

Introduction

Migration because of various social, economic or political reasons forms an important facet of study on population issues. It is as old as man himself. Migration, like fertility and mortality holds a place of prominence in a geographical analysis of population change in any area. Since migration results in the redistribution of population, its study assumes great importance in the analysis of demographic data. Geographers with their concern for spatially expressed processes are attracted to the study of relocation of people. However, any attempt to analyse migration inevitably leads to a set of definitions, concepts, theories, typologies and methods of analysis.

According to Census of India, migrant is usually defined as a person who has moved from one politically defined area to another similar area. In Indian context, these areas are generally a village in rural areas and a town in urban areas. Thus, a person who moves out from one village or town to another village or town is termed as a migrant provided his/her movement is not of purely temporary nature on account of casual leave, visits, tours, etc. Internal migration includes “any movement within the political boundaries of a nation which results in a change of usual place of residence. It may consist of the crossing of a village or town boundary as a minimum condition for qualifying the movement as internal migration. Thus, the concept of internal migration involves implicitly an imposition of boundary lines which must be crossed before a movement is counted as internal migration”. Internal migration does not change the size of population of the country as a whole but influences the social, economic, cultural and demographic characteristics of the people in both the place of origin and destination. Whereas, International migration is defined by Census of India as, “migration from one country to another country”.

Internal migration is further studied on the basis of place of birth and place of last residence. If at the time of Census enumeration, there is a change in the usual place of residence of an individual with reference to his/her birth place, he/she is defined as a migrant in accordance with ‘birth place’ concept. Whereas when a change in the usual place of residence of an individual is noted with reference to his/her previous usual residence, he/she is termed as a migrant in accordance with ‘last residence’ concept.

The terms in-migration and outmigration are also related to internal migration. In-migration refers to migration into a place from another place within the same country and outmigration refers to migration out of a place to another place within the same

country. Thus, the term outmigration is used with reference to the area of origin (departure) of the migrants and the term in-migration is used with reference to the area of destination of the migrant. A group of migrants with a common origin and destination is called a migration stream. A stream may also have counter stream i.e. a flow of migrants in the opposite direction. Based on this there are four streams of migration, they are: Rural to Rural [R-R], Rural to Urban [R-U], Urban to Urban [U-U], and Urban to Rural [U-R].

It is in this context that migration has been of central interest for the disciplines like geography which is spatially oriented and which lays its emphasis upon the understanding of spatial processes and spatial interactions. For geographers, it is not merely a relocation of human beings from one place to another, but it is a process which has a three-fold effect: *firstly* on the areas experiencing in-migration; *secondly* on the areas experiencing out-migration; *lastly* on the migrants themselves i.e. whenever migration takes place, in whatever form, it modifies the area of origin, the area of destination as well as the way of life of the migrants. Migration is also an integral part of the broad processes of change, generally referred to as “demographic transition” (Chattopadhyay, 1987). Thus, for a large country like India, the study of movement of population in different parts of the country is necessary as it helps in understanding the dynamics of the society better.

Forms of Migration

Various typologies of migration have been given by different scholars therefore several criteria can be used to classify migration like the distance moved, point of origin, motivation etc. Thus, migration can be studied and defined:

- a) On the basis of distance (Zachariah,1961)
- b) On the basis of circulatory and migratory movements (Roseman,1971)
- c) On the basis of voluntary and involuntary nature (George, 1976)

Zachariah (1961) has classified migration on the basis of the distance of movement. He divides it into long and short distance depending upon whether one is far away or close to the place of origin. While Roseman (1971) places all human movement into two broad classification types - *reciprocal, circulatory movement* such as journey to work, leisure trip etc and *migratory movements* like leaving the place of origin forever.

One of the most important classifications of migratory movement is in terms of its voluntary or involuntary nature. For this type of classification George (1976) gives the following classification of migration i.e. voluntary migration, sequential migration and forced migration. If a migrant has the opportunities to exercise his own will whether to migrate it is a voluntary migration. Sequential migration on the other hand is the migration due to some element of customary obligation, for example, migration following marriage, job etc. Forced migration is the one caused by compulsion or force like partition, political or religious persecution etc. Davis (1981) also discusses five types of migration i.e. conquest, displacement, forced, free and controlled.

Voluntary movement includes the seasonal, nomadic and other temporary moves as well as the more permanent migration which are largely economic in nature. On the other hand, involuntary movements include slaves and those impelled by the war and other political pressure to leave their homeland for strange and alien lands. Thus, the present study mainly includes the voluntary migration.

Significance of Study

India has observed high migration rates within the country in recent years. During 1991-2001 the number of migrants increased by about 22 per cent (Census of India, 2001). Also, the number of job seekers among all migrants has increased by 45 per cent. Migration of people to big cities is mainly due to search of employment, educational opportunities, better health facilities and higher standards of living. Among women, the major reason to migrate is marriage and employment is the most important reason among men. Big cities act as an engine of economic growth, thereby, providing economic opportunities with suitable infrastructure.

In India, Delhi is considered to be the second largest million plus city next to Mumbai. According to Census 2011, the growth rate of population of National Capital Territory of Delhi during 2001-2011 was 22 per cent. This rise in the population of NCT Delhi is mainly due to the migration of people to the capital in search of better living standard. The increment of Delhi's population from the 2.4 lakhs in 1911 to nearly 167.53 lakhs in Census 2011 is due to inflow of a great number of migrants from the nearby states and adjacent countries into the city since the time of independence. Delhi has become the fastest growing cities of the world due to the high rate of in-migration.

Migration in NCT of Delhi is occurring not only from the neighbouring states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana but also from far off states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal etc. People from all over the country are migrating to the capital city in search of better opportunities of employment, education and better standard of living. Today, the composition of population in NCT of Delhi ruminates the perfect cosmopolitan image, with nearly half the total population arriving from outside. The cosmopolitan city bears with it multi-ethnic and multi-culture scenario with a diversity of religious and cultural groups. This pattern of migration from various parts of India has led to pockets of diverse cultures coming up in various parts of Delhi. For example, R.K. Puram has a concentration of South Indians, while Chittaranjan Park which is known as ‘Mini Kolkata of Delhi’ has a concentration of Bengalis.

