

THE MAKING OF CANADIAN PUNJABI DIASPORA

Introduction

This chapter presents an historical sketch of Punjabis' settlement abroad with a special focus on the formation of the Canadian Punjabi community. The first section presents a brief history of the Indian diaspora. The following section describes an overview of the Punjabis abroad in various locations across the globe, exploring the origin of Punjabi emigration and main factors contributing to this process. The next section illustrates how the Canadian Punjabi community emerged in the early twentieth century as part of this process and then rapidly increased in numbers and influence after 1947. In the fourth section, a social profile of the Canadian Punjabi community is attempted from the available data. This is seen through the demography, education attainment, economic activities, emergence of Punjabi language as non-official mother tongue, development of its religious institutions, cultural activities and level of political participation. The Canadian Punjabi community is of course part of the world-wide Punjabi diaspora –and is likely to emerge as its largest constituent as shall be seen below.

Indian Diaspora: A Brief Account

The history of the Indian diaspora starts in the early nineteenth century when the imperial government formulated policies to take Indian labour to its colonies, usually to work on newly developed plantations there. Since then, more than 30 million Indians have settled in over 70 countries (Tinker 1974, 1976; Kadekar 2005; Brown 2007). While the old settlements had particular characteristics, in terms of permanent settlement abroad and limited linkages with India, the post-1947 migrants have different orientation as far as their linkages with their land of origin are concerned. Moreover the scale of emigration in the post-

1947 period is quite different, with many skilled Indians going to the three richest Western countries - Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

A notable feature of Indian emigration abroad both during colonial era and in the post-1947 period is how particular regions were involved in different phases of emigration. Early colonial migration was largely confined to southern provinces of India, where especially Tamils from Madras province were exported under the so-called indentured system. Later migration shifted to upper central provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces (present Uttar Pradesh). Punjab did not come into the picture until the 1870s. Like Punjabis, Gujaratis also did not come into the orbit of agencies drive for labour recruitment, although for different reasons. As a result of uneven recruitment of labourers during the colonial era, not all regions of India have populations abroad; thus some provinces such as Bengal have much smaller population abroad. It is only in the post-1947 period when East Bengal (now, Bangladesh) sent many of its residents to UK to form a substantial Bengali community in East London. Similarly, Kashmir, Orissa, Kerala, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh were regions that were not particularly affected by the colonial migration policies. It is only during the post-1947 period when large scale migration has taken place from Kerala; and this is mainly temporary migration to Middle Eastern countries, which drew upon cheap labour for oil revenue related construction.

The history of migration from Gujarat and Punjab is particularly interesting, as these two provinces have large numbers of people settled abroad. Although the post-1947 period has seen some general acceleration in migration from all parts of India, some regions are far more heavily involved in the emigration process than others. Thus, for example, Gujaratis, Punjabis and Keralites account for over two thirds of current annual migration abroad (Tatla 1999). Some of the recent migration from Southern provinces has been of highly skilled Information

Technology (IT) personnel, and their destination has been mainly to the United States and United Kingdom.

The Emergence of Punjabi Diaspora

In contrast to the Indian diaspora, of which Punjab is a political constituent province, the formation of the Punjabi diaspora was quite different in terms of forces shaping its size, as well as destinations. While much of Indian migration took place during the colonial era under what is known as indentured labour system, emigration from Punjab was either free or assisted by the state. In term of destination too, Punjabis went to the Far East countries, then further to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji. Then the movement started towards Pacific states of North America, while there was some recruited labour for East African railways. In the immediate post-1947 period, Britain became a major destination; and, then, in the 1970s Canada and the US and more recently Australia have been added to this list of most desirable countries (Tatla 1999). Punjab has a somewhat peculiar history of migration if we contrast it with the rest of Indian provinces as we shall see further.

Punjab became part of the British Indian Empire only in 1849. By that year, emigration from Indian subcontinent was almost a century old and it is estimated that over two million Indians had already been exported to distant colonies of white settlers' in Fiji, Malaya, the West Indies and the African continent where their labour was used for the exploitation of raw materials and plantations. It is usually assumed that Punjabi migration started in the second half of the 19th century when the British Raj annexed Punjab after the collapse of the Sikh Empire in 1849. The first Punjabi emigrant was Maharaj Singh, a Punjabi rebel who was exiled to Singapore in 1850. The second distinguished name is Maharajah Duleep Singh, who was again forcibly exiled to UK in 1854. The migration of ordinary Punjabis came via the

need for security services in the newly acquired British colonies and protectorates, especially in the Far East.

A major factor in the Punjabi migration abroad was the colonial authorities' view of Punjab as home of several martial races suitable for army service. Already the first battalion of Mazhabi Sikhs, known as Sikh Pioneers, was recruited from Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore by orders of Sir Henry Lawrence, Governor General in 1849. Then eight years later, Punjabis (Jat Sikhs and Muslims) became favourites for army recruitment in the aftermath of 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857 when the Indian armies were reorganised. Punjabis were declared 'martial races' with Jat Sikhs, some groups within Punjabi Muslims and Dogra Hindus were recruited preferentially, while the province was made almost inaccessible to the labour recruiting agencies. From 1858 to World War I, the share of Punjabis in the Indian armies increased sharply. Punjabi soldiers were deployed in many corners of British Empire from Malaya in the Far East to the Mediterranean and to the British African colonies and its protectorates, several regiments also fought in Europe.

It was the army recruitment, which provided the first route for Punjabi emigration abroad soon followed by independent migration. The destination of migrants was essentially determined by security needs of the Empire. The first major destination for Punjabis was the Far East. Punjabis were employed in the police, security forces, and railways as these services were in high demand in the Far Eastern colonies as Chinese residing in Malaya were not willing to do such works (K. S. Sandhu 1969; Kondapi 1951; Basran and Bolaria 2003). This recruitment, starting from 1865-66, took place largely through British officers who had old Punjab connections as well personal influence (Vaid 1972). It is on record how Captain Speedy recruited Sikhs in 1873 to combat Chinese insurgency among Perak's tin mines and rubber plantation (K. S. Sandhu 1969). These Sikh recruits were subsequently drafted into

other government services and formed the nucleus of state security forces, following Malaya States' passage into the British control.

