

Segregation of Migrants Groups in Pune City, India

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ABSTRACT This is an attempt to study formation of a linguistic enclave in Pune city. Pune is rapidly growing million city of India. This growth is largely due to contribution made by migration. People have come from all the states of the Indian Union. Among the states the first five contributors were Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala and Rajasthan. Migrants from different states, prefer to stay together for security, cultural affinity and to retain the identity. Hence an effort is made to demarcate and study the enclave formed by the migrants. To identify the enclave, a city survey map was used.

INTRODUCTION

Aggregate studies of the urban social geography of Pune city have shown, in common with most other countries having a multi-ethnic or linguistic population, a degree of ethnic residential segregation that is independent of social class or other influences of residential choice (Johnston, 1973a,b; Timms, 1971). These were confirmed by detailed mapping of the distribution of particular groups, which showed their members concentrating in particular sections of the chosen cities (Thomson and Trlin, 1970). Are these types of enclave found in all urban areas, small and large?

In a series of recent papers, Peach (1996, 1997, 1999) has refocused studies of urban residential patterns on absolute rather than relative measures of segregation. According to Carmen Voigt-Graf (1997), Karnataka migrants have formed an enclave in Australia. They live in one particular part of Sydney. Courtine (1995) discuss the Sikh community mostly live in Bangkok Chinatown, having particular concentration in pahurat, Sampeng, Soi Paowpamit and Soi Leunrit. Poulsen et al. (2000) discuss level of segregation across New Zealand's urban system are closely linked to the ethnic group's share of each urban area's population. Gujrati business community segregated in Kenya from East Africa (Mehta, 2001). According to Aijazuddin Ahmad (1995), Tibetan migrants also segregated in India. Usually they found in Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim, Himachal Pradesh, and Karnataka.

Migration is primarily a selective process (Revenstain, 1889), selectivity in terms of sex; age, education and job reflect socio-economic aspects of the nature of migration, which, in turn, affect the demographic characteristics of the receiving

or sending areas. Generally, the economic factors are most significant in promoting or limiting the process of migration. Migrants leave their native places mainly because of their inability to support themselves and their families. They migrate due to the 'push' factors like unemployment and underemployment in the agricultural sector, unequal land distribution and lack of sufficient modern technology for increasing the agricultural productivity, high population growth, etc. On the other hand, urban 'pull' factors like wide employment opportunities, higher incomes, good amenities for education and health care and better standard of living or better economic opportunities attract migrants to urban areas. The shift of people to the cities mainly reflects the impact of industrialization on the demand for labour. Once industry came up in one place and people also migrate to that place for the jobs. To support and fulfill the day-to-day demands of migrants and due to the multiplier effect of pioneer industry some other industries; occupations and institutions come up in that area. Thus, migration also increases in that area. In the study of migration it is also important to note that why some people migrate whereas others do not. In other words, it is necessary to study the motivational factors associated with the migratory movements. Another important aspect of the study of migration is the adjustment of the migrants to their new places of residence and their assimilation in the general stream of life.

In India after Independence, particularly after 1961, efforts were made towards socio-economic reconstruction of the country. Since in India labour was ample and cheap while capital was scarce, planners decided to invest capital at a few selected places so that capital is used more efficiently. This created job opportunities at such

places. To take advantage of the infra - structural facilities thus created, and to get advantage of the agglomeration as well as on account of horizontal and vertical linkages, some more industries also came up at such places. This led to increase in the job opportunities at these few selected places, which encouraged large-scale rural - urban migration. People came to urban areas from the rural areas in search of employment. This migration is mainly because the rural economy cannot absorb them. Because of this enormous volume of migration, these few selected places grew into large metropolitan or mega cities.