Bengali migrants formed the first batch of migrants who came to Delhi with Britishers to work in administrative sector after the shifting of capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911 (Frykenberg, 2010). They were known as ‘*white collar babus*’ and they created their own separate society irrespective of other classes and societies in NCT of Delhi (Hindustan Times, 2011). With increase in population particularly after Partition, the Bengali colonies (initially established in 1911), evolved, grew and got redistributed with the passage of time in different parts of Delhi. Though according to 2001 Census data, the Bengali migrants recorded only 4 per cent of the total in-migrants yet they presented a particular class of professional and administrative workers in NCT Delhi. Moreover, Bengali language is the fourth most widely spoken language after Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu among all the 22 languages spoken in NCT Delhi (Economic Survey, 2009).

Thus, the purpose of the present study is to study Bengali migrants in the NCT of Delhi. The relevance and intricacy that is involved in this approach is to study a particular “genre” of people that have long been migrating from West Bengal to NCT Delhi where they are occupying distinct localities and getting integrated with the host society.

Statement of the Problem

Delhi is one of the oldest cities in India. In-migration has brought urbanization and a rapid rate of population growth in the city. The rapidly growing population and accompanying diversification of the socio economic structure drove the government to procure land from surrounding villages (Tyagi, 1991). Delhi has been receiving population through international and internal migration so much so that, in 1991, two-

fifths of the city's population was of lifetime migrants (Premi, 2001). Migration for political and economic reasons has also played an important role in Delhi's population growth. Rural to urban migration has been a major player in the urban growth of metropolitan cities, particularly in Delhi (Diwakar and Qureshi, 1992). Migration to Delhi from different states has been substantial. Not only this, it has been seen that the impact of migrant population in Delhi has been so tremendous that there are many localities in Delhi which are exclusively occupied by migrants of specific community. For example: Punjabi Bagh (Punjabi colony); Jamia Nagar (Muslim colony); Nangloi Jat popularly known as 'Nangloi' (Jat colony); R.K. Puram (South Indian colony) and Chittaranjan Park (Bengali colony also known as Mini Kolkata of Delhi). The cultural ethos of Delhi is thus an amalgamation of different cultures and a reflection of various rituals and traditions of different states and union territories of India. As migration of different communities played a significant role in shaping the demographic and socio-cultural profile of NCT of Delhi, the present study attempts to examine the spatial spread of Bengali migrants in NCT Delhi and how through their social attributes, they got integrated into the new environment and retained their original identity.

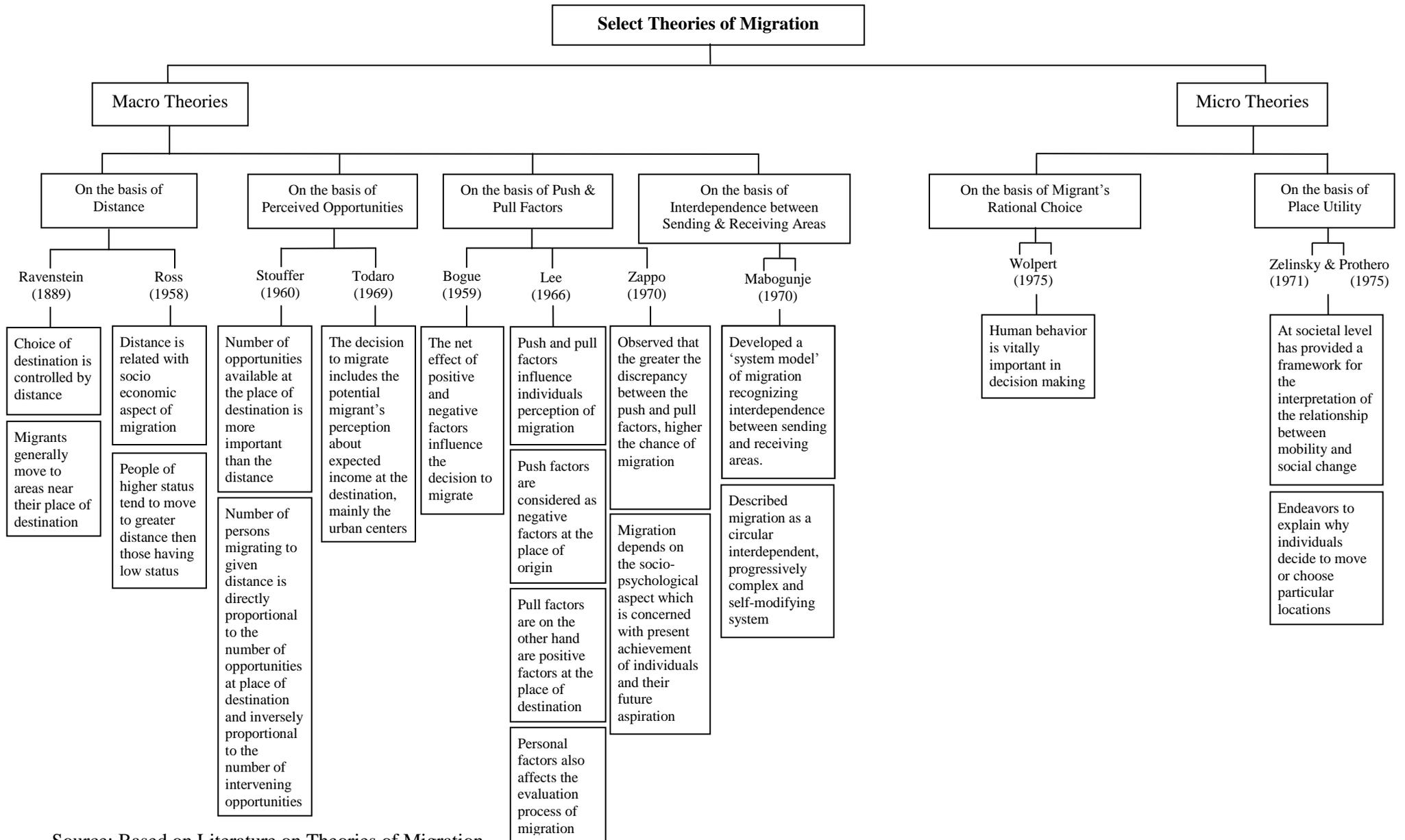
Theories of Migration

Despite there being a lot of material on migration, no single coherent theory in this subject has emerged which would be acceptable to all scholars studying this phenomenon and which can be applicable to all cases of migration. Some of the theories of migration, classified as macro and micro theories, have been discussed below (Figure 1).

