CHAPTER 2
MIGRATION TRENDS IN PUNJABI’S AND EMERGENCE OF KAMBOJ CASTE

This chapter provides an overview of a brief history of Indian’s migration and their destination countries through studies done by earlier researchers. After that emphasis is given on Punjabi emigration during two periods: colonial period (1849 to 1947) and post-colonial period (after 1947 to onwards). Colonial period of migration talk about that migration, started during British rule from Punjab to other countries. In post-colonial period refers to migration from Doaba region that become prime region of migration. Chapter first discusses migration from India as well as Indian Punjab after that through light on Kamboj caste migration. Chapter defined history of Kamboj with the help of archival sources before independence like study by Rose\(^\text{20}\) (1911) and Ibbeston\(^\text{21}\) (1916) resources that only focus on Kamboj caste were used. The chapter will focus on Kamboj caste migration that is based upon the first hand data collected through field work. Although they have migrated to other countries as well but this exploratory study tries to focus on “Kamboj caste” that has mainly migrated to the gulf countries. To give insight on the Kamboj caste migration, narratives, key informative interview and focus group discussions were adopted as a research strategy to gather information. Migration theories were also implemented to dig out the suitable reason and means behind of Kamboj caste migration. Hence a small number of purposively selected individuals were also interviewed. All of the above mentioned areas are discussed in the beginning of the chapter. Thus the whole chapter deals with the migration trends from colonial to post-colonial period in Punjabi migration and then findings from field work on the Kamboj caste migration.

2.1 Migration of Indians Abroad: A Historical and Contemporary Profile: Indian migration began when slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834. Laborers were required to work on sugar plantation in the various British colonies and without a dependable supply of labour, survival of plantation would have been extremely difficult (Campbell, 1969:23, c.f Rajan and Percot, 2011). Therefore Indian labor was used in various colonies, most of them served as slaves and convicted prisoners were


employed in the construction of public roads, laborers’ office building and jails (Sandhu, 1969: 132-40). Large scale Indian emigration, however did not take place until the establishment of British imperialism in India as well as other parts of the world. Due to British colonialism, many Indians were shifted to Burma, Rangoon, Malaysia, Ceylon, Mauritius and West Indies. It is a highlighted fact that vast majority of Indians migrated particularly to the British colonies during British rule in India (Jain, 2011:24). Four destination countries were namely Guyana, South Africa, Malaysia and Kenya migration during British colonial period. Until the Second World War, India mainly indentured laborers to Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam (then a Dutch colony), South Africa, Fiji and Mauritius and as laborer to Burma, Ceylon and Malaysia. Emigration of traders also took place especially to Burma, Malaysia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa and Fiji (Rajan and Percot, 2011: 24). The origin of South African Indians can be traced back to the agricultural labour requirements of colonial Natal in the mid-19th century. During this period sugarcane had be identified as the most profitable commercial crop suited to the climate of this region. The first batch of Indian labourers arrived in Natal in 1860 and they continued to arrive until 1866. The arrival of Asians in Africa is commonly associated with the arrival of traders and indentured labourers at the turn of the 20th century. The majority of Asian immigrants to East Africa have been Hindu and Muslim Gujarat’s (Maharaj, 2003: 53-54). In 1960’s and 1970’s migration of professional and semi-professionals to the industrial advanced countries like the united states of America, England and Canada. The emigration of skilled and unskilled laborers to west Asia during late 19’s (Jayaram, 2004: 22). The Indian Diaspora in Canada is a 20th century phenomenon. Although it begin in the early 1900, when both India and Canada were colonies of the British Empire (Jayaram, 2004: 25). Zachariah et al., (2014:66) Indian migration to the gulf countries start when it received a fillip only with the discovery of oil fields and the commencement of oil drilling on a commercial basis in this region. The oil price hike in October 1973 marked a major watershed in the migration process. The massive demand for labour was accounted for by the sudden growth in construction industry as the gulf countries, which became immensely wealthy overnight, embarked on a frenzy of building a new infrastructure of roads, ports and airports, as well as school, college and administration blocks, symbols of the new wealth. Zachariah et al.,(2014:67) emphasis that around 95 percent of labour outflows reached six
destinations (Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar) in Middle East. Sil (2013:311-312) mentioned two major waves of migration that took place from India. The first was the huge migration from India during the 1970s to Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries due to a rise in oil price. This was characterized by the flow of mainly semi-skilled and unskilled labour. The second wave of emigration from India was post 1990, mainly to high income organization for economic co-operation and Development countries (c.f Rajan, 2013). Here the chapter main focus on Punjabi migration and migration in Kamboj. So it is next refers to Punjabi migration as following.

Punjab has always been a “Gateway” for invaders especially Central Asians such as Nader Shah, Ahmad Shah, Timur, Babar who invaded and plundered Punjab. Punjab has faced economic turmoil since historical times (Singh and Tatla, 2006:10). Owing to fertile land and accessibility of water from rivers, agriculture remains main occupation of the people. In spite of Punjab being one of the economically strong and prosperous states, there has been high rate of migration from the state to other countries across the globe. Migration in Punjab is not a new phenomenon; rather it dates long back to the times when British acquired Punjab in 1849. The present Punjabi society is living in a culture of migration that permeates it. The history of sustained migration from Punjab is more than 125 years old and the phenomenon primarily began during colonial rule of India (Nanda and Veron, 2015:1). Although 1870 is now generally believed to be the decade when Sikhs first began settling in the Far East, there are well-known cases of exile, forced migration by the colonial government even earlier than that. Bhai Maharaj Singh, imprisoned in Singapore and Prince Duleep Singh who were exiled to England are two prime examples (Dusenbery and Tatla, 2009: 8). So the history of Punjabi migration is broadly divided into two parts: colonial (from 1849-1947) and post-colonial period migration, i.e., after independence (i.e. 1947onwards). In modern times, presence of Punjabis can be felt all over the world and their widespread occupancy in different continents of the world is termed as Punjabi Diaspora, which includes transitional color of Punjab as in industry, healthcare, arts, music, spiritualism, political Diaspora, trade, etc. irrespective of host countries (Nanda and Veron, 2015:1).
The present chapter will mainly focus upon Punjabi migration done for seeking employment and the changing trends of migration. Further, the chapter will deal with Kamboj caste migration, a caste-specific migration domain, which still needs to be explored. Due to paucity of systematic literature on Punjabi migration, it becomes difficult to give exact reflection on Punjabi migration.

Two distinct periods could be identified to understand the emergence and presence of heterogeneity among the Punjabis abroad: the colonial period (from 1849 to 1947) and the postcolonial period (1947 onwards).

2.2 The Colonial Period: The Punjabis who migrated to various countries during the colonial phase were from different regions of Punjab but largely confined to the present day Indian Punjab consisting of three regions, distinctly divided by perennial rivers. The area between rivers Beas and Ravi is called Majha, area between rivers Beas and Satluj is called Doaba and the area beyond Satluj river, towards south is called Malwa. Since soldiers were the pioneer Punjabi migrants, it is important to mention that there was a powerful tradition of army recruitment from the Majha region (Judge, 2011: 29). The pioneer Punjabi immigrants to North America were predominantly from the Majha Region, followed by Firozpur and Ludhiana district of Malwa and Jalandhar district of Doaba (Judge, 2011: 30). Interestingly, in the period following the pioneers, it was the Doaba region that began to dominate migration trends with the Garhshankar tehsil of Hoshiarpur and Nawanshahar tehsil of Jalandhar district constituting the Core Zone of emigration. During the Colonial period, the Punjabis migrated to all the parts of the world as voluntary migrants as well as indentured and contract laborers because Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849 (though its assimilation into the colonial political economy took a long time) (Singh

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22 The Punjabis who migrated to various countries during the colonial phase were from different regions of Punjab but largely confined to the present Indian Punjab consisting of three regions distinctly divided by perennial rivers. The areas between Beas and Ravi rivers called Majha, between Beas and Sutlej is called Doaba and the area beyond Sutlej towards south is called Malwa. Judge( 2011: 25) Diversity within Punjabi Diaspora and the construction of Nationhood. In Jayaram (2011) Diversities in Indian Diaspora: Nature, Implication, responses. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. So the studies mentioned is mainly confined Indian Punjabi migration as studies conducted by Punjabi migration experts not by the researcher. Researcher only defined their finding in thesis.


24 Doaba is basically a land between two rivers, it is Persian language word which means Do- two and Ab means River.
2008: 31). The important destinations along with the nature of migration that could be identified are Australia, Fiji and New Zealand toward the end of the nineteenth century as laborers (Jayaram 2011: 32).

In 1870 the first batch of Sikhs were recruited from Amritsar and Firozpur for police and paramilitary work in the Far East. By the 1880s the Sikh settlements had appeared in the Malaya States and in Hong Kong, where Sikhs were employed as the city’s policemen (Sandhu, 1969:304). A few evidences of migration to Burma were also observed in Punjabi society. Mainly they were Punjabi Sikh soldiers settled in those countries following the cessation of war with them after 1860. The community grew to approximately 10,000, a small proportion of the total Indian population but their importance was great because of the role for which Sikhs were deployed in the military and police. Some examples of inter-continental marriages with Burmese girls have been found till 1895. Initially Sikhs were mainly travelling to the Burma in major towns including Rangoon, Mandalay and Shwebo and then to the “Islands” (primarily a reference to South-East Asia and China). In China, Sikh troops settled and occasionally raised their families. Since the British military contingent in China usually included Sikhs, a network of Sikh groups and institutions evolved in several Chinese cities. Shanghai was a center where a Singh Sabah was organized prior to 1900 and a gurudwara was built in 1907 (Barrier, 2007: 674). 1890s onwards Sikhs started moving to East Africa also (Barrier; 2007: 675). These were mainly skilled artisans who were recruited for the construction of Ugandan Railways. Ramgarhia Sikhs became the dominant caste and about 10,000 were employed as indentured labor and Jats served in the local military establishment or commercial activities (Mangat, 1969:28). In East Africa, these Sikhs were offered incentives to settle permanently but many travelled frequently back and forth every three and four years to Malaya and Hong Kong. Sikh community resided in Hong Kong since 1880 and served in police troops or served in local Singh Sabah activities (Sidhu, 1991:9). However, earlier Sikhs arrived in England to study and occasionally to settle and find jobs in commerce (Barrier, 2007:676). Between 1903 and 1908, about 6,000 Punjabis entered North America (Canada) and nearly 3,000 crossed into the United States,

Artisan castes includes Ramghariahs (carpenters), Chimbas (tailor), Julajas (weavers), Nais(barbers), jinwas (water carriers) and Ghumars (potters) see in Singh, G., & Tatla, D. S. (2006). Sikhs in Britain: The making of a community. Zed Books.

early migrants in America came predominantly from few districts (e.g. Jullundar and Hoshiarpur) in Doaba region of Punjab. The majority of the early Punjabi Sikhs were Jats (La Brack\textsuperscript{27}, 2015: 43). The first group of immigrants can be divided into two general groups. One had a majority of illiterate and semiliterate laborers from agricultural and/or military backgrounds. Second group included a very small educated elite group of professionals and students. The laborers were mainly peasant Sikhs and some Muslims from Doaba and Malwa regions of Punjab province in Northwest India, while the second group was composed of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims from throughout upper India (Dusenbery and Tatla 2009:9). From Far East some Sikhs sailed further to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, while others moved towards America. However some moved to Hong Kong, the strength of Sikh communities in North America had reached nearly 8,000 each in Canada and the United States of America (Tinker\textsuperscript{28} 1977: 10). The Punjabis who migrated to various countries during the colonial phase were from different regions of Punjab but largely confined to the present Indian Punjab consisting of three regions distinctly divided by perennial rivers. The areas between Beas and Ravi rivers called Majha, between Beas and Sutlej is called Doaba and the area beyond Satluj towards south is called Malwa. Judge\textsuperscript{29}(2011: 25)

After World War II, due to need for reconstruction and shortage of laborers in western countries, Sikh migration can be traced from villages of Garshanker in Hoshiarpur district, Phillaur in the Jalandhar district and Nawanshahar district in Doaba. Even changes in pattern of migration in Moga district, Jagraon in Ludhiana district in Malwa and Taran Taran district of Majha were reported (Dusenbery and Tatla, 2009:8). It is also reported by Tatla, (2004:45) that Malwa and Majha Sikhs dominated emigration in the 1880’s whereas Doaba peasants dominated towards the late 1910’s.


\textsuperscript{28}According to Tinker (1977:159) an estimation Pakistani population in U.K was 177000 out of 406000 (44%) were U.K born.

\textsuperscript{29}In Jayaram (2011) Diversities in Indian Diaspora: Nature, Implication, responses. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. So the studies mentioned is mainly confined Indian Punjabi migration as studies conducted by Punjabi migration experts not by the researcher. Researcher only defined their finding in thesis. If Pakistani migration will refer in Punjabi history it will create confusion and will become difficult to define Pakistan and Indian Punjab.
2.3 The Postcolonial Phase: During the first two decades after independence, most of the migration took place from the Doaba region; where Doaba people went to different countries, and those from Amritsar district predominantly migrated to United States of America. The Ludhiana district in the Malwa region was also an important place from where the migration took place. The post 1947 period is marked by a large exodus of Sikhs from Doaba region of Punjab. Their concentration was in three Western countries (U.K, Canada and U.S.A), but generally it happened across the world. Starting in late 1960s, more and more people from Malwa region began to emigrate. During this period, the migration to the Gulf countries also started taking place. In the contemporary period of globalization, migration of the skilled workers has been taking place to Australia and Canada, from almost the entire Punjab (Rajan and Percot, 2011:361). According to Zachariah (1997: 67) after the first OPEC price hike of 1973-74, the Gulf region also became an attractive destination for Punjabis and finally, with the end of the cold war after 1989, opened up new land and sea route for Punjabi migrants, with many settling in Greece, Italy and Spain.

