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A PUNJABI COMMUNITY IN AN ENGLISH TOWN:
A STUDY IN MIGRANT ADAPTATION

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Arthur W. Helweg

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Robert McKinley
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A STUDY IN MIGRANT ADAPTATION

By

Arthur W. Helweg

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ABSTRACT

A PUNJABI COMMUNITY IN AN ENGLISH TOWN:
A STUDY IN MIGRANT ADAPTATION

By

Arthur W. Helweg

For Great Britain, immigration by former colonial subjects has become an increasingly prominent concern in recent years. This is a study of one of these groups: the Sikh Jats who have left their villages in Punjab, India, and settled in Gravesend, Kent, United Kingdom. These people were a land-owning group who lived in a small scale peasant society where much of what they needed was provided by the resources of their village. Migrating to England caused a profound change, for Sikh Jats were thrust into a large scale, industrial, urban society where they depended on others for employment--the migrants no longer enjoyed the prestige of landholding.

The primary purpose of this work is ethnographic, that is to present a diachronic profile of the Gravesend Punjabi community's development throughout its fifteen-year existence. This work demonstrates how Sikh Jats dealt with their new situation and how their circumstances changed due to external factors and the reaction of the host and home societies. The model used in analysis is one developed for internal migration studies where adaptation is viewed as a three-way interaction process between the host, home, and migrant groups;

the home village exerts an on-going influence on their members abroad. As this study shows, the three-way interaction model is also applicable in some international migration studies.

This study also contributes theoretically, showing the significant influence values have on the behavior and perception of these sojourners; concepts such as "honor" and "shame" strongly influence their adaptive perceptions and actions.

In presenting the data, the first chapter sets forth the study's parameter, model, and methodology. This includes a discussion of the literature concerning migration, the extended case method, and adaptation. The next chapter discusses Punjabi culture with a focus on the sending and receiving communities, and the Punjabi concept of izzat (honor). Maintaining or obtaining izzat is a key cultural concept for the Punjabis, and its understanding is essential for analyzing Sikh Jat behavior in England and India.

The third chapter focuses on the impetus of Punjabi emigration; economic factors, social rank, tradition of mobility, and government policies were strong influences. This chapter also introduces a theme which recurs throughout the study, that the culture of a people predisposes their goals and the acceptable means for obtaining desired rewards.

The migration story of these Punjabi Sikh Jats falls naturally into four periods, each relegated to its own chapter. The fourth chapter deals with the early years (1947-1959). Villagers in Jandiali were proud of the men who were known as "England Returned"; wives stayed behind to maintain the home and land. As revealed in the fifth chapter,

the threat of immigration restrictions (1960-1962) brought about a change in migration patterns. Wives and families were sent to England and the communications networks to the home village were tightened. Being in England no longer bestowed the freedom and glamour it once had; villagers in Punjab began to monitor and control their counterparts abroad. Resentment toward the former colonial subjects by the host community continued to increase during this phase.

The third period (1963-1969) set forth in the sixth chapter shows the Sikh Jat's reaction towards the British by both the village and migrant communities. The British were now perceived as opponents. The Punjabis in England had learned to deal with exploiters in their own ways. At this point, older family members in Punjab emigrated to England so they could live comfortably in their old age. By the final period (1970 and after) described in the seventh chapter, those migrants in England realized that returning to Punjab was fictive. England had a hold on the Sikh Jats--they were not going to leave. Indicative of this is a public debate which reveals the ambivalent feelings within the immigrant community with regard to cultural conflicts.

One final consideration: Why do people forsake the emotional security of their home village for a foreign environment, especially when one could return to Punjab and live well? The eighth chapter examines this question along with the way cultural conflicts were dealt with by the Punjabis in England. The village remained the reference group of imitation; a return to village life continued to hold the promise of happiness. Yet, new values such as the European notion

of privacy and economic security became factors in motivating Jats to remain in Great Britain.

The ninth chapter closes the study by setting forth ethnographic and theoretical conclusions which contribute significantly to the understanding of migrant behavior in general.

To

Usha, Priya and Rajesh

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A study like this is never accomplished alone; it is a group project which results in an author obtaining the credit. Unfortunately, if all deserving contributors were to be named, the study itself would not have sufficient space to set forth proper acknowledgments. But a few key people should be recognized.

First and foremost, recognition must be given to Dr. Robert McKinley who guided me through this study. He read and reread portions of this manuscript and spent many patient hours in suggesting and discussing ideas and concepts with the student. His willingness to be available and cordial, along with his tremendous academic contribution were most essential in the success of this work, to say nothing of the author obtaining his Ph.D. To him, gratitude will be eternal. Also, Dr. and Mrs. William T. Ross spent many patient hours with the writer in outlining, evaluating, and discussing concepts and ideas. They, however, have selflessly cared and extended themselves to help students--an often unrecognized undertaking.

In a project like this, more is learned than just facts and theories. The important lessons come from trial and pain, the results of which lead one to have an empathy for the problems of others and, hopefully, develop a set of values that are higher than those of just technocratic proficiency. Professor Zolton Ferency (politician, scholar, and friend), along with Joseph Brockington and Raymond Green,

showed by their selfless example that one should sacrifice self to gain human rights for others. Also, Professor Hugh Tinker made valuable suggestions; but more importantly, showed by his life that the scholar should be a person of action, sometimes at the risk of his career. Also, I wish to thank Dr. Baljit Singh for his valuable suggestions concerning Sikh Jat culture and ideas concerning adaptation models.

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Most of all, this writer must recognize his wife, Usha, who tirelessly read, reread, edited, and reedited many drafts of this work, giving her best efforts in providing suggestions, ideas, and insights. Without her help, sacrifice, and determination, this work never would have been completed. The author's children, Priya and Rajesh helped in their own way while other relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Otto Helweg, Dr. and Mrs. A. R. Mehta, Miss Thyra Jennings, and Miss Louise Helwig aided emotionally and financially.

The author, however, must take full responsibility for any errors or inadequacies.

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PREFACE

For Great Britain, immigration by former colonial subjects has become an increasingly prominent concern in recent years. This is a study of one of these groups: the Sikh Jats who have left their villages in Punjab, India and settled in Gravesend, Kent, United Kingdom. Examining the adaptation process of these people is interesting because of the vast circumstantial changes with which they had to deal..

The Sikh Jat's initial situation was a small-scale peasant society where resources and self esteem stemmed from farming the land, even though the holdings might have been meager. For the most part, the Jats limited their concerns to the confines of their village. Groups had specialized functions that were determined by birth and supported the community as a whole. The Jats were a proud people and the dominant caste. Thus, their wishes were respected for they controlled the land, resources, and political activities.

Immigrating to England signalled a profound change. The move thrust the Jats into a large scale industrial society where farming was impossible. The Punjabis depended on the English for jobs; land--the symbol of Jatness and royalty--was no longer available. Their world view expanded to include concerns outside their own group. This expansion heralded a change in their social position. They were no longer the politically and economically dominant group; they had to take orders

rather than give them. They had to ask for jobs rather than provide them. They had to cope with a setting where bureaucracy and foreign law reigned that contained rules with which the Jats were unfamiliar and uncomprehending. Consequently, England contrasted dramatically with their original situation, where patrons or kinsmen were used to achieve desired ends.

When the author arrived in Gravesend (1970), the migrant community had existed there for about thirteen years. An examination of the changes the immigrants experienced during this period was conducted. In order to understand the dynamics of their adaptive process, this study focuses naturally on four periods: premigration (1947-59) as discussed in Chapter IV; migration (1960-62) set forth in Chapter V; the later period (1963-69) examined in Chapter VI, and the present situation (1970-present) explained in Chapter VII.

The primary purpose of this work is ethnographic, that is to present a diachronic profile of the Gravesend Punjabi community's development throughout its existence. This work demonstrates how the Sikh Jats dealt with their new situation and how their circumstances changed due to external factors and the reactions of the host and home societies. The model used in analysis is one developed for internal migration studies where adaptation is viewed as a three-way interaction process between the host, home, and migrant groups. As this study will show, the adaptation model of three-way interaction is also applicable in some international migration studies.

Furthermore, this study will contribute theoretically and show the significant influence values have on the behavior and perception of these sojourners. Concepts such as "honor" and "shame" will be examined closely in Chapter II, for these cultural constructs strongly influence the adaptive process of the Punjabi Sikh Jat migrants. In addition, this study shows that their ideology is actively perpetuated by both the migrant and home community, for no one desires to be viewed as having forsaken their high traditions for the shallow, sensual behavior of the West.

Many migrant groups seek to maintain a sense of identity and separateness from their host society, and the Sikh Jats are no exception. What this study shows is how the influence of the home community in Punjab contributes to and indirectly enforces the maintenance of ethnic boundaries on their members in England. The migrant's culture sets forth ideals which characterize the host community as impure, immoral, and unethical. This distinction is not made simply to maintain ethnic identity--their behavior is geared to prevent the loss of family and individual honor while they are removed from the home village.

The effect women and children had on the social patterns of the migrants in England is also examined. The early bachelor emigrants enjoyed much greater freedom from cultural dictates when their dependents remained in Punjab. With the arrival of family members, controls were instituted to bring about conformity. And, the evaluator of an individual or group was often the home village rather than the migrant

community abroad. In other words, norms adopted to enhance prestige were often chosen because the village in Punjab would regard them favorably. The primary concern was the perception of the home community.

The extended case method will be used to set forth the diachronic adaptive profile of the Punjabi Sikh Jat migrants. This will provide the reader with the actual data from which abstractions are based; thus, the reader will be able to evaluate the author's conclusions for himself.

The purpose of this work is to contribute to the understanding of migrant adaptation in general and the situation of the Punjabi Sikh Jat villagers in England in particular. Undoubtedly questions are raised which are beyond the scope of this work. Herein, the ground has been broken, it is hoped that further research will expand on these findings.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

One general concern of anthropologists studying migration has been to understand how and why migrant groups adopt particular behavioral patterns and goals. A good subject for such a study is Great Britain where many former colonials have migrated since World War II. This recent beginning of the migration process makes it possible to follow the development of a migrant group's behavioral patterns from its inception to the present.

After World War II, South Asians and West Indians were the two prominent former colonial groups to migrate to England and take advantage of its labor shortage. This stream of migration reached its peak in 1962, just prior to the implementation of strict immigration restrictions by Parliament (Desai 1963:1-9; IRR 1970:1-11; John 1969:5-36; Rose, E. J. B. 1969:65-91; and Steel 1969:16-20). Although British attitudes have changed from warm welcome to resentment, the vast majority of immigrants have chosen to remain in their "new home" (IRR 1970:1-11). This is a study of one of these groups, the Punjabi Sikh Jats, who shifted between the Indian village of Jandiali (Punjab, India) and the industrial town of Gravesend (Kent County, England).

The focus will be on both the adjustment process of these migrants and the reasons why certain adaptive behavior patterns were adopted.

Origin of the Study

The original plan for this research was to examine a process of economic development in a Punjabi village, but tight visa restrictions imposed by the Government of India at that time forced a change of plans, and Punjabi migrants in England were chosen for this work.

Like many other migrant groups, with the possible exception of the West Indians (Patterson 1963 and Steel 1969:2-22), the Punjabi peasant Sikh Jats have resisted assimilation.[1] This author's previous knowledge of the Hindi language and Punjabi society and culture, and subsequent opportunity to study in Jandiali (a Punjabi village that has sent almost one-fourth of its population to England) placed him in a unique position to examine this particular migrant group. This study is not limited to the immigrant community or the sending society. It considers such factors as the (1) on-going influence of the home village, (2) mutual effect of Punjabi peasant Sikh Jat migrants in England and in Punjab, (3) culture of the particular sending community, and (4) situation in England itself. These factors are all intertwined in their influence on the Punjabi peasant Sikh Jat migrant's attitude towards the experiences undergone in the course of migration and

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[1]It is not meant to imply that West Indians desire to sever their ties with their home country--they do not (Davidson 1966:119-120). West Indians, however, are more emulative of British behavioral patterns and adopt Western customs and thinking more readily than do the immigrants from India.

settlement in a new society. This study examines these attitudes and the experiences surrounding them.

Migration: Analysis and Theory Development

Migration is the change of residence, whether permanent or transitory, by a group. Generally, however, the shift is of a relatively immutable nature (Bellis 1975:269-270 and Prehn 1974:184-185). Although the "social sciences have long recognized the importance of migration as a factor in social change . . . there has not as yet been any systematic attempt to develop an anthropological analysis of migration" (Kasdan 1970:1). In tracing the history of migration studies and theory development, Kasdan (1970:1-6) points out four periods: the first sought causes, the second emphasized social psychology, the third shifted to a sociological approach, and in the fourth and present period, decision-making has been emphasized.

Haddon's The Wanderings of People (1912) exemplifies the first period. His (1912:1-11) introduction focuses on the attractive and expulsive elements causing migration. Haddon's study, which includes Asia, Oceania, Europe, Africa, and the Americas, is primarily a descriptive work that attempts to explain and describe the distribution of language, cultures, and people of the world. Early works such as Haddon's and Numelin's The Wandering Spirit (1937) were impressionistic and omitted the social-psychological and valuational aspect of migration (Kasdan, 1970:3).

During the second period, Park (1928:881-893) pointed out that migration also might take place along the lines of peaceful penetration. He and his followers focused on the migration of individuals rather than of whole peoples.

> In many ways the results of migration and the problems of adaptation of migrants are seen as being explainable in the terms of accounts which are the sum of the biographies of the individuals undergoing them. (Kasdan 1970:3)

Thomas and Znaniecki's (1927) study, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, is a good example of the use of correspondence to analyze shared migrant experiences. Among other things, the Polish study showed that migrants seemed to cast off their traditional culture for a different mode of life. Amar Kumar Singh (1963) later made a social-psychological study of the adjustment attitudes of Indian students in Great Britain. Using a combination of interviews and survey questionnaires, he isolated the influence of personality traits and social class on the adaption process. The problem of differential status was also studied by Park (1928); in fact, slavery, inequality, and other forms of forced subjugation have been the focus of numerous migration studies (Kasdan 1970:4; Cohen 1970; and Rawick 1970). Before the third period as defined by Kasdan, anthropology's main concern with migration seemed to be to determine its influence on cultural diffusion (Kroeber 1948:473; Rouse 1953:72; and Bennett 1953:217).

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[1]See also Jackson (1969), Jansen (1970), Ritchey (1976), and Shaw (1975) for comprehensive treatments of migration theory and its development.

In the third phase, migration studies turned to a more sociological approach, and also began to arouse greater interest by anthropologists. Migration came to be viewed as a normal rather than a pathological social process. This perspective emphasizes social organization rather than the psychological reaction of individuals.

These and many recent migration studies usually stress "one end of the process or the other, either emigration, or more usually, immigration" (Jackson 1969:6). This has been the case in studies concerning adaptation and assimilation of migrant groups.[1] Many early writings on adaptation and assimilation were "polemical and emotional. . . . Some of it appeared in the guise of objective scientific analysis, but the 'facts' presented were sometimes grossly twisted to fit the writer's line" (Price 1969:183). This emotional approach has been evident in the United States, where in the twentieth century three orientations have dominated. The "Anglo-conformist" maintains that newcomers can and must cast off their society and culture and adopt America's Anglo-Saxon "core" culture. Advocates of the "melting pot" challenge the Anglo-conformists, urging that newcomers and natives must blend and reshape both cultures. Those who favor permanent ethnic pluralism contend that each ethnic group which so desires should be allowed to create its own communal life (Cole and Cole 1954:131-153).

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[1]The concept of adaptation will be discussed later in this chapter. For the present, the term refers to the adjustments needed to fit better in a particular environment. Price (1969:181-237) gives a more complete treatise on adaptation and assimilation theory and literature.

Studies dealing with assimilation and adaptation concentrate on such topics as prejudice and discrimination; Banton's (1960) White and Colored, Patterson's (1963) Dark Strangers, and Glass's (1961) London's Newcomers are examples. Differentials between the host and immigrant communities are a focus of Gans's (1962) study of Italian-Americans in The Urban Villagers. Other assimilation or adaptation studies attempt to set forth a sequential process. Glazer's (1957) American Judaism and Rex's and Moore's (1967) Sparkbrook study describe the stages of changing residence and group membership for the immigrants. Glazer and Moynihan's (1963) study of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish in New York, sets forth a three-stage model by which ethnic groups are not necessarily assimilated, but are placed in new categories under divisions of color and religion.

These basically in-group studies tend to exaggerate "the strength of ethnic ties" and do not consider adequately the wider social field (Price 1969:207). They also tend to show the immigrant as a passive reactor to his environment, a view justly criticized by Douglas (1970) and Graves and Graves (1974). Zenner (1970),[1] Friedel (1959), and Sweet (1967) have used network analysis to include the wider field, but they do not give proper weight to the influence of the host community. Also, more work must be done concerning the influence of the home community on the emigrant. In this age of rapid communications, the influence of the society of origin is an on-going

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[1]See Kasdan (1970:4-5) and Zenner (1970:36-37) for a more complete treatment of network analysis and migration studies.

factor and must be given strong consideration in evaluating the adaptation process of some migrant groups. Hendricks (1974) and Jeffery (1976) have made a beginning by studying both the home and transplanted groups. This study will contribute to the understanding of migration by showing the on-going three-way interaction of social processes among the host, home, and migrant groups as these bear upon the behavior, perceptions, and attitudes of the migrants themselves.

In the fourth period of migration studies, decision making and ideology have drawn attention. Kasdan (1970:5) relates that

> the idea of choice and decision making, which has recently had a great impact on economic and political anthropology is emphasized. Rather than viewing migrants as passive reactors to an environment which is so powerful that they have no ability to influence it, there is a change toward looking at migrants as more and more volitional individuals who understand their own situations, the alternatives open to them (individually and collectively) and rationally choose among those alternatives. Not only do migrants make choices, manipulate and utilize various kinds of networks for their own ends, they are also the creators of and receivers of well thought out rationale for the manner in which they behave. Thus ideology, an element long neglected in anthropology, would seem to be a factor which studying migrants will force students to contend with. Migrants are no longer labor cost units in an exclusive system of individual capitalistic enterprise. They are for many countries sources of foreign currency, sources of radical alteration of the material standards of the lives of the families they leave behind. For the recipient environment they are groups with frequently well formed conceptions of what they want from their environment, conceptions which may indeed run counter to those of the recipient society.

This view of migrants as being "volitional individuals" with a ready made ideological rationale for the manner in which they behave is the basic view adopted here. To understand the migrant's actions, however, one must know not only their situation but how they perceive their situation. This is one of the focal points of this work.

A focus on the decision-making situation is important in studying the migration process, for it is a point at which the observer can learn what and how certain elements are affecting the actor's choice of behavior patterns. The point at which choices are made serves as a reference point for the investigator.

Thus, the study of the migration process as set forth here focuses on the diachronic analysis by which a group of people make a relatively permanent change of residence. It includes the factors leading to and influencing the decision as to whether an individual or group will migrate. The emphasis is on actions chosen and on the conscious and unconscious cultural values influencing the choice of these actions.

Adaptation

Understanding human adaptation is crucial in analyzing migrant behavior. In general, "adaptation" deals with the interaction of man with his social, cultural, and physical environment.[1] In this interaction, he seeks to accommodate to a given environment and to make use of aspects of that environment for his own culturally defined purposes.

During the adaptation process, change may occur:

> (1) when new items are added or old items improved by invention; (2) when new items are borrowed from neighboring societies; (3) when culture items, unsuited to the environment, are abandoned or replaced by better ones; [or] (4) when items are lost because of failure to transmit them from one generation to the next. (Beals and Hoijer 1966:291)

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[1]For a fuller treatment of the concept of "adaptation" in anthropology, see Alland and McCay (1973).

To understand the adaptation process of migrants, three social arenas must be considered: (1) members of the home community left behind, (2) the migrant group itself, and (3) the community to which they go (Graves and Graves 1974:118). First, this study will show that the home community not only gives the migrant a cultural base for evaluating his new situation, but also, under certain circumstances, has an on-going influence on the adaptive behavior of the migrant group. The emigration of village members may continue to affect the village by relieving land pressure as well as being a source of revenue and innovative ideas. Second, the migrant group may have to adopt new or discard old behavioral patterns so that culturally defined goals can be achieved in the new situation. Third, the host community may affect and be affected by the migrants. Traits may be passed from one community to the other, while obstacles may be imposed by either community on the other.[1]

Thus, in the migrant situation, a three-way interaction is taking place, and the

> adaptive responses displayed by each of these three groups affect the problems confronting the others and the options open for their solution. Thus the more holistic our view of the adaptive process, the more realistically we can understand and assess what is happening within each. . . . Today few studies look at one of these arenas in isolation, and the requests for "systemic" approaches taking two or three into consideration simultaneously, together with their mutual interaction, are growing in frequency. (Graves and Graves L974:118)

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[1]This is not a complete discourse on how the three social arenas interact. The material presented here indicates how, in the migrant situation, there may be a three-way interaction.

Although the reciprocal effect of the Jandiali-Gravesend migrant group on the English host community and the home village will be alluded to in this study, the primary focus is on the migrant group and its perception and choice of behavioral patterns.

A Model for Migrant Adaptation

One result of my study has been to develop further the three part view of migration studies. There are primarily two modifications: first, greater emphasis is given to the impact which communication between home and emigrant community has upon attitudes and perceptions of both groups; and second, this study indicates that the migrant community is not as homogeneous as is implied by the three-way division between host, home, and migrant society. There are subdivisions within the migrant set which are based on such factors as diversity of local origins, class and caste membership, and occupation. The migrant community is also divided by differing degrees of assimilation to the host group. These differences are inherent in the structural position of the migrant community.

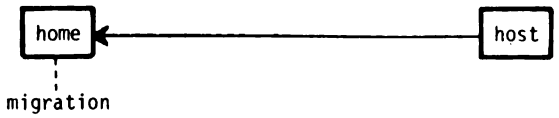
Among the Punjabis in Gravesend, there was a broad range of attitudes towards what English traits should be accepted or rejected. Basically, the migrant community is caught between two potential extremes: absolute conformity or complete rebellion. The reality is neither extreme. In public, Jats advocated good relations with the English while strictly adhering to their traditional life style (an irreconcilable conflict). At other times they might espouse

strict loyalty to traditional norms while in practice adopting many British ways. Privately Sikhs were differentially selective in what they retained, altered, or modified. So, a migrant community is caught between two cultural options and never really comes to rest at any one point on the continuum between conformity and rebellion. One, therefore, confronts a range of differences within the community. This range of differences co-exists with a general sense of ethnic pride and a strong symbolism of ethnic closure in urban enclaves.

As Figure 1 shows, the three-way migration model implies a formal and temporal sequence in the relationship between the three communities. In the first phase, the sending group learns of existing opportunities and some of the members decide to emigrate. In this phase, life in the new place of opportunity is often glorified and detriments are grossly down played. In phase two, the migrant group's adjustment concerns are primarily with the host soceity. Since communications with the home community are selective and one way, the migrants are relatively free of home controls.

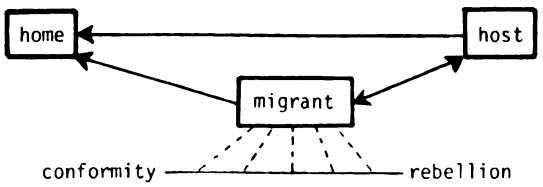
In the third phase, however, pressure is exerted on the migrants both by the home and host groups with the migrants caught in the middle. As one individual aptly stated, "We have one foot in England and the other in India, and it hurts in the middle." Although not dealt with in this study, the adaptation phase might enter a fourth stage where the host-migrant link may take on increasing influence over other parts of the network.

PHASE ONE "PREMIGRATION"



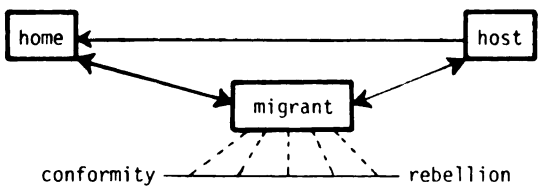
In the premigration phase, the sending community learns of the advantages of emigrating and forms a relatively idealized perception of the receiving group. Emigration results.

PHASE TWO "FREEDOM"



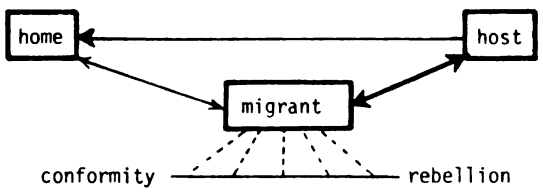
In the freedom phase, the migrant and host communities stereotype each other without the receiving group imposing restrictions on the newcomers. The latter are also relatively free of home dictates. They send back to the home village selective (idealized) data and information. The migrants then adapt to their new environment. In other words, the migrant group is somewhat free of the social controls of the host and home societies, but their adaptation is primarily in accordance with the situation and feedback they get from the host community. The result may vary between rebellion and conformity.

PHASE THREE "CONFLICT"



In the conflict phase, others arrive (especially families, women and children) and the home village begins to exert controls on their members abroad. Also, migrants are concerned about home village opinion since they plan to return, or kinfolks are affected by the migrant's reputations. Communication with the home village is no longer as selective. Thus, the community of origin receives a more accurate picture of the host and migrant community with a result of exerting controls on their people who are abroad. With the increased immigrants, the host community takes notice and exerts pressure on the migrants. Thus the migrant is in a situation of conflicting allegiance--he has to deal with the conflicting demands of both the sending and receiving cultures. The results may differ from the outcome of the freedom phase.

PHASE FOUR "SETTLEMENT



In the settlement period, the host-migrant information channel may increase in importance while the other channels may decrease in prominence (this phase is not part of this study). During this phase, migrants realize that they will stay in the host society permanently and they use their hybridized cultural style that has developed over the previous phases as a base and adapt to the feedback received from the host society. In other words, the control of the home community may decrease in prominence. Again, the results may vary from the outcome of the other phases.

Figure 1. Three-Way Migrant Interaction Model From the Sikh Jat Peasant Migrant Community's Perspective.

It must be kept in mind that information flow between the migrants and host community is not always positive; just because the host community has open channels of communications with the adapting group does not imply that the migrants are adopting host cultural norms and values. In fact, it could be the opposite, i.e., some aspect of host behavior may act as a catalyst causing the newcomers to reject the culture surrounding them.

The adaptive norms adopted at each phase often vary, falling somewhere between extreme conformity and rebellion. The compatibility of the host and migrant group depends on the mode of adaptation chosen. However, the adaptive mode may vary at each stage of the adaptation process (see Figure 2). As Figure 2 shows, the mode of adaptation for a migrant group has numerous possibilities. Although the case of the Punjabi Jats in Gravesend needs to be studied further, it reveals that they initially adopted "ritualism" but "resistance" and "rebellion" gained prominence. Often, however, they talked "conformity" but did not practice it for themselves. It must be kept in mind that there was no complete communal consensus on the adaptive mode chosen.

The three-way interaction model (Figure 1) further shows that there is a tendency towards "cultural fission," especially during the third phase, which is inherent in the middle position occupied by the migrants. It may seek unity in conservatism, but its natural tendency is to be culturally varied. It must also be kept in mind that more research needs to be done to determine the applicability of this model to other migrant groups. It would seem, however, that those societies

Modes of Adaptation	Cultural Goals	Institutionalized Means
1. Conformity	+	+
2. Manipulation	+	-
3. Ritualism	-	+
4. Recreation	-	-
5. Supervision	+	±
6. Resistance	-	±
7. Rebellion	±	±

(+) signifies "acceptance"; there is a correspondence of adoption of host goals or means by the migrant community.

(-) signifies "rejection"; there is disagreement between host and migrant views concerning host goals and means.

(±) signifies "rejection" of host values and their being "substituted" by ethnic values; there is disagreement between the migrant and host culture with the migrants actively imposing their own institutions and values on the new situation.

Source: B. Singh, 1977.

Figure 2. A Typology of Modes of Ethnic Adaptation.

which are primarily comprised of rural peasants and emphasize kin alliances with a form of an honor-shame emphasis in their cultural framework would be likely to conform to this framework developed from the Sikh Jat experience.

Methodology

In reviewing the literature on migration,[1] a method which explains the reasons why migrants select particular courses of conduct must meet at least three criteria: (1) the approach must be emic, that is, determine how the migrants perceive their situation and their rationale for adopting certain conduct; (2) the approach must be diachronic, for their situation often changes; and (3) a framework must be used that indicates the relevant factors influencing the migrants' behavior and crucial decisions. In other words, a total perspective which includes such factors as the environment at home and abroad, and the on-going effect of their place of origin and fellow members located elsewhere is required. A methodology which fulfills these criteria can be supplied by a modified form of Gluckman's extended case method of analysis.

In the extended case method, the investigator focuses on "analyzing the development of social relations themselves, under the conflicting pressures of discrepant principles and values, as the

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[1]See Alland and McCay (1973), Aurora (1967), Benedict (1965), Desai (1963), Glass (1961), Rex and Moore (1967, Jansen (1970), Jackson (1969), John (1969), Kushner (1973), Mayer (1961 and 1963), Mitchell (1969), Park (1950), E. J. B. Rose (1969), Sharma (1971), A. K. Singh (1963), and Kasdan (1970).

generations change and new persons come to maturity" (Gluckman 1965: 235). Therefore, the extended case method is a means by which social conflicts are studied, not as static entities, but as they unfold through time. This method allows for "the fact that individuals are often faced by a choice between alternative norms" (Van Velson 1967: 131). Mitchell's The Yao Village (1956) was a critical study which employed the extended case method--departing from the structuralist emphasis on abstractions. By examining cases in an evolving context, Mitchell illustrates how "apparent" symptoms of disunity were, in fact, part of an overall process inherent in the life cycle of Yao villages (Van Velson 1967:148 and Gluckman 1965:236-238). Turner (1957) followed Mitchell's lead with his complex study of the succession to headship of a Ndembu village. Using what he terms the "social drama," Turner showed how exceptional, regular, normal, and deviant behaviors interrelate in a single social process (Turner 1957:328).

The extended case study approach was initially set forth by political anthropologists to look for a diachronic profile of the built-in processes of conflict in local communities (Gluckman 1965: 235-242 and Swartz, Turner, and Tuden 1966:2-3). Similarly, this study examines the dynamics of the migration process, but migration per se, may or may not be caused by or result in conflict.

Furthermore, the author will show that the extended case method can be applied to nonpolitical and less dramatic circumstances, e.g., a wife's "passive resistance" toward her husband or a son's silence toward his father may not be readily apparent to an observer. This method

as outlined above requires the investigator to be knowledgeable and sensitive to the emicly governed elements of behavior observed and analyzed. However, the case material gathered for this study is not as interconnected as has usually been present in studies using the extended case method.

The overall history of the development of the Gravesend migrant community was known in great detail by the author and the more isolated case material was easily fitted into this larger processual framework. Also the brief cases, so often called upon in this study, have in common with the extended case mode of analysis the all-important goal of viewing social action in terms of the particulars of the on-going behavior and not just in terms of general tendencies or ideal rules. So, while this study may not appear as an "orthodox" presentation of extended case analysis, it is, nonetheless, in keeping with the spirit and goals of such analysis. In other words, in this study, the entire migrant community is treated as an extended case in terms of its historical outline, while the actual case material is somewhat isolated and is presented as an illustration of phases in the larger process.

In summary, this study sets forth a series of interconnected cases to show the diachronic profile of the Jandiali-Gravesend migration process. The advantage of this is not only to provide the reader with the abstractions and inferences of the investigator, but to give the data itself.

> This puts the reader in a better position to evaluate the ethnographer's analysis not only on the basis of the internal consistency of the argument, but also by comparing the ethnographic data with the inferences drawn from them. (Van Velson 1967:140)

CHAPTER II

SETTING

Field Situation

The major focus of this study is on the Punjabi peasant Sikh Jat migrants in Gravesend, Kent, United Kingdom; the minor emphasis being on Jandiali, one of many villages of Punjab's Doaba[1] region which has sent members abroad, especially to England.[2] A number of emigrants from Jandiali have settled in Gravesend, forming a portion of the Indian community of that English town. The migration process under consideration began around 1947 and has continued to the present time.

For this project, the period of research in Gravesend was from November 1970 through May of 1971 and later in December 1971. Data from Jandiali was collected during a period from June 1971 through November 1971. During the research period, the author and his family established themselves as part of the Punjabi community of Gravesend. This was accomplished by living among the Punjabis, attending Gurdwara functions and other communal activities. South Asians were invited to the writer's home and these invitations were reciprocated--eventually resulting in the researcher's acceptance as a trusted member of the

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[1]Jullundur Doab.

[2]See Appendix A and Figures 3, 4, and 5 on the following pages.

Figure 3. Map of India.

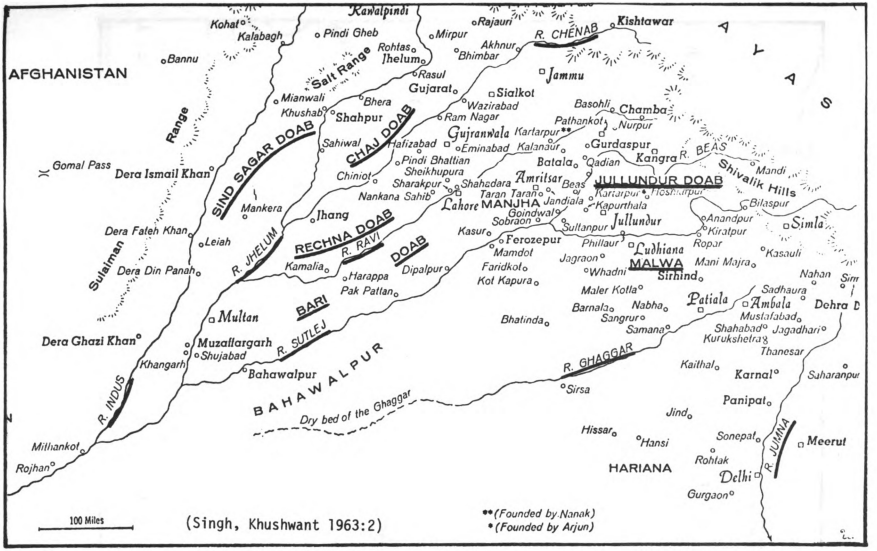

Figure 4. Map of Geographical Punjab.

Figure 5. Map of East Punjab.

Punjabi community of Gravesend. Close friendships were possible because the author and his wife could communicate in Punjabi. Furthermore, understanding the language and familiarity with Punjabi literature and culture increased the investigator's credibility and facilitated his field observation and research. Through the presence of his Punjabi speaking wife (fluent in the village dialect), the author gained access into female points of view on community matters, a perspective to which the writer otherwise would have been excluded. Thus, most of the data for this study was derived from observed behavior and the rest was supplemented by directed conversations in an informal setting such as homes, or as in the case of Gravesend, with men in pubs. The writer learned quickly that migrants in England and the villagers in Jandiali were reticent about speaking into a tape recorder or having the researcher take notes openly during conversations. Therefore, he did not use either method, but relied on daily note-taking based on recall of the day's conversations.

There were two disadvantages to overcome. First, it proved impractical to conduct house-to-house surveys in Gravesend, because the Jats generally were suspicious of strangers whom they suspected to be policemen or CID agents. In such situations, they were likely to give false information and become defensive.[1] This antagonism towards authority is accentuated in Punjabi culture because police and law enforcement individuals were generally the workers for

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[1]This is a common problem when researching among migrant groups, for Davidson (1966:17-18, 28) and Hendricks (1974:7) experienced the same problems in their studies.

conquerors or rulers whom the people regarded as outsiders; thus, officials were to be outsmarted or fooled. Second, there were times when informants showed a factional bias on certain points. Some Punjabi informants would generally glorify members of their own party and degrade opponents, even though factional behavior had declined significantly. These obstacles were overcome largely by placing great emphasis on directly observed cases. This, combined with established trust, deep friendships and general support with the Punjabi community, were invaluable to the study's success.

In Jandiali, the author and his family lived in the village interacting with the villagers and participating in their ceremonies and functions. He made a point to visit every house that had sent a relative abroad and observed the reactions of those who returned from England for a holiday or to stay permanently. Again, understanding the language was an advantage in hearing off-handed remarks and gossip by villagers.

The span of Jandiali-Gravesend migrant behavior logically falls into four periods: premigration (1947-59), early migration (1960-62), later years (1963-69), and present situation (1970-present). As will be shown, the migrant's perception of their situation along with their behavioral patterns seemed to change during each of these periods.

Setting the Stage

Gravesend

The host community, Gravesend, on which this study focuses, lies about twenty miles east of London on the River Thames, across from Tilbury harbor (see Figure 6). Being a part of the greater London industrial region, Gravesend naturally became a likely focus for the postwar immigration of Punjabis. Its western sector is crowded with paper mills and cable, rubber, printing, cement, and engineering works; ship building, ship repair yards, and ancillary industries boost Gravesend's economy and make it an ideal community for immigrant labor (Gravesend 1969-70:11-14).

