Chapter 2
Historicising Balmiki Migration

2.1: Introduction

Migration is a common phenomenon which means movement of an individual or a gathering from one place to another. Migration was triggered by growing problems such as increase in unemployment and existence in regional imbalance in the country. Migration usually occurs when the region of origin fails to fulfil the requirements of the people inhabiting, fails to address their issues and problems like social, economic, or otherwise, and fails to provide the opportunity of equality, on the one hand and on the other hand, the economic opportunities, social change and other related attraction on other regions causes’ migration. Hence, it can be said that migration is a mixture of push and pull factors. People usually migrate to regions that provide them with job opportunities due to varied economic development.¹ This migration of people from one place to another brings about economic development, changes the social condition and also organizes the political structure.²

Modernization and industrialization is usually leading to the rapid growth of the urban towns and cities. The globalization leading to rapid growth has led to investment in various regions, which is contributing towards the fast growing cities. The side effect is the slums, in these urban areas, which are growing four times faster than that of the city. The rapid growth demands for several employments around the sectors that of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labours, which is just darkening day by day, and is a primary bad effect of the globalization, liberalisation and modernization. Migrated people often have to work for long hours; their condition of living is poor as well as the social conditions. They are considered as

out-castes and do not even get access to the basic requirements of life. In the destination, the migrant labours often help to increase the market by reducing the cost of labour. The place of origin of the migrants is also affected due to migration. Not only is this, even the income, investment, pattern of expenditure, and relations of household and community level also affected. The bargaining power for the migrants is low as well. In the urban industries, a number of these migrant labours are employed, where any lack of loss just adds up to their poor condition.³

Sociologists are also concerned about these migrants who have moved from one place to another. The study of the migration has a sharp variation between ‘before’ and ‘after’ chronologies. The systematic study regarding the disassociation or desocialization is present in very less numbers, about the movement of these individuals from one place to another. While migrating, the migrant carries with himself the memories of the past and also is a bit dependant on socialization, age, and the situation which caused his departures, his personality. He brings other such factors into his new environment. The migration is equivalent to a child moving out of the house for the first time for school or any such situation where he moves into a new environment.⁴ The often disregard and rejected memories of the past have a significant role to play while describing the experience of migration. Two important can be drawn here. The first is the common myth that the migrants have forgotten their old traditions and stick to their new ones. The next being that full descriptions of the past of the migrants wasn’t taken into much consideration, and is described as the ‘progressive idea’. It has always been assumed that present experiences were more significant. The society into which the people migrate, rather the receiving end has no idea about the condition of these people. The society accepts the immigrants based on their

³ Ibid
⁴ Ibid
present conditions, and usually the social scientists have looked to them is the same manner for showing the concern regarding these immigrants.\(^5\)

The number of immigrants in today’s world is abruptly increasing. Most of them live far away from their native land/ birth place in order to earn money and return home occasionally, and finally move into a new place altogether without even indicating towards it. The movement of such immigrants was termed as ‘transilients by Richmond\(^6\) in his study where he talked of the British migrants returning to Canada. There are other stories too which talk about the return of the migrants as those by Appleyard\(^7\), Hearnadez\(^8\) and Wilder-Okladek\(^9\) OECD\(^10\) talked about the futilities of assuming that migration was only a one-time process.\(^11\)

In the receiving society, the migrants are often the minorities, as they are present in very less number. The attention/focus is often moved from the process of migration and settlement as these minority groups face a number of problems in the receiving society such as linguistic, ethnicity and also the problem due to social background which leads to exclusion from the society. Most of the studies regarding the social problems of the migrant have failed to explain the concept of the society as a whole. Studies of Malzberg\(^12\), Lee\(^13\), and Rev\(^14\) suggest that the immigrants aren’t the problems but their past experiences probe the social problem

\(^5\) Ibid
\(^6\) Richmond, A.H. (1967). *Post War Immigrants in Canada*. Toronto: N.P.
\(^12\) ‘Mental Disease among Puerto Ricans in New York State’, The Psychiatric Quarterly, Supplement, 22 (1948), Pp. 300-308.
\(^13\) E.S. Lee, ‘Socio-Economic and Migration Differentials in Mental Disease’, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLI (July 1963), Pp. 249-268.
for people of particular age, occupation, housing, marital status, social issues of given area at given point of time.\textsuperscript{15} 

Migration theory was first formulated by E.G. Ravenstein in the two papers of ‘The Law of Migration’ of 1881 and 1889 respectively. The representation of the beginning of attempt which relates to the factors in a systematic way is determined by the demographic and economic variables of the law in relation to the respective representations. These factors thus help in understanding the difference of temporary and permanent residence changes. Lee and other developers have suggested that to completely understand the distance movement, be it long or short complete analysis of factors like origin, destined area, obstacles on the way and decision of moving must be done.

The researchers are further being drawn towards the new area of the assimilation of migrants into the new society. The immigrants have a major contribution towards the social change as they shape up the ideas of the new society in which they reside.\textsuperscript{16}

Despite the presence of so many materials regarding the process of migration, scholars can only produce the generalized, subjective and sketchy study of the process because the exact information, current situation and statistics isn’t present. Apart from the vital statistics, the statistics of the migration process too is a bit unsatisfactory which requires a lot of improvement.\textsuperscript{17} Hence, in the current world, manpower is drawn towards economic as well as better social opportunities.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid
Migration is an old process, prevalent since the history of man and scholars are digging in to find out the general theory of migration. Migration has been a demographic problem of mankind. It has an impact on the population of both, the place of origin as well as that of destination, and the economy. The shift in population often leads to economic problems of the area and consecutively causes apolitical problems which are due to the restrictions implied on the international immigrants, tending to cross the political boundaries. The people involved in the migration also needs to have social psychology as it requires the procedure of making decision, which may help him as he moves into the new society. Migration can as well be considered the sociological problem as it affects the social structure and cultural system of the place of origin, as well as that of the destination, and it also affects the immigrant.19

2.2: Motivation of Migration

The most frequently asked and the least answered question is ‘why do people move/migrate’. The reason for migration is not known by the immigrants themselves. Most people (migrants) often answer to these questions as ‘work’, ‘family reasons’, ‘studies’ and others, but these answers do not contribute towards the psycho analytical process of understanding the motive of migration. It does not even provide an insight as in what their mental conditions was while making the decision.20 The ‘push- pull’ theory often covers up all the motives behind the migration. This theory suggests that people often migrate due to the socio-economic conditions which ‘pushes’ people from their place of origin while the destinations attracts or ‘pulls’ these immigrants towards them.21

20 Ibid
The geographical movement of the people have been described by P.George in two reasons:

i) Movement because of necessity.

ii) Movement due to the economic needs of the destination or receiving country.