Two major western countries, the United States and Canada, which had earlier almost barred Sikhs, eased their immigration policies by fixing quotas, which were later relaxed for Indian immigrants. Around the year 1960, in North America, small and isolated Sikh communities started showing signs of revival with fresh migrants. Gradually Yuba City, New York, Greater Vancouver and the Toronto Metropolitan areas become major destinations for Sikh immigrants (Dusenbery and Tatla, 2009:11).

For the early twentieth century at least, one might as well talk of Jat Diaspora in North America (since the overwhelming majority of migrants across the pacific were Jats) or Ramagarhia Diaspora in East Africa (since the vast majority of Punjabi migrants there were of an artisan caste). Local community in these destinations called them as Malwai, Majhai and Doabi Diaspora, recognizing the indigenous Punjabi territorial distinctions that play a part and continue to play part in the lives of Sikhs in the Diaspora. The Punjabis belonging to different castes migrated to New Zealand and North America (Brack, 1988: 23, c.f Dusenbery and Tatla, 2009). The representation of Jats and Chamars has been noted among the Punjabis in North America (Verma and Seshan, 2003:29). Similarly those lower down the caste hierarchy (e.g Chamars) of Punjab are also attempting to enhance wealth and social status through
communication with NRIs and overseas migration, to the Middle East and East Europe (Taylor and Singh, 2013:51). In the colonial phase, the Bhatras- a backward caste whose traditional occupation was mainly begging, migrated to England in the 1920s and they could be rightly termed as the pioneers among the Punjabis in England (Ballard and Ballard, 1977: 54). Kessinger (1974:33) in his study of a village of Doaba region noted the migration of Jats and Julahas to foreign countries. It has also been observed that a considerable number of Ramgarhias migrated to East Africa during the second decade of the twentieth century. The post-colonial phase is marked by a sharp increase in the international migration of Punjabis in which the Jat Sikh dominated followed by Ramgarhias, Chamars and Ad-dharam. Some Sikh communities found in Singapore and Malaya came largely from Malwa and Majha regions of Punjab. Their main occupation was police, military and watchman jobs. Evidences were also found which show Sikh migration from Malaya and Singapore to Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines, thus reinforcing the ancestral regional derivations from Punjab. Major castes were recognized as Jat, Saini and Ghummer (Judge, 2011: 34).

Sikhs in France is a very recent observance, though first wave of migration began in late 1970’s and early 1980’s when a few Sikhs arrived first in Germany and Belgium, later in France, as undocumented immigrants (Moliner, 2011:49). According to Bertolani (2008:166) there are three main caste groups represented in France: Jats, Ravidasis and Lohanas .Jats are numerically, socially, economically and politically dominant in the Punjab and in some respect among the Diaspora, although this dominance is contested by other castes, particularly the Ramgarhia and Ravidasis. Ravidasis belong to the chamar caste, an ‘Untouchable’ group, well represented in the Diaspora. Lohanas are a caste of artisans and service providers in rural Punjab, whose position in the caste hierarchy is close to Ramgarhia. Therefore Punjabis were found in France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. However, as Ram (2007:4006) has emphasized, Doaba region is now witnessing a simultaneous recent intensification of relative caste based inequalities which are also reflected in the region’s transnationalism.
Sikhs entered into various European countries, mostly in 1960’s to 1990’s time period. The study conducted by researchers emphasizes this point of view that 1980’s political turmoil in Punjab which was marred by violent conflicts, made Punjabis migrate to European countries. They reached Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Poland, from Punjab. Sikhs worked as laborers, in restaurants, opened their own shops. At some places, twice migration was also found. Earlier they were in south African countries mostly in Uganda but later on migrated to European countries and marriage alliance or better work opportunities made them permanently settle in these European countries (Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2011:20-21). The first migrated person from Punjab to Norway was a Kamboj caste man Amarjit Singh Kamboz, who arrived in 1969 (Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2011:22).

The recent influx of Punjabis into countries in the Gulf and to Australia, Libya, Canada, New Zealand, the US and the UK is associated with high-value specialized and skilled occupations involving IT professionals, teachers, doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, etc. Additionally, Australia, Canada and New Zealand are also receiving other skilled construction and allied workers including masons, carpenters, drivers, mechanism, welders, smiths, electricians, etc. from the Punjab. However, most of the semi-skilled workers are now heading towards countries such as Iraq, Lebanon and Kuwait. The Philippines is also a popular destination where Punjabis are engaged in retail activities as well as in money exchange and lending businesses. Interestingly, according to the Punjab Human Development Report 2004 (GOP, 2004:170), landless laborers and marginal farmers, among whom schedule caste and other lower castes dominate, are migrating abroad as semi-skilled and unskilled workers in search of employment.

Recent study conducted by Nanda and Veron, (2015:39) asserted that migration from Doaba region (68 per thousand) is much more likely to have higher emigration rate than households in Malwa (15 per thousands) or Majha (28 per thousand) region. Sharp differences are also observed in the emigration rates of Hindu (19 per thousand) and Sikh (36 per thousand) population. The emigration rate is highest (41 per thousand) among the backward castes (OBC) followed by general castes (37 per thousands) and schedule castes (14 per thousands). Households headed
by females (48 per thousand) also have a higher emigration rates than household headed by males (26 per thousand). It is also noted that UAE, the most favored nation for emigration from Punjab, is popular with out-migrants who are from rural areas (30 percent), Majha region (31 percent) Hindus (35 percent), Schedule Castes (52 percent), male (33 percent), and female headed household (38 percent). The second most favorable country for emigration among the Punjabis is Canada.

2.4 Kamboj Caste Migration: Another caste in 20th century diversified in migration known as Kamboj, residing majorly in Kapurthala district, a part of Doaba region of Punjab. Currently, a large number of males of the villages are working aboard, mostly in the Middle East; few are in England, America, Germany and Spain, even though they are expanding in all the parts of the world. Noticeable fact is that Kamboj caste comes under the OBC category (Judge, 2008:35). There are three major OBC castes in Punjab. They are kamboh, Ramgarhias and Lobanas. Judge (2011) mentioned that there is hardly any caste of Punjab that has not been present in Punjabi Diaspora. i.e. the emerging caste in Punjabi migration in present context. Recent study conducted by Nanda and Veron, (2015:1) asserted that migration from Doaba region (68 per thousand) is much more likely to have higher emigration rate than households in Malwa (15 per thousands) or Majha (28 per thousand) region. Sharp differences are also observed in the emigration rates of Hindu (19 per thousand) and Sikh (36 per thousand) population. The emigration rate is highest (41 per thousand) among the backward castes (OBC) followed by general castes (37 per thousands) and schedule castes (14 per thousands). Moreover earlier work on migration no- where defined Kamboj caste migration because most of the studies related to migration especially from Doaba region, emphasized on districts Jalandhar, Nawansher and Hoshiarpur. In some studies, small references of Kapurthala district are mentioned in relation to Scheduled Caste or Jat caste migration (Nanda and Veron, 2015:41) but Gulf migration by Kamboj caste remained a neglected area in the study of migration. Judge (2011:30) in his study of Punjabi migration history emphasized that in the late 1980’s migration to the Gulf countries also started taking place. In the contemporary period of globalization, migration of the skilled workers has been taking place to Australia and Canada from almost the entire Punjab. He again mentioned that there is hardly any caste of Punjab that has not been present as a part of Punjabi Diaspora (c.f.
Jayaram, 2011). Main castes in migration was given only to Jat (Taylor et al., 2007; 2103), Chamars (Ram, 2007), Ramdasyas (Ram, 2007), Ad-dharmi (Judge, 1992, 2002), Ramgharia (Bertolani, 2009) caste migration that are the prominent castes of Punjab and mostly concentrated in Jalandhar, Nawanshahar and Hoshiarpur districts. Even Majha, Malwa regions were mentioned by earlier scholars in migration studies.

So the present study was conducted to fill the research gap of the existing literature in relation to migration studies especially with focus on Punjabi migrants and Kamboj caste in particular, all over the world. To understand the migration pattern in the Kamboj caste, a systematic study was conducted in Kapurthala district of Punjab and an attempt was made to collect relevant facts on Kamboj migration through in-depth interviews with people\textsuperscript{30} of the community. The following discussion will focus on (a) history of the Kamboj caste, (b) occupational trend, (c) migration in Kamboj caste and destination countries (d) reason behind Kamboj caste migration to Gulf countries.

2.4.1 The Kambojas: It is believed that ancestors of the Kambojs migrated from Badakhshan area in Pamir Mountains, now in southern Russia, at least three thousand years back. It is also been acknowledged that Kambojs had their principalities in north-western India, that is, in Jammu and Kashmir, Afghanistan, Kabul and Kandahar. Many have traced Kamboj’s history to Vedic period, a rishi, Kamboj opmaneu, is mentioned in the Rig Veda. Before the Budhism rose in India, there were 16 kingdoms of Mahajanpadas known to be present in North-western part of India (figure 2.1). The actual meaning of Mahajanpada was “Great Kingdoms”. During this period Aryan were known as Janpadas, also part of Mahajanpadas. The term Mahajanpadas were known during Budhist period. It is also a noticeable thing that Kambojs were also one of these sixteen Kingdoms of Mahajanpadas and they are also mentioned many a times during Mahabharta period. Kingdom of Kombojs was known to be near to Hindukush. The following map (figure 2.1) showed Kamboja Kingdom during the time of sixteen Mahajanpadas.

\textsuperscript{30} KII, FGD’s and Interviews of return migrants were taken to know about, migration pattern from their village and other written documents were also used to understand the history of Kamboj caste.
They were described as Arjun group and their relations were traced with Afghans and Iranians. In the Ramayana of Balmiki by Bhagwan Dass Gautam, the horses of the Kambojs are compared to those of Lord Indra and Sugriva urges Shatbal to search for Sita in the Lord of Kambojs. In Mahabharata, Kamboj people wore white clothes and took sacred bath in Kurukshetra. Two princes named Sudakshana and Chandra Verma participated in the battle from Kurus side. It is also stated that they
were warriors, after bathing they recited hymns or mantras and wearing white clothes similar to Brahmin moved to fight the Pandavas. Later on Kambojs were killed by Arjuna. Kamboj are mentioned to have conquered Mathura (Jammu, 2013:51). During the time of Mahabharata the Kambojs were traced to be residing in Afghanistan, North Western Frontier Province, Northern Punjab and Southern Kashmir, but the participation of the Kambojs in the struggle of power on the side of Jarsanda, ruler of Magadha, against Krishna, indicates that at least some of them were living in the Ganga plains also (Jammu, 2013:55). According to Rapson (1968:105), Yasaka in Nirukta, a text of 500 B.C, described that the speech of the Kambojs differed in certain respects from the ordinary indigenous speech of north-western India (Singh, 2003:257). It is also believed that the Kambojs were subjugated by the Mauryas, who took them into their army and also dispersed them in different part of India. In fact one branch of these people went to Gujarat, where their capital has been reported as Dwarka. Some of them were pushed towards east and dispersed into Uttar Pradesh and Bengal where they are known as Kunbis, in Andhra Pradesh they are known as Kammus and in the Himalayas as Khampas. From Utkal overseas migration of the Kambojs started it dates back to first century A.D and they went to a land that is known as Kambodia / Cambodia (Jammu, 2013:18). Majumdar (1966:224) mentioned that the Burmese king on one occasion sized a princess sent by the Ceylonese king to the king of Kambodia in twelfth century A.D. There was a Pala Kingdom the ruler belonged to Kamboja family and it was called Kambojs Empire around A.D 1001 (Singh, 2003:258). Some Kamboja were found in army of Akbar also, they formed almost five thousand members and served in Assam and then Gujarat. So some evidences of Kambojs are also found during Mughal rule (Jammu, 2013:395).