Macro Theories

Ravenstein (1885) was the first to explain the process of migration by providing the so called "laws of migration", based on empirical observation of internal movements in the nineteenth century. According to his laws of migration, migrants move from one area of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity and every stream of migration produces a counter stream, particularly in rural to urban migration. He also suggested that the choice of destination is controlled by distance, with migrants generally moving to areas near their place of origin. Similarly Ross (1958) related the variables of distance to the socio-economic aspect of the migrants and holds that people of higher status seeking still better opportunities tend to move to greater distances as compared to those having low status.

Figure: 1



Source: Based on Literature on Theories of Migration

Although many scholars accept the fact that ‘distance’ is a major determinant of migration, which influences its volume and direction, yet it is also pointed out that there are other factors also which determine migration. In this context, some theories have explained migration in terms of “perceived opportunities”. For instance Stouffer (1960) holds that distance was not as important as the number of opportunities available to the prospective migrants. He also presented a model of ‘intervening opportunities’ and argued that the number of persons migrating to a given distance and direction is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the place of destination and indirectly proportional to the number of intervening opportunities such as employment, environment, housing etc.

In recent years, most of the empirical research on migration in terms of perceived opportunities has been influenced by the model developed by Todaro (1969) and its later extension (Haris and Todaro, 1970) which state that the decision to migrate includes the potential migrant’s perception about expected income at urban centres which is dependent on the wages prevailing there and the chances of getting better jobs in the ‘modern sector’. But the weakness of this model is that it is based on the assumption that the prospective migrants are well informed about urban opportunities which may not be true.

Mabogunje (1970) developed a ‘system model’ of migration recognising interdependence between sending and receiving areas. He identified four components in migration movement i.e. economic, social, technological and environmental and described migration as a circular, interdependent, progressively complex and self-modifying system.

One of the most popular theories regarding migration is the “push and pull” theory given by Lee, Bogue and Zappo based on factors at the places of origin and destination. Bogue (1959) argues that there are various positive and negative factors which provoke migration. These push and pull factors may be weak or strong and the net effect of these factors influences the decision to migrate. Lee (1966) in his theory of migration explained the forces influencing individual’s perception of migration such as push and pull factors. According to him push factors are ‘negative’ factors which force the migrants to leave their place of origin and pull factors denote the ‘positive’ condition at the place of destination. While explaining the push and pull attributes in migration, Zappo (1970) has highlighted the importance of socio-psychological aspects concerned

with present achievement of individuals and their future aspirations. He observed that greater the discrepancy between the two, higher the chance of migration. Lee, Bogue and Zappo have thus, attempted to explain the factors deciding the migration process. But there is no specific demarcation on which the push factors are and which the pull factors are; because what may be a push factor for one may act as a pull factor for another.

Thus, from the above, it is quite evident that it is very difficult to trace one single macro theory of migration which can explain the phenomenon of migration to one's satisfaction since most approaches tend to be emphasizing only one aspect of migration.

Micro Theories

Micro theories are mainly offered by social psychologists who have addressed themselves to question of motivation and the decision to move. Migration is viewed as an individual choice although such decision may be taken in consultation with family members or others in a close knit community or ethnic group. Most of the micro theories dealing with the studies of decision making regarding migration have been conducted among those whose main motivation has been either economic or family related. Wolpert (1975) for instance, emphasises the importance of human behaviour in decision making. Implicit in his theory of motivation is the assumption of 'rational choice', following a considered evaluation of options available. The so called 'place utility' theories offered by scholars such as Zelinsky (1971) and Prothero (1975) also endeavor to explain why individuals decide to move, or choose particular locations, in terms of their perception of the advantages and satisfaction the place offers.

Keeping in view the development of select theories in the field of migration it is observed that migration theories in the beginning of 20th century were broadly framed on the basis of distance, perceived opportunities, push and pull factors. The contribution of Ravenstein (1885), Ross (1958), Bogue (1959), Stouffer (1960), Lee (1966), Todaro (1969) were significant in this context. While in the second half of 20th century some micro theories were developed where the focus somehow shifted and studies on migration were largely based on migrants' rational choice, place utility etc. In this direction contribution of Zelinsky (1971), Wolpert (1975) and Prothero (1975) was noteworthy.

In the modern day context the study of migration is important not only from the point of view of aspects such as patterns of migration, distance, perceived opportunities, push and pull factors etc. but also the way in which process of adjustment, interaction and integration of migrants with the existing society takes place. Though various macro as well as micro theories of migration as mentioned above act as the base for the study of process of migration yet the theory provided by Ross i.e. distance is related with socio-economic aspects of migration and also people of higher status tend to move to greater distance than those having low status would largely form the basis for the present study.

It can therefore be stated that unless the issues of adaptation, adjustment, acculturation of migrants etc. are understood and dealt with effectively, it is unlikely that the patterns and determinants to understand migration can be meaningful.

