish and helpful to others, in other word it stands for selfless service for others. Likewise, the tribes in the northeast states have own ethic of hospitable which one practice among community and to others, and the tribes in the region have for centuries cherished its traditional cultural value such as equality and freedom among its members and to their 'other.'

Hospitality in terms of tolerance and acceptance of other religious communities can be seen in the life and experiences of the migrants from other mainland states to the northeast region. For example, in Nagaland, migrants from other Indian states run almost half of the shops and other business in Dimapur, the biggest commercial hub of the state. And there is no denying the fact that on any religious festivals particularly, on any Muslim religious day, at least half of the shops in Dimapur remain closed. The point is that this is a clear indication of how the northeast communities value tolerance, acceptance, equality and freedom among its members and to 'others' or migrants from

mainland Indian states. Pursuing a life of hospitality through mutual understanding and sharing of values will eventually contribute much toward making society tolerant and acceptance of multi- race, multi-ethnicity, multi-identity, multi-cultural and multi-religious co-existence peaceful and enriching. In this way one can arrive at a consensus of reciprocal that would create a society of mutual respect and interdependence among people of different background.

A shared space of being hospitable with an understanding of other's problems, and responding to those challenges, can one be more empathetic towards one another. It would also merge and bridge the gap of alienation between migrants and host community. When one becomes more humane, maintaining sensitivity toward others by way of understanding, acknowledging the values of the 'other,' the 'culture' of hospitality of welcoming one another is possible. One can participate reciprocally in hospitality so that the praxis of 'neighbourly love' and solidarity towards other community or individual would mend alienation and exclusion of the 'other,' and whereby, hosts become guests and guests become host at different times.

Therefore, God's welcome for all people irrespective of socio-cultural and religious diversity should not be one's choice, but a way of life. Being hospitable to one another can thus contribute much; the goal is then, to shift from 'hostility and exclusion' to 'hospitality and embrace' through shared partnership, mutual respect and acceptance toward making migrating and receiving communities a just, peaceful and inclusive in affirming diversity. An egalitarian and inclusive community is possible only with the cooperation of both the migrants and the host community committed to social justice, and human wholeness. God's hospitality engages one to participate in partnership and solidarity that develop into a two way process entering into a mutual acceptance between the migrating and receiving communities. God's hospitality then envisions a new community based upon the values of mutuality, acceptance, partnership, solidarity and diversity of all people. By engaging in such inclusiveness, reciprocal hospitality can become truly life affirming initiatives for all people in the face of migration.

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Dear Respondent,

I am pursuing doctoral research on the *Challenges Experienced by the Northeast Migrants in Bangalore: Towards a Theology of Hospitality* under the guidance of Bishop D. K. Sahu in the Department of Christian Theology, Sam Higginbottom University of Agriculture, Technology & Sciences. Please feel free to share your views and experiences. The information you offer will be extremely valuable and make it more comprehensive in understanding various issues and challenges faced by the northeast migrants in Bangalore. I assure you that all the information you provide will be utilized for research purpose only. Please indicate your responses by ticking the appropriate boxes following the questions given below. Your kind gesture will indeed be appreciated.

Thanking you.

Anati K. Yeptho
I.D. No. 14PHTH101
GPIT, SHUATS, Allahabad

I. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

1. Gender a) Male ☐ b) Female ☐ c) Other ☐

2. Marital Status a) Single/ unmarried ☐ b) Married ☐

3. Age Group a) 18- 20 ☐ b) 21- 23 ☐ c) 24- 26 ☐ d) 27-29 ☐ e) 30- 32 ☐

4. Social Group a) Schedule Caste ☐ b) Schedule Tribe ☐ c) OBC ☐ d) Upper Caste/General ☐ e) Non-tribal/Other ☐

5. Religion Group a) Buddhist ☐ b) Christian ☐ c) Hindu ☐ d) Muslim ☐ e) Any other ☐

6.State a) Arunachal Pradesh ☐ b) Assam ☐ c) Manipur ☐ d) Meghalaya ☐ e) Mizoram ☐ f) Nagaland ☐ g) Sikkim ☐ h) Tripura ☐