2.4.2 British Record and People view about Kambojs: The kamboh is one of the fines cultivation castes in the Punjab. The seldom engage in market- gardening but they are no less industrious and skillful than Arian. They are found in upper Sutlej valley an as low down as Montgomery. The Kambohs of Montgomery are divided into two branches, one branch came up from the Chenab River to Multan and the second branch goes down valley from the neighborhood of Kapurthala, (valley between Beas and Sutlej). Both branches had evolved under the Sikh rule (Rose, 1911:954). Under that Sikh rule they also came to Jullunder from Kapurthala. They claim descent from Rija Karan, and say that their ancestor fled to Kashmir. The
Kambohs of Bijnor also trace their origin to the Indus country. They are said some to be ancient inhabitants of Persia, and the Karnal Kambohs trace their origin from Garh Ghazni; but the fact that 40 per cent, of them are Hindus and 23 per cent. Sikhs is conclusive against their having had any extra-Indian origin, unless at a very remote period. Arains and Kambohs are commonly supposed to be closely related: indeed in Montgomery a man appears to be called Arians, if he is Musalm and Kamboh if Hindu. In Jullundur the Gaure, Hnde and Monii clans are found in both castes, and in Montgomery several of their clan names are identical. It is said by some that the chief distinction is that the Kambohs take money for their daughters, while the Arains do not. The Kamboh is a vegetable-grower. Moreover, is not a mere agriculturist? He not infrequently engages in trade, and even takes service in the army or in offices or even as a private servant (Rose, 1911:955). According to Ibbeston (1916:139) kamboj are small agriculturist in Punjab as they indulge in manual work and also handling Plough work, such a small flock not a dominate caste as Jat and Rajput. Ibbeston (1916) include that Kamboj in minor agriculturist castes that low-caste agriculture of inferior status. Rose (1911:955). The Kambohs do not seem to bear as high a character for honesty as they do for skill. The Kambohs are not very numerous in the State of Bahawalpur, but they offer some points of interest. The Hindu Kambohs 150 years ago occupied Jhullan, a village on the right bank of the Sutlej not far from Pakpattan. Kamboh is said to be compounded of Kai and anboh, and the tribe is said to be descended from the Kai dynasty of Persia, to which the emperors Kaikaus, Kaikhusro, Kaikubad. When they migrated to the Punjab they came to be called Kai-ambohs or Kambohas. At the present time major chunk of the Kamboj population resides in Sultanpur Lodi, District Kapurthala. Kamboj are found in Hindu, Muslim and Sikh ancestry. Kamboj are found in the upper Sutlej valley. Throughout the northern portion of the Eastern plains and as low as down the Jamna valley as Karnal. They are especially in large numbers in Kapurthala (Ibbetson, 2008:259).According to Ibbetson (1916:139) in 1881 the Kamboh constituted 6% of the population of Punjab, 12% of them were living in princely states and 4% in British territory. Surprisingly their actual population was higher, because many people reported themselves as Kamboj. Clubbing these two categories as Kamboh or Kamboj together (Maclegan, 1892:343) their combined population was 1,98,725 in 1921; 1,46,687as Kamboh and 52,038 as Kamboj. According to 1931 census their population figure stood at 2,39,355 (Ross,
There was a proverb in the north-west province: The Afghans, the Kambohs and the Kashmiris; all three rogues (*Badzat*), some line have been taken from the archive gazettes written during the British rule in India. Ibbetson (1916:144) for the first time completed gazettes related to all Indian tribe and castes found by him in the country. Mr. Benton of Karnal describes Kamboh as “notoriously, deceitful and treacherous.” (Ibbeston, 2008: 144). According to Ibbetson (2008:201) 40% of Kamboj are Hindu, 23% Sikh, because of their origin out of India. As a person from Montgomery called himself Arian, he is musalman and Kamboh is Hindu. So those who migrated to Punjab became Sikh after reaching Sultanpur Lodhi. Though, Kamboh were also found in Amritser, Lahor, Ferozpur, Patiala, Nabha (Rose, 1911:239). But in recent times, they have spread all over India including Lahore, Kapurthala, Jallandhar, Ambala, Kurkshetra, Karnal, Muzzaffarnagar, and Saharanpur district (Singh, 2003:259). All these in the book, Ibestton defined Kamboj clans in nine highest categories with their population as following (Table 2.1):

**Table 2.1: Surname and Population of Kamboj Caste**

<table>
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<th>Surname</th>
<th>Population</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thind</td>
<td>10,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jausan</td>
<td>6,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaura</td>
<td>5,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahut</td>
<td>4,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahork</td>
<td>4,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sande</td>
<td>4,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammun</td>
<td>2,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhande</td>
<td>2,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uumal</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ibbetson, 2008; Rose, 1911.

During field work, data was collected from the villages of Kapurthala (refer methodology part of chapter I) where majority of the population was Kamboj and their significant gotras are Joshan, Thind, Korra and Hanspal.

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It is to be noticed here that old India includes Pakistan but author here is talking about the new India so he is calling them out of India.
During discussion on Kamboj caste, Gurnam Singh mentioned the fact. He was a return migrant of England; he spent almost 15 years of migration in England. During interview with the left behind wife, it was found that he resides in the same house as Brother-in-law of the respondent. He narrates:

“Early Kambojs belonged to Cambodia, they were worriers and later on they settled down in Cambodia. This is the history of Kamboja that I heard from our Bazurgs (41 year old Return Migrant, Thea)”

“Enna nai patta k kithon aye han Kamboj per en pata ha k kuch kamboh Pakistan c te fir sultan pur lodhi a k vas gye te sardar bann gye. Ehi manya jandha k asi han tan kiton hor c bus rehan lag gye Sultan pur a ke. Eh tan hun bazurg hi jande hony ha k ki history ha sadi (we don’t know too much form where we came; we only know that some Kamboj are staying in Pakistan and then came to Sultanpur lodhi and stay here permanently. It is believed that we are not from here; we are from somewhere else and start living in Sultanpur. Else know by old people that who we are” (48 year old Sarpanch, Parvez Nagar)

“Kamboh tan ehi ha k asi jattan vang hi kheti karde han shuru ton tee hi sunan ch aunda ha k Pakistan de kite uder ton c, te a k vass gye sultanpur lodhi. Kaboh tan bhut ha hor jallndhar han, enna hi pata ha k ethe hi rehna shuru kita asi. (Kamboh as we know that we are doing agriculture like Jats. That we heard that we are from somewhere of Pakistan, and we start living in Sultanpur Lodhi. Kamob are numerous, some are staying in Jallandhar too. We know that much only and start living here only”. (42 year old male Sarpanch Dograwal)

“Ehi keha janda ha k Cambodia ton aye ha esi karke sanu Kamboh/ kamboj keha janda. Eh nai pata hun k kine aye c te kithe rehan lage. Ehi sunn nu milda ha k kuch Pakistan c, kuch ethe c te assi ethe a k sultan pur te fir sarre kapurthala ch kamboh hi mide han. Jat vihan ethe per kamboh jeyda ha. Hun tan kamboh bahr nu ja rahy ha. Hun ki farak reh gya (that we heard is that we came from Cambodia and that is why we know as Kamboh/Kamboj. We don’t know what was their population and where they started living after coming Cambodia. What we heard that some Kamboh are staying in Pakistan and also in Sultanpur and now in Kapurthala all are Kamboh. Jats are also staying in Kapurthala but Kamboh are more. Now Kamboh are migrating to abroad. Now nothing different, everyone is same (58 year old Sarpanch, Rampur Jagir)
The above narrative emphasis that Kamboj origin from Cambodia and other thing they know that Kamboj came from Pakistan and started staying in Sultanpur Lodhi. People believe that after coming Sultanpur; they started working in agriculture land and had similar with Jats. It is noticeable that Jammu (2013:383) in his book on Kambojs mentioned that many gotras of Kamboj are similarly found in Khatri, Arora and even Jat castes also. He also mentioned that some of them dispersed in India and others in Cambodia (Jammu, 2013:18). In attitude, some are akin to commercial casts like Khatri but more are similar to agriculture oriented caste Jat.

2.4.3 Occupation of Kambojs: The old gazette records of British India defined that Kamboh is one of the finest cultivating castes in the Punjab. They rarely engaged in market-gardening, but they are no less industrious and skillful than the Arains (Rose, 1911). Ibbetson, (2008:139) in his study on Punjab castes include Kamboj as minor land-owning and agriculturist caste. Singh (2003:262) estimated the Kamboj habitation pattern and found that they lived along the rivers where settled agriculture was easy. Starting from the west, their main concentration towards the middle of the 19th century was along the Ravi, particularly in Kasur and Chuhnian tehsils of Lahore district and in Montgomery district along the Sutlej. Another major area where Kamboj caste was high in number was at the confluence of the Sutlej and Beas in Kapurthala32 and some villages of Jalandhar or some parts of Fazilika. They were involved in trade and commerce, clerical jobs, but were predominantly agriculturist (Singh, 2003:262). Kambojs are mostly vegetable–growers, who constitute ‘the lower stratum of the dominant agricultural caste of their region’. Some engage in trade and some take services in the army or in offices or even as private servants (Ibbetson, 2008:202). During the conversation with village sarpanches, they emphasized that majority of the Kamboj have land holdings, no doubt they do not have as much land holding as some affluent Jats of the Doaba region but still they have enough land for farming. The size of the land holdings were not more than ten acres. Majority of people have two to five acres of land and very rarely they have land more than ten acres. Sarpanch of Dograwal village emphasized that:

“The occupation of most of the people in village is farming but they do not have vast expanse of land, they do not possess more than 7 to 8 killas. In fact even though I am the sarpanch of the village I too have just eleven killas of land. With such land you can fulfill your basic needs only, hun tan kharche bahut ne, padhavi da kharch, sau kam kaajj hunde hai pessi vale (now everyone has large expenses, education is also difficult without money, there are hundreds of work which are not possible without money)” (40 Year Old Sarpanch, Doagrawal village).

“Kamboj people do not have much land; they live hand to mouth with the help of this land only. They toil and are working very hard and trying to save more from their earnings. Wheat and rice are the major crops, it is cultivated by everyone. To earn more people grow vegetables as well when the land is free. Hun ghar tan dekhna hi hai (everyone has to look after household responsibilities too)” (49 year old woman FGD03, Nassirpur).

“Kam boj are agriculturist even they called themselves as Zamindar closer to Jat caste, sade te jatan ch koi khas farak nai hai (there is not a huge difference between Kamboj and Jats)”(51 year old woman FGD03, Nassirpur.).

Mere gharwala kheti hi karda c, bhar jaan ton phelan. Sadi jamin se 2 kilre, assi oss te sabji hi ugande c mausam de anusar. Garmehya ch bindi, allo, bangan, tamater, lassen, gheya te sardyan ch Gobi, bandh gobi, sagg, muli, jo vi vick jaye mandi ch. Gujare joge tan hundi hi c, per bacche vady ho gye tan ess karke esde papa nu bhar jauna peya. Kamai nai c uni ethe te hun bahan ja k gadi chalunda ha (My husband was a farmer before his migration. we have only 2 kila land and we grow vegetable according to weather. We grow vegetable in summer as ladyfinger, potato, brinjal, tomato, garlic, and winter
vegetables, as cauliflower, cabbage, leafy vegetable, and radish that can we sell in the market. We live hand to mouth. So we don’t have much earning and children are in growing stage. That is why he migrated to Dubai and working as driver in a factory (30 years old respondent\textsuperscript{33}, Thea).

My husband was working as a farmer and we grow rice, wheat. But it is not sufficient because children are in growing stage and in the present day everything is costly. So he decided to migrate in Dubai. We don’t have option, children study is also costly. Everyone has own household difficulties, so he took decision of migration. Now he is working as marble cutter in Dubai. (38 year old Respondent\textsuperscript{34}, Parvez Nagar)

My husband had a service station in the village. We have our own shop but you know very well, how much we can earn. So he took decision of migration. He is in Germany and working in a pizza shop. I also with him because we are not in good condition so I also want that he should migrate for our better future. (29 year old Respondent\textsuperscript{35}, Rampur Jagir)

My husband was working in our own land, we have only 2 kilas, and we grow rice and wheat according to season and also some vegetables too. But it is not as much fruitful, because our children are growing very fast and education must for them. We can’t afford good education without handsome money. My husband said it is better I should go abroad so that I can earn for our children. He is Italy but he has hidden migration. In Italy he is a farmer as working in someone farms. (35 year old Respondent\textsuperscript{36}, Rampur Jagir)

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\textsuperscript{33} Surjit Kaur, 30 years old woman, was staying with her son and a daughter in nuclear family. She was 10\textsuperscript{th} pass and her husband also matriculation. Her husband was staying in Dubai since 3 years. Her son was studying in 10\textsuperscript{th} class and daughter in 5\textsuperscript{th} class. She is housewife and handling all household chores.

\textsuperscript{34} Sukhdeep Kaur, 38 year old respondent was staying in village Parvez Nagar, Kapurthala district. She was staying with her son and daughter in a nuclear family. She had two rooms set. She was handling all household decisions but her husband was taking care of agricultural and other family decisions. She had only TV and washing machine at home.

\textsuperscript{35} Bakshish Kaur, age 29, village Rampur Jagir, district Kapurthala, was staying in a nuclear family, with her two sons. Her husband is a labour migrant to Germany. He is working as a delivery boy in a pizza shop. She had small house of 2 rooms and kitchen. She had basic necessities of household as TV, fridge, and scooter only. She had own business of clothes. She had no agricultural land.

\textsuperscript{36} Sarbjit Kaur, 35 year old women, village Rampur Jagir, Kapurthala district. She was staying with her mother-in-law, son and daughter in a joint family. Her husband was a Italy hidden migrant. She is handling all household chores.
Khti hi karde ha sare ethe jeyadater, jamina tan gaht ha per fir vi. karna tan ha kujh ghar chalaun lai. Baki langaha langda rehda ha. Kamboja kol jamina tan thodyan hi han. Sade pind ch tan sarre kheti hi karde han. Hun aij kal bhar ja rahy ha kaam lai. Ek duje naal jai jande han, bai pessa kama ho jao. Hor kuch nai kheti hi aundi enna nu, uthe dehadi kari jandy han. (All kambojs are farmer mostly, they don’t have too much land, still something they have to do to earn their livelihood and for household expenses. So they are living hand to mouth. In our village mostly kamboj are farmer. Now they are moving abroad. They are going with links of village people.)(Kartar Singh Old Sarpanch of Rampur Jagir)

I was a farmer before migrating to England. Still we have joint land of whole family. When I migrated to England through hidden migration then my younger brother handle everything at home. I was working as cook in England in a restaurant. So after 15 years I came back and in between, he migrated to Dubai. He is a truck driver in Dubai. Then our youngest brother starts handing all agricultural work. Now they both are staying in Dubai and working as truck driver. Now all agricultural work handles by me. Kheti hi ha sadde kol hor ki karna assi (we have land only and we are doing cultivation what we can do other) (41 year old Respondent37, 2016, Thea).