Review of Literature

Migration as an area of study has attracted a great deal of interest both internationally and within India, not only by geographers but also by sociologists, economists, demographers, planners etc. Beside the above mentioned theories on migration, many studies conducted in different areas on migration pertaining to different aspects of migration such as economic, demographic, social, political, push and pull factors have also been reviewed. A brief review of different studies on migration is given below which has been categorized on the basis of social, economic, demographic and political dimensions as well as on the basis of determinants of migration i.e. push and pull factors:

Studies Based on Social Dimension of Migration

Martinson (1955) studied about the personal adjustment and rural urban migration and stated that there are aspects of personal adjustment that are related to and perhaps causative of migration from rural communities to urban areas. Jackson (1969) presented a sociological viewpoint about migration on his work on “migration editorial introduction”. Singh (1969) studied the rural urban migration in ancient India and analyzed the nature and causes of migration in ancient India and correlated them to geographic and socio economic realities. Similar work was done by Keely (1973) stating migration as a mode of adjustment to socio-economic changes. Study of Choldin (1973) however, indicated that process of migration is mainly associated with kinship network. Lewandowski (1980) worked on the Kerala migrants in the city of Madras and concluded

that migration leads to rise of ethnicity which leads to violence. Ali (1981) studied the life of kols of Bundelkhand taking consideration of their socio-economic life. While, Mishra (1981) studied the social process as well as the factors of migration in Madhya Pradesh.

Mudrock, Parpia et al. (1984) also while examining the relative effect of socio-economic factors came to the conclusion that in migration process socio-economic factors have gained much importance than economic factors. Mehta (1996) while studying the policies of India recommended effective policies for migration and a similar view was of Mukherji (1999) emphasizing the need of social planning. While Kundu and Sarangi (2007) also analyzed the patterns of migration in urban areas and its socio-economic impact bringing out the fact that migration has been a definite instrument of improving economic well being and escaping from poverty and the probability of being poor is much less among the migrants compared to the local population, in all classes of urban centres. Similar study on this socio economic process has been done by D.C Sah (2009) revealing out the fact that bad socio economic conditions in villages i.e. remoteness and unsustainable agriculture leads to migration in big cities.

Studies Based on Economic Dimension of Migration

In 1981 Sharma and Singh studied the patterns of in migration and out migration of the people of Ranchi. In the same year another study was conducted by Khan on the basis of economic factor. In this he studied twelve villages of eastern Uttar Pradesh and concluded that the young and literates are more mobile and this is due to economic reasons. Rao (1981) found out that the main reason for migration was employment. Parsuraman and Mukherji (1997) while studying the district level migration in Maharashtra came to the conclusion that rural to urban migration is the main cause of increased urbanisation in Maharashtra and this pattern is mainly due to the reason of less economic opportunities in rural areas. Shamsuddhin (1981) studied the economic aspect of migration from rural areas to industrial urban centers of Bangladesh.

Gill (1984) while studying the patterns of migration and out migration into Jalandhar and east Champaran concluded that the main reason for migration was differences in wages. Prakash (1998) while taking into consideration the economic aspect of migration had discussed the inflow of large number of people from Gulf countries to Kerala which resulted in unprecedented economic changes. Another study based on the above factor

was conducted by Siddiqui and Nazim (1999) in which 360 households in eighteen villages of Kosi plain were surveyed and it was discovered that rural to urban migration labour migration from Bihar to Punjab and concluded that the migration pattern from was due to low economic status of people in rural areas. Tulsyan (1999) studied the Bihar to Punjab is mainly seasonal and based on economic reasons.

Prakash (2000) found out that problems arose concerning economy of Varkala town in Kerela due to return emigrants from Gulf countries. Carlos R Azzoni et. al (2002) analysed wage inequality in different regions of Brazil and found that cost of living index, education, region, experience as well as race contributed for wage differences. Similar study was done by Maharatna (2003) focusing on the aspect that out migration of qualified and skilled human from states like West Bengal to big cities affect the efficiency and economy of the home state. Similar study was conducted by Kairkar (2004) in four cities of Maharashtra finding out that migrants are moving due to economic reasons and are therefore engaged in industrial activities. Harris (2005) in “migration and development” strongly recommended adoption of migration policies by various countries for their own economic development. The propensity of migration was found to be higher in the young adult age group and among the better educated (Singh, 2005). He also observed that the urbanward movement is mostly due to economic reasons. In the same year Paris, Singh, et al. while studying the three districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh found out that the out migration from these three districts continue to occur as long as there are economic incentives. Sriskandarajah (2002) examined the relationship between migration and economic development in Sri Lanka as well as the socioeconomic context in which migration and development took place. According to him, remittances from migrants to the Sri Lankan economy is an important part of foreign exchange earnings and remittances have played and will play an important role in household development and local economies in labour sending regions. Haton and Williamson (2003) examined the size and features of migration within and out of Africa. According to them, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, differences in wage rates and population pressure were the major reasons for out migration to Europe in the 19th century. Thonippara (2005) discussed Malayali migration to Bangalore and their life styles in the city. According to him better employment and educational opportunities as well as health care facilities are the factors that attracted Malayalees in to the town. According to him Malayalees have a good base in this state; some of them have become political leaders and some even ministers in this state.

Studies Based on Demographic Dimension of Migration

The study on migration was based on demographic aspect (Lal, 1951). He analysed some of the salient features of in migration in cities of India in 1951 and brought out the fact that the cities have grown extensively through a male dominated adult in-migration. Davis (1951) studied the demographic aspect of migration specifically regarding the population attributes of India and Pakistan, in this he also studied the characteristics of Indian migrant population based on Census of India data. Gosal and Krishan (1975) based their study on 1961 census data and brought out the fact that migration in India was stimulated, among other factors, by newly developed agricultural areas, multipurpose project sites and other areas with developmental activities. Similarly Pryor (1976) also explained demographic viewpoint about migration in South Asian countries. Ataullah and Sinha (1985) studied various demographic aspects of migrants' family in Patna. Chibbs (1985) with Census data of 1951-71 presented the patterns of migration of people of Kinnaur. Prasad and Gupta (1994) analysed the patterns and causes of migrant population living in New Bombay. Kaur (1996) by using 1971 census data studied the spatial patterns of male migration in India. Ressa, Stillwell et al. (1996) also worked on demographic aspect with particular emphasis on population migration in Europe.

Bose (2000) studied how migration affected demographic structure of villages of Uttarakhand. Zachariah, et al. (2000) studied the demographic impact of emigration from Kerala to the Gulf countries. The study also analyzed the impact of emigration on elderly population and gender issues in migration and their impact on Gulf wives. The study observed certain structural, behavioral and demographic changes in Kerala due to migration. Although there was a serious matter of loneliness and other health problems, yet most of the elderly people in the migrant household received adequate care and protection from their children. The study pointed out that though the Gulf wives suffered psychological stress, loneliness and added responsibilities, the migration of their husbands yet improved them into self-confident managers of their households.