Gravesindia[1]

Today, roughly 5,600 or 10 percent of Gravesend's population of 55, 160 is made up of immigrants. There are about 120 Pakistanis, 20 West Indians, a couple of families from Malta, and the remainder of Indian origin. Of these latter, most are Punjabi Sikh Jats, mainly from villages in Doaba;[2] about 20 percent are Ramgarhias (a number of whom are Kenyan Asians), a few are low castes and Chamars, and 1 percent are Hindus. Thus, we can see that the prominent segment

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[1]A term of use here to refer to the Indian community within Gravesend.

[2]This is in contrast to the Bedford Indian community, where about one-half of the 1,000 Indians are untouchables (Brown 1970:117). Most of the Gravesindian Sikh Jat population is from Doaba; although not from the same village; they knew about one another through the open channels of intervillage communication in Punjab. The villages that provided most of the Gravesend Indian community are Paragpur, Jandiali, Jandiala, Moranwali, Palahi, Shankar, Serai, Dhanowali, Rurka, and Thankarki, which are primarily located near and round the cities of Phagwara, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, and Ludhiana.

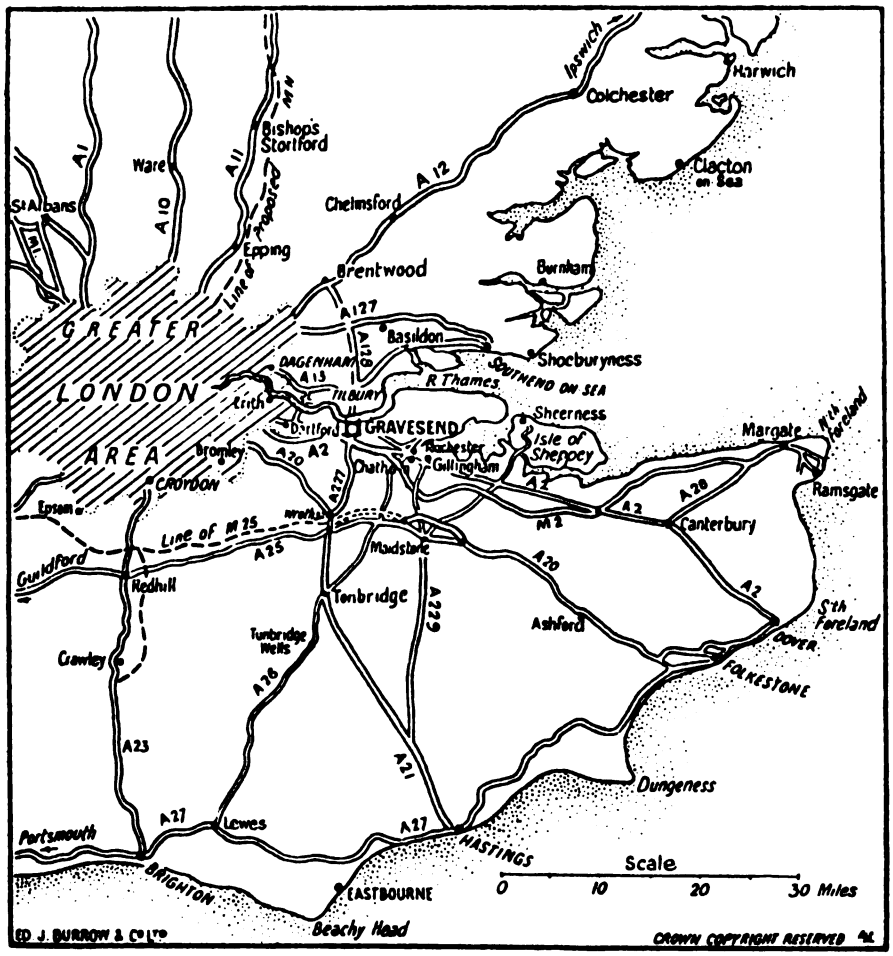

Figure 6. Map Showing the Location of Gravesend.

of the Gravesindian population is Sikh Jat from villages in Punjab's Doaba region.

The Indian community in Gravesend began forming about 1949, although Asians may have frequented the area previously. A young Sikh, Bhuta Singh, a jawan in the (British) Indian army, won favor with his English army officer, who sponsored him to England. Bhuta was followed by his brothers and other members of his family and village.

When an oil refinery on the Isle of Grain was being constructed, the enterprising Bhuta Singh set up an employment service with British contractors to supply cheap labor for a commission. He recruited Indians from East London, Birmingham, and other areas, brought them to Gravesend, and for a fee, provided them with jobs, handled all their paperwork (including social security, income tax, and health forms), and rented them rooms in his house. While his wife remained in India, Bhuta Singh lived with an English woman who, because she worked at the social security office, could handle these details. Generally Bhuta Singh guaranteed a set wage to the innocent, non-English speaking Punjabis and pocketed anything else in their pay packet. Bhuta Singh not only received a commission from the contractors, but prospered from the rent and exploitive fees. He held this monopoly for several years until immigrant laborers learned the English language and discovered his craftiness. They remained in his clutches, however, because he controlled valuable information concerning their income tax and social security papers. The lot of the early Punjabi Sikh Jat immigrants was hard, as one man related:

Case 1. I came to England in 1949, straight from the village of Paragpur, near Jullundur. My father sent me abroad to study biology and chemistry at an English university.[1] A friend in East London persuaded me to make money rather than study. As I was not successful job hunting in the London area, I went with some friends to Gravesend. This was a few months after Bhuta Singh came. Being colored and foreign, we had difficulty finding a place to live, for no Englishman wanted us in his home. Finally, some Irishman helped us acquire a room with Miss Smith on Queens Street, near what is now Thandi's Sikh Pub. All six of us lived in a room which had one double bed and two singles. Since we were on shift-work, we alternated using the beds. We earned £4-10sh a week and paid £2-10 sh per head for the room and a light lunch.

After a few weeks, three of us found cheaper and better lodging with an old lady on The Grove. We only paid £1-5sh a week for bed and a breakfast consisting of stale sausages and eggs. One Saturday we complained to her about the food and went out to play field hockey. While we were out, she had her son place our friend (who was asleep as he had been on the night shift) and all our belongings on the street. Upon returning late, we apologized profusely and begged her to take us back. She swore at us and shut the door in our bewildered faces. We finally went back to Miss Smith, who absolutely refused to let us in. It was almost dark and we had nowhere to go. After more pleading, Miss Smith gave in with the promise from us that we would never complain or leave. We had learned our lesson.

Knowing only a little English at the time, finding a job had been a difficult task. I finally was successful at Bowaters,[2] because I knew a little English. Whenever the interviewer asked me a question, I answered, "Yes, Sir" or "No, Sir," depending on what I guessed the answer should be. I was hired and told to report at 2:00 p.m., and I obliged. Later I learned that my interviewer was hard of hearing!

Our bosses soon realized that we Punjabis were hard working and they were pleased with us. Therefore, whenever we brought in a friend and asked for a job, the boss was

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[1]Many among those interviewed said that they came to England with the intention of going to the university. However, as this informant did, they quickly opted for a factory job where they could make money. Others initially set out for the United States but saw the good situation in England and decided to stay.

[2]Bowater Scott Paper Company.

> agreeable. We always scanned the newspapers, looking for employment for friends and relatives who were in Gravesend or having problems elsewhere in England, or still in Punjab.
>
> To learn English, we bought newspapers and practiced reading to each other. Nowadays, our wives learn English from the "telley" [television], which we did not have.
>
> In the early days, there wasn't much discrimination. We were served in the pubs, but only in the Public Bar, as we were prohibited from entering the Saloon Bar. The English, however, did not like us messing with their women. One instance in particular was when we met some white girls and took them to a local dance. When the girls went to the make-up room, we were kicked out. Several days later when we saw the girls, they inquired as to what had happened, and we had to explain. If we stopped and talked to white girls, Englishmen made snide and threatening comments.

Starting a Gurdwara is generally a high priority in a new Sikh community, so in 1953 Bhajan Singh, the original migrant from Jandiali to settle in Gravesend, sent for a Guru Granth Sahib (the Sikh Holy Book) from Punjab and set aside one room in his house for Sikh worship.[1] The Gravesindians claim Gravesend hosted the first akhand path[2] in England. In 1957, despite protests from the local English population, a house was bought at 55 Edwin Street to serve as a Gurdwara. Within a year, however, this house was too small for the services and meetings.[3]

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[1]By this time, Bhajan Singh, who could not speak any English and had come from a poor Jat family in Jandiali, had teamed up with two others and bought a house, both for their own accommodation and for renting to other immigrants.

[2]A Sikh celebration where the Granth Sahib is read continuously all the way through. After the reading, a celebration is held.

[3]Emigration during these early years brought few people from Jandiali and Punjab. Before 1950 about 10 men had emigrated; the Punjabi population in Gravesend in the mid-1950s was between 350 and 400. With the initial threat and later passage of the 1962 Immigration Act, the immigrant population rapidly increased to 2,000 by 1962 and then steadily increased to the present (1971) figure of about 5,600.

Finally, in 1968, the Gravesindians bought an old abandoned Congregational church[1] and converted it into a Gurdwara. This Clarence Place Sikh Temple was trimmed in saffron to resemble Gurdwaras in India; not only is it the central Gurdwara for Kent County, but also, the Gravesindians claim, the largest in Great Britain. Originally, the Gurdwara cost £12,750, but its value has increased to over £40,000 after remodeling.

The back issues of the Gravesend Reporter show that 1963 was a very crucial period in terms of Anglo-Sikh relations. Some pubs in Gravesend began refusing service to coloreds; racist letters protesting alien infiltration piled up on the editor's desk, and local politicians had to face hostile constituents. The election of Kundan 'Kim' Bhojwani, a Sindhi from Karachi, to vice-chairman of the Gravesend Liberal Association (membership included sixty Indians and twenty British) marked the rise of Indian politicians to voice the grievance of their fellow countrymen.

In 1964 ugly incidents occurred in the Gravesend area. One such event concerns a Punjabi school teacher and his family who were given Council housing.[2] The hostile white British neighbors damaged their

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[1]Buying an abandoned church for a Gurdwara seems to be quite a common practice in England. This is a significant point, for it is such a conspicuous symbol of the migrant community's social life. They are an acting "congregation" and can, in a mild sense, be seen as such even by the British who tend to view churches as performing a public function.

[2]Council housing consists of apartment complexes run by the government for low-income families.

property, broke their windows, slashed their car tires, and shouted obscenities at the women and children. The family was forced to move out into an Indian neighborhood.

The latter half of the 1960s brought two developments: greater dislike of the Punjabis by their English hosts and the organization of the Punjabi community as a culturally separate group from the English. Perhaps it was in response to ethnic differences, mentioned earlier, that the Punjabi community became conscious of its identity and began to organize to promote Sikh Jat culture. Besides the Gurdwara and the Indian Worker's Association,[1] an Indian Youth Federation was formed, followed by Sikh sects like the Akhand Kirtan Jatha and the Sikh Missionary Society, U.K. The latter rose to prominence throughout Sikh communities in England. The Gurdwara Sports Federation had its own local teams and organized national sports and Kabadi tournaments. The Gravesend Community Relations Council evolved out of the Gravesend Friendship Council to bring about rapport between the English and migrant communities. To alleviate homesickness, the Punjabi community rented the local cinema hall to sponsor weekly Indian film matinees on Sundays which drew large crowds from Gravesend and neighboring towns.

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[1]The Indian Worker's Association founded in Coventry in 1938 (John 1969:43), did not have a major impact in Gravesend until 1966, when a chapter was founded there. It was not a labor union, but an organization for serving the community. Its prominence, however, lasted only four years as a direct result of vicious infighting and factional behavior; these made the organization both ineffective and devoid of support from the Indian community at large.

Concerning residence patterns, three Punjab centers arose in the older sections of Gravesend--at Wakefield Street, Cutmore Street, and Pier Road--and a fourth in the neighboring Denton area (see Figure 7). Estate agents were notorious for selling houses to Punjabis at exhorbitant prices in areas they knew were designated for future urban renewal. Shortly after moving, the immigrant family would receive official notice of condemnation and a meager £300 remuneration for their £3,000 investment. Some of those forced to move settled in the poorer section in Denton and on Peacock Street, while others mixed in the marginal areas of Darnley Road, The Avenue, and Old Road West. Proximity to the center of town was always given prime importance, so that women could walk to stores and men could walk to work or bus stop and train station. The Punjabis tended to settle in ghettos, staying as close to their own kin as possible.

Occupationally, the South Asians in England form several different groups, each of which tends to specialize in a particular area. Pakistanis work in weaving mills around Manchester; Gujaraties are found in light industry; Bengalis engage in restaurant and merchant activity; and the Sikh Jats are occupied in heavy industry and/or peddling. In Gravesend the Sikh Jats prefer heavy labor jobs in foundries and factories. Despite the hard work and irregular hours, construction work is generally considered the most lucrative. Comparatively few Gravesindians hold white-collar jobs, although there

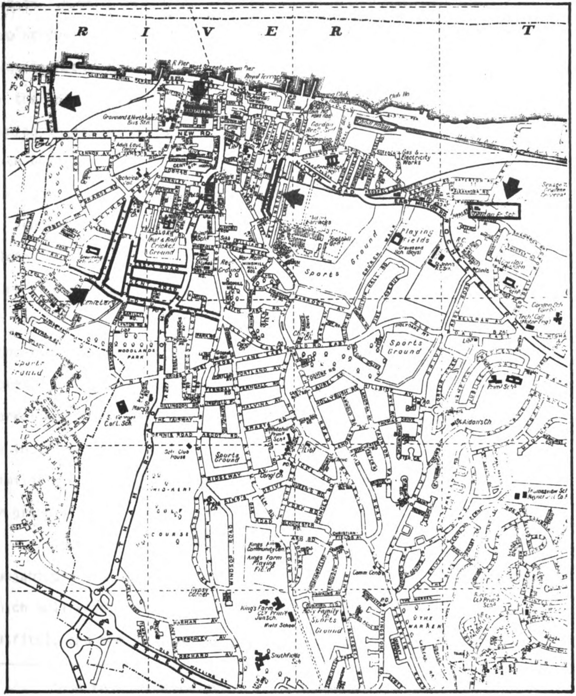

Figure 7. Map Showing Residence Patterns of Punjabis in Gravesend.

are four bank clerks, one postal official, sixteen school teachers,[1] two accountants, and one Kenyan Asian female secretary in the Borough planning department. There are many South Asian doctors and nurses in the National Health Service. Gravesend has sixteen Indian (not all Punjabis) doctors and twenty-three nurses. Some enterprising Punjabis have branched into grocery, clothing, and insurance businesses, and many others have jobs outside Gravesend and commute daily as far away as London. There are a number of women employed in the zipper and clothing factories of London who commute regularly; numerous women work at the Bata Shoe Company, the pickle and Kleenex factories, and on truck farms picking vegetables. Indian businessmen with small concerns travel from London and contract women to sew in their own homes. They come regularly to pick up the finished products for marketing. Young girls are reared to take the same line of employment as their mothers, whether it is in a factory, store, farm, or home. Similarly, young men will work in the same factories as their fathers or grandfathers and/or uncles.

There are three Sikh pubs (two of which opened in 1971), five Punjabi grocery stores, one Indian sweet shop, two drapers (stores which sell ready-made clothes and fabrics especially suited for Indian outfits), and one Indian restaurant.[2] At least three factory workers

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[1]Due to a shortage of teachers in England, these school teachers (both men and women) were hired despite their Punjab University degree and training. Some Punjabis teach in all white schools. Complaints of discrimination in the school system come primarily from the turbaned Sikhs and seldom from the shaven men.

[2]Gravesindians generally do not patronize restaurants, hence this restaurant caters to an English clientele.

peddle everything from fabrics to china and glassware during their spare or off-duty time. Two men run a driver instruction business, and at least three Indians have a conglomerate business of insurance sales, travel agency, and investment advising.

Jandiali[1]

The Doaba region of Punjab that has sent most of the Sikh Jat migrants to England is the setting for Jandiali, one small village which has been the home for many emigrants. The Doaba, properly referred to as Jullundur Doab is a triangular region bordered by the Sutlej and Beas Rivers. Its base along the Sutlej is about 100 kilometers and the distance to its apex is about 50 kilometers. This very fertile area is densely populated and very productive agriculturally.[2] Jandiali is important to report on here because of the fact that the communications networks with the home villagers has affected and still affects behavior in England. This is because the reference group of imitation for most of the Sikh Jats in the United Kingdom is their village of origin. Of course it must be kept in mind that village types vary in this region. There are Brahmin dominated villages or villages where Rangardiahs are most numerous and the religion may be

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[1]For more detailed Punjabi studies, see Ahmad (1967, 1974), Bedi (1971), Darling (1925, 1966), Egler (1957, 1960), Helweg (1970), Honigmann (1958), India (1961), Kessinger (1974), Leaf (1972), Lewis (1958), Marriott (1955), Opler and Singh (1964), Raulet and Uppal (1970), Slocum, Akhtar, and Sahi (n.d.), Smith (1952), and Tandon (1961).

[2]See (Spate and Learmonth 1967:513-532; Singh, Khushwant 1963, 1966; Punjab 1908:1; Suri 1971; India 1970:506; Punjab 1970:54-56; Shinde 1971:12; India 1971-72; Maloney 1974:302-303; James 1974:1; and Ibbetson 1883) for a more complete historical and statistical treatment of Punjab.

Hindu or Sikh. However, Jandiali is a Sikh village predominately inhabited by Jats.

Including emigrants, Jandiali's population of 1,608 (see Appendix A) has 309 low caste people living in Chamali and a total of 830 Jats. Ramgardiahs, Jheers, Brahmins, Ramdasis, Lohars, Kumhars, Sunyars, Marasis, and Bhangis constitute the remainder of the populous. The few Hindu families in the village are those of the Brahmins, Sonyars, Chamars, and Adhamis.

Of Jandiali's 515 emigrants, 402 are in England, a large segment resides in other parts of northern and central India, and a few are scattered in other countries, mainly New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the Philippines. Most of these migrants are young males, which explains the noticeable lack of people (especially men) between the ages of twenty and forty in Jandiali. Virtually every Jat household claims at least one or more members overseas, mostly in England.

Of its 646 acres of land, 555 are irrigated primarily by tube wells (most of which were financed by emigrant money); only one or two Persian wheels are still being used. Jandialians also control approximately 215 acres of land in neighboring villages and over 1,000 acres in Rajasthan and U.P.

The man-land ratio of Jandiali and the Doaba area of Punjab is not the highest in India but it is rated medium to high in population density by Spate and Learmonth (1967:120 facing). The Jats in Jandiali claim a ratio of more than two people per acre, including supporting castes, thus exceeding the desirable ratio for obtaining a decent

living. Presently, Jandiali has 1.7 persons per acre of land. This ratio is off-set by the income generated by emigrants as well as the numerous local residents who hold jobs in nearby urban areas.

The villagers testify that, initially, land pressure was a vital factor encouraging emigration. The myriad refugees resulting from the 1947 partition of India strained the already overtaxed resources. Factories and businesses now present, were absent at the turn of the decade, and land which was the only resource for providing food and capital was a commodity in short supply. Although Jandiali is prosperous today, it was due to the scarcity of opportunity, that emigration was considered a viable alternative; the success of those abroad encouraged many to leave. The following cases illustrate the behavior and motivation of early emigrants.

> Case 2. Kavinder Singh came from a poor Jat family. They had only seven acres of land to support the families of his father and two uncles (18 people). Hearing about England, they all decided to pool their money and mortgage everything they had except land, and send Kavinder to England. Upon getting a job there, he would send for them one by one until all family members would be in England, except Kavinder's brother, who would look after the land. The brother was agreeable, for with seven acres of land and the money sent to him from England, he could live very well.
>
> Kavinder set off for England. He had the name of Ravinder Singh in Bedford, a man from his wife's village, whom he immediately contacted upon arrival. Ravinder housed and fed Kavinder Singh. Kavinder lived frugally, saving money for the passage of his father. Upon his father's arrival, both worked to bring Kavinder's uncle. After the males arrived, the female members were sent for. Within two years the whole group was in Bedford living in a common house.

Case 3. Sitinder Singh's father felt that it would be to Sitinder's benefit to go to England. Although Sitinder's father had remained behind, his uncles had gone to Lemington Spa. Thus, when Sitinder's father decided that it would be in the best interest of the family for Sitinder to emigrate, his uncle sent him the ticket. He was met at the airport by his uncle, who took him to Lemington Spa.

Sitinder lives with his uncle, working in a factory and saving money. All money is pooled in the household and some is sent to Sitinder's father.

At present, Sitinder's father is looking for a nice village girl so that a fine marriage can be arranged. Being an England-returned, Sitinder is sought after by families who have prospective brides. He plans to stay in England about ten years and then return with the wife and family he hopes to have by then. He will then buy some more land in Punjab and start farming.

Being an England returned carried a certain prestige, but of a conditional sort. Villagers assumed that the emigrant to England made a fortune. If members of the home village could not see increased prosperity of the emigrant's parents and kinsmen, they gravely doubted his ability. Emigrants persevered hard to live up to these expectations. Therefore, in his first few years abroad the Punjabi in England strongly desired to maximize his earnings and help his kinsmen, villagemates, and fellow Punjabis do the same. Whether it was for personal profit or to gain money to enhance one's position in the village society, amassing money was the dominant reason for emigrating.

Emigration has certainly had its affects on Jandiali. The casual visitor to Jandiali will see new farm houses outside the village which are multistoried and are estimated to be worth about Rs. 90,000 ($12,000 or £6,000).[1] The dates inscribed on these elaborate structures

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[1]At the time of this study, Rs. 7.50 were equivalent to one dollar and about Rs. 15 were equivalent to one pound.

ranged from 1961-1965, indicating that they were built with money from England, after the 1960 emigration boom to England. A few England returneds, on holiday, are visible around the village by their elaborate dress and "accidentally" dropped English words into the stream of Punjabi conversation as a status symbol. But more specifically, sending members to England has affected residence patterns, social relations, and village economy.

Concerning residence patterns, historically, families and caste groups in Jandiali have formed separate blocks of settlements within the village. This situation changes when money from abroad enables families to build larger homes on the outskirts of the village. People still consider their house in the village their "home" and continue to maintain it but they also build new residences of such a size on the outskirts as to allow for several families to live amicably under the same roof. Architecturally, these homes are modernized to accommodate visiting and returning migrants. Some even boast flush toilets. Every Jat migrant, whether or not he ever returns permanently to his home village, dreams of settling down in a new house on his own farm, where his next of kin may enjoy such luxuries as an indoor bath or flushing latrine.

Socially, emigration has enabled individuals and families to acquire a social standing or prestige that never would have been available to them previously, as the following case illustrates:

> Case 4. Rajan Singh came from a very poor family. His father had only two acres of land, and that was to be divided between him and his three brothers. Partly due to their meager financial condition, his family did not have social prestige in Jandiali. After going to England, however, Rajan not only sent money to his family in Jandiali but he would organize collections from Jandialians abroad to help build the village a school and a new Gurdwara. Largely due to his efforts, public buildings and roads in Jandiali increased in quality.
>
> The regard the villagers have for Rajan now is very high for he has helped Jandiali. He helped finance a bus service that has given his villagemates jobs. He has helped collect money for a school which has given Jandiali children a good education. He has provided a place for Jandiali emigrants to stay in England until they are settled. Rajan Singh and his family are now highly respected in Jandiali and he has a strong say in local village affairs, even though he is in England.

Not only does earning money and helping their families gain greater respect for the emigre but sending money to Jandiali for a new school or Gurdwara further enhances family honor. The returning immigrant is treated with greater respect and also has a strong voice in village affairs for it is he who helped provide capital for the improvements. However, it must be kept in mind that the emigrant is in an ambivalent position, and if he does not behave properly abroad, the family's social ranking may be lowered due to his inconsiderations.

Emigration is a dichotomy which may give the family an opportunity to enhance its prestige or place it under censure because of the immigrant's behavior. The emigre may have picked up ways that are not in accordance with village standards or are English, thus immoral. The son may have a job in England which brings in money but is polluting, such as janitorial work or cleaning latrines; or he may not be loyal to his wife; or he may go around with white girls, and imbibe in liquor, as is illustrated in the following case:

Case 5. Kewal Singh was a good boy who left Jandiali to make his fortune in England. He sent money home to his parents and seemed to be considerate. Kewal's father wanted to arrange a marriage for him. The bride's family, however, investigated Kewal's behavior in England and learned that he was often drunk, slept with English girls and had become what they considered an irresponsible person.

Kewal's parents were saddened for the marriage was not agreed upon by the bride's family and their prestige in the village was demeaned. Their son had been good to them, but he had also acquired bad characteristics of English behavior so that he did not have the respect he once commanded.

Having the respect of home villagers involved more than just making money and sending it home. The behavior of emigrants abroad must also be acceptable. One must be loyal to cultural dictates and consider the honor of his parents.

Going abroad did not automatically give prestige to a person or kin group. As this study will show, people in the village lost their idealized perception of England and Punjabis in England. The emigrant from Jandiali came under scrutiny and was evaluated according to his behavior in England as well as his loyalty to those of Jandiali. Where initially he may have been free of the village social controls, now they were being applied to him in a very strict manner, for the Jandialian abroad had to prove to his counterparts in Punjab that he had not been corrupted by British culture. There was, however, a certain flexibility in the case of boys which was not so for the girls. Immigrant Punjabi girls who were raised abroad were suspected of not only becoming bold and dominant but of having lost their dignity and purity. A girl from England was considered by both the villagers in India and villagers in England to be like English girls. Thus, few

wanted to arrange a marriage with her, preferring a good girl straight from the village uncorrupted by English ways.

Economically, changes are brought about because 32 percent of Jandiali's population of 1,608 are emigrants, and a large number of these send money to support relatives, friends, and the village in general. Of the remaining 1,093, 45 men work outside the village community, some in the City of Jullundur. Thus, emigration both brings in money and relieves man-land ratio which would be much worse if people had not left and brought assets to the community.

Outside assets are not limited to money and people. Jandialians receive ideas and equipment from abroad as the following case illustrates:

> Case 6. Kuldip Singh was in England for five years but returned to Jandiali. Besides having relatives in England, he also had brothers and cousins who farmed in the United States and Canada. Kuldip's relatives abroad continually sent him new kinds of seeds and information concerning innovative farm techniques. As he used these new seeds and ideas the other farmers of Jandiali watched closely. If Kuldip Singh was successful in his new ways, and he usually was, the Jandiali Jats tried the new ideas the following year and farmers from the surrounding area bought his harvest to use it for seed. This brought Kuldip Singh a handsome profit, for good seed cost three times the price of food grains.

Note that innovative ideas concerning technological innovation come to Jandiali due to emigration. Those individuals who have money and security from abroad can afford to risk trying new methods, and they become opinion leaders for the village. Although Jandiali farmers listen to farm programs on the radio and closely watch experiments conducted by Punjab Agricultural University, they are often ahead of those sources because of information from abroad.

Emigration certainly had its affect on Jandiali; not only did it bring money and ideas, but it also brought changes in the social relations of the society. Regardless of being in England, they were still Jandialians and under the scrutiny and dictates of their home village. And in some respects, the emigrant had to prove that he was still living up to the values that had been instilled into him at birth.

Cultural Perceptions and the Question of Values

An assumption made here in reporting and analyzing migration is that the culturally determined yet subjective views of the migrants themselves is important (if not essential) to understand the process of migration. In other words, special emphasis is given to the "emic" side of this social phenomenon (Boas 1943:314, Pelto 1970:68-76 and Pike 1954:8-11). With respect to the Sikhs, their cultural notion of honor, or izzat, greatly colors their attitudes and perceptions of the migrant experience. How this is done will be indicated here. In spite of its importance, this point has been the one most difficult to handle analytically. Since informants continually draw attention to the honor/shame implications of migration case material, the vital role of this concept is set forth even though this author is not completely satisfied that he has explained why it is so important.

The problem lies in the fact that those social scientists who have observed Punjabi life in its home setting have noted the prominence of two things: honor and factionalism, finding the two to be directly linked (Pettigrew 1975:34, 58). The author's experience, however, was

that the particular Punjabi village he studied was not heavily drawn into factional conflict. The factions present in that situation were fairly well-balanced and not openly competing for any outstanding positions or resources. More important than these observations, however, are the facts which were confronted in Gravesend. There, people were greatly concerned with good reputation and honor, and quite deliberate in their attempt to separate honor from the issue of power. It was interesting to note that the Gravesindians sought to avoid factional division in the community although factions had been and were present in the migrant community. Yet, leaders strove to overcome factional loyalties and people generally came to view partisan behavior as less than honorable. The point being that where factionalism is reduced, the concept of honor and reputation gets extended as a value. The migration situation is enough to permit this change, whereas the situation in Punjab is more locked in with respect to established factions who control resources and have power to influence others. It should also be emphasized here that the great stress on honor itself among the migrants has to do with judgments upon their behavior made by the sending community, a point which will be emphasized later on.

> Case 7. In Jandiali and the surrounding villages, Sajan Singh is considered an honest and devout Sikh Jat who is very highly respected for his integrity. His family was poor, but his father and brother emigrated to England and left Sajan Singh behind to maintain the family farm. Along with that joint property, Sajan Singh was left responsible for the land of other villagemates who had gone to England and entrusted their small holding to him. In all, he now farms forty acres (although only about seven acres belong to him) and has a tractor and a tube well.

Sajan Singh has been successful in establishing contacts and has helped many families migrate to England. He is the spokesman for his less affluent villagemates and for lower castes--Ramgardiahs, Jheers, Chamars, and other non-Jats. By helping these people he has unanimously become their Sarpanch (head of the ruling village council) although the actual title belongs to the ninety-year-old zaildar, who is the wealthiest man in the district.

Whenever any villager needs help or when Jandialians in England need someone to look after a relative, to handle money in Punjab, care of land, or promote a village project, they write to Sajan Singh, being certain that it will be taken care of satisfactorily and expediently.

Not only is Sajan Singh a humble man, but he is proud of his humility.[1] Although a Jat does not ask for anything in return for his help, it is proper for him to expect and receive recognition for it.

When this writer discovered that Sajan Singh was considered a Sarpanch by some he asked him why he had not said so. Sajan proudly replied, "I am a humble man." When a Nahang tried to convert Sajan Singh to his sect, Sajan argued, "Since all paths lead to God and I am a good and righteous man, I will be with God, therefore, why should I become a Nahang?"[2] This was an impressive argument that could not be countered.

Sajan Singh had one serious problem, however. He was very anxious to send his son to England because the lad was lazy and an alcoholic, hence, a potential threat to the family honor. Sajan's wife told us that they wanted the son in England where he could become a "somebody" before the whole village started to point a finger at Sajan Singh indicating that, "He who has helped everyone else, is incapable of helping his own son." This would damage family izzat (honor). "After all, there are younger daughters and nieces in the family who are of marriageable age," she went on.

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[1]To the Jandialian, a humble person is one who serves others. It is perfectly proper in their culture to be recognized for this service in public. According to Punjabi concepts, humility does not require operating in secret.

[2]A conservative Sikh sect.

Sajan Singh is a man who actually owns seven acres of land, yet by his own honesty and help from relatives in England, he has developed certain resources so that he is the unofficial head man for about half of the village of Jandiali. Others had and still have more wealth than Sajan Singh, but they did not use their resources as wisely in communal service as he did. Originally he was a weak and poor man who gained izzat by serving others, that is, by establishing a relationship of general reciprocity with a number of Jandialians. The reward for his help has been their support and loyalty to him, making him the strong man who has gained the right to manage some of their resources. As an able and trusted steward, he has influence and respect.

Sajan Singh's son may be his father's downfall and can ruin things for the kin group. If the son is not molded into a responsible individual, according to the Jandialians, most of what Sajan Singh has worked for in his life will be in vain. He will be evaluated harshly by his villagemates for spending his time on others at the cost of his own family--all members of a family are affected by the behavior of one individual member. The plan to send the son to England has possibilities because: (1) being put in an environment of regimentation and hard work, the son may be forced to develop some responsibility, (2) the boy can redeem himself by sending money home to the village, and (3) even if his behavior continues to be irresponsible in England, the family can claim that it is a vicious rumor and not the actual situation. The village may know differently, but at least there will be a semblance of doubt, whereas if he stays in Jandiali all the

villagers will know his failings. In other words, this case offers an example of how a leader's family can use migration as a means of managing the public image.

> Case 8. In England, Ujjal Singh decided to use his spare time in the evening to make more money, so he bought a grocery store and also started peddling groceries. His whole family, close friends, and villagemates were very upset and vehemently opposed this venture. Jats in England work hard in factories or on their own land in Punjab, but to own a store and do the job of the merchant caste is downgrading to Jat culture.[1] Ujjal Singh's father was humiliated and came under severe criticism. In spite of his convictions and enthusiasm, Ujjal Singh's business became slow, and he did not peddle with his former vigor. Although Ujjal Singh still had the business when the author left, it appeared that it was going to close. In spite of their criticism and disapproval, Ujjal Singh's friends loyally bought groceries from him instead of going to outsiders. Still, it was pressure from within his own family that caused the decline in his business.
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> Ujjal Singh's sister and brother-in-law in Canada encouraged him to emigrate to Canada. Ujjal Singh and his wife toyed with the idea, but when his old father and mother refused to move, he gave up and decided to remain in England, respecting the will of his father. Being the only son, it was his duty to look after his parents and respect their wishes. Only after their death would he freely consider acting on his own desires.

In England, peddling was quite common among South Asians, but for Jats this is a degrading occupation of an inferior caste. Although Ujjal Singh's friends bought groceries from him, their support was only a token and his business was dying due to the disapproval of the community at large. This is a theme that recurs throughout the study: People modify their behavior to keep or gain the approval of the

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[1]In England, however, it is gradually becoming acceptable for Jats to engage in merchant activity.

community. Sometimes the community may force compliance, although this was not specifically the case with Ujjal Singh.

Reverence to parents and elders is very important. Therefore, when Ujjal Singh's father and mother would not move again, he had to sacrifice his personal desires to keep them happy. He was living for his family, not for himself, because culturally group desires and welfare must dominate over individual wishes. This unquestioned respect for elders, especially one's parents, is so strong a cultural trait among the Punjabi Jats that it is seldom if ever challenged.

> Case 9. The eighty-year-old mother of a prominent businessman demonstrated such senile behavior as walking into the living room without clothes and even relieving herself on the living room rug. As this was harmful to his business, he placed the elderly lady in a home for such people, where she died about a year later. The son and his wife were severely condemned by the community for not fulfilling their obligations to the elderly mother who had given him birth, loved and cared for him throughout his childhood and sacrificed herself for her children. Because of their "selfishness," they and their prodigy had lost her blessings. Also, the business had to be moved, for any son who treated his mother in such a manner was not patronized by the community. The izzat of the family was destroyed in the eyes of the community.

Service within the family is as important, if not more so, than service to others outside of the family. Cases 7, 8, and 9 illustrate that concern for family members is very important in the community's evaluation of izzat. If family members are loyal and helpful to one another, they are considered an izzatwali family, a family with high honor.

Notice also that internal family affairs are the concern of the whole community. If an individual does not behave properly toward his

own family, not only is family izzat diminished, but the community may, in some cases, take steps to correct the situation. All members of the community are responsible for the actions of their fellow members. Placing purely internal affairs in the sole province of the family or group is not a Sikh cultural trait.

> Case 10. Pritam Kaur left her husband and ran away with another man. Although he resided in a different village, her elder brother, Ramesh Singh, immediately obtained a passport and sailed for England. He was soon followed by the rest of his family. The reason for his leaving was that he and his parents were so shamed by Pritam Kaur's actions that they could not take the disgrace heaped upon them. Although no one openly admonished them, they knew the attitude of their fellow villagemates. In that same village, however, boys have run off with girls and, although the shame is felt, it is not to the same degree as when a girl shames the family.

In a Punjabi household, the status and role behavior of family members carry different communal evaluation. Female members especially carry the izzat of the family in their behavior. If they do not maintain their separateness from boys or do not behave submissively toward their husbands (in public, that is),[1] the communal evaluation of their family's izzat is quickly lowered. A woman's father, brother, and mother are condemned for not maintaining proper discipline in the household.

Emigrating from Punjab for Ramesh Singh had certain advantages: (1) Since communications with the home village were not efficient in the early years and Ramesh Singh settled in a community of Doabans (he is from Majha, the district of Ludhiana, see Figures 4 and 5), it was more

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[1]The act of public submission seems to be slowly declining as a Punjabi cultural trait among the urban Punjabi women.

difficult for Punjabis in England to obtain a report of his character and know about his family from his home village. Thus, Ramesh had ample time to establish himself in the Gravesend Punjabi community as a responsible individual. He did this by providing service in the form of translating documents for fellow immigrants, therefore enhancing his izzat in England. (2) Ramesh Singh sent money which was used to obtain service in his home village, and facilitated other villagers' emigration to England. These services further enhanced his izzat. (3) Ramesh Singh, by becoming a leader among the Punjabis in Gravesend also enhanced personal and family izzat in his home village. Whether he actually was a leader in Gravesend or not, his claims of leadership and service resulted in izzat enhancement, which would be enjoyed by future generations. The author noticed that villagers generally humored such people, but privately remarked that they "knew what he was really like." Also, people disclaiming Ramesh Singh's statements could be discounted as being jealous.

The community of origin is the primary determinant of izzat, but going abroad makes it possible for one to escape the daily shame one would experience in the home village. It also provides the means to make claims for higher izzat, whether or not such claims are valid.

