CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Interest towards the study of contribution of Punjabi diaspora in the development of Indian economy and other related matters had begun to develop during the late 1970’s and the early 80’s. Most of the works published by Sociologists, Anthropologists, Economists and Historians deal with Punjabi diaspora in the U.S.A., the U.K, Canada and other European countries. The Punjabis in South East Asia have drawn the attention of scholars comparatively recently. The movement of Punjabi migration to South East Asia started with the expansion of British colonialism during late nineteenth century which reflects the recruitment of Jat Sikhs and Pathans in colonial police and military services in newly acquired British colonies like Shanghai, Hong Kong, Malaya, Burma and Singapore. They were attracted to these colonies for better jobs and stability. British rule was established in Punjab in 1849 after second Anglo-Sikh war (1848–1849). New administration led to changes in the social and economic structure of the province. These changes played significant contribution in the migration process of Punjabis to South East Asia.

I

British authorities realized the agricultural potential of newly acquired province with vast tracts of uncultivated land that could be brought under cultivation through various irrigational projects. Provincial census of 1855 mention that out of the total area of 5,224,0170 acres only 1,2751,161 acres was under cultivation and additional 54,60,301 acres could be brought under cultivation.¹ For this purpose, Upper Bari Doab Canal was constructed soon after the establishment of British rule. Within the decades more area was brought under cultivation. Increase in the cultivated area led to the rapid change in pattern of crops and use of improved agricultural implements among cultivators. Cultivation of crops like wheat, cotton, oil seeds and sugar cane having commercial importance was encouraged.² Expansion of new means of transport like railways, roads, steamships further extended the commercialization of agriculture. Amritsar was connected to Lahore in 1862 and later on with Multan in 1865. In addition
to big cities, railway lines soon connected the Punjab province with various agricultural areas and trade centres of all over India. Major industrial centre Ludhiana was connected to Amritsar and Peshawar was connected to Calcutta through metalled road by 1863-64. Provincial agrarian economy was connected with the rest of the world. It was now easier to export these crops to trade ports of Mumbai, Calcutta, and Karachi and import manufactured items back to province. Crops were now sold in markets in lieu of cash. With significant contribution of markets, increased circulation of currency in the economy resulted into the connectivity of villages with the urban centres. This connectivity increased the flow of manufactured agricultural implements into villages. The village jajmani system, called sepidari in Punjab, began to crumble under the pressure of the new situation. The services performed by village artisans were steadily getting confined to the repairing of the implements. Earlier they were entitled to receive the fixed amount of grain share from common heap of produce for their customary services like assisting the cultivators in agriculture production, making agricultural implements, providing earthen pots and making furniture etc. However with the integration of village economy with urban centers, cultivators were now attracted towards the agricultural implements available in market which adversely affected the regular income of village artisans. Their role was kept on diminishing in the village economy. Nature of the payment made to village artisans changed from the reduction in their share from the produce to cash rates and finally bargaining for the wages on the basis of the amount of work done by them on daily basis with no customary duties. For instance 6 per cent decrease in the sep deduction was evidenced from 1879-84 settlement to 1910-14 settlement of Hoshiarpur district. This type of situation started building up in almost every district of province. By the turn of twentieth century cash rates were prevalent in almost 49 per cent of the villages of Punjab surveyed in 1912 which increased up to 67 per cent in 1932. With the decline in their wage rates, village artisans were left with no choice, but to search jobs outside the traditional social and economic network.

New land revenue settlements added to the complexities of situation according to which cultivators had to pay the “1/4<sup>th</sup> of the money value of the average produce per acre for each kind of crop” in a fixed amount of time. Entire province was divided into
districts, *parganas, chaks* and estates for the assessment of revenue which was calculated on the basis of average market prices or preceding rates but not on the basis of current price of the actual produce.\(^7\) Cultivators had to bear any kind of fluctuation in the prices of crops in the market or bad harvest at any rate. For instance, prices of wheat in Lahore was 27 seers per rupee in 1848 which further decreases to 4 seers per rupee in 1851.\(^8\) On the whole prices of wheat kept on declining due to which cultivators had to sell more produce for equal amount of rupee which they get earlier. Unable to get the reasonable prices of their produce resulted into the difficulty in paying the revenue in cash on time. For the payment of the same they were forced to borrow from *sahukars* for credit at very high rates of interest. This created the serious problem of rural indebtedness in province. Study of various settlement reports indicates that cultivators were at the mercy of *sahukars* who lend money and took their produce and cultivators were under huge debt and unable to feed their family.\(^9\) Widespread indebtedness eventually resulted in transferring the land rights from cultivators to non-cultivators. Annual report on the revenue administration of Punjab for the year of 1875-76 reported that there were 6,600 numbers of sales in that year which further rose to 20,584 during 1899-1900.\(^10\) Cultivators were reduced to labourers in their land.

Situation further worsened with the increasing density of population per square mile in the coming years. Census report of 1855 mentioned that population per square mile in the districts of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Sialkot and Jalandhar was 383.63, 470.01, 475.27 and 513 respectively which increases to 450, 500, 572, 634 and 623 in Amritsar in 1891.\(^11\) However the area under cultivation through irrigational schemes did not increase to adjust this increasing density of population and whatever increase in cultivable area was done only on hilly areas and on *barani* lands of densely populated districts like Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Ludhiana.\(^12\) This led to the scarcity of land and subsequent fragmentation of land holdings. These factors ultimately forced the Punjabis to seek jobs outside their traditional network and search job avenues elsewhere. At that time recruitment in army was one such opportunity they could find outside their network. It is worth mentioning that majority of Punjabis found in army were from these densely populated districts of Punjab.

