Trans. Inst. Indian Geographers
Vol. 6, No.1, January 1984

A LINGUISTIC MINORITY IN AN URBAN SPATIAL CONTEXT : RESIDENTIAL PATTERN AND MECHANICS OF INTEGRATION OF THE BENGALIS OF CHANDIGARH

Kavita Prem, Chandigarh

ABSTRACT : The present study deals with one important aspect of social geography, social integration of a linguistic minority group in the spatial context of an alien urban setting. It aims at discovering the spatial and social mechanisms adopted by the Bengalis, a linguistic minority in Chandigarh, in integrating themselves with the Punjabis, the linguistic majority.

Being a linguistic minority, the Bengalis function as a culture group. Five traits of culture, language, foodways, dressways, friendship pattern, and marriage network have been selected for studying acculturation which describes the cultural changes generated through prolonged inter-group contacts. The traits have been examined and explained by using the residential patterns of the Bengalis and their mode of migration to the city as the explanatory variables.

The Bengalis have come to Chandigarh either through a chance transfer in a job or by deliberate choice. There are some families who have come to Chandigarh directly from Bengal; others who have had a step-migration; and there are a few families who migrated to pre-partition Punjab and came to Chandigarh during the early years of its development.

Different levels of interaction between the Bengalis and the non-Bengali majority community will be leading to different stages of integration, assimilation and domicilisation, which are indicative of the number and the strength of the active links with Bengal. In the last stage the links are the weakest and the fewest.

The hypothesis proposed in the study is represented in the model shown in figure 1.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based entirely on information collected through fourteen questionnaires including five hundred and nine questions covering different attributes of the Bengali culture group. While preparing the questionnaire, efforts were made to include questions relating to all age-groups and residential pattern was given special weightage. These questionnaires were administrated to eighty seven persons (29%) representing three hundred heads of the families and bachelors. There was no reluctance on the part of the respondents to

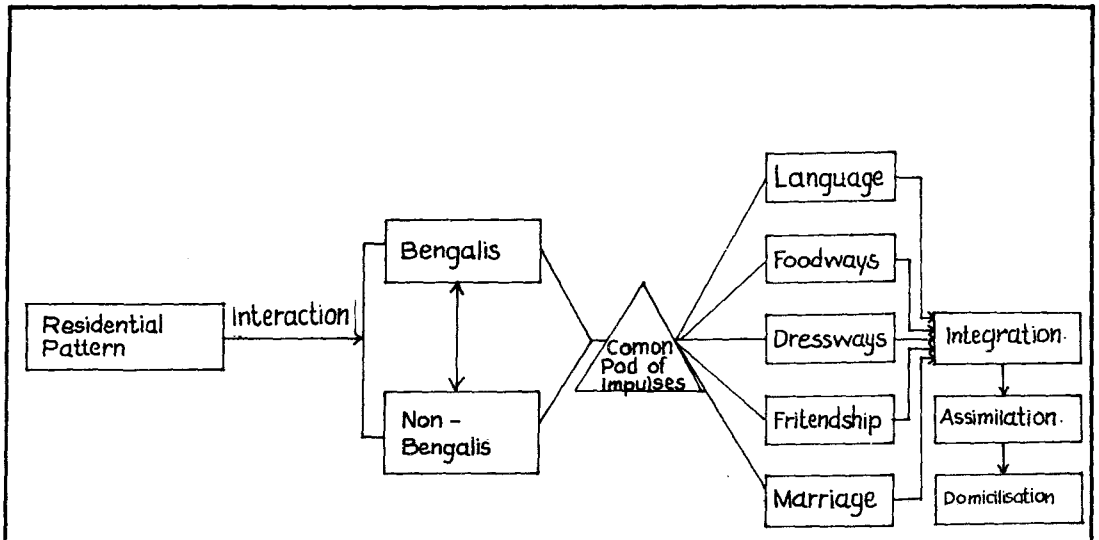

Fig. 1

answering the questions.

The eighty seven families to whom the questionnaires were addressed were selected by the process of purposive random sampling. Three hundred families constituted the total universe. Out of these, thirty families, that is ten per cent of the total, were selected by drawing lots. The remaining two hundred and seventy families were arranged according to the sectors in which they live. Twenty per cent of the Bengali families living in each sector were selected by drawing lots. Fifty seven families were selected in this manner raising the total number of families included in the sample to eighty seven. This methodology has made it possible to include, in the sample, the Bengalis from all the sectors where they reside. Since in Chandigarh differentsocio-economic groups live in different sectors, the sample automatically draws population from different socio-economic groups.

The total number of the Bengalis in Chandigarh, a planned city comprised of forty seven self-contained sectors, was 1339 in 1971. According to the figures quoted by the Bengalis themselves, their population was about 600 persons in the year 1961. In 1979 it was estimated to be about 2000 persons.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

It is a major proposition of this paper that residential pattern is reflected in the socio-spatial organisation of a community. Residential pattern here refers to the distribution of the Bengalis in various sectors in terms of distance from a number of selected urban facilities, such as, shopping centres, educational institutions, and place of work. It is one of the bases of evaluation and functioning of a socio-spatial community.