7. Specify whether from an urban or rural area;

a) Urban area ☐ b) Rural area ☐

8. Education Level

a) Illiterate ☐ b) School/High school drop-out ☐ c) Matriculate ☐ d) Higher Secondary (incomplete) ☐ e) Higher Secondary (complete) ☐ f) Graduate (incomplete) ☐ g) Graduate (complete) ☐ h) Post-graduate ☐ i) Any other ☐

9. Your occupation(s) before migrating to Bangalore

a) Student ☐ b) Self-employed ☐ c) Unemployed ☐ d) Employed ☐ e) Any other ☐

10. If employed, which segment?

a) Central sector ☐ b) Government sector ☐ c) Private sector ☐ d) Any other ☐

11. Reason for leaving the job?

a) Insufficient income (native place) ☐ b) Insufficient income (other city) ☐ c) Do not get salary on time (other city) ☐ d) Do not get salary on time (native) ☐ e) Extra/long working hours ☐ f) Other reason ☐

II. CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS LEADING TO MIGRATION

12. Reason for migrating to Bangalore?

a) In search of employment ☐ b) Couldn't get suitable job in the native place ☐

c) Lack of influence/ opportunities in the native place ☐

d) Ethnic/Social/political/insurgent conflicts ☐ e) Natural disaster/poverty/development projects ☐ f) In search of better employment/salary ☐ g) Better communication and connectivity ☐ h) Better social status ☐ i) Personal independence ☐

j) Peer influence ☐ k) Other reason ☐

13. Who initiated your migration to Bangalore?

a) Friend ☐ b) Parents/Sibling ☐ c) Cousin/Relative ☐ d) Self ☐

e) Ethnic/community association ☐ f) Recruitment/agencies ☐ g) Any other ☐

14. Who did you migrate with?

a)Alone ☐ b) Sibling/cousin/relative ☐ c) Friend/s ☐ d) Ethnic/community association ☐ e) Recruiter/agent ☐ f) Any other ☐

15. Specify the area you are residing in:

a) Indiranagar ☐ b) Koramangala ☐ c) Viveknagar ☐ d) Ejipura ☐ e) Lingarajpuram ☐ f) Banaswadi ☐ g) Hennur ☐ h) Kammanahalli ☐

16. Accommodation

a) Own house ☐ b) Rented house ☐ c) Relative's house ☐ d) Paying guest ☐ e) Company accommodation ☐ f) Any other ☐

17. What is your reason for residing in this locality?

a) Closer to the work place ☐ b) Close to friends/family ☐ c) Housing is cheaper ☐ d) Better/safe locality atmosphere ☐ e) Other reason ☐

18. If you live in a rented house, do you pay extra rent/deposit than the rest of the tenants? a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

19. Are there any restrictions by the house owner?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

20. If yes, please specify the reason

a)Restrictions in eating, cooking meat ☐ b) Constrain of timings ☐ c) Party /loud noise ☐ d) Specific gender conditions ☐ e) Above all ☐ f) Other reason ☐

21. Is accommodation provided by the employer/company?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

22. If yes, what type of accommodation?

a) Paying Guest ☐ b) Flat/house ☐ c) Room ☐ d) Hall/dormitory ☐

e) Any other ☐

III. PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

23. Designation for those working in beauty parlours and spas

a)Salon/Spa Owner ☐ b) Manager ☐ c) Assistant Manager ☐ d) Hair Stylists ☐ e) Makeup Stylists ☐ f) Therapist ☐ g) Beautician ☐ h) Any other ☐

24. Designation for those working in restaurants

a) Restaurant Owner ☐ b) Manager ☐ c) Assistant Manager ☐ d) Chef ☐ e) Steward/server ☐ f) Beverage/hookah maker ☐ g) Kitchen Stewards ☐ h) Any other ☐

25. Did the employer give you an employment/offer letter, when you joined?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