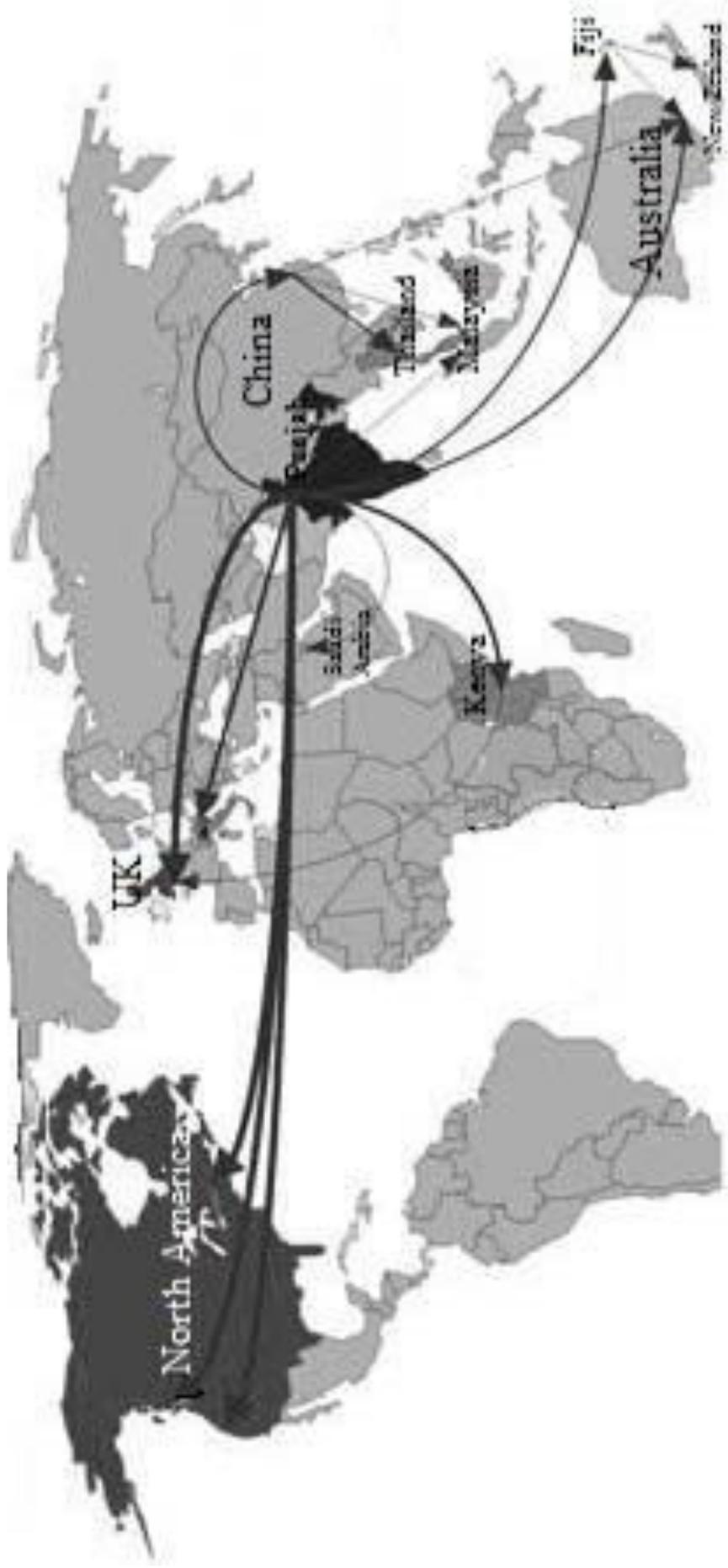
As news of opportunities in Malaya spread, many independent Sikh migrants arrived in Calcutta to take a ship to various ports of Malaya and obtained employment in Perak's mines. By the 1890s, three Singh Sabhas were established in Singapore, Penang and Taiping and gradually these were affiliated to the newly created Chief Khalsa Diwan (CKD) in Amritsar. With the efforts of Malaya States Guide, Taiping Khalsa Diwan Malaya was established in December 1903. Punjabis in Malaya were employed in many manual occupations. The majority continued to work as policemen, watchmen, dairy farmers and bullock cart drivers until the end of World War II, while money-lending became an important activity for them from the 1930s.

From Malaya, many Sikhs drifted to neighbouring Thailand or Sumatra, while more ambitious individuals set out for Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji. Australia attracted some Sikhs in the 1890s from Hong Kong and Malaya States who had completed ten year contracts with police and security services. Some Punjabis also reached Australia directly from Punjab. McLeod (1980) charts how Punjabis reached Australia in the 1880s, and this is supported by Kessinger's (1974) study of a village Vilayatpur in eastern Doaba. Gabbi (1998) also documents that the earliest Punjabis reached Australia before 1870. Similarly a few retired policemen from Hong Kong entered New Zealand (McLeod 1984; De Lepervanche 1984). Migration to New Zealand was just an extension of Australian Punjabi migration and, typically, *Malwais* and *Majhails* migrated in the first fifteen years or so. It was just before World War I that *Doabias* entered the arena of Punjabi emigration process. Thus for instance, from 1915 to 1920-21, when New Zealand closed its doors to Asians, most migrants from Punjab were from the Doaba region.¹ After landing in New Zealand, some left for Fiji, lured

perhaps by stories of sugar-cane fortunes. Sikh policemen were also recruited for Fiji from Shanghai and Hong Kong under contract. Some probably stayed after their contract expired. There were about 2000 Punjabis in Fiji, mostly from Doaba. Among them Sikhs and Muslims were dominant and very few Hindus. In the beginning of the 20th century, a trading community of Sikhs was established in Bangkok. The official handbook by the government provides a figure of 20,000 Indians in Thailand, stating they are equally divided between Sikhs and Hindus. Also a significant community of Punjabis settled in Sumatra in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with some spilling over to Batavia (now Jakarta) (Mani 1993). From 1890s, emigration opened to East Africa also (Mangat 1969; M. S. Sidhu n.d.). Punjabi labourers were recruited mainly for the Ugandan Railways project in the 1890s. In addition to overviews of the formation of early Punjabi communities abroad by Barrier and Dusenbery (1989) and Tatla (1999), there are further accounts of Malaya (K. Sandhu 1969; M. S. Sidhu 1991), Australia (Bhatti and Dusenbery 2001), New Zealand (McLeod 1984), Fiji (G. Singh n.d.), Canada (Johnston 1988), and the United States (La Brack 1988).

Punjabi Diaspora since 1947

Pre-1947 Punjabi migration was comparatively small. It was during the post-1947 period especially from the 1960s onwards when Punjabis ventured out in large numbers. The partition of Punjab must count as one major factor in spurring this exodus of Punjabis. With the British departure from India in August 1947, the partition of the Punjab led not only to a vast process of internal migration but also to overseas migration. Many Sikhs migrated to the UK and North America in search of economic opportunities.



3.1: Punjabi Diaspora across the Globe

They were joined by several more from some British colonies expelled by the new nationalist leaders. By the 1950s, several British colonies had gained independence, with Far Eastern countries stopping Punjabi immigration as soon as they gained freedom. However, new avenues for migration were opening up.

Britain itself started importing labour and became a major destination for Sikh emigrants. Another avenue was renewed migration to North America, when both Canada and the United States re-opened its gates to South Asians by reversing earlier restrictive policies. From the 1960s, thousands of Punjabi peasants sailed for Britain and Canada, while the United States attracted a mixture of peasants to earlier settlements of California and professionals to large cities. In later years, literacy and pressure from land also fostered emigration. Subsequently the main 'push' factors for Punjabi migration have been economic, and status competition with significant Punjabi communities now settled in Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States, Malaysia/Singapore, East Africa, Australasia and Thailand.

From the 1970s, Punjabi migrants have also worked in the Middle East usually on a fixed term contract. With oil price rises in 1974, many Arab countries launched major construction projects in Dubai, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Iraq, and other countries. Thousands of Punjabi peasants and artisans emigrated as contractual labour. However, their numbers have fluctuated sharply due to demand factors and also due to hostilities in the region. After 1984 and the subsequent political violence in Punjab, although no reliable data is available, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore (in the Far East) and Belgium, Germany, and Netherlands (in Europe) gained sizable Sikh refugee populations, ranging from perhaps a few hundreds to several thousands.