My husband was a farmer when my marriage took place. We had 3 kilas of land. We usually grow wheat and rice. My husband takes care of all land and I used to work at home. Last 6 years he migrated to Dubai and working as driver. So all land responsibility on my shoulders and I am handling all land. Rather I learned how we can do cultivation (39 year old Respondent38, Dograwal).

My husband was a farmer before his migration to USA. But you know well, how much we can earn. First you need to grow properly then irrigation and also need to go grain market to sell. Nothing remains left after so much hard

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37 During discussion on Kamboj caste, Gurnam Singh mentioned this fact. He was return migrant of England; he spent almost 15 years of migration in England. During interview with left behind wife, it was found that he resides in the same house as Brother-in-law of the respondent.

38 Gurmeet Kaur, 39 years old, respondent was residing in Dograwal village Kapurthala District. She was staying in a nuclear family with her two children. Both the couple were10th pass. Her husband was in Dubai and was working as a Mason. Her daughter was in graduation and her son was in 12th class. She was head of the house hold and handling all household decisions. She had well- furnished cemented house. In her house LCD, fridge, cooler, microwave and 2 scooter available.
works. Family has own demand that also need to fulfill. So he said it is better I migrate somewhere. We also get loss in agriculture. So it is better to migrate somewhere. No whatever family matters are there, all are under my control, kheti da ki ha (what about agriculture), main deni han tekhe te (I usually give on contract basis) enne saat ho gye pind ch rehndye hoye (I am staying in village for too many years). Main jaandi han sub nu (I know everyone). Appe dekh laind a ha k kon vadya kaam karey ga (I usually watch who will do good work in field). Fir os de mutabk main tekha te deni han (so, I usually see all pros and cons then I give it on cultivation for one year)” (41 year old respondent, Rampur Jagir)

The above narratives show the condition of those Kamboj caste members who are marginal farmers. It was also observed during fieldwork that majority of Kamboj’s occupation was farming, they cultivated both wheat and rice, vegetable cultivation was also one of the main occupations. During data collection, the months of November 2015 to May 2016 were spent in the field work. It was the time of wheat cultivation. So at a majority of places wheat fields were seen, even people of Kamboj families were busy in cultivation, and their women were also involved in it. The second major cultivation of vegetables was also noticed during conversation with local village people of Kamboj caste; the information about prominent vegetables which are grown was gathered. These included pumpkin, bottle gourd, lady finger, tomato, potatoes, onion, brinjal and cucumber. The reason behind this is Kapurthala city has a large scale vegetable market and city is surrounded from all sides with villages. So for people from villages, they can easily transport their vegetables to the main market of Kapurthala city.

Migration Pattern in Kamboj Caste

2.4.4 1st Phase of Migration: Many early studies emphasize that migration from Doaba region is a 20th century phenomenon (Dusenbury and Tatla, 2009). On the same lines, migration among Kamboj also started in mid-20th century. Facts related to

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39 Ranjit Kaur, 41 year old respondent was staying in Rampura Jaggir, district Kapurhtala. She was staying with her two children in a nuclear family. Her husband was in illegal migrant in U.S.A. She was head of the household and taking all decision of her household. Her house had 2 rooms and well-furnished. She had TV fridge and one scooter.

40 It is here to mention that data gathered from Kamboj interviews mentioned agricultural condition, chapter 4 mentioned agricultural land in 48 respondents. Even Table 2.1 also showed that main occupation of the Kamboj as farmer. Judge 2011 mentioned both Kamboh and Lobanas are middle level peasants and are known as vegetable growers.
Kamboj migration were collected from old migrants who are termed as return – migrants. They have returned to their homes because of old age. Discussions were conducted with the elderly of the villages to know about the migration pattern in Kamboj caste. Some information was also gathered through Focus Group Discussion with the migrant’s women in old respondents from the migrant villages. It was found that for the first time, Kamboj migration started near about 1970’s. It was found that during first phase of migration, people were generally of peasantry class and were normally having basic level of education. They used to prefer Gulf countries as favorable destination for migration. As Visa was not issued in the name of person during those times, they had to depend upon agents to get them to Gulf countries. The migrants were not skilled, so they learnt about various skills after migration. Many of these unskilled migrants worked as drivers, watchmen, carpenters and masons.

During the conversation with the sarpanch of village Rampur Jagir, who migrated in the year 1977 and stayed for thirty years in Dubai as migrant, emphasized the point that there was early migration from all the nearby villages.

He stated that “loki” (people) were migrating to Gulf countries in 1970’s, some people migrated even before that, and there is no documentation about them. But the migration from all the nearby villages started around 1965 to 1970. I was the third person from my village, which migrated to Dubai for work.”

He further described that “early migration was known as “Benami Visa” (no name on visa), sometimes they had “group visa” that is no single name was on visa card and it was called a laborer visa. Only, those people who had money could migrate because agents were required for it. Gulf companies required laborers for their company work so they told the agent about the required number of laborers. So it was in agent’s hand as to whom he wanted.

41 The oil price hikes in October 1973 marked a major watershed in the migration process. The massive demand for labour was accounted for by the sudden growth of the construction industry as the Gulf countries, which became immensely wealthy overnight, embarked on a frenzy of building a new infrastructure of roads, ports and airports, as well as schools, colleges and administrative blocks as symbols of the new wealth. Migrant labour was required not only in construction projects, but also to work in industry, trade, and services, including household services. Thus, a large number of Indian workers began to migrate mainly to the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates (UAE). Among these countries, UAE was one of the popular destinations of Indian migrants. See further in Zachariah, K.C., et al. (2001a) “Impact of migration on Kerala’s economy and society”, International Migration, 39(1): 63-88. Zachariah, K.C., et al (2001b) “Social, economic and demographic consequences of migration on Kerala”, International Migration, 39(2): 43-71.

42 Generally Kamboj people in first phase of migration were educated up to secondary level.
to send. So the person, who was able to give required amount of money to the agent, was sent to the Gulf as labour. During that time I went in the aero-plane and we were a group of twenty people who migrated together.

Again he stressed that “company required around thirty laborers in their work place in Gulf. So the agent sent laborers to them. There is a contract between the agent and the company. Today visa is on person’s name. So anyone who has a passport can migrate if company sends the visa in the name of the person”.

He also told that “companiya da arragment hunda c, ohna sanu airport ton chukna te apni company ch le jana (company arranged residential place for all the laborers, company took people from airport and settled them in their residential place), residential place depended upon the company, the experience could be good or bad, but one had to stay because they were workers who did not have any property there. So, people had to adjust because they were in need of money”.

“Earlier migrants were not that skillful; they worked as laborer in the Gulf companies because they had agricultural background. Later on people learned skills according to the requirement in the Gulf companies. Now most of the money making job in Gulf is truck driver or truck business.

Earlier, I worked as laborer in the Gulf Company. I completed my metric in 1972 and had good drawing skills, So I learned carpentry in the Gulf because of demand of carpenters, then I learned truck driving and also worked as a foreman before coming back to India”( 58 year old Sarpanch, Rampur Jagir, 2016).

The sarpanch of Nassirpur village also belonged to Kamboj caste. Similar questions were asked to him about Kamboj caste early migration.

According to Kartar Singh (Sarpanch) “the migration of Kamboj from villages is more than forty years old phenomena. The first person who migrated was from Kora gotra of Kamboj. It was around 1969 that they migrated to Gulf countries as a laborer. Most of the migrants took loan on interest basis from money lender and then they were able to migrate. They earned money which was invested in Punjab to construct house or buy an agricultural land. In fact some people have migrated doyi vari (twice migration), in one house “Nante de ghar” (person name Nanta who is a migrant), he had earlier migration to Dubai, he was ruined there, but later on with the help of some people, he was
able to migrate to England. Now they have big house and everything is available there.”

Kartar Singh again described, people were agriculturist; but they did not have enough land to cultivate. So they chose option of migration to earn their livelihood. Hun tan kothi valley ho gye (Now they are owner of big houses). At that times no visa restrictions was there so it was easy way to migration.

He gave similar views as given by Sarpanch of Rampur jagir that people who had the money could go. They travelled from Delhi airport with the help of the agent. Sometime they had to wait for twenty five days in Delhi to clear their “Benami visa”. People got visa to Gulf countries only when agent agreed to it. After that they could board the plane to the Gulf”.

The above narratives show that migration in Kamboj people started around mid-twentieth century, mostly migration started between 1960s - 1970s. They also emphasized the point that migration in Kamboj caste was not more than forty years old. No doubt that some people had migrated earlier also but no documentation was found about them. One left behind wife told that her husband was in Germany from last 35 years; which means that migration to Germany has been taking place since 1980s. So such documentation of people shows that migration is a mid-20th century phenomenon and mostly such cases were found among those people, who are now known as return-migrant. They migrated long ago, but now they have returned and were staying in their own villages after spending thirty to thirty five years as migrants in other countries. Interestingly, at present, migration is taking place in their next generation and now return- migrant’s children are known as migrants. In the earlier history of migration of Sikhs to European countries, a case was found according to which the first person from Punjab who reached Norway in 1969 was “Amarjit Singh Kamboz” (Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2011). Such documentation is resourceful information about Kamboj migration in European countries; even Rampur Jagir’s Sarpanch also emphasized that

“sarre hi kamboj bahar han hun tan, hun tan Kamboj Jorpian countrian (European Countries) nu ja rahehai, Gulf ch hun pessa nai reha. Loki study visa te jorpan nu ja rahy hai (all Kamboj have migrated abroad, now almost all Kambojs prefer European countries because Gulf countries are not having
lucrative career any more, there is no availability of good jobs. People are going on study visa to European countries\textsuperscript{43} for work)

Another interview was conducted with Dogranwala’s Sarpanch who was also a return migrant from Dubai. Dograwala village was also Kamboj caste dominated village. Even Sarpanch was also Kamboj. To get the information about Kamboj caste migration similar question was asked to him.

He said that “I was born and brought up in Dograwal village, I know all the village people who have migrated. Majority of people are Kamboj, no doubt, Schedule caste is also found here. The main occupation of the people is agriculture, Kamboj are farmer and Schedule caste people are laborer on Kamboj’s dayan jamina te (on Kambojs Land). Kamboj do not have huge landholding like Jats, still they have two to five acres of land for their livelihood. Very few people have five to six acres of land. Only one person is a serviceman. All other people are farmers. Kamboj people basically cultivate wheat, rice, maze, potatoes, and tomatoes which they can sell at market. People have a long history of migration. Sama tan lambha ho gya, per aun jan hi rakhdy han loki jeyada (it is a long time since migration but mostly people visit their country after every two years after migration).”

“Earlier one person migrated to Dubai in early1980s, his name is Dilber; he is one of the earliest people to migrate. He migrated in early 80s then Teju who migrated around 1982. Third person was Bala also a Kamboj, who migrated in 1985. It was a late migration. I was a migrant in 1996 for the first time. That time all these people made fruitful trips in Gulf’s”.

“So migration from our villages started in mid-20\textsuperscript{th} Century, even now people are migrating. They usually make two or three trips; they earn well and then setup small business either in the village or in the city. Earlier migrants worked as laborer in the Gulf countries, especially in Dubai. No one was

\textsuperscript{43} It is to mention here that kamboj other migration destination than gulf countries as Italy, Spain and U.K, Greece and Germany too. Sometimes legal and hidden migration was used by them. They used study as means to migration, according to situations. Children had migration Italy, Spain and U.K. through study visa. It is an observation of the respondent not the researcher. These countries include in European countries. In this chapter during patterns of migration various discussions was done on these countries. Even figure no 2.3 and graph no 3.14 defined migration destinations of Kambojs. Thandi (2015) mentions that Gulf migration started in 1980’s and more recent phenomena of migration to European countries started in 1990s. In Rajan, I.S., Varghes.V.J and Nanda Aswini Kumar (2015) Migration, Mobility and Multiple Affiliations: Punjabis in a Transnational World. Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
aware about that what type of work? They were going to get in Dubai. Yes we knew driving. So we worked as driver in Dubai for many years. Many people learned the work of marble setting, earlier they used to work as laborer, and then they learned skills of masons. Later on they become marble cutter or marble furnishing too. Some worked as watchman, even foreman, that is very popular and there is a lot of money too in this work. You know, those who migrated in early stage, they set up their own business, they have their own trucks and they have more money in Dubai.”

This was also emphasized by the first respondent (Sarpanch of RampurJagir). He also described that” he was unskilled; he worked as laborer in Dubai, than learned work of carpenter, later on he became foreman. He had his own truck in Dubai which is used by his son now”.

The above narrative shows that during the first phase of Kamboj Gulf migration, people were basically from agricultural background, most of them were un-skilled. They worked as laborer in Gulf countries. Their main destination of migration was Dubai, but evidences of migration to lower Qatar, Malaysia and Germany were also noticed.