The residential pattern of the Bengalis in Chandigarh, mapped with dot method (Fig. 2), helps in understanding the existing and potential factors of socio-spatial interac-

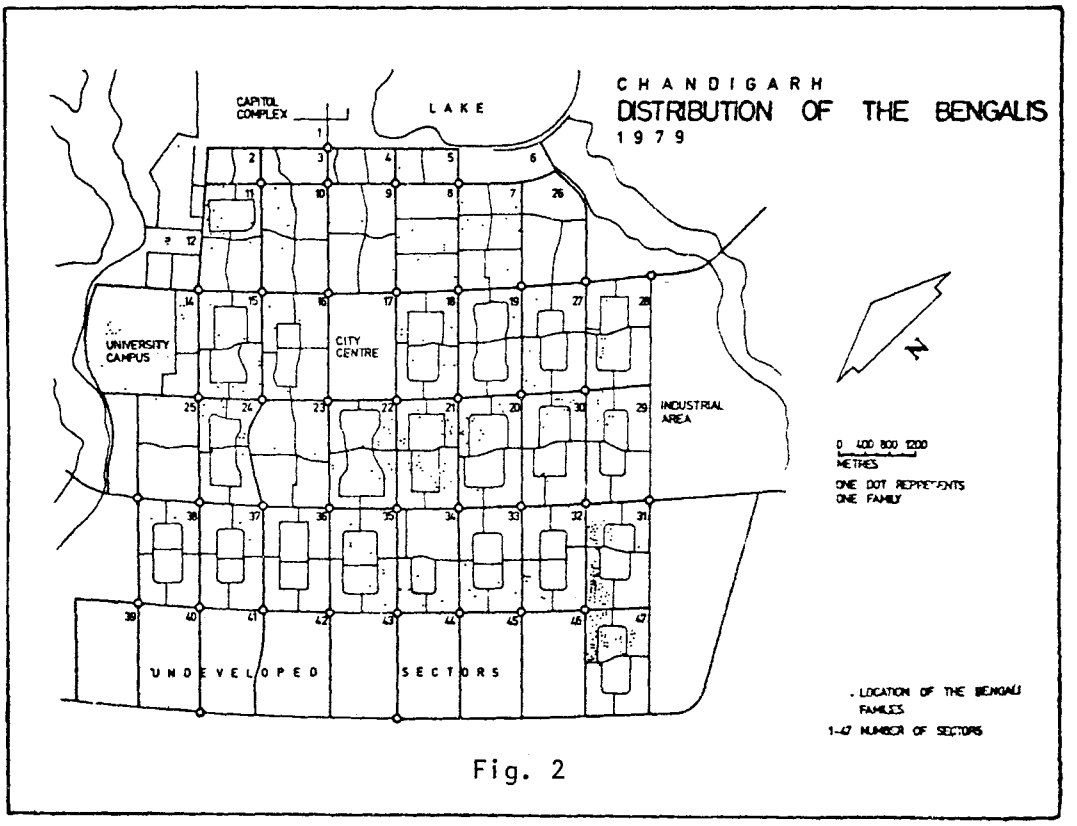

Fig. 2

tion among the Bengalis, and among them and the non-Bengalis.

Contrary to the general belief that the people of a minority group have a tendency to cluster in a particular neighbourhood in alien urban areas, the Bengalis living in Chandigarh have a scattered distribution (Dhussa, R.C., 1979). Though Chandigarh has a large diversity of linguistic groups it has not been able to separate them in distinct areal clusters.

The Bengalis are scattered in all but four sectors and reveal two large concentrations, (i) in the adjacent sectors of 31 and 47 and (ii) in sector 21. The former has resulted from a deliberate government policy under which most of the Bengalis employed in the Air Force have been allotted houses free of rent. The latter concentration is related to the location of the fish market within the sector, the prevailing low rent of the houses, and the inertia of the initial location. In subsequent years as well, the process of concentration has continued, for the same reasons, in the same sector. The concentration has been a natural process rather than influenced by external influences in the form of government intervention. On the other hand, the government, by allotment of houses in sectors 31 and 47, has interfered with the operation of territorial organisation of the Bengali ethnic group which could have led to the emergence of a large ethnic island. A whole series of rational factors have operated in scattering the Bengalis in a large number of sectors, many

of them distant from sector 21. Easily, the most striking feature of the residential pattern of the Bengalis is the absence of a Bengali *'mohalla'* or *'para'* or *'tola'*, which is characteristic of the large Bengali communities in towns outside Bengal. The Bengali ethnicity in Chandigarh is not defined by the essential aspect of a clearly demarcated space. In no sector do two Bengali families live in different parts of the same house, and in very few cases do they live in adjacent houses. The absence of discrimination against the Bengalis has prevented the formation of Bengali *'mohallas'* as ethnic islands.

Intra-urban mobility has contributed little to the existing residential pattern. It is a cumulative result of successive patterns.

There is now a growing tendency among the Bengalis to settle in Chandigarh permanently. They have purchased land, bought constructed houses and have applied for the purchase of government-built residential accommodation. Many have bought residential plots in neighbouring areas of Mohali and Panchkula as they preceive these places to be extension of Chandigarh.