Table 3.1: Punjabi Diaspora: Countries of Major Settlement

Country	Numbers	Main Years of settlement
UK	3,60,000	1960s-1980s
USA	2,50,000	1900-1910; 1970s-2000s
Canada	3,70,000+	1900-1910; 1970s-2000s
Australia	50,000	2000 onwards

Source: Adapted from Tatla (2005).

Overall it is estimated that over two million Punjabis are scattered across the globe; among them most are the Sikhs with perhaps half a million Punjabi Hindus. In the last five years, Australia has emerged as a major destination through International English Language Testing Service (IELTS) tests.²

Punjabi Diaspora in North America

The history of the Punjabi community in North America goes back over a century, and the beginning of Punjabi migration to North America is again attributed to army connections. In 1897 the Government of India sent a contingent of Sikh soldiers to London to participate in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. These Sikh Soldiers returned to India by way of Canada. They travelled from Montreal to Vancouver by train. On the way, the sight of fertile land, great rivers and lakes, mountains, forests and wildlife attracted them to fulfil their dreams of earning a livelihood. Some of these soldiers deserted the army and stayed behind to try their fortunes, while others went back (Buchignani and Indra 1985). Later, some of these former servicemen, after their retirement from the army, turned up at the Pacific Coast ports of San Francisco and Victoria in small batches in 1902-03 and in the following years. They started their life either working in the police force or as night watchmen in British firms. They were joined by Sikhs from the Far East who, after serving their terms in police or army, sailed towards America.

Canadian Punjabi Community: Early Beginnings

Thus early migration of Sikhs/Punjabis to North America began from the Far East. The transport was via a Trans-Pacific Steamer Service of the Canadian Pacific Railway operating between Vancouver and Hong Kong since 1887. Sikhs and other North Indians, who had been recruited for work in Singapore, Hong Kong and elsewhere in the Far East started going out the Pacific. And those who had found work in Australia in the 1890s but were then barred by Australian legislation of 1901 headed for Pacific States.³

Punjabis who landed in North America from Far East countries sent messages to fellowmen in Punjab and some of those who could afford it followed them. For the early years, there were also promised jobs by Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) agents in Calcutta who advertised throughout Punjab. Further, in 1903, the Federal Government launched the construction of two transcontinental railway lines - the National Transcontinental and the Grand Trunk Pacific. Sikh immigrants replaced workers of CPR from Hong Kong and China because a higher head tax was posed on Chinese immigrants. An unprecedented economic boom in Canada from 1903 to 1913 with one twelve-month interruption also attracted Punjabis, as there were lot of job opportunities in forestry and mining. Johnston (1988) cites one agent Devichand who filled bonds for many Punjabis, particularly in the Ferozepur district, who arrived with insufficient funds. Other Punjabis reached independently on their own expenses and without any assured job.

Other factors which helped Punjabis abroad were Punjab's progressive integration into the British India. The colonial administration developed a large network of transport facilities, expanded its railway system, introduced irrigation projects to remote areas and districts in western Punjab in the 1880s. These factors provided social mobility for Punjabi peasants, at first shifting many of them towards newly developed irrigated wastelands of the Western

areas (Ali 1988; Calvert 1936). Many Punjabis had enough cash to think of emigration. So, independent immigrants from Punjab were able to pay Rs 200 fare from Calcutta to Hong Kong and then Hong Kong to Vancouver. From a trickle of Sikhs in British Columbia in 1903 their numbers rose sharply to over 5,000 in 1908. This was a spontaneous movement, and from 1903 to 1908 was comparatively unregulated immigration. The figure of incoming migrants is shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Number of Canadian Punjabis: 1900-1947

Year	Arrival of Punjabis / East Indians in Canada
1903	A few Punjabis
1903-1904	20-30
1904-1905	45
1905-1906	387
1906-1907	2,124
1907-1908	2,623
1909	6
1910	10
1911	5
1912-1923	141
1924-1947	697

Sources: Johnston (1988); Basran and Bolaria (2003: 96-7).⁴

The largest number of men worked on sawmills and shingle mills, particularly in the lower Fraser Valley-Vancouver region and on Vancouver Island, and also in the interior of British Columbia. Others were employed on railway construction or as maintenance gangs, on construction sites, on cattle farms, orchards, and salmon canneries. However, in fall 1907, as lumber mills laid off its labour immigrants from China, Japan and India faced hostilities with anti-oriental riots in Vancouver. At this point, the Canadian Government took steps to check Asian immigration and tried to stop it completely from India (Ward 1978; Bolaria and Li 1988). Such repressive measures included the municipality of Victoria decided not to hire Indian workers and even decided to withdraw permits for selling milk. Punjabi migrants decided to share food through a common kitchen (*langar*) and a deep spirit of brotherhood

helped them against all odds. Whereas, the Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in 1908 in the United States to impose immigration restrictions on Indians, the Canadian Authorities firmly shut the door for Indians in 1908 and immigration was not permitted for the next 40 years. The government first introduced a bill disenfranchising all natives of India who were not of 'Anglo-Saxon parents.' Then by an Order-in-Council in 1908, a 'continuous journey' clause was passed for new arrivals (Tatla 1999) and this was reinforced by Canadian Immigration Act of 1910 which sought to prohibit the entry of any Asiatic in Canada unless he came direct from his own country and was in possession of a sum of 200 dollars.

Punjabis were forced to challenge such restrictive immigration laws through various petitions, courts and other legal cases. In November 1911, a delegation was deputed to meet John Morley, the Secretary of State for India regarding the 'continuous journey' clause. Punjabis also held protest meetings, and fought cases in the courts.⁵ At one time, the court declared the 'continuous journey' provision invalid; but the government immediately rushed another Orders-in-Council to the same effect. The government also announced a scheme to settle South Asians in Honduras which was rejected by the Punjabi community.⁶ The first delegation with members Teja Singh, Dr. Sundar Singh, Rev. L.W. Hall and Raja Singh met the interior minister Mr. Robert Rodgers in 1911.⁷ Another delegation comprised of Nand Singh Sihra, Balwant Singh and Narain Singh was sent to London eighteen months later in 1913. This delegation went to India also to appraise the British government of racial discriminating laws of the Canadian government (Josh 2007). The cost for both delegations was met through funds raised by the community. In Punjab, they held several public meetings in various cities to publicise the sufferings, humiliations and racial discrimination suffered by Indians in Canada. While, *The Tribune* published an interview with Nand Singh, however, the authorities in Punjab and Delhi took little notice of their demands.

Badly hit by the immigration restrictions of the Pacific States, many Sikhs felt stranded in the Far East. Failure to recognise Punjabis' right to bring families had given rise to considerable bitterness within the community activists. A challenge to such harsh laws was thrown by Gurdit Singh of Sarhali, a Sikh businessman, who chartered a Japanese ship, the Komagata Maru in 1913. Taking nearly 300 Punjabi passengers from Hong Kong the ship sailed to Vancouver with 376 passengers arriving in May 1914. Just fulfilling about all the requirements of Canadian immigration laws, the ship anchored at Vancouver harbour on 23 May 1914 but after protracted negotiations, the ship was forcibly returned.

As a result of the bitter atmosphere created by the forcible departure of the Komagata Maru back to Calcutta, where there was a confrontation between returning passengers and the police, many Punjabis joined a radical political association - the Ghadar Party, launched by Lala Har Dyal from San Francisco in 1914. Following Lala Har Dyal's call to return to India to overthrow the British, over three thousand Sikhs left the Pacific States, reducing the Sikh population in Pacific States to a few hundred. Just 700 Sikhs remained in Canada, working primarily in lumber mills and logging camps, some as illegal immigrants.