The first one characterises usually the political and religious cause, due to which the population is pushed towards the receiving country, as the racial, religious and national groups where they aren’t required. And in the second case, the receiving country ‘pulls’ the population towards themselves in times of economic needs, when they are ‘pushed’ by their place of origin.

2.3: Integration of Migrants

Milton M Gordon very specifically represents the problems of ethnic groups in migration. His work is directly related to migration. He says that the groups assimilate after the seven sub-processes:-

i) Cultural pattern changes.

ii) Entrance in relation with the receiving society in terms of large scale primary group or societal system of gatherings and establishments or societal structure.

iii) Intermarriage.

iv) Development in sense of ethnicity or people hood in the receiving society.

v) No discriminatory behaviour of the receiving society towards new people.

vi) No prejudiced attitude towards the new group of people.

vii) Lastly, lack of conflict between the host society and new group in terms of value and power in both, civic and public life.

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The following stages of assimilation are attributed by the seven sub-processes.

i) Cultural/behavioural

ii) Structural

iii) Marital

iv) Identification

v) Attitude reception

vi) Behaviour reception

vii) Civic

Any of the two variant goal systems can help in analysing the process of assimilation.

1) The migrants adapting to the cultures of the receiving society.

2) The theory of ‘melting pot’ was cultures are exchanged between the host society and the new group of people. This develops a new cultural system which does not belong to any of the two groups.

3) The ‘cultural pluralism’ is the goal system where the individual identity will be pertained despite the existence among several groups. In such a case, the groups aren’t disappeared behind the communal identity.24

According to the hypothesis of Gordon25, the first among all the assimilation (acculturation). He believes that when none of the assimilations occur, cultural assimilation would continue to take place and would be the only one existing. He also believes that if cultural assimilation occurs, the other kinds of assimilations would occur to.

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Another feature that contributes towards the integration of migrants is the role played by families and friends who migrated into society and were a part of the established community of immigrants. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick\textsuperscript{26} considers this role to be pretty essential because the individuals who suddenly migrate into a new area without any known community or individual will become a subject to disorganized society. Immigrant community suddenly appears to be weak and lesser in strength in the new society. The new migrants follow chain migration; signifying that they move into the same place, their ancestors migrated in. This also explains the reason of settlement into the similar areas as that of the migrators before them. Both, international and internal migrations have provided evidences regarding the above mentioned factors.\textsuperscript{27}

2.4: Narration of Migration

As per the modern history, when the land routes between Asia and Europe was blocked by the Ottoman Turks when they annexed Constantinople in 1453, the European rulers found out sea routes across Atlantic and Indian Ocean, and began the trade. Eventually, the Europeans developed their colonies in America, Asia, Africa and Australia. The forced migration first originated in America due to its tradition of slave made in the economy of plantation and mining. Slave trade lasted for four centuries which eventually arose in 16\textsuperscript{th} century as that from Africa by Portuguese, French, British, Spanish and Dutch. Millions of slaves were deported Africa and this still remains one of the greatest forms of forced international migration (Hassan 2005:294). However, the longest migration in the course of history was that of of Europeans to America, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. In the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, several of Indians migrated to different parts of the world in order to work for British. Some migrated to Burma, Malaysia and Singapore to work in British rubber

\textsuperscript{26} J.P. Fitzpatrick, \textit{The Importance of “Group” during the time spent Immigrant Assimilation'}, The International Migration Review, 1 (Fall 1966), Pp. 5-16.
\textsuperscript{27} G. Fofi, \textit{‘Immigrati a Torino’}, Ponte, 18 (7), (1962), Pp. 940-951.
plantations. Some migrated to Caribbean region to work in sugar plantation while some went to South Africa to do the work of mining. All these kind of factors such as coffee, tea and rubber plantation industrial revolution in England in 18th century, national and internal migration became important all over the world due to the attraction and increase of capitalist economy. Various skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers migrated from the internal regions or villages of labourers migrated from the internal regions or villages of India once the enterprises of British were set up in various cities and ports of India, such as Surat, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. (Matthew 2005: 1-2)

2.5: Theories of Migration

There is no particular theory of migration, as a complex factor. Although there are various writers and scholars who have contributed to it by bringing out the social, political and economic causes of migration.

2.5.1: The Classical Theory of Labour Migration

Classical economists have brought forward the assumption of labours being homogenous who can remain mobile within one country in the course of long run. The classical economists take into consideration, the labours as much as the capitalists, as they help to meet the immediate demands. The dependant variable always remains to be the supply of labour whereas the independent is that of the demand. The labour migration model can be drawn the assumption of maximized profits is added to that of demand. The labour migration model can be drawn the assumption of maximized profits is added to that of the above mentioned assumptions of the classical economists. The different geographical factors also have a contribution to make to the varied range of production in different areas. The classical theorists believed the cause of varied productions to be fertility of land but later on it was found that the size of the market and mineral resources within the area also contributed
towards the productions. Due to these advantages, a number of employees were drawn towards it which also led to increase demand of labour. The advancement of technology and growing advantages, contributed to increased demand of labour which further as per the assumptions of classical economists led to increased supply of labour. The labour is usually drawn towards the offer of higher wages in case of short-term but in long-term scenarios, the equalized wages over the nation would be severely affected by the movement of labour.\textsuperscript{28}

According to the first model, if the number of people is diminished by emigration without affecting the natural division of location would lead to increased wages and will assume an essential part in halting and switching the impact of displacement. However, the second model believes, due to emigration the economy of the place of origin is severely affected and chances of employment/wages are thus reduced, and emigration is continuous at an even higher rate.\textsuperscript{29} Hence, it can be concluded that in case of both the models, the level of employment was considered to be proportional to the determinant of migration. Hence, the question of migration being cumulative or self-correcting takes a turn towards the impact of migration on the upcoming wages and employment opportunities. Often people move into the new locations in search of better job opportunities overlooking the distance of existing job opportunities. However, the models would be applicable only if the migration was determined by wages and employment opportunities. But as per the proofs or evidences provided above, such simple relationships do not exist.\textsuperscript{30}