> Case 11. Mahesh Singh, the oldest son in the family, went to England, became a doctor, and then returned to Punjab. Mahesh was competent and rose in the government health service. Pal, the younger brother, however, behaved improperly. He would not give his wife money to buy food, nor would he give money for his children's clothes. Pal did not keep a steady job, and when he did receive money, he would squander it on drink. Although he was not rich, Mahesh provided Pal's wife with money for food and clothes. He paid a local tailor to teach Pal a trade and paid for a

shop so that Pal would start a business. After many years, Pal became reasonably responsible and due to Mahesh's efforts, family izzat was maintained and upheld.

One family member's behavior effects the whole kin group. It was Mahesh's responsibility as an older brother to assure the maintenance of family honor; he must help and regulate his younger brother. The irresponsibility had to be controlled, not simply disowned. If the older brother neglects his duty, or fails, then his family is liable to lose izzat in the eyes of the community.

Case 12. Mohinder Muhial had been an exploiter in England. He had set up an immigrant advisory service and because of his bilingual abilities was able to charge exorbitant prices and do some smuggling on the side. Because of his power, others had to do as he instructed. But, Mohinder was charged with a crime. Although he did not commit the act as charged, no Punjabi would come to his defense. In spite of his behavior, the remark was often made that Mohinder came from a good family.

As H. A. Rose indicates (1919 iii:132-136), the Muhials do, indeed, have a proud and distinctive heritage as Punjabi leaders and rulers. Heritage is certainly a determining factor for izzat evaluation of a family. In Jandiali, for example, the Birrings were a high izzat family because they had founded the village of Jandiali. Members of a family who have continually shown exemplary behavior in battle, public service, or leadership, provide their future generations with a degree of inherited izzat. Such prestige is difficult to maintain, for higher standards are used to evaluate that person or family.

Still, it is not surprising that when elections are contested or leaders emerge in a crisis, the headship is often bestowed upon the person from a good family, that is a family of high izzat heritage or

identification with classical prototypes. Although an individual's behavior may be marginal, his family heritage may lead others to remark that he comes from a "good family."

In the case of Mohinder, he was not from Doaba; although of good heritage, he was an outsider and not strictly bound by Doaban cultural loyalties. The Doabans were not necessarily his group, hence they were exploitable. Mohinder was not bound by their evaluation of him. Superficially, he was supported by the Gravesend Punjabis, when he was in trouble, they did not turn against him, but they did not help him either, which contributed to his demise. It was a quiet way of exacting justice without revealing to the English the division or exploitation that had taken place within the Punjabi community.

In evaluating a group's izzat, the judgment of the village of origin is given highest priority, the immigrant community's opinion taking second place. Mohinder was not primarily concerned with the opinions of the Doabans among whom he resided. They were people he could use to gain power and obtain a following by being a community leader. He was not aware of the disrespect he engendered in the group--there was an element that despised him. He felt above such consequences, and had misjudged his position. The immigrant community is the arena in which behavior is exhibited, and it is usually more quick to judge and more strict in its application of evaluating criteria than the village in Punjab. This is so even though from a personal standpoint, the judgment of one's home village is perhaps more deeply felt. By nature of their position the migrants are more Punjabi than their counterparts in the home area.

Case 13. Gopal Singh is presently the sarpanch of his village. His father before him held the position and his grandfather before that. His family is wealthy, owning hundreds of acres of land, not all of which is in the home village. Whenever there is a problem or need for the village or its members, people go to Gopal Singh. Nothing is too big or too small for his assistance. If the local factory needs money, they go to Gopal Singh, who arranges a loan from the local bank. He is the most highly respected man in the village, and it is likely that his young son, who now handles many of his elderly father's affairs, will follow in his steps. Gopal Singh's son migrated to Canada and is training to be a medical doctor. His brother is a postal official in the nearby town of Phagawara. Sadly, however, their sister Jagir Kaur had a bad marriage. Immediately after the ceremony the groom sent her home claiming she was very ugly. Gopal's family, however, claims that the groom is a homosexual. In either case, Gopal's sister has redeemed herself as the local school teacher and pledged herself to a life of service to the girls in the village. She is recognized as a fine loving teacher and is highly respected.

Gopal Singh's family is of very high izzat and in some respects represents an ideal family with high honor. Traditionally, the family had produced leaders. Gopal Singh uses his wealth and land in performing the highest services for the village. He is strong because of the following he has attracted. Furthermore, his brother and son hold good positions which greatly contribute to the honor of the family. Having another son who can become a doctor abroad also enhances the father's position in the eyes of his fellow villagers. Both tradition and the behavior of kinsmen enhance Gopal Singh's family izzat, and Gopal Singh, in turn, supports his family by his behavior. All are affected by the actions of each group member.

Having a sister rejected by a groom was a blow to family honor, for a woman can damage the family name more easily than a man. Gopal's sister redeemed herself and her family by serving the village. She will

never marry, but will continue to help the family izzat by serving as a superb school teacher.

Elaborating on the Concept of 'Izzat'

Honor-Shame

Honor, like reputation, is something to be protected and regained when lost. It can be enhanced in many ways. It is this author's impression that the migrant situation, which engenders thoughts of a fresh start, is one that sensitizes the migrants to their cultural concept of honor, especially if they are maintaining close communication with their home village and emigrants from their area of origin.

To understand the effect of izzat considerations on Sikh Jat behavior, it is necessary to understand an honor-shame evaluative system and its behavioral ramifications. These issues have been extensively discussed with reference to Mediterranean cultures (Peristiany 1966) and there is an unmistakable similarity between the Sikh Jat izzat complex and the famed "honor-shame" complex of other areas.

As set forth by Peristiany (1966:12), "honor" and "shame" are two polar extremes of representative behavior in certain cultures. Honor is an extremely favorable appraisal placed by the society on individuals, families, or groups when their behavior is in accordance with culturally preferred standards. The evaluative criterion is usually an ideal type of behavior which is considered representative or exemplary for the community. There is, however, an aggressive side to the honor complex for it also implied a credibility of promises and threats and a possessiveness of individual and familial rights,

including rights of property, women, and social privileges. Possessiveness regarding rights over women is especially crucial to such systems, because tight control over females of one's own group already influences others who seek these women in marriage. Honorable behavior may also involve taking someone else's property, life, or honor, while retaining one's own credibility. Basically, honor requires obtaining respect (Pitt-Rivers 1966:21-24).

Shame, on the other hand, is the public rejection of one's performance and, therefore, results in disrepute. For example, a Jat daughter who develops a reputation for looseness not only brings shame upon herself, but also on her whole family. In rare cases,[1] parents may have an erring daughter killed to restore kin honor.

As social evaluation, honor and shame provide an actor with criterion by which he can estimate his own public worth. It is this aspect which helps explain why the notion of honor can carry great force as a source of social motivation and as a mechanism of social control.

The Sikh Jat View of Honor

Maintaining or regaining izzat for an individual or group may not necessarily be a goal in itself. Izzat, as a basic value, influences many aspects of Punjab life. Having izzat may help an individual acquire access to political and economic resources that might not normally be available to him. On the other hand, loss of izzat may

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[1]In the case of the Sikh Jats, assassination is a threat to induce deviant girls to conform to communal norms.

curtail one's economic or political leverage and power. Generally, however, izzat follows power, and the strong are usually able to manage their reputation successfully, or until challenged by an equally powerful competitor.

On the group level, izzat considerations are crucial; being from a family of high reputation, for example, gives its members advantages in arranging marriages, obtaining resources, and acquiring leadership positions. Although individual and group reputation mutually influence each other, the link is not automatic.

As Pettigrew (1975) points out, izzat considerations become a part of factional or party competition and conflict among the Jats. Power, as demonstrated by conflict, political strife, and infighting, has been endemic to the Punjab. Customarily, Punjabis form factions or parties to gain leadership.

The Punjabi Migrants in Particular

The people of Jandiali, where a part of this study was conducted, were not sophisticated politicians as were Joyce Pettigrew's (1975) subjects. These migrants were people whose world was their village pump. Their concern with the external world was limited. The village head man of Jandiali was the main person involved in external politics; the rest played a secondary and more passive role in the dynamics of regional and state factionalism. While families were aware of some state and national issues, these were not their major concern. It is important to note that the migrants of this enquiry went directly from the village to England, and did no more than retain a minimal concern and understanding of the

wider political processes of the state. The rank and file migrants generally played a supportive role delineated according to kinship and party alliances.

In the case of Jandiali's emigrants, some left home to obtain economic solvency. Due to land pressures and the partition of India, they did not have the resources to provide for their family--much less have a chance to enhance prestige. Others left to escape conflicts of humiliation which might have resulted from the emigre's deviant behavior, or that of a relative. Still others left in a manner more simply in keeping with the migratory tradition of Sikh Jat culture and its mystique of the adventurous warrior. For all, migrating to England offered a fresh start. Dishonored Jat Sikhs commonly hoped that they could obtain sufficient assets to reclaim lost izzat. Both in England and Punjab, a vast majority of Jat Sikh migrants developed a concern for enhancing reputation. Becoming wealthy was one thing, but sending flattering reports home was another. Both helped to create prestige, something that may have been previously lacking.

One other problem the Punjabi migrants had to cope with was the ambivalent position of being an "England Returned." On one hand, this was prestigious, yet conversely, Western behavior was considered demeaning, polluting, and inferior. Emigrants from Punjab had to demonstrate continually that they had not been corrupted by British ways and beliefs, otherwise their izzat might be lost. In time, this attitude was strangely applied when evaluating female behavior; young Punjabi girls raised in England were automatically suspected of being defiled

by British influence. Neither were wives exempt from suspicion; their submissiveness was the object of vigilant communal scrutiny. Men, too, occasioned concern, as it was feared that they would marry white girls or be unfaithful to their spouses. In light of the Jat's ambivalent perception of emigration, it was the disadvantage that had to be especially considered if izzat was to be maintained or reclaimed. Ostensibly, one mistake could eliminate all that one had worked and planned for in a lifetime.

In Gravesend the Punjabis were very concerned about the izzat as evaluated by three different audiences: (1) villagers in Punjab, (2) Punjabis in England, and (3) the English host community. The first two categories had the strongest influence on their behavior but in respect to the third, it is interesting to speculate that the Punjabis have projected their own culture onto the host group. According to self-assessment of izzat, esteem in the eyes of others was not dependent upon "others" sharing a similar concept. Izzat was so entrenched in Sikh Jat culture that an appreciation of it could be projected to outsiders. Consequently, in England and India, Punjabis were concerned that they and their fellow members exemplify honorable behavior. In effect, this projection of their own values onto the British served primarily to rally their own sense of superiority over the host population.

The izzat of an individual was especially vulnerable. A person's izzat was considered largely in the context of group membership. Thus, an individual may possess izzat but the shameful behavior

of his children would certainly detract from his honor. He might even be condemned for not enforcing his high principles on his offspring. Since a person's name or honor was undoubtedly linked to his family or group, he was concerned about his individual position in the community. This personal prestige was ultimately subordinated to the communal evaluation of his group, whether it be family, biraderi, or other group. If a son desired to go into business, but the father felt that it would detract from the family's reputation, the son would not enter business, regardless of how lucrative it would be. Supporting the group's izzat was of prime importance for Punjabis, and it was within the context of izzat and other traditional South Asian concepts that Punjabis evaluated their behavior and the actions of outsiders.

'Izzat' and Related Concepts

Izzat is a Persian word referring to the honor or prestige of a person or group. In discussing the concept among the Pathans, Barth (1959:81-86) states that the

> concepts of honour and shame relate to particular actions, to the way in which a situation is dealt with, and not to the circumstances of the situation. By implications, the ideal is most clearly expressed in the idealized description of past heros. (Barth 1959:82)

In other words, izzat is a very complex concept and the evaluative criteria within the community may vary from time to time, place to place, and situation to situation. Thus, a matrix analysis (Marriott 1968:133-171), so that a researcher can predict or rank families and individuals according to izzat, is not applicable. Not only are there many variables, but the importance of these criteria may vacillate in both meaning and importance.

Besides Pettigrew's (1975:58) equating izzat with power and land providing resources to obtain power, Egler (1960:42-49) also emphasizes that resources must be used to help others, that is, create clientele by patronage. Jeffery (1976:31-38 and 122-133) emphasizes behavior such as females not being bold (61-65), giving proper gifts (114), and so on, as means for maintaining izzat. In the case of the Punjabi migrants, it must be kept in mind that they were often under suspicion from the home community, either because of past deeds or because of the ambivalent status of being "England Returned." Thus, behaving in the proper manner did not necessarily guarantee the restoration of prestige. However, the migrants saw a chance and their networks focused on enhancing their social positions. It must be kept in mind that "the principle of striving to enhance izzat is the same, even though there is considerable variation in the system in which this is attempted . . ." (Jeffery 1976:35).

There are, however, three other related concepts that contribute to or influence behavior in their own right which a Punjabi who behaves properly will practice. These include Muhabbat (brotherly love), Khidmat (hospitality), and Seva (service to others). The three concepts are interrelated and it is difficult to separate them in explanation.

Muhabbat is the deep affection and loyalty one person has for another. This love of brotherliness can be, although it is not always necessary, symbolized by two Punjabi Sikh Jats exchanging turbans. Muhabbat or strong love is ideally a permanent concept only parted

by death. The two brothers linked by muhabbat are, according to custom, closer than genetically linked brothers. They will even lay down their lives for each other, protect each other and their respective families.

This strong feeling of muhabbat can also be manifest in the actions of individuals in many ways, as the constant loyalty of one Punjabi for another in every phase of life: lending money in time of need to a close friend without asking or expecting any favor in return is one example. Muhabbat is also practiced by aiding the sick and bereaved, giving them food and providing shelter for an indefinite period.

Muhabbat is more than a social obligation, it is standing by another person or family because of heart-felt and deep emotions. There is no direct translation for this concept into Western terms. The closest description would be the strong brotherly love one close childhood friend has for another based on the depth of affection and not out of obligation or social pressure.

Khidmat, on the other hand, is Punjabi hospitality. This very common Punjabi trust is hard for Westerners to comprehend. There are numerous tales of new arrivals destitute from Punjab arriving penniless or with a mere £3.00,[1] being taken in hospitably by a Sikh Jat who not only provides food and shelter for an indefinite period of time but expends effort helping the newcomer to find a job. The interesting fact is that the "host" expects nothing in return except a bond of

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[1]At that time, the Indian government only allowed a maximum of £3.00 per person to be taken out of the country.

of mutual friendship and help. Punjabi culture is one where hospitality is continually offered.

Hospitality can be practiced devoid of or in conjunction with muhabbat. In the former case, the Punjabi may have a person to his house and provide him with food and drink but without the love and affection for the one receiving the hospitality. The norm, however, is to link the two concepts of muhabbat and khidmat for the most part; in Sikh Jat culture, one knows where one stands with different people; one does not provide hospitality to one's enemies. If there is khidmat, there is some degree of muhabbat and the only time the two concepts are really separated is in an initial acquaintance with strangers or foreigners. This is because there has not been sufficient time to develop the love one would have for the other, so only khidmat is practiced. The educated, urban Indians often talk about a Punjabi Jat giving his last cookie to a needy stranger; or the fact that Sikh Jats often take in strangers, especially in England, and help them out. This is the Jats living up to their concept of khidmat.

Seva has to do with that service performed for others, whether it be to individuals or to the community in general. In analytical terms, it is the practice of general reciprocity (Sahlins 165:147) where one provides help or a gift without expecting a counter; it is the sustained one-way flow of goods and services. What is service varies from situation to situation and is determined by an individual's judgment of the circumstances (Singh, Avtar 1970:32-33 and Singh, Puran n.d.:10 and 45). Two extreme examples illustrate:

> Once, they say, a thief came in at the dead of night, hounded by the police. Kabir quietly put him alongside his own daughter and asked him to go to sleep. The police came and saw no stranger there. Here was Kabir, there his son, there his wife and yonder his daughter and his son-in-law! This was one small act of a truly spiritual person. (Singh, Puran n.d.:23)

Kabir was not concerned whether the man had committed the crime. The situation required that he give help or provide service to the individual; the fugitive's guilt had nothing to do with Kabir's action. The same point is echoed again in more recent writings as the following extract from Khushwant Singh's (1956:37) Train to Pakistan shows:

> For them [the Sikh villagers] truth, honour, financial integrity were "all right," but these were placed lower down the scale of values than being true to one's self, to one's friends and fellow villagers. For friends, you could lie in court or cheat, and no one would blame you . . . everyone in the village was a relation and loyalty to the village was the supreme test. . . . If Jugga had done the same thing [committed murder] in the neighboring village, Meet Singh [the village Sikh priest] would gladly have appeared in his defence and sworn on the Holy Granth that Jugga had been praying in the Gurdwara at the time of the murder.

These are two examples of seva, people being helped. Seva can take on many forms, more generally performed by working for the Gurdwara, helping the community in England, or helping the home village in some way.

To illustrate how these three concepts are linked and contribute to izzat, we will take the hypothetical situation one Punjabi migrant related. Let us say that a Jat is out of work and cannot afford to stay in his dwellings. His friend takes in his destitute Jat brother and the poor man's family, looks after them until the unemployed person is solvent again. Taking care of the

friend is due to muhabbat, but he is also providing khidmat. And by doing these two, he is also serving God or performing seva, and all three concepts enhance the provider's izzat.

In England, there was a wide scope for earning a good reputation through this kind of behavior since factions were not as entrenched or as rigid as in the Punjab. Therefore, an individual's acts were judged on their merits and not in terms of factional loyalties and competitions.

With this cultural framework in mind, we will now turn to the motivating factors that led to emigration with the following chapters examining the adaptation process of the Sikh Jats in detail.

CHAPTER III

MIGRATION STARTS

Background

Punjabi Mobility

As the previous chapter shows, Jandialians occupy themselves primarily with farming or related occupations. They have also made advantageous use of resources located outside their village by emigrating to other provinces or countries, or by obtaining employment outside the village. For decades, Punjabis and Jandialians have left the home village to make their fortune elsewhere.

Punjabis consider themselves a modern and international people who are found all over the world. As one villager expressed it, "potatoes and Punjabis are found all over the world." There is an often-told joke that when Neil Armstrong landed on the moon, a Sikh taxi driver tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Taxi, Sahib?" Another variation states that during the above incident, a Jat plowing the ground passed the astronaut!

Migration is part of the Punjabi heritage. Punjabis were originally mobile bands (Rose, H.A. 1919:358-366 and Singh, Khushwant 1963:101-195), whose contact with the outside world has been considerable due to their location on the East-West trade route.

Importation of European officers to train Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army further exposed the Punjabis to Western culture. After the British established control of the region, they set up the indentured labor system (Arasaratam 1970:10-39 and Tinker 1974) and Canal Colonies (Kessinger 1972:12-13, Spate and Learmonth 1967:371, 526-529 and Darling 1925). Exposure to these programs encouraged Punjabi emigration.

Some Punjabis turned to England for education and enhancement (Mehta, Ved 1972:57-96 and Desai 1963:2-3). Prosperity was shortlived and by the early twentieth century Anglo-Punjabi relations began deteriorating. The Ghadr party, which was formed to liberate Punjabi (Sarhadi 1970:16-19 and Singh Khushwant 1966:174-192), failed and was dormant by World War II. Before 1940, resources had been sufficiently taxed so that Punjabis were looking ahead for new opportunities (Singh, Khushwant 1966:270-288, Brown 1970:116, and Rose, E.J.B. 1969:65-73). At this point a few went to England for economic enhancement.

Post World War II saw England with about 5,000 Indians (Kondapi 1951:360, Wood 1960, Desai 1963:2-3). Many times that number were in East Africa. Sikh communities had been established in Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Philippines, China, United States, and Canada. Besides those few Punjabis already in England, ex-soldiers, students, professionals, businessmen, and Jawans (soldiers/aids) helped fellow Punjabis migrate. For the villagers, Jawans were the most likely source of aid.

Families pooled resources to send a capable member abroad. He would in turn help others. Word spread as wives spread the word in their home villages describing England as the land of opportunity. Newspaper articles supporting this view appeared in all languages. Those left destitute by the 1947 partition of India looked to England for a fresh start. It is interesting to note that the Punjabi Sikh Jat refugees from West Punjab (Pakistan) did not emigrate until their land claims were settled and they had obtained their land compensation (Rose, E.J.B. 1969:70).

The author agrees with Rose (1969:70-73) that travel agents were responsible for the mass exodus to England, but the tight social networks played a greater part in communicating the advantages of going "phoren."[1] The main influx came in the early 1960s with the threat and passage of restrictive legislation for immigration to Britain. Under that impetus, many emigrated, who otherwise would not have left Punjab (Rose, E.J.B. 1969:77, 83 and Steel 1969:49, 132-219, and IRR 1970:3). This legislation prompted the 1962 influx of Punjabi women; this increased the female element well above the initial 4 percent. The presence of children gave even greater permanency to the Punjabi community in England. Today, many Punjabis look to Australia and Canada rather than England when they consider going abroad.

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[1]Phoren means foreign in idiomatic Punjabi.

Jandiali Itself[1]

Emigration to the United States and Canada started when a Chamar, Ganda Singh, who had been a sweeper on the Indian Railroad, became involved with the Ghadr Party. Before World War II, the Ghadrs sponsored his emigration to train him as a local insurgent. He was to help promote an uprising in Punjab, but he ended up in Edinborough, Scotland, where he had a small cloth business. When World War II broke out, Ganda Singh feared being drafted into the British Armed Forces so he returned to Jandiali via the United States, working for his passage home. Although this man, ninety years old at the time of the study, had a comfortable home in Chamali, indicating that he must have brought back considerable savings, he continued to work as a field hand during harvest and sowing seasons keeping up with his younger counterparts.

Mohinder Singh, a Kumhar, went to the Philippines under the auspices of his wife's family. Her parents had told him of fine economic opportunities in a country recovering from the war. So in the early 1950s he and his family left for Manila. Being a Kumhar, they had little land and no prospect of gaining wealth in Jandiali, thus it was very appealing to emigrate to a place where there was good potential for becoming wealthy and people were willing to help him get started in a business. It was in the capital city of the Philippines that he had a lucrative cloth factory; the proceeds from which he either reinvested, or sent back to Punjab to build a fine home and buy land.

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[1]The information presented here was obtained through informal conversation with Jandialians, especially the elders. For a supplementary account of Pakistani Punjabi emigrants, see Jeffery (1976).

Although Mohinder Singh is now residing in Jandiali, his son and son's wife and children left for Manila in 1971 to take over Mohinder's businesses.

The Lure of Fortune: Reasons for Emigrating

Whenever a Punjabi Sikh Jat is queried about his reasons for emigration, the immediate answer is "for the money," which is definitely a primary or initial motivating factor. Before emigration, the man-land ratio in Jandiali was 0.2 acre per person. The Jats in Jandiali maintained that they needed a minimum of four acres to support a family of six. This is a reaslistic estimate, especially when considering the needs of the supporting castes. Therefore, emigration for most was a question of survival, stemming from economic necessity. The return of refugees from West Punjab in 1947 further taxed existing resources. Since land is the Jat's source of pride and power, he is not content without it. If unable to farm, a Jat prefers military service or government work for they carry prestige; a factory job does not. A Jat refuses to be shamed in front of his fellow villagers, who might see him as subservient to a boss in a factory. As most of the government jobs are limited, or require a knowledge of English, it is not easy for Jandialians to acquire them. Military service is also limited. Information about conditions in England came during hard times, enticing some Punjabis to emigrate. Whether successful or destitute, the English returnee always glorifies his position in Britain. The following letter, written by a Jat immigrant to his brother, illustrates this point.

> My job in England is very easy. I go to work at 8:00 a.m. and push the green button to make the machine go. I sit in my chair until midmorning when I push the red button to stop the machine and take a half hour tea-break. After tea, I return and push the green button to make the machine go and sit in my chair until lunch. At lunch time I push the red button to stop the machine, take an hour off until 1:00 p.m. when I return and I push the green button again to make the machine go. At tea-time in the afternoon, the red button is pushed to stop the machine and we take a half-hour off for tea and then again I push the green button to start the machine until it is time to go home at six, I push the red button and stop the machine. For this I make Rs 1800 a month.

To a villager averaging Rs 200 a month--if he is lucky and had a successful harvest, England sounded like paradise. The author of this letter had figured his wages on the black market rate of Rs 30 to the pound as compared to the legal exchange of Rs 18. When the recipient finally arrived in England he found his brother sweating in a cement factory, his hands calloused and bruised, not at the soft job he had written about. The emigrant brother said that he had lost the easy job!

Village Well-Being and Respected Promoters of Emigration

Those who responded to the lure of emigration received support from various sources; some was based on moral ties and in other cases entailed risk of fraud. The former type will be considered in this section; the latter in the next.

Around 1950, the enterprising Zaildar, who was also a bank official in the neighboring town of Banga, read and heard stories about the vast economic opportunities in England. He resolved to encourage

young men to venture abroad and to help them with loans for passage to England from the village Cooperative Bank.

Jandiali and environs were crowded with refugees from West Punjab, and many young people agreed with the Zaildar that it made little sense for them to remain and add to the burdens of their family and village when they could make a fortune by going to England. The loan offer was open to all castes and to people from neighboring villages. The Zaildar was confident that the villagers would repay their loan when they were able and that they would also deposit any savings accumulated abroad in the Cooperative Bank and invest in Jandiali. He was correct, and today the Cooperative Bank of Jandiali has lakhs[1] of surplus rupees available for credit. Over one million rupees in assets are also visible in the form of pukka modern houses built by emigrant money on the outskirts of the farms around Jandiali.

About a dozen men from Jandiali and Chamali initially availed themselves of this opportunity. None of the pioneer emigrants interviewed had any previous contacts in England. They all left on the faith of what they had heard and with the Zaildar's blessings. This is not surprising, for Sikh Jats boast that they can succeed anywhere, and they are extremely secure in the knowledge that they can always return to their village. Although not the first to leave their village, Bhajan Singh was one of the first to take advantage of the Zaildar's offer. He eventually settled down in industrial Gravesend, a place of numerous job opportunities at that time. Although a Jat,

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[1]One lakh equals 100,000.

Bhajan Singh came from a relatively poor family. He and his brother had to support their families on the four acres of land they held in joint ownership with their uncle. They had no savings or other assets.

Bhajan Singh's initiative and assistance to fellow villagers contributed to a large group of Jandialians settling in Gravesend, and his brother helped other Jandialians settle in Lemingston Spa.[1] This service raised the izzat of Bhajan Singh's family from that of a non-entity to that of a highly respected kin group, outranking many families who were initially wealthier and more highly respected than his own.

The Cooperative Bank of Jandiali was only one of many sponsors. Young men might receive support from the parents of their intended brides in England. Others relied on relatives already settled in Britain. Some sold their belongings and rented their land to finance passage.[2] When restrictions on passports and exit visas were imposed by the Indian government in 1955 and 1958, Mohinder Singh, a textile manufacturer in Manila, freely gave documentation to Jandialians so they could obtain the proper papers for emigration. With exit permits to Manila, these Jandialians arrived in London directly or indirectly. Those who genuinely desired to go seemed always to find the means, although it sometimes meant leaving their wives, children, and land in the care of a trustworthy brother or friend.

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[1]It seems that, although factory work is unacceptable for a Jat in Jandiali, such work is acceptable when one has emigrated to another country. This variance will be studied in Chapter V.

[2]Of the numerous contacts contributing to the study, no man sold or mortgaged his land to go to England.

The 1962 influx of Punjabis to England, to avoid the immigration ban, made Jandiali rich. Wives and children began to join husbands and fathers in the 1960s, followed by whole families. Many were in a panic to get to England before the closure of immigration.[1]

One of the maneuvers employed by Jandiali migrants was to familiarize themselves with and use the laws and norms of the host community to their advantage. When 1962 restrictions were imposed, the Punjabis looked for ways to circumvent them. One maneuver was marriage. Parliament partially blocked that loophole in 1968 by prohibiting arranged marriages between young men in India with girls in England. The males then chose the the next best alternative, migration to Canada or the United States. Entry was difficult, but not impossible, especially when assisted by relatives and friends.

Exploitation by Unscrupulous Promoters: The Travel Agents

Some migrants received support from less savory sources. To entice customers, travel agents[2] related glorious stories about England, the land of opportunity, with its numerous high-paying jobs and ample wealth. They did not worry about the client's financial position and extended easy credit. The emigrant did not realize that upon his

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[1]It seems that the 1967 influx that followed was caused more by Kenyan Asians than Punjabis directly from Punjab.

[2]Such travel agents were "outsiders," that is, not kinsmen of villagers in this area.

arrival in England the representatives of the agents would coerce from him every pound he earned until the debt was paid off.

Black marketeers and illegal immigration racketeers lured unsuspecting villagers to rely totally on them to "take care of everything." Trusting villagers, who generally dislike dealings with bureaucrats and government officials, accepted the word of agents and did not realize that they were being smuggled into England.[1] Their dealings with such agents are illustrated by the following examples.

> Case 14. One day in 1969, Roshen Singh's father went to Phagwara to sell grain. The elder happened to talk to a "travel agent." Having heard from fellow villagers about the opportunities in England, the agent's tales seemed reasonable. Thus he arranged for Roshen to go to England. He reasoned that Roshen would return to Punjab in a few years with wealth that far exceeded their dreams. Although his father did not realize it, Roshen was to be smuggled into England. It was only after arriving that Roshen suspected something was wrong, but it was too late.
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> Roshen quickly got a job and started paying his "debt." He was soon informed that his payment would be much more to keep his "friends" from telling the authorities about his illegal entry. Roshen saw that he could not afford to make the necessary payments so he joined a political party to which he pledged loyalty and in return received protection. But he was no longer a free man.
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> Case 15. Meena Kaur wanted to help her son come to England in 1968. An agent said that "he would arrange everything for 800 pounds." Meena Kaur paid the money in cash and did not receive a receipt. She never heard from her son again. She could not go to the police for

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[1]In 1971 the author's wife was approached at the British High Commission in Delhi by "agents" who, for a fee of Rs 30, were willing to take care of her application forms. Being aware of the situation she prudently did not avail herself of such services, but watched ignorant villagers rely heavily on these shysters.

> fear they would prosecute her and not punish the agent, for she had no proof. She had learned in Punjab that the police were people one does not trust, and as far as she knew, the English police were no different. All she could do was mourn her missing son.

In England, agents often persuaded parents to send for their sons or relatives, promising to take care of all the necessary details. After the money had been paid, the relative did not arrive, and the agent was never heard from again. The defrauded immigrant in England had no recourse to justice, for he did not want to expose himself or his fellowmen to the police. Besides, since Punjabis pay cash, they had no proof to support their claims. Those relatives who were successfully but illegally smuggled in were blackmailed by agents who threatened to expose them and have them deported. Punjabis had to stick together for mutual protection against such unscrupulous exploiters. Thus political parties such as the Indian Worker's Association became essential for the Punjabi immigrant's protection in England.

Long Distance Gossip, Honor, and the Dynamics of Emigré Society

As Case 10 showed, a daughter or sister running off with another man, an unfaithful wife, or a "wandering" mother are reasons for honor-conscious Jandialians to emigrate to England and other places of opportunity. Some left in flight from their wives, hoping to remain hidden in Britain.[1] But given the close Punjabi social networks and

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[1]Leaving one's wife is a traditional Punjabi tactic for an unhappily married man.

efficient communication, the village spouse eventually arrived on her husband's doorstep, with her children, much to the chagrin of her husband and his white woman. To save his and his family's izzat, he had to fulfill his obligations once he was discovered. Escape seems virtually impossible for any Punjabi. Such is the story of Baldav Singh.

> Case 16. Baldav Singh left Punjab for England in 1952. He left his wife and two daughters, vowing that he would return shortly. In England he met an Irish girl, fell in love, and married her without telling her about his family in India. He had a good job and was living well. One day there was a knock on his front door, and he stood face to face with his Indian wife. Financial help from her brothers and information from village mates enabled her to find her husband. Baldav now must support both families, which live in separate English towns.[1] Family honor and fear of his Punjabi wife's brothers forced him to provide for his Punjabi as well as his English family.

Why the Rich Emigrate

Some of Jandiali's emigrants were poor, but others were not.

> Case 17. Meer Singh, who quit medical school to migrate to Canada, came from a rich zamindari family. Not only does his father own 1,500 acres of land in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan, but money is limitless. The older son immigrated to Yuba City, California, because he could not get along well with his step-mother. On a visit home to Jandiali Jeet Singh was asked by his family to help his young step-brother emigrate. Jeet replied that he did not think that young Meer Singh had the ability to do well abroad. This was a challenge to Meer Singh. He decided to give up his future

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[1]Contact with such cases is too limited to draw general conclusions about the white woman's reactions to these happenings. From observations it appeared that the women adjusted and were content as long as the Indian wife did not live in the house with the husband. Most of the white wives adopted many Indian habits, such as cooking Indian food and wearing Indian clothes.

medical career and his father's riches and accept the proposed marriage to a Punjab girl in Canada. When he arrived in Canada, he found that he did not even like the girl's looks. However, he married her to stay in Canada and save his father's izzat, for his father had made the initial commitment. This young man, who is now working as a factory laborer in Canada, would have lived like a Lord had he stayed in Punjab.

Case 18. Mahesh Lal was a Chamar whose father had amassed considerable wealth as a railway official in India. As a result he sent Mahesh Lal (a bright boy with a B.A. Degree from Punjab University) to England. Despite his education, Mahesh was only able to get a job as a factory laborer. However, he was able to help the illiterate Jats in Gravesend with income tax forms and other items necessary for getting along in England. Although Mahesh did not make much money, he bought a house, the down payment for which came from his father in India.

Although the family was well off, Mahesh Lal's father saw a chance for social mobility for his son in England--a rich Chamar in India was still a Chamar. In England those of a low caste did not carry the stigma they had in India, even in the immigrant community. Mahesh was better off in England than he would have been in India. The Punjabi Jats in Gravesend continued to view Mahesh as a Chamar despite his education and economic status, but he achieved a position of leadership in the community and was active in the Youth Federation.

Some Punjabis venture abroad as a security investment for well-to-do relatives. The rich know that with land ceiling legislation in Punjab their acreage and wealth are vulnerable to government control or that confiscation is inevitable. Sons and daughters are sent or married abroad to ensure the family members a home there or at least a source of income from abroad. Although it is not evident in Appendix A, it is common for several siblings to be living in different countries. Decisions as to who emigrates and where, are based on abilities and opportunities in the potential host countries. If the conditions in one country become politically objectionable or

economically difficult, kinsmen in another country help sponsor their relatives' entry into their own adopted country. If an area is viewed as financially lucrative, many families from a village or members of the same family pool their resources and invest in that particular area for migration purposes.

The following cases illustrate these facts.

> Case 19. Trilochon Singh went to Hong Kong and, with the help of friends there, bought a small hotel. Upon gaining financial stability, he brought his wife and three sons to Hong Kong and taught his offspring the hotel business. Hong Kong's potentially fluctuating economy and the threat of a Communist takeover inspired Trilochan Singh to send one son to New York, another to Toronto, and the third to London. With their father providing the initial capital needed, all three started hotel businesses in their respective cities. Trilochon Singh frequently remarked: "If things go wrong in Hong Kong or any of the other cities, we can all get help from the son who is in the prosperous area."

> Case 20. Rashmi Singh was a rich land owner in Punjab; he had over 100 acres of land. Land ceiling legislation was about to be enacted, so he sent his younger son to California to earn money and buy farm land. The bright young boy not only bought land, but traded some of his father's land (not village or ancestral land, however) for land in California--seven acres of California land for one acre of Punjab. Upon arrival in California, the son had learned of elderly California Jats who were homesick and longed to return to Punjab. He made deals with them and is a prosperous farmer outside of Stockton. As Rashmi Singh stated, "If my land in Punjab is confiscated by the government, I shall just go abroad to my son." He has already transferred a great deal of his money abroad into his son's name.

Some educated villagers forsook education for high wages and menial jobs.

> Case 21. In 1955, Bir Singh received a degree from the University of Delhi. He decided to go to the United States for a higher education. Having been accepted at San Diego State College, he left via England, Bir Singh

> was convinced of the enormous wealth he could gain by working in a British factory as opposed to being a student in the United States. He gave up his plans for a higher education and stayed on in England. He got a job in heavy industry, and in 1970 he was still working at the same factory and putting in many hours of overtime to add money to his savings account.

As Case 21 shows, some Punjabis who left to pursue higher education often decided to seek financial gain through factory jobs. They did not hesitate to drop out of school to take blue-collar jobs, especially when enticed by overtime and double pay. Tangible signs of prosperity were not easy to resist.

In the early years of migration prosperity was directly associated with migration itself, and to be an English returnee was prestigious. Having a relative in England not only bestowed greater esteem upon a family, but swelled a family's resources. Those who had been to England advertised their travel abroad by wearing English-made nylon pajama suits, feigning to have "forgotten" Punjabi, or "accidentally" using English vocabulary when conversing with their village friends. Their life in England was glorified beyond its actual circumstances. Their esteem was increased during their absence by the money sent back to the village, both for their family and for village projects. Although this prestige was diminishing in 1971, it continued to be an incentive for emigration.