By March 1915, 3200 emigrants had returned to India and the Punjabi community dwindled to small numbers. The Census of 1921 listed just 1,016 'East Indians' in Canada. They were restricted in employment and with strict immigration laws, only a few had their families with them. In the late 1940s, both Canada and the US reversed their earlier policies on Asian immigration. In the US, the Luce-Cellar Bill (Public Law 483) in 1946 removed Asian Indians from 'Barred Zone' category and allocated a quota of 100 immigrants per year. This quota was gradually increased.⁸

Canadian Punjabi Community since 1947

Canada, like the US, also liberalised its immigration policies gradually starting in the late 1940s. This led to a fresh impetus for Punjabis to emigrate to the United States and Canada. In addition to a quota for Indian emigrants, regulations regarding the entry of relatives allowed old Sikh migrants, only a few hundred in 1940s, to call their kin. However, immigrants from India continued to be relatively small in numbers i.e. in the 1960's ranging from more than 500 in 1962 to well over 2,000 in 1965. In 1967 new immigration regulations became effective allowing professional-skilled workers from India. From 1970s a gradual process of chain migration took place from Punjab resulting in increasing share of sponsored kin and relatives (Johnston 1988).

Now, immigration policies favour the young, educated, professional, language-proficient independent immigrants whose occupational skills correspond to the labour force needs in Canada. According to Basran's study, Canada has benefited from this 'brain drain' without bearing the cost of producing this labour force. The number of South Asians has increased manifold from 1961 onwards: from 6,774 people of East Indian origin to 67,710 Sikhs and 69,500 Hindus according to 1981 census. In the next ten years, Canada's Sikh population has almost trebled to 147,440 according to 1991 Census. A year-wise figure illustrates this process of rise in Punjabi and Indian migration.⁹

Most of this recent migration has been through blood relations or through marriages to those already settled there. As Canadian laws allow a family to migrate under the point system, many Punjabi families have found marriage a convenient tool for immigration. In recent years, this has unfortunately resulted in what is called the 'fake marriage market' and human trafficking dubbed as *kabootarbazi*.¹⁰ Currently, due to such scandalous practices, several hundred Punjabi women have husbands in Canada who have abandoned them. The issue has

become a matter of public policy, and the Punjab and Canadian governments are expected to put in some legislation to control those travel agencies promoting such marriages.

Canadian Punjabis: A Social Profile

From the small community of just over 800 in 1940s, the Canadian Punjabis have emerged as the largest Punjabi community abroad, making it the largest component of the Punjabi diaspora.¹¹ Much of this migration took place since the 1970s and continues unabated. In 1981, the Canadian census enumerated 67,710 Sikhs. According to Survey of 1991 of the Indo-Canadians (Indo-Canadians and East Indians are synonym terms), Sikhs constitute 49 percent, Hindu 24 percent and other religions 10 percent. The 2001 Census of Statistics Canada estimates the number of people who identified themselves as being of East-Indian origins at 713,330. Half of the East Indian population in Canada is Punjabi. The other Indian ethnic communities are Gujaratis, Indian Tamils, Keralites, Bengalis, Sindhis and a few others. In 2001, number of Sikhs at 278,415 was nearly one percent of the population of Canada, a striking increase from less than 0.04 percent in 1961.¹² The High Level Committee (HLC) Report (2002) on Indian diaspora gave the size of the Indian community as 851,000 breaking them into categories of Indian citizens at about 150,000, Persons of Indian Origins at 700,000 and Stateless persons at 1,000.

Location and Demography

The early Punjabis' settlement was confined to the Pacific Coast province of British Columbia. Since the 1970s, they are locating themselves equally in Ontario province. Like other immigrants groups in the last half-century, they have been drawn to the largest cities of the three provinces that have enjoyed the greatest economic growth: Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta. Unlike most groups, however, they have established themselves in slightly greater numbers in British Columbia than in the central Canadian province of

Ontario. More than one-third of Canada's Sikhs live in metropolitan Vancouver, British Columbia; another one-third are in metropolitan Toronto, Ontario; and one-twelfth can be found in the combined populations of the Alberta cities of Calgary and Edmonton. For Punjabi Hindus and Indian Hindus, the largest share lives in the Ontario province. The suburban municipalities of Surrey in Greater Vancouver and Mississauga in Greater Toronto are the two main concentrations of Sikh population (Johnston 2005). The HLC report estimates that Indo-Canadian Community is highly urbanized and almost 90 percent of them live in metropolitan areas. Table 3.3 and 3.4 provide a guide to location of Indo-Canadian communities.

Table 3.3: Sikh and Hindu Population in Canada: Province-wise*

	1991			2001		
	Total Canadian population	Sikhs	Hindus	Total Canadian population	Sikhs	Hindus
Total	27,296,859	147,440(0.5)	157,010(0.6)	30,007,094	278,415(0.9)	297,200(1.0)
British Columbia (BC)	3,282,061	74,545 (2.3)	18,145 (0.6)	3,907,738	135,310 (3.5)	31,495 (0.8)
Ontario (Ont.)	10,084,885	50,085 (0.5)	106,705 (1)	11,410,046	104,785 (0.9)	217,560 (1.9)
Alberta (Al.)	2,545,553	13,550 (0.5)	10,770 (0.4)	2,974,807	23,470 (0.8)	15,970 (0.5)
Quebec (Qu.)	6,895,963	4525 (0.06)	14,120 (0.2)	7,237,479	8220 (0.1)	24,530 (0.3)
Manitoba (Mn.)	1,091,942	3490 (0.3)	3470(0.3)	1,119,583	5485 (0.5)	3840 (0.3)
Saskatchewan (Sk.)	988,928	565 (0.06)	1680(0.2)	978,933	500 (0.05)	1585 (0.2)
Nova Scotia (NS)	899,942	330 (0.04)	965 (0.1)	908,007	270 (0.02)	1235 (0.1)
Newfoundland and Labrador (NL)	568,474	125 (0.02)	445 (0.08)	512,930	130 (0.03)	405 (0.08)
Yukon Territory (YT)	27,797	40 (0.1)	10 (0.04)	28,674	105 (0.4)	10 (0.03)
New Brunswick (NB)	723,900	40 (0)	605 (0.08)	729,498	90 (0.01)	475 (0.07)
Northwest Territories (NT)	57,649	55 (0.09)	65 (0.1)	37,360	45 (0.1)	70 (0.2)
Prince Edward Island (PEI)	129,765	65 (0.05)	25 (0.02)	135,294	0 (0)	35 (0.03)
Nunavut (Nu.)*	-	0 (0)	10 (0)	26,745	0 (0)	0 (0)

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1991 and 2001.

Notes: Figures in brackets indicate Sikh/Hindu population as percentage of Canada's total population or respective provinces.

Numbers of Sikhs and Hindus are given for Canada as total and then for each province for 1991 and 2001 Census.

The data for Canadian Hindus is given because some have Punjabi origin, but of what proportion, is difficult question to answer –our assumption is one-tenth; that means about 30,000 Punjabi Hindus.

* Nu was part of NT in 1991 (see: <http://www.citypopulation.de/Canada-PrinceEdwardIsland.html>).