If the fact of migration not being necessarily connected to employment is accepted, it will gradually become clear as in why the classical economists fail to answer the questions regarding financial causes and effect of relocation. A brief understanding of the economic

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid
factors (infrastructure of an area within the state), geographical factor (distance from the populated area), psychological factor (image of area) and political factor (newly development policies) will give a precise knowledge regarding the causes of migration.\textsuperscript{31}

The new approach about the questions concerning the trends of migration is only recognised when all the complex problems regarding the population of governance in certain geographical areas (internal part of the migration). The trends may usually be related to self-correction, efficiency of the economic which may be cumulative or undesirable. Recognition of the factors helps to encourage the other phenomenon once the role of employment in the process of migration is devalued. Movement regarding residence and retirement is also involved in the process. Although the economists ignored both these trends. The private decisions regarding the migration of the individuals aren’t much different but yet considerations influence employment in industries. However, even after presentation of all these points, the definition regarding migration is unclear, and destination regarding migration is completely dependent upon the size of the area. The distance towards the migration is also regarded genuine as per the choice of the individual.\textsuperscript{32}

The three approaches are openly confronted by the people who are interested to understand the motives of migration only if the sociologist are more interested than, ‘a summed up articulation of how occasions happen’ and also those who aren’t prepared, ‘to consign the journey for intentions to the limbo of antiquated superstitions.’\textsuperscript{33} There are two possibilities, first, by understanding the motive of migration by the statements of the migrants and next that we develop the objectives of migration only by imputing the statements of the migrants

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
with that of the objective structural study. The last one being, the descriptive motive of migrant is mixed with that of our own account of based objective interference.\textsuperscript{34}

Each approach regarding the study of migration has a number of problems associated to it. The structural factors influence these imputes motives and the differential perception and evaluation which are denied is also constituted in the studies. It also puts emphasis on purposive rational behaviour. The limitations of the factors have been well described by the economic model of ‘push-pull’. The motivation is thoroughly analysed with the help of this model of 'push-pull'. In this model, the socio-economic conditions constitute for the 'push' factors whereas the opportunities and prosperity constitute for the 'pull' factor. Usually there is a problem associated with the approach of push-pull and a difference is drawn between the factors of 'push' and 'pull'. It can be said that the 'push' and 'pull' effect comprises for all the factors. A significant example can be providing housing for the motive of migration. In the mentioned case, the 'push' factor is that of the unsatisfactory supplies for the housing, whereas the 'pull' factor is comprised of the factor of improving the housing. The maximization of wants/satisfaction is also directly related to the movie of the approach of 'push-pull'. The balance between external and impersonal forces is also effective for reducing the complex decision of migration.\textsuperscript{35}

With the introduction of new pattern of economic development for money, new employment opportunities also came. The demanded of labours also exceeded the supply in case of colonial administration, plantations, a mission as well as traders frequently. This was essential in the early days of colonial rules when the money economy did not have significant impact on the administration. The demand for the goods bought by money wasn't much prevalent in the era. The more frequent matter wasn't that of money not being attractive but


\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
that of the attraction of sufficient members due to low wage. In the era, the tool of cheap labour was that of forced labour.\textsuperscript{36}

\subsection*{2.5.2: Ravenstein's Theory of Migration}

The theory of inter-country migration with a set of generalization in century was proposed by E.G Ravenstein, founder of modern migration research and analysis with the help of data regarding the birth place. He proposed laws or generalizations of migrations, the most famous of these are ‘relocation increments in volume as ventures and trade create and transport makes strides’, and the ‘major cause of migration are economic’ (as quoted by Sheldon 1997:19). The principles proposed by him about migration still have an important aspect in the study of migration.

\subsection*{2.5.3: Push and Pull Theory of Evert Lee}

The economic basis of migration is well constituted in the 'push-pull' theory proposed by Evert Lee. He explained the factors affecting volume of migration, eight years after Ravenstein, in 1966. He tried to explain, the pace of origin 'pushing', while the destination or receiving 'pulls' the immigrants. The major cause for the migration is the lack of job opportunity in the rural areas. The growth of population in the rural sectors led to pressure on agriculture resources (Malthusian pressure), which led to people moving out from their place of origin and setting into new cities due to newly developed economic forces (Hassan 2005: 290-93). There are number of problem and decision making process involved in the process of migration, except from those factors related to that of place of origin and of the receiving society. Usually in less developed countries like India, migration between rural and urban

areas, migration usually occurs due to the 'push' factor because of lack of employment opportunities and poverty and not because of 'pull' factor by the urban areas.

2.5.4: Michael Todaro (1969)

Attempts were made to distinguish between the growing employment opportunities in urban areas and that of the growing/increasing rate of rural-urban migration. The potential migrants would ‘consider the different market openings accessible to them as between the rustic and urban segments and pick one which amplifies their normal pick up from relocation’ (Sheldon 1997: 21). The unemployment period would surely be ignored by the potential migrant, who would certainly move into a new area/urban area if the job is assured for a longer period of time. This movement would allow increase gain in a period of unemployment in the rural areas. People usually migrate to urban areas from rural areas, in the expectation of better job opportunities in the urban areas.

2.5.5: The Marxian School

According to the Marxian school, migration is a result of the capitalist productive sector. Rapid industrialisation and accumulation of profit led the poor class of people to migrate into the cities. As argued by Karl Marx and F. Engels, the working class are forced to move from their place of existence of origin due to the pressure of ‘productive power’ of capitalism. People not only move from rural to urban areas but also from less developed to more developed countries.