Jandiali emigration also was good for the village. As previously noted, it relieved the man-land ratio and provided a considerable increase in wealth. Jandiali emigrants in Gravesend and Lemington Spa provided the capital for paving roads, building

two school houses, constructing two wedding houses, and collecting enough money for a new Gurdwara and a Kabadi stadium to be built on the outskirts of the village. The Cooperative Bank has continually had a surplus of cash, which is unusual for a village of Jandiali's size.[1]

On the individual level, six of the eight tractors in Jandiali were either sent from England or provided for, by emigrant money, and there are about 20 large houses ranging in value from 50,000 to 90,000 rupees which were built with emigrant capital. Emigrants' friends have financed tube wells in Jandiali, accounting for the high proportion of irrigated land and making Jandiali a leading village in the area.

It can be concluded that although the economic factor was of utmost importance, prestige and honor were duly and prudently considered as reasons for Jandialians venturing abroad.

Factors Impeding Emigration

The factors that hindered emigration affected the Hindus more than the Sikh Jats (Mehta, Ved 1972:41). The former were more concerned about maintaining purity than the latter, whose main worries involved the character of those living abroad lest it affect family izzat. The Sikh Jats feared that the young men would start smoking, become lazy for lack of physical farm work, or, worst of all, marry English girls. How these factors influenced thinking may be seen in the case of Arvin Singh.

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[1]A village farther south received emigrant money deposits in their cooperative bank of over two million rupees in two years.

Case 22. Arvin Singh wanted to go to England. He saw England returnees show off their nylon pajamas and drop English words, and he wanted that prestige also. His father would not let him go. Arvin's father had been in England for five years and was aware of the "pitfalls." He feared that his son would start drinking excessively, associate with English girls, and not be able to cope with the hard factory work. Besides, Arvin was an only son; if he left there would be no one to look after the parents and light their funeral pyre. The elders did not want to lose their old-age security, fearing that Arvin would forget about his family and become hypnotized by the glitter of English life. Arvin was forced to stay in Punjab.

Beyond being corrupted by English ways, it is important to live up to one's family obligations, especially for the sons.

If for some reason a son shirks his duties, the mother exerts a special influence. She may send letters claiming that she is dying of a broken heart, due to his neglect, to make him feel guilty. Some elderly women take more drastic action, resorting to a hunger strike until they hear of their son's improving his erring ways and/or of his plans to return. Few sons can live with such guilt and the added condemnation of the Punjabi Sikh Jat community. In some cases, the wife was left in Jandiali to look after and ensure the well-being of her aging parents-in-law. The husband would continue to work in England, sending money home for the support of the family, and occasionally paying a visit.

While it was sometimes difficult for young men to receive family and community sanction to emigrate, there were greater restrictions for girls. No respectable Jandiali family allowed a daughter to emigrate abroad alone. If a marriage had been finalized in England, it was imperative that she be properly chaperoned until her wedding day,

when she would become the responsibility of her in-laws. It was contended, correctly or not, that once a Sikh Jat girl went to England and lived the life there, she would become spoiled. There was particular concern that the education she received from schools and exposure to the English way of life would teach her independence. In England, girls from the village even with minimal dowries (£200 or just passage from India), were preferred for marriage over a Punjabi Sikh Jat girl raised in England, with a large dowry (as high as £4,000), and a reputation above reproach.

At least three men from Jandiali did not allow their wives or daughters to accompany them to England for fear that English life would have an adverse affect on their spouses and female offspring.

> Case 23. Ujjal Singh lived in England for five years, working hard and making good money to bring home while his wife and family stayed behond in Jandiali. He returned to Jandiali and lived well, boasting about his good fortune and life-style. However, he was more liberal than his brother and allowed his younger two daughters to bicycle to Phagwara with other girls to pursue their studies, at least until matriculation.

The sex and birth order of a person must be considered in making a decision about emigration, but age is not regarded as a factor. Men and women in their seventies and eighties emigrated, sometimes lying about their age just to be with their family. Some elderly Jandialians stayed home, not because they were too old but because they would be a "nobody" in England, whereas in their village they held positions of prestige and esteem. Besides, they would not have the social support of their fellow villagers with whom they had grown, suffered, and

rejoiced throughout their lives. Villagers view themselves as a team, and money and material goods are not as important as being respected and honored, the latter being viewed as a reward for a lifetime of work. The success of a family is measured in the village only by the evaluation of one's villagemates. Although more research needs to be done in this realm, as a general rule the elderly of high izzat families were not as apt to emigrate as the elders of low izzat families.

As has been noted, the Jat's greatest concern is for his land. Sohan Singh, a Jandialian, remained in the village to maintain the family land while his father and two brothers went to England. Kartar Singh (Case 24) and his sons rotated--two years in England and one year in Jandiali farming the family land. No man left Jandiali unless he was sure that his land was taken care of and that it would remain in his name. If an emigrant's land holdings were in peril, he immediately returned. The example of Kartar Singh of Jandiali-Gravesend best illustrates the point.

> Case 24. Kartar Singh and his sons migrated to Gravesend in the early 1960s, leaving his land in the care of a cousin. When Kartar Singh heard that his cousin was claiming squatter's rights, he immediately returned from England, leaving behind a good paying job and his wife. His sons and their families stayed in England with the understanding that they (the three sons and he) would rotate annually between Gravesend and Jandiali. This was an inconvenience and a financial loss, but keeping the village land in the immediate family was more important than anything else. Other families also used such a rotation system.

The price of an acre of land in Jandiali soared from Rs. 4,000 in 1954, to Rs. 12,000 in 1968, to Rs 25,000 in 1971. The villagers maintained there was no land for sale at any price, and during this study no land transactions were observed.

Jandialians from both Punjab and England bought land with their wealth, considering this a safe and preferred form of investment. Since it was impossible to buy land in Jandiali, they purchased land and migrated to neighboring Punjabi villages, to Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Kessinger (1974:155) observed similar behavior.

Summary

The 1947 partition of India accentuated already strained conditions leaving many destitute (Mehta, Ved 1957:134-185); Jandialians and other Doabans opted for an alternative long used in Punjab--emigration. For the Jandialians, emigration has its good points: increased wealth, greater prestige if proper behavior is maintained, escape from shame or local controls, greater economic security, and a higher standard of living for all.

Factors inhibiting emigration are: family responsibilities, fear of offspring being corrupted by English ways, fear of losing a prestigious position in the village, and fear of losing land. Of these, land ownership (which symbolizes Jatness, power, and royalty) is of utmost importance as a restraining factor. Families ensure that their land is safe before emigrating. We may say, then, that emigration is acceptable only if the land in the home village is securely kept in the family's ownership and name. Wealth and riches in England are sacrificed if that land is threatened. To the poor, however, the few meager acres of land can be left in the charge of a brother or son, and going to England provides a means for gaining wealth and izzat.

The poor have nothing economically to lose by emigrating: they can make good money and, by using their resources properly, gain a position of higher izzat in their home village--an option that many choose. The goal is to optimize gain. For some this means emigrating, for others, remaining in Jandiali.

This chapter has also set a theme which will recur throughout this study. The culture of a people, in this case the Punjabi Sikh Jats, determines the goals of its members and the acceptable means of achieving those goals. People do not choose their aims; these are determined by the group's values and beliefs to which they are born. In the following chapters, the writer will examine what has happened to Punjabi Sikh Jat cultural goals and means in the course of adapting to the situation in England.

CHAPTER IV

ADAPTING IN THE EARLY YEARS (1947-1959)

The Beginning

Although Jandialians and other Punjabis came to England for various reasons, their prime concern in the early years was to maximize capital and profits. The men came not to start new lives, but to improve the lot of their families at home. Our attention now shifts to the behavior used to maximize wealth during this period.

Living Conditions

The early residents of Gravesindia were almost all men. It was cheaper to leave the family in Punjab, where the cost of living was lower; besides a single man had freedom of mobility to shift to better employment if necessary. When enough money was amassed,[1] the goal was to return to Punjab to begin a life of ease, becoming a Bara Sahib--an important man in the eyes of villagemates; a goal achieved by a limited few.

During these early years emigration was selective. The men who ventured forth to England were either those who had little in their home village, or bright sons whose families considered them most likely

[1]No one was ever sure exactly when this desired wealth was accumulated.

to succeed. No kin group would waste their assets on a member who was incapable of yielding a high return. Thus, the early emigrants from Jandiali, although from very poor families, were competent, responsible, and innovative. Gravesindia was composed primarily of hard-working and willing men who wanted to make as much money as fast as they possibly could.

These early emigrants lived in rooming houses, owned primarily for renting cheaply to migrant workers. Life in these men's houses was austere and unhygienic, but was the cheapest available accommodation. Harbachan Singh describes them in this way.

> Case 25. Conditions in our men's house in those early years were deplorable. Our house had only one kitchen, a bath, and one outdoor toilet to serve 40 of us residing there. Two of us on different shifts teamed up to share a single bed in a bedroom that was so overcrowded with beds that the floor was not visible as one walked into the room.
>
> We preferred Indian food to the bland English stuff, but each man was responsible for cooking his own meals. Being that shifts were generally staggered, things did not get too overcrowded in the kitchen; but the cooker was continually operating. We soon discovered that if we bought atta (flour) and dal (lentils) in large quantities, we could save a lot of money. So we would join in and get 100 pound sacks of atta and large amounts of dal--thus saving considerably on our food bill.
>
> Some men in the early years lived in barns or animal stalls, so those of us in a house felt lucky. Of course it was crowded, but we helped each other out and got along. It was the cheapest housing we could find; our main aim was to work hard, live frugally, and make money. I wanted to go home with honor, so I was willing to put up with this inconvenience--especially when I realized that every pound saved equalled thirty-six rupees.[1] Besides, the house was just a place to sleep, nothing else--recreation and visiting took place at work or in the Pub.

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[1]Rs 36 to £1 was the approximate black market rate at that time.

These deplorable conditions motivated Bhajan Singh and associates to buy a house and help fellow Punjabis. Their house became so famous that every non-English speaking Indian arriving at the Gravesend train station was automatically taxied to Bhajan Singh's place on Wakefield Street. Although immigrants later moved to other locations, they continued to use the Wakefield Street address; this aroused the suspicions of the Health Department, which sent an inspector to check on the one thousand or so immigrants who had given that address when registering for the National Health Service.

Social Relations

In the early years some cultural values were compromised as the Jats attempted to adapt to English life and improve their financial positions. Regardless of caste barriers, unlike in Jandiali, in England when the number of immigrants was still low, Jats, Chamars, and Ramgardiahs often lived in the same boarding house. This situation changed with the influx of women and children. However, there was no apparent caste distinction in places of employment. Unfortunately, it was impossible to gauge the inner feelings regarding caste biases. Higher castes did not complain openly about sweeping, picking up cigarette butts, or doing anything which would bring a good wage. They would not consider doing such things in Punjab. For example:

> Case 26. Iqbal Singh, upon arriving in Gravesend, got a job as a janitor at Bowaters. "It was repulsive," he stated, "cleaning showers and lavatories, and picking up cigarette butts off the floor." To Iqbal, however, being

> a janitor and doing polluting work was better than being shamed by not sending earnings back to his family in Punjab. Besides, they would never know how he earned the money; they only knew what he told them, and he never mentioned being a janitor.[1]

To Iqbal, the choice was between showing the home village that he was successful, even if this meant compromising caste dictates, or maintaining his purity and being a failure in the eyes of his villagemages. He chose the former and made his money without letting his parents and villagemates know how. If word got back to Jandiali, he could always deny it, saying that the informer was jealous.

In the area of kin relationships, the changes were not as pronounced. Generally, the notion of service to consanguine relatives was of paramount importance, for through it the adaptation to England was accomplished. The Meet Singh brothers exemplify the value of family to early migrants.

> Case 27. The Meet Singh brothers were a unit in Gravesend. Meet Singh, the eldest of the three, had first come and then brought his two younger brothers soon thereafter. Because of his exceptionally hard work, Meet Singh was able to get his brothers jobs in the foundry where he worked. They put in a lot of overtime and made good money. Soon they brought their wives and children. Initially they all lived together in a jointly owned house.
>
> The brothers were a force to be reckoned with in Gravesend. Help one brother, all were grateful; harm one, be ready to answer to all of them and their friends. If after a drinking spree one of the brothers became involved in a fight, his adversary had to face all three sooner or later, no matter what the issue or who was at fault. Likewise, if one of the brothers learned of better employment he took the position and the other two soon followed.

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[1]In these early years men did not write home negative reports about each other.

> As helpful as they were to each other, they were not unaware of other relatives, villagemates, and frequently helped them with loans and jobs. For this their izzat in Gravesindia and, especially, in their home village was greatly enhanced. When Meet Singh returned to Punjab on a holiday, his village treated him well. What was originally a humble family became a highly respected one. Now when Meet Singh writes to the village panchayat, they consider his wishes seriously.

Primary loyalty was to kinsmen. Brothers helped brothers get jobs, preferring to work together. When a Punjabi immigrant needed a job, every kinsman in England helped him find one, especially if the kin and/or village ties were close. Amenable relations in Punjab were continued in England. People who were close in Punjab desired to work and live together. As the Punjabis often remarked, "loyalty to one's own salt was unquestioned and unconditional." Male social networks were tight, and news about employment opportunities spread fast. A man who learned about a job opening would first call his brothers, then villagemates, and finally friends. When a new Punjabi arrived, each spoke to his foreman to find out if the newcomer could be hired. Since the Punjabis were strong and hard working and accepted jobs the English thought undignified, employers liked to hire them.

The Punjabis in England, and in Gravesend in particular, saw opportunities as a means to help friends. In their estimation, there was enough in England for everyone. It was the goal of those Punjabis prospering in England to help the less fortunate, because helping others gave one a high evaluation among other immigrants and possibly a basis for future political power. Sponsoring someone to England was an investment which would be repaid by the grateful receiver to uphold

his family izzat. He would also become a permanent and loyal supporter of the donor, establishing a reciprocal relationship.

In the early years changes occurred in the social relations within Jandiali. As was mentioned previously, migrants augmented not only the family coffer but also its izzat. As Cases 24 and 27 show, other factors besides wealth affected izzat. The man who helped his villagemates emigrate and who provided brokerage services in England greatly enhanced his family's izzat in the eyes of the village. The Jandialian with a relative in England felt a sense of pride which he may not have had previously. There was greater pride among the villagers when the relative visited Jandiali, and was afforded all the respect due to an England returnee.

Although parents worried about a son associating with white girls or his possible corruption by English society, the fact that he continued to support his family and occasionally returned to his village was an adequate demonstration of his loyalty and love toward his family, villagemates, and culture. The rumors that may have preceded him about his behavior in England were of far less concern than his maintaining relations with the village.

As discussed in Chapter II, one's behavior generally affected the perception villagemates had of the entire family. A lessening of this concern as emigration proceeded was manifested on the part of the Jandialians at home. Specific behavior of migrants, which those in Punjab realistically could not control, diminished in signficance, and loyalty assumed paramount importance. Lack of loyalty on the part

of the emigrant could seriously affect his family at home, as the following case clearly demonstrates.

> Case 28. Hukum Singh in Jandiali had, along with his father and uncles, sponsored his elder brother to England. After a year, communications with the brother lapsed. At present they know Hukum Singh's brother is in Southall, but that is all. He has not lived up to his obligations to send money back nor has he returned--he does not even write.
>
> Hukum Singh and his parents are shamed. The father and mother face the disgrace of having raised an ungrateful son, a son who does not even appreciate those that help him. Not only that, rumors say that Hukum Singh's elder brother is living with a white girl, is perhaps even married to her.
>
> Hukum Singh's parents are broken-hearted. Although Jandialians are quiet, the family knows that its izzat is demeaned considerably. Hukum Singh cannot emigrate; his parents will not allow it. Not only are they unwilling to take the chance of losing another son, but also Hukum Singh is needed to look after his parents in their old age and care for the family's four acres.

In line with the lesser concern among Jandialians about the specific behavior of emigrants, there was much less social pressure from the migrants on each other. Men did and lived as they pleased. No one attempted to make a man faithful to his wife or family, unless a brother-in-law was being unfaithful to one's sister. Deviations in behavior were acceptable as long as a man did not exploit his own people and continued to be a member of the Gravesindian Sikh Jat community. Undoubtedly, the behavior and faithfulness of a man was of prime concern to a wife back in Jandiali, where tales and gossip about erring spouses was received. As long as the husband helped kinsmen and villagemates and continued to provide for his family in Punjab, he was accepted by the villagers and allowed the high position afforded an England returnee. Rumors and gossip about behavior in England were

not given much credence during the early period of migration and were always excused as coming from a jealous person.

Service

The Sikh Jat concept of service on the individual level was maintained as a norm in these early years of Gravesindia. As we have seen, the Punjabis willingly helped one another find jobs, adjust to new situations, and offer financial support. The accomplishments of Bhajan Singh illustrate the interrelatedness of the migrants.

> Case 29. Bhajan Singh,[1] after arriving in England, got a job at the paper mill and quickly saved enough to send his brother a ticket. They both wrote to their friends in Jandiali encouraging them to take advantage of the Zaildar's loan and come to England, assuring their friends that they would be looked after and helped to get a job.
>
> Noticing the exploitation of his fellow Punjabis by men like Bhuta Singh,[2] Bhajan and some friends pooled their resources and bought a house on Wakefield Street. A recent arrival could stay free of charge until the individual received his second pay check. Even then he was not required to pay for past food or lodging. This magnanimity gained for Bhajan Singh great respect and a strong, loyal following. He later became a political leader in the Gravesindia.
>
> Because of his inability to speak English, Bhajan Singh relied heavily on an educated Indian who acted as broker, and jointly they were able to provide the necessary services. By these means he gained izzat for his family in the eyes of Gravesindians and Jandialians alike.

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[1]One of the first Jandialians to arrive in Gravesend, referred to previously.

[2]The entrepreneur who primarily started the Gravesindian community--Case 30.

Although Bhajan Singh helped Punjabis and new arrivals, kinsmen and villagemates came first since consanguine relationships were given priority. In Gravesindia, those without villagemates or relatives had been at the mercy of Bhuta Singh.

Politics

Initially, both political power and leadership were held by brokers like the exploitive Bhuta Singh and paternalistic Bhajan Singh who were able to transcend the cultural barrier between the English and Punjabis. Their knowledge of English ways and familiarity with bureaucratic forms made their services essential to new arrivals. An immigrant tolerated being cheated and exploited by his broker since he was making more money than ever before. Escaping from the stranglehold was impossible as long as he spoke no English. The exploiter had total control over his naive clients. Adaptation brought another change, as the recollections of one early immigrant illustrates.

> Case 30. I came to Bedford, England, with the help of my brother, but I was unable to find a job. Some friends told me about Gravesend so I ventured there. Upon arrival I saw Bhuta Singh and immediately got a job on the Isle of Grain. He arranged everything for me, gave me a room in one of his houses on Cutmore Street, took care of my papers, and I was at work the next day.
>
> While on the job, he was our translator and interpreter for the English foreman. He was not really needed because we could usually communicate enough with the Englishman and knew what to do.
>
> When pay day came, Bhuta Singh waited next to the pay master and took each pay packet from the cashier, withdrew his portion, and gave us what was left. I still do not know what my proper or exact wage was at that time, but now I know

> I was not able to keep very much. However, I was so grateful and dependent on Bhuta Singh, that I was not going to risk my livelihood by confronting him in any way.

In Jandiali during this time, there were two major ways to achieve political gain. The first was to help people emigrate and the second for leaders in Jandiali to encourage migrants in England to send money for village improvements. Consequently, the emigrants and their village counterparts had a say on how and where the money was used. Bhajan Singh of Gravesend had come from a very humble home in Jandiali; because of his newly acquired wealth and status, he dictated what public works were to be built and their village location. Other emigrants opposed his decisions, but because he had raised large sums of money for the village and had helped many Jandialians emigrate, the voices of his opposition fell on deaf ears.

Economy

During this period, the Jandialian opted for the job that paid the best. However he might work at a factory for lower wages per hour if he had overtime options. The goal was to earn as much as possible; if working twice as long meant earning half again as much money, the job with longer hours was taken. The total wage earned was important, not the wage per hour.

> Case 31. Jugga Singh, upon arrival in Gravesend, worked for Imperial Paper Company. He took the job because at that time it had the promise of overtime even though he could have gotten a clerk's job elsewhere. "I needed the money," he said. "Even though the wages at Imperial were lower per hour, I could work overtime. We would rest up and then work several shifts continuously. The pay was

> time and a half for the first overtime shift, and double time for the second consecutive overtime shift enabling me to work for a couple of days straight without a break.[1] This was done on weekends, since the English did not like to work on Sundays. To us it made no difference."
>
> "After six months, my brother-in-law told me about a factory job in Bedford where the pay was better and overtime work was also possible. So I moved to Bedford immediately, lived with my brother-in-law, and worked there. Not having my family here, I could move easily."

Although a man preferred to be with his own group, this did not prohibit him from moving on to better opportunities. Such a move might even prove to "weaken" a person because of lack of support from one's kinsmen; however priority was given to gaining wealth and enhancing one's izzat in the home village. Like other immigrants, the Gravesindians occupied jobs and other economic niches undesirable to the host community.

In Jandiali, the migrants' economic influence inflated prices and increased the wealth and prosperity of the people residing there. The Punjabi Sikh Jat fulfilled his family expectations by supporting elders; buying additional land; and/or providing a suitable dowry for a female member's marriage. Furthermore, some immigrants invested in factories in Phagwara or helped a relative start a small machine shop or foundry, creating additional jobs for the unemployed. Still others invested in the Cooperative Bank of Jandiali and banks in Jullundur. The immigrants had sent home postal money orders until they were

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[1]The author found this hard to believe until he actually saw a man's pay check which showed that he had logged 90 hours of work that week. The Punjabis claim that this is common, and from what was observed, it is believable. They were obsessed with making more money.

apprised of the black market rate of exchange that was almost double the official rate. Since the main goal of these early immigrants was to amass wealth for themselves and indirectly the home village, they did not hesitate to make use of the black market rate.

Daily Living

The early life of Gravesindia revolved around men's houses, jobs, pubs, and the local Gurdwara. As Banta Singh states,

> Case 32. I worked hard and took all the available overtime. We rested up during the week and, since the English did not like overtime on the weekends, we worked Friday through Sunday without a break. Usually our life was quite regular and simple. We got up and went to work. It was on the job and during the bus ride that we visited and shared local and home news.
>
> After work we showered--something the English never did since they were dirty! We frequented the pub to quench our thirst with a good beer. We always went to the public bar because it was cheaper and we had a good time for an hour or so before returning to our boarding house.
>
> After Bhajan Singh brought over the Granth Sahib, we had weekly services in his home, but a room was set aside for the Granth Sahib so we could go there anytime. It was during the weekly service, however, that we all congregated.

It was on the job that men gossiped with friends about home and their community in England, thus bringing one another up-to-date. Since hot water was plentiful at the factory, men showered there before returning; the bath in the men's house was not in great demand affording the landlord considerable saving on utilities. Punjabi men kept themselves very clean in spite of their close and adverse living conditions.

Emulating a British custom, the Gravesindians frequented their "local" pub to socialize and quench their thirst. As in other areas

with a purely male population, sexual drives needed to be satisfied. White girls were usually picked up at pubs and taken to Number 10 Wakefield Street, where rooms were rented for 10 shillings a night, without breakfast. It was further revealed that "Pakistani" girls came from London on a weekly basis for "business."

Relations With the English

It is difficult to gauge the attitude of the English element of Gravesend during the early years. Since Jandialians and other Punjabis were in Gravesend for the purpose of earning money, discrimination did not concern the immigrants as long as they continued to obtain suitable employment. The local newspaper of that time does not reveal any animosity toward the Gravesindians, although they were restricted to the public bars and were discouraged from dating white girls. The children of the two first Punjabi families in Gravesend say that they felt genuinely welcomed, were willingly helped by their teachers in school, and were accepted by their white playmates. Before long, racism emerged in areas such as Nottinghill and Smethwick, but it was virtually nonexistent in Gravesend, where tolerance and a certain degree of amicability prevailed for several years.

During this time hardworking Punjabis were very much in demand with local contractors and factories to meet the labor shortages caused by the war. The English community valued Punjabi workmen, and since they were relatively few in number and laboured on jobs the English did not want they satisfied a vital need of the community-at-large.

Gravesindians neither competed with nor participated in English society. They had friendly relations with their English co-workers, and both groups helped one another on the job, although the Punjabis continued to be clannish and the English aloof.

Perception and Group Orientation

How people perceive their situation and relationship to other groups affects their behavior (Merton 1968:269-334 and Lynch 1968 and 1969). Based on village life, the Jats perceived themselves to be superior and stronger than all others. This opinion was not shared by other South Asians, who along with college-educated and urbanized Indians in Gravesend blamed the uneducated Jat villagers for the low evaluation Indians received in the eyes of the English. These new rural arrivals were considered vulgar and shabbily dressed; they were criticized for wearing indigenous styles, improper use of cutlery, excessive drinking, and smelling of curry. Such criticism was seldom made openly, and the Jandialian migrant paid little attention to it; "he just considered the source." He was secure in his Jat superiority.

Proud to be a Jat, he also imitated the British in some areas. English behavior was considered polluting and unacceptable, nevertheless it was prestigious to serve in the army and the British Civil Service. These attitudes implied the Jat's respect for the English and the latter's ability to rule efficiently and honestly. The "colonial

mentality"[1] of ex-colonial migrants accompanied them during migration. An Englishman's comment carried far greater weight than that of a fellow Indian, even if the latter was more experienced and had a superior education. For the Punjabis, attending a British university was more prestigious than education in the United States, Canada, or France.

Young Jandiali boys idolized English returnees who had been able to raise the izzat and standing of their family, and they studied hard for the day when they would be able to go to England. Most sought to learn the English language so they would have no difficulty conversing when they migrated. Education in subjects such as math and engineering was popular because of their viability. In general, those English traits which were considered superior by the Punjabis were adopted.

Thus, the Gravesindian "became English" in a limited way. In the early days, the prestige of British culture was such that two Punjabi families in Gravesend raised their children in the English fashion. The parents continued to maintain Punjabi dress, eating habits, and culture while encouraging their children to associate with their English playmates and dressed them in English styles.

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[1]"Colonial mentality" refers to the attitude of a foreign dominated people wherein the dominated group believes that the foreigners are more capable rulers than themselves. This does not necessarily preclude individual and cultural pride.

These Anglicized families were not chided or condemned by other Punjabis in Gravesend at that time.[1]

Gravesend Sikhs shaved their beards and cut their hair to get jobs in England, becoming, according to their religion, "less of a man." They realized the danger of long hair and beards becoming entangled in machinery. Though necessary for adaptation this was a serious compromise of their beliefs and not an attempt to imitate the British.

The caste principle of defining one's position in opposition to others seemed to hold for the Punjabi Sikh Jats in Jandiali and Gravesend. Neither group tried to claim membership in another caste or ethnic group. A man may be an England returnee, but he was still a Sikh Jat. There was little shifting of group identification among the Gravesend-Jandiali migrant group who were unwilling to forsake their culturally dictated behavioral patterns.

Analysis and Summary

A family's decision to have one or more of its members emigrate set in motion the selection of alternative means by which a family could raise its izzat. Emigration raised expectations often in place

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[1]The only son of one of these families has married an English girl, although during my research he had openly sought an arranged marriage. The son of the other family, an auto mechanic, was engaged to marry an English girl. Although his sister identifies with the English, is pursuing an English higher education, and would like to marry an Englishman, she dares not for fear of adversely affecting family izzat. As the next section will show, all this is uncommon behavior among present-day Gravesindians.

of the previously hopeless situations. The migrant's task was staggering. His relatives had pooled resources to send him to England, yet the question remained: How would he make his fortune in a land where he could not speak the language, knew no one, and was ignorant of laws and customs? In spite of the tradition of migration for the Jats, many emigrants from Jandiali had been no farther than three miles from home.

The behavior of the migrants was based upon six principles: (1) service to the group, (2) minimizing and sharing expenses, (3) flexibility, (4) finding an unfilled economic niche, (5) using a cultural broker, and (6) maintaining separateness.

The success of the emigrants was a group responsibility. A man may have emigrated to raise the izzat of his family, but those going with him or already in England were also accountable for helping him make his fortune. The entire social network of Jandiali migrants was at the emigre's disposal. By helping him, villagemates were rewarded by prestige afforded them and their families in Jandiali. Conversely, if aid was not given, the person withholding help would seriously demean his family's izzat. Cases 27, 28, and 30 illustrate this communal support.

As Case 25 illustrates, the migrant from Punjab lived as cheaply as possible. Privacy (which is not valued in Jandiali) and comfort were of no concern. Every pound saved was equal to thirty-six rupees, a significant sum for the Jat immigrant. The Punjabi immigrant in England sought out the best paying jobs. Usually these were found

where kinsmen and villagemates resided, for they generally informed one another of new opportunities. In the village one desired to stay on the family land, but once this hold was broken, there was nothing to prohibit mobility. Even separation from villagemates and kinsmen, once in England, was not a serious inhibition, as public transportation and the telephone helped on maintain ties. Fellow Punjabis aided in maintaining this flexibility; when a new opportunity became available, one could stay with relatives or friends in the new location.

Flexibility also included freedom from cultural norms that might impede making money. As Case 28 showed, being subservient to an English boss or doing a job relegated to lower castes was accepted in England though condemned in the home village.

Migrants generally chose those jobs the English did not want, as these were usually the only ones available. The English did not care for the hard, low-paying jobs in construction, cement factories, foundries, and paper companies. Through frugal living and by accepting weekend overtime work, the immigrants filled a highly specialized economic niche in their host community and made it profitable.

Since the new arrival could not speak English and was ignorant about English ways, the cultural broker was essential for survival. As Case 30 shows, these agents assured that forms were properly filled out and sometimes served as liaison between the English foreman and the employee. The cultural broker was in an advantageous position, for he could exploit the immigrant while receiving a commission from the employer for providing laborers. The Gravesend-Jandiali migrant

quickly realized that alliance with a cultural broker was essential to his survival and success in England.

Not "becoming English" worked to the advantage of the Gravesindian. First, he was not bound by British social dictates and values and could take jobs that members of the host community considered beneath their station. Second, maintaining membership in the Punjabi community insures that a Jat would reap the benefits of the communal reciprocity. The communication network of the Punjabi immigrants was superior to the host community's employment exchange. Third, as outsiders, the Gravesindians objectively saw opportunities that the British did not perceive or consider worthwhile.

These norms (service, minimizing expenses, flexibility, occupying vacant niches, aligning with a cultural broker, and separateness) were crucial to the Punjabi's economic success in the early years of the adaptation process in Gravesend. The Sikh Jat had one more advantage--his confidence that he was superior to his competitors. The Jats viewed themselves as resourceful and innovative. Thus, they "knew" they had the ability to do well in England and set out to prove that they were superior, even to the English.

The Gravesindians continued to live according to their cultural dictates despite their shifting from a rural agricultural to an urban industrialized situation. Although there were some compromises of caste rules during the early period of Gravesend development, deviation from cultural ideals was in those days seldom discussed in public.

In general, the behavior of emigrants affected the social evaluation of kin groups at home, but the Punjabis in England were relatively free of social controls. There was a tacit understanding among the migrants that the village of origin would not be told of certain deviations. Ultimately, the home village assessed the emigrant's behavior in terms of the money the latter sent home.

CHAPTER V

GRAVESEND AND THE ADAPTATION PROCESS (1960-1962)

The threat and later implementation of the 1962 immigration restriction laws changed the situation for the Gravesend-Jandiali migrants. The migrants had to deal with the possibility of friends and relatives being prohibited from immigrating to England. What new behavior would be employed? Would the Punjabis unite and become belligerent? What would the ramifications be? To the Gravesend-Jandiali migrant, to overcome these obstacles, new adaptive behavior had to be implemented.

Changes

Population Distribution

The Gravesindians shared the response of other Punjabis in England--persuade relatives, friends, and villagemates to come to England as soon as possible. They were willing to help them with their fares, aid them in finding jobs, and assist them in settlement. As one Sikh stated:

> Those who desire to get to England must come; if they don't like it they can return to Punjab. At least they will have had the opportunity to consider England as an alternative to village life; the choice must be given to all before the doors to England are permanently closed.

True to this thinking, wives, children, relatives, villagemates, and friends went to England, inaugurating the population explosion of Punjabis in England. Where previously there had been pockets of Punjabis, there were now full-fledged communities, within, but separate from the English host society.

The following cases illustrate the response of the immigrants to the impending restrictions.

> Case 33. Deep Singh was living in a men's house when he perceived that if he waited, his family might not be able to come to England at all. Immediately he sent tickets to his wife and children and rented a flat from his friend Rashmi Singh. After a few months, however, their two wives argued concerning the children, causing Deep Singh to borrow money from a friend and buy a house near a villagemate on The Avenue. It was close to town, so his wife could walk to the grocery store. It was near friends, so she could socialize. Transportation to his work was accessible.

> Case 34. With the threat of immigration restrictions, Arun Singh and his wife and children were brought to Gravesend by his elder brother. His brother also bought a house next door to his own, so the families could live side-by-side. Soon Arun was making a good wage and was able to buy a neighboring house for his brother-in-law whom he sponsored along with his family from Punjab. The English were selling their houses cheaply on Kent Road, as they feared the devaluation of property values in light of the Punjabi influx.

The Gravesindian population exploded at this time. Greater balance was achieved due to the increased immigration of women and children. Traditional community stability was enhanced by families establishing themselves in houses or flats near relatives and villagemates--thus entire kin groups lived on the same street dominating an entire neighborhood.

Case 35: Pier Road borders Gravesend and the neighboring town of Northfleet. It dead ends on the River Thames, and is one of the older elite sections of town, which until the Punjabis moved in, in 1950, was inhabited by old timers. Only half the Punjabi homes on Pier Road are kinfolk, but since they are relatives of Ajit Singh, it appears as though the whole street is related.[1]

In 1950, Baljit Singh of Serai Khas came to Gravesend accompanied by his wife's cousin (Chacha's son), Prakash Singh of Dhanowali, and his wife's nephew, Ajit Singh of Manko. Prakash Singh's father had been living in Gravesend since 1949, and with him, Baljit Singh and Prakash Singh bought the house at Number 48 Pier Road. They lived as bachelors there with Ajit Singh until 1952, when Baljit Singh's brother, Sitel Singh arrived. At that time two English sisters in Number 76, moving out to the country, sold their house to Baljit Singh and Sitel Singh. When elderly Mrs. Johnson migrated to Canada to be with her daughter, Sitel Singh bought Number 78 from her and moved with his family into the house, along with his wife's maternal cousin and his wife. Thus began a take-over of Pier Road by Punjabis. As they moved in, their English neighbors moved out in disgust, leaving yet another house for a Punjabi family.

When house Number 79 was bought by Mrs. Baljit Singh's brother, the inhabitants of Number 80 could not tolerate it. They immediately sold their house to a Hindu family which had just arrived in Gravesend. The Englishman in Number 77 panicked because he was surrounded by immigrants and put his house up for sale. Sitel Singh, owner of Number 78 and brother of Baljit Singh of Number 76, could not pass up the opportunity and bought the house at a nominal price. This he rented to fellow Punjabis. When a rift developed with his wife's maternal Cousin, Sital Singh himself moved into Number 77. Baljit Singh found out that Mr. Smith of Number 75 was moving to Lancashire. He called his wife's sister's husband, Ohm Singh, and told him about the deal. In 1954 Ohm Singh and his family moved into Number 75.

Mrs. Baljit Singh's brother's three sons and their maternal uncle were staying with them when Number 23 down the street went up for sale. They pooled their resources

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[1]For further details, see Appendix C.

and, with Baljit Singh's help, bought the house. Mrs. Baljit Singh's sister's brother and two nephews bought Number 74, and their friends bought Number 91. Except for Number 80 Pier Road, all the Punjabi families were related. When the family in Number 91 discovered that Number 65 was being sold, they helped their paternal cousins buy the house.

The residential pattern remained stable until the English owners of Numbers 69 and 70 sold their houses to two Indian families. The owner of Number 72 sold his house to a Punjabi family because he had no English neighbors. The old lady in Number 71 utterly disliked her Indian neighborhood but could not afford to move. Numbers 21, 24, 26, 59, 85, 86, and 93 are also owned by Punjabi families, but they are not related to Baljit Singh and Ajit Singh. Mrs. Baljit Singh's brother, who lives with his sons in Number 51, bought Number 44 and converted it into four flats which are rented out to fellow Punjabis. Similarly, Number 41, also converted into flats, is owned by Prakash Singh of Number 48.

When a house in their neighborhood is for sale, Indians immediately inform interested friends and relatives. As Indians move in and the English move out, the real estate value depreciates. This makes it easier for other Punjabis to buy the houses which are not only being sold at low prices, but also are available for immediate occupancy. Most of the houses on Pier Road are owned by the same kin group, a Punjabi family which has been transplanted.

The influx was so sudden that within a couple of years Gravesindia rose from several hundred men living in a few rooming houses in the slums, to a community of several thousand scattered but visible Punjabis. This influx frightened the English, who were unprepared for such a seemingly "permanent" migrant situation.