3.2: Location of Punjabi Population in Canada

Table 3.4: Sikh and Hindu Population in Major Metropolitan Areas of Canada: 2001

Cities (Province)	Population	Sikhs	Hindu
Toronto (Ontario)	4,682,897	90,590 (1.9)	191,305 (4.0)
Ottawa (Ontario)	1,063,664	2,645 (0.2)	8,150 (0.8)
Montreal (Quebec)	3,426,350	7,930 (0.2)	24,075 (0.7)
Vancouver (BC)	1,986,965	99,000 (5.0)	27,410 (1.4)
Victoria (BC)	311,902	3,470 (1.1)	765 (0.2)
Abbotsford (BC)	147,370	16,780 (11.4)	930 (0.6)
Calgary (Alberta)	951,395	13,325 (1.4)	7,260 (0.8)
Edmonton (Alberta)	937,845	9,405 (1.0)	7,825 (0.8)
Winnipeg (Manitoba)	671,274	5,320 (0.8)	3,605 (0.5)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01/CP01/Index.cfm?Lang=E>

Note: Percentage with respect to the population of the same metropolitan areas is shown in brackets.

Punjabis entering Canada early in the 20th century were single men as the entry of women and children was restricted by immigration rules. So, early Punjabis worked in Canada while maintaining families in India returning back periodically. Entry of women and their children was made possible by passing a resolution at the Imperial Conference of 1918 and by an Order-in-Council passed that resolution in the following year. Thus, after 20 years or so men began to bring their families. However, not many women immigrated to Canada. Before World War II; for 5,000 Punjabis in Canada, there were 400 women and 423 children (Basran and Bolaria 2003). This constituted a second generation of immigrants. From the second decade of 20th century to 1960s, the Punjabi community was predominantly male and aging. This pattern defined the Punjabi community's first 60 years, and its gender imbalance lasted until the 1970s (Johnston 1988). In 1961, women made up 40 percent of the population, their share rising to 48 percent in 1971, and 49.3 percent in 2001. The relaxing of Canada's restrictive immigration regime in the 1960s again produced an influx of young adults, although this time with a more balanced female migration. This was seen through the census of 1981, when the Indo-Canadian population was nearly 60 percent between the ages of 15 and 40.

Table 3.5: Age Distribution of the East Indian Community in Canada: 2001
in percentage (Total population in thousands)

Age group	East Indian community			Total Canadian population		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Under 15	24.0	22.4	23.2	20.2	18.6	19.4
15 to 24	15.7	16.1	15.9	14.0	13.0	13.4
25 to 44	32.4	33.9	33.1	30.4	30.6	30.5
45 to 64	21.7	20.8	21.2	24.4	24.4	24.4
65 and over	6.3	6.8	6.5	10.9	13.4	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Pop	358.1	355.2	713.3	14,564.3	15,074.8	29,639.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

The pattern has continued as seen in the Table 3.5 showing 2001 census figures that East Indian community in Canada has smaller proportion of people over the age of 45 than the Canadian population as a whole, and with a larger proportion of children under the age of 15. Table 3.6 brings out another social fact into view; that Punjabis live predominantly as family units.

Table 3.6: Marital Status of the East Indian community in Canada: 2001
in percentage

	East Indian community			Total Canadian population		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Married	61.4	59.8	60.6	51.0	48.3	49.6
Living common-law	1.8	1.8	1.8	10.0	9.4	9.7
Lone parent	1.6	6.2	3.9	2.1	8.7	5.5
Child living at home	24.6	20.8	22.7	19.0	14.0	16.4
Living with relatives	3.4	6.1	4.8	1.9	2.6	2.3
-with non-relatives	2.9	1.6	2.2	4.7	3.3	4.0
Living Alone	4.2	3.8	4.0	11.3	13.7	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Education and Employment Conditions

Early Punjabis were almost all employed in lumber industries of lower British Columbia. Indeed, for a majority of Sikh workers this pattern has continued for almost a century. Due to its largely working class, Cohen (1997) has suggested ‘labour diaspora’ as an appropriate term for the Punjabi diaspora. Later arrivals to British Columbia worked at railway construction, lumbering, dairy farms, fruit farms, logging operations and in small retail businesses. Over 75 percent of Punjabis were occupied in production and processing of forest products. Among the predominantly manual labourers, a few did manage to become mill owners. There is well documented Mayo Singh’s family of Vancouver who became owner of a large lumbering complex and as we shall see later funded several philanthropic activities in Punjab. Among the most successful continuing Punjabi-owned lumber company is Doman

Industries, currently the second-largest woodland operator in the British Columbia coastal region (Johnston 2005).

Further Punjabi immigration in the 1970s meant a small number of doctors, engineers, teachers and other professionals also settled in Canada. This led to a greater socio-economic diversification in the Canadian Punjabi community. However, most of the men and women who found employment were destined for factory or other unskilled work because language was a handicap for many of them up to the 1980s. In recent years, Punjabi immigration has included significant numbers of university-educated and professionally trained people. They are increasingly going into diverse occupations, such as merchants, teachers, nurses, civil servants, engineers, lawyers and doctors. Sikhs have made significant contribution to the industrial and professional life. However, they have faced an almost universal problem in getting employment in Canadian commensurate with their qualifications and experience. Punjabis have found a niche in the taxi industry as well as in trucking; sales is an outlet for some; and in Vancouver and Toronto, the community is now of sufficient strength to support its own sizable retail establishments as well as professional services. A ‘Punjabi Market’ in Vancouver testifies to retail businesses with Panjabi and English - dual language signs provided by the provincial government in July 1993. In 1976, a Sikh financial institution ‘The Khalsa Credit Union’ was created at the initiative of some leading Punjabis.

Table 3.7: Educational Attainment of Indo-Canadians (%): 1981-1991

	1981		1991	
	Sikhs	Others	Sikhs	Hindus
Below Secondary School	39.7	18.4	48.6	31.2
Secondary School / trades	14.7 (14.8*)	10.3 (23.6*)	21	26.1
Some University (no degree)	13.1	15.0	12.9	14.4
University Degree	17.7	32.7	17.5	28.3
Total	27,121	69,020	85,500	89,433

Sources: Basran and Bolaria (2003: 161), Statistics Canada, 1991.

Note: *Other university

Table 3.8: Educational Attainment of East Indians (%) in Canada: 2001

	East Indian community			Total Canadian population		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Below High School	25.6	31.2	28.4	31.4	31.1	31.3
High School	12.1	13.1	12.6	13.1	15.1	14.1
Some Post-Secondary	11.9	12.8	12.3	10.7	11.0	10.8
Trades Certificate/Diploma	8.2	5.0	6.6	14.1	7.8	10.9
College Graduate	10.2	11.6	10.9	12.5	17.3	15.0
University below Bachelor's	3.2	3.0	3.1	2.1	2.9	2.5
Bachelor's Degree	17.9	16.0	16.9	10.6	10.6	10.6
Post-graduate Degree	10.8	7.4	9.1	5.4	4.2	4.8
Total with University Degree	28.7	23.4	26.0	16.0	14.9	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Punjabi community's changing education and employment profile during the last two decades is shown by Tables 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9 respectively. Overall, East Indians tend to have higher educational attainments than Canadian population. Table 3.7 compares the status of education achievement of East Indians with that of Canadian born counterparts in 2001. However, disaggregating this characteristic into Sikh and Hindu component shows that Hindus generally have higher qualifications as seen in Table 3.8.