Concentration of the Bengalis in certain sectors is related mostly to various economic aspects such as rent, proximity to place of work, and educational institutions.

The Bengalis have had to adjust to a physical and social milieu which was created independent of any consideration being given to them as potential residents and to whose creation their contribution was nil.

LANGUAGE

In terms of social-geography, an important function of language is in providing an identity to a culture group. Knowledge of cultural attributes diffuses mostly through the medium of language and it is through language that members of a culture group interact with each other and partake of their culture. In an immigrant setting language has often provided an initial basis for social cohesion (Doeppers, D.F., 1974, pp. 551).

The significance of the study of language in case of the Bengalis, who constitute an important linguistic minority in Chandigarh, is accentuated by the fact that language is the only basis of their identity in this alien culture. Language is the most sensitive indicator of the changes undergone by the linguistic minority. Almost always change in language is indicative of cultural interaction.

By and large, the Bengalis have been able to preserve their identity by retaining Bengali language as the principal means of communication among themselves.

However, the language is undergoing changes which are reflected in the use of words, phrases, proverbs and the structure of sentences. The extent of change being undergone is controlled by the nature and extent of interaction and the depth of generation living outside Bengal. Also perceptible are the effects of education and socio-economic status of the family.

The use of different languages in addition to Bengali, by the Bengalis in Chandigarh is determined by their interaction with members of different linguistic groups. This is further promoted by different kinds of interactions, social, economic and official. Bengali dominates in social, Hindi in economic and English in official interaction.

Even though the Bengalis know that in the process of settling in Chandigarh they have to constantly interact with the non-Bengali majority community, they have not abandoned their language and are not prepared to do so lest they lose the very basis of

their identity as a linguistic community. Also, the Bengalis are interacting mostly within their own community and have limited interaction with the majority group. They are retaining and have a desire to retain links with their relatives in Bengal and elsewhere in the country. They also want to create new links through marriages. These inter-regional marriages within the Bengali community necessitate the retention of the Bengali language.

Whatever little changes the Bengalis have made in their use of language are a response to the exigencies, and these are not deep-rooted. Once they move out of Chandigarh and go back to Bengal, they change over to their initial language.

Only three families from the sample did not speak Bengali at all. In all the three cases, the heads of the families have married non-Bengalis. Also, two of the families are Christian families.

On the basis of frequency and number of persons contacted, three kinds of interactional mechanisms, through which the Bengalis in Chandigarh are trying to retain their languages, can be identified. The target group and the frequency of interaction in each of these varies. In the daily social contact the number of persons participating is the smallest, but it occurs most frequently. In *'adda'* the target group increases, however, the frequency decreases. *'Pujas'* are infrequent. At the same time the number of persons interacting is the largest.

The Bengalis living in Chandigarh talk in Bengali whenever and wherever they can. They talk in Bengali in their homes, thus enabling their children, who have spent most of their time outside Bengal, to learn and preserve the language. Many families also subscribe to magazines in Bengali and read Bengali books.

The Bengalis are also retaining their language by establishing Bengali associations. The language associations are the best symbols of their members' cultural life. Now, the Bengalis perceive the association as instrument in preserving their Bengalihood.

'Adda', an informal gathering of the Bengali men at no fixed place, is another mechanism through which the Bengalis are retaining their language. Its functioning has a spatial dimension. This spatial orientation is a contribution of the traditional *'para' ('mohalla') 'adda'*. *'Adda'* is more popular with the younger age-group.

Almost all the interviewed Bengalis are bilingual, speaking in Bengali at home and in Hindi with the non-Bengalis outside home. The most surprising finding is that although the linguistic majority with which the Bengalis have been interacting comprised of the Punjabis, the Bengalis have not learnt Punjabi nor have they borrowed Punjabi words in their language. This is because the Punjabis too are bilingual. The Bengali bilingual set involves two dissimilar languages, Bengali and Hindi; while the Punjabi set involves two similar languages, Hindi and Punjabi. Therefore, even the Punjabis, while interacting with the Bengalis, switch-over to Hindi and elements of Hindi get into Bengali language. However, the adoption of traits of Hindi language is more a component of survival mechanism rather than an indicator of integration, although it leads to integration.

The sources from which they have acquired Hindi have been different for the two Bengali groups. Those who have come directly to Chandigarh have learnt Hindi while living in this city. Those who have come through step-wise migration learnt Hindi while living in intervening regions as well as in Chandigarh.