During field work, one thing was noticed that the entire old age peoples’ first choice of destination was Gulf countries, in some cases migration to Greece and Malaysia were also found. These were the people who first migrated to Gulf countries and then became able enough to migrate to other countries. So Dubai was used by them as channel of migration, destination was changed according to their work suitability and lucrative benefits. Noticeable finding was that many Kamboj people from the old age had twice migrations. They first migrated to Dubai as their favorable destination of migration and after spending ten to fifteen years; they changed their migration route to developed countries. These migrant acquired skills in gulf countrie and through network moved to developed countrie.

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44 Bhachu (1985) examines the concept of twice migrants in East African, Asians during colonial and post colonial migration. Such migrants acquire skills and networks that facilitate their ability to integrate into new environment or to move on to seek further opportunities in other states. Bhachu 1985 examples East-African Punjabi migrants, especially case of Uganda Punjabis in the early 1970 arrived England. These Punjabis constituted a distinct collectivity, than Punjabi community in England, was different from those who had gone directly from Punjab to England. So such migration called as twice migration.
migrant create a myth of return and don’t want to come back to Punjab as they want to settle permanently in developed countries. The destination countries were Italy, England, Germany, and Greece. Twice migration was specially found in old and middle age category male but mostly it was found in old age people, who were more than forty five years old. They were near about the age of fifty five to sixty years, second cases of male migration was in middle age from thirty five to forty five age category. The reason of twice migration was to gain better economic opportunities in the developed nation.

Old age people and Middle age people’s migration to these developed countries was generally through illegal means as these people are generally from agriculture background as they did not have enough skills to migrate as earlier they migrated to Gulf countries on labour Visa. They are currently working as gardeners, or in restaurants as cooks and some are working in service stations. So they could not make holiday visits to their home land country. Such type of migration is found in England, Germany and sometimes in U.S.A as well. It is important to note that such cases were found in Parvez Nagar and Rampur Jagir village, where old age people migrated to England, U.S.A and Greece and are staying there since last fifteen to twenty years.

2.4.5 II\textsuperscript{nd} Phase of Migration: The second stage of migration includes those migrants of Kamboj people, who migrated around late 20\textsuperscript{th} century. They were both early migrants to the Gulf countries and to the developed countries. Noticeable feature of these migrants was that they were either un-skilled or semi-skilled but in majority of cases they were semi-skilled. In the second phase of migration, the Kamboj were mostly literate and knew one or two skills (driving, electrician, mason etc.). People, who were not well educated, still were able to migrate because of already acquired skills (carpenter, masons, service station workers etc.) in their homeland country. Those who had completed twelfth or were graduates even managed to migrate to developed countries especially to Spain, Australia, and England. If they had some skill or were unskilled they migrated first to Gulf countries then twice migration to another place as hidden migration. Those who were below thirty five years of age either directly migrated to developed countries such as Spain, Germany or England as hidden migrants or on the basis of work permit. Some were able to migrate to Gulf countries with the help of family, friends and relatives who were already established
migrants there. The most favorable destination of the migrants was the Gulf countries (special consideration was given to Dubai, Qatar, Abu-Dhabi, and Saudi-Arabia) and in case of other developed countries, preference was given to western countries like Canada, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Australia. Those who migrated to the Gulf countries especially Dubai, Abu-Dhabi, and Saudi-Arabia mostly were semi-skilled migrant. They knew the work of carpentry, electrician, masonry, welding, mechanics and working in Punjab in these fields. Some people had their own service station in the home land so they found similar employment in the service stations in the Gulfs. Some of them became drivers also. During field work, empirical findings showed migration trends in villages. In the village Thea, there were 55 households. Out of which 49 belonged to Kamboj Caste and rest were from other castes. 21 of these households belonged to families having migrant members. People of this village started migrating around 1990s. This village was having migrants from all age groups. 45+ age group (7 migrant/ household) had migration to Dubai and they were working as truck drivers. One of them migrated to Malaysia and he was working as a cook in a restaurant. Earlier these migrant were agriculturist in their homeland country. After migration with the help of relatives or neighbors, they were able to earn better livelihood and also able to make property in their village. In the village of Parvez Nagar, out of total 239 households, 39 belonged to Kamboj migrants’ families. The migration was not a very old phenomenon in this village. First person who migrated from this village was in 1993. He was truck driver in Mumbai and later on, he migrated to Dubai on labour visa. In Dubai he was driver in a company. After that with his help other people also starts migrating to Dubai and lower Qatar on work permit. They also worked as driver in companies. People belonging to late 30’s had twice migration. Earlier they had migrated to Dubai and then illegally migrated to England. In England people are working either in restaurants or in a flower nursery as gardeners. It was also found that all men of such households are migrants either in England or in Dubai and their wives was staying behind with their in-laws. Almost In every other house of the village, such cases were observed. The favorable destination was Dubai, Kuwait, lower Qatar and England. In the village of Rampur Jagir, there were 232 households. Out of which 206 belonged to Komboj caste and 26 belong to other castes. Total households having migrant members were 65. Out of this, 63 households belong to Kamboj caste. Such village had long history of migration. First, second and third phase of migration were observed in this village. Case study and narratives of first phase migration are already discussed in earlier section. Second
phase of migration was found basically in the second generation of the migrant’s household. These were those households in which young age group in their late 20’s also migrated following their father’s footsteps. So it is sort of a generational migration in this village’s Kamboj’s household. The migration in young group was most preferably to Dubai after their father’s return-migration. They become driver and have their own trucks in Dubai. Some cases were found in which favorable destination was Italy and Germany. They were working in service station in destination countries. Noticeable thing was that these people had twice migration first they migrated to the Gulf countries for few months and then destination countries changed towards Italy and Germany. In Nassirpur there were 108 total households, out of which 97 households belong to Kamboj caste. 14 household belonged to migrants and 12 of them belonged to Kamboj caste migrants. Most of the people migrated to Dubai. People who migrated had two types of skill; they were either truck drivers or electricians. Those who migrated as truck driver had agricultural background. As they had knowledge of driving, they were successful in getting driving license in the Gulf countries. Those who migrated as electricians were doing the similar work in their homeland countries. Illegal migration was observed in only one house in the Kamboj caste. The migrant was in America and working as cook in restaurant. He had ten years of migration period. Later on his son also migrated to Canada with the help of his wife.

In such cases, migrants were basically those people who knew prior conditions of job requirements in the Gulf and other countries. So accordingly these people chose their destination countries as per the skill they had and the benefits they will reap after migration.

2.4.6 IIIrd Phase of Migration: The third stage of migration included those who started migrating in 21st century. These were generally young Kamboj children who had recently passed their higher secondary education or in some cases graduation also. They were eager to migrate to developed countries for higher education or for better employment opportunities. After watching the migration of their fathers, siblings, relatives and people in the neighborhood, they were also influenced to migrate. Also, the idea of a luxurious life lured them to migrate. The migration aspired children belonged to the 18 to 25 age group. They were ready to migrate to developed countries especially England, New Zealand, Germany, Spain, Canada and
Australia. No doubt migration to the Gulf countries was also found in this age group but it was very less in numbers. The elders were already in Gulf countries and their children knew the situation and opportunities available there. So their children did not prefer these destinations (Gulf countries) as they were not as lucrative as they used to be. They wanted to migrate on permanent basis to developed countries and settle down there. Moreover many IELTS coaching centers were also found in Kapurthala city, where these aspiring-to-migrate youngsters took coaching classes after the completion of higher secondary. Majorly students aspired to migrate to New Zealand, Canada or Australia on study basis. The most noticeable thing was that majority of the children belonged to migrant families; earlier their fathers; uncles or brothers had migration to Gulf countries and other developed countries. The most favorable destination among children was New Zealand; second preference was given to Australia and third to England or Germany. The courses they opted for were usually cooking, hotel management, or any other course that could help them to migrate. In some cases, it was noticed that Kamboj girls also migrated on study basis. There were young girls who wanted to move to Australia. Kamboj people were generally not in favor of sending their daughters abroad, alone. Rather they were more comfortable in the migration which took place through marriage alliance with NRI grooms. Very less favorable cases of girl’s migration were found in the Kamboj caste. But still the trend was changing in Kamboj caste.

These are the some important examples related Kamboj caste twice migration pattern. There is many more such kind of cases, where male members of the family migrated to developed countries using disguised methods. Many times these women visited these places by availing tourist visa, in which sponsorship was sent through the relatives or employer of the respondent’s husband. It was a common practice and such cases were noticed mostly in old age people. Those women of young or middle age have stayed behind, and migration level is very low among them. No doubt twice migration was also noticed in young age group that is below thirty five years of age group. Below are some of the case studies\textsuperscript{45} refereeing to the wife’s of twice migrated

\textsuperscript{45} All cases studies that are mentioned in this chapter are in relation to left behind women. All case studies are written after interview with 48 respondent women from different age categories. During interviews, sometimes open ended discussion and conversations were done to understand
men and the situations they handled and endured alone since their husbands’ return was not possible owing to illegal or hidden migration issues.

**Case Study 01:** An astonishing case was found in Dograwall village where Satinder pal Kaur 59 year old woman was staying with her grandchildren. It was almost twenty five to thirty years ago that her husband had migrated to England and never returned to Punjab. Earlier before his migration he was a farmer but later on land was divided amongst three brothers, so he got only two acres land. It became difficult to survive because he had two sons and one daughter. So before migration, family was living hand to mouth. In those times, very few people used to migrate outside India. So with the help of an agent he successfully migrated to England. It was through illegal means because he was not educated and didn’t know any kind of work. He was working as a cook in restaurant. Since that time his wife was staying with her children. He didn’t pay a single visit from England, though he had been sending remittances monthly. With the help of such remittances, she was able to take care of all household expenses. Also, she conducted marriage ceremonies of her children all by herself and took each responsibility on her shoulders. Now she is old and staying with her daughters-in-law and grand- children. She is still in contact with her husband but through phone only.

**Case Study 02:** Narinder Kaur, 54 year old was staying in Rampur Jagir since her marriage time. Before migration, respondent’s husband’s was an agriculturist (10th pass) and she was 12th pass (diploma) but her in-laws didn’t allow her to do job outside the home. She was getting a job of drawing teacher as she was having diploma in arts and craft. After two years of her marriage, her in-laws threw them out of their home. It had become difficult to survive because of insufficient land. Her father –in-law divided their land into three parts, one part he gave to his elder son, and second part to respondent’s husband and third kept for himself, which he later gave to elder brother of the respondent’s husband. With the help of neighbor in village, he did early migration to Dubai where he stayed for fifteen years. No doubt he stayed long in Dubai but it mostly remained unfruitful. So with the help of an agent he did permanent illegal migration to England, where he was taking care of an old couple. Later on he called his son too, to England. He has not returned since, for past twelve
years. The irony of the situation as according to respondent was that during the time of her daughter’s marriage, neither respondent’s husband nor her son visited. Marriage took place in Punjab at their home. Only respondent, her younger son and her daughter were present during all the marriage related ceremonies. Her elder son made a hurtful remark that he will not ever come home because he had only one sister and he could not even attend her marriage. He said hun tan maan hi ukhard gya ghar ton (I don’t have attachment with home anymore).

**Case Study 03:** Jaswinder Kaur, 57 year old was staying in Parvez Nagar. Earlier she had joint family but now they have built their own big house furnished with marble and all facilities are available at home. At the time of respondent’s marriage, her husband was a clerk in private job. Later on with the help of relatives he migrated to Dubai where he lived for sixteen years; then he did twice migration to England with the help of an agent. This time the migration was illegal in nature. He was living there for last four years and his occupation was laborer to his wife.

**Case Study 04:** Sukhwinder Kaur, 45 years old, was staying in Habitpur village near Sultanpur her husband was a middle aged forty-three years old man. He migrated to Dubai before marriage and stayed there for twelve years. After marriage also he remained in Dubai. Then he came back to Punjab and stayed home for 3 years. He had a shop in the village. According to his wife he was not happy with staying in Punjab. So he migrated again and this time to England. He was living there for past five years. His wife was staying with her two children back home in Punjab. It was an unrevealed migration so; he could not revisit his family. In case he returns, then he would have to permanently stay in Punjab he won’t be able to migrate again to England.

**Case study 05:** Ranjit kaur 38 years old respondent was staying in Rampur Jagir. Her husband first migrated to Dubai. He was a truck driver, he stayed for three years in Dubai, but due to unavailability of proper work, he came back. Then he migrated to U.S.A with the help of relatives, he spent eighteen lakh rupees on his migration. He too migrated secretly with the help of an agent. After his stay in U.S.A first he returned all the money borrowed from relatives. Rests of the remittances were used in furnishing their home in Punjab and education of children in convent school. Now he
is a cook in U.S.A. But his wife was disappointed on emotional front that they were staying apart just to earn their livelihood.

**Case Study 06:** Sukhwinder kaur 27 year old woman was residing in Rampur Jagir village district Kapurthala. Her husband had twice migration. She was a graduate and her husband was also a graduate. He had a diploma in engineering but could not get a good job in his native country. First he migrated to Dubai as a truck driver, with the permit, after one year of experience in Dubai; he was able to migrate to Canada on work permit. Now he was working as a truck driver in Canada. After three years of stay in Canada he got permanent citizenship of Canada. His wife’s papers were also being processed for migration in July 2016.