Pune at present is one of the ten large cities of India. The population of Pune city in 1941 was only 275, 000. After Independence, initially due to influx of refugees and later due to rapid industrialization, population of Pune agglomeration became 2.5 million in 1991. This growth is mainly due to the contribution made by migration, during this period migrants came to Pune not only from various districts of Maharashtra but also from almost all other states of the country. This enormous increase in population was mainly due to rapid industrialization, which Pune region experienced after 1961. During the last 30 years, a large number of industrial establishments came up in and around Pune creating enormous job opportunities. This led to migration of people from all over the country. This enormous growth of population during this period was mainly due to migration. Due to the flow of population towards Pune, population of the metropolitan region increased to 3.7 million in 2001 (Census of India, Provisional Population Tables 2001: 17).

In Indian culture because of tradition, generally, in the case of consideration of marriage the clan, caste, community, language and availability of information about families and individuals are more important. Migrants are new in the receiving regions and because of these constraints they marry a girl from their home or native regions (hypothesis to be tested).

An attempt has been made to analyze the segregation of migrants to the city of Pune. The published census data on migration were carefully studied at the first level. To analyze the enclave formation by migrants to the city of Pune, the following hypotheses have been tested.

Hypotheses

- 1) Migrants generally marry the girls from their native places.

- 2) Assimilation of migrants in the main stream takes place when they mix with the culture and tradition of the area and become familiar with the language.

Sample Design

For the collecting the first hand data and for selecting the samples the following method has been used.

It has been observed that in Pune city the migrants from different parts of the country and abroad are concentrated in different parts of the city. For example, migrants coming from Gujarat and Rajasthan have a high concentration in Guruwar and Raviwar Peths (Core area) of Pune city while the South Indian population is concentrated in Rasta Peth, Bhavani Peth and Nana Peth (Core area) of the city.

For the analysis of the formation of enclaves of migrants within the city a separate sample of 500 households was taken. While selecting this sample some of the known enclaves of agglomeration of migrants from specific sending areas were chosen.

Among the states of the Indian Union, the first six (excluding Maharashtra) contributors to the flow of migrants were Karnataka (200), Andhra Pradesh (85), Uttar Pradesh (65), Gujarat (60), Kerala (50), and Rajasthan (40). Separate information has been taken from early migrants from Pakistan are Sindh. The each enclave sample has taken 5 percent of the total migrants from the particular states and the total sample size is 500. The information for enclave formation has been collected with the help of detailed questionnaire. Each group has formed enclave within Pune city. To demarcate the enclave, city survey map was used.

METHODOLOGY

It was observed that the migrant communities are the minority communities and they feel more secure when they live in their own community. Considering this, the survey was undertaken of such localities where the migrants coming from different parts of the country were concentrated.

Subsequently, first six states from where more migrants have settled in Pune i.e. Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Kerala and Gujarat and the early migrants from Sindh, were selected for study.

An inquiry was made (using snow balling technique) with several people from different states about their places of residence and finally concluded that they are living in different areas in the city but only a few, which are dominating by one regional (other than Marathi) language people, have been selected, such as Karnataka (Kannada) in Jay Bhavani Nagar (south - eastern part), Andhra Pradesh (Telugu) in Bhavani Peth (Western part of core area), Uttar Pradesh (Hindi) in Bhayyawadi (north part), Kerala (Malayalam) in Aundh-Khadki Road (north - eastern part), Gujarat and Rajasthan in Guruwar Peth and Raviwar Peth (Core area) as well as new areas like Adinath Society and Suparshwanath Society (south - eastern part). The Sindhis are concentrated more in the Sindh Society (north - western part), cantonment area (south - eastern part) and Meera Society (central part) of the city.

Most of the foreign populations, particularly student population, coming from abroad has a concentration in the Pune University campus and hostels of Symbiosis (western part of the city) Institute.

In these localities a total of 500 samples was taken and the study is based on these samples for the linguistic enclaves in Pune city.

Linguistic Enclave of Migrants in Pune

Migrants came to the cities for the different purposes, and from different regions and classes. In their own region they have their own family, society and identity. When they come to the metro cities, they lose their identity and they feel insecure in the cities crowded. To regain this identity they prefer to live together with the people from their region, language and class. Many times migrants prefer to marry from their native region. These girls are generally less educated and in many cases are able to communicate in the regional language only.