In Jandiali the effect was immediate--many women and children emigrated to England almost overnight. Some women sent their men, but themselves stayed behind to fulfill their obligations to the elderly of the family. As a result of this new migration from Jandiali, there was a lower proportion of males in Jandiali between the ages of twenty

and forty. The roles of the women who remained are exemplified by the following story.

> Case 36. Nimal Kaur stayed in Jandiali while her husband went to England; her father-in-law was old and refused to move. Someone had to look after him. Nimal realized that it is a blessing to look after the aged and so sacrificed life in England to fulfill her family obligations. She did this service joyfully, and she and her family were highly respected in Jandiali for their selfless devotion to her husband's father.
>
> Nimal Kaur also managed the six acres of family land. She hired servants from Chamali to do the work, and her brother-in-law assisted in managing and overseeing the work. Just recently her eldest daughter married. Nimal's husband took a holiday and returned to Jandiali for the wedding. Because of his prosperity in England, they proudly gave their daughter a very handsome dowry.

The influx of Punjabis to Gravesend resulted in the joint residence of more than one married couple in a house. About 70 percent of the approximately 300 homes of Gravesinda are jointly occupied. In the middle years, the percentage was even higher. Overcrowding (in Western terms) is quite common, and this has considerable advantages. Many expenses are the same whether one person or twenty live in the house, and sharing minimizes the burden on each wage earner. Second, joint residence also enables more members to bring in a wage. All children may be left in the care of one mother, for example, enabling the others to work. Third, joint residence brings in much more information, for five or six working members of a family are likely to hear of better paying jobs than if only one or two are working.

Most houses were considered temporary abodes as most Punjabis planned to return home after a few years. Life in England was quite

frugal, and money was not spent on such luxuries as a rug, bath, or new cooker. The house provided temporary shelter until the family fortune could be acquired and one's return to Punjab as a rich person could be accomplished. Money was not wasted on improving the present residence.

With the immigration of women and children in the early 1960s, a change occurred in housing patterns. Instead of rooming houses for men, more or less isolated from each other, multiple family homes emerged, but the practice of sharing expenses and living as frugally as possible continued.

Besides these changes in Gravesend, there were continuing changes in Jandiali. The 1962 mass emigration further relieved the high man-land ratio; the flow of money to Jandiali and the surrounding areas increased; the price of land rose; and there were increases in factories, businesses, and cooperative bank assets.

Social Relations

The presence of whole families caused Gravesindians to live a life closer to that of the home village. Social relationships, formerly ignored, were reinstated, and the temporarily egalitarian society of the early years disappeared. Hierarchical evaluation and positioning, following criteria similar to those of the village, were resumed. The following case reveals the resurfacing of caste attitudes.

> Case 37. Dev, a Chamar, gained political prominence in Gravesindia among the younger adults. Although he preached modern ideas like the abolition of caste system and spelled out existing discrimination, to the village

> Jats he was still a Chamar and of low caste. Generally when Dev entered a Jat home, the head of the house became nervous, and uneasy whispers went through the house, "the Chamar is here." Other low caste individuals were not as successful as Dev and complained about the Jats treating them as inferiors.

How different this picture is from that of a group of men sharing rooms and beds as they seek the attainment of common goals. Different, too, was the reemergence of social controls and the awareness of deviant behavior.

The old concerns of family izzat in obtaining suitable marriage partners for offspring also came to the fore. The emigrants came once again under the same constraints as individuals living in the village. The young daughter of one of the early families described the change:

> In the early years before hordes of Punjabis arrived, my mother dressed us in English clothes and made us like the English. My brother and I learned English, and we had English friends. Our parents did not want us to be different in any way.
>
> When those other relatives came, everything changed drastically. The women would come to our house and say, "Don't you think Nimi's hair should be braided, for a girl of loose hair is not good," or "Nimi should not go to school with bare legs otherwise she will grow up being immodest."
>
> Immediately my mother changed. I was no longer to be like the English, but was to dress and be like the Punjabi villagers, whom I began to abhor.

The wife stood to lose most if izzat were diminished. If she did not prove to be an upright wife and mother, improving the izzat of her husband's family, then shame would be brought on her parents and their kin group. Since women had this dual responsibility, it was they who reinstituted social control. Their pressure was exerted in two ways: they influenced the behavior of their family in England,

and they reinstated a full network of communication with Jandiali. These actions warrant closer examinations.

The women in Gravesend pressured their husbands to deal with men who manifested deviant behavior. This sometimes meant, as the following case illustrates, that husbands were admonished to withdraw their support from a man who was being unfaithful to his absent wife.

> Case 38. Surinder Singh had been unfaithful to his wife in India by living with a white girl in England. Once he was in trouble with the British police for a minor offence and later accused of a crime he never committed. Surinder was innocent of the crime, and the Punjabi community knew it, but no one came to his defense, and Surinder went to prison.

It is maintained that the women were largely responsible for sending Surinder Singh to jail.

Although men associated among themselves, their companions were usually approved by their wives. If two wives did not get along, their men soon parted company. If a woman did not like a particular associate of her husband's, she did her utmost to end the friendship. Ram and Gobind are good examples.

> Case 39. Before their wives came to England, they were like brothers, drinking, living, and associating with the same crowd. But when their wives came from Jandiali they quarrelled in the kitchen, criticized the children's behavior, and could not get along.
>
> Shortly, Ram and his family moved out, and these two men who had been best friends seldom spoke to each other.

If the wife had more kinsmen in England than her husband, she exerted far greater authority and power in the family.

> Case 40. Pritum Kaur and her husband were sponsored and looked after by her brothers. Her husband had no kinsmen in England, so he had to concede to many more of her demands because it was her family who had given him this new opportunity. One night he mistreated her. Within an hour, he had to face the wrath of Pritum Kaur's brothers.

Although wives without kinsmen in England were not as powerful, even "lonely" wives could exert considerable influence in family affairs.

The women also established a communication network between Gravesend and Jandiali. Letters from the women to sisters in the villages were numerous (they having more time to write than their husbands did). With tales of their behavior reaching their families, men could no longer glorify their positions and activities. Word was quickly received that an individual was a "sweeper in a factory" rather than "an employee at Bowaters." If a man was unfaithful to his wife, drinking excessively, or not behaving properly, news soon reached the wife or parents.

The information of the communication network also meant that the Gravesindians were in no way strangers to one another. They knew fine details about each other's salary, family composition, caste, degree of faithfulness to the spouse, personal habits, bank accounts, and status of izzat in the home village. Having contacts in various cities and villages,[1] it was possible to learn as much as desired about a fellow migrant. The migrant's awareness of the tightness of the network is exemplified by the dilemma of one Punjabi girl.

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[1]A result of the village exogamous nature of marriage.

> Case 41. Urmil Kaur wanted desperately to marry out of caste, but deeply feared her family's wrath. When her English girl-friend suggested that she emigrate to Canada or the United States, she replied, "There are Punjabis in Canada and the United States who will find me. There is no escaping from our people."

The social networks of the Jandiali migrants was not at all limited to those in Gravesend; the group included those in Canada, the United States, the Philippines, and elsewhere.

This writer too, experienced the tightness of the network. The Gravesindians soon had extensive knowledge of his work and family background. Because of the confidence of some key members of the Gravesindian community, word spread throughout Gravesend that a joint effort should be made to assist in this study. The second experience was a little more disconcerting. An apt illustration emerged while dining with a Sikh family.

> Case 42. We had been in Gravesend about three weeks and the only information about my wife that we had given, was that she was a Punjabi girl, born in Lahore, whose family was living in New Delhi. During the evening, the purpose of the invitation was revealed to us when the big Sardar said to my wife, "Sister Usha, you have a brother-in-law who is a high official for the State Training Corporation." My wife nodded affirmatively as we both sat wondering how he had obtained this information. "We need two Austin cars in India for a Taxi Service; I am sure that he would be able to arrange it for extra remuneration." We had a hard time convincing him that Usha had not seen her family for seven years and did not know how to proceed in this matter.

To this day, it is not known exactly how this Jat discovered Usha's background in so short a time. It is not difficult, however, to guess the generalities. Someone must have written a contact in New Delhi, who was able to discover these facts. Such contacts are easily

found because of the exogamous nature of village marriages; almost always someone's wife knows someone or has a relative who can obtain the desired information.

Gravesindians knew practically everything about their fellows from Doaba, but it took longer to obtain details about those from Ludhiana, Amritsar, or other areas. The explanation is simply that the vast majority of the Gravesindians were from Doaba (Jullundur Doab). Checking each other out was instantaneous.

The reestablishment of the communication network between the two Punjabi communities had other implications. The migrants in England lost their freedom from village control in several ways. First, the behavior of a migrant could more directly affect the izzat of his kinsmen in Jandiali. Yogendra Singh experienced the negative affect this could have.

> Case 43. Yogendra Singh sent his son to England. Although his son was reasonably good about sending money home, word came back that he was also drinking excessively and associating with white women, thus being unfaithful to his loyal wife. The whole village now knew that Yogendra's son was notorious in England. Yogendra was shamed in the evaluation of his villagemates. They said little to him, some even sympathized, but nevertheless, he had not raised a proper son. Immediately Yogendra wrote to his brother in Birmingham to see if he could persuade, using force if necessary, his deviant son to reform.

The effect could also operate in the other direction. A Punjabi Doaban in India remarked about Ghajan Singh, whose English accomplishments have been noted:

> Oh, Bhajan Singh, he is nothing. His family in Jandiali is poor and owns merely five acres of land. They have never amounted to anything and although he has helped his family since he came to England, they are still nothing; his brother Mohan in Jandiali is a known drunk and does not even work.

Whether in England or in Punjab, izzat is evaluated communally for the whole family, not just for individual members.

A second effect of increased communications is that a rift between two families in one community is reflected in the other.

> Case 44. Pal and Ramesh from Jandiali had a serious disagreement while in Gravesend. When Pal was visiting Jandiali, he saw to it that his younger brother discontinued his relationship with Ramesh's younger brother, thus severing the age-long bond of friendship between the two families.

Usually, no authority would have to be exerted; a conflict in one community automatically means separation along kin lines in the other.

Third, family positions took the form common in the village. The eldest male, whether in Jandiali or Gravesend, had greater knowledge of the behavior of those for whom he was the authority. With this knowledge he could, and did, reassert control. Family relations in Gravesindia were basically the same as those in Jandiali, including both formal and informal relationships. In England, the latter were particularly important. An elderly father might give his pay check to his younger son who had migrated before him, realizing the son was better equipped to handle finances in England. But the father would chastise his son for any deviancy which could ultimately affect family izzat.

Women also regained traditional power. Punjabi women who could not speak a word of English continued to be a major source of information for their husbands; old, "ignorant" village ladies soon learned of and relayed information about the best way to take advantage of income tax loopholes or circumvent immigration authorities in England. They acquired this knowledge from shopkeepers, other women (who did not have full-time jobs), and from fellow Gravesindians. They learned about life styles in England and the best ways to shop for bargains. Wives not only tended pre-schoolers but also collected and evaluated information for their families.

In family businesses, the wife often kept the accounts, determined prices, and recommended collection procedures. Bhajan Singh and his wife are an example.

> Case 45. When Bhajan Singh opened a haberdashery for punjabis in Gravesend, it was his wife who really ran the store. True, Bhajan Singh went to the wholesalers to buy merchandise, made the deliveries, and openly transacted all the business. But behind the scenes his wife was in control. She kept the books and told him what prices to charge to which customers; she told him how much to pay for the merchandise, and if it cost more than that, he was not to buy it. By visiting with other friends and relatives, she knew the community and prices. She was the collector of information and behind-the-scenes manager for the family business.[1]

The Punjabi Sikh Jat migrant family was organized so that the most capable individuals could perform those roles for which they were

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[1]Being a store operator did not seem to have the stigma later on that it did in the early years. The reason behind this change in evaluation will be clarified in Chapter VII when I discuss the change in the significance of wealth for the migrants which occurred in the later years of the migrants' stay in England.

best suited. As in Jandiali, no one's talents were wasted. As soon as the children attending British schools, learned English, they interpreted for their parents, relatives, and family friends.

Recalling the social changes that the immigration influx had on the Gravesend and Jandiali communities, we may say that social relationships became almost identical in both places. Although the two groups were geographically separated, they were socially united, mutually affecting, controlling, and supporting one another.

Service

The concept of service among Gravesindians took on a new meaning with the increased immigration. One significant development was greater hospitality. Initially, service required finding a room and a job for an individual who had recently arrived. Now it became necessary for Punjabis to help one another buy homes, especially since they had a general distrust of mortgage institutions. English companies were hesitant to loan money to the Punjabis, and more established families were expected to help the younger men bring their families and successfully relocate. Mohan Singh's case is not unique in illustrating Punjabi reciprocity of lending and borrowing.

> Case 46. Mohan's family had recently arrived, and since the flat he was renting was not working out, he approached his friend Rejinder, who was better established, and explained the situation, adding, "Rajinder, I must buy a house for my family and need to borrow some money."
>
> Rejinder replied, "Certainly brother, here is my check book, write your own check, anything under four thousand pounds, for that is all I have."

> Mohan was later reprimanded by a second friend, Rajen, who thought Mohan had considered Rajinder the closer friend and thus borrowed the money from him. Such mutual help was common. The money was loaned with neither interest nor pressure to repay. However, there was a relationship established where either man would help the other in time of need. A man's honor was the insurance that he would eventually make good his debts.[1]

This service was provided willingly, usually with enthusiasm. The following example of a Jat who received help speaks for Jat hospitality:

> When I arrived in England I had £2 in my pocket. While walking the streets, I met a Jat family who took me in and looked after me until I found a job and settled down. You know they would not take anything for food and lodging provided to me during those three months.

Gurdwaras also helped new arrivals with board and lodging.

The concept of service applies not only to hospitality, but also, as was discussed in Chapter II, to helping one's kinfolk, villagemates, and others retain and/or increase family izzat. This view of service reinforced the communications network and was one purpose for its existence. If one informed a kinsman or villagemate in Jandiali of the behavior of, for example, a son who could endanger his family's izzat, one was serving them by making it possible for his parents to influence him to change.

Emotional blackmail with an emphasis on guilt was a very effective means of regulation. According to Punjabi rationale, a son could not neglect the wishes of the mother who loved, guided, and protected him during his formative years; neither could he go against a father who has sacrificed to send him to England.

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[1]Although this is an actual case, I do not mean to imply that Punjabis conflicted over financial matters. They certainly did not freely give away their assets; much depended on the closeness of the friendship.

Although the following quotation (Mehta, 1972: 11) is not of this period or these people, it is nonetheless illustrative of the pressure the deviant would feel.

> We were shocked to hear that you do not want to return home. . . . I would have kept the news from Bhabiji,[1] but, sadly, I was out when your hopeless letter came, and Balwant read it to her. Since then, she hasn't slept, and she weeps all day long. She has developed palpitations, and the doctor says no medicine can really help her, for she is grieving. If something happens to her, don't blame me afterward for not telling you how things were. Whenever I see her, I have to leave abruptly and go and cry by myself--it's so heart-rendering. What is London, what is worldly success, what is money, compared to Bhabiji, and her love for her son and heir? Come home at once.

In the enlarged Gravesindian community, service meant an extended form of hospitality and an increased effort to maintain the izzat of one's own family and that of others to whom one is bound in any way.

Politics

During the middle period, political groupings underwent a change. The exploiting cultural brokers lost the hold they had over their constituents as the Punjabi Sikh Jats gained knowledge of English ways. The Gurdwara became the arena for political competition, and alliances shifted to those cultural brokers who did not exploit Punjabis and who now acquired the title "social worker." The following case presents the story of one such man.

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[1]Mother.

Case 47. Surinder Singh came to Gravesend around 1960. He knew both English and Punjabi, and used his knowledge to help others. Surinder had completed two years of college at a school in Punjab and was able to decipher the complicated forms having to do with Social Service benefits. When a man was injured in the factory, Surinder helped him with his applications for compensation. When a friend needed to enroll his daughter in school, Surinder went along to help out. Although others in the community performed these brokerage functions for a fee or to gain political power, Surinder Singh was a true social worker--he served for the benefit of the community.

When Surinder's name was nominated for the position of Gurdwara secretary, Surinder declined. "I am a weak man," he explained later, "I am from Maja not Doaba, I have no relatives here to support me."

The "social worker" did not ask for remuneration for his services, but performed tasks as one friend for another. As a result, a loyal following developed around these helpful individuals who had the potential for political leadership. The social worker, however, could never have the same strength as an individual who had a core of kinsmen to stand behind him at all costs during times of need.

Generally, the first act of a Sikh migrant community was to build a Gurdwara, which was not only a religious house, but the political arena for communal strife. This latter use is not surprising, because the leaders of the Gurdwaras both in India and abroad controlled considerable sums of money, and the Gurdwara authorities represented the community in most phases of Sikh life. Furthermore, with the influx of more people, the Gravesend Gurdwara grew in importance and became the primary social center. Gravesindians took Gurdwara politics seriously, and vied for the position of president. Thus family izzat was enhanced, both in England and the home village.

Economy

During the middle period, although the norm of filling a vacant economic niche was still employed, the earning unit shifted from loosely assembled bachelor households to family groups (husbands, wives, children, and grandparents). With joint residence, roles within the family became more specialized, thus increasing efficiency.

> Case 48. In Rattan Singh's household, all available members help to enhance the family's resources. He is working in construction, not as steady as factory work, but Rattan Singh has learned that despite the irregular hours, he can make more money on construction than his counterpart in the factory. Rattan Singh has obtained a job for his eldest son and they work side by side.
>
> Rattan Singh's wife and daughter-in-law work at Bata Shoe Factory. They both leave the house every morning around 6:00 a.m. Rattan Singh's mother takes care of all the children while they are gone. Rattan Singh's wife, however, is still in charge of the kitchen and cooks large quantities of food at night for the following day. Rattan Singh's father works at Bowaters. He looks young, and by lying about his age, he is able to get a satisfactory job.
>
> Since Rattan Singh knows English and, was the first to come to England, is most familiar with English ways, all earning members of the family automatically turn their pay check over to him. He faithfully deposits the five pay checks bi-weekly. Each member receives some pocket money, and decisions for major expenditures are made by family consensus. As always, the women have a strong say.
>
> At night after the men come home from the pub, they share what they have done or learned during the day. The women are around and participate, but they do not eat with the men. Their contribution is given later or from afar, but their gossip and ideas are always accepted. Through one such session Rattan Singh decided to take a new job in Birmingham. His wife and children followed later.

Rattan Singh's family is quite typical. They continue to opt for a niche that is not being exploited by the English. Construction is such an area, for most English prefer the regular, more secure jobs.

By specialization within the household, more money can be earned. The grandmother cares for the children and becomes the family tactician and a collector of community gossip. All other adults work and gather information, and the most capable member of the family--in this case, Rattan Singh--handles the finances. The grandfather represents the family at akhand paths and other situations.

Pooling of resources, common in most families, makes large amounts of money readily available for lucrative investment opportunities, and finance charges or interest rates are avoided. This joint economy also works well on an international level. If a brother in Hong Kong saw a business opportunity, his brothers in England, the United States, and Kenya would send him the money to begin. Family assets were diversified, and any member who fails, knows that he will be helped by his kinsmen.

This family organization is like the family firm. Benedict (1968) argues that such family firms are advantageous; they have diversity of income, pooled capital, and thus can take greater risks. Communication in the firm is informal and yet more efficient, giving the group greater flexibility. Besides, the participants are more loyal and have a greater incentive to work hard. These characteristics enable the Gravesindian family to be more solvent than its British counterpart, even though its home and life-style does not reveal this extra wealth.

In pursuing joint economic security the Gravesend-Jandiali migrants adopted two other behaviors: attainment of a sophisticated

(although narrow) understanding of English political, economic, and legal systems, and flexibility. Nearly all Gravesindians were very aware of their situation in England. They knew which stores had the prices; they were familiar with welfare benefits and how to use the medical services. The Punjabis did not try to forcefully change their station in British society.

In this middle period the Punjabis' concern was with how the laws and rules were applied, and how they might be manipulated.

Concerning economic flexibility, it previously was noted, that the Sikh Jat went where money or jobs were available--anywhere in the world. Gravesindians, both men and women, commuted to the other side of London to work, while most of their English counterparts would not budge from Gravesend. Other Punjabi men left their families in Gravesend and went to Birmingham or Bedford to live with a brother or friend while they worked on a new job or hunted for one. If things worked out, they then brought their family. If a brother told of opportunities in the United States, the man might even try these, bringing his family later if all went well. Family ties or regional loyalties did not prohibit the Punjabi from leaving everything to seek his fortune. He was not prohibited from going where opportunity beckoned.

The Gravesindians' continued obsession with making as much money as possible brought other changes. Punjabis in England worked much harder than they did in the village. One man commented:

> When I worked one job, I had too much free time to visit the pub. Generally in the evening I was restless because we Jats are unhappy unless we are working hard. So I started this business in my spare time.

It seems that working in a factory for long hours became a symbol of manliness; men were proud of their ability to put in longer hours than their English counterparts. They spoke freely of this ability.

> In the foundry where I work there are mostly Punjabis employed because they are strong and can endure the heavy labor and extreme heat. Not only that but we can stay on the job for several shifts which is more than the English can do![1]

The man who lost his job, however, was a sad case. He could collect unemployment insurance, but he lost pride. He looked hard and fast for employment, fearing his position in the home would be usurped by his working wife. The following case illustrates this:

> Case 49. Sher Singh injured his leg at Bowaters. Even though his handicap was not extensive, it prohibited him from doing the heavy lifting his job required. His wife in the meantime worked on a farm, picking vegetables. Sher Singh no longer held his head high for his wife was earning a better income than he. But, worst of all, she was working and he was not. She started usurping more authority in the house for she was now the family provider. He looked after the children or saw friends when the younger ones were in school. But, Sher Singh's pride was ebbing away for he no longer was the family breadwinner.

Not only did men work long hours, but some women held two or more jobs. Almost all working wives had at least one other job, that of assisting in the family business, along with her household duties of cooking, cleaning, and looking after the family. Apparently, the

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[1]There is a frightening truth in the fact that this comment applies after more than a hundred years to the same setting that inspired Dickens to write about working conditions in English industry.

Gravesindians would do anything to make money, as long as it did not tarnish family izzat.

When there were no elderly women to tend the young children, a grave problem arose. During these middle years and into the 1970s, Gravesend authorities faced the major problem of very young Punjabi children being left home alone while both parents went to work. Parents left four and five year olds locked in the house with a sandwich, cookies, and a thermos of tea. The norm, however, was to have one member of the residence group watch all the children, cook and look after the house, while everyone else worked. As soon as was possible, sons went off to work in their fathers' factories and daughters joined their mothers.

Daily Living

With the return of family life to Gravesindia, the life-style underwent a change. The pub continued to be the social center for the men, and the place of work also was used for discussion and debate, although these activities began to shift to the home. In the living room, friends and party members gathered to converse about local issues and to plan party strategy. Men were always afforded priority here; the women generally moved into the kitchen, cooking and visiting with each other. Some Gravesindian homes had the television in the living room, whereas others had it in the back room next to the kitchen for the women, for this was considered a major source for the Punjabi women to learn English.

Despite the overcrowding and sparse living conditions, the Punjabis kept themselves very clean. Men showered after work at the factory and women frequented the public bath in Gravesend, where plenty of hot water was available. Many houses in Gravesend did not have a bath tub or shower--previous English owners and Indians could not afford such a luxury.

The Gurdwara, as a social center, was open for all. On Sunday afternoons after the local Indian movie, men in their best suits with their gaily dressed women and brightly dressed children headed for the Gurdwara, where the services started about five. Women always sat to the right of the Granth Sahib and the men on the left, facing its canopy, while the children sat between the two. "Devout" men constantly complained of the noise from the female side, where the whisper of gossip turned into a loud mumble that sometimes drowned out the speaker; children, crying and shouting freely, added to the confusion. The Gurdwara committee at one time assigned key men to "police" the women's side, but to no avail; for most women, the Gurdwara is their only weekly outing other than shopping.

While the life-style in Gravesend changed, that in Jandiali did not, except for an accelerated system of communication which brought with it rumors and information about relatives in England. This was of utmost importance to the villagers, because their own izzat and marriage market rating of offspring and kinsmen was acutely affected by the behavior and financial situation of relatives abroad. Because the villager knew more about life in England, it was no longer a source

of pride to have just an England returnee in the family unless he upheld family honor and had increased their income status.

Relations With the English

The period 1960 to 1962 brought little change in the previous English attitude toward the Punjabis, but there was a definite change among the Punjabi families, who began to pressure their children not to emulate or associate with the English. Women pressured mothers to make sure daughters kept their hair braided and legs covered. Boys continued to have their marriages arranged, thus ensuring they did not marry English girls.

Separation from the English was instituted widely. The migrants did not want their members to adopt the seemingly inferior or polluting habits of the whites. For example, sitting in one's own dirt in a bathtub was repulsive to the Punabis, and even in England they squatted in the tub and poured water over themselves in the village style. But it was the English co-educational system that worried the Punjabis most, for girls had to associate with boys, something only a harlot would do. Gravesindians were Punjabis first and continued to define their social position in opposition to the English. The arrival of the women accentuated these feelings, and the Punjabis chose to remain separate.

Perception and Group Orientation

The home village now became the group of imitation and evaluation for the Gravesindians; village cultural principles were reintroduced and enforced. Making money was no longer sufficient to enhance family izzat; one must also live according to the dictates of Punjabi Sikh Jat culture and uphold the family honor. Children were taught to be Punjabis and to remain distinctive. Punjabi Sikh Jat men were no longer free as they had been to associate with English girls, and their wives made sure restrictions were placed on male behavior. An England returnee did not enjoy the high evaluation he once had, although the emigrant's own self-image was one of superiority. As one villager said, "They are just common laborers in the factory, working like dogs while I am a king on my land." Villagers realized that behavior in England was below their standards and that going to England was not what they had visualized.

Although some repulsive aspects of English behavior were known to the Punjabis prior to emigration, details were elaborated upon during the middle years and increased the concern of the elders. The village became the group of evaluation in this period, and this intensified as time went on.

Analysis and Summary

The threat of immigration restrictions and the later implementation of the 1962 laws had far-reaching ramifications for the Punjabi-Gravesend migrant group, as well as for the English themselves.

Initially, the Punjabis perceived a situation of several alternatives. Since they did not know the exact nature of the future prohibitions affecting their migration, they had to face the possibility of giving up their "gold" in England or suffering permanent separation from their families (if they could not bring their spouses and children to England). There was also the likelihood that relatives and friends might be denied the opportunities that England had to offer. The answer was to bring wives, children, parents, and friends to England. The investment would be quickly repaid. Wives could work, friends would pay their debts, and the sponsor would have done a considerable service for his fellow Punjabis. Thus the massive influx took place, creating a situation the English were trying to prevent, a large immigrant community in "white" England.

With the coming of wives and children, new rules were added. In the early years, all the immigrant had to do was make money, send some home to his parents and family in Punjab, and be of service to kinsmen and villagemates in England. That changed with the arrival of the women, who wrote home informing the village of the true situation. Men were no longer free to participate in behavior that would be evaluated unfavorably by the home village. Suddenly, like migrants from other villages, Gravesindia was no longer an immigrant community of men in England, it was an extension of Jandiali, where behavior was evaluated by one's parents and villagemates.

Accordingly, searching for and filling a vacant <u>economic niche</u> continued to be the mode of operation, but <u>service</u> took on an added

dimension. Controlling deviants by informing parents, wives, and family members about improper behavior was obligatory. One had to think about family izzat back in Punjab. If such information was not transmitted and action taken, girls would not make good marriages, thus shaming their elders. Although service continued on the individual level of reciprocity, this aid also took the form of helping an immigrant bring his family to England.

The arrival of brothers, spouses, and children helped to minimize expenses, but in different ways. Men's boarding houses became extinct; family dwellings mushroomed. This joint residence led to specialization within the family. The domestic chores could now be left to one individual, a wife or grandmother, and everyone else could work. This freed some wives from household chores so they could work in a factory, sew, or clerk in a store. A family's bi-weekly income doubled with this arrangement.

But men maintained their flexibility. If advantageous, they would leave their families and live in a new city, working at a better job. If this was not feasible, they might commute long distances. Having his family in England did not prohibit a man from taking advantage of better jobs elsewhere.

At this time, the exploitative cultural broker was replaced by the social worker, who helped his fellow Punjabis. Unfortunately, since there were not enough to serve the entire community, the exploitive brokers continued to exist, but with a lesser hold.

Separateness continued to be a practice, but its purpose now was twofold. First, remaining outside the British cultural and value system conferred an objectivity and greater freedom, but men began to worry about the future of their children and spouses. Thus, according to the Gravesindians, separateness from the British also had to be maintained so that British ways would not infiltrate and undermine the high ideals of Punjabi culture.

Bringing the family to Gravesend gave the Punjabi immigrants two final advantages: (1) pooling of resources and (2) the introduction of an objective family tactician into the scene. Pooling resources meant that when a family member saw a good investment, there was a large amount of capital that could be used immediately to obtain the "good deal." Also, having a wife in England gave the family a tactician. In her everyday associations she could gossip and learn about opportunities to help the family. She could get a "feel" for how certain behavior would be evaluated; she gathered information that would be of advantage in a husband's search for employment or alliance with a social worker.

The arrival of wives made Gravesindia an integral part of Jandiali. There was no escape now, the communications networks were open--no behavior, good or bad, was overlooked. All actions in England were considered in the evaluative process of Jandialians, whether they were in England or Punjab.

Restrictive legislation had broad ramifications for the Punjabi immigrant in England. Nevertheless, it did not really put him at much of a disadvantage; he simply studied the situation and used it to his own benefit.

CHAPTER VI

GRAVESEND AND THE ADAPTATION PROCESS (1963-1969)

Several behavioral changes were made by the Gravesend Sikh Jat community as it continued to adjust to its own increasing numbers and to the reactions of its Jandiali counterparts.

The Aftermath

Confrontation

The situation changed for the Gravesend-Jandiali migrant group when two adversaries were introduced. The first adversary was the English, who began discriminating against the Gravesindians, seeing them as "people who have come to reap the benefits of our country that we have spent centuries forming." Although the Punjabis perceived resources in Britain to be unlimited, the English perceived assets as limited, with the immigrants depriving rightful heirs of their inheritance. "Housing is getting crowded; the Health Service is being taxed," they complained. Even though the contribution of the immigrants was much greater than the benefits they received, the English saw the Gravesindians as unwanted leaches, taking that which did not belong to them. Although not as violent as in other places, discrimination against the Punjabi community surfaced. Sometimes it took the form of an "accidental" nudge on the street, or of "being too busy" to wait

on an Indian in an English store. The English adversary made inroads into the cultural life of the Punjabis. As the next chapter examines in more detail, the Punjabis began to be concerned about the influence of English schools and culture on their children.

The other adversary was the exploiter, the person who took advantage of the Gravesindians' ignorance. These people had been present previously in the form of illegal travel agents or abusive cultural brokers, but they became much more prominent now, a force to be dealt with.[1] The exploiters[2] were English or Indian, but seldom Punjabi Sikh Jats, and never Doaban. Gujaratis, Englishmen, and other outsiders performed such functions and generally paid for the misdeed in the end. There are still some Gravesindians who remain as ignorant today of English ways, as the day they arrived. Basic ignorance of English law makes these people vulnerable to the exploiters.

Population Distribution

Insecure Punjabi elders followed the emigrating women and children to Gravesend. Parents worried about being looked after in their old age and yearned for the love of their sons and grandchildren. They were concerned about who would light their funeral pyre. There was a genuine fear of facing their final hours of life alone. Elders

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[1]Cases and examples will be set forth in this chapter under the section on "Daily Living."

[2]People who took advantage of a migrant's ignorance of British law to deprive him of social or material resources.

wrote, pressuring their sons and relatives to sponsor them to England. Parents often bribed medical doctors in India to write letters of "serious illness" that would force their sons to send for them.

Upon arrival, the elderly migrants became a part of the Gravesindian community. With few exceptions, most elderly people who emigrated were either of low izzat or had all their sons in England. The physically strong, able-bodied old men lied about their age and became a vital part of the work force, taking on heavy work along with the younger men and aided in increasing assets. The elder women contributed by tending children, cooking, and keeping house, thus freeing one more individual to bring in a pay check.

The reaction of Gobind Singh's parents is a typical example of what occurred at this time.

> Case 50. Gobind Singh, after being in England for a short time, brought his wife and children to Gravesend. Soon after his dependents' arrival, he began receiving letters from Punjab telling of the failing health of his mother. Being the only son, Gobind held a special place in her heart. The letters, however, told of her broken heart, how she missed her grandchildren whom she had loved so dearly. Shortly thereafter a doctor in Punjab wrote to Gobind saying his mother was dying of a broken heart--sadness was killing her. If he loved his mother, he should either return to Punjab or take her to England. Gobind's sister also wrote to him requesting that he sponsor his mother and father to England.
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> Relations between Gobind's wife and mother had not been good. There had been tension between them from the beginning. But, considering all the circumstances, Gobind's wife consented and even encouraged him to bring his "dying" mother to England.
>
> Gobind brought his mother and father to England. Her "illness" was quickly cured. Even though he was 70 years old, Gobind's father obtained a construction job. His mother was not able to get a job, but she managed the children, thus freeing Gobind's wife for work at Bata Shoe company.

Some elderly people had been in Gravesend before this time, but during the middle and later 1960s their numbers increased. The newly arrived grandmother assumed the position of nurse to the children and family tactician, the position other Gravesindian grandmothers held, and the grandfather became an additional laborer. Their presence did not usually mean a change of residence, only a new age distribution in the community.

Social Relations

Social relations in Gravesend remained much the same as in the middle years except for changes in family relations. First, a "split family" situation occurred; that is, couples had two groups of children with a five-to-eight-year gap between them. The wives' arrival in Gravesend caused a population explosion. The Jandialian man felt bound to start a "second" family to prove to the Gravesindian and Jandiali communities that he loved his wife and to quell the many rumors of unfaithfulness that had filtered back to the home village. Punjabi parents tend to measure the success of a marriage by the time it takes a new bride to become pregnant. If she is not with child by the first or second month of marriage, people question whether the marriage has been consummated and hence its success and potential for permanence. Upon arrival in England, most Punjabi women, some with elementary school-age or teenaged children, became pregnant and bore babies before the year was over.

Second, the animosity that may previously have existed between wives and mothers-in-law was greatly intensified in England, where both women competed for high status and the affection of the children, especially the eldest son. It did not take long for a Punjabi woman in England, especially if she was elderly, to realize that she did not have the social security she had in Punjab. There the wife of the man who owns the house and/or land is the matriarch. Parents who came to England in the later years, although given respect as elders, were guests. In this position they did not have the authority they held when a son brought his bride to his parents' Jandiali home. The elderly women in Gravesindia feared that if something happened to her husband, she would be at the mercy of her son and his wife, who might turn her out of the house, like the Westerners who put old people in "living graves."[1] She had some solace in that fellow Punjabis would come to her rescue, but then she would be dependent upon outsiders, stripped of her pride and security.

The great insecurity for the elderly migrant mother in England stemmed from two factors: (1) her age precluded employment and (2) her previous position as absolute matriarch was usurped by her daughter-in-law. The latter had experienced privacy and run her own household without her mother-in-law's interference. She resented the old lady's spoiling her utopia. As one lady put it,

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[1]That is, homes for the aged, according to the Punjabis.

> Mohan and I had a beautiful relationship; we loved each other deeply, had two sons within two years, and worked together as a team. Our children were happy as we enjoyed a family life. Then that old witch (mother-in-law) had to come and spoil everything. We now have family fights, and I am once again treated shabbily, while they all, including Mohan, gang up against me.

The mother knows that her son is obligated to her, but that his wife desires her to leave. She knows that she cannot be sure whom her son will side with if a choice arises. The elderly woman begins to cultivate an extremely close relationship with her grandchildren; she loves them, coddles them, sleeps with them, and provides love when they are disciplined, but never disciplines them herself. This grandmother-grandchild relationship was similar to that in Punjab, but because of the insecurity, it was greatly intensified in Graves-india. The result of the childrens' increased affection for their grandmother is illustrated by these stories.

> Case 51. It was decided that the elderly Bhagvant Kaur should return to Punjab, because she and her daughter-in-law were fighting. Her grandchildren opposed this so vociferously that she finally stayed in England, much to the chagrin of their mother.

> Case 52. When the elderly Kamala Kaur returned to Punjab, her health began to "deteriorate" rapidly, and she became quite ill and had to be hospitalized. Her whole [psychosomatic] problem revolved around the fact that she had been separated from her beloved grandchildren. No son could bear to have the death of his mother on his conscience, so Kamala Kaur returned to England within the year.

The daughter-in-law is also at a disadvantage in this game of vying for affection. She must work all day, while the "old lady" stays at home and influences her children. One bright young woman from Doaba feels extremely harrassed by her mother-in-law, who

> is perfectly capable of looking after my children during the day, even carrying around our 18-month old, thirty-pound son; she claims, however, that her arthritis prohibits her from cleaning the house, washing diapers, and cooking the evening meal. I have to do all of that work when I come home so I have no time for my children. Naturally, the children love her. I know my children are being spoiled, but every time I discipline them, they run to that witch and she gives them sympathy, turning them against me.

Her husband is torn between his mother and his wife; he is obligated to obey his mother, and yet his wife is unhappy.