2.5.6: Post Modern Theory

In the postmodern period, the focus of migration from certain areas was moved to that International a global migration. This usually happened in the last quarter of century when the neoclassical and economists provided a new approach to the study. The concern for the
new study was that of the people relocating from poor nations to rich nations like that of Europe, North America, Australia and South East Asia. The modern approach focuses on the movement from one area to another and that from one culture to another. Global migration often leads to intermingling of cultures which forms the new culture. The basic features of migration literature are that of exile, new identity, new lifestyle and experience of new value systems. The postcolonial migration approach focuses more on the universal experience than that of national experience. ‘One of the paradoxical gifts of imperialism, according to Esaid (1993), was that it created a global interdependent community while at the same time, allowing people to believe that they belong to only one part of that community as White or Black as Oriental or Westerners (quoted by Sheldon 1997:38) Pp 4

2.6: Issues in Migration

Due to low level of education, traditional values, Indians were considered to be a mobile during the colonial period. They couldn't adapt to the problems associated with migration for transport and facilities of communication full stop other factors which added to the low mobility of Indian joint family, child marriage, caste system and diverse culture and languages, along with religion. It is an accepted fact that the early 20th century or its first half India witnessed very less migration. The percentage living outside the birth place or place of origin was only 3-4% in India during the period of 1891 to 1951. (Base 1980:186)

The rural urban migration grows during the post-independence period. Does rural-urban migration occur due to explosion of population and lack of employment by backward economy which ultimately leads to poverty? How can environmental degradation be prevented and the quality of life is improved at the place of arrival? Will the conflicts arise between outsiders and people of the place of origin which is often instigated by movement? Some of the examples of conflicts are that of Shivsena in Mumbai, Gokak Movement in
Bangalore, Nihalhakva in Orissa and the conflict between Bengali and Marwari in Kolkata and the conflict between North and South Region of Delhi. Another factor which leads to migration is periodic famines, droughts, floods and other natural calamities. In case of such natural calamities in the rural areas, people migrate to the urban areas of towns and cities.

Since the post-independence period, migration has been increasing, while people only move to the shorter distances. Most of the migrants, about 62% of them migrate within the boundary of the same district, while the other 26% moves into different districts within the same state. As per the Census of 1921, the migrants who cross the state boundaries that of 12%. (Hassan 2005:305-07). A part from this, over 700 million people migrate within their own country.

Though they are a number of disadvantages related to migration, the Indian cities will continue to migrate from the rustic zones to urban zones in search of job opportunities. Most of the people migrate because of oppression and the caste system apart from poverty and unemployment. These people feel that in the big cities or towns, the world is based upon the income and not on caste identity or religious identity. The caste system is often engraved in the minds of the rural people.

2.7: Development Model of Towns and Cities in India

The religious, military (cantonment) administrative and commercial functions were related to the urban towns and cities at the time of Pre-Independence and the relation of trade and export was developed along the coastal regions with the empire of the British. The prominent examples of developed relations are those of Kolkata (Calcutta), Bombay and Madras. With the development of railway networks, another category of towns was added apart from riverfront and lakefront towns. (Ramchandrasen 1996:156)
During the post-independence period in India, there was growth in urbanisation which continued for a period of time and then eventually slowed down from 1951 to 2001; the population in the urban areas grew from 62 million to 300 million. This period of urbanization was marked by three phases. The capital intensive marked a product of industrialisation in cities, Western products was produced at for example, Bokaro, Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela. The second stage was set apart with little scale work serious industrialisation such as in Faridabad, Ghaziabad, Ludhiana, and Kanpur which started from the period of 1960. The third phase was marked with that of globalisation related to service economy was began in the later part of the 1980, the most important ones being Bangalore, Pune and Hyderabad. Most of the important ones were absolutely virgin in origin during the pre-colonial period and developed in the post-colonial period.

The only thing common to all the cities and towns was the sudden increasing demand of labourers in the secondary and tertiary sectors the Urban populace in India, in the same way as other different regions in the south half of the globe are sorted out around tremendous vagrant and normally expanding populace composed into a casual economy ruled by uncertain work with straddles both rural and urban centres as per the predictions of the 1995 report on UN migration. In the new future of 2020 approximately 41% of Indians will be resulting in urban areas amounting to 600 Million. (Shiva Ramakrishnan 2005:56-58)

Women have been a significant part of migration in the period of history as per the National Sample Survey of 1983 (January - December) 27% of men migrated into the urban areas whereas 36% women were a part of the Migration. 25.7% of men followed the modern trend of migration as per NSS (July 1999 to June 2000) whereas those of women were 41.8% (Shivaramakrishnan 2009:32). With the development of towns and cities during the pre independence and post independence, the lower caste population got bigger opportunities to
earn their livelihood. They started too, migrated to towns and cities to earn cash. Balmiki community have been migrated from north to different parts of India.

Both in past and present, the same feeling of disgust insult exist for this migrant Balmiki community. With time they had to swap places, strong differences were made and they were still called untouchable creatures. A large section of Balmiki Bhangi, Chura, Valmiki, Lalbegi of Uttar Pradesh migrated to Maharashtra, Bengal, Assam, Burma, Mauritius and Andhra Pradesh. They also migrated to foreign lands.

Malkani says that it is a very astonishing fact that one cannot find a local Bhangi in Maharashtra. They all come from Gujarat to Andhra Pradesh. Hence, there is a possibility that these Bhangis might have migrated to Southern India with their masters from Punjab and Rajasthan.\(^\text{37}\)

It is also mentioned in Bombay Gazetteer that Bhangis are residing since 2000 years.\(^\text{38}\) This is an answer to all those conservative Hindus who said that Bhangis came to India during the Muslim rule. Even in Buddhism there is mention of Sunit Bhangi. Dharmanand Kosambi in his book *Boudh Sangh ki Vijay* and Ambedkar in his book *Lord Buddha and his Dhamma* discussed about it.

We study the number of people who migrated from Bombay to Gujarat in search of jobs then the results are very strange.\(^\text{39}\)

**Table: 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
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\(^{37}\) Malkani, *Clean People and Unclean Country*, New Delhi, 1965, Page-134  
\(^{38}\) Bombay Gazetteer, Segment-8, Page-157  
\(^{39}\) Arun Thakur and Mohammed Khadas- Narak Safaie, Page-41


<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>32568</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>39055</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>45531</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>58775</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>72435</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>53288</td>
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Source: Om Prakash Valmiki, Safai Devta.