Studies Based on Determinants of Migration i.e. Push and Pull Factors

Samal and Mishra (1998) highlighted that pull factors have been mainly responsible for inducing migration. The paper focused on the determinants of migration among informal workers in formal sector (coal mine), informal workers in the informal sector and entrepreneurs in Orissa and distribution of income among them. It was indicated that the

potentialities of inducing migrants ought to be strong in the industrial conglomerate of Talcher (coal mine). The workers who migrated from their native places certainly have a notion of gaining some economic advantage in the industrial centre or mining area compared to their place of origin. The pull factors were further reinforced by the fact that most of them had pre-arranged their jobs by their friends, relatives and contractors. In case of entrepreneurs, they had moved out of their origin not due to 'push' factors but to earn money for starting a business. An attempt was made by Chand (1998) to bring out the push and pull factors behind the migration of labour employed in the sugar mills of Punjab from other states. The study used the field survey conducted in four sugar mills and found that most of the migrant labourers hailed from economically backward and rural areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It was observed that poor economic conditions acted as one of the most important push factor that compelled labourers to migrate from their native places. The poverty of the migrants was generally attributed to large size joint families, small land holdings, low productivity of land, occurrence of droughts, floods and famines and the lack of any supplementary sources of income that made it difficult for them to fulfill their basic needs and acted as the main cause of migration. The study further examined the role of pull factors in inducing migration and found that only 19 per cent out of 160 total sample migrants stated that better employment opportunities were the main attraction for migration to Punjab. The study concluded that push factors were stronger as compared to pull factors in causing migration among workers.

An attempt was made by Ghaffari and Singh (2000) to identify the important variables which were responsible for out-migration and in-migration in Iran. The Ordinary Least Square model was applied to analyse the factors accountable for out-migration and in-migration. The study found that the availability of amenities and good housing facilities in the destination and industrialization attracted migrants to the study area. The important push factors of out-migration were the percentage of irrigated land and the reduction of employment opportunity in the place of origin. Zachariah and Rajan (2002) analysed the determinants of migration in Kerala. By considering only push factors, the study attempted to find out the extent of association between demographic and economic factors and the migration. The findings of the regression analysis indicated that there is a clear positive association among migration and increase in population density as a demographic variable. The study also analysed the significance of education and

community and found that the rate of migration was higher among more educated and who belonged to Muslim and Christian community. The study further found that there was a negative association between migration and economic factors and concluded that economic factors played fewer roles in migration. Hussain et al. (2004) made an attempt to study the major factor behind the migration of 120 respondents of Faisalabad city in Pakistan. It revealed that a majority of the respondents agreed that the non-availability of job was the main reason for their migration. Besides, the absence of educational facility, poor health institutions, low paying jobs, poor rural settings, labour intensive agriculture production, family disorganization and polluted environment were found as the factors that pushed them to migrate. The outcome of the analysis indicated that better education and better employment were the pulling factors for their migration. The study also mentioned other pull factors such as better health institutions and facilities, high paying wages, better housing, public entertainment and better sewerage system which attracted the migrants. Sundari (2005) studied the female migrant workers in Tamil Nadu and highlighted the trend, patterns, push and pull factors of migration and finally the role of migration as a livelihood strategy. Similar study based on female migrants who migrated to Delhi in search of work and were exploited by unscrupulous agents, was brought into light by Jha (2005). Mitra (2006) studied the slum dwellers in Delhi. He examined the links between duration of migration, distance of migration, occupation and the incidence of poverty. He found out that migrants were more likely to move from low income and casual jobs to high income and regular jobs and thus experienced a rise in their standard of living. Singh and Kaur (2004) mentioned the factors of migration as economic, social, psychological, political and natural. The study attempted to bring out the important push and pull factors of migration of the respondents to Ludhiana city of Punjab. The result of mean score of 90 migrant labourers indicated that poverty, low employment at native place and more employment and higher wages in Punjab were the prime factors for their migration. Other equally important economic causes of migration were indebtedness, small land holdings and low income in villages. The study mentioned the role of other reasons for migration as well and reported that economic and social causes were the prime factors which forced the respondents to migrate to Punjab.

As the purpose of the present study is also to assess the nature and extent of integration of Bengali migrants in their new environment various studies on integration have also been reviewed. The following is a brief report of this review.

Studies Based on Integration

Recent literature on integration and development mainly explores the contributions to the integration of migrants of two human capital attributes - language proficiency and educational levels. Language proficiency is a key issue that not only affects migrants' social integration but also their economic and political integration. Cuban (2008) studied the role that education, literacy, and language proficiency had in the social networks and career mobility of caregiver women migrants in Cumbria, England. She discovered that the main barrier to bring advancement in their careers and an increase in their income was their lower English language skills, though they had college-level education. Doerschler and Jackson (2010) used data from the German Socio-Economic Panel study and the German Institute for Economic Research to analyze the role of language ability in the economic integration of migrants in Germany. They discovered that better language skills lead to better jobs but not to a reduction in unemployment rates among migrants. Many countries, including Canada and Germany, have considered unemployment to be a sign of failed integration policies and programs. The underemployment of migrants is reasoned to be a brain waste and to lead to a loss of competitiveness. For that reason, recent government integration policy in many countries has emphasized the need for language training. For instance, the German government currently provides a range of programs that promote German language acquisition and offer support to migrants learning the language. To this end, the government offers "900 hours of German language and 45 hours of civics instruction to become familiar with basic values such as tolerance, equal rights and freedom of speech or worship" (Haverig, 2013). However, language is not enough. As Karakasoglu and Nunning (2004) explained, "Knowledge of German alone does not necessarily imply a successful integration".