The children benefit; they are bribed with affection by both the mother and grandmother. In England, the eldest son usually sleeps with his grandmother until he is eleven years of age or older because the family claims that there are not enough quilts for everyone. Some boys of eighteen or nineteen sleep with their mother or grandmother, especially before a big event such as going away to college. According to Punjabi culture, this behavior is neither unusual nor unnatural; it simply shows the strong bond between mother and son, or grandmother and grandson.

Besides increasing the tension in a Punjabi home, the grandmother taught the children a glorified version of village life in Punjab. The child is aware only of the good aspects of village life and desires to return to Punjab.

It is interesting that the arrival of the elderly did not necessarily bring conservatism. Hamza Alavi (1970) had preliminary impressions that, among the Pakistai immigrants to England, it was those between the ages of 35 and 50 who were more conservative regarding their cultural ideals. This also seemed to be true of

the Punjabi Sikh Jats of Gravesend. Let us see how this worked in a specific case:

> Case 53. Shiro Kaur was one of the few girls in Punjab to go to a college. Thus, when she was brought to England by her husband, she obtained a fine job in a London bank. She was very upset, however, when her parents-in-law demanded that she give her entire pay check to her father-in-law. They also claimed that she showed disrespect to her mother-in-law. Although her husband's parents had come to her husband's house and she was the dominant female, they felt that she should not show her contempt so openly.
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> Shiro Kaur went to Bhajan Singh with her problem. Bhajan Singh was an elder of their home village, thus a naturaal person to settle the conflict. She explained how her husband's parents mistreated her; how they took her money and curbed her freedom. Bhajan Singh listened to Shir Kaur's parents-in-law also. They told how she was disrespectful to her elders, how she had been corrupted by English ways, trying to be independent rather than helping the family.
>
> Bhajan Singh rules that Shiro Kaur should be allowed to keep her own bank account but that she should also behave more respectfully toward her husband's parents.

Here is the case of an elder deciding on what seemed a radical departure from normal Punjabi village behavior--allowing a girl to have her own bank account. Bhajan Singh, however, realized that things were different now and that changes had to be made. If leniency was not allowed, the situation could become intolerable for Shiro Kaur, who might eventually bring about a split in the family.

This case also illustrates that when conflicts took place, whether inter- or intrafamily, a common elder was appealed to for settlement. As in Jandiali, elders were considered the holders of wisdom, which they had acquired through a lifetime of experience. A respected elder in Punjab brought that respect with him to England, and

people came to him just as they would in Jandiali. It was noticed, however, that elders only made decisions concerning things of which they were knowledgeable. If they felt incompetent about a cause and they were secure enough to admit it, they sought outside advice.

Whether the grandparents' arrival or other factors, the family in Gravesindia experienced previously unknown pressures. There was fear that the family might split into smaller units, especially in cases involving the more independent Gravesindian woman.

A son was no longer dependent upon his father for his livelihood as he would have been in Punjab; he could leave his family and earn his own way. The younger brother was not dependent and did not feel compelled to obey his older brother. With factory jobs readily available, he too could leave home and become independent. New means were devised to deal with these problems. The elders, or those in authority, became less strict with subordinates and exerted far less pressure on them. A father often spoiled his son, sometimes giving him more than his due share, hoping thereby to keep the family together. An older brother was sure to grant the request of his younger brother and listen to his ideas more attentively for fear that the boy would leave the family and drastically lower family izzat. Pal experienced the benefits of this fear:

> Case 54. Pal was the youngest brother in the household. Although he was earning a good wage at the factory, he seemed to be getting "more than his share" in benefits. Whenever he needed money for a beer, his mother gave it to him. Whenever his wife wanted new clothes, she was allowed to spend the money. It seemed that, although the rest of the family was on an austere budget, Pal and his wife were living lavishly.

No noticeable breakdown of the joint family system was observed among the Punjabi Sikh Jat immigrants of Gravesend. The authoritarian line was not as strict as it was in Jandiali. Maintaining wealth was of greater concern than freedom and concessions were made. Also, keeping the family together was important. For whatever reasons, the family continued to live together and amass its fortune.

By the late 1960s, many families were becoming independent of the cultural broker or social worker for younger children were becoming bilingual.

> Case 55. Rejani Kaur had come to Gravesend with her mother and younger brother at the age of four. She had gone through the English school system. By the time she was six, her mother took her to the store and post office where she would interpret. By the age of ten, she was helping her father with income tax forms, health service applications, and anything else that required her brokerage abilities. Not only did she help her parents, but whenever her uncles, aunts, or cousins needed bicultural services, she also helped them. Even in college, much of her vacation time was spent helping relatives with forms and difficulties that required her abilities.

By the later years, children in the family became cultural brokers, and the kin group was no longer dependent on an exploitive cultural broker or paternalistic social worker. Although children could not help in all matters, their abilities greatly increased the independence of the family group.

Service

The concept of service continued into this later period. In Gravesindia it was non-Doabans who exploited the migrant community; the police interpreter was a Gujarati and the head of an exploitive

immigrant advisory service was from Amritsar District. Brokerage positions were held by the Hindus, Bengalis, Gujaratis and Pakistanis, who, because of their knowledge (even when minimal) of the English language, were looked upon to interpret. There may have been Sikh Jats in this category, but they were not residents of Gravesindia. The author never observed, or heard of, a Doaban Sikh Jat exploiting his own kind. Government positions continued to be declined by the Gravesindian Sikh Jats if they were seen as being exploitive in nature. There was in these later years no change in the concept of service, only in the opportunities in which one might apply it as his knowledge of the English language and ways increased.

Politics

With the increasing number of children performing the services of a cultural broker, the dominance of such men as Bhuta Singh and Bhajan Singh began to decline. However, the Gravesindians had to deal with extortion and discrimination. The English did pass the Race Relations Act, but the penalties were light, and its use, in the view of the Punjabis, was negligible. The transformation of the Gravesend Friendship Council into the Community Relations Council provided an arena where English and Punjabis could discuss openly problems concerning their interaction, but the need remained for some formal means of representing the Gravesindians. The Punjabis in Gravesend also wanted to promote their culture. Children were being taught English ways and traditions in the schools, while forgetting their own. They were not being reminded of the glories of Punjab and Punjab's rich tradition.

The answer to these problems lay in the formation of the "party,"[1] resembling a quasi-kin group. The effect of political parties will be dealt with later,[2] but the status and role behavior in these organizations will be examined here.

The party is a loosely knit, informally structured, quasi-kin group. One of its objectives is to obtain positions of importance in one of the local organizations for its members. The offices in the Gurdwara and/or Indian Workers Association which they seek to control are president, secretary, and executive council members.

Although the president of an immigrant organization has ultimate decision-making power, he must be sensitive to public opinion and implement the wishes of his constituency. If he does not, chances of reelection are minimal. The president elected by the Gravesindian community picks his own committee of office bearers and advisers, usually from within his own party, with some neutrals and a few weak members from the opposite party to show his impartiality. Members of the opposite party are selected for jobs such as treasurer, so that no charge of missing funds can be made against the party in power. The president almost always consults his party stalwarts before making any final decisions. He generally is not autocratic for fear of alienating

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[1]These political groups were neither parties nor factions, but, in essence, quasi-kin groups. A dominant kin group would provide the core of support, with other individuals or kin groups providing allegiance to that group (see Mayer 1966:97-122). For a further discussion as to the terminology that should be employed for these groups, see John (1969:94-109) and Pettigrew (1975:163-177).

[2]This will be dealt with later in the section "Daily Living."

his supporters. He must be a true diplomat whose key supporters are satisfied that he is following their advice.

The secretary is the backbone of an organization; he keeps a list of all members of the community, handles all correspondence, and acts as liaison between the president and the constituency. Usually he contacts members and persuades them to a certain point of view. He is a strong potential threat to the president's leadership because his direct contact with the people makes him popular, and the president is frequently envious and fearful. If there is a split in the party or a quarrel among the officers, it is not unusual for the president and the secretary to be on opposite sides. Therefore, a president must choose not only a capable secretary, but one who will be loyal to him at all costs. This is a difficult combination to find.

Indian associations like the Gurdwara and Indian Workers Association have an executive council always composed of an odd number of members to prevent a tie although decisions are generally made by consensus. Usually, able persons who serve the community and are well liked serve on the executive council. The Gurdwara is the only organization whose executive positions are stipulated in its constitution. (The Indian Youth Federation and Indial Workers Association also have constitutions, but they seldom are abided by.)

The positions of importance in a political party are much less formally structured than those in other organizations. Nevertheless, any member of a party may occupy any of six status positions:

"kingmaker," core of advisers,[1] broker, social worker, sympathizer, and of course, member.[2]

The kingmaker is usually a former president of an organization such as the Gurdwara committee. He is politically strong, but has made enemies, so he does not have sufficient strength to obtain or hold office himself. His following provides a strong core of support for any candidate he chooses. The kingmaker remains in the background, supporting, advising, and determining the policy of his candidate. The Gravesindians often know who the kingmaker is and if his candidate wins, he has complete power. The esteem of the kingmaker is not risked if his candidate loses the election unless he has undiplomatically publicized his support.

The kingmaker has a core of advisers with whom he and the president meet to discuss local politics and strategy. These advisers are skilled in political activity and know the community and what political tactics to use in order to hold power. Intelligent and politically able men, these advisers generally lack sufficient relatives for a core following and are, therefore, unable to have a leadership position of their own.

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[1]In Gravesindia the core of support was provided by kinsmen of the kingmaker.

[2]The terms "kingmaker" and "broker" are analytical categories used to explain what was observed. The other categories were used by the Punjabis themselves.

The two terms "social worker" and "broker" are often used synonymously, but they do not have the same meaning here.[1] The author now considers these functions in their political context. Both are essential to any political party or organization, for by helping others, they gain a following. The social worker selflessly helps his fellow Punjabis; a broker bridges the cultural gap between the British and Punjabi communities. As previously stated, the latter is usually bilingual and knows enough about English ways to help people with income tax, medical and social service forms, jobs, and general survival in Britain; he is in the position to exploit his fellow immigrants. Inder Singh is an example:

> Case 56. Inder Singh set up an employment exchange and initially became rich by helping people obtain jobs and later by extorting and coercing those he had initially helped. It was upon his advise that Punjabi immigrants took illegal income tax exemptions. He then used this same information as a threat to keep them under his power, to extort bribes and votes from them. The early Punjabi immigrants, being ignorant and fearful, easily complied.

Those who helped their fellow Gravesindians selflessly are termed "social workers." Bhajan Singh of Jandiali is an example; he helped friends fill out forms and obtain driver's licenses, and/or interpreted for them at the doctor's office. Many social workers neither asked for anything in return nor sought a political office; they were simply friends to those in need. Unfortunately, the leaders

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[1]For another description of the social worker and broker, see John (1969: 112-117), who includes broker in his description of social worker. Desai (1963: 80-83 and 108-121) describes him as a middleman, but his unchecked power as factory foreman is evident.

of the English Gravesend community often could not tell the difference between the exploiting broker and the helpful social worker, and the English usually had contact only with the corrupt broker, whom they unknowingly aided.

The sympathizer is not active in any party, but because he has friends or relatives in one, he is considered sympathetic toward that party. Since he is not actively committed to any group, he can gain the confidence of both parties and mediate conflicts and disagreements. He is, in some ways, in a precarious position, because the opposition party is often suspicious of him and does not always regard him as neutral.

Members aligned themselves with a party. Membership was informal, but recognizable. Kin groups seldom split. Brothers, fathers, uncles, and cousins belonged to the same party, as did villagemates, unless there was an intra-village conflict.

Another group of Punjabis who moved out while having numerous financial interests in Gravesend wielded considerable influence. They were not classifiable in one of the above categories. Most of these men were either married to or living with English women and had a core of friends in the English community, but their financial investments in the form of Indian stores or businesses were numerous. They usually lived in the larger metropolitan area and used Gravesend residents as fronts for their desires. Generally these men were very active in past factional behavior.

Those without kinsmen in Gravesend often joined a party for it provided help and protection. Such a "weak" individual did not receive as much support as that of a "strong" man surrounded by kin (unless he made an unusually great contribution to the party in the form of brokerage or organizational abilities). Yet, this lesser support was better than none at all.

To summarize, the political party was set up to handle problems that had developed in Gravesindia. The social worker was used to mediate between the English and the Punjabis. The kingmaker and president provided leadership which, although somewhat autocratic, was in tune with the concerns of their constituents. The advisors who provided counsel were usually the best minds a party could muster; men who could define and present alternatives to the people.

The goal of organizations like the Gurdwara and Indian Workers Association, was to promote unity. All parties were represented, whether victorious or not. Losers usually were given powerful positions, such as treasurer, to display the honesty or the party in power. Finally, the secretary kept things running smoothly. This proved to be a well-organized force to deal with the problems at hand. It was flexible, its members were willing to meet at a moment's notice to deal with any issue important to the Gravesend community.

The goal of a party was to win the leadership of an organization. With this leadership, they had credibility and power to represent Gravesindia to the Member of Parliament, mayor, or Community

Relations Council.[1] Active participation in political life also offered individuals the opportunity to demonstrate service, thus increasing their prestige both in Gravesend and Jandiali. Unfortunately, inter-party competition proved to be the demise of what might have been a much more effective means of dealing with the problems of these later years.[2]

Economy

The economy of Gravesindia and its families underwent continued modification at this time. Indian financial advisers became a part of the community, advising Punjabi immigrants on investments which would bring the best return. This included using the stock market. Punjabis in England began to invest their money in areas other than the local bank and the village. Nonetheless, money continued to flow back to the village, since England was becoming an insecure place for the Gravesindians, and they wanted to ensure adequate security for themselves at home.

Simultaneously, there emerged a new interest among Punjabi males between the ages of 16 and 25. They were eager to gain technical

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[1]Since the Gravesend Community Relations Council was made up of organizations related in any way to the promotion of proper ethnic relations in Gravesend, a losing party quickly formed "paper organizations" such as an Indian Cultural Society so they could have their say at the council meetings anyway. These "paper organizations" had ten or so members, but had voting rights in the CRC, giving a few people authority beyond what their representation warranted.

[2]Generally, the groups would form alliances with the end result of only two parties dominating Gravesindian politics.

knowledge for self-enhancement--photography, electrical skills, communication technology, and telephone systems were but a few. Only two Gravesindian boys went to college for a higher liberal arts education; the rest of the young men either went to work in the factories as soon as they were able or attended local technical schools to learn basic skills.

The Gravesindians also began looking for work niches that gave them greater independence from an English employer. Several started peddling. After having worked their time in the factory and saving enough to purchase a business, they would begin selling cloth, groceries, or other items, generally catering to the Punjabi community. Two Punjabis started a Drivers' Education School where, for a fee, they taught both English and Indians how to drive. Others sold car, home, accident, or life insurance. Women also worked. They sewed for a retailer who would stop by the house weekly, collect the work, and leave more. Other women picked vegetables on the local farms, a task degrading to a Jat wife in Jandiali, but acceptable in England. Some people, both men and women, held down three jobs at once. In general, the Gravesindians continued to be obsessed with making money.

Daily Living

In addition to the changing patterns of family life which began in the middle years, the Gravesindian community in these later years had to deal with exploitation. This took the form of an Indian or Punjabi, other than a Doaban, setting up an "immigrant advisory service."

Such organizations helped arrange illegal immigration and provided information on how to cheat on income tax and how to escape prosecution if caught immigrating illegally. Once a Gravesindian took advantage of these services, he was blackmailed by the same people.

> Case 57. Mahesh Mehera was an insurance agent who had an extremely high sales record among the Gravesindian community. This was surprising since the Punjabi Sikh Jat immigrants did not believe in purchasing life insurance; they were going back to Punjab where it was not needed. It turned out that the insurance agent had, in the earlier years, been a broker who had "helped" people and was now advising them to buy insurance from him. If they refused, he threatened to "go to the police."

The victim had no way of defending himself against such people.[1] He was more vulnerable if he did not have a kin group in Gravesend, but he was safer if he aligned himself with a political party and gave them his support in return for protection. The party looked after its own and depended on other members' relatives for support.

The Punjabis also needed protection from the English community, since exploitation by salesmen and merchants was not uncommon.

> Case 58. Our Punjabi neighbors had purchased a sewing machine. When the machine failed to work properly, they called the store, requesting a repairman. Three months later a repairman made a call. At that time he informed the family that their guarantee had expired the past week. To the English-speaking daughter's protest that they had called three months before, he replied: "Sorry about that! Now if you buy the repair insurance service we offer, we may be able to do something."

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[1]At this time Gravesindians charged that the police interpreter would talk to them in Punjabi in front of the English inspector, threatening to prove them guilty if they did not pay his price. The English police could not speak Punjabi and the victim could not speak English. Thus the interpreter could not be caught. Three years later, however, he was charged with extortion, despite previously being defended by the local police department.

> The girl gold him, "We did buy insurance, but my father has the record and is sleeping upstairs after his night-shift."
>
> A more knowledgeable Punjabi neighbor piped in, "Surely you have a record of their insurance at the store?"
>
> To this the repairman replied, "Well you know how easily such things are lost," and left after charging £10 for repairs.

At such times political groups are called upon to help.

During the latter part of the 1963-1969 period, some active discrimination began. Young English boys cornered Punjabi lads in dark alleys and beat them. Punjabi homes where the husband worked a night-shift were marked and the women were threatened in his absence. These episodes never made the news, and Punjabi communities reacted quietly, but efficiently. Almost every Punjabi family installed a telephone, especially households where husbands worked nights or which were in a marginal neighborhood. Then they quickly came to the aid of each other. For example,

> Case 59. One night a car of English boys came up to a Punjabi home and threw sand at the window. Within minutes, a car of Punjabi men drove by. They continued to patrol the area searching for the English culprits.

The Sikhs maintained that they had to take the law into their own hands because the police would do nothing to protect them. The adults traveled in pairs and instructed young boys always to associate in groups. Such group fraternities are very common among the Punjabi Sikh Jats and proved useful in Gravesend for self-protection.

The community also felt the need to promote Punjabi culture. Already Sikh religious holidays were observed in the Gurdwara, along

with some Hindu holidays like Diwali and Holi. Besakhi (harvest festival) was the major secular holiday celebrated with an akhand path in the Gurdwara. The other Indian secular holidays were the responsibility of the Indian Workers Association and Youth Federation, which held community-wide programs to which the English were invited. Local talent performed along with a professional dancing or singing group; besides Punjabi poetry, songs, and dances, there were always speeches by political and social leaders. The Indian Workers Association initially bore the main financial responsibility for these programs, but later a collection to cover the hall expense was taken.

Group infighting was present to some extent in earlier years, but it became a definite part of the Punjabi life-style in the later period. For example, a drunken fight between members of opposite parties could lead to retaliation and counter retaliation.[1] These conflicts were often mediated by an unbiased Gravesindian, respected by both disputants, who first would consult the elders from both families and request them to work out a compromise. The job of mediator carried risks, and if either disputant suspected the mediator was biased, his group would plan to get even.

Initially, the Gurdwara was the arena for party conflict, but in 1966 the locus had shifted to the Indian Workers Association. The association was formed to provide an alternative to the independent cultural broker, and it also promoted Indian holidays. Unfortunately,

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[1]Forceably cutting a victim's beard or stealing his turban was a common means of humiliating an opponent.

infighting and opportunistic cultural brokers within the organization led to its demise in 1969. Party politics were not eliminated, however. The two political parties active during the author's research contested Gurdwara elections and channelled their activities through this religious institution. The formation of the Indian Youth Federation led to a transfer of communal responsibilities and secular functions to the young boys. The local Community Relations Council began to rely on the Youth Federation for help in its programs and to entertain visiting dignitaries. The Indian Youth Federation displayed a selfless and dedicated spirit for helping fellow Gravesindians. They worked cooperatively with the Community Relations Council and became known for their reliability and effectiveness as mediators between the Indian and English communities.

The heightened political conflict in Gravesend in this period had its effect on the home village, for a conflict between groups in England carried over to Jandiali. Political leadership was also sought because of its affect on kinsmen in Jandiali. If one achieved a position of importance in Gravesend, he wrote letters to the village using letterhead paper. This boosted the status of the Jandialian family and kin. It was equally important to send a newspaper clipping mentioning one's name in a praiseworthy manner and/or a picture of oneself with a member of Parliament. Political amibitions were important not only for personal and family ambitions, but also for self-protection and for promoting community programs.

This period also witnessed the birth of the Sikh Missionary Society UK, in Gravesend. It later spread throughout England, with the purpose of proselytizing and converting the English to Sikhism and encouraging wayward Sikhs to conform. Proselytizing is in diametrical opposition to the teachings and writings of Hinduism and Sikhism. Neither religion believed in sending missionaries among other people. The Sikh Missionary Society published pamphlets describing Sikhism and presenting a rationale for its beliefs and practices. A language of cross-cultural communication was devised: The Gurdwara became the "Sikh church," Guru Nanak became the "Sikh Savior," and the Granth Sahib, the "Sikh Bible." American and (white) English converts to Sikhism adhered to Sikh doctrine and symbols and freely moved from Gurdwara to Gurdwara preaching Sikhism.

Maintaining hair was, at this time, a major issue in the community, which in the middle 1960s had elected a shaven Sikh as Gurdwara president. The Sikh Missionary Society tried to push through a ruling that only bearded Sikhs could hold an executive office in the Gurdwara, but they were unsuccessful because too many Gravesindian elders were shaven. It was also during this time that the Akhand Kirtan Jatha, an ultraconservative Sikh sect, became active. This small group (about thirty members in Gravesend) not only believed in maintaining the five Sikh symbols but also emphasized the Hindu concepts of purity and meditation.

Interestingly, the founder and most prominent leader of the Sikh Missionary Society was the same man who in 1963 was forced out of

Council housing; the white residents resented a "colored" living in their midst. Active members of the society began to regrow their beards, and in Gravesend nine men rededicated themselves to Sikhism and started to uphold the Sikh symbols among their respective families.

The Gurdwara instituted Saturday Punjabi language classes for children of all ages to learn how to read and write Gurmukhi, lest they forget their native tongue. They also applied to English authorities for permission to open a preschool nursery. The Gurdwara began to take on many of the social worker's functions of helping those in need, interpreting, and/or providing lodging for the needy and newcomers.

Although still maintaining that they planned to return to Punjab, Gravesindians started to decorate their homes. They put up wallpaper, carpeted floors, and bought furniture. They began to develop a sense of pride in their homes that had not been present in the early or middle years. This shift in attitude could be interpreted as a response to the English charge that Punjabis created slum situations by neglecting their houses. Flower gardens were considered a waste of time by the punjabis, who preferred to grow vegetables, herbs, and spices which would ease the food bill. Their backyards resembled miniature Punjabi fields with "irrigation ditches" and "dirt dikes" instead of long waterhoses. Bathrooms and toilets were remodeled in the Western style, something unheard of previously. This remodeling fostered or was fostered by the realization that a return to Punjab would not occur in the very near future, and that, in fact, there might be an extended stay in England.

Arranged marriages also took on a different form. In the early and middle years, the bride and groom often were from different areas; that is, if the boy lived in England, the girl usually came from Punjab, and vice-versa. Families generally preferred an uneducated village girl who was more likely to be humble and obedient toward her mother-in-law. Young men in Punjab were happy to marry the girls in England, however, as they regarded this as an opportunity to migrate to England to make their fortune.

The 1968 immigration legislation passed by the British government to check the Punjabi flow, changed the latter practice, as it prohibited any girl from sponsoring boys to England, but there was no ruling against a boy brining a village girl. All that was required was for the young Punjabi lad to sign a letter of intent to marry a girl. This resulted in a sad situation in Gravesindia. Marriages for boys were arranged with girls from Punjab, but for the Punjabi girls raised in England, there was a lack of grooms. These girls were older than the average when they finally married, and the dowry system was revived. The family of a boy marrying an English Punjabi girl demanded a healthy dowry (the equivalent of a house, car, and furniture), whereas the dowry, if any, provided for a village girl was meager, usually only her passage and, perhaps, £200, if she had prosperous relatives in England. When the higher 1970 immigration legislation was being debated, the Punjabis voiced their concern about the problem to the local Member of Parliament, but there was no change in his attitude.

Changes in Jandiali were minimal at this time. Life continued as before except for the changed attitude toward the English and the flow of girls from Jandiali to England as brides. The boys were forced to stay behind with hopes of gaining a bride in Canada or the United States.

The situation in England was watched very closely by the Indian press. Its coverage, for example, of the strike by Sikh transportation workers in Wolverhampton (Beethan 1970) aroused sympathetic demonstrations in India.[1] Such articles incited anger and remorse among the Indians, especially the relatives of migrants. The Jandialians, along with the rest of India, have become more aware of British discrimination, and esteem for the British has dropped.

Summarizing the effect of the changes in daily living in Gravesindia during this period, most notable is a reliance on Indian organizations for protection from exploiters and racist English practices. The community also protected itself by moving in small groups and by use of the telephone. Simultaneously, there was a return to strict Sikh religious and cultural behavior and a realization of the somewhat permanent nature of the stay in England, resulting in a growing care for Punjabi homes.

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[1]A good example is Nihal Singh's article in The Indian Statesman (1971:14) that tells of the possibility of unjust deportation of Indians from Britain; Lawson's article on "British Immigrants," (The Indian Statesman 1971) explains that it is the Asians who are on the firing line instead of the Caribbeans as had previously been the case. There are other eye-catching titles in Indian newspapers: "Keeping Britain White" (The Statesman, October 22, 1971); "15 Start Dharma for Entry Permits to UK" (The Tribune, October 14, 1971); "Labour Club Bars Coloured" (The Statesman, March 27, 1975); and so on.

Relations With the English

During these latter years Gravesindians began to feel the resentment of the English toward them. The migrants had continued to view the opportunities in England as providing plenty for all. By the later 1960s, the English host community of Gravesend viewed the immigrants as contributing to the decline in the economic situation. They blamed the immigrants for overtaxing available housing and the National Health Service. "We have worked hard to establish a good health service; now these woggies are over-crowding the services without paying sufficient taxes to support it," is typical of the comments by the English. Despite claims that "the woggies are taking good jobs away from us English who have made this country," as mentioned earlier, immigrants do not generally take away jobs the British want. But in Gravesend, due to the rising rate of unemployment, it seems to the English that the Punjabis were receiving preferencial consideration by employers. Moreover, there were some Asians who did have very good positions, due to their seniority in a particular company or their better skills in a particular job.

One can understand the middle and lower class Englishman's resentment toward Punjabis who drove nice cars and/or paid cash for houses. It was beyond his understanding that these immigrants could acquire such wealth in such a short time. The average Englishman failed to realize that, whereas he was struggling alone to make ends meet, his Punjabi colleagues were pooling their resources. The English also did not realize how many Punjabis worked on weekends to earn time and a half pay.

Besides the fact that the Jats generally had more children than the English, their distinctive dress and mannerisms made them more conspicuous in the hospitals and doctors' waiting rooms. They thus gave the impression that they were "reaping more benefits from the National Health Service." Punjabi mothers preferred to deliver their children in the hospital rather than at home, home birth was becoming the trend in Britain, so hospital facilities could be used for surgical patients. Punjabi women knew that if they stayed home, they would have to get up and work right after delivery. Punjabis, unfamiliar with modern medicines, often administered them improperly; thus children often were rushed to the hospital, increasing British resentment.

Perception and Group Orientation

The Gravesindians, along with all other immigrants, felt insecure in Britain. This feeling was heightened by Enoch Powell and other legislators, whose advocacy of racially discriminatory practices were carried in the local and national papers. One Jat remarked, "All parliament has to do is pass a law and we will have to go." Greater efforts were then made to purchase land in Punjab, and land eventually could not be bought at any price. In the village of Jandiali, homes with extra rooms were built for the migrant brother and his family, who were expected soon. Some Gravesindians were not about to leave England voluntarily.

The British and the Punjabis, although living in proximity to each other, have radically different perspectives. Since the British

had control of such vital services as education, health, and jobs, it was impossible for the immigrants to be isolated. As the negative reactions of the British to the immigrants became more sharply focused, the immigrant's behavior changed. If we were using a game theory framework, we would see that instead of a game against nature, there was now a two-person game, with the English as opponents.

For both the Jandialians in England and in the home village, the whites were blocking the advancement of their brothers. Being an England returnee lost the prestige it once had, for the Jandialians in Punjab now saw the landless emigrants as being "less-than-Jats" and not good Sikhs. They were aware of the "immoral" behavior of the English (according to Punjabi culture), and they "knew" that Sikhs in England were corrupted by it. Gravesindians either did not realize that change in the attitude of the villagers or were unwilling to admit it. They continued to come home as England returnees and show off their status. Outwardly, the villagers treated them royally, but privately they commented on their inferiority as landless Sikh Jats, tainted by Western immorality.

The Jandialians in Punjab also saw England as a country weakened by the rapid loss of its colonial possessions. There was, of course, the Commonwealth of Nations, but it was no longer "white" dominated because independent "black" countries were exerting themselves and not letting Great Britain dictate terms as it once had. Some of the Punjabi elders who had served under the British Raj continued to glorify the English and blamed the migrants' problems

on their "immaturity." For the most part, however, Jandialians no longer considered the British an upright and honorable people, deserving respect and admiration.

For many Gravesindians, the British had become antagonists who attempted to block their efforts for success. Some, however, were like the Gravesindian who said, "I didn't even know there was discrimination until I read it in the Observer." Perhaps because most discriminatory practices were remote, open hostility or resentment toward the British by the Gravesindians was minimized.[1] There was disappointment, but not hatred. Perhaps most of them considered conditions in England, with all the discrimination, better than village conditions.

This by no means implies that the Punjabis desired to be "black" British. Their children were taught to disapprove of English mores. Gravesindians continued to prefer to live in their own ghettos rather than in English neighborhoods, and they reemphasized maintaining Punjabi etiquette and the five Sikh Ks. Saints from Punjab were invited to tour Gurdwaras in England and to preach Sikh doctrines. In other words, the village as the group of imitation and evaluation became stronger. Gravesindians became more conservative and reverted to the 1950s village style of dress despite the fact that their counterparts in Punjab were approximating contemporary dress. To be acceptable to their reference group in Punjab, beards and hair were grown, and

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[1]Some Gravesindians who had experienced discriminatory treatment were much more emphatic in their contempt for the English.

turbans were dug out of trunks by Punjabis going home on holidays. Sikhs were beginning to pressure local officials to teach Punjabi in the schools as a second language instead of Latin or another European language.

Analysis and Summary

For the family in these later years, changes occurred. The elders who arrived in greater numbers were worked into specialized functions in the family, and their presence did not decrease the efficiency of the family as a production unit. Expenses were minimized and resources continued to be pooled. The most able member to handle family money, and the tactical role generally remained with the wife. Separateness was maintained and taught to children, especially girls. Service to kinsmen and fellow Punjabis persisted on the reciprocal or individual level, but it became a greater factor on the public level. Political parties and prominent organizations like the Indian Workers Association developed, and the Gurdwara assumed further importance in Gravesindian life. The party was a stepping stone for gaining izzat and power that would be respected in both Gravesindia and in the home village.

Many of the functions of the cultural broker were usurped by the children, who could be trusted to interpret honestly for their relatives.

In filling vacant economic niches, a change occurred. The Gravesindian was not satisfied to be dependent upon his employer for

overtime, but sought out jobs he could pursue on his own time by benefit of his individual skills. Younger boys sought specialized technical skills.

Flexibility concerning jobs continued, both in terms of type of work and the locality of employment. It took on an added dimension in the family. The elders quickly realized the threats English society and independence posed to the family as a social and production unit (Cases 52, 55, and 56). Thus, they were willing to grant their sons resources beyond their share, hoping to make the son and his wife grateful and dependent on their elders.

Finally, the Punjabis continued to work hard, making as much money as they could. Recreation and good living were secondary; all capable men and women worked hard, even if this meant leaving young children at home alone.

For Gravesindia as a whole, discrimination and extortion (Case 58 and 59) became major problems to deal with--an organization with flexibility, efficiency, and superb talents was needed. Thus, the Punjabi "party" arose, an organization to work within the English system.

Several points should be made here. First, the separation of the Punjabi community in England was not a reaction to British discrimination or the threat thereof. The strict enforcement of Punjabi culture came with the influx of women and children in the middle years. It is not uncommon for Indian migrant communities to

glorify their homeland and remain Indian regardless of whether their environment is friendly or hostile.[1]

Second, the residents of Jandiali and the Jandialians in Gravesend continued to be one village. When a community is divided geographically but interacts in a way that their behavior affects both sectors, it is termed "extended identity." This extended identity can be seen operating in the Jandiali-Gravesend community. The two residence units were not united geographically, but they were united socially, mutually affecting and controlling each others' behavior as if they were living in the same locale.

Third, the Gravesend-Jandiali migrant still planned to return to Jandiali, and he wanted to return with high izzat. He was competing with other England returnees at a time when this distinction was diminishing in the eyes of the home village. According to Punjabi village culture dictates, it was imperative that the Gravesindian's behavior be better than the average Jandialian's. Conservatism was, therefore, on the increase in Gravesindia. The goal was to be a better Punjabi than those in Punjab so that evaluators would not find fault.

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[1]For example, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, U.S.A., the Indian community has an "India Association" that promotes the celebration of Indian holidays. Also, there is communal regulation of its members, but nowhere near the degree experienced in Gravesindia. In Kalamazoo, separation and distinctiveness are maintained even though there is no discrimination or hostility by the American host community.

CHAPTER VII

GRAVESINDIA TODAY (1970 AND AFTER)

The last three chapters have shown that the adaptive behavior of the Jandiali-Gravesend migrants has changed over the years. Criteria for increasing izzat, has shifted from a lone man's making money to an evaluation of all his behaviors and those of his entire family. Service on the individual level is no longer the only consideration; service in the community by holding public office has gained in importance. Flexibility is essential to keep the family unit together; familial role expectations are not as rigidly adhered to by Gravesindians.

The Jandiali-Gravesend migrant had to make still another decision in 1970. Should he stay in England or return to Punjab? Many had been in England over fifteen years and had, according to Punjab standards, made their fortune. Others had returned to Punjab, only to lose their fortunes and were compelled to go back to England. Some were faced with an even grimmer choice. Were they going "to become English," or maintain separatism with all of its undesirable repercussions of discrimination and ostracism from British society? The Punjabi immigrant wanted the best of both worlds, and he was torn by conflicting values. As one Sikh Jat aptly said, "We have one foot in England and the other in India, and it hurts in the middle."

This chapter examines these conflicts as articulated during a community debate. It must be kept in mind that people do not necessarily adhere to the principles that they advocate in such a meeting; but, the reader will gain an insight into the problems and solutions that the Gravesindians are considering. The illustrative example centers on the Gravesindians' debate over opening a Khalsa (Sikh community) school. The debate was held on a holiday to enable all interested parties to attend and actively participate. The issue of a Khalsa school was of paramount importance for the future of young Punjabis in England. The following debate will reveal a wide spectrum of community attitudes.

The Debate: "We Need a 'Khalsa' School"

Concern over the founding of a Khalsa school stems from the formation of the Sikh Missionary Society UK (hereafter SMS), which was founded in Gravesend. As described earlier, this group of concerned Sikhs published pamphlets and sought to defend and propagate Sikhism in England. When two of their members' children were refused admission to a fine public school on the basis of thinly disguised discrimination, the core group of the SMS decided that it was time to found a Khalsa school. Gurdwaras all over England were informed about the idea and their cooperation solicited. In the meantime, the core group started seeking support from the Gravesindian community at large. Finally, a date was fixed for a public meeting in the Gurdwara to discuss the issues. Patrons of Sikhism, Punjabi school teachers, and interested, educated people were sent an official notice, but not all attending

had been "officially" notified; this was immaterial, for it was a community effort, and everyone was welcome. Punjabi representatives came from Dartford, Gillingham, and other parts of Kent County. Upon arrival at the Clarence Place Gurdwara, all went to the basement to have some Punjabi tea, rich with milk and sugar. The Sikhs in England say that they always eat or have tea together before a meeting, for Guru Govind Singh taught that people who eat together do not fight.

The cold, damp basement came alive as the forty-two people attending stood around in groups drinking hot tea, talking and laughing.[1] Some joked and gossiped, while others disseminated their views on the pending issue. It became clear that the group was sharply divided. There were heated discussions between the shaven and non-shaven Sikhs over a recently published pamphlet which stated, "The Sikh who cuts his hair is a cheat" (Singh Kirpal, 1971: 15). There was a rumor about a disagreement between the SMS and the Gurdwara committee concerning who should run the proposed school, how it should be operated, and what its purpose should be. However, none of these discussions surfaced in the meeting, which started late.[2]

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[1]Of these forty-two, there were seven old men, two ladies (one of them the author's wife), three children, and six representatives of the Indian Youth Federation; the rest were middle aged men from all walks of life who were concerned with the higher education of their children. The absence of women does not indicate a lack of concern or influence on their part. As always for Punjabis, the power of the women was hidden; the desires of the wives of the men present were undoubtedly followed during the debate.

[2]What follows is an edited transcript of speeches and behavior.