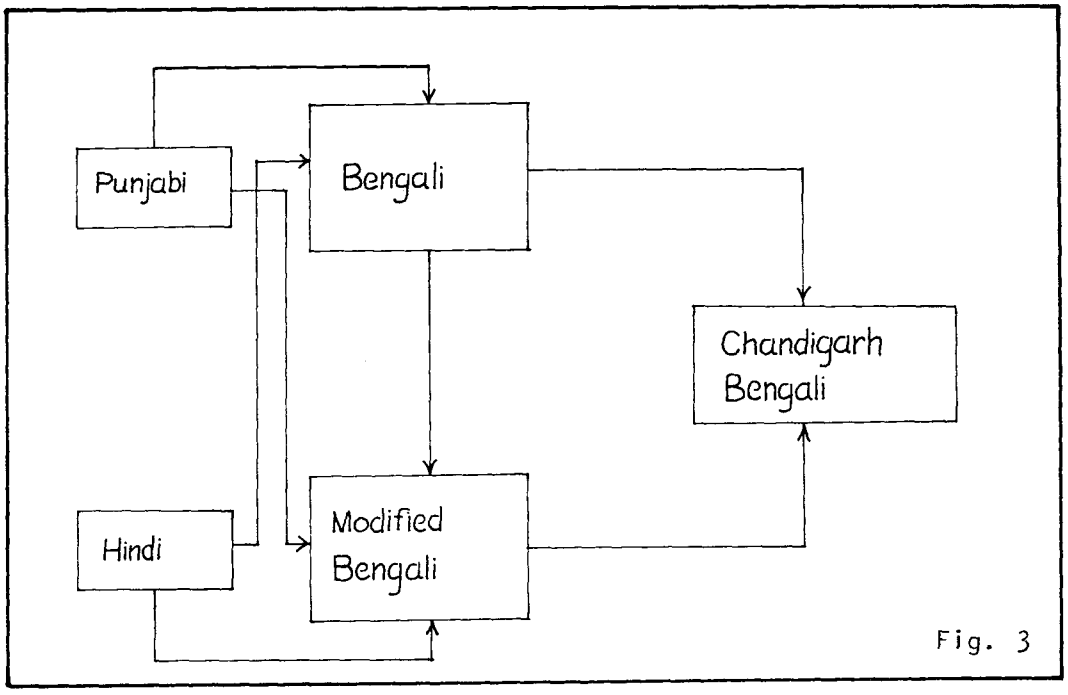

Fig. 3

In sectors where the number of the Bengalis is small, their interaction with the non-Bengalis, mainly comprising of Hindi and Punjabi speaking groups, is greater. This results in a mixing of the elements of Hindi language with Bengali language. This stands in sharp contrast with very little changes occurring in those sectors where the number of the Bengalis is very large.

This discussion is summarised in the model in figure 3.

FOOD WAYS

Fashion vogues affect rapid and vast changes in deressing habits. There are no such fashions in foodways. A culture group follows a dietary pattern that is deeply rooted in tradition. A change in foodways, unlike fashion-wear, is very gradual.

A model of types and relationships of food habits of the Chandigarh Hindu Bengalis is presented in figure 4.

Though many of the families living here are trying to retain their traditional eating habits, some are deviating from this dietary pattern and are incorporating new elements which accompany domiciliary change. The diet of the Bengalis of Chandigarh is determined by tradition, availability of the item, and their interaction with the non-Bengalis. However, the eating pattern of the Bengalis living in Chandigarh has undergone a change. The changes have occurred in the raw material, method of preparation, use of particular type of spices and in the pre-meal and post-meal items. The departure from the traditional Bengali food depends upon their duration of their stay in the city, place from where they have come, their economic status, sectors in which they reside, their interaction with the non-Bengalis, and also their personal choice.

Some of the items of diet are not without substitutes. To procure these items the Bengalis, in the initial stages of domicilisation, very frequently cover long distances. With the passage of time, the frequency of

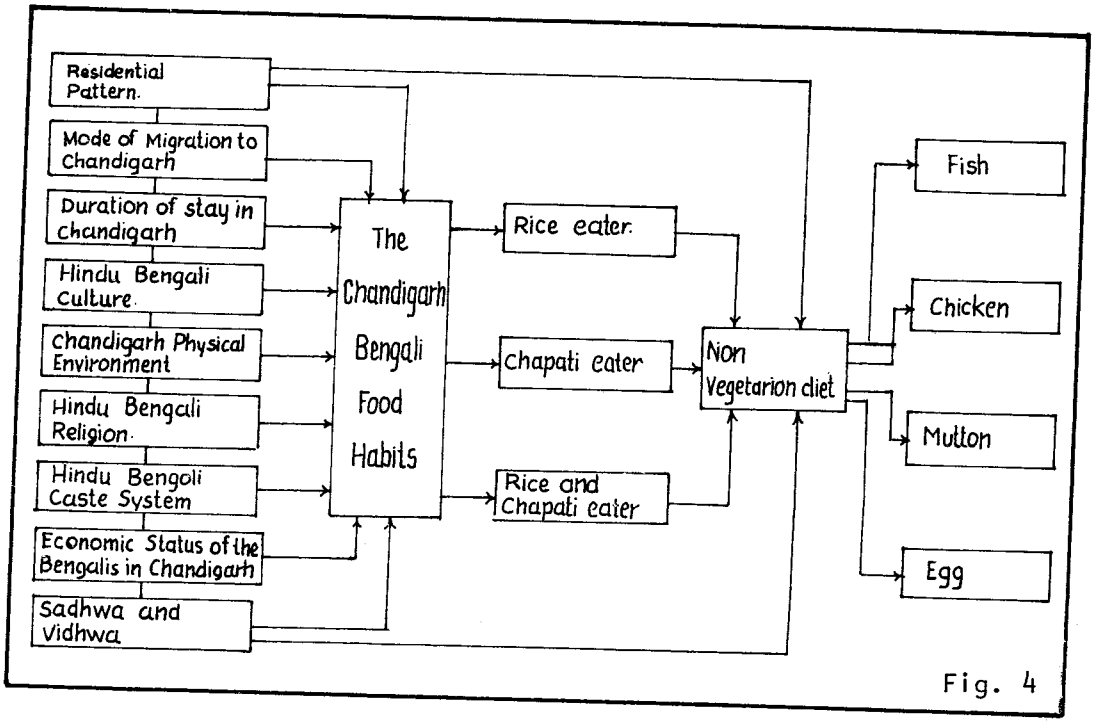
Residential Pattern.
Mode of Migration to Chandigarh
Duration of stay in chandigarh
Hindu Bengali Culture.
Chandigarh Physical Environment
Hindu Bengali Religion.
Hindu Bengoli Caste System
Economic Status of the Bengalis in Chandigarh
Sadhwa and Vidhwa
The Chandigarh Bengali Food Habits
Rice eater.
Chapati eater
Rice and Chapati eater
Non Vegetarion diet
Fish
Chicken
Mutton
Egg