Table 3.9: Canada: East Indian Employment Pattern (%) by Age: 2001

Age group	East Indians			Canadian population		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
15 to 24	51.4	51.8	51.6	56.1	55.6	55.9
25 to 44	86.4	71.4	78.8	85.6	75.2	80.3
45 to 64	78.9	55.0	67.2	74.8	60.8	67.7
65 and over	17.2	5.5	11.2	13.0	4.8	8.4
Total	71.4	57.2	64.2	67.2	56.1	61.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Table 3.10: Canada: Average Income (\$) of East Indians by Age: 2001

Age group	East Indian community			Total Canadian population		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
15 to 24	10,544	9,350	9,946	11,273	9,046	10,182
25 to 44	37,162	24,252	30,671	40,450	26,306	33,308
45 to 64	42,482	23,961	33,915	46,955	26,767	37,026
65 and over	24,512	15,372	19,838	30,775	19,461	24,437
Total	33,128	20,715	27,023	36,865	22,885	29,769

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Thus due to changes in immigration policies and ending of racist policies, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Canadian Punjabi community have changed vastly. The community is now more heterogeneous in income levels and educational achievements. There is marked occupational differentiation of professional, scientific and skilled workforce with increasing rates of labour force participation since early 1970s. The HLC Report also confirms Indo-Canadians economic profile with 30 percent in professional and managerial positions, 23 percent in manufacturing manual jobs; estimating the average annual income of immigrants from India as nearly 20 percent higher than the national average. The Report also states the age profile of Canadian Punjabis being of young working age with small dependency ratio of old parents.

Religion, Language and Punjabi Culture

The Punjabi diaspora in Canada consists of Sikhs and Hindus mainly, the former as noted by many observers are predominant numerically. While Hindus constitute more than 80 percent of India's population, the share of Hindus in Canada's Indo-Canadian communities is only 27 percent, Muslims and Christians respectively are 17.5 and 16.5 percent, the rest being Sikhs. Although Sikhs are only two percent of Indian population, they constitute over a third of Indian immigrants to Canada. The dominance of Sikhs in the Punjabi diaspora is also shown through the number of places of worship, the gurdwaras in Canadian cities. Until 1940s, there

were just three gurdwaras in Vancouver and Victoria. Since then there has been steady increase. In 1967 there were just ten gurdwaras. The first Sikh place of worship in Canada was established on 19 January 1908. In 2002, the oldest standing Sikh Temple at Abbotsford dating from 1911 was declared a ‘national historic site of Canada.’¹³ Currently, various websites provide numbers of Sikh societies and gurdwaras at around 200, of which 151 are Gurdwaras. Table 3.11 provides geographical location of Sikh and Hindu places of worship.

Table 3.11: Number of Gurdwaras and Mandirs in Canada

	Gurdwaras	Mandirs
British Columbia	64	5
Ontario	54	45
Alberta	14	6
Quebec	8	6
Manitoba	6	3
Saskatchewan	2	2
Nova Scotia	2	2
Newfoundland and Labrador (NF)	1	1
Total	151	70

Source: www.infopunjabidirectory.com/GURUDWARAS.htm

This geography is also a reliable guide to the location of Sikh and Hindu communities; Hindus predominate in Ontario province, Sikhs are more evenly spread between Ontario and BC, with Alberta coming as the third major destination for Sikhs. As religious communities of Canada, Sikhs and Hindus are organised at local levels. From time to time there have been bodies at national level but no effective stable organisation has appeared. Among the Sikhs, the oldest is the Khalsa Diwan Society (KDS) in Vancouver dating from 1907. From the 1970s, gurdwaras’ management has taken at least three forms. A few gurdwaras belong to the followers of a *sant* with management restricted to a trusted inner group. Others are run by a small, closed membership. Most typically, however, gurdwara societies keep open memberships and choose their management committees by elections.¹⁴ Gurdwaras continue

to be the centre of community mobilisation as in the past. In recent years, there have been many issues which have attracted wider attention; a violent clash at Guru Nanak Sikh Temple at Surrey over the issue of ‘chairs in dining hall’ was reported in January 1997 as covered by the Canadian media.

Canadian Punjabis are also emerging as an ethno-linguistic community of Canada with Punjabi as mother tongue. Since the census survey of 1996, Punjabi was reported as the home language of 182,000 people, mostly located in Toronto and Vancouver. Since then the number of Punjabi speakers has risen significantly by 32.7 percent. In the 2001 census, there were 284,750 Punjabi speaking people in Canada making it 5.3 percent of non-official mother tongue speakers and placing this group of speakers as 4th among the list of ‘most frequent non-official mother tongues.’ In the midterm survey of 2006, Punjabi speakers were enumerated at 382,585 or 6.1 percent of non-official mother tongue speakers. Punjabi language constituted the mother tongue of 1.2 percent of Canadian residents.

Table 3.12: Number and Percentage of Punjabi Speaking Communities in Major cities of Canada: 1996, 2001, 2006

Major/Metropolitan City	1996	2001	2006
Toronto (Ontario)	-----	99,630 (2.1)	137,730 (6.2)
Vancouver (BC)	72,440 (4.0)	92,185 (4.7)	122,255 (14.2)
Abbotsford (BC)	10,960 (8.2)	16,645 (11.5)	20,290 (16.8)
Calgary (Alberta)	8,905 (1.1)	13,820 (1.5)	21,760 (8.7)
Edmonton (Alberta)	8,260 (1.0)	9,705 (1.0)	14,515 (6.9)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006.

Note: Figures in brackets indicate Punjabi speaking population as percentage of non-official mother tongues of respective city.

Punjabi is the leading ‘non-official mother tongue’ in Abbotsford where 20,290 reported Punjabi as their mother tongue in 2006 forming 16.8 percent of city’s population. In Vancouver and Toronto cities Punjabi occupies second place and third places respectively among non-official languages. Sikhs regard learning Punjabi as part of their religious

tradition and many gurdwaras have Punjabi schools where classes are usually held at weekends. Sikhs have also lobbied occasionally local mainstream schools to provide instructions in Punjabi language.

Indo-Canadians represent diversity of cultures, along with many religions and languages. Groups with differing ethnic and religious backgrounds have divergent cultural practices. For Indo-Canadians, marriage is an important cultural element. Maintenance of traditional Indian values prevents the practice of dating, as is common among the other Canadians. As in India, arranged marriages are more prevalent among Indo-Canadians. Parents arrange marriages with their specific caste/ethnic community. Interracial marriage is not very common among Indo-Canadian communities compared to some other immigrant groups.

As part of Punjabi culture, there is a vibrant Punjabi media in Canada. Apart from print media, television, radio, and web based media are also growing. The history of Punjabi journalism in Canada is almost a century old as *Circular-i-Azadi* in 1906-07 as the first Punjabi paper published from Vancouver.¹⁵ As expected in the post-1947 period and especially from 1970s the Punjabi press has expanded with two daily and about 50 weekly and several monthly titles e.g. *Punjab News*, *Charadi Kala*, *Hamdard*, *Ajit*, *Sikh Times*, *Panj Pani*, *Amritsar Times*, *Parvasi*, *Statesman* etc. are published in Toronto and Vancouver catering to diverse taste of Canadian Punjabis. These papers cover news stories from Punjab and the Indian subcontinent and serve as a bridge between Punjab and Canada. Mainstream Canadian media has provided more coverage of the Punjabi community in recent years. Partly this was prompted by the Air India Trial when lengthy commentaries were published in leading English press of Canada e.g. in *Vancouver Sun* and *Globe and Mail* from Toronto.¹⁶ There are few studies as yet of Punjabi media or of Canadian media's portrayal of

Punjabis. A notable early study is by Indra (1979) which brings out the stereotyped portrayals of South Asians in the mainstream press of British Columbia.