26. Nature of Employment

a) Permanent ☐ b) Contract ☐ c) Part-time/Temporary ☐ e) Any other ☐

27. Monthly Income

a) Rs 1,000- 8,000 ☐ b) Rs.9,000-10,000 ☐ c) Rs.11,000 -12,000 ☐ d) Rs. 13,000 - 15,000 ☐ e) Rs.16,000-18,000 ☐ f)Rs.19,000-20,000 ☐ g) Rs.21,000- 24,000 ☐ h) Rs. 25,000 and Above ☐ i) Any other ☐

28. How do you spend your earnings?

a) Saving for the future ☐ b) Looking after siblings' education ☐ c) Sending home to parents ☐ d) Spending on my needs and wants ☐ e) Loan/debt payment ☐ f) Other reason ☐

29. How do you receive your salary?

a) Cash ☐ b) Cheque ☐ c) Internet banking /Paytm ☐ d) Any other ☐

30. Salary paid on time?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

IV. WORK ENVIRONMENT, HEALTH ISSUES AND IMPACT ON FAMILY

31. How many hours do you work?

a)8-9 hours ☐ b) 9-10 hours ☐ c) 10-11 hours ☐ d) 11-12 hours ☐ e) 12 hours and above ☐ f) Any other ☐

32. If you work beyond the required time, do you get paid for extra working hours?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

33. Do you get weekdays/weekends off/leave?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

34. Have you changed job in the recent past?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

35. If yes, reason for changing the job

a) Delayed payment ☐ b) Non-payment of salary ☐ c) Insufficient income ☐ d) Extra working hours ☐ e) Work harassment ☐ f) Sexual harassment ☐ g) Other reason ☐

36. Being from a northeast it is easy getting a job?

a)Easy compared to others/locals ☐ b) Difficult compared to others/locals ☐ c) Depends on skills & experience ☐ d) Other reason ☐

37. In which language do you communicate with customers/clients at work place?

a) English ☐ b) English and Hindi ☐ c) Hindi ☐ d) ☐ Other language (Kannada) e) Any other ☐

38. Does working in restaurant/ beauty parlour/spa affect your health?

a)Always ☐ b) Sometimes ☐ c) Not at all ☐

39. If always/sometimes, what would be the reason?

a) Long working hours ☐ b) Inconsistent food timing ☐ c) Personal health issues ☐ d) Other reason ☐

40. Does working in Bangalore affect your family?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

41. If yes, what would be the reason

a) Less communication ☐ b) Couldn't visit them often ☐ c) Couldn't provide their needs ☐ d) Parental care and guidance ☐ e) Other reason ☐

42. How frequent are your visits to your native place?

a) Once a year ☐ b) Once in two years ☐ c) Once in three years ☐ d) Depends on situation/circumstances ☐ e) Other reason ☐

43. After working in Bangalore do you think your household's living standard has improved?

a) Gone up significantly ☐ b) Gone up to some extent ☐ c) Constant ☐ d) ☐ Other reason

V. RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, HARASSMENT AND PHYSICAL ATTACKS IN AND OUTSIDE THE WORKPLACE

44. Have you ever faced racial discrimination in workplace?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

45. If yes, by whom?

a) Employer ☐ b) Manager/Assist.manager ☐ c) Colleague ☐ d) Customer/clients ☐ e) Any other ☐

46. Nature of racial discrimination in workplace

a) Unequal salary ☐ Delayed/denied salary ☐ c) Denied promotion ☐ d) Racist/abusive language ☐ e) Extra working hours ☐ f) Scolded/shouted at for no reason ☐ g) Other reason ☐

47. Racial attack/violence in workplace

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

48. If yes, by whom?

a) Employer ☐ b) Manager/Assist. manager ☐ c) Colleague ☐ d) Customer/clients ☐ e) Any other ☐

49. Nature of Racial attack/violence in workplace

a) Slapped/punched/kicked ☐ b) Pushed/ got into a fight ☐ c) Verbal abuse/insults/threats ☐ d) Attack with a weapon ☐ e) Other reason ☐