The mentality behind these migrations was presented by Chitra Sony in his book. He stated that even after making these decisions it was tough to migrate to Bombay. Caste system was prevalent everywhere, inferior classes were chained down with everything. By the grace of foreigners, trains were launched but backward classes were not provided with tickets. He narrates one of his experiences, he went to take the ticket and he was denied of that. After a lot begging his request was accepted. For a ticket, to be given, the official needed to be bribed. After giving a bribe of 30 rupees to the official, they threw some holy water on the money and accepted it and just after that threw the ticket towards him. Balmiki women migrated into the newer region either due to marriage or movement of family. Marriage was not the main cause for migration.

2.8: Religious and Ethnic Character of Towns and Cities

Most of the Indian cities and towns were the melting pot where diverse cultural and religious pluralism intervening led in order to understand the realities of dynamic as well as that of leaving. Before independence, there was no existence of pluralism in India and if they existed, it was mostly due to isolation without any dynamic interaction. Just as an example, how did the Tamilians of the south and the Punjabis of North interact? How did the Gujaratis

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40 VS Sohni- Ek Dhed na Dukhi Kahani, Bombay, Bharat Sevak Samaj, 1921.
of the Western Coast and Bengalis of the eastern coast interact? Based on practicality, nothing. Even the concept of Melting Pot is often questioned.

Rather, the image of salad pot is more preferred. The religions in India differed as per the degrees of urbanization. Hindus were present in 26.38% Muslims in 35.75% whereas Christians in very less percentage over all. The Christians were present in less than 3% nationwide and this is recorded as one of the highest trend for migration and urbanisation this also contributed towards the high literacy rate.

2.9: Migration in West Bengal

Calcutta was the capital of India till 1912. Calcutta was one of the largest cities of India till 1911, which was renamed as Kolkata in 2004. The landlords dominated the economy of Bengal by introducing system of land tax and zamindari system imposed by the landlords and moneylenders. The famine of 1943 saw many refugees coming into Bengal. Then the partition of India occurred which led to the refugees moving into city and 26% of people migrated from East Pakistan to Kolkata. The population of Calcutta rose from 2.8 million to 9.19 million from 1961 to 1981 and then it further Rose to 11.6 million in 1911. The number of migrants in 1991 was 71 million from which 0.32 million migrants were from within the state. The Balmikis migration to Calcutta started with the introduction of railways during the colonial encounter. They were forced to migrate from northern India to the East as cheap sanitary workers in the railways and in the Municipalities. With the flow of urbanization, these Balmikis started migrating to different parts of West Bengal. Ambedkar had recommended the dalits to migrate to towns and cities from villages. He illustrated to facilitate the practice of migration as ‘new life movement’ for dalits. Ambedkar’s quotes “the

love of the intellectual Indian for the village community is of course infinite, if not pathetic... what is a village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism.”

About 55% of people migrated from Bihar (amounting to 0.17 million), then came 18% from Uttar Pradesh (amounting to 57000) and 7% of the population of Orissa migrants (22000). This comprised for the interstate migrants. 72% of male migrated from rural Bengal to Kolkata, whereas the percentage of female migrants was 70.28% of male and 30% of female also were a part of migration from the region of urban Bengal to that of Kolkata. (Mukherjee 2006:83-86)

2.10: Migration in Darjeeling

Located in the lower Himalayas, at an elevation level of 6710 feet (2050 m), Darjeeling forms a major travel destination in Bengal Darjeeling is located between the northern part of Bengal in proximity to Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. It likewise fell under the control of British East India Company in day and age between 1828 - 1835 that involved a number of treaties and negotiations and was also a part of contending actors in region.

The region further developed as a Sanatorium as well as military depot due to the encounter of British colonies educational centres and areas of plantation for tea was also developed into these regions due to the intervention of colonies of British. Darjeeling became a core centre for the various colonial activities of the British. The Lepchas and Bhutias of the Darjeeling


region were assigned the work of higher posts by the British whereas, due to the migration of new people, a new framework of system or setup also emerged in the surrounding areas. It is quite ironic that Darjeeling was created by British as a place they would relax, when they were far from Indians but the situation was completely opposed with the increase demand of labour because of native workers like hirelings, doormen, retailers, brokers, water carriers, Masons, butchers, washerman Gandhi siblings, bachelor's, batliwala, craftsmen, metal forger, development specialists, tea workers, center and privileged Bengali 'bhodroloks' alongside the Balmiki people group too began relocating to the Hills of Darjeeling. The Balmiki is Dalits who are identified with the working of rummaging and transfer of waste. Initially, the Balmikis were brought to work as manual scavengers in Darjeeling by the Britishers. Throughout the years, Balmikis have migrated into the Hills of Darjeeling and have become permanent settlers who are often categorised as ‘Jamadar’ and are considered into the lowest category who are often termed as 'others'. With due course of time this community have played a pivotal role in maintaining the beauty and hygienic of Darjeeling as a tourist destination, which has been the main source of income for the hill population. Over the yars he Balmikis has become the permanent settlers in the hills and presents a substantial population in the three sub-divisions of Darjeeling Hills.

Table: 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub Division</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Children below 6 Yrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darjeeling</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>2195</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>1104</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimpong</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurseong</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table shows the distribution of the Balmiki community in hill areas of West Bengal. Darjeeling has the highest presence of them followed by Kurseong and Kalimpong respectively. It can be observed that the average household size in this community is around 6 except Kalimpong where it is 4.9. It is also quite noteworthy that the sex ratio in this community is equitable compared to many parts and communities in India. In fact, in Darjeeling and Kurseong, there are more females than males in Balmiki community. The overall sex ratio however is close to equality with the number of males slightly higher than females.

After independence, Darjeeling was merged and made a part of West Bengal with a separate district Darjeeling. The Darjeeling district consists of four sub divisions i.e., The Darjeeling-Sadar, Kalimpong (before Kalimpong emerged as separate district in 2017), Kurseong and Siliguri (Terai region). The Nepalis had always resided in the hill regions of the Darjeeling
district, to which the region of North Bengal was a bit sensitive. These Nepalis migrated into Darjeeling during the rule of British and also resided in few regions of the plain occupied by Bengali, Santal and Kanthapura communities. The reports of 2001 census stated 14.72 million was the population in the six districts (Malda, Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar) which comprise 18.35% of the total population of the community. The growth rate of population in these areas was comparatively higher than that of the state average because people moved into those districts from nearby countries of Bangladesh and Nepal. The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes formed from a major part of the population. The Census of 1991 stated that the percentage of SC was 29 which was 5% more than that of state average. The population of SC was mainly focused in the regions of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur and Darjeeling. In Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri regions, the tribal population was a bit higher with the state average of 5.6% whereas that of in Jalpaiguri was 21% while that in Darjeeling was 13.8%.