**Case Study 07:** Kanawarpreet Singh, 18 year old was residing in Boolpur village district Kapurthala. His father was in Dubai. He was staying with his mother and a sister. He completed his 12th class from convent school from Kapurthala. After completion of his basic education, he joined IELTS coaching center, so that he can move abroad for further study on permanent basis. He believed that there is no job security in Punjab after getting higher education and salary is also not very high. So he considered that it was better to move a developed country and settle in that country permanently. Beside that good lifestyle could not be attained by residing in Punjab village. Further he did not want to move Dubai because it did not suit his standard.

**Case Study 08:** Rajinder Singh, 19 year old was residing in Rampur Jagir, village district Kapurthala. He is 12th passed. His father was in Dubai. He wanted to move Germany on work permit. He was in contact with agent and case for migration was already filed. In his view “Education is good for girls, because they have to go to another house (in-laws’ house). We have knowledge about public and private affairs, now it’s time to work. Even though if I go for further higher studies, then also after completion of education, I would have to go for a job. So, it is better to start earning now only. I am also getting an opportunity to migrate as I don’t know what may happen if I stay here only.

**Case Study 09:** Aramandeep Singh was 20 year old, was residing in Thea village district Kapurthala. His brother migrated to New Zealand on study basis and his father was a Dubai migrant. He was in New Zealand since 2 years. Now Aramandeep was taking coaching of IELTS from Kapurthala. He wanted to move Canada on study
basis. He revealed that my father has good agricultural land, but that is not enough to raise standard of living. My other friends migrated abroad, even my own brother. Now they have good life style, then why should he stay behind. They are earning so well. Even remittances from father’s migration have increased our needs and those needs cannot be fulfilled with land only.

**Case Study 10:** Hrashdeep Kaur 21 year old, was residing in Thea village Kapurthala. Her father was in Dubai since 18 years and working as a truck driver. She was staying with her mother and younger brother in village. Her elder sister was staying in Australia for 5 years. Her sister migrated on study visa and now she was working in bakery shop. Arshdeep was also interested to migrate to Australia because she believed that good opportunities can only avail through migration. She was in graduation beside that she was attending coaching classes of IELTS. She described that she and her sister wanted their whole family to live in Australia, because of better quality of life and good standard of living. Even her mother was ready to migrate to take care of her grandson, who was staying with them. So respondent believed that there is no good job available in India and there is no good government job either. If someone wants a good life and standard of living, it is better to move abroad.

**Case Study 11:** Rajmandeep Kaur, 23 year old, was residing in Rampur Jagir village in Kapurthala district. She completed graduation and post-graduation from Kapurthala Kanaya College. She was staying ideal since last year because she wanted to move abroad. She said that she belonged to idle class family and there is no good life of a middle class family. My father was in Dubai still it is difficult to live a luxurious life. You can’t afford higher standard of living without sufficient money. Secondly village people don’t want you to see you grow in career and life. So it is better to go abroad where you would have more control on your own life and better living standard as well. My elder two brothers were also trying to move Dubai on work permit. So I am also trying to migrate somewhere in New Zealand, Spain, Germany on study visa. I have enough qualification for migration. My father also wants that we should migrate to abroad rather than staying in India.
Nanda and Verun (2011) in their study focus upon Punjabi migration. Emphasis is laid on those educational opportunities which boosts emigration and makes settlements in foreign countries. They also demand secure proposition in many respects as students having paid large sums of money for education abroad look forward to support themselves and subsequently get ready for employment either in the country of their education or in another one. It is noticeable that non-English speaking counties are also becoming a more prominent source of education to Indians. For overseas higher education for Punjabi students, new hubs are emerging for professional and vocational education in Germany, France, Switzerland, New Zealand, Russia, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania and Hong-Kong. This being the background, the share of students migrating out of the Punjab is consistently on the rise.

It was also noticed that Kamboj caste students who migrated for foreign education were actually looking to get better job opportunities after completion of courses abroad. Favorable courses chosen by the migrant youngsters are hospitality, hotel management, cookery, business management, horticulture, fashion designing, etc. Liberal visa regime and high standards of living also attracted student migration. Many institutions provided part time jobs. Agents also promised residence after reaching in the destination countries. So, these are the reasons why migration to all these countries becomes favorable after the completion of their initial stage of education. Kamboj children also believed that in Punjab there is shortage of government jobs and migration could help them to avail better opportunities for employment. Environment of the family and village also affected their viewpoint towards migration. When all the relatives and other siblings are migrating overseas this also influences youngster’s decision towards migration. It is a recent trend that is growing in Kamboj caste children. Still higher level of migration was noticed to Gulf countries, especially in late thirties and above forty five years age group.

2.4.7 Reasons of Migration in Kamboj Caste: Migration has always remained a debatable issue among the scholars: why people migrate to other countries and what are the reasons that inspired them to migrate? To understand this phenomenon in the migrant Kamboj caste, conversations were done with return-migrants, Sarpanchs of the villages. Also, Focus Group Discussions were conducted during field work (for
more detail see methodology part in chapter I) to find the answers. Analysis was done on multiple answers received from conversations with all the respondents.

Nanda and Veron (2011) point that push and pull factors always become the main cause of Punjabi migration. They demonstrated that powerful trail of social and family networks as well as old traditions support the pull factors. Economic factors are the reason behind emigration among the professional, skilled manpower and students from Punjab for settlement aboard. Greater professional opportunities provide a better future for the children, a good quality of life for the individual and family along with greater facilities, better social security during work life and after retirement, and building a good house back home in Punjab in the shortest possible time are some of the popular “pull” motivations.

Second, the notion of “Vilayati paisa” or remittances which provides the social and economic well-being of families left behind is a major driving force for moving abroad. These attractions hold true for even those who are unskilled and adopt illegal means to cross over to foreign land “Abroad” (Vilayt) from Punjab. The riches and money, reputation, power, status and adventure are deemed worth of at least one attempt. The push factor in Punjab includes the spiraling price of real estate, lack of suitable employment, decreasing rate of return from agriculture and allied activities, difficulty in getting into professional courses, etc. So, combined together all the push and pull factors influence migration from Punjab (Nanda and Veron, 2011).

Another study on Dynamics of International out migration from Punjab by Nanda and Veron (2015) demonstrated that there are multiple factors for international migration from Punjab. It cannot be defined with one single theory of migration. They emphasized the point that 81% of the total out-migration from state is prompted by reasons associated with education and unemployment. No doubt these are the prime reasons of migration from Punjab to the world. Similarly when questions were asked in FGD’s, respondents emphasized that economic factor is the biggest cause of

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47 Puri (2011) mentions economic distress at home i.e. the ‘Push factor’ as the compelling reason for the emigration towards developed countries. See in Harish K Puri, Ghadar Movement: A Short History. National Book Trust, India.
Kamboj caste migration. Because Kambojs are marginal farmers, they do not have huge land holdings, at the maximum, they have is ten acres of land. This amount of land is not common to all the Kamboj caste people; very few people enjoy such huge land holdings. Another thing was noticed that migration for betterment of the future was done. The idea being that, they will be able to earn remittances, which will be used for education of children, to build a house and invest in property. Kamboj caste knew other set of skills well, such as the work of electrician, mason, driver, smith, and welder; they were not able to fetch better income in Punjab. So after migration to the Gulf countries, they were able to earn handsome salary which was not possible in Punjab. They worked in their own small shops or sometime as a laborer in other’s shops. Their earnings were not enough for better quality of life. So in such cases, demand for the above mentioned skills in the Gulf countries influenced migration. The charm of “Vilayati Paisa” (remittances) always influenced people; the charm of a big house, luxurious lifestyle, good standard of living, social status always mattered to the people and all this served as a catalyst to their migration.

Another reason for migration was “culture of migration”. Many results showed that a major reason for migration was that a majority of people in the village had migrated. Relatives and close family members too had migrated. All this influenced the thought process of those who had stayed behind. Such a culture of migration influenced those who were in early age and eager to migrate. Massey et al., (1993) also emphasized this point that “culture of migration” always remained a huge cause of migration from developing towards developed countries. The main reason of such migration is to uplift the social and economic standard of living. In daily life of a community where migration is common, life becomes so focused on a “culture of migration” (Hass and Rooji, 2010) that it often becomes the norm, a rite of passage (Massey et al., 1993). The influence of “culture of migration” in Kamboj caste was especially noticed in the younger generation who

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48 The researchers argued that migration is widespread within a community and it brings changes in values and cultural perceptions in such a way so as to help increase the probability of future migration. For instance, in daily life of a community where migration is common, life becomes so focused on a “culture of migration” (Hass and Rooji, 2010) that it often becomes the norm, a rite of passage (Massey et al. 1993) and main agenda of upward socio-economic mobility. Massey, Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouraouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. Population and development review, 431-466.
wanted to migrate on basis of education to developed countries after having seen their elder family member, siblings or relatives migration. Migration thus becomes way of life in a community in order to get a better social and economic standard of living.

On the other hand economic reasons, desire for future betterment, “chain of migration” was noticed throughout the migration of Kamboj caste people. During 1st and 2nd phase, sometimes neighbors, and friends or in rare cases, relatives also played important role in migration. For younger generation, it was easy to migrate to the Gulf and developed countries with the help of siblings, relatives, friends or even generational migration. Youngster could easily migrate to the same place with the help of strong network, where the father had migrated and settled. A glance at some of the narratives collected during fieldwork helps to clear this area of research:-

“When I migrated to Dubai, the actual reason of migration was money, there was no source of income at home, and condition of the house was not good, so family troubles forced me towards migration outside the home. We had very less land of about five acres. My father had three brothers, I had two brothers, and we had a joint family. We have some share of the land, but ultimately it goes in division among all the brothers, therefore, I had to migrate for own economic reasons. Now I have three sons, one is staying here, and taking care of land. Some piece of land was purchased from the money earned after migration, but still it is not enough, when it will be divided then three acres will be given to each son. Now one of my sons is in Dubai, he migrated there following on my footsteps; I had started a business of trucks, now he is working as a driver in Dubai in the company. The third son is in Canada, he owns a truck. I know about education but what is the use of that, people in Punjab do not have job security. My younger son did engineering but he still remains jobless. Then first I called him to Dubai, and made his driving license from there he was able to migrate to Canada. Now he is settled in Canada. About agriculture, you know the condition of water, there is no proper water supply and land is going dry. Even weather conditions are not good, unwanted

Theory emphasizes that migrant networks are set of interpersonal relations that connect migrants, former migrants and the non-migrants in origin and destination countries through the bond of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. The aspiring migrants increased the likelihood of international movement because of lower costs and risks of movement and increase in the expected net returns of migration (Massey et al., 1993) with the help of the communication networks in the form of social capital that people can draw upon to access foreign employment.
rains and hailstorms destroy all crops. The government is making agenda that people should open dairy farming but without proper agriculture and the absence of own land how someone can start a dairy farm. The government is emphasizing on fishery farming but Punjab is suffering from problems associated with water. All these are difficult tasks. The laws in Dubai are not strict; a person can visit to his homeland country after two years even in between too and then go back to Dubai after renewal of labour visa. So, it is better to earn in Dubai than here”. (58 year old Sarpanch, Rampur Jagir)

“The easiest way to migrate to Gulf countries is through labour visa and there is no need to spend huge amount of money on migration. At the maximum two lakh rupees need to be spent when a person migrates to Dubai for the first time or any other Gulf countries. “Doosre bande nu hunda hai ki10-12 saal la k dessa kama ho jaooga, fir ghar v baan janda ha, bache vi padha ho jandy hai, hor zamin vi kharid ho jandi ha, koi na koi karo bar v shuru ho jand ha vapis aa ke. Gal koi khas nahi dessa uthe vi unna hi kama hunda jina ethe kama hunda ha buss farak eh ha ke buss uthe todha jeha jeyda ban jandha hai, te bach vi janda hai eh soch ke dessa laya hai hun tan save tan karna hi pao. Ethe appan bacha nai paunde passe. Kyuki naal di naal kharach ho janda han. Gal kuchh nai, sari khedh dessa di hi ha” (after ten to twelve years of migration, people are able to earn such amount of money that they are able to construct home, educate children and invest in land or else after return-migration small business can also be opened. It is not that there is more money in Dubai than in Punjab; the only difference is that people save during their time of migration because they know that they have spent a lot of money on migration so, it is better to save some money for their future and they do. Here it is not easy to save because we spend on daily basis. The whole thing is about “game of money””)”. (42 year old male Sarpanch Dograwal)

“Khed sari dessa di hai, hun ethe lokan kol jamina ghat hai, paala nai jud da enne nal. Loki bhar bhajh de payee hun. Sade kamboja Jamindara (zamindara/ landlords) kol unni jamina (zamine/ land) nai ki ghar da sarra hi kuch ho jawe. Hun kila 5 te bhara ha 4 tan hissa kina aju, fir kudi da viah, nanakshaka sub kuch dekhsa penda ha. Ess lai ek gahr de jeh chala hi janda hai bhar. Bass char dessa judh jandy hai, ghar ban janda hai, bache padh
“Pesse bina guzara aukha hunda hai, je koi kam vi karo tan, dehadi kinni ko pendi hai, jeada nai pessa ethe. Apne vi kam ch koi khass nai banda. Uthe edan hai je mahine de pesse aundy ha, ek tarahe naal tankah hi keh lo aundy ha, agla vi soch da jod lo jinna jod sakde ho. Baki kamboja kol sarayan kol jamin nai ha. Kamai tan ahi jahi hi hundi ha. kaam chaj naal ethe karlo chaye uthe karlo buss thoda pessa hi jeyda ha uthe da” (without money there is no survival, if we work here we get less pay. One cannot earn huge amount of money here. Even people with their own business also don’t do well. The only benefit of migration is that they get a monthly income it is kind of salary that our husbands are earning there. So, people try to save that monthly income. All the Kambojs are not landlords so, it is better to migrate and save earnings for future (39 year old woman, FGD 02, Nawan Pind).