In addition, Punjabi media now includes a number of TV channels with mainstream television also occasionally giving some coverage of Punjabi life –in recent past it has broadcast some documentaries. A sports series on Kabaddi was shown by Canadian Broadcasting Company while *Hockey Night in Canada* was broadcast in Punjabi while some soap operas have added Punjabis in them. There are also radio stations controlled by Punjabis which offer religious programs, chat shows and broadcast Punjabi songs. A ‘Sikh Community Resource Centre’ comprising libraries and museums is also established in Canada to provide information through satellite.

There is further exchange between Punjab and Canada through literary connections. Punjabi writers of Canada include Ravinder Ravi, Darshan Gill, Sadhu Binning, Surinder Dhanjal, Surjit Kalsi, Ajmer Rode and others whose books are published in Punjabi language from Chandigarh and Delhi. Punjab offers recognition to overseas Punjabi writers. A number of Canadian Punjabi writers have been honoured with ‘Shiromani Punjabi Sahitkar’. As yet a few Punjabis are able to write in English, while some translations are available in a dual language format.¹⁷ Often Punjab based writers are invited to conferences held in various parts of Canada.¹⁸ And Canadian writers are regularly invited to the annual Punjabi Language Conference organised by Punjabi University.¹⁹

A further cultural exchange is noteworthy. *Ragis*, *dhadis* (hymn-singers) and pop singers make regular rounds from Punjab. They perform at gurdwaras, public concerts and other occasions such as marriage parties during their Canadian tours.²⁰ There are a number of indigenous Canadian Punjabi singers who often perform in Punjab.²¹ *Bhangra* - a popular

Punjabi folk dance has emerged as transnational dance that is attempting to cross over to non-Punjabi Canadians as well.²² Punjabi's life in Canada has been captured in drama, short stories and novels.

Political and Community Associations

For well over a century the Punjabi community has involved in political matters. Right from the early settlement, Punjabis in Canada were heavily involved in many political dramas and developments. These included the Komagata Maru episode and the Ghadar movement and a campaign for 'right to vote' in the 1940s. A number of Punjabis were inspired to join the Ghadar Party's call to return to India. However due to very restrictive immigration policies enforced throughout the three decades, there was no effective body of Punjabis as their number was so small. Appeals to bring wives or children were lost, so were the voting rights and, in British Columbia, the right to join certain professions. Indians were granted the right to vote in Canada in 1947. Earlier Punjabi politics revolved mainly around the Khalsa Diwan Society of BC and gurdwaras have always functioned as the main centres of community life for Punjabis in Canada. Alongside the KDS, some more radical associations were also set up from time to time.

From the 1950s there have been several political associations among Indo-Canadians. An East Indian Canadian Citizens Welfare Association became active in Canadian politics in the 1950s. In the 1970s, the East Indian Workers Association was formed in several cities; among its activists were Naxalites who had fled from Punjab to Canada. Similarly the Canadian Farmworkers Union was primarily a Punjabi social movement to secure wages and rights for seasonal agricultural workers in BC.

In the last five decades there have been many kinds of political struggles; from challenging the discriminatory immigration policies to rights of minorities, to involve in its homeland politics especially to the Sikhs due to tragic happenings in Amritsar in 1984. In the process, Punjabis have formed several kinds of political and social associations reflecting their immediate needs and affecting ways of mobilisation. During the Punjab crisis of 1984, three new associations sprang up in Canada - the World Sikh Organization (WSO), International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF), and Babbar Khalsa – all devoted to the cause of separate Sikh state Khalistan in India (Tatla 1999). These organisations were embroiled in a bitter and sometimes violent campaign in support of Punjab militants. The influence of these organisations waned as Punjab returned to some normalcy in late 1990s.²³ Only the World Sikh Organization of Canada remains active as human rights organisation.

Reflecting the growing strength of Punjabis, and number of Punjabi students into higher education has led to some recognition of ‘Indian / Punjabi Studies’ in Canadian universities. In late 1980s, the Federation of Sikh Societies in Canada which eventually funded a chair in Sikh Studies at the University of British Columbia by raising nearly \$300,000 across the Sikh community of Canada.

Table 3.13: Punjabis’ Representation in Canadian Parliament: 2011

Name	Party	Constituency (Province)	Term
Tim Uppal	Conservative	Edmonton-Sherwood Park (Alberta)	2 nd
Devinder Shory	Conservative	Calgary Northeast	2 nd
Deepak Obhrai	Conservative	Calgary East	6 th
Nina Grewal	Conservative	Fleetwood-Port (British Columbia)	4 th
Parm Gill	Conservative	Brampton-Springdale (Toronto)	1 st
Bal Gosal	Conservative	Bramalea-Gore-Malton (Toronto)	1 st
Jasbir Sandhu	New Democratic	Surrey North (BC)	1 st
Jinny Sims	New Democratic	Newton-North Delta (BC)	1 st

Source: *Times of India* 4 May 2011.

Note: 41st Canadian general election was held on 2 May 2011.

During the last two decades, Canadian Punjabis have also joined mainstream Canadian political parties.²⁴ Punjabis political prominence in Canada was signalled by Ujjal Dosanjh who was elected Premier of British Columbia briefly from February 2000 to June 2000. Currently there are eight Punjabi MPs in the Parliament, more have been elected in Provincial Assemblies and have become ministers at Provincial and Federal level.²⁵

Conclusion

From a small community in the pre-1947 period, Punjabis have become a well-established minority in Canada in the post-1947 period. The current strength of Punjabis is estimated at almost half a million and this is reflected by their presence in all aspects of Canadian life. Besides a number of Members of Parliament from BC and Ontario provinces where they are overwhelmingly settled, Punjabis have established themselves in many kinds of economic activities from estate agents to manufacturing gaining employment in health and education sector and the media and arts. Punjabis have become well-established in Canada, a fact testified by various cultural manifestations such as several Punjabi newspapers, magazines, radio and television channels. The Punjabi media has played significant role in the formation of a conscious Canada-wide Punjabi community. In addition, Canadian Punjabis have kept in touch with their homeland developments through frequent visits, financial transactions, and active cultural and social ties that have bound them with their kin left back. A major consequence of such social exchange is the contribution of Canadian Punjabis to welfare activities in their villages of origin, and indeed all over Punjab –this philanthropic link is explored in the next chapter.

Notes

¹ Doaba is the central region of Punjab, falling between the Beas and Sutlej rivers. Majha lies to the north (and west) between Bias and Ravi rivers while Malwa lies to the south (and east) of the Sutlej, between Satluj and Jamuna rivers.

² For an interesting report on IELTS based emigration from Punjab, *Hindustan Times* 15 March 2009.

³ According to Dr. A. Nugent, a Presbyterian missionary who worked with Sikhs in Vancouver for several months in 1907, the first person came to Canada from Australia.