Fig. 4

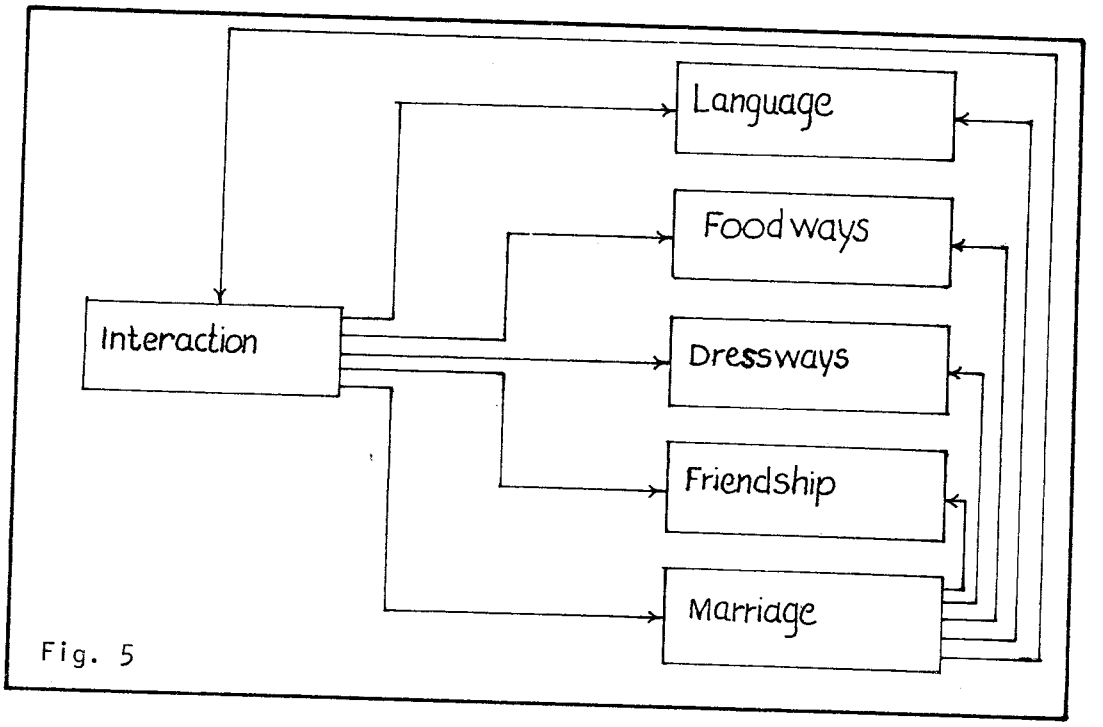
Interaction
Language
Food ways
Dressways
Friendship
Marriage

Fig. 5

travel decreases and thus the frequency of consumption of the item decreases. Meanwhile they search for an adoptable substitute which is available near their residence. In due course of time they perceive that travelling to buy even this substitute item is bothersome. So, finally they adopt the second substitute which is entirely different from the first traditional item. This marks a major shift in their dietary pattern.

In Chandigarh, the two regional staple cereals, wheat and rice, are readily available simultaneously at all times of the year at almost the same price. Yet rice, the traditional staple cereal of the Bengalis, is preferred to wheat. However, a majority of the Bengali families have started taking *'chapatis'* either for lunch or for dinner. (Table I).

Fish is another important traditional dietary item. Though it continues to be the favourite non-vegetarian dish of the older people, members of the younger age-group prefer chicken and mutton to fish. (Table II)

In Bengal curd is prepared from sweetened milk. In Chandigarh, however, sugar is added to it after its preparation. Now, many people have started taking curd with salt. (Table III)

The Bengalis have started taking pulses and vegetables cooked in the Punjabi way.

The Bengalis do not feel at home in any other cooking medium than mustard oil. In Chandigarh also most of the Bengali families continue to cook in mustard oil. (Table IV)

Tea is largely preferred to coffee.