The above discussion with the village people showed that the main cause of migration in Kamboj caste is economic influx of remittances. Migration helped the migrants to raise both the social and economic standard of living of the left behind families. Secondly “pure altruism” that is based upon the concept of welfare of the family members always works strongly. In which migrant always work according to the welfare of all the family members. It is also believe that migration that is done by migrant for the sending remittances back to homeland country to their family
members. So pure altruism depends upon the collective welfare of the family rather than individual welfare (Sana and Massey, 2005) Another reason of migration in Kambojs is that the amount spent on migration is just around 1, 00,000 to 2, 00,000 Rupees and the earning’s received on monthly basis after migration can help them raise their family status thus, making it a fruitful investment. The pull factor of demand of laborers in the developed nations is another cause of migration from the developing countries. During first phase and second phase of migration, Kamboj migrants mainly preferred gulf countries as the cost of migration to these countries was not huge. These were mostly old age and middle aged migrants. In third phase migration, as the family status improved, Kamboj caste started migrating to developed countries as well. Mostly these migrants were from young age group and their main aim was to settle down in developed countries. Noticeable feature was that family members, who already had settled in the Gulf countries, were able to sponsor their children’s migration to developed countries. Prosperity was observed in the migrant families especially in those houses where migration had taken place a long ago. So, whatever changes had been observed in the migrant household it was after the male member of the family had migrated to the Gulf or some developed country. The assumption is that people, households and families act not only to maximize income but also to minimize risks. Internal and international migration is provoked due to household income risk. Migrants’ remittances provide income insurance for the household. International remittances through migration are seen as a household strategy to overcome market constraints by enabling households to invest in productive activities and to improve their welfare (Stark, 1980). In the Kamboj caste scenario people migrate to gulf countries on Labour visa that is for two years. Due non-availability of proper land in the household and fulfill their household needs people migrate to gulf countries. Moreover hidden migration is another example of family welfare. In which male of the family for the welfare of the left behind families migrate to developed countries. Economic benefits remained main cause of such kind of migration. Secondly, altruism is seen as a powerful element which binds the family together as the migrant always tries to invest more in their families which have been left behind to overcome financial worries and increase future remittances. Remittances remain other cause of migration in which one male member or sometime
all male member of the family migrate for the better future of the family. In this way international migration becomes a survival strategy for the families left behind, where the migrant member tries to fetch best resources for the welfare of the whole family. So migration of Kamboj caste is to overcome their economic hardships and also to raise standard of living, moreover to provide economic benefits of their families. Migrant networks are set of interpersonal relations that connect migrants, former migrants and the non-migrants in origin and destination countries through the bond of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. The interested migrant increased the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase in the expected net returns of migration (Hugo, 1981). The dominant view on network theory is that they have the positive function for migrants; by providing information and contacts, helping them accommodate, finding job, financial assistance, etc. (Massey et al., 1993) with the help of the network communication work in the form of social capital that people can draw upon to access to foreign employment. Once the migrant bear economic cost of migration but with the expansion of network they reduce the cost and risks of movement, as a result they increase the probability of increase in migration and also had to further future migrants. It was also observed in the Kamboj caste migrants, where close relatives or even village neighbors had helped in migration. From a single home sometimes two brothers had migrated to the same place. One of the brothers migrated through the help of the agent and he later on called his brother to the same place after he had settled down. Sometimes father also helped in migration of his son to the same destination. Such kinds of cases were found in many Kamboj caste households. The main motive behind such migration is economic security and welfare of the family and such care is based on pure altruism. Many Kamboj caste families are staying as joint families. In one case the male who was the head of the household migrated first followed by his two sons but his wife and daughters-in-law stayed behind. It is very common phenomena in the Kamboj caste family, especially in joint family system where bonds become much stronger after migration of their husbands because of family needs. In some cases two sisters-in-law were staying together in migrant household after their husbands had migrated to Dubai. Figure 2.2 shows Kamboj caste migration countires after getting first hand information in the field work.
Figure 2.2 Migration countries in Kamboj Caste

Source: This map is prepared by researcher after getting first hand data from the field work on migration of Kamboj caste.
2.4.8 Kamboj Caste as an Emerging Caste in the Hierarchy: A caste may be said to be "dominant" when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low (Srinivas 1955:18). However, the above definition omits an element of dominance which is becoming increasingly important in rural India, namely, the number of educated persons in a caste and the occupations they pursue (Srinivas, 1955:26) M. N. Srinivas (1987:97) in his concept of Dominant Caste defined that any caste which is first strong in economic front, second politically active or active in village politics, thirdly abundant in number as social form, fourth has educated background becomes a dominant caste of that region. The interesting aspect of this concept is that the ritual ranking of a caste no longer remains the major basis of its position in the social hierarchy. Even if a caste stands low in the social hierarchy because of being ranked low, it can become the dominate ruling caste or group in a village if it is numerically large, owns land and had political influence over village matters (Nagla,2013:181). It need not be highest in the caste hierarchy rather these all qualities puts that caste in dominant position.

Taylor and Singh (2013:51) argued that the assertion of NRI wealth made a transition in the existing castes of Doaba region. Their main focus was on dominant caste of Jats and the increasing inequality with Schedule Caste due to new trends of migration. They emphasized that the transition had occurred due to wealth and its utilization in the village to show off, which changed the scenario of the dominant caste. Earlier it used to be those who had agricultural land but now higher hierarchal position is no longer the only criteria to understand the dominant caste position. In the transition with having NRI wealth and izzat (respect) attached to being NRI also changed the whole scenario of the Doaba region. No doubt Jats were the dominant caste in Doaba region as they form the majority, Schedule caste were also one of the prominent castes (Ram, 2007:50). The representation of Jats and Chamars has been noted among the Punjabis in North America (Verma, 2002:8). Similarly those lower down the caste hierarchy (e.g Chamars) of Punjab are also attempting to enhance wealth and social status through communication with NRIs and overseas migration, to the Middle East and East Europe (Taylor and Singh, 2013:52). The researcher makes

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a critical argument that the studies done by other researchers on Doaba region and were mainly confined to Nawanshahar, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur and studied by Ballard (1983) In Indian Punjab, the overwhelming majority of migrants come from the Jullundur Doaba, a triangle of land lying just beneath the outer foothills of the Himalayas, and bounded to the west and south by the rivers Beas and Sutlej. Helweg (1983:) Jandiali the subject village of the study is located in the Doaba region of Punjab, India, near the city of Phagwara. Judge (2002:15) study highlights the international migration of the schedule castes from Doaba region, Punjab with special reference to the Ad-dharmi caste. Taylor et al., (2007:10) the research was conducted in U.K and India, focused primarily on narrow transnational relationship between the U.K and the predominantly rural Doaba region of east Punjab, India. Taylor (2013:5) in particular social (caste) group of Punjab, the Jat sikhs, from a particular geographical area, the Doaba region, has dominated migration to the U.K. So this research focused on one Jat Sikh community, resident within the north-east of England and retaining links with Doaba. Thandi (2015:200) early migrants to Britain were from two central districts of Doaba i.e. Jalandhar and Hosiarpur. From Jalandhar district, Punjabi migrants were predominantly from a few particular tehsils- Nurmahal, Phagwara and Nawanshahr. Migrants were mainly residing in three districts viz. Jalandhar, Nawansher, Hosiarpur. A few mentioned it to talk about migration but proper documentation on Kapurthala migration was not the main part of the study owing to the fact that migration from Kapurthala especially in Kamboj is a late phenomenon in the history of migration. Another important fact was noticed that previous studies on Punjabi migration are mainly confined to developed countries. According to La Brack (2015; 1988:137), Early Punjabi migrants in America came predominantly from few districts (e.g Jullundar and Hoshiarpur) in Doaba region of Punjab. The majority of the early Punjabi Sikh was Jats. According to Moliner, (2011:22) Sikh in France presents a very particular case: while Sikhs started migrating to the west coast in the late nineteenth century, Sikhs migration to continental Europe and France is a very recent phenomenon. Taylor et al., (2013:55) an unexpected bounce came when the colonial power (Britain) that had left Punjabis in such despair on its departure opened its doors and especially favored ex-army men. As a result, thousand of Sikh ex-army men found themselves in Britain by the 1960s. According to Barrier (2007:15) Sikh from the so-called “martial races” followed the British and
served as soldiers, first travelling to Burma and then China. The largest number of Sikhs in South-East Asia resided in Malaya. From the early 1807, Sikhs worked in ports and towns as soldiers and policeman and European Courtiers etc. According to Jacobsen and Myrvold (2011:27) Sikh reached Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Poland, from Punjab. Sikhs worked as laborers, in restaurants, opened their own shops. At some places, twice migration was also found. Earlier they were in South African countries mostly in Uganda but later on migrated to European countries and with marriage alliance or better work opportunities they permanently settled in these European countries. Gulf migration in Punjab remained a neglected area due to apparent lack of interest of previous researchers in this area. So effect of migration was observed not only in other castes but also in the Kamboj caste. Noticeable fact was that the present study was conducted only in those villages where Kamboj caste was in majority and other castes also co-exists. The reason was not only their high numbers but also because of the qualities attached to them which led them to become ruling caste of the villages. Such qualities as migration made changes in the existing Kamboj caste because they were able to fetch handsome remittances which are called in Punjabi “Velayti Pessa”. Secondly with money in flow they were able to buy more land in the adjoining villages and were also able to construct large houses. Political status also changed as most of the villages Sarpanchs belonged to the Kamboj caste and most of them were return-migrants from the Gulfs and some other countries. Such kind of changes at the micro-level in Kapurthala villages changed caste hierarchy. According to Ibbetson, (1916:237) Kamboj constituted the lower stratum of dominant agricultural caste of their region but now they are in dominant position economically, politically and socially.

They are socially in majority of number, politically active but they were marginal farmers as comparison to Jat caste in Doaba region. Punjab is a Sikh majority state. Within rural Doaba districts, Sikhs constitute between 70% and 90% of the population (Ram, 2012:10). Jat Sikh are the most economically powerful,

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51 During pilot study, it was observed that being NRI or having migrant status, add to that, having majority in number of Kambojs in villages. Such villages are taken for study because the main focus of the study on impact of migration on left behind wives. During pilot study was noticed that gulf migration in Kamboj caste male and their wives are staying behind. So study was conducted to understand the impact of Kamboj male migration on their left behind wives.

52 See also in Ibbetson Denzil, 1916 Punjab castes, the Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, Lahore.
political/ socially influential and occupationally privileged group within Punjab and dominate caste (Jodhka, 2002; c.f Taylor and Singh, 2013: 53), owing over 80% of available agricultural land (Ram, 2012:10). No doubt it showed that Jat and schedule caste are in majority of Punjab population. But the recent study that was conducted in selected villages of Kapurthala, showed majority caste belongs to Kamboj caste. In all villages Kamboj caste in majority and in all villages surpanches belong to Kamboj caste. Taylor and Singh, (2013: 54) mentioned that the significance of overseas migration to the economic and dominance of Jat Sikh has increased in recent time. In same vain changes have been recorded in the study that after their international migration, with the flow of wealth or remittances, economically they became powerful in the villages of Kapurthala. They are called as Zamindar (landlords) by lower castes in their respective villages. Study of the villages RampurJagir, Thea, Boolpur, Habitpur, Nassipur, Parvez Nagar, Dograwal, Nawapind, and Dewlanwal showed that in all the places Sarpanch belonged to the Kamboj caste and the highest land concentration was among the Kamboj caste. They tried to maintain status and standard of living similar to Jats. Big houses to show off wealth became a fashion in the Kapurthala villages. New changes that were visible included hiring labour for agricultural land work. Labour workers called Kambojs as Zamindars of the villages. Scheduled caste women had their resentment against Kamboj women, for instance some women said:

“Enna Kambonia nu ki farak penda hai, Bathera pessa aunda hai bahar ton. Gharwale bhej de rehnde hai, eh tan Mazaa karde hai. (Kamboj women do not have any tension because they all are getting remittances from their husbands who have migrated. They have a lot of money and they are enjoying their lives).” (28 year old Dalit caste woman, RampurJagir)

“Eh Zamindar Kambo bahut kaharb han, pessa hai enna kol bhar da, eh na nu koi farak nai. Zamina kharid leya enna sarya ne lagle pinda diyan. Eh tan jattan ton v upper hoi firdy hai (Kamboj landlords are very cunning people, they have a lot of money from abroad, they have no worries, these people have lot of land even in the neighboring villages. They infect are surpassing Jats too)” (56 year old woman, RampurJagir).
“Kamboj hi Sarpanch hai sarre kitne, sada vi Kamboh hi hai, sarre pind Kambojan de hai, dusra bhi pessa hai enna kol bhar da, araam nal karcha karke jeet jandy han. Sanu “churiyan”nu kon puchda hai. Enna di hi chaldi ha (all Kamboj people are Sarpanch in all the adjoining villages and even in our own village too. Secondly they have money earned from abroad. They can easily spend on elections and can win. We are all lower caste people. Who cares for us? They have dominant position in our area” (47 year old Dalit caste woman, Thea).