Key passages from the Granth Sahib were read, and the meeting began with a welcome from the secretary of the Gurdwara, Makhan Singh, who then introduced the president of the Gurdwara, Roshan Singh, a tall, impressive Sikh from Jandiali. He greeted the gathering and made a few brief remarks:

> As president of the Gurdwara committee, I welcome you to our Gurdwara and am happy you honored our invitation by coming. We are in dire need of a school. Our brothers who teach in the schools are best qualified to talk on this subject, for we only work in factories and read newspapers; hence we know little. They will tell us why we need a Khalsa school, how money can be collected and affiliation obtained.

He then turned the microphone over to Mr. Sodi, a school teacher in the Gravesend school system, one of the leaders of the SMS and a promoter of the school.

> Everyone has the right to differing opinions, and each individual speaks for himself, not for the society or organization he belongs to. I would like to explain the education system in Gravesend to you.

After describing the English and Gravesend school system, he continued:

> Unfortunately, most Indian children are sent to the secondary school, where they study until the age of 16. They are neither taught with exams in view nor given a real education. The enterprising children encouraged by parents may work for CSC [a secondary school certificate exam]. Since their teachers do not take interest, most children just bide time until they come of age and can go to work in a factory or some comparable job. A few, who perform outstandingly in the CSC, are put on the GCE "O"[1] level course and have the door open to colleges.

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[1]GCE stands for General Certificate of Education. "O" levels are ordinary level examinations which are administered to children between the ages of 15 and 18 years.

Our children have special problems as they come here at a late age of 8 and 10; hardly knew any English to prove their academic standing, and did not have time to learn English. Hence 90 percent of our children have been judged wrongly. As a teacher, I can authoritatively say their English may be weak but our children are better in math and science. They are "A" level[1] material in any five subjects; if English language was not necessary and Punjabi was included, our children would be able to go on to higher education.

My daughter was not selected for upper school. I appealed, but to no avail. Consequently, I paid to send her to the Bexeley Public School. The first term she was fifth in her class of 27. Undoubtedly, the child had the ability, just like many other Indian children have.

What do we want our children to be? As parents we desire our children to do well academically and pursue a career. And our children have only two alternatives, either do well in the 11 plus exams or go to a public school in Bexeley or Chatham. Willingly we will pay for the latter. I have personally taken six children to Bexeley who were examined by the headmaster for one hour each and judged acceptable. However, the headmaster recommended that the children have an English hair cut, with which we could not comply. Our personal liberty was violated, and because they were Sikhs, the boys were not admitted to the school.

Oxford and Cambridge universities have arrangements for Hindi and Punjabi. I am an examiner, but in the past four years I have not read any papers as none of our children take the exams. Schools have no arrangements for teaching Punjabi. When our children return to India, speaking and knowing only English, they are once again faced with difficulties. Thus Punjabi and Hindi should be taught and examined. What is the use of this big Gurdwara when there is no person to become a Granthi, for in twenty years no one will be able to read our scriptures. Use your money to run a school for all religions and cultures, with a high standard of education, like our schools in America, Canada, and Malaya. Where the money will come from, and other details, will be discussed later.

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[1]"A" levels are advanced level examinations administered to children between the ages of 15-18 years. Passage of "A" level exams facilitates matriculation to University in England.

Next, Mr. Choona, from London, a rich businessman who sells insurance and deals with investment counseling and stocks, was called. He was given preeminence as a tactic to get people with money behind the project. Like Mr. Sodi, he, too, was turbaned and an ex-school teacher. "I agree with Sodi's views," he said.

> I know for I have taught three years in girls' schools. The educational advisor and the secretary of education in the borough of Ealing were prejudiced against the Punjabis. They refused us advancement because of our accent, weak English language, or "lack" of knowledge.
>
> There was one special case of a smart boy who was not allowed to sit for the eleven plus, I am sure because of his hair. They said, "The boy looks incapable," and "He doesn't look intelligent." When a test was requested, they gave the boy a seven-minute test on which the child did poorly. "This proves my point," said the secretary. No wonder, three of the seven questions were on English grammar. The boy never got the opportunity to prove himself in grammar school. I am not saying all this because of prejudice. All four of my children went to grammar schools. Intelligence tests were and still are based on the English language and culture which keep our Punjabi children out.
>
> It is very sad that our children wear crosses around their necks and do not wear the kara. Our children know nothing about our religion, but learn about Christianity from religious education. Our girls do not want boys with long hair. I blame the parents, who are busy working in factories and fighting political battles instead of educating their daughters in the Sikh religion as Christians are taught everything about Christianity. Our philosophy and history should counteract the Christian religious teachings. There should be debates about Sikhism and Christianity. We cannot blame the Christians for preaching their religion, but we should teach our children about our own religion.
>
> Girls are openly taught by English teachers that their parents are wrong in not giving them freedom. So far our girls neither have boyfriends nor associate with the opposite sex. If our children do not love our culture and religion, they will not love us, their parents, and their homes. If we think after the happening has happened, we are not wise but foolish. We should prevent our girls from going on the wrong road before we have to repent.

> We descend from the Sikh Gurus who, five hundred years ago, went to every corner of the world preaching the faith. In spite of this, we are so few and still do not teach our children our faith to expand it. We should be missionaries and tell these English about our religion, for we are fortunate to be born Sikhs.
>
> I am happy that in Gravesend the people and the Sikh Missionary Society have preached Sikhism, and their goal is, by the grace of Guru Nanak to widen the scope of Sikhism.

Both these men had talked very long, so discussion followed as to whether a time limit should be given to each speaker. It was decided by concensus that each speaker would be allowed only five minutes, although this rule was not strictly adhered to.

The next speaker was Sardar Jarnail Singh, a big burly Punjabi ex-policeman who had been a member of India's volley ball team in the Asian games in Bangkok.

> Sports people from all over the world asked me about my religion and culture. We feel that our symbols are a stumbling block to our religion, but actually they glorify us. In India there are lots of Christian and Hindu schools and colleges. My own sister studies in a Sanatan Dharem[1] school in Jullundur, and she learns about the Hindu religion, but she is a Sikh. The headmaster of the Khalsa school would not pass anyone unless he could say the Gurbani (Sikh creed). Our children go to churches on Sundays to get a "cap." Christians instill competition which is good. I was the only Sikh on the Olympic volley ball team, and I was recognized everywhere because of my Sikhism. It was very beneficial, and I agree with everything the two Singhs have said previously.
>
> Our children are called "dirty" or asked questions like "why do you look like this?" If our children know about the symbols, they will not have an inferiority complex but will be proud of their distinctiveness. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about our national symbols or our anthem. To

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[1]A form of Hinduism.

create a national spirit our children should be educated. Goras[1] are really no better because most of them do not know their national symbols either.

If we are worried about our children we should do what Professor Khwaja, a Cambridge University mathematics professor, did. In prepartition days he saw his daughter on an Englishman's arm. When she introduced her boyfriend to him, he did not say anything, but immediately decided to return to India and became the principal of Islamia College, Lahore. He did this to take his daughter home to her own culture. Yes, a school is necessary for national and cultural enhancement.

Next, Mr. Ujjal Singh, a shaven Sikh and a school teacher in the local school system, spoke. [He did not start with the traditional Sikh greeting like the others.][2]

I will not take the opposite view of what has been said. I agree, we need such an organization as a public school to teach our past culture and learn new and good points of Western society. As all tests are done in English, our children suffer. The English education authorities are trying to eliminate the eleven plus exams and set up standardized tests, although it is difficult to have a 100 percent foolproof system. Our children are not the only ones who suffer; English children suffer also. Even if we do have our own Khalsa public school, our children will have to sit for the same standardized exams and maintain a standard. The child who is willing to learn will learn under any circumstances. It is also the desire of Sikh parents to enhance Gurmukhi.

Concerning religion, when I take assembly, with the headmaster's permission, I tell all kinds of Indian stories, the life of Gandhi and other leaders and Gurus, and stories from the Granth Sahib. Educators agree that children should

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[1]A Hindi term meaning white. "Gora" is a derogatory term used by the Punjabi to refer to the whites. It is comparable to the term "nigger" or "whitie." Punjabis use the words "Angraize" to refer to the English in a respectful manner.

[2]Customarily anyone who speaks in the Gurdwara gives the Sikh salutation, but it is not mandatory.

have a comprehensive religious education in all religions. If Sodi and Choona have experienced only Christian preaching in the schools, then my five years' experience in an all-white school, with no immigrant children whatsoever, has been different from theirs.

There should be an organization which teaches our religion without its superstitions, and the richness of our culture without our caste differences. Such classes should be held on weekends in the Gurdwara. There is no need to open a Khalsa school because we will just get further away and more separated from the English.

The next speaker was Sardar Kuldip Singh, a stout, turbaned Sikh, formerly from Malaysia, now from the greater London area.

Everyone has differing views, hence one should not say nasty things about another religion, as God is the center, and everyone has to go to him eventually. Sikhism will not end with its young history and rich culture. Sikhs have been in Malaysia since the seventeenth century, and there are many Khalsa schools which instill only the necessity of beards and hair. Two of our boys with uncut hair went for higher education to Australia. The headmaster of their school invited them to his house to learn about Sikhism, but the boys knew nothing about the symbols. However, they were intelligent enough to write home immediately for information. Gyani Mohan Singh sent a letter giving details and reasons why Sikhs have long hair and maintain other symbols; this information the boys gave the headmaster. Eager to know more about their religion, they asked their parents for more books. This incident led to the establishment of the Guru Nanak Institute in Malaysia, not just for general education, but to teach Sikhism. Schools should be for everyone; not just Sikh children; Sikhism should be taught with adaptation to the host country, without compromising the culture of our "blood country."

Another problem we faced in Malaysia was our girls falling in love with Chinese boys. Although mothers explained it was wrong to go out with boys, they could not get the point across. Our girls failed to understand why it was wrong to do what other girls did.

Our U.K., missionaries and Gurdwaras should aim toward teaching our religion. When we bring our young to the Gurdwara for worship, we should come ourselves. A Gurdwara is not for factionalism, but for spreading love and learning the Gurbani.

> No child can become an engineer by learning from his father. Similarly, our children cannot become religious sitting at home. Our Khalsa education board should be formed to get educational rights and affiliation.

Despite earlier pleas for brevity, these speeches were very long. In response to guidance protest, Roshan Singh requested that speakers abide by the five-minute rule.

The former secretary of Gravesend Gurdwara, Mr. Sarjan, was called. Like Ujjal, he was shaven and did not give the Sikh greeting before starting. He had been a science teacher at the Pelham Road Grammar School for four years, and he had taught in India for five years prior to his migration. He said,

> My experience might help. I was invited to a Christian meeting where I shared my Sikh religion. I was asked if I was planning on staying in England, and I answered affirmatively, to which one of them said, "It is difficult for a colored person to stay in a white country." This portrays the feelings of these Goras toward us. They are curious about us but have no intention to convert us. Two Sikh girls in my grammar school wanted to become Christians, but they decided not to, and nobody pressured them. For the British, Christian conversion is not their aim, yet they make religious education very appealing to our girls. If we want to protect our girls from Christianity, we have to make our faith very attractive to them.
>
> English grammar schools have the top 16 percent of the intelligent students, but there are a negligible number of Punjabi children who get in. I know of students as intelligent as those I teach who were not recommended for grammar school.
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> The system of education in England is different,[1] hence our children who did well in India will not necessarily do

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[1]The main difference between the English and Punjabi educational systems if that in Punjab emphasis is on rote memory rather than reasoning, as in the British system. A Punjabi student reads the text, memorizes the main points, and regurgitates them for exams.

> well here. Not because they are any less intelligent; they are not familiar with this system and the English language. From this meeting I gather Punjabis feel public schools are the answer, but they are expensive, and few parents can afford them for each dhild because of the high costs involved. We should take effective steps for future improvements in the present education system so it will benefit the common man.

Roshan Singh, prodded by the restless audience, announced that speakers would be limited to two minutes each, but again it was to no avail. Ranjit Singh had been in England fifteen years. A husky, shaven Sikh who had been teaching in the English school system, he informed the audience in brief but no uncertain terms that the idea of a Khalsa public school was a segregationalist one. He had been a Khalsa school dropout in India:

> Religion and education cannot be separated and yet should be. India has more Christians than Sikhs, for the former spend money on their missionaries, who preach the religion and bring in converts. As far as Sikh religious education is concerned, we parents should certainly teach and preach our religion to swell our numbers, but concerning the school, it is too big and expensive a project. Racial harmony is obtained by mixing, not by isolating. How many other kinds of colored children and white children will come to our Khalsa school? A Khalsa school will create problems of integration just like those schools in the United States. Separate schools will have different standards of education. If vocational education is important and needed for our children, then it should be taught on weekends and holidays. The greatest danger of segregated schools is that they create social problems.

With that, he gave the floor to Sardar Gurmeet Singh, M.A., a bearded Sikh, and the author of the "Sikh Symbols" (Kesh-hair), a publication of the SMS.

> Our children in England are our prime concern. We want to maintain our culture and religion, and although I realize that there is a danger, we can overcome it by following the

teachings of our Gurus. A Khalsa school will be advantageous to Sikhism for it will emphasize an international need and the oneness of humanity in spite of cultural diversities. Religion is of prime importance whether it is Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, or Sikhism. Sikhism has the best qualities of all the religions and should be spread to all nations. We would produce individuals from our school who are so strong in their faith that they can pray in Gurdwaras, mosques, or churches. If we produce narrow-minded children then our project will go unfulfilled. We come from a different culture, which does not make it a lesser culture. Hence it is our duty to remove the inferiority complex from the minds of our children who, because they cannot speak good English, are considered "nonintellectuals." Any child who wants to do well should be given the opportunity.

The Tory government has been in power for many years and believes in class separatism. The Teachers' Union wanted "comprehensive education," which the Tories refused. Our school is for children who are frustrated because of their color and turbans. Our aim should be to place our children on a par with grammar school children.

Our children have had a weak education because of the lack of furniture, books, and libraries in our Punjabi schools. But our school here should glorify Guru Nanak and be an example of maintaining a very high standard, not of one which drags its feet.

There are two kinds of schools, vocational and academic. The former is for those children who are not considered grammar school material, whereas the latter is to educate the intelligent student to pass GCE exams and go to college. One school is not enough but honesty, religion, and both cultures should be taught, keeping in view that some things about English culture are good and should be accepted, but reject those which are incompatible with our Hindu heritage. We should instill pride in our religion and culture. The aim of education is to give identity and pride in one's heritage. The British education system is narrow and only concentrates on teaching students to fit in a Christian world, not a universal world. Our school should have the wider scope of a universal world. . . . What is the use of a Gurdwara if we cannot train our children in Sikhism?

The discussion which followed concentrated on "the discontent of our girls being forced to marry their parents' choice of husband." It was moved and seconded that this was a cultural matter and had nothing to do with the school. The lunch break followed; and those who favored the school sat together during the meal, whereas those who were opposed and the neutrals sat at a different table.

When the meeting resumed, Surjit, the president of the Indian Youth Federation was the next to speak. He had come to England at the age of 13, straight from the village, and learned English after his arrival in England. Now, at nineteen, he was in college.

> I want to congratulate those who thought of this scheme. There are twenty[1] Punjabi college students in Gravesend, so I will share with you how we feel with regard to a Khalsa school. There are three reasons given for opening this school: to pass the eleven plus exams, to expound Sikhism, and to control our children. We all know that the first reason is irrelevant because the eleven plus exams will be abolished when the Labor Party comes in. Where the second is concerned, I am a believer that Sikhism must be taught to our children and maintained, but it is not a sufficient reason to open a school. Sikhism can be taught in our Gurdwara Sunday School, by educating parents, and by evening classes. It is not necessary to waste money on a public school, for our people cannot really afford such a venture; besides, such a school would be predominately for immigrants and would create an unhealthy social separation.
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> We Indians who go to college do not speak fluent English, are socially inept, and still fight among ourselves. At college we have to compete with the "Goras" but we have two disadvantages, color and language. Color we cannot change, but we can improve our language to be on par with the white man whom we compete with. We should know them well, and this can only be done by mingling with them, not by being apart.

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[1]He included those going to technical school in this number.

> Our people work in factories, drink beer, and associate only with Indians. They do not learn to socialize with the English for fear their children will get out of control and emulate British ways. Our children must be given freedom so they can become one with the world. Our Guru Gobind Singh would have said all whites, Chinese, and Africans are one. Sikhism teaches oneness.

Next, Mr. P. Singh came to the podium. A local teacher and shaven Sikh, he later became a member of the Gurdwara committee.

> Our religion is necessary, our culture is necessary, and our education is necessary. Undoubtedly, all three are a responsibility of the parents. But we limit ourselves and become narrow-minded in our venture if we call this a Khalsa school. Our Indian children will neither fit in English society nor be able to cope with the vast competition if we open a school of our own standards.
>
> We should only take steps on an experimental basis, like getting into the academic councils and eliminating discrimination. If our children are sent to India for education[1] or we open a public school, we create a division among ourselves--between those who are rich and can afford either, and those who cannot afford it. The latter's children will become factory workers, and only rich children will avail themselves of the opportunity. If we take a wrong step, our future generation will not be able to rectify it easily. This set-up which is being proposed will not provide a Sikh cultural education for the whole immigrant community.

After each speaker, the audience discussed the arguments of the speaker. Bibi Prakash Kaur, the wife of the Malaysian who spoke earlier and a teacher for twelve years, was called upon for her views.

> We talk about missionary schools and how they preach; we must remember that Christian missionaries have strong backgrounds, and we do not. We tend to complain about the financial burden of our children's education. My fifteen-year-old daughter's education has only cost us £60 in the

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[1]About nine parents in Gravesend who could afford it sent their children to the Khalsa public schools in Dehra Dun and Nabha to get a good foundation without exposure to the bad influence of Goras.

> past three years. She speaks perfect English and is an outstanding student because she wanted to become a doctor, and I took an interest in her education. But now, at fifteen, they have stopped her higher education and shattered her hopes. The education board does not think she has the academic credentials for medical college, but we think so and are appealing her case. Educational training is very important. Religious education should be given on holidays and weekends in various Gurdwaras with the support of the Sikh Missionary Society. The result of the Guru Nanak Institute in Malaya was a complete success, and we did not hear complaints of the cost. If a parent does not want to spend money on a child's education, whom does he earn for? This school in Gravesend should provide an international education.

Dartford-wale[1] Amrit Singh, the secretary of the SMS, then spoke.

> This school will be so that every child can get an education. English public schools are for a few and are very expensive. They are a white elephant and only help a few rich children without being an educational guarantee. Instead, a comprehensive school will be much more beneficial to our needs. The Tory's want 60 percent of the people uneducated. . . . "Squelch labour" is their motto, but we must make some kind of school which will be beneficial for everyone, not for just a few elite. We must get a grant for our school even though the Tories favor anti-comprehensive education. We are not opening a school just to show people that we have a Khalsa school in England. Our goal is to have a school with a high standard just as the "Goras" school regardless of our insecure position here due to the forthcoming Immigration Bill.[2]

Many points had been raised, so Sodi set forth propositions concerning the financing and philosophy of the proposed school. Then he continued:

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[1]"Wale" is a Punjabi term meaning "from" or "of"; thus, "Dartford-wale Amrit Singh" translates as "Amrit Singh of Dartford."

[2]This meeting was held while the 1971 Immigration Bill was being debated in Parliament.

> You have to make arrangements for all subjects according to needs. Not all children from our school will be sent for higher education. But our system promises to be very tough with difficult assignments and homework.[1]
>
> Concerning the cultural issue: When I see our children with their fashionable hair styles, lipstick, bare legs, some even with cigarettes, going to school dances, and secretly meeting boys, I am made aware that this is the effect of English culture. If you sit too close to the fire, you will get burned, and that is exactly what is happening to the next generation. Concerning religion, it is the most vital part of our Punjabi culture and heritage and certainly will be taught by competent teachers. Undoubtedly, such a school will be expensive and cater more to the rich, but we have not decided what the fees will be. If all the Gurdwaras are generous with their contributions and keep them up, it may even be free, or have a nominal tuition fee. In India a public school costs Rs. 300 a month, and in England they cost £38 a term. If I can afford to send one child to a public school and Ujjal can send two, why is it not possible for our factory friends, who make more money than us school teachers, to pay for the education of their children?

Prem, one of the Indian Youth Federation leaders and a Chamar, interrupted, "How many people think like you?" Sodi replied, "If we can look after our animals well, why not our children?" One old man spoke, "We are too few here to make the decision for such a school. How much money is needed anyway?"

Sodi ignored his commen and continued, "I believe in freedom, but not early in life, because one fault is always unforgiveable, that is freedom of girls."

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[1]One of the biggest complaints of the Punjabi community is that children are given neither homework nor the opportunity to study at home because their books are kept in school.

Then Bibi Usha, a Punjabi visitor in the community with an M.A. from the United States, decided it was time somebody defended the Punjabi girls.

> I do not know if I have the right to speak at this meeting, but listening to the speeches today I am very much saddened. The impression given us is that this school is for your sons, and yet you all complain about the girls with bare legs, smoking, using lipstick, with crosses around their necks knowing more about Christianity than Sikhism. If you want to teach Sikhism to your children, you must start teaching at home, from childhood. Our adults know very little of their own religions and cultural heritage. Besides, they are more theoretical than practical, which confuses the children and makes them wonder. We must instill trust in our children and give them freedom. The family and what is learned in the family is of utmost importance. From my own experience, I went to a convent school in India and lived in the boarding house for nine months of each year. I always stood first in religious education, but that did not convert me to Catholicism; my family heritage was too strong. From babyhood we heard stories of our religious and national leaders. Also, my father allowed me to go with my legs bare until I was fourteen, when it was time to switch to salwar-kameez. To this day I prefer my national dress and proudly wear it even in America. All of you firmly believe that Punjabi women must keep their native dress, and yet look at yourselves, all in Western suits. You put girls in their native dress at the age of five, and then they rebel when they get the chance. It is a shame we still carry our narrow horizons.
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> If you want your children to keep the religion, you must educate yourself first and also get some competent teachers of religious education in the Gurdwara. My father, a prominent doctor, was educated in England and the United States, and yet returned to India to settle down. You want to settle here in England, make good money, yet not even learn the English language. Some of our Punjabi brothers have been here for over twenty years and still do not speak any English. Yet we are not slow to complain about the British, and their immigration laws, and we fear being turned out of this country. What is the profit of schools for the children when the parents cannot even adapt here? Do not be too critical of your daughters; every Punjabi girl is very conscious of the izzat of her family.

Arvan Singh, who claims to have walked closely with Gandhi and considers himself a revolutionary spoke:

> I was not intending to participate in today's discussion but listenting to Bibi Usha made me want to speak. I agree with everything she has said. Our history is very rich, but like the Brahmins, we believe in theory not in practice. Education is not sixteen classes. For Ranjit Singh had only studied one class and was the best administrator [laughter]. Strength is of great importance, but we should not be narrow-minded. We should learn from the good things of others; instead we have learned from the Goras only to go to pubs and drink. Drunkeness is bad, and I suggest that a £5 fine should be imposed on anyone smelling of alcohol coming near the Gurdwara. Christian missionaries, look what they have done for our country, its education system, its hospitals and charities. We cannot compete with them, but fear that they will convert us.

After a brief but humorous dialogue with the audience, Arvan Singh continued,

> We have 56 Gurdwaras in England and still need another institution for our religious enhancement? Religious foundations should be laid by the parents; children should be trained at home. The Gurdwara should offer courses in Gurmukhi, and it is the duty of parents to make use of Gurdwara facilities. We must unite as a community. What can we teach our young when the shaven Sikh ridicules his bearded brother in front of the 'Goras'? Like the churches, the Gurdwara should take religious education upon itself. Later, when there is a lucrative source of income, think of a school.

Speeches that followed reiterated what had been said previously. Chatham-wale Jasjit Singh, one of the last speakers before open discussion, said,

> The education system of every nation keeps its own needs prime. My main points of concern are three. Can the product of the Khalsa school be accepted to fit in English society? Our appearance keeps us out of public schools; will our appeareance open English society to us because we went to a Khalsa school? Will our Khalsa school and educated children be successful in this society with all

> its demands? If the answer to these points is in the affirmative, then this school is necessary, otherwise not. Individual examples and stories which we have heard are not to the point. Some have emphasized that the tests given by English public schools or for eleven plus are such that our students cannot pass them. In our school we will also need a measuring stick to maintain the highest standards to obtain acceptability and equality.

Next the secretary of the Gurdwara took the podium. Although his son, a turbanned lad of thirteen, had been beaten up several times on the way home from school by some white gangs, and once was whipped with a belt by a bigger white boy, he said,

> Our children will become isolated from English society, and I agree with Bibi Usha that we should not separate ourselves from our host country. I do believe, however, that vocational education is important.

Dialogue between supporters and opponents followed. Finally, Roshan Singh, the Gurdwara president, took the microphone.

> After listening to various people and their points of view, we are aware that there is a problem; discrimination exists, and we need a school. But we have to consider seriously what kind of school we want because we do not want to become isolated from the English. The good examples of Kenya and Malaysian schools should be followed, upholding high standards of learning. If we had our own school, those children who would have been unable to get an education will benefit.
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> Let us not quibble over petty differences; they will solve themselves once the major question is resolved. Our Punjabi teachers will take pains to impart education and raise our standards. There is a definite need for a school, hence we must have another meeting, with better representation, for more point of view.

Roshan Singh then tried in vain to direct a general discussion. Instead bedlam broke loose, and the meeting became quite disorderly. The few concrete comments were, "We should vote to see if another

meeting is necessary." "There are too few people here to make a decision." "We have sacrificed five hours." Sodi stood up and shouted, "President Sardar Balwant Singh has pledged 10,000 pounds towards the school on behalf of the Southall Gurdwara." He aimed to swing opinion in his favor, but few must have heard him because everyone was shouting. Then a loud "Bole Sonehal"[1] echoed and was followed by the response "Sat Sri Akal"[2]; normality was briefly resumed.

The school supporters announced from the floor that the next meeting would be held in the London area. Following the suggestion from the floor, Roshan Singh, attempted to form a committee to study the matter further. The first nomination was Ujjal Singh, who refused to serve, thus the attempt, after some discussion, failed.

More discussion ensued. Ujjal Singh was heard to say, "We should include the English," to which someone reported, "Did the English include us when they passed the Immigration Bill?" Everyone tiredly walked out, talking all the while, and Roshan Singh was saying, "I thank you all."

A year has gone by since this debate without any further developments concerning the Khalsa school. Weekend Gurmukhi classes continue at the Gravesend Gurdwara, which has also received permission to open a nursery school on its premises. If the debate seemes to have

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[1]Term used to quiet a bedlam, literally "speak (shout) loudly in the name of God."

[2]Sat Sri Akal is a response which means "in the name of God." It is also the Sikh greeting used to say "hello" and "good-bye."

been a waste of time, it must be remembered that many issues were clarified, and the thinking, sometimes in conflict, of the Gravesindians was made public.

Commentary

Some of the participants of this study behaved in a different manner than their speeches indicated. For example, Ujjal Singh advocated assimilation, yet he was very particular in the way his family lived in the proper Punjabi manner--maintaining separateness from the host community. Yet, Sodi, Jarnail Singh, and Surjit all behaved in the manner they advocated. But, to try to put the issues raised by this debate into perspective, it seems that the Jandiali migrants, whether they were fully aware of their decision or not, do not intend to return to Punjab. It is also true, however, that their homeland continues to be their source of security and provides the cultural norms by which they evaluate their behavior in England. Standing between two cultures, the Gravesindians are looking for a niche for their children that will give them respectability and acceptance in the eyes of both the Punjabis and the English.

It has been shown that the Punjabi Sikh Jats are capable of making adaptive changes, but their flexibility is being challenged. No longer is it sufficient for the Gravesindians to amass a fortune (either in their own eyes or in the eyes of their Jandiali relatives). They are struggling to adopt the British cultural value of education and the kinds of careers and service positions that education makes

possible. It seems that change is occurring to the extent that education is increasing in importance.

Their efforts to adjust are apparent in the concern voiced that their children--especially their sons--are being denied admission to the better public schools. It is clear, too, in their desire that their children be able to compete on a par with English students when seeking university admission and/or jobs.

Those in favor of the Khalsa school expressed their intention of providing a school that will prepare the younger generation to take advantage of any and all educational and vocational opportunities available to them and for which they have the ability. They felt that the discrimination practiced by the English did not allow for this. They were concerned that the habit of maintaining purity would be threatened by their children's being educated in English schools. They were concerned too, by the lack of young men interested in their religion and eager to promulgate it. They felt that strong religious training in the Khalsa school would rectify this lack of training in religion and other cultural values. It would also safeguard their girls, the bearers of family izzat, from pollution. Their purity was thought to be jeopardized by the encouragement of their English school teachers, and coeducation.

While those who opposed the Khalsa school shared these concerns for maintaining the purity of the girls, they felt this task was the responsibility of the family and Gurdwara. A Khalsa school might accomplish this, but there was risk of profound loss. Such a school

would further separate the Punjabis from the British, thus limiting opportunities for their young people. It would not even supply the needed skills, they suggested. Important, in fact essential, for an immigrant's full participation in British life was a comprehensive knowledge of the English language. These debators felt that the Khalsa school would not provide this. They also feared that its faculty might not be able to keep up; the English had easy access to new developments on all academic fronts.

It became apparent too, that those opposed to the Khalsa school had begun to make an additional adaptive change. It seemed that maintaining purity was no longer strong enough as a value to require separatism in education. They had begun to criticize the "bad" aspects of their culture, especially that which they as as "superstitious," and felt that these aspects should not be fostered in their children. This group felt too, that by mixing with the English, their children would not assume these aspects of their culture as readily, that they would be kept in check or even eliminated from the cultural system.

The debate dealt with a behavioral problem--the means of living satisfactorily with a new goal, that of education. Separate education in a Khalsa school might provide greater present opportunity for academic development, but it might also close doors in the future. Attending public school required compromising religious values (cutting one's hair and so forth) and left one in danger of pollution, but it kept the doors open. A Khalsa school would safeguard the cultural heritage now being lost because parents spent so much time working

that they neglected this aspect of their children's training. On the other hand, there was no guarantee that the immigrant teachers would have the skills necessary to prepare their students for competition in an English-speaking world. These were the issues of the debate, issues for which no solution could then be found.

Analysis and Summary

Closer attention to the people who took part in the debate brings the issues into sharper focus.

The discussions in the Gurdwara basement prior to the school debate were generally among the Western educated Sikhs. This was as true of those who had long hair and beards and favored the Khalsa school as it was for those who were shaven and opposed it. Western education seems to pressure the Sikh to make a basic choice, either to keep his hair and uphold religion, or cut his hair and reject Sikh symbols. It is a difficult decision to make, but once it is made, the Punjabi sticks wholeheartedly to his position. Thus, those who choose the former alternative often become ultraconservative and dogmatic in their approach to their Sikh religious system.

These two groups have two things in common: First, all the speakers (except the Charmar and the woman visitor from the United States) had a properly arranged marriage (by Punjabi standards). They had provided too, for properly arranged marriages for their children. Thus, whether shaven or bearded, these immigrants clung to this aspect of caste requirements. Second, as Bibi Usha pointed out, all the men

present were in Western attire. It seems that they found compromise in some aspects acceptable for themselves, but would not allow it for their women and children. Women had to wear the traditional salwar-kameez.[1] The men (and a few women) enjoyed associating with the English, but the other members of the community were forbidden to do so. One is prompted to look for other evidence of a double standard in the application of cultural behavior, but for the moment a brief look at the effect of the present situation on the home village is in order.

In Jandiali the villagers seemed unaware of the problems faced by the emigrants in their adoption of new ways. They continued to be concerned that their absent family members maintain family izzat and keep up family and village obligations. They were ever aware of and concerned with the issue of discrimination. Indian newspapers kept them informed of the discriminatory practices which the British used against their kinsmen abroad and said little of the cultural conflicts they faced.

In Gravesend these conflicts had not been resolved. Perhaps before resolving them the Gravesindians had to face the issue of their length of stay in England. The next chapter examines the various aspects of this issue and their significance.

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[1]Elsewhere in England, especially among Punjabi women in the larger cities, pantsuits were popular. Culturally they are acceptable, for they cover the legs.

CHAPTER VIII

WHY STAY IN ENGLAND?

Originally, the Punjabi Sikh Jat migrants had planned to return to their homeland once their fortunes were made, but a change in British immigration laws and a shift in the migrants' attitudes has resulted in their deciding to remain. Why have they chosen to do so, and how will they combat British influence? How will Gravesindians prevent their children from being "corrupted" by English ways? It is these and similar questions that this chapter will examine.

The Situation

The Gravesend-Jandiali migrants do not seem "happy." They do not manifest the same carefree security shown by their village counterparts. In England too, they are second-class citizens. Although it is not a major concern to them, Gravesindians quite frequently receive rude treatment from the English.

British passports, not issued in London, do not bring the same treatment for blacks as they do for whites. The Gravesindians read about such things in the papers even if they do not experience such situations themselves. Since many Punjabis patronize their own shops, their experience with the British people is minimized, but they know that the problem of discrimination exists.

Why do the Gravesend-Jandiali migrants continue to stay in a country where they are not wanted and where they face the problems of cultural conflict? Many of them have accumulated sufficient money to return to Punjab, where they might start afresh and live comfortably for the rest of their lives among their friends and relatives.

Rationale for Staying

Almost all Punjabis in England say they eventually plan to return home permanently, but they have been saying that since the day they arrived, in some cases twenty years ago. Very few return to India, and a still smaller percentage stays there permanently. In Jandiali only four men have returned permanently; three were old men, and the fourth was from a wealthy family. Those who contemplate returning say it is likely they will "lose money on poor investments." Besides, "the heat is unbearable, the beer is not as good," and "I am not used to this primitive life any mofe." What happens when one does return to Punjab is illustrated by the following story.

> Case 60. Karnail Singh, a sixteen-year-old boy returned to Punjab along with his parents and sisters. Although they had a beautiful house in Model Town, Jullundur, Karnail was very unhappy. This was in sharp contrast to his sister who was only a year his junior. Karnail was bored. He had a hard time at school because most of the classes were conducted in Punjabi. His Punjabi was not good. He did not make friends easily. His ignorance of his peers' habits and failure to excel in Kabadi compounded his problems. In England it was easy for him to get a part-time job, but in Punjab caste restrictions prohibited employment at a clothing store or anywhere else.
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> Karnail's sister was content. In England her life had been quite sheltered, and so she could not miss the freedom she had never experienced. She had worked with her mother,

> participated in women's functions, and associated with Punjabi girls, just as she was now doing in Punjab. Thus Karnail wants to return to England as soon as he becomes of age.

Young England returnees found it especially hard to study in a university where the medium of instruction was Punjabi and felt lost during vacations, for they could not get odd jobs to pass the time as they could in England. They had problems adjusting to their peers, who had not matured from an experience abroad, and they did not make friends readily. Girls, whose lives were basically centered around the home, had fewer adjustment problems. They were quite content to rejoin their old group of girl friends; only those girls who had gone to university in England experienced similar problems as their male counterparts.

Often Gravesend-Jandiali migrants would not admit their willingness to stay in England. Many Sikhs claimed that they were not happy there and only stayed to "save face"; they made the excuse that it was "too late" to return, that there were charms to English life that they enjoyed, chief among which were the high and regular wages. In Punjab they received wages only at harvest time, if there was a harvest, and factory wages did not correlate with the effort expended.

The welfare state also made staying in England attractive. Unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and welfare provided a security which was unheard of in Punjab. A farmer who had faced the threat of drought, famine, and bad prices year after year

appreciated not having the sword of Democles hanging over his head. Although tube wells, irrigation, and tractors have made Punjabi life more secure, there was always the chance of disaster.

It might be worthwhile mentioning here that returning parents with teenage children do not usually go back to the village, but settle in the urban areas of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. Some migrants have a rotating system worked out by which one brother, a son or the father returns to the village in turn to farm, thus keeping a firm hold on their family land.

> Case 61. Aruna Kaur was happy in England, and when her husband talked about returning to Punjab, she quickly convinced him to stay. Her persuasion did not have to be vehement, however, for both Aruna and her husband liked their privacy in England. True, they were not strong without their kinsmen, and it was lonely sometimes. On the other hand, Aruna did not have a mother-in-law controlling her; she could run her house and raise her children the way she pleased.
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> They did not have the support of the community in times of crisis, but they also did not have the pressures of being accepted. She and her family were not from the Doaba area, so letters did not flood back to her home as they did for others. Aruna and her family liked this new freedom to behave and spend their money as they desired, without the interference of parents, in-laws, or other family members.

Privacy is a strong motivation, especially for women, to stay in England. In the village, and in India generally, the concept of privacy as known in the West is virtually nonexistent. Aside from the fact that it is customary for sons and their families to live with sons' parents, which usually results in severe overcrowding, neighbors take great interest in one another's affairs. They know how much one makes, what the savings account is, what a person does in his spare

time, and where he goes. Nothing is private or sacred in the village. After they experience privacy in England, many Punjabis do not want to give it up. Even if the mother-in-law follows the couple to England, she is relegated to a secondary position because she is now in her daughter-in-law's house. Furthermore, each woman who holds down a paying job gains an even more powerful position, undreamed of in the village. Both in the village and in England, the man who owns the house is the master and his wife the mistress, regardless of age.