In cases of many migrants the deity they worship is the same, and the festivals they celebrate also are the same. Migrants need certain articles for day-to-day consumption, which are generally not used by the local community. Though majority of the migrants see Hindi movies, some of them prefer to see movies in their regional language. Many times the migrants prefer to go to a doctor with whom they can communicate in their regional language. Many times migrants have an organization in the form

of an association or a club joined by the people coming from the same region and speaking same language. To meet these demands of the community, a place of worship devoted to a particular deity commonly worshiped by the people coming from the same region comes up. A school giving instructions in the regional language comes up. Medical practitioners who can communicate in the regional language start their dispensaries. A movie house in the locality starts showing movies in their regional language, if not for regular show, at least for the morning shows. Commercial establishments come up which cater to the special needs of the community. A community hall comes up in the particular enclave.

Usually the migrants would try to get residential accommodation in and around the areas where the people of their home region have settled. (Khandewale and Chorghade, 1994: 70). This can be considered as an advantage of agglomeration, that is the development of an enclave leads to further growth of the enclave on account of the agglomeration advantages.

Reason for the Migration Related to the Enclave Formation

The causes for human migration are diverse. At a time several reasons operate. Sometimes the cost of living, presence of relatives or friends, special employment opportunities and hearsay information play an important role in the movement of people.

The analysis of the migrants according to their reasons for migration to Pune indicates that, near about 71 percents (Table 1) migrants come to Pune in the search of employment. The second important reason, which is the natural hazard, accounts for 14.04 percents (Table 1). The third reason is poverty, which includes 10 percent migrants (Table 1). The prime cause of migration is absolute poverty, from which man flees, driven by the simple urge to survive. (Garnier, 1966: 212) In all 1.80 percents migrants came to Pune due to the political insecurity in the sending regions.

Table 1: Reason for the migration

<i>Reasons for migration</i>	<i>Proportion of migrants</i>
Search of employment	71.10
Natural calamities	14.04
Social injustice	3.01
Poverty	10.05
Political insecurity	1.80

Source: Data collected during fieldwork.

Reason for Living in Groups (Forming Enclaves)

Urban life certainly brings about some social changes in the migrants. The rural culture may gradually give way to urban culture. The very nature of the urban social life affects the immigrants. In spite of this after this slow change the migrant preserve some of the old customs and lifestyles. Thus, many immigrants remain semi-urbanized maintaining strong ties with their native culture. The immigrants of the same culture and background have a strong tendency to agglomerate together for various social reasons. This enables them to preserve and protect their social values.

Generally, migrants are of two extreme types, one type, qualitatively the cream of the society but numerically the less significant, consists of bright youths, who migrate in search of education or wider opportunities. These groups can adapt to urban culture and way of life easily. The second type is poor and less educated migrants who come for livelihood they take shelter in slums in the city and in groups with people of same language, and form enclaves in the cities (Table 2).

Table 2: Reason for living together (forming enclaves)

Reasons	Total %	Out of total 100 %
Security	100	92.01
Relatives and friends from own regions	100	86.14
Similar Language	100	94.23
Less educated wives	100	82.68

Source: Data collected during fieldwork.

When migrants' number increases and it suffocates economically, socially and culturally the host society. It may threaten its cultural identity. "For instance, the Shiv Sena thrived on the argument that the Maharashtrians who are a superior community with an exemplary history and culture are the underdogs in Bombay, as they are exploited by migrants from other states" (Gupta, 1982: 164). Because of the fear of host society poor migrants stay together and this is the main reason for enclave formation.

The presence of relatives' friends and acquaintances in the city helps the newly arrived migrants in securing initial shelter. This also favours their entry in the enclaves. It has been observed that, the arrival of the migrant in the city has not been due to a random search for employment but has depended largely on the

presence of friends, caste men, relatives, fellow villagers or migrants from neighbouring areas (Mujumdar and Mujumdar, 1978: 42)

Whenever immigrants arrive in groups, they also bring with them their language and religion. (Chandna, 1986: 113). Language is the basic medium for exchange of ideas and emotions. Migrants, who are new in the urban culture, prefer to stay together with people who speak the same language, generally, which is their language. Similar language is the important reason for enclave formation. "For many migrants, the abandonment of the mother tongue does not happen until the second generation, especially amongst the women, who remain at home whilst their husbands are forced to adopt the new language at work" (Garnier, 1966: 231).