Most of the families like to take Chinese food in the city restaurants. They share this liking for the Chinese food with the non-Bengali population of the city. (Table V)

In conclusion it can be said that with the increase in the period of residence the distance travelled to purchase a preferred item of diet goes on decreasing. Secondly, the Bengalis have already incorporated and are continually incorporating some of the common elements of the Punjabi diet into their own diet. However, they have not adopted pork eating which is fairly common among the Punjabis. There is also a definite relationship between the distributional pattern of the Bengalis in the city and the nature of their diet. In those sectors where they have large concentrations they have been able to retain the original dietary items, while mixing with the Punjabi dietary elements is quite common in those sectors where they are small in number and scattered in distribution. The mode of migration of the Bengalis to Chandigarh has a complex relationship with their dietary pattern. While those who have come to Chandigarh directly from Bengal have experienced limited change in the dietary pattern with respect to the number of items and the methods of preparation, those who have come through stepwise migration have borrowed items from the dietary patterns of the step regions, making their dietary pattern more complex. Over the years the Bengalis have borrowed a few elements of diet from other linguistic minorities as well.

DRESS WAYS

Though dress has always been an important identification of culture groups, its identificatory role is losing its value in the present day. The fads and fashions determining the dress are becoming numerous and diffusing rapidly.

Traditionally, in Bengal, the Bengali men wear *'dhoti'* and *'kurta'*, while the

TABLE I

Item	Number of families	Percentage
Rice during lunch and dinner	24	27.6
Chapatis during lunch and dinner	9	10.4
Rice once a day and *Chapatis* once a day	39	44.8
Nothing particular	11	12.6
Seasonal variation	4	4.6

TABLE I.I

Favourite item	Number of families	Percentage
Fish	39	44.8
Chicken	24	27.6
Mutton	9	10.4
Pork	1	1.1
Nothing particular	9	10.4
Variations within the family	5	5.7

TABLE III

Item in curd	Number of families	Percentage
Sugar	47	54.1
Salt	19	21.8
Plain	5	5.7
Nothing fixed	13	14.9
Variations within the family	3	3.5

TABLE IV

Cooking Medium	Number of families	Percentage
Mustard oil	33	37.9
Refined oil	26	29.9
Mustard oil and Refind oil	17	19.6
Ghee	5	5.7
Nothing particular	6	6.9

TABLE V

Item	Number of families	Percentage
Chinese food	53	60.9
Non-vegetarian *tandoori* food	17	19.6
South Indian food	5	5.7
Nothing particular	6	6.9
Families who did not visit restaurants	6	6.9

women don *'saree'* in the Bengali manner.

In Chandigarh trousers and shirts are the daily-wear of the Bengali men as also of the non-Bengali communities. There has clearly been an adoption by the Bengalis of the daily dress of the linguistic majority which, for the former, functions as a reference group such as the British were to the latter. A few Bengali men wear *'dhoti'* and *'kurta'* on *'puja'* days only.

'Saree' continues to be the main dress of the Bengali ladies living in Chandigarh. Young Bengali girls, however, prefer *'salwaar kameez'* to *'sarees'* for day-to-day wear, as is common among the non-Bengali girls. But, they wear *'sarees'* during *'puja'* ceremonies and on all other ceremonial occasions.

Thus, so far as the change in dress of the linguistic minority is concerned, the two sexes respond differently. This is due to the fact that they respond differently to interactions with the linguistic majority. The men are constantly interacting with the members of the linguistic majority at a common place of work, while the Bengali ladies, by and large, do not take up jobs and have limited interaction with the majority group.

In both the males and the females, however, the changes are immediately effected in the secular sphere and are absent in the ritual sphere. Also the changes are more striking among the members of the younger age-group than in the older.

The dressways of the Bengalis who came to Chandigarh directly from Bengal had undergone changes by the time they left Bengal. In their case there has been a convergence, in Chandigarh, of the dressways of the Bengalis and the linguistic majority group. In contrast the dressways of the Bengalis who came through stepwise migration have undergone change both outside Bengal and during their residence in Chandigarh. The dressways of both the group experienced changes. In the first case, the changes had already occurred in Bengal, while in the second case the changes occurred along with their movement outside Bengal and also in Chandigarh.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERN

Social interaction is the foundation of community formation. No culture group can exist and function without the constant interaction of its members. Social interaction among the persons belonging to a culture group results in preserving culture, while elements of different cultures get intermingled when different culture groups are interacting.

The degree of integration, assimilation, and domicilisation achieved depends upon the degree of interaction related to their residential pattern.

Friendship is an important aspect of social interaction. While it is possible for the members of different groups to interact with each other without being friends, friendship cannot be formed without social interaction.

The Bengalis living in Chandigarh are experiencing social interaction with the Bengalis, the non-Bengali majority community (Punjabis) and the non-Bengali minority groups (Tamilian, Maharashtrians, Malayalees etc.). The level and degree of interaction between all the groups are different. The males and females too reveal different degrees of interaction.