In addition, integration is tied to many other components such as family conditions, the integration of parents in the labor structure of the host country, financial situation, living situation, legal residency status, and not least of the entire majority's acceptance of immigrants. Low language proficiency hinders economic performance of migrants in yet another way, that is, it limits the participation of migrants in organizations and groups other than their own ethnic or religious organizations (Boyd, 2012) negatively affecting the bridging social capital levels of migrants, although not necessarily affecting their

bonding social capital. Doerschler and Jackson (2010) find that some level of language competency is necessary for establishing closer social relations, which, in turn, are needed to foster the development and maintenance of interpersonal trust. In their research, they use the European Commission's integration indicators, controlling for language proficiency, ethnicity, and other foreigner characteristics, and find that "integration varies significantly across low, medium, and high levels of German competency" (Doerschler and Jackson 2010).

Moreover, the effects of dual (or multiple) citizenship on migrant's political integration has also been a focus of the scholarly literature. The contribution of political integration to the development in the sending country was long ago identified by Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc (1994), who stressed how migrants strengthen their political involvement in the host country to better advocate and lobby for the interests of their homeland. While Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) argue that transnational participation in the sending country contributes to the integration of newcomers in the host society. Bloemraad (2000) stated that immigrants' political participation in the host country, the home country, or in both transcends traditional sociopolitical communities. In the same way, Fitzgerald (2000) Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller (2008) and Tsuda (2003) argue that migrants in more socio-economically secure positions who are politically engaged in the host society tend to become more involved in trans-border homeland politics as well. However, Marwah, Triadafilopoulos et al. (2013) highlighted how dual citizenship and modest residency requirements play a role in 'encouraging immigrants' decision to naturalize quickly and thus they become politically active more rapidly than might otherwise be the case. Tsuda (2012) identified several types of trans-border political activities that contribute positively to development in the sending country, including "voting, running for office and supporting political candidates back home, as well as trans-border political lobbying and activism". Migrants may also participate in home-country political organizations and parties or exert political influence through hometown associations that invest in development projects in sending communities. These transnational activities challenge the traditional concept of citizenship as membership. Flum and Cinamon (2011), however, studied how career development and military enrollment have been used to promote a sense of belonging and integration into mainstream society of young Ethiopian migrants to Israel.

Therefore, it is apparent that for migrants, adaptation and integration in the host society is a difficult process since it involves acceptance of new patterns of life. Thus, the foregoing literature review shows that migration involves settling of people from one area of habitation to another. The studies offer a variety of responses and adaptive behaviors exhibited by migrants trying to settle in a new milieu by studying different factors such as economic, social, demographic etc responsible for migration process. In this connection the following observations may be made:

- 1) Though many studies have been conducted on migration patterns in the NCT of Delhi yet specific studies on the migrants from West Bengal who have a century old migration history in NCT of Delhi have not been carried out.
- 2) Socio-cultural aspects of migration and migrants have been studied by geographers, anthropologists and sociologists but the processes of adaptation and integration, based on spatio-temporal context, followed by Bengali migrants in Delhi, have not been studied in detail.
- 3) A majority of studies conducted in the field of migration are based on patterns, laws and theories of migration but no study has been conducted on the adaptation or the level of integration of the Bengali migrants' community at their place of destination i.e. NCT of Delhi.
- 4) Though works on migration are in no dearth yet field work based studies which help in bringing out the ground reality are few in number.

Hence, the present study focusing on the Bengali migrants in NCT of Delhi is conducted to examine the evolutionary history of Bengali migrants and their colonies in NCT of Delhi; the attributes of social identity of select Bengali migrants and the mechanisms adopted by these Bengali migrants for their social interaction and integration in NCT of Delhi.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the present study are to:

1. examine the trends in growth of population in NCT of Delhi.
2. identify the patterns of in-migration and study the selected population characteristics of in-migrants from West Bengal to NCT of Delhi.

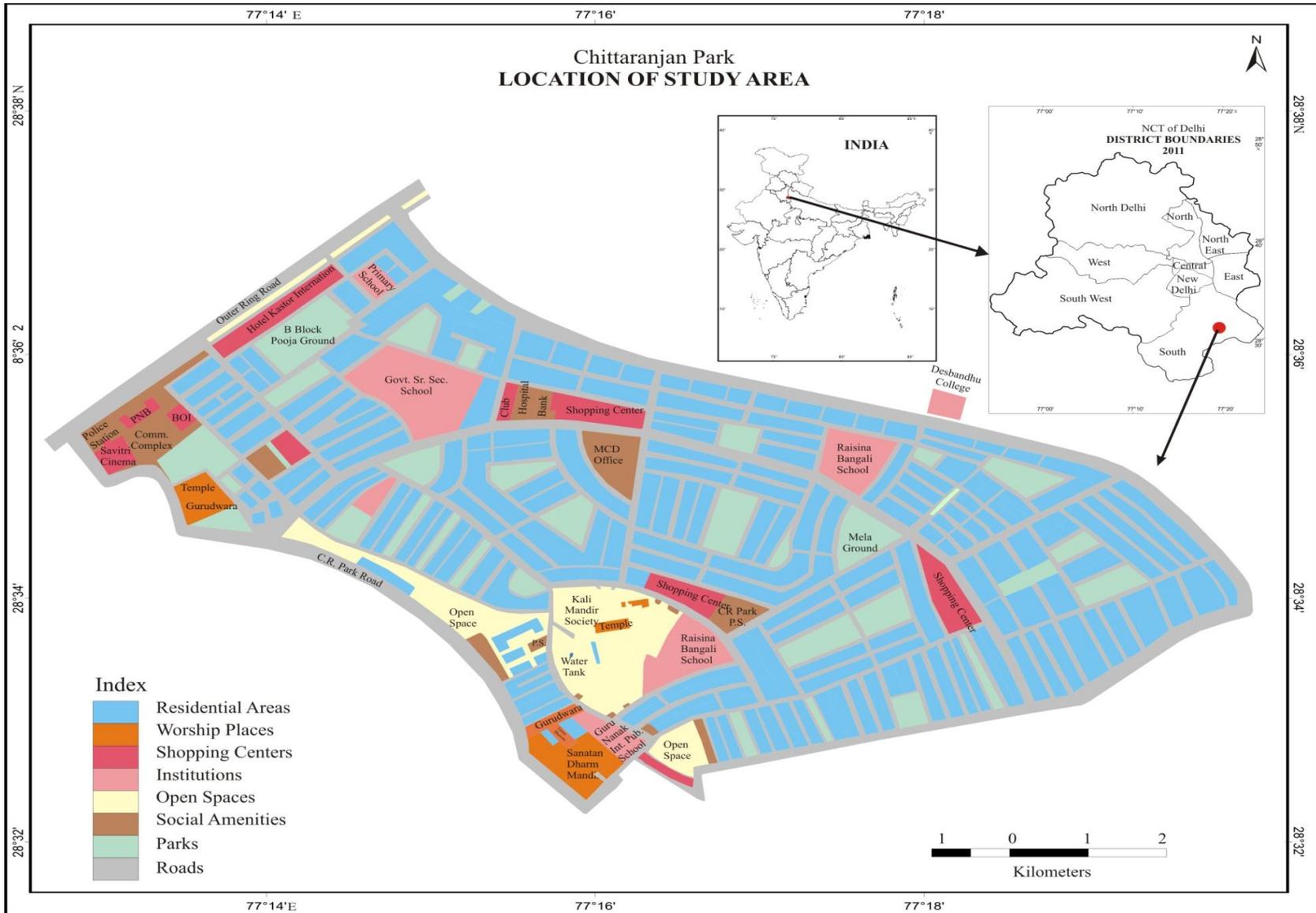
3. discover the evolution of Bengali migrant colonies in NCT of Delhi and how during the last 115 years the migrants from West Bengal have distributed and redistributed themselves within NCT of Delhi.
4. evaluate the role of different attributes such as language, food, clothing, festivals etc. in identifying the social identity of Bengali migrants residing in NCT of Delhi.
5. analyse how Bengali migrants have interacted and integrated with the host society within NCT of Delhi.