Generally, poor migrants are accompanied by their families. Migrants' wives are generally either uneducated or less educated, and they can communicate only in the regional language, other than Marathi or language of their state of origin. Their wives feel comfortable if the group around them also knows the same language. This is another important factor that favours enclave formation in the metro cities.

Impact of Migrants on Socio- Economic Life of the City

Migrants have made their impact on the socio-economic life of the urban community. Large numbers of them have contributed economically by participating in one or other type of economic activity and have contributed socially by successfully running educational institutions or hospitals within the city. This point is made clear by the following few examples from Pune city.

Majority of the migrants from Karnataka contributed in construction work. Generally, they are engaged in construction work and they are segregated in Jay Bhavani Nagar, Shastri Nagar and Kiskindha Nagar, Kothrud. In all 86.8 percents of the Kannada migrants came after 1961, after the process of industrialization was accelerated. Seventy percents of them had come from the border districts namely, Dharwad, Belgaum, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Raichur, which are nearer and have better access by railway and road to Pune. Almost 40 percents of the heads of the migrant families belonged to the working age group, that is 20-40 years. Migrants from Karnataka to Pune city, by and large, belonged to

either the very rich or the very poor categories. So some of them are engaged in construction work and majority of them run restaurants in the city. Just to name a few, Poona Coffee House on the Deccan Gymkhana and Rupali and Vaishali hotels on the Fergusson College road. They also run a well-known high school called Karnataka High School, which has two branches in Pune.

Large numbers of migrants from Andhra Pradesh are engaged in Bidi making and in weaving of sarees. Generally, they are congregated in Bhavani Peth and Nana Peth. Telugu migrants are early migrants to Pune city, 72 percents of the Telugu migrants had come before 1940. Generally, Padmashali (Telugu), people are coming to Pune; they are less educated people. Seventy-nine percents migrants are educated till 10th standard. Ninety-four percents had come from Warangal, Hyderabad, Nijamabad, and Karimnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh. Eighty seven percent migrants from this group had come for economic reasons. Sixty-seven percents people are engaged in Bidi making work, 19 percents in saree weaving work and 3 percents in hotel business. Migrants from Andhra Pradesh, by and large, belonged to either very rich or very poor categories, so some of them are engaged in Bidi making work and run saree shops in the city. Just to name a few, Kunden Saree shop and Vikas saree shop on Laxmi road.

Migrants from Uttar Pradesh have contributed substantially towards the development of dairy industry within the city. Generally, they are segregated in Bhayya Wadi and Khadaki. Majority of the migrants had come from Raibareli, Ilahabad, Sultanpur and Pratapgarh districts of Uttar Pradesh. Ninety three percent of the Hindi-speaking migrants are literate and are educated up to higher secondary. Almost 98 percents of the heads of migrant families belonged to the working age group, which is 15-40 years.

Kerala people are mainly engaged in administrative jobs. Generally, they are segregated in Aundh - Khadaki Road. They are from highly educated strata. They prefer to do clerical, office jobs or manufacturing work. Ninety-eight percents had come after 1961, 75 percents of them had come from Allepy, Kuottayam, Palghat and Trichur districts. Seventy-six percents of the heads of migrant families are educated above 10th standard and 31 percents above graduation. Twelve percents migrants had come to Pune after retirement. At the end of their active working life, many people seek, for their declining years, a more

peaceful environment, better economic conditions and a less rigorous climate than those of the localities in which they were obliged to live whilst earning their living (Garnier, 1966: 210). As compared to others the percentage of educated migrants higher in case of Kerala, which reflects the higher level of literacy and educational development in the sending region.