> Case 62. One professional man had had an excellent practice in one of the most modern Punjabi cities; he came from a helpful family, was the owner of a house worth one lakh rupees, and held high positions in prestigious organizations. He came to England five years ago, hoping his academic and professional qualities would be recognized, but unfortunately they were not. He worked in a factory and now holds a clerical job in Gravesend. Yet he has settled down in England despite the demotion, because his educated wife is able to work for an English organization; she has prestige and brings in a pay check.

The wife prefers to socialize with the English and encourages the children to do so, but she continues to instill the pride of being Punjabi Sikhs in her family. Both teenage boys wear turbans to their secondary school.

The main disadvantage of this privacy and independence is the accompanying lack of security. If an immigrant is to have moral and financial support in time of need, he must keep strong village and blood ties. Some privacy must be sacrificed for survival. The Sikh must be part of his community, which exposes him and his household to the scrutiny and judgment of his peers. In England there appears to be a proportional relationship: The greater the number of kinsmen and

friends, the greater the sense of security. However, privacy and independence were curtailed. Conversely, fewer kinsmen meant greater privacy and independence with diminished security.

Indians also like the nutritious food and the improved health they experienced in England.

> Case 63. Thakur Singh was a sixty-year-old man who came to England to visit his only son and family. He was gray-haired, wrinkled, and weighed approximately 145 pounds, although he was a prosperous farmer who owned fifty acres of land in Punjab. Within two years his physical appearance had changed so remarkably that when he went to the Indian High Commission in London to renew his passport, the passport officer did not believe that the man in the passport picture and the man in front of him was the same. Despite Thakur's honest demeanor and against precedent the official made the old Jat undress and show his birthmarks to prove he was the same man. The old Sikh in the picture had gained a good twenty-five pounds, dyed his hair and beard, and looked ten years younger. Jokingly he told the passport officer (whom he claims was a vegetarian Brahmin): "My health has improved upon coming to England because my son feeds me chicken every week and I thrive on the excellent beer and scotch!" The improved appearance of such returnees makes their contemporaries long to migrate to the land of milk and honey.

Of course, many Punjabis are disappointed after their arrival in England, especially lawyers,[1] whose credentials are not recognized, and those teachers who do not receive credit for past training and experience. Some found their expectations had been too high and now wished they had never come, especially since they have no family ties in England and are cold and lonely. Perhaps the only factor keeping these Punjabis in England, is the maintenance of family izzat. Returning would mean an admission of failure and the inability

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[1]Lawyers who have LLB degrees from Punjab University and some who were Barristers-at-law.

to succeed in England as others had at factory work. This ceases to be an issue after a few years, since by that time everyone is able to make sufficient capital to show their success in Jandiali. School teachers also learn quickly to dabble in a second vocation--either peddling or factory work--to make money.

> Case 64. Balwant Singh had gone to England from a small village in Punjab. After three years in England, he returned with considerable savings. Being an England returnee, Balwant felt superior and more knowledgeable than his villagemates, so he opened a store in the City of Jullundur. Since he knew nothing about retail buying and bargaining for proper prices, he quickly lost his savings. He returned to England to try again. Not having relied on villagemates whom he could trust originally, Balwant Singh had to accept the consequences and lose his earnings to people who had no concern about his welfare. Now in Gravesindia, Balwant Singh is planning to return to New Delhi and start a luggage shop in a year or so.

Some Punjabis who return "permanently" do not fare well, many losing their wealth by making a poor investment. Instead of staying in the village, they start a business in the city, where they are neither familiar with the people nor with the competition. Most of them return to England to recoup their losses. Life in Punjab, although glorified in England, does not suit the migrant, who has become unaccustomed to the hot sun, spicy food, and poor sanitary conditions. Children born in England do not have the same kind of physical immunity as children born in the village. Hence, before long the English returnee and his children become ill.

It is evident that the Jandiali-Gravesend migrants stay in England because of regular wages, which were considered enormous by Punjabi standards. The social services also provide a form of financial and medical security unheard of in Punjab. Privacy is another

major factor. Although the Gravesindians do not have the same privacy and autonomy as an average English family, they have more than enough to make life in England appealing. Finally, the migrants are no longer used to life in Punjab. Life in a Punjabi city for many is easier than their life in England, but those in England do not think so. One Gravesindian Jat said, "Our choice is to serve in heaven or rule in hell."[1]

Economic Effects on Jandiali

Of course, having migrants in England was advantageous for the whole village of Jandiali. Without emigration, Jandiali might have been the scene of starvation and poverty instead of being one of the most prosperous villages of the area.

No one knows how much money comes back to Punjab from abroad. No money has come to Jandiali via the official Phagwara post office route in ten years. The villagers unwittingly enjoy the black market exchange rate of Rs 36 to the pound; they are unaware that the official rate is around Rs 18 to the pound. One black market agent claimed that a million pounds a day goes from Great Britain to India; however, there is no way to check these figures. It is also alleged by black market agents that, due to English ingenuity, no gold leaves England. English companies in India, by Indian government's decree, must reinvest 60

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[1]In some ways the Gravesindians are like the East Londoners studied by Young and Wilmott (1957). When the Londoners moved out to nicer homes, they were unhappy because they did not have the close relationship with their old friends in the city.

percent of their profits in India and can return only 40 percent to England. According to the Punjabis, since English profits could not all leave India, immigrants in England could give earnings in England to companies, and the branch in India would pay the designated villager, thus transferring "profits" to England and migrant money to India.

The Indian government, through its gift scheme, allows Punjabis abroad to send gifts to their relatives in the homeland. The Massey Fergusen Tractor Company in England can arrange for a Punjabi in England to buy a tractor with a one-year guarantee and have it delivered to Punjab. A company mechanic accompanies the tractor and teaches the villager how to use it. Between October 24, 1968 and August 31, 1970, the 1,038 Massey Ferguson tractors that were delivered in Punjab were paid for in sterling by Indian residents in England. The cost per tractor is about Rs 21,000, and in the village of Jandiali six of the eight tractors were purchased with English money. A rough estimate of visible assets, such as houses and tractors, which were provided by money from abroad is about one million rupees, although the actual investment from England could be closer to three times that amount.

Jandiali has benefitted not only from money but also from innovative ideas, new farming methods, and new business techniques from abroad. England returnee Jats often write to friends in the United States, England, and Europe for farm journals and new seed varieties. Jandialians on holiday from England, Canada, or the United States also have taught villagers the latest farming techniques.

An overview of cities like Phagwara, Goraya, and Jullundur, with their fabulous economic growth in the past ten years, makes one realize the affect of money from abroad on the landscape. The thirty-mile road between Ludhiana and Jullundur is studded with small businesses, car part works, tool shops, iron and steel works to name just a few which have mushroomed with money from abroad.

One good example is Randhawa of Dhanowali, Punjab, whose four brothers and two married sisters live in Gravesend with their respective families.

> Case 65. Randhawa and his two sons run an iron works factory and farm the family's forty acres in the village of Dhonewali. He divides his time and energy between the farm, factory, and house, rides a Honda motorbike and claims no desire to migrate because he has all he needs and more in Punjab, including a nice pukka house with ceiling fans. In his homeland he says, "I am the master so why should I go and slave as a laborer like my brothers in English factories?" Obviously he has not become prosperous just from farming, but is greatly assisted by the money that flowed in from England. Money, innovative ideas, and diminished pressure on existing resources by emigration gives advantages to Jandiali and other Doaba regions.

The goals for a few of the Gravesend-Jandiali migrants are beginning to shift in priority. Wealth and a comparatively easy life are taking precedence over the more traditional cultural values. Wealth for some seems to have become an end in itself. Perhaps the biggest change is the addition of privacy as a value, though becoming a private person does not help family izzat. This is one example of the Punjabis' assimilation of some British cultural traits in their adaptation to life in England.

To put it differently, once the hold of the village has been broken, wealth and privacy assume much higher value. Security within the kin group is not as essential as before, given the English system of national health and social services. However, a punjabi does not completely fit into English society, so a compromist must be sought. But the Gravesindians feel they are trapped. As one Sikh said: "We have chosen the frosting without the cake; and we cannot help ourselves." In other words, aspects of English life are enticing to the Punjabi, and he readily accepts them, but he feels he is forsaking the more important aspects of living for that which is easy and comfortable. Thus, very few Gravesindians can admit that they will stay in England permanently.

Combating British Influence

From the view of the Gravesend-Jandiali immigrants, culture, its value and beliefs, must be maintained in England, at least among their children.[1]

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[1]To these Punjabi Sikh Jat emigrants from Jandiali, India is the village pump; India is Punjab. For example, one English school teacher asked a non-Punjabi South Asian lady to talk to the class about India. The Punjabi girls in the class emphatically insisted that the guest was not from India for she was not wearing a salwar-kameez, she was wearing a sarie, a dress with which they were not acquainted. A Punjabi Jat at a Gravesindian community celebration announced that he was going to sing a song about "Mother India," but proceeded to sing about "Mother Punjab." When the author had a Bengali gentleman, his English wife, and some Punjabis for dinner one evening while in Gravesend, the Punjabi friends thought him a bit strange since he ate with his hands like all Bengalis. In other words Gravesindians desire to promote their village culture as they knew it when they left the village.

They are searching for means to combat their culture from being assimilated by the influence of British culture. The English were perceived as a destructive force to Punjabi culture. Many of the norms used to maintain Punjabi Sikh Jat beliefs have already been discussed; discipline from the village, influence of women, social control and hospitality according to the Punjabi concept of service, maintenance of family izzat, and abhorrence of certain British cultural traits. The Gravesindian community's prime concern is how to keep their children from adopting those traits of British culture that counter the teachings of the Gurus and other Punjabi Siks Jat cultural values and beliefs. The adults may compromise, but they want their children to be "pure" Punjabi.

According to the Sikh Jats, problems with children in England are far greater than in Jandiali because of the direct influence of the English. Schools pose the main difficulty: It is there that the children learn of Western dating customs, and love marriages. Acceptance by the English peer group is given precedence over unquestioned obedience to the parents.

The Jandiali-Gravesend migrants seek to minimize the influence of British culture by promoting Punjabi culture as a superior alternative. When their children do not respond to this approach, other means, including coercion, are used. The major tactics employed are: (1) minimizing contact with British, (2) social control, (3) emotional blackmail, (4) defending Punjabi culture, and (5) discouraging emulation of the British.

Minimizing Contact With British

In the Gravesindians' search to minimize British influence on their children, segregation emerged as a possible solution. One proposal, mentioned earlier, was to start a Khalsa school, a project as yet not begun. Children spend most of their waking hours with British teachers, who, according to the Gravesindians, actually demean Punjabi ways. Since the school problem is faced by all Punjabi Sikh Jats in England and because of the large amount of capital needed, a nationwode Punjabi effort would be required, because Gravesend alone could not support such a venture.

Since the Khalsa school has not materialized, some Gravesindians have sent their children back to Punjab for education, some to boarding schools in the hill stations, others to stay with relatives in the cities, which have better schools. Extensive contact with Punjab and India are considered by some Gravesindians as the only means to combat British cultural influence.

Close Social Supervision

For those who cannot or will not send their children to India, close chaperoning is an alternative. Although chaperoning is more vital for girls than for boys, it is practiced extensively in both cases. Girls and boys are encouraged to walk to school in groups of their own sex; sisters are encouraged to be close friends and to support one another. Many parents watch from a discreet distance, without the child's knowledge, and if the child deviates, the parents take appropriate action.

When it is time for graduation to secondary school, capable Sikh Jat girls are withdrawn from school with the excuse that she is needed at home, in the family business, or as a wage earner. Whether they like it or not, these girls obey dutifully. Only two Gravesindian girls went to college via the grammar school route; the rest were not allowed to enter secondary school for fear they would desire a higher education.

Older boys out of school are also encouraged to go in groups, and the Indian Youth Federation was formed "to keep our young boys together and out of trouble." Community elders encouraged this organization as a source of friends for their boys and as a purposeful channel for youthful energy. The Gurdwara also sponsors the Gurdwara Sports Federation, which caters to youth, encouraging Punjabi boys to compete throughout England in Kabadi matches and other sporting events. The sports program is a major item in the Gurdwara budget.

The young are the concern of everyone, and the Sikh Jats feel parents should certainly be informed if their child behaves improperly. For example, a Punjabi college girl on her way home from town once spoke to one of the boys she had grown up with. Upon reaching home she was confronted by her parents, who had received a telephone call about her behavior, and was told in no uncertain terms that she should never speak to boys. Communal gossip and criticism can be vicious among the Gravesindians, and since news travels fast to the home village and back again, everyone knows everyone else's business.

Even if not felt inwardly, an outward appearance of obedience to cultural dictates must be kept.

> Case 66. When Dalip Kaur's (one of the first Graves-indian families) son married an English girl, she cried and wailed among her Punjabi friends, outwardly manifesting great sorrow, but privately, and to her English neighbors, she admitted her approval. When questioned by a close friend about her double standards, Dalip Kaur replied: "My son is promoting good race relations and we are happy, but if I show my joy, I will be ostracized and criticized by my community and friends, and we cannot afford this, being so far away from home."

Dalip Kaur, her husband, and their two-month-old son, Jatinder, came to Gravesend before there were many Punjabis there. Jati was raised like the other English boys; he topped his list for the eleven plus exams and went from grammar school to university. Both Dalip Kaur and her husband were extremely proud of him. They did not deny their son anything. The boy had only been in India once and was more a part of English culture than Punjabi. Dalip Kaur admits that they tried to be strict with Jati after other Jats started coming to Gravesend, but the boy was already deeply committed to English ways. Being a boy was to his advantage and he was able to get away with much more than if he had been a girl. Neither Dalip Kaur nor her husband want to lose their son. Not only is he their security in later years, but they love him and are willing to welcome his wife into the family. The first Graves-indian families admit that only after the "beat the ban" influx in the 1960s did they start pressing their children toward Punjabi conservatism. Until that time parents had been quite lax and may have encouraged their young to emulate English boys and girls.

A Kenyan Asian related an incident which adequately reflects feelings of Gravesindian parents in raising their daughters:

> Case 67. Biro Kaur worked at a zipper factory and, because of her hard work, the manager decided to hire other Punjabi girls to work there. One day on the way home on the bus the young Punjabi girls (fresh out of school) were sitting together; they were jabbering in Punjabi, giggling loudly, thus bothering the English ladies who were tired from a hard day's work. Consequently, Biro told the girls that instead of sitting in groups they should separate and sit beside the English ladies to improve their English and learn English ways. Coming from Kenya, her thinking was progressive and she did not weigh the ramifications of such a suggestion.
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> Apparently, one of the young girls went home and told her mother what Biro had said. Half a dozen mothers were at her doorstep that weekend and told her not to spoil their daughters by encouraging them to adopt English ways and become like herself. If they heard more of her Western ideas from their daughters, they would take action against her.

In Gravesindia, behavior is a mutual responsibility. If a wayward child's parents cannot control him, they seek the advice and help of other members of the community, usually a villagemate or a kinsman. Family problems and disputes are also taken to a respected outsider and settled within the group.

> Case 68. Darshan Singh of Gravesindia had a son who was a thief and issued false bank cheques. Therefore, Darshan went to his good friend Kuldip Singh for advice. Kuldip and his father, along with another villagemate, Fakir Singh, carefully deliberated over the problem, talked to the boy and tried to find a solution to the problem.

This kind of communal help and control is common in Gravesindia.

Emotional Blackmail[1]

Gravesindians realize that the children must have a strong desire to uphold parental values. This desire results from a child's obligation to his parents or believing the Sikh Jat way to be the best. Parents frequently endeavored to make a child feel obligated by playing on his guilt. A mother may say to her son, "If you marry a white girl, our family izzat will be harmed so drastically that I will be forced to commit suicide." Most commonly, however, a mother pleads "poor health" or claims "to be dying" because of the deviant behavior of a son or daughter. The responsibility for deviancy lies heavily on both sexes. A younger sister's marriage arrangements may be hindered if the older sister behaves improperly; even cousins are affected socially by a relative's improper behavior.

The child learns early about these repercussions. To harm those who have loved and nurtured him by pursuing his own selfish desires is unworthy, and the price paid in guilt for having "caused" the death of a parent or grandparent is too high.

Another tactic is for parents to grant a son's every wish in hopes that, when the father is unable to earn good wages, the grateful son will uphold his family responsibility and care for his elders. Unlike young people in Western society, who, because of the early thrust toward independence and marriage, must strive hard to get a start in life, the young Punjabi couples are provided for by their

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[1]While emotional blackmail might well be a universal tactic, it is employed openly in Punjabi culture. Frequently, many members of the community are called upon to aid in this practice.

parents. This gives the young Punjabi couple more time to know and adjust to one another; they can start a family free of financial worries. A son, grateful to his parents for their generosity, respects them and their wishes in old age.

In an effort to keep their children close, Gravesindians glorify Sikh Jat culture, especially during Gurdwara services, when the martyrdoms and sacrifices of early Sikhs and their Gurus are constantly praised. The point is continually made that the Sikhs in England should also be willing to sacrifice for their love of Sikhism, keep their unshaven hair, and live up to the dictates of their faith. Some families tell their children tales of glory of famous Sikhs from history and legend. This is to make the child proud of his Sikh symbols and willing to wear them honorably, with his head held high.

Defending Punjabi Culture

In defending the practice of arranged marriages, one well-educated Punjabi offered a persuasive argument.

> My son has nothing to worry about except his studies, to which he can devote his full attention. When he comes of age and is ready, we will find him a suitable girl who will make him very happy. All these English boys think about is sex and girls, and due to family pressures, rush into marriage. Boys and girls in English society marry at a very early age without the boy having sufficient resources and a good education, so he ends up as a common laborer. According to our Punjabi way, our boys can concentrate on making a success out of their life because they have no worries or pressures. When a young man picks out his own wife at an early age, he is thinking only of sex. When my wife and I select a girl for our son, we look at the overall picture--the family, psychological compatibility, and maturity of the girl. But above all, we consider all these aspects objectively. Our children

> are free, as they do not have to suffer from the emotional trauma of being responsible for finding their future spouse. They know their parents will do the best possible job.

Most girls completely trusted their parents to find the best possible match. Young men generally knew that the parents wanted them to have good wives and entrusted their parents with the responsibility. Although there were exceptions elsewhere in England, in Gravesindia young boys and girls generally continued to rely on their parents to arrange their marriages.

Discouraging Emulation of British

In an effort to discourage their children from emulating the British, some parents instill fear by referring to the white Englishman as the "boggy man." When a child misbehaves, he is commonly threatened with being given to the "Gora." Other children are taught contempt. Cases 69 and 70 illustrate this learned fear and contempt of children.

> Case 69. A white man and his family accepted an invitation to a Punjabi neighbor's home. When they entered the house, the little four-year-old daughter screamed in terror and ran from the room, huddling in a corner of the kitchen near a stove. Repeated coaxing and pleading would not encourage her to act properly. It was learned that her parents had told her that if she was bad, an Englishman would take her away, and she thought her end had come.
>
> Even though the little Punjabi girl played with the neighbor's daughter, she would not go to their house. She was afraid of her friend's father.
>
> Case 70. The author's spouse attended an akhand path with some of her Punjabi friends. Since she had lived in the United States for ten years, she was often thought to be European rather than a Punjabi. Upon entering the hostess's home, the eleven-year-old daughter spoke to her mother in Punjabi using a contemptuous manner, "What is that Gori doing here?" To her, this was a Sikh ceremony and the whites should not be allowed.

So strongly are such values imprinted on the minds of the young that they find it extremely difficult, often impossible, to be free of them even when they are intellectually convinced of the irrelevance. As one Punjabi college boy confessed:

> I have been taught in college that sexual freedom is acceptable, that living with a girl without being married to her is permissible, and intellectually I cannot refute their arguments, but inside me I know that they are wrong. Therefore, I prefer a village girl who is a virgin and will love me and look after me rather than an English girl who may have a tendency to flirt with every boy and may even divorce me at the slightest argument.

Analysis and Summary

Gravesindians value Punjabi life and the Punjabi cultural heritage. Given their tenuous foothold in English life, they may be afraid to lose their place in the Punjabi community. Many Gravesindians totally reject English ways and immerse themselves in Sikh Jat culture and religion, staunchly defending them, and press the total Punjabi tradition on their children. Perhaps they hope that inculcating that tradition strongly enough will prevent their children from experiencing the cultural bind in which the parents find themselves. Perhaps the adults merely wish to prove to the community that they have not and will not abandon it. Whatever the reason, many Punjabis live an outwardly conservative Punjabi life, whether or not they believe it suits them personally. The later period in the migrants' lives has been one of stress for Gravesindian adults. Having finally decided to stay in England the problem remains of how to do so. Assimilation of British culture has occurred, sometimes requiring compromise, almost

always requiring change. What these changes will mean, only the future can answer. What the compromises have brought is some sense of guilt and efforts to minimize that guilt by holding on to some aspects of "home" culture. The decision to stay, while satisfying many desires, has also brought heartache, guilt, and no small amount of insecurity.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The adaptive behavior and attitudes of a Punjabi peasant Sikh Jat migrant group has been set forth and analyzed. Some conclusions can be drawn from the Gravesindian case concerning particular demensions of their adaptation, as well as the relevance of their experience to certain anthropological theories having to do with migration and social process. Thus, this concluding discussion will move from ethnographic to theoretical and methodological considerations.

Ethnographic Considerations

The Sikh Jats have been culturally consistent in the means they have chosen for survival in England. Their situation changed when racism, legal restrictions, and economic fluctuations brought about environmental alterations. The most significant change was emigration itself--the Punjabi migrant moved from a rural, agricultural, small-scale society to an industrial, large-scale, urban situation.

Nevertheless, cultural consistency has been maintained. Gravesindians still work to maintain izzat, which continues to be based on the evaluative criteria of the village of origin. Such means as service, separateness, strength, wealth, and land continue.

Although land is not owned in England, it is maintained in the home village, even at an economic loss to the group. Privacy, wealth, and education have come to be valued more highly for some than was the case in the earlier years of Gravesend and Jandiali. However, the norms of the Punjabi migrants in this study remained intact.

The Gravesindians also continued to evaluate themselves on a collective basis. It is the link between one's own identity and the public image (one's family or other such significant group); a link which we could refer to as a collective identity. Unlike the Western individual, who answers for his situation, the Gravesindian's self-esteem was based on group behavior or how his set was evaluated by the wider community. A person may have a low izzat evaluation because of the action of a brother, wife, father, or other family member; his own behavior may be above reproach. Group solidarity and control remain strong, despite the urban and industrial situation which encourages individualism and the break-down of the joint family. The Gravesindians have their own communal economic, judicial, and political systems that operate within, and to a degree separate from, the wider British society. As the political sections, especially in Chapter V, show, conflicts, protection, and help were all dealt with largely according to party and panchayat principles, which stem from the village. Although using some English social services, the immigrants relied on their own.

Group pressure remains so strong that the migrants or villagers may choose behavioral patterns which are not necessarily advantageous

to themselves as individuals. People migrated, stayed at home, or remained in Britain (depending on the situation), even when they suffered unhappiness or a loss of rewards.

The Jandialians in Gravesend remained participating members of the village. In Gravesend and Punjab, Jandialians interacted as if they were not separated by the vast geographical distance--"extended identity." Emigrants took part in village affairs, and villagers controlled and evaluated the emigrants much as if they were still residing in Punjab.

The arrival of women and children in England vastly increased communication with Punjab. One no longer could escape the watchful eye of his villagemates, and all were quickly brought under Sikh Jat village cultural codes, for evaluation. In other words, this communication with home restored conformity to the previously lax male populous of Gravesindia.

A result of this communication was that behavior of Jandialians was affected by the Gravesindian's situation. The British lost esteem in the village when discrimination became a part of the British scene. Also, once villagers learned what Gravesindian behavior was like, the emigrant's acquisition of wealth did not automatically bring communal approval. Thus, the emigrants ceased to be a group to emulate, especially in the post-1962 period.

A final ethnographic consideration for the Gravesend-Jandiali migrants concerns that of choice. In many respects the group has none. Their culture determines their goals, sets forth the acceptable methods

of action, and their society enforces compliance to these behavioral patterns. The migrants who were studied here generally do not even have the choice of leaving the system they were born into. Goals and behavioral choices are determined at birth, and few are reserved for the individual.

Theoretical Considerations

In addition to the behavioral patterns of collective and extended identity, this study raises two broad theoretical issues for the anthropologist: (1) the place of culture (symbolic system) in influencing social and individual behavior, and (2) the ordering of cultural goals in understanding group and individual behavior.

This study reveals an interesting fact about culture. The values of a group are organized on an hierarchical step structure; secondary goals are means of achieving higher levels, so that the end can finally be grasped by the group or individual. In other words, not all goals are equally weighted in a cultural framework; but more importantly, some goals are sought to attain still higher ends so the ultimate value can be achieved by the participants. It is important for the investigator to understand the hierarchical and stepping stone relationship of goals to properly analyze a people's behavior. But it must be remembered that a "lesser" good may be an end in itself.

Finally, when collective identity and/or extended identity is operating, one must be careful in the use of decision-making models (Richey 1976) such as cost-benefit (Speare 1971), adjustment to stress

(Wolpert 1965, 1966; Brown and Moore 1970; and Speare 1974); or modes of orientation (Taylor 1969) approaches. In the Sikh Jat cases presented here, if a researcher had focused on individuals or a nuclear family, using a cost-benefit model, he could easily have concluded that Punjabi migrants were irrational, for the deficits outweighed benefits. This would not be an accurate picture of the situation, for the social unit to which the benefits of broader cultural values accrue is, in this case, a larger and more vaguely defined collectivity.

Some rethinking must be done concerning the focus of migration research. Given the limitations placed on the Punjabis by their culture, an emphasis on choice and decision making should be applied with extreme caution. The alternatives available to the migrant fall within a certain range of structural limitations, and it is these structures that must be taken into account if choice and rationality are to be considered. It was one aim of this study to set forth the Punjabi Sikh Jats' situation and illustrate the cultural and social limitations under which they operate. Their choices were severely limited.

Looking to the Future

On questions such as how to fit English culture and still remain close to the Punjabi community, they saw that there was no final solution. They had to make the best advantages in the new situation and cope individually and collectively with the disadvantages. Some seem to lean more toward heavy involvement within the ethnic enclave while others have preferred to seek some of the privacy of the larger society.

The future for Gravesindians remains to be seen. Yet, it is safe to say that separateness will continue as a behavioral trait encouraged by both the Punjabis and the British. How the Sikh Jat community will function internally can be gauged from the school debate. Although the unified community will continue to oppose the British, a further discussion will develop between the shaven, liberal Sikhs and their unshaven conservative counterparts. The latter are likely to fight more vehemently for maintaining Sikh symbols, separateness, and Sikh faith. They will try to implement restrictions within the Gurdwara (for example, only unshaven Sikhs may hold office) which will affect and influence the wider Gravesindian community. Organizations such as the Akhand Kirtan Jatha will gain greater prominence and power within Gravesindia and other Punjabi communities in England. However, shaven Sikhs will continue to attend and fully participate in Punjabi functions, and many may try to make their children more conservative or more "Punjabi" than they are. Other shaven Sikhs will not be so strict. Boys may be allowed to date white girls, but control of the Punjabi females will remain of high priority among these transplanted villagers.

Punjab will continue to be "home" for the next several generations. Glorification of the homeland will be strong, especially among those who have not returned to visit that area. All will "plan to return," but will remain in Britain and admitting to themselves privately that returning for retirement is not realistic.

One factor must be kept in mind--the militaristic tradition of the Sikh Jats. Although these people can be channeled toward constructive ends, the partition of India and the Punjabi Subha Movement indicate how this unified soldier-saint brotherhood can turn from a peaceful community to a volatile force. Heavy discrimination by the British host community could have disastrous results. Such violence is a surety for the future if the racial situation in Britain continues on its present course.

Suggestions for Future Research

Much of what is set forth in this study lends itself to comparative research. For example, the universality of extended identity and collective identity among migrant communities should be considered. Are these patterns a necessary part of the migrant cultural base, or do they develop among migrants despite their cultural base?

Is there a relationship between collective identity and extended identity to cultural and social change? Here it was indicated that the arrival of women and children and the reinstitution of communication with the home village encouraged the development of those structures which were not present earlier. Was the change attributable to all these factors, one of them, or some combination?

The adaptive behavior of migrants is an intricate process which must be viewed from the perspectives of the home community, the migrant community, and their mutual influence. Any future research should take the above into consideration.

APPENDIX A

SUMMATION OF STATISTICAL DATA ON JANDIALI

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SUMMATION OF STATISTICAL DATA ON JANDIALI

Total population (including members in Great Britain and Chamali)		1,605
Total emigrants (Jandiali and Chamali)	515	
Africa	4	
Australia	1	
Canada	4	
Great Britain	402	
Malaya (military service)	2	
New Zealand	1	
Philippines	2	
United States of America	2	
Migrants within India	99	
Chamali's population (including migrants)	309	
England emigrants	18	
Other emigrants	20	
Jat population	830	
Jats in England	313	
Jat migrants within India	22	
Other emigrants	7	

• • • • • • •

Land (total acreage)		646
Acreage irrigated	555	

Man-Land ratio 2.48 people per acre

Villages represented due to exogamous marriage rules (some as far away as Delhi and Calcutta)	232

APPENDIX B

COUNT OF INDIANS ABROAD

APPENDIX B

COUNT OF INDIANS ABROAD

Host Country	Number of Emigrants	Host Country	Number of Emigrants
Afghanistan	20,000	Gibralter	150
Aden	2,000	Grenada	9,500
Algeria	132	Greece	13
Argentina	160	Guinea	5
Australia	3,108	Guyana	342,374
Austria	165	Hong Kong	4,000 to 5,000
Bahrain	5,500	Hungary	45
Barbados	512	Indonesia	27,617
Belgium	377	Iran	1,000
Bolivia	5	Italy	761
Botswana	400	Iraq	12,570
Brazil	57	Ireland	150
Bulgaria	nil	Jamaica	27,951
Burma	272,000	Japan	1,141
Burundi	175	Jordan	39
Cambodia	80	Kenya	172,600
Cameroun	20	Kuwait	12,006
Canada	20,000	Laos	1,800
Ceylon	1,234,126	Lebanon	250
China	20	Le Teunion	430
Chile	63	Libya	335
Colombia	34	Liberia	325
Camores Island	85	Madagascar	12,350
Congo	3,000	Malawi	10,900
Cuba	32	Malaysia	810,000
Cyprus	8	Malta	100
Czechoslovakia	nil	Mauritius	520,000
Dahomey	2	Mexico	20
Denmark	256	Morocco	540
Ethopia	4,520	Muscat	4,500
Fiji	241,000	Netherlands	202
Finland	28	New Zealand	6,130
French Guiana	2	Nigeria	1,600
France	1,400	Norway	35
Ghana	1,750	Panama	361

Host Country	Number of Emigrants	Host Country	Number of Emigrants
Philippines	2,516	Tanzania	102,000
Poland	19	Thailand	18,014
Peru	10	Trinidad & Tobago	302,049
Qatar	2,000	Togo	4
Rumania	1	Tonga	26
Rwanda	50	Trucial States	5,000
Saudi Arabia	1,035	Tunisia	27
Senegal	73	Turkey	11
Ivory Coast	1	U.A.R.	453
Gambia	20	Uganda	76,000
Sierria-Leone	425	United Kingdom	270,000
Singapore	125,000	Uruguay	1
Somalia	1,360	U.S.A.	32,062
Southern Rhodesia	8,100	U.S.S.R.	759
Spain	1,600	Venezuala	19
St. Vincent	3,703	Vietnam (North)	18
Sudan	2,550	Vietnam (South)	2,000
Surinam	101,715	West Germany	4,681
Switzerland	900	Yeman (North)	21
Syria	10	Yugoslavia	95

Source: Shan 1970:286-287.

APPENDIX C

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD: A PUNJABI STREET IN GRAVESEND

APPENDIX C

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD: A PUNJABI STREET IN GRAVESEND

House No.	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	Comments	Home Village	Work	Relatives
21	1	1	1	3	1 family	Majara, but born in Fiji	M-Greenhigh Paper F-Metropolitan Canister Company	Male S: 2 brothers & families, Gravesend; 1 brother & family, Derby Female S: 1 brother Birmingham; 1 brother & family, Gravesend
23	3	3	2	2	Nuclear 3 families; 2 brothers having joint ownership; 3rd lodger	Dhanowali	Construction, car parts factory, Maidstone; no wives working	Male S: 1 aunt on 76 Pier Rd. 2 brothers-in-law in Wolverhampton & Swanscombe Female S: Brothers & sisters in Blackpool; brothers, 79 Pier Rd.; parents & relatives in Wolverhampton
24	3	3	1	3	1 extended family; 1 brother recently married, no children	Kher Achwal, Hoshapur	Old parents work for Urban Council, cleaning; sons work Amalgamated Elec. Ind. Paper Sack Factory, Northfleet, Dartford Laundry	Parents in Southall

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD--Continued

House No.	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	Comments	Home Village	Work	Relatives
26	5	2	1	2	2 families in joint ownership	Cheema Rapur	Construction	
27	3	3	3	3	3 brothers with families. House owned by No. 48. Wife's brother, sister-in-law with her child lodges there also		Imperial Paper Mill, across river	Female S: brother in Northfleet
41					Owned by No. 48 and rented to 4 families; composition unknown			
44	3	3	2	2	Joint ownership between 2 friends	Chibewal	Construction near Nakador	
48	4	3	2	1	Joint ownership between man and nephew, but 3 nuclear families	Dhanowali Manko Moranwali	Empire Paper Mill Lumber Mill, Maidstone	Male S: wife and son in Sunderland w/English daughter-in-law. Daughter studying; parents in Gravesend. Father came in 1939. Cousin on 79 Pier Road

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD--Continued

House No.	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	Comments	Home Village	Work	Relatives
48 (cont'd)								Female S: 2 brothers, Gravesend; brother & 4 sons, Gravesend
51	4	3	2		Owner rents to 2 families and 1 single lodger	Dhanowali Ludheana	Empire Paper Mill; Wife--Dartford Laundry	Male S: Second wife in India. Female S: Sister on 76 Pier Road. Uncle & aunt, Gravesend
59	1		2			Aulak	Construction	Male S: Wife in India with children visiting. Cousin, 91 Pier Rd. Cousin, Gravesend. Brother, Gravesend. Uncle, 79 Pier Rd. Wife's cousin, Gravesend.
69	1	1	2					
70	1	1	2	1		Bir Pind	Construction College Dartford Laundry	
72	2	2	2	2	Family of 6 with nephew	Pharala	Bata. Amalgamate Elec. Co. Greenwithe Brick Factory, Grays	Male S: Villagemate, Gravesend

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD--Continued

House No.	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	Comments	Home Village	Work	Relatives
74	1	1	2	1	Leverite marriage, 1st wife dead	Nimma Pind, Jullundur	Zinc Oxide, Dartford. Wife not working	Male S: 1 son in India. Sister's sons, 23 Pier Road. Sister's sister-in-law, 76 Pier Road. Cousin, Glasgow. Father, Panama
75	4	2	5	1	4-generation family, came in World War II	Chehen, Jullundur	Dockyards, Chathbay, Zinc Oxide, Dartford Empire, Paper Mill; Post Office, London; Electric lineman	Male S: Niece, 76 Pier Rd. Daughter & family, Bradford. Brother, Gravesend
76	1	1	1	1	Daughter in college.	Dhendwali Serai Khfs near Karterpur	Bowater. Bata. Car parts factory. College	Male S: Brother, 77 Pier Road. Female S: Sister, Birmingham. Widowed sister-in-law, Taplow, Buckinghamshire. Uncle in Gravesend. Cousin, 48 Pier Road. Sister & brother-in-law, 74 Pier Road. Nephew, 23 Pier Road. Brother, 51 Pier Rd. Uncle, 75 Pier Road.

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD--Continued

House No.	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	Comments	Home Village	Work	Relatives
77	3	2		2	Hindu couple lodgers	Sari Khas, Katapur	Northfleet Power Station	Male S: Brother, 76 Pier Road. Female S: Cousin, Birmingham. Cousin, 78 Pier Road
78	1	2		2		Dreppe	Bowater Paper Mills. Wife not working	Male S: Cousin, 77 Pier Rd. Sister in Leeds, York. Female S: Aunts, uncles, cousins in Southall
79	2	2	4	1	2 brothers with family	Mozara, Jullundur	Construction	Male S: Sister, 23 Pier Road. Female S: Relatives, Birmingham
80	1	1	2	1	Hindu	Shankak, Jullundur	Amalgamate Elec. Construction. Student at Tech. College	Male S: Brother & father, Gravesend
85	2	1	2	3		Kariewal	Empire Paper Mill	Male S: Aunt, Birmingham
86	2	2	1		Parents and married son w/younger son	Raikot		

CENSUS OF PIER ROAD--Continued

House No.	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	Comments	Home Village	Work	Relatives
91	1	1	3	3		Oujala	Greenhigh Paper Mills. Bata. Shoe Company.	Male S: Nephew, Gravesend. Nephew, Barking Essex. Cousin, 55 Pier Road. Cousin, Gravesend.
93	4	1			Family and 2 men tenants	Batala	Bata. Brick factory, Grays	Male S: 2 sons studying in India.

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