2.11: Exposure of the Balmiki Migration

With the establishment of Darjeeling hills and to maintain health and hygiene of the hills, the Britishers brought Balmikis from Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi etc., to work in the Conservancy Department of the Municipality and Cantonments. Bitthal Ram Shinde says ‘after the foundation of municipalities in Maharashtra, Balmiki where brought from Gujarat and

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Punjab because no caste agreed to do the work of cleaning’, which proves they must have originated from North India.\footnote{Bitthal Ram Shinde, \textit{Questions on Indian Untouchability culture, Mumbai}, Maharashtra, Social Welfare Council, Social and Travelling department, 1976}

Balmikis and some other backward classes of the society were forced to migrate to this hill station during the colonial period. Britishers were well aware of Balmiki community who were skilled labourers in relation to cleanliness. As their main occupation was to clean roads, lanes and to work in cemetery grounds, the colonisers found cheap labour force for the hill station.

Balmiki migration to Darjeeling was not voluntary migration rather it was forced migration. But this in reverse paved a way for better livelihood in an alien territory, from their native places where socio-economic conditions were not favourable for their upliftment. The regularised subjugation, suppression and humiliation contributed to the ‘push’ factor in their migration. Better opportunities and prosperity in the hill, played the ‘pull’ factor, to their migration which the Balmikis did not want to lose. Based on these it can be stated that Balmiki community, who do cleaning have evolved during the course of time in the hill station. Their names and others must have been differentiated but their identity is still the same. All the people related to cleaning kept on changing that places they kept migrating from one place to another from one town to another from one slum to another and kept on making new groups. Ancient names such as Doom, \textit{Chandal, Shwapak}, are still prevalent even today in the names like Balmiki, Chura, Lalbegi, Mehtar and they still migrate from one place to another. People who were called Lalbegi in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh are now known as Balmiki, after migrating to Darjeeling.

The Balmikis were a victim to oppression because of a number of other such issues. They were subjected to problems due to political and apolitical reasons, stated own machineries,
voluntary organizations, academics as well as philanthropist responses in the national as well as international arenas. The response of the non-Dalits also gradually began varying as with the advancement of time, the indifference towards the Dalits changed to matters of concern, scary deaths were changed into harmless idioms, the rejection and negligence was gradually transformed to winning accommodations. These efficiently led to the creation of new milestone and stories of success which gave a textual outcry.

Despite all these the issue of Balmikis are still continuing which doesn’t seem to have any end and calls for immediate action. Most part of their concern are just confined to the unilateral delivery because they believe, the louder the slogans, the punches in return will be more severe. The condition is same, whether in case of origin or place of migration. The topic regarding the Dalits migrants would help to understand what makes the Dalits. The question about Dalits in general and the non-migrants is a field of interest for anyone who wishes to explore more about this community. The question often that needs to be answered is ‘When will the Balmikis’ experience the change? And ‘who need to change the paradigm on Balmiki dalits?’ The main motive here is to find/diagnose the issues that surround the Balmikis because of migration.

While migrating into the new environment, the Balmikis carry with them, a part of the old along with the age depending factors, socialization, causes for departure, personality of the person and many such factors. The experience of the immigrants is often analysed through their ‘memory of things past’ but most of the times it has been neglected and over looked by the society. This often has two main reasons. First bring the popular myth of perpetuation of tubula rusa, which proposed the fact the old traditions were removed by the migrants, who socialize into the new society and bring in new traditions.\(^{48}\)

The second reason accounts for the failure of the described ‘progressive ideas’, which states the present experience to be the more important one. The receiving society isn’t accustomed to the rule and tradition of the past or the place of origin of the migrants. The receiving society accept the migrants in his present condition, which is often considered the perspective of the various social scientists, who have handles all the problem regarding the problems of the migrant face in the society.\(^4^9\) Ironically this Balmikis migration is unrecorded by the governmental system. The government have not been able to reach these dalits as the policy framers have no idea regarding the processes of the Balmiki migration in the hills. Moreover, the policies drafted by the authorities, does not fulfil the aspirations of this migrant community as they are overshadowed by the majority population of the local communities, who have been claiming the major share in the policies implementation. Hence, they lack behind in comparison to the Nepali Scheduled Castes population.

Table: 3

Balmikis Migration in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Rajasthan</th>
<th>Haryana</th>
<th>Uttar Pradesh</th>
<th>Bihar</th>
<th>Delhi</th>
<th>Dehradun (West Bengal)</th>
<th>Coochbehar</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nos. of Families in Darjeeling</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. of</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{49}\) Ibid.
As per the data collected from October 2013 to October 2016 a number of families migrated into Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong from all over the Northern India. A total of 367 families migrated into Darjeeling, 205 from Rajasthan, 98 from Haryana, 29 from Uttar Pradesh, 10 from Bihar, 07 from Delhi, 04 from Dehradun and 14 from Cooch Behar. 108 families migrated into Kalimpong, 19 from Rajasthan, 23 from Haryana, 36 from Uttar Pradesh, 11 from Bihar, 03 from Delhi while 16 migrated from Cooch Behar. As far as Kurseong is concerned, 230 families migrated there from various regions, 82 from Rajasthan, 67 from Haryana, 36 from Uttar Pradesh, 27 from Bihar, 02 from Delhi, 01 from Dehradun and 15 from Coach Behar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families in Kalimpong</th>
<th>82</th>
<th>67</th>
<th>36</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>02</th>
<th>01</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>230</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nos. of Families in Kurseong</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Primary Data*
The table above shows that Rajasthan has highest contribution among all the states in migration towards hills of West Bengal. Haryana comes second followed by Uttar Pradesh. In Darjeeling alone, migration from Rajasthan contributes more than all other places put together. In terms of total migration, Kurseong comes second to Darjeeling followed by Kalimpong. The figures show that members of a community tend to stick together and settle down in groups of households. For example, families from Uttar Pradesh decided to settle mostly in Kalimpong. Likewise, Rajasthanis and Haryanis chose Darjeeling and Kurseong.