On their arrival in Chandigarh, the incoming Bengali families get to know the residing Bengalis through many ways.. (Table VI). A large number of the Bengali

TABLE VI

Category	Number of families	Percentage
Previous friendship	6	6.9
Brought addresses from previous place of residence	9	10.4
Met at Bengali association	32	36.8
Met in the fish market	6	6.9
Met at place of work	29	33.3
Made no efforts to meet	5	5.7

TABLE VII

Category	Number of families	Percentage
Members of Bangiya Sanskritik Sammilani	43	49.4
Members of Kali Bari	28	32.2
Non-members	16	18.4

TABLE VIII

Category	Number of families	Percentage
Bengali and non-Bengali majority group friends	45	51.7
Only Bengali friends	31	35.6
Only non-Bengali friends	7	8.1
Bengali, non-Bengali majority and minority group friends	4	4.6

TABLE IX

Category	Number of families	Percentage
Marriage to a Bengali belonging to the same caste	43	56.6
Marriage to a Bengali belonging to a different caste	26	34.2
Marriage to a non-Bengali belonging to the same caste	2	2.6
Marriage to a non-Bengali belonging to a different caste	5	6.6

families are members of one of the two Bengali associations of Chandigarh. (Table VII). While *Bangiya Sanskritik Sammilani* is a mode of social interaction, *Kali Bari* is a blending of social and religious activities. Even the religious participation has a social orientation.

As different families are spread all over the city, distance plays an important role in determining the level of interaction. Time too is important.

The Bengali families have both Bengali and non-Bengali friends. (Table (VIII) In case of the Bengali friends, the family friends are more numerous than individual friends; in case of the non-Bengali friends, the individual friends are more numerous.

The families living in the sectors with large concentration of the Bengalis have large number of Bengali friends. In the sectors where the population of the non-Bengalis is several hundred times larger than that of the Bengalis, the number of the non-Bengali friends is very large. The families belonging to the high income group are friendly mostly with the non-Bengalis.

Those who have come to Chandigarh from Bengal maintain friendship mostly with the Bengalis only, while the families who have come through step-migration have friends from the majority group too.

The members of the younger age-group, more liberal in their attitude towards friendship, have a large number of non-Bengali friends.

Caste, religion, and place of origin are not considered while making friends. Friendship with neighbours is limited as is common among the members of the majority community of Chandigarh.

More than 50% of the friends of the Bengalis are non-Bengalis. This friendship network enables a mutual borrowing of culture traits on an extensive scale between the two groups.

MARRIAGE NETWORK

Marriage is an important mode of integration. The attribute of marriage has circular causative relationship with other cultural attributes, language, foodways, dressways and friendship. (Fig. 5).

In Indian culture, marriage is usually performed between members belonging to the same caste, religion and language. This practice is followed by the Bengalis as well. The hold of caste on marriage is loosening, but priority is still given to the same linguistic group. (Table IX).

All the inter-lingual marriages took place outside Chandigarh and before the family shifted to the city. The stay of the Bengalis in Chandigarh has also not affected the marriage pattern to a large extent. Most of the families go back to their home towns for performing the marriage ceremonies. Another interesting factor is that almost all the families buy *'sarees'* and jewellery for marriages from Calcutta.

Among the Bengalis of Chandigarh, marriage is the culture trait that has been the least influenced and changed through interaction with the non-Bengalis. The majority of the marriages are limited to the same caste, linguistic group and religion. However, the more interesting fact is that of the several inter-caste and inter-lingual marriages. Finally, it has been found that the five culture components are affected by marriage and affect marriage only when it involves a Bengali and a non-Bengali.