⁴ For the subsequent years, numbers are available as 1912 (3); 1913(5); 1914(88); 1915(0); 1916(1);1917(0);1918(0); 1919(0); 1920(0); 1921(10); 1922(13); 1923(21); 1924(40); 1925(46); 1926(62); 1927(60); 1928(56); 1929(52); 1930(58); 1931(80); 1932(47); 1933(63); 1934(33); 1935(21); 1936(10); 1937(13); 1938(14); 1939(14); 1940(11); 1941(6); 1942(3); 1943(0); 1944(0); 1945(0); 1946(1); 1947(7).

⁵ The Khalsa Diwan Society led a delegation to Ottawa pleading fair treatment for the Sikhs by dropping the ‘continuous journey’ clause. The Government of India also protested against the Canadian government measures, arguing these restrictions violated the spirit of ‘free movement of peoples within the British Empire’.

⁶ In 1908, the Canadian government proposed a scheme to relocate all Indian immigrants to Honduras and a team of four members, including two Indians (Sham Singh, Najar Singh, Inspector Hopkinson and Mr. J.B. Harkin) was constituted to study the situation in the Honduras and submit recommendations for migration to the island. On the return of team the Indian community apprised of the bleak situation by Sham Singh and Najar Singh. Consequently, on 13 February 1909, a gathering of about 1500 Indians rejected the offer for immigration to the Honduras. Instead the immigrants formed a ‘United India League’ in order to resist pressure from the Canadian Government.

⁷ Memorandum of Khalsa Diwan Society and Indian United League, 1911 cited in Tatla (2004: 23). Also see *Khalsa Samachar*, 20 October 1910, 11 (45): 7.

⁸ In 1951, authorization from Ottawa allowed a quota of 150 immigrants per year plus spouses and children up to the age of 21 years. In 1957 this quota increased to 300 persons per year (Bolaria and Li 1988: 173).

⁹ Immigration of East Indians to Canada
1948(130); 1949(63); 1950(52); 1951(93); 1952(81); 1953(173); 1954(170); 1955(245); 1956(330); 1957(324); 1958(451); 1959(716); 1960(673); 1961(744); 1962(584); 1963(858); 1964(1,463); 1965(2,664); 1966(2,799); 1967(4,614); 1968(3,858); 1969(6,400); 1970(6,680); 1971(6,281); 1972(6,239); 1973(11,488); 1974(15,183); 1975(12,309); 1976(3,906); 1977(7,130); 1978(6,269); 1979(5,634); 1980(9,364); 1981(8,989); 1982(8,544); 1983(7,041); 1984(5,502); 1985(4,028); 1986(6,940); 1987(9,692); 1988(10,409); 1989(8,819); 1990(10,624); 1991(12,848). *Source*: Basran and Bolaria (2003: 96-7).

¹⁰ Local Punjabi newspapers almost on daily basis report on illegal migration assisted by travel agents. See *Ajit*, *Jagbani*, and other vernacular press

¹¹ In 2001, population of Sikhs and Hindus in UK was 363,149 and 558,810 respectively (Tatla 2005) whereas Census of Canada, 2001 lists 278,415 Sikhs and 297,200 Hindus in Canada.

¹² Table: Immigrants (% of major religious denominations)

Period of immigration	Sikh	Hindu
Before 1961	0.1	0.0
1961-1970	1.1	1.4
1971-1980	3.9	3.6
1981-1990	4.3	4.9
1991-2001	4.7	6.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

¹³ *Hindustan Times*, 16 November 2007.

¹⁴ Forty years ago, elections were quiet affairs, but ever since the 1970s they have been hotly contested, and in recent years the biannual elections at the Khalsa Diwan Society gurdwaras in Vancouver have brought out over 35,000 voters (Johnston 2005).

¹⁵ Early effort came from Shri Ram Nath Puri, who published *Circular-i-Azadi* in 1908 and Moti Ram of Makhad (Attock), started a Gurmukhi monthly paper *Swadeshi Sewak* in 1909 in Vancouver. Other papers soon followed, including *Pardesi Khalsa*, Vancouver, 1910, editor Hira Singh; *Sansar*, Victoria, Vancouver, 1912-14, monthly, editor Dr. Sundar Singh; *The Hindustanee*, Vancouver, vol 1 (March-June 1914) monthly, editor Seth Hussain Rahim (Tatla 2003). Kartar Singh of Badala (Amritsar) started his *Canada and India* in Vancouver while Dr. Sundar Singh started to publish *Sansar* from Victoria with co-editor Piara Singh Langeri. Later Battan Singh of Sirhali Kalan along with Arjun Singh of Jhingar (Jalandhar) started *Bande Mataram* in April 1921 in Vancouver, but like others, it had short span of existence.

¹⁶ See Kim Bolen's running commentary on Air India Trial in *Vancouver Sun*.

¹⁷ *No More Watno Dur* is a collection of poems in Punjabi along with English translations by Sadhu Binning.

¹⁸ Among notable Punjabi writers who have visited Canada under these sponsored conferences include Gursharan Singh - a dramatist who staged a drama on the Komagata Maru episode in Vancouver and in other cities. Similarly, Sant Ram Udasi's songs were recorded in a Canadian Studio. Regular seminars are organised by Sikh Studies Chair at UBC.

¹⁹ At Punjabi University, Patiala which organise an annual seminar on Punjabi language and literature when number of Canadian Punjabi writers participate. Also see articles by Rajinder Pal Singh Brar and Surjit Singh in *Punjabi Diaspora Khoj Patar* at Punjabi University website.

²⁰ Pop singers Satwinder Bitti, Gurdas Mann, Harbhajan Mann and many others regularly perform their shows in Canada. Harbhajan Mann has a second home in Canada and produced films depicting Canadian Punjabis life in *Ji Ayayan nu*, *Mitti waajan maardi*, *Assan nu mann watna da* and others.

²¹ Among Canadian based Punjabi singers is Jazz-B, who has earned popularity both in Punjab as well as in Canada.

²² Thus for example, a conference on the theme of *Diasporizing Punjab, Disorienting Bhangra* was held at the University of Fraser Valley and University of British Columbia jointly in May 2010 when sociologists presented papers on the subject.

²³ In 2001, the British government banned the ISYF as a terrorist organisation followed by the United States and Australia, but the Canadian government did not. In 2002 the ISYF closed its Canadian operation.

²⁴ This includes Harry Bains - British Columbia New Democratic; Hardial Bains - founder and leader of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada from 1970-1997; Raminder Gill - former Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP and federal Conservative candidate; Moe Sihota - former British Columbia NDP MLA and television host; Jaggi Singh - anti-globalisation activist; Jasbir Singh Cheema – politician; Gurmant Grewal - former Conservative MP, half (with Nina, listed in table 3.14) of the first married couple to serve as MPs in the same session of Parliament; Rob Nijjar - former BC Liberal MLA; Raj Pannu - former leader of the Alberta New Democrats, the first Indian-Canadian leader of a political party; Patty Sahota - former BC Liberal MLA. Manmohan (Moe) Singh Sahota was Minister of Environments land and parks in the province of British Columbia; Aman Virk elected Mayor of Golden, BC on 15 November 2008.

²⁵ Herb Dhaliwal was the first Sikh member of the Canadian Cabinet and Gurbax Singh Malhi was first turbaned Sikh Member of Parliament first elected in 1993.