Marwaris are generally engaged in commercial activity. They are engaged in buying and selling of gold, making gold and silver ornaments, grocery shops and sweet marts. "Marwaris are really aliens of Poona and Maharashtra because they have their homes in Marwar, Rajpootana and Central India, and take or remit their savings to those homes. They are traders, some of them on a large scale, in cloth and grain, in gold and silver, but the majority of them are usurers pure and simple (Crawford, 1987: 195) They are segregated in Kalyan society, Suparshwnath society and Marketyard. Most of them had come from the districts of Kota, Sirohi, Ajmer and Jodhpur, which are nearer and have better access by railway and road to Pune. They are early migrants, out of total samples 72 percents had come before 1960. Almost 92 percents of the heads of migrant families at the time of migration belonged to the working age group, that is 20-40 years. Fifty percents migrants are literate up to 10th standard, 44 percents are graduates and 6 percents are postgraduates. They are rich migrants, 78 percents of them earn above 10,000 Rs. per month and 6 percents earn above 50,000 Rs. per month. This shows that they are economically in good condition.

Sindhis' are early migrants and they came at the time of partition from Pakistan to the city. Most of the Sindhis had come empty handed and entered in different business activities. Seventy-five percents of the Sindhi migrants are engaged in business of selling electronic goods, utensils, grocery and sport goods in the city.

This shows that, the important reasons for enclave formation are similar language speaking people, relatives and friends from their own region and security. Because of all these reasons migrants prefer to stay together in the metro cities.

The above description of the migrants from different regions forming enclaves in the place of destination indicates that, migrants are staying together because a) of social and cultural security, b) each group is engaged in a set of occupations which have some linkage with the economic

characteristics and cultural trends in the source regions.

DISCUSSION

Scholars have come to a conclusion about the formation and reasons of segregation. There are racial, ethnic, linguistic, economic and religious segregations all over the world. The pattern may be different but the reasons are similar everywhere such as, to regain the identity, for security, economic purpose and due to socio-cultural affinity. According to Gupta (1982) in Mumbai linguistic and religious groups are found for the sake of security and cultural affinity. In Pune segregation found due to linguistic similarity and main concern is that migrants wives are illiterate and find comfortable to express in their own language so they form enclaves. Majumdar and Majumdar's study on Delhi shows that, migrants came to city due to friends, caste men, relatives, fellow villagers or migrants from neighboring areas and formed enclaves (Majumdar and Majumdar, 1978). In Pune migrants came due to friends, relatives, fellow villagers of their same language. As per Khandwale and Chorghade (1994), in the city of Nagpur poor working class migrants stay together. But in Pune poor migrants stay together, apart from poverty language also a criterion for togetherness. According to Voigt-Graf (1997), Kannada migrants are better off and stayed in better localities in Australia, in Pune many Kannada migrants stay in slum areas and facing problems like poverty. One may ask a question; are such levels of segregation still present in the cities. In Pune it is found that segregation occurred space wise or location wise. In Pune linguistic segregation is significant than that of race and ethnic segregation. Early migrants Sindhi, Marwari and Gujaratis are staying in better localities like Sindh society, Raviwar peth and Guruwar peth. But recent migrants are staying in slums and squatter settlement like Jay Bhavani Nagar, Bhavani Peth and Bhayya wadi. As far as Pune city is concerned migrants in their initial stage search acquaintances for accommodation. After getting familiar with the socio-cultural tempo and after achieving certain economic level some of them shift either to other places or towards new areas. The rich migrants like Rajasthani and Gujarati and their children shifted to satellite enclaves in the periphery such as Adinath society

and Kalyan society. Structural (socio-economic) assimilation takes place faster than that of cultural assimilation.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Pune is an interesting location to have studied the linguistic segregation. The research has shows that, the construction activity of Pune city has attracted more migrants from Karnataka, whereas most of the migrants from Rajasthan and Gujarat are engaged in Trade and Commerce activity.

When the Migrants enter urban way of life, they are new to the entire urban environment. In such situation various aspects like security, common language of sending State, other than Marathi, common social ties and regional affinity influence their activity and the migrants have a tendency to live in the groups (segregation). They feel more secure when they live in the group.

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