2.12: Balmiki Community: Location and Locale

There had been a permanent change with the Balmiki migration. They often moved to urban areas where they hope for better lives. They moved from country to urban territories in search of employment to the hills. Some moved from one part of the country to another; while some
moved from one part of the state to another; which added for the major shift of population from the Northern part of India to the North-East parts.\(^5^0\)

The fact about urbanization and caste has been clearly pointed out by Y.B. Damle in his work, “The nature of urbanization of India”. According to his statement “In regarding to caste, there is no doubt that there has been a great deal of reduction in caste taboos regarding commensality the type of food one eat, the social intercourse, etc. Yet it would be hazardous to state that caste is a system of inter-relationship has broken down in urban areas.” In order to achieve freedom from the abhorrent practice in caste system, most of these Dalits migrate from the rural regions of India to the urban regions, which they could not achieve. Even in cases of urban-rural migration, there are number of limitations regarding the way of life, caste and economy, mainly the urban-rural continuum (R.K. Mukhrjee). Migration occurs in India often, however that to the urban areas is considered associational as some come in a like whereas the other move out to seek emotions as well as practical assistance on reaching the destination. (Sylvia Vatuk 1972; 194) These migrants often prefer to live in the nearby areas in farm of group or colonies due to the alikeness between them. Hence the colonies are often identified by the people as Dalit colonies.

In the villages and rural part of India, the Balmiki community is often out-casted and have to live outside the village as the higher classes do not wish to live with the Dalits. The migration of Balmikis to Darjeeling hill station was not different from their native villages. During the colonial period, a particular colony was created for them just below the main town area. This area is situated near the dumping ground of Darjeeling Municipality, popularly known as

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‘Jamadar Line’ or ‘Methor Line’. Even for interaction, the part is very much professional and not personal, hence there life can be said to be semi-separated within their own limits/walls, the community is free completely from the attitude of the Brahmins, but behind their walls, and they were abused by the upper castes socially and as well as politically. The Dalits were enforced certain language on them by the Dalit associations in relation with the traditional professional activities, lifestyle of the traditional community and psychology of the rural ancestors. They believed that the urban way of life, education and economics improvement along with political awareness and significant impact of the Sanskrit would change their language.

However, there is not much difference between the Bhangis of Dalit origin and the migrant because the response of the social formation of the society is in the similar old fashion of the hardship prevalent since the old time, which is still prevalent after moving into the newer areas. Though on the superficial level, all the operation and mistreatment appears to be different, but a closer interview just provides the better understanding the prevalent different. Hence, to properly understand the Dalit migrants, a brief analysis of all the migrated caste groups must be done.

In all shade and levels, the problem and issue of Dalits have been brought in the forefront. However, I thought it more than timely to involve participation of the people concern in the study. Hence, all the literature that highlights the problem of Balmiki Dalits must be discussed. The present study has focused on serious issues in consultation with migrant Balmiki Dalits personally in Darjeeling hills, individual were interviewed within the community.

The interview highlight all the issues of Balmiki Dalits residing in the hill of Darjeeling such as spiritual, mental, economic, political and socio cultural problems. Is being a Balmiki, in the receiving or host society is still a problem and the reason behind it? What is the difference in the problem that exists between the place of origin and destination or host society? What is response of the neighbours toward the migrated people? How would they be comforted and up to what extent? In answer to the question raised above, the responses have been equally summed up.

During the interview, the interviewer were pretty vocal about their problem and despite migration, a Dalit Balmiki would remain a Dalit. They were subjected to subtle yet limited suppressive mechanism. They were insulted, yet they coped up with it, due to support of the family members. In the hilly region of Darjeeling, they were subjected to cheap labour, lack of space to live, the municipalities called for child labour which was prevalent in sectors of hotels and primary schools. Abduction and gender abuse was a common phenomenon, they were also discriminated due to their political association and gender belonging. Due to the lack of job opportunity most of the school drop-out were assigned the work of cleaning in various sectors, and were hired in different workplaces. There are other form of operation too, to which these people are made victim of but neither do they speak of it, nor does anyone take notice.

Therefore in other word it can be said that their past relations had been intensified due to social oppression, political, powerlessness, cultural discrimination, economic, backwardness and religious deprivation.

Many must have gone through this evil social practice which may have gradually become a history to some, but when the issue of it pops up in the nearby neighbourhood and news, the evil become clear and significant even do those who had pushed away the thoughts into the
horizon of history. These bring back their personal memories regarding the atrocities of land, cultural, political and social rights. Such haunting memories are sure to remain intact to the folklores of Balmiki for about three to four generations. Even after many efforts, Balmikis would not be able to escape the treatment hence it will remain prevalent for the untouchable aka Dalits.

The in-depth interviews give details about how they have to face never challenges into the place they’ve migrated, which wasn’t their place of origin. They were made aloof from the family as well as the society most of them are dependent on their fellow migrants in order to loom for food they eat and place to stay in the initial phase of their migration. They are often in debt due to borrowing excess from the neighbour in order to feed the family. The women of this community are often forced to take up jobs in unhealthy condition like cleaning in office in public places, so that they can help their family member in making the ends meet. Whatever they earn is shared among the family so as to overcome starvation and be an affective consoling relationship. These people also get addicted to alcohol and become drunkard. The feeling of past also migrates from the older society to the new host society and vice-versa. Even small provocation can severally anger the Balmiki as they are pretty intolerant towards injustice regarding their ethnic identity. The locals do not believe on the fact of birth place/ place of origin due to their anti-Balmiki Behaviour

Either the sceneries presented above is a continuum or the results/after effect of being a Dalit. The reason for the migration of Balmiki can well explained by the profile of migrant. It can vary from one factor to another such as lack of employment, and job opportunities lack of orientation and chances of self-employment, trouble with neighbour no participation in struggle of parents, cant exercise their freedom and creativity ; being considered negative with all the aspiration crushed down. These just include negative thoughts in the mind of
people. As the Balmikis and Dalits, they are out casted from the society, yet placed in the position of conflict of social structure.