Research Questions:

Based on the objectives of the present research the following research questions have been answered in the following chapters:

1. What role has been played by in-migration in the total growth of population of NCT of Delhi particularly since 1961?
2. What are the patterns of population characteristics such as sex ratio, duration of residence, distribution etc. of migrants from West Bengal to NCT of Delhi?
3. How Bengali migrant colonies evolved over time and what are the factors which have played an important role in their distribution and redistribution in NCT of Delhi?
4. How various attributes like language, food, clothing, religious practices, rituals and festivals have contributed to the identification of social reality of Bengali migrants in NCT of Delhi?
5. To what extent and how Bengali migrants have integrated with the host society in terms of language, inter marriages, residential segregation, political participation and sense of belongingness?

Map 1



The Study Area

Delhi, locally known as Dilli, and by the official name as National Capital Territory of Delhi (NCT of Delhi), is the largest metropolis by area and the second-largest metropolis by population in India. Delhi is located in northern India between the latitudes of 28°-24'-17" and 28°-53'-00" North and longitudes of 76°-50'-24" and 77°-20'-37" East. It has an area of 1,483 sq. kms. Its maximum length is 51.90 kms and greatest width is 48.48 kms.

It borders the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh on East and Haryana on West, North and South. Delhi lies almost entirely in the Gangetic plains. Delhi was a small town in 1901 with a total population of 0.4 million. Its population started increasing after it became the capital of British India in 1911. During the Partition of the country, a large number of people migrated from Pakistan and settled in Delhi. Migration into the city continued even after Partition. The migration data released by Registrar General of India for the Census 2011 indicates that the total population of Delhi is increased to 1.68 crores (Census of India, 2011). As the country's capital, with vibrant trade and commerce and excellent employment opportunities, Delhi acts as an economic magnet and has attracted people from all over the country. Its demographic mosaic today reflects the characteristics of almost every cultural group in the country. Delhi thus, truly reflects the cultural diversity of India wherein diverse religions, languages, customs and cultures co-exist in splendid harmony.

The present study which pertains to Delhi focuses specifically on Bengali migrants who started migrating to Delhi in 1911 when the capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. Since, most of the Bengalis who moved to Delhi in 1911 were government servants associated with the British administrative jobs in Calcutta, the shift in the capital prompted them also to shift their place of residence from Calcutta to Delhi. In Delhi the distribution of these Bengali migrants was mainly in three prominent interior areas, namely, Kashmere Gate, Timarpur and New Delhi. After Partition however, with the influx of refugees, new localities sprang up and Bengalis who were earlier concentrated in old localities such as Kashmere Gate, Timarpur and New Delhi redistributed themselves in different localities and were spread over the entire NCT of Delhi. Within a decade after independence new colonies were flooded with Bengali community. The long history of migration of Bengalis from West Bengal to NCT of Delhi at different

points of time shows that Bengalis distributed themselves in space depending on socio-economic settings suitable to them. The already settled Bengali migrants attracted population of the same origin and the resultant continuous flows of migrants from West Bengal led to the emergence of a number of influential areas and pockets of such migrants in NCT of Delhi.

As per 2001 census, South district in NCT of Delhi provided home to more than 40 per cent of the total migrants from West Bengal. The locality named Chittaranjan Park in South Delhi district is so dominated by Bengalis that it has been designated as “*Mini Kolkata of Delhi*”. Though, Chittaranjan Park was originally established under the name of East Pakistan Displaced Persons Colony (EPDP) and was exclusively allotted to the migrants from East Bengal yet over the period of time the demography of Chittaranjan Park changed. Today one can find here more West Bengal-rooted-Bengalis than the Bengalis belonging to East Bengal (Today’s Bangladesh) (Nawa, 2007). Chittaranjan Park has, therefore, been chosen as the study area where these Bengali migrants are inter-twined with the host society and express their identity distinctly (Map 1).

The present study thus intends to examine not only the contribution of migrants to total growth of population in NCT of Delhi but also how the particular colonies of Bengali migrants have evolved and distributed over space with the passage of time. It would also examine how the social attributes of select Bengali migrants’ identity are defined and how well they have responded to the process of integration through these social attributes with the host society.