50. Have you experienced Harassment in workplace?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

51. If yes, by whom?

a) Employer ☐ b) Manager/Assist. manager ☐ c) Colleague ☐ d) Customer/clients ☐ e) Any other ☐

52. Nature of Harassment in workplace

a) Weird stares ☐ b) Verbal harassment (racial) ☐ c) Verbal harassment (sexual) ☐ d) Written (racial/sexual) ☐ e) Physical harassment ☐ f) Sexual harassment ☐ g) Other reason ☐

53. Have you ever faced racial discrimination outside the Workplace?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

54. If yes, by whom?

a) Land/house owner ☐ b) Neighbour ☐ c) Employer/colleague/ customer/clients ☐ d) Auto/taxi/bus conductor/drivers ☐ e) Shopkeepers/retailers/vendors ☐ f) Unknown locals ☐ g) Any other ☐

55. Nature of racial discrimination you faced outside the workplace

a)Racial/abusive comments ☐ b) Provoke/taunt ☐ c) Charging extra money (auto/taxi/bus/) ☐ d) Charging extra money (P.G/house rent/deposit etc) ☐ e) Charging extra money (shop/vendor/retails, **other service providers** etc) ☐ f) Other reason ☐

56. Racial attack/violence outside the workplace

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

57. If yes, by whom?

a) Land/house owner ☐ b) Neighbour ☐ c) Employer/colleague/customer/client ☐ d) Auto/taxi/bus conductor/drivers ☐ e) Shopkeepers/ vendor ☐ f) Unknown local/s ☐ g) Any other ☐

58. Nature of racial attack/violence outside the workplace

a) Threat /hostile ☐ b) Robbery ☐ c) Assault/ punched/kicked ☐ d) Attack with a weapon ☐ e) Other reason ☐

59. Have you been harassed outside the workplace?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

60. If yes, by whom

a) Land/house owner ☐ b) Neighbour ☐ c) Employer/colleague/customer/client ☐ d) Auto/taxi/bus conductor/drivers ☐ e) Shopkeepers/ vendor ☐ e) Unknown local/s ☐ f) Any other ☐

61. Nature of Harassment you faced outside the workplace

a) Weird stares ☐ b) Verbal harassment (racial) ☐ c) Verbal harassment (sexual) ☐ d) Moral policing (racial or sexual) ☐ e) Physical harassment (bulling/staking) ☐ e) Sexual harassment ☐ f) Other reason ☐

62. Have you ever experienced name calling in work place?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

63. If yes, by whom?

a)Employer ☐ b) Manager/Asst. manager ☐ c)Colleague ☐ c) Customer/client ☐ d) Any other ☐

64. What do they often call you?

a) Chinky ☐ b) Chinese ☐ c) Momo/Chow mein ☐ d) Nepali ☐ e) Any other ☐

65. Have you ever experienced name calling outside the work place (neighbourhood, market, public place etc)?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

66. If yes, by whom?

a) Land/house owner ☐ b) Neighbour ☐ c) Auto/bus/taxi drivers ☐ d) Shopkeepers/vendors ☐ e) Unknown locals ☐ f) Any other ☐

67. What do they often call you?

a) Chinky ☐ b) Chinese ☐ c) Momo/Chow mein ☐ d) Nepali ☐ e) Any other ☐

68. Did you apply for any government identification card in Bangalore?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

69. If yes, please specify a) Voter card ☐ b) Aadhaar card ☐ c) Pan card ☐ d) Ration card ☐ e) Driving license ☐ f) Passport fresh/renewal ☐ g) Bank account ☐ h) Any other ☐

70. Any difficulties you faced in getting the identification card?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

71. If yes, what would be the reason?

a) Asked about my citizenship ☐ b) Asked unrelated question/s ☐ c) Told that I cannot apply in Bangalore ☐ e) Deliberately ignored my application ☐

e) Other reason ☐

72. When you face discrimination, harassment, attack or any other kind of violence do you register a case or complain to the police?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