2.13: Balmiki Migration: Context and Contours

From the above proof it can be concluded that the condition of Dalit Migrant wasn’t different from that of the Dalits in the place of origin. As far as the mental, psychological, socio-cultural and economic condition of these, Balmiki migrants is concerned; it didn’t have much of a difference as compared to that of their homeland, or place of origin. The Balmikis carry the characteristics of being a Dalit with them, which is a bit influenced by the external factor, this keeps them intact to their culture which marks for their plural belonging it appear that the characteristics of being a Dalit was nurtured by them, which later on contributed towards their lack of education, skills, overall support, as well as the counselling, which is left for them to handle in order to make themselves feel as Dalits.\(^\text{53}\)

To really analyse the issue, one must think of the problem from the bottom to the above, if there are no Subaltern group the identity to the higher classes too, wouldn’t exist. The non-Dalits must join hand with the Dalits in order to help them and eradicate the problem. The higher castes just listen to the problem, hence, the socially privileged can contribute a lot towards bringing the change for these individuals as far as history dates back, and the effort of the dalits to fight single-handedly in order to get the right result had just more negative results.

The dalits and non-dalits are the two side of coin that have a role to play. Thus the system has contributed a lot towards patterned, producing and patronizing the way of life and the condition of dalits. Hence, being at the place of origin or the destination of migration, the

Caste system for the rural area for the dalits cannot be considered as dead on one hand and living and prevalent on the other in the region of migration.

Due to globalization and urban living pattern of these individuals, the identities of the individuals have differed and people with multiple identities live in today’s world. It is the same for migrant Balmikis too, who move in and out of different roles in a daily basis. Although in the urban areas the religion and the caste system does not have a much significant role. Therefore one individual can definitely be with several identities. Hence, this proves that a number of communities exist in India, which are both Christian and Hindu while other who are both Muslims and Hindus, for this reason, dalits too have learnt to identify themselves differently. However, we do not have any control over the non-Dalits who do not take over the claim.

Like other part of India, a number of scheduled castes and schedule tribes too have migrated to the hills of Darjeeling. The region of settlement of the scheduled castes in Darjeeling had been characterized as ‘Sano Jat’. The migration process is still prevalent and continuous in India. Here I do not limit my focus to the economic factor as well, especially the way in which these schedule caste and tribes are offered a place to live in as a whole different identity. The towns of Darjeeling in which the Balmikis have migrated, showed a mix of squalor and despair, but it was a bit more comforting as they were free from the rigid system of villages. The Dalits are often out casted and made to the hills, they are welcomed, but just like their villages, and the hills too offer them limited space near the dumping ground. The ward number 18 of Darjeeling is the space offered to these migrant Dalits which is popularly known as ‘dalit basti’ or ‘Jamadar Line’. This place is a bit different from their place of

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54 Ward No. 18 of Darjeeling is located just below the Darjeeling town area, during the British time this area was garbage dumping ground. Britishers had kept the Balmikis at this place in the Municipality Quarters for the Scavengers workers. As the majority of the population is from Balmiki Community this ward is also known as Jamadar Line or Harijan Barrick. For details see, Balmiki, Lekhraj. (2016). *Exclusions As ‘Lived Experience’*
origin though comprising the Harijan Barrick. The geography of the urban areas, where the Balmikis are offered a place to live is pretty different from the conditions of that of Rajasthan, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. The secondary relations and heterogeneity which offer mobility to the various aspects forms a major part of life of the migrant.\textsuperscript{55} The Jajmani system\textsuperscript{56} also known as Balutedari is marked for specific occupations for certain castes which make for the patron client relationship in relation to pattern of the village. When the relationship of the modern text was mixed up with that of the Brahman and religious texts, the system of hegemonic developed in many villages of India in regard to the labouring class which constitutes for the ‘untouchable’ class for India.\textsuperscript{57}

2.14: Balmikis in Darjeeling: Adaptations and Acculturation

The cross culture psychology has always focused to explain the impact of various cultures that enhanced the development and display of the human behaviour of the individual. It has been concluded by many researchers of the people who worked in this field that no specific evidence about the culture-behaviour relationship is present, but the individuals often act in response to cultural influence and expectations. Consequently, my emphasis is on how Balmikis have created in one social setting figure out how to adjust to new settings that outcome from movement. Acculturation refers to the process of employed cultural changes which usually occurs because of the intermingling of various cultures, while adoption refers


\textsuperscript{56} The dual power of the king and the priest determined the nature of the balutedari, the social structure of the so-called ‘village republics’ in India. This power was represented by the secular power of the king and the ritual notions of ‘purity and pollution’ constructed and maintained by the priest and king together under the force of sacred texts like the dharma sastra and the code of Manu.

to the collective psychological changes simultaneously experiencing acculturation. The three factors of acculturation which are inter-related include psychological, socio-cultural and economic.\textsuperscript{58}

Because of migration, a number of colonies of Darjeeling have become culturally plural, which signifies that people from varied cultural backgrounds live as one cultural entity into a society. A number of times it happens that these cultural groups vary in terms of power such as numerical, economic and political. The power difference among the group arises because of the popularity of social science terms like 'minority', 'mainstream', 'ethnic groups' etc.\textsuperscript{59} As time is moving, the 'minority' of Darjeeling is gradually moving towards becoming a part of 'mainstream' culture. It can be said that by the time Balmiki becomes a part of the process of acculturation it can already be said that acculturation started when these people migrated Into the Hills of Darjeeling and started settling there. So Balmiki varied in these regions based on permanence and voluntariness.

Acculturation must be dealt in both the predominant and non-overwhelming situation by both the individual members and cultural groups in case of a plural society. The groups and individuals come together on a daily basis in order to solve the major problems. The major problems are: cultural maintenance (characteristics which define the importance of cultural identity and characteristics) and contact and participation (which determine the extent and involvement Of Cultural groups and if they should remain themselves).\textsuperscript{60}

The changes in places of residing due to the individuals in groups usually refer to adaptation. Adaptation may vary it may be quick or take longer period of time. There may be negative impacts on the characters due to short term adaptation. The individuals who were a part of the

\textsuperscript{58} John W. Berry. *Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation.*
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
acculturation, after a long term adapt to the new cultural contexts. The adaptations may occur in various forms depending on the various factors. Sometimes the acculturated individual and the new context are involved in a fit (when the strategy of integration is pursued while the attitude in the prevailing society is tolerating the acculturated individual and gathering). But the fit sometimes does not arise (due to marginalisation and separation) and the groups settle in a conflict which is the result of the acculturative stress or psychopathology.