Data Sources and Methodology

For the present research work, data has been collected both from primary as well as secondary sources. The terms like ‘West Bengal migrants’, ‘Bengali migrants’ and ‘Bengalis’ are used interchangeably. Similarly, for NCT of Delhi, the terms such as ‘Delhi’, ‘NCT’ have also been used interchangeably. The objective-wise sources of data and methodology used in the present study are discussed below:

For studying **the trends and the decadal growth rate of population in NCT of Delhi** the relevant population tables have been obtained from Census of India for different time periods. The trends of in-migration during 1961-2001 have been studied from the relevant tables, published by Census of India. Besides studying the trends in growth of

population in NCT of Delhi (1961-2001), the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants residing in Delhi have also been discussed with the help of relevant publications of Census tables.

For discussing **the patterns of in-migration and the selected population characteristics of in-migrants from West Bengal to NCT of Delhi** data has been collected from relevant publications of Census of India regarding the patterns of in-migration; inter-state migration; in-migration from amongst top seven states to individual districts; male-female composition of in-migrants; reasons for migration of in-migrants to NCT of Delhi. Besides this, the distribution and the characteristics of Bengali migrants in NCT of Delhi have also been discussed based on the data obtained from the relevant publications of Census of India.

To trace back the **evolutionary history of the Bengali migrants and their colonies** ever since 1911 (when the process of their spatial spread started) data, information, maps, material etc. needed for this chapter have been collected from various governmental and non-governmental institutions and libraries including National Archive of Delhi, Micro-Section Department of Trimurti Library, Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), Banga Sanskriti Bhavan and various other Bengali associations established in NCT of Delhi. Scheduled interviews with officials have also been conducted during the field surveys. Bengali migrant colonies have been visited by the researcher to gather first hand information.

For achieving the fourth objective i.e. **evaluation of different attributes of social identity of Bengali migrants residing in NCT of Delhi**, primary survey has been done with the help of various tools used in qualitative research such as surveys, interviews, focus group interviews etc. For the selected ward i.e. Ward No. 190 i.e. Chittaranjan Park data has been collected from the office of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. With the help of snowball technique primary survey was done and the information was collected through well structured questionnaire from 1200 Bengali families residing in Chittaranjan Park known as '*Mini Kolkata of Delhi*' in South district in NCT of Delhi. The questionnaire included information on various dimensions such as personal information, duration of stay in Delhi, language, religion, dress, food and eating habits, festivals and their celebrations, marriage networks, religious networks and personal opinions of the Bengali migrants in Delhi. Besides this, the spatial expressions of their identity like schools, temples, libraries, community centres, membership and

participation in their ethnic associations have been shown with the help of maps drawn through ARC GIS 9.3.

In order to find out **the mechanisms of integration of Bengali migrants in Delhi** the primary data collected from 1200 families was arranged and processed by using SPSS Statistics for Window, Version 20.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp. Integration score was calculated with the help of all the information and data collected about social acceptance of Bengalis by the host society. In addition to this, Chi square was calculated and cross tabulation was done between the integration score and different variables of social identity among Bengalis such as language, inter marriages, satisfaction level, integration among generations, political participation and residential integration in order to examine the level of significance and integration of Bengalis in the host society.

Period and Unit of Study

In the present study, for explaining the trends of population growth in NCT of Delhi the relevant data is studied for the period 1961-2011. For analyzing the patterns of immigration and the population characteristics of Bengali migrants in NCT of Delhi however, district-wise census data for the year 2001 was consulted due to non-availability of 2011 data. For tracing the history of Bengali migrant colonies evolved and diffused in NCT of Delhi for over more than a century, as varied sources were consulted for data, figures, relevant material, literature etc; the administrative divisions of Delhi, time period, time intervals etc. could not be maintained uniformly. Moreover, for the primary survey, ward number 190 known as Chittaranjan Park located in South district of Delhi was selected for the study. Data collected from twelve hundred Bengali families residing in Chittaranjan Park was compiled, processed, analysed and represented through relevant tables, figures, quantitative techniques and maps.

Organization of the Material

The present study has been organized into the following chapters:

Introduction

This chapter provides introduction; significance of the study; statement of the problem; review of literature; objectives; research questions; geographical setting of the study area; data sources and methodology; period and unit of study and organisation of material.

Chapter 1: Trends of In-Migration in NCT of Delhi

This chapter explains the trends of growth of population in NCT of Delhi. It also explains the share of in migrants to the total growth of NCT Delhi during 1961-2011. Besides this, the population characteristics of in-migrants residing in NCT of Delhi have been analysed by using the Census data of 2001.

Chapter 2: In-Migrants from West Bengal to NCT of Delhi

In this chapter the patterns of in-migration; inter-state migration; in-migration from amongst top seven states to individual districts in NCT of Delhi; male-female composition of in-migrants; reasons for migration of in-migrants in NCT of Delhi have been discussed. Besides this, the distribution as well as the characteristics of in-migrants from West Bengal to NCT of Delhi have also been explained.

Chapter 3: Spatio-Temporal Diffusion of Bengali Migrant Colonies in NCT of Delhi

This chapter examines the spatial patterns of evolution of Bengali colonies in Delhi. The chapter attempts to trace back Bengalis' history of migration into NCT Delhi and how they distributed and redistributed themselves in specific areas of Delhi ever since 1911.

Chapter 4: Attributes of Social Identity of Bengali Migrants in NCT of Delhi

In this chapter different attributes of social identity such as language; food; clothing and religious practices, rituals & festivals of migrants from West Bengal are examined with the help of primary data. Besides examining these social attributes; spatial expressions of Bengali migrants' social identity in NCT of Delhi have also been studied.

Chapter 5: Mechanisms of Integration of Bengali Migrants in NCT of Delhi

This chapter basically looks into the level of integration that Bengali migrants have achieved with the non Bengali population through various dimensions such as language; inter marriages; residential segregation; political participation; sense of belongingness integration among generations etc. while preserving their own distinct identity and culture.

Summary and Conclusions

This section summarizes the main findings of the study and conclusions drawn from it.