73. If yes, what is the status of your registered case?

a)I don't want to pursue the case anymore (no time, money energy etc.,) ☐ b) Delay/ no updates from police/ lawyer /court (civil/criminal/labour etc) ☐ c) Negotiated with the accused ☐ d) Other reason ☐

74. If no, what would be the reason?

a) Not a serious issue ☐ b) Made a formal complaint ☐ c) Don't know how to ☐ d) Chose not to do anything ☐ e) Fear of bad reputation (blamed/ridiculed) ☐ f) Fear of reprisals from the perpetrator ☐ g) Complaint won't be taken seriously ☐ h) Other reason ☐

VI. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

75. Are you a registered member in own ethnic association/ religious affiliation in Bangalore?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

76. If no, reason for not being a member

a) Do not have time ☐ b) No inclination ☐ c) Negative perception ☐

d) Other reason ☐

77. Your participation in the social/cultural activities organised by your community

a) Regular ☐ b) Not regular ☐ c) Cannot go/involve because of work ☐ d) Not interested ☐ e) Other reason ☐

78. Your participation in religious activities

a) Regular ☐ b) Not regular ☐ c) Cannot go/involve because of work ☐ d) Not interested ☐ e) Other reason ☐

79. Source of support when faced with any kind of problems and challenges

a) Friend/sibling/ relative ☐ b) Own ethnic association/community ☐ c) Own religious affiliations ☐ d) NEWAK ☐ e) Northeast Solidarity ☐ f) Local neighbour/community/organizations ☐ g) Self ☐ h) Any other ☐

80. Were these individuals/associations/community and religious affiliations helpful in times of crisis?

a)Very helpful ☐ b) Not helpful ☐ c) Unapproachable ☐ d) Other reason ☐

VII. RESPONSE TO THE FACED CHALLENGES AND ISSUES RELATED TO MIGRATION AND HOSPITALITY

81. Do you face more problems than other people (other region/states) because you are from the north east region?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

82. If yes, in what way?

a) Because I look different ☐ b) Because of the way I dress/life style ☐ c) Because of culture/language difference ☐ d) Geographical seclusion ☐ e) Other reason ☐

83. Do you think your gender played a role in facing challenges in Bangalore?

a)Yes ☐ b) No ☐

84. According to you, various forms of racial discriminations against northeast communities has

a) Increased ☐ b) The same ☐ c) decreased ☐ e) Other reason ☐

85. Your response to various problems and challenges

a) Should know local language/culture ☐ b) Tell people that their actions/attitudes/ perception are wrong ☐ c) Changed house/locale/job ☐ d) Moved to another city ☐ e) Doesn't matter, I am used to it ☐ f) Other reason ☐

86. Why continue to work in Bangalore in spite of all the faced problems?

a) Work/job/salary is worth to stay ☐ b) Back home, I will not get good salary/job ☐ c) Don't have a choice (family sustainability) ☐ d) Less discriminatory than other cities ☐ e) Other reason ☐

87. Taken as a whole, what has migrating to Bangalore provided you with?

a) Opportunities for work ☐ b) Reliable income ☐ c) Financial Independence ☐ d) Metro life style ☐ e) Own more durable goods ☐ f) Explore other culture/city ☐ g) Other reason ☐

88. Hospitality to one another is an ethical and moral principle of an individual irrespective of social-culture and religious diversity

89. Hospitality to one another is preached/ practiced in every religion?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐ c) Not sure ☐ d) Don't know ☐ e) Other reason ☐

90. According to you, in what ways can the northeast people and the host community be more hospitable and inclusive to one another?

a) Collaboration through social and cultural activities ☐ b) Mutual respect and acceptance ☐ c) Helping one another ☐ d) Other reason ☐

91. According to you, what would be the elements of hospitality in order to address the issue and concerns of northeast migrants?

a) Awareness/sensitizing programmes ☐ b) Promote public, grass-roots on educational systems of the NER and its people ☐ c) Coming together of social organizations and civil society ☐ d) Coming together of religious based affiliations ☐ e) Other reason ☐

92. Apart from the questions asked, if you have anything to share, you may write them down in the space provided below.

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