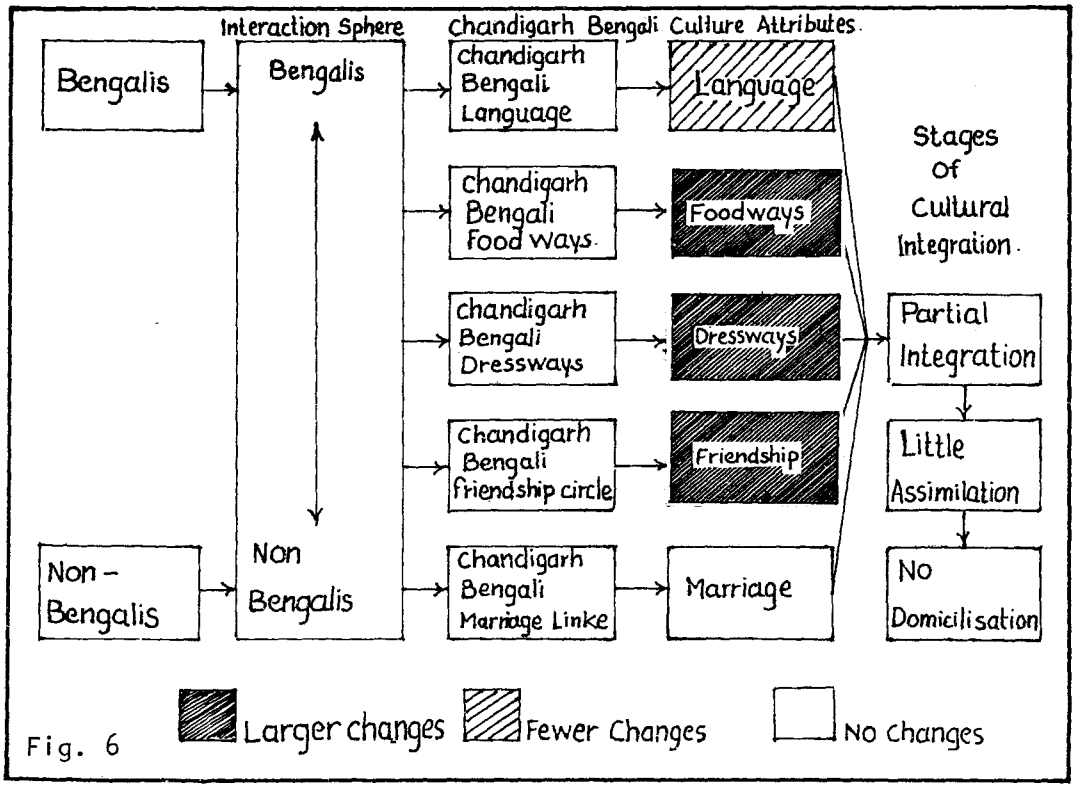

Fig. 6

CONCLUSIONS

The Bengalis in Chandigarh constitute an ethnic minority. The basis of this ethnic cultural identity is the Bengali language, which is causally related to, and forms the expression of, these elements. Unlike other ethnic communities in the old, indigenous towns of India the Bengalis in Chandigarh have not as yet created an ethnic locality of their own, distinguished by characteristic ethnic landscape features. Since there are no ethnic islands, the community, in socio-spatial context, operates in an open system receiving the impacts of the Punjabi culture group, which have resulted in several changes. Different traits of the Bengali culture have responded differently to interaction of the Bengalis with the linguistic majority group. The real changes, even though to a small extent, have taken place in those attributes, such as, dressways, foodways and friendship, which do not constitute the core of the identity of the Bengalis as a culture group. Language has experienced limited change. The attribute of marriage has undergone negligible changes. However, the changes experienced by these culture traits as a result of the interaction with the non-Bengalis have neither been so extensive nor so profound as to vitally weaken the identity of the Bengalis as a linguistic minority community. Their contacts with Bengal are still live.

The interaction, the different amount of changes experienced by the culture trait, and the nature of integration, assimilation, and domicilisation are portrayed in the heuristic model. (Fig. 6). The Bengalis and the non-Bengalis are interacting in a common space. This mutual interaction is leading to changes in their language, foodways, dressways, friendship and marriage. The magni-

tude of change is different for different traits. As a combined result of the changes the Chandigarh Bengalis have experienced, culturally speaking, partial integration or acculturation, little assimilation and no domicilisation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author is grateful to Dr. A.B. Mukerji, Chairman, Department of Geography, Punjab University, for suggesting the topic and for supervising the preparation of this paper.

REFERENCES

Bennett, D.C. (1973) : "Segregation and Racial Interaction", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 63, No. 1, March, pp. 48-57.

Biswas, A., Chatterjee, P. and Chaube, S. (1976) : "The Ethnic Composition of Calcutta and the Residential Pattern of Minorities", *Geographical Review of India*, Vol. 38, No. 2, June, pp. 140-166.

Bose, N.K. (1958) : "Social and Cultural Life of Calcutta", *Geographical Review of India*, Vol. 20, December, pp. 1-48.

(1968) : *Calcutta : A Social Survey*, Bombay, Lalvani Publishing House.

Chakravarti, A.K. (1974) : "Regional Preference for Food : Some Aspects of Food Habit Patterns in India, *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 395-410.

Dhussa, R.C. (1979) : "A Study of the Spatial Pattern and Demographic Features of Akron-Kent Asian Indians, *The Deccan Geographer*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January, pp. 524-532.

Deoppers, D.F. (1974) : "Ethnic Urbanism" and Philippine Cities", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 64, No. 4, December, pp. 549-559.

Hasan, M. (1976) : "The Social Organisation of Residence in India, *Discussion Paper Series*, Department of Geography, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, No. 17, June, pp. 1-30.

(1978) : "Social Network in Spatial Perspective", *Discussion Paper Series*, Department of Geography, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, No.45, May, pp. 1-31.

Jones, E. (ed.) (1975) : *Readings in Social Geography*, London : Oxford University Press.

Jones, E. and Eyles, J. (1977) : *An Introduction to Social Geography*, London : Oxford University Press.

Jones, P.N. (1978) : "Colored Minorities in Birmingham, England", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 66, No. 1, March, pp. 89-103.

Kenyon J.B. (1976) : "Patterns of Residential Integration in the Bicultural Western City", *The Professional Geographer*, Vol. 28, No. 1, February, pp. 40-44.

Seig, L. (1971) : "Concepts of 'Ghetto', A Geography of Minority Groups", *The Professional Geographer*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January, pp. 1-4.

Simons, F.J. (1974) : "Fish as Forbidden Food : The Case of India", *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, Vol. 3, pp. 185-201.

(1978) : "Traditional Use and Avoidance of Foods of Animal Origin : A Cultural Historical View, *Bio Science*, Vol. 28, No. 3, March, pp. 178-184.

ADDRESS OF THE AUTHOR

Kavita Prem
Research Scholar
Department of Geography
Punjab University
Chandigarh