Sade Zamindara de ki hai, Zamine hi hai, hun tan oh vi fassal changi nahi hundi, Kamai jeyada nai hundi, han bahr vale hi karke bhej de han, us naal ho reha ha sub kuch. Kamboj hun saare bahar nu jai jande kamiai karke ek safar la ke a jande hai (what we landlords only have is land, even crops are not good anymore, so we do not have such good money, now we have remittances from the people who have migrated that is why we have a good survival. Everyone is running outside so that after making one or two trip they can earn well.)” (41 year old respondent, FGD02, Dograwal)

“Ajj kal Jat te Kmaboh ek hi hann. Dohe janne kheti karde hai. Sade kamboh v bathere bahar chale gye, te pessa vi ohi, ha sub kol hai. Hun tan bathere viah vi karai jandy hai jatt te kamboh .hun nai koi farak ha enna ch (both the castes- Jat and Kamboj are similar, both have land and both belong to agriculturist class. Our Kambojs are migrating a lot and earning remittance income. Many people have marriage alliances between Jat and Kamboj castes, there is no difference in them).” (49 year old respondent FGD03, Nassirpur)

Jat te Kamboh ch kuch khas farak nai ha. Dono bhai bhai han. Asal vich farak eh ha k jattan kol zamin jeyda ha. Kamboh kol eni zamin nai ha. Kamboh kol killa , do kille hi han, bhut jeyda hi amir jesde ghar ton koi bhar gya ha. Kam tekh ha os kol honge 10 kile. Tan Jat jeyda amir han kamboja nalo. Hun j pindh ch ha hi Kamboh , ha hi nai koi Jat tan Kamboja di hi chale gye na. Appe upper ho gye (there is not as such difference between Jat and Kamboj, both are brothers. The only difference is between two castes that Jat has more land than Kamboj. Kamboj don’t have huge land holdings. They have kila or 2 kilaa. If someone has 10 kilas that means one or two family members of the family in abroad, they have money flow than it is alright. Where in the village there is no house of Jat caste and only Kamboj caste in majority than who will rule Kamboj only. So in this way Kamboj are at upper level.” (58 Year Old Sarpanch , Rampur Jagir)
Hun nai koi farak Jatan te Kamboja ch. Dono viah kari jandy ha appas ch. Kuki jattan kol zamin hon karke uper c Kamboja ton, hun kamboj bahr nu jayi jandy han. Jiss karke bathera pesa kama leya ha enna ne. nale dono hi zaminder ha pinda ch. Hun reha koi rulla enna ch. Kapurthala tan Jatt te kamboj eko hi ho rakhy han. (There is no difference between Jat and Kamboj. Both castes are marrying with each other families. Jats are at upper level due to land owning community, but due to Kamboj caste migration, they earn money and now at good economic level. Even both belong to zamindars family. There is no difference between them. In Kapurthala all Jat and Kamboj are one of the same. (53 year old respondent FGD03, Nassirpur)

Thind goat pata huna thunu. Oh Kamboj han per apne app nu Jat kehnde ha. Oh nai mande k oh Kamboj han. Pessa ha bathera baki bhara chale gye appe uper a gye. Jatan de baraber ho gye. Koi v thind apne app nu Kamboj nai kehnda Kapurthala ch. (Do you know about Thind surnames. They are Kamboj but they called themselves Jat. They denied that they are kamboj. They have money and many migrated to abroad, so they come upper. They are equal to Jats. (40 Year old Sarpanch, Dograwal)

Dekho ji jatan te kamboja ch koi khass farak nai. Jat vi kheti karde ha, kamboj vi kheti hi karde han. Rehna sehna vi eko jeha ha. Dono zaminder han. Zamina han. Hun sadde pind ch koi Jat ha hi nai. Loki sanu Jat hi samjh de han. Baki eh ho gya k Kamboja ne bhar ja k pessa leya kama te ethe zamina kharid layean. Hun mere do bette bhar han. Ek Dubai ha te doja Canada ha. Zamin sadde kol ha. Sanu koi khenda hi nai k assi Kamboj ha. Sub nu ev hi lagada ha k Jat hi han. ( there is no difference in Jat and Kamboj caste. Jat also farmer and Kamboj also farmer in Kapurthla. Both belonged to landlord and have lands. In our village there is not a single house of Jats and people called us Jat. Other thing is that Kamboj migrated aboard and earn money from there. So they invested such money in land purchasing. I have two sons one is in Dubai and another one in Canada. We have more than 10 kilas of land, so everyone called us landlord Jat. (58 Year Old Sarpanch, Rampur Jagir)

“Eh Zamindar Kambo bahut kaharb han, pessa hai enna kol bhar da, eh na nu koi farak nai. Zamina kharid leya enna sarya ne lagle pinda diyan. Eh tan jattan ton v upper hoí firdy hai (Kamboj landlords are very cunning people, they have a lot of money from abroad, they have no worries, these people have lot of land even in the neighboring villages. They infect are trying to upper from Jats)” (56 year old woman, Rampur Jagir).
I told you earlier that Kamboj people don’t have much landholding as Jat, but still where only Kamboj people are staying in the villages, they are not less than Jats. In our village all are Kamboj and our Sarpanch also Kamboh. Some have more and some has less. Kheti tan har koi karda ha. Koi shak nai ess ch. Ah Thea, Boolpur, Tibba, Nassirpur sarre lagle pinda ch ha hi Kmaboj. Fir enna di hi chale gye hor kis di chalnai ha. Sub ton phelan a k Kamboj Kapurthala ch Sultanpur Lodhi rehan lag gye. Sarra Sultanpur Lodhi assi Kamboj hi zamindar han. Jat tan nai ethe. Kamboj tan hun baraber jahe ha jattan de (all have agricultural land and all are farmer here. There is no second thought in this. All the nearby villages, Thea, Boolpur, Nassirpur, Tibba, only Kamboj are residing. Then who will Sarpanch and who is in Majority these Kamboj only. Kamboj first came Sultanpur Lodhi and in all Sultanpur Lodhi all landlord are Kamboj. Not more Jats available here. Kmaboj are equal to jats) (41 Year old Respondent , Thea. Return Migrant)

The above narratives were recorded during field work in different settings and in the conversation sessions with different caste women to understand the ongoing social processes in the Kamboj caste. Non-participant observation and long hour conversations with the villagers painted a new picture of present caste hierarchy. The inflow of remittances, the “vilayati paisa” which was then used for family welfare changed the scenario in the old caste hierarchy and put the Kamboj as emerging caste. Kamboj try to maintain their status with the Jat caste. They try to show that they have similar ways of living as the Jat caste i.e. they have same status as Jat caste. With the help of land and being migrant, they become economically powerful and try to maintain same standard as the Jats. Even in discussions with Kamboj women they also said that Jat and Kamboj are the same. There is no difference between them. Even gotra Thind also change their identity by saying that they are Jat. So Kamboj in Kapurthala try to show that they are similar to Jat and there are no differences among them. Being landlords they put themselves in the same category of Jats. Moreover they try to downplay this fact that they have less landholding than Jat, still they said we are all “Zamindar”. So being a landlord means they are near to Jats. Interesting thing was that Kamboj called themselves as brother of Jats that there is no difference among them. We belong to the same land owning community. Respondents also focused on this point that they are majority in Kapurthala and Jats are not having much command in their adjoining villages. They showed that Kamboj are in dominant
position in the caste hierarchy and almost have similar status to Jat. So Kamboj of Kapurthala try to overshadow Jats in Kapurthala. According to Judge\(^{53}\) (2008:25) there are three major OBC castes in Punjab. They are Kambohs, Ramgarhias and Lobanas. Both Kamboh and Lobaana are middle level peasants and known as vegetable growers. Among the rural Sikh, the peasant castes, namely Jats, Saini, Kamboh and Lobana, who own and operate on land, dominate the social and cultural lives of villages. Among these castes Jat Sikh are the most numerous. Therefore Jat Sikh castes are not simply dominant caste but also upper caste in rural Punjab.

Peasant castes which could be graded as Jat, Rajput, Saini, Lobahana and Kamboh have high status in their respective order. Judge’s study also showed Kamboj and Jat in the same vein that they belong to peasant castes. Villages were chosen for study where majority of the houses belonged to Kamboj caste, only two to three houses of other caste were there which belonged to the schedule caste. The villages RampurJagir, Thea, Nassirpur, Boolpur, Parvez Nagar, Dograwal, and Dewlanwal are having majority of population of Kamboj cast. No doubt villages had Kamboj in the majority and schedule castes also co-existed with them. It is to be mentioned here that there is not a single house of Jat caste available in the studied villages. It was mentioned above that many villages had single caste of Kambojs. The new emerging Kamboj caste creates new transition in its own caste and other castes. The nexus with other castes especially the tussle with schedule caste regarding superiority and inferiority in castes has increased. Lower castes showed their resentment against the Kamboj being in the majority and their powerful growth at the village level. On the other hand Kamboj staying in the non-migrant families have resentment against migrant families who showed superiority in the village. The migrated people showed the power of wealth and higher standard of living by constructing big houses in the village. Such new transitions have been recognized at the village level especially in Kapurthala’s villages taken for present study\(^{54}\).


\(^{54}\) It is to mention that the study conducted in selective villages where Kamboj caste in majority and gulf migration is a common phenomenon among them. The main focus of the present study is to how male migration makes impact on the left behind women. It is important mention that the villages those are in present study these village not a single house of Jats are found. It is also important to mention that it is not whole Kapurthala study but only selected villages where
2.5 SUMMARY

The chapter basically dealt with migration pattern from Punjab and Kamboj caste migration. Punjabi migration started during the colonial rule of British after 1849 when they officially conquered Punjab. In those times, Punjabi migration happened through army recruitment in British army and later on through labour for sugarcane plantation. Post-colonial migration started from all parts of Majha, Malawa and Doaba region but Doaba region dominated in migration in 20th century. So, almost all caste of Punjab was migrating all over the world. There is one caste though that was not mentioned throughout the migration history, it was Kamboj caste. This caste was mainly studied in Kapurthala region, studies done by Jammu, (2013), Singh, (2003) and archival sources of Rose, (1911), Ibbetson, (1916) were discussed. Three phases of Kamboj migration were discussed in the first part of this chapter. First phase discussed the start of migration during mid-20th century. During this period most of the migrants went to Gulf countries. These were uneducated and unskilled migrants. They acquired skills in Gulf countries and sent remittances back home every month. Second phase was during late 20th century. In this time migrants had acquired some skills in homeland country and were willing to do same jobs in destination country after migration. Twice migration was also noticed in this period in which people migrated to other developed countries after spending considerable time in Gulf countries. Third phase was during early 21st century. In this time, it was mostly those Kamboj caste migrants who wanted to go abroad based on education. Visa issues were also discussed in these phases of migration. Economic factor is the biggest cause of Kamboj caste migration. Because Kambojs are marginal farmers, they do not have huge land holdings, at the maximum, what they have is ten acres of land. This amount of land is not common in all the Kamboj caste people; very few people enjoy such huge land holdings. Another thing was noticed that migration for betterment of future was done. Kamboj caste knew other set of skills as well, such as the work of electrician, mason, driver, smith, and welder; they were not able to fetch better income in Punjab, and so after migration to the Gulf countries, they were able to earn handsome salary which was not possible in Punjab. The charm of “Vilayati Paisa” (remittances) always influenced people; the charm of a big house, luxurious lifestyle, good standard of living, social status always mattered to the people and kamboj are in majority and migration is common in them, so that impact on women can well-studied. Here comparision done with the lower caste those are in villages.
became a cause of migration. Noticeable fact was that the present study was conducted only in those villages where Kamboj caste was in majority and enjoyed the dominant position. The reason was not only their high numbers but also because of the qualities attached to them which led them to become ruling caste of the villages. Migration made changes in the existing Kamboj caste because they were able to fetch handsome remittances. With money in flow they were able to buy more land in the adjoining villages and were also able to construct large houses.Political status also changed as most of the villages’ Sarpanches belonged to the Kamboj caste and most of them were return-migrants from the Gulfs and some other countries. Such kind of changes at the micro-level in Kapurthala villages changed caste hierarchy. According to Ibbetson (1916) Kamboj constituted the lower stratum of dominant agricultural caste of their region but now they are in dominant position financially, politically and socially. They are socially in majority in number, politically active but they were marginal farmers as comparison to Jat caste in Doaba region. They tried to maintain their status and standard of living similar to Jats. Big houses to show off wealth became a fashion in the Kapurthala villages. New changes that were visible included hiring labour for agricultural land work. Labour workers called Kambojs as Zamindars of the villages. The new emerging Kamboj caste creates new transition in its own caste and other castes. The nexus with other castes especially the tussle with schedule caste regarding superiority and inferiority in castes has increased. Lower castes showed their resentment against the Kamboj being in the majority and their powerful growth at the village level. On the other hand Kamboj staying in the non-migrant families have resentment against migrant families who show superiority in the village. The migrated people showed the power of wealth and higher standard of living by constructing huge houses in the village. Such new transitions have been recognized at the village level especially in Kapurthala’s villages.