Factors responsible for the mobility of Punjabis to South East Asia started strengthening during the early years of British supremacy in Punjab. The major concern
for the Governor General Lord Dalhousie after the annexation was to protect the newly acquired vast border of Punjab province. Since British authorities had already witnessed the valor and bravery of the Punjabis in two Anglo-Sikh wars, it was decided to recruit the Punjabis from the disbanded Khalsa army and form Punjab Frontier Force. With time they managed to enter in the Bengal army stationed in Punjab province. However loyalty showed by Punjabis in the 1857 uprising resulted into their recruitment in the colonial army. Amritsar, Jalandhar, Lahore and Peshawar were converted into the recruitment depots. Soon they were sent to serve in the forces of the newly acquired British colonies of South East Asia. Studies reveal the presence of Punjabi Sikhs serving in Shanghai and in Royal Hong Kong police in 1870’s. The potential showed by Punjabis in Shanghai and Hong Kong prompted the Malay chief of Perak (Malaya) sent Captain Tristam Speedy in 1873 to Punjab for some brave soldiers to combat against Chinese and he came back with 110 Punjabis. However regular flow of Punjabis in Malay Peninsula started with the establishment of British supremacy over the Malay states. British colonial government once again turned their attention towards Punjabis in order to protect their commercial interests and maintaining law and order in Malaya and Singapore. Captain Tristam Speedy was appointed as Assistant Resident and was instructed to recruit all 110 Punjabis as Resident Guards. By the last decade of nineteenth century Punjabis were recruited in every Malay states police force as regulars. Requirement of brave personnel for services were soon spread by the Punjabi Sikhs already stationed in South East Asian region. Regular income, incentives and stable future attracted other fellow brethren to join the services. Punjabis on the other hand immediately succeeded to grasp the opportunities. By 1900, more than two thousand Punjabis were presented themselves for the recruitment in Strait Settlement Police Force (1881) and Malay State Guides (1896) collectively. They were able to retain their position till the disbandment of these forces i.e. 1919 (Malay States Guides) and 1946 (Strait Settlement Police Force).

However those who were not seen fit and qualified enough to be in the forces were absorbed in other sectors of these colonies. They became security guards, watchmen, hawkers, milk deliverers, bullock cart drivers etc. In the early 1920’s Punjabi commercial migrants also arrived on their own and became peddlers and cloth
sellers or engaged in sundries shops. In order to increase their income, many indulged in money lending business and lend money at high rate of interest without the interference of government agencies. With time, these commercial migrants gather enough wealth to start their own business like textile trading, manufacturing and many more. In addition to this, professional and skilled workers were also in demand to work in railways, factories and in clerical and education department of the Government sectors of these colonies. Emigration report of the commerce and industry of 1917 indicates that nearly eight thousand skilled artisans migrated to Malay Peninsula and Strait Settlements in 1911 from Central Punjab.  

Singapore, earlier the part of Malay Peninsula was famous for the convict colony of British imperial rule where British political prisoners were sent from other colonies. Two notable Punjabi political prisoners were Bhai Maharaj Singh and Kharak Singh deported to Singapore in 1850’s. Soon other type of Punjabi convicts were sent to Singapore jail. Presence of these prisoners in Singapore jail was evidenced with the report of jail superintendent about clashes between two Punjabi caste groups. Some of the convicts decided to stay in Singapore after the completion of their sentences. This type of migration was stopped after the voices raised by the Europeans living in Singapore. The regular flow of Punjabis however started with the arrival of those who came on their own in search of number of jobs like watchmen, guards, technicians, teachers, mechanics and many more. This led to the establishment of Punjabi community there. By the last decades of nineteenth century Punjabis also travelled to Thailand in search of green pastures. Kirparam Madan was first to arrive in Siam from Sialkot who presented horse to the King Rama V of Thailand and became ambassador to the same for the Maharaja of Jammu state. He later on decided to settle in Thailand and started his own business. Soon other Punjabis arrived in Thailand in search of opportunities. Majority of them started as petty shopkeepers. Later on they indulged in textile import export trading and money lending business. Even today majority of Punjabis residing are the third or fourth generation of these early migrants and they are still indulged in their traditional family business. In addition to this, Punjabis also came to work in the gold mines near Sungei (Thai-Malay border). With time, Punjabis came to know about the opportunities in other areas of this region by the returned fellow villagers which led to the further movement of Punjabis to Philippines,
Brunei Darussalam, Myanmar and Indonesia. Today, majority of Punjabis residing in these countries play dominant role in economy, culture and business.

II

This continuous flow of migrants started the establishment of Punjabi diaspora in South East Asian countries. They became noticeable in almost every field of their adopted country. This prompted the scholars to focus on the history of their migration and their contribution in their respective habitats. Many European scholars devoted their attention to Indian communities in South East Asia. Among them are George Netto’s *Indians in Malaya: Historical Facts and Figure* (1961)\(^{20}\); Ton That Thien’s *India and South East Asia: 1947-1960* (1963)\(^{31}\); Chai Hon- Chan’s *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909* (1967)\(^{22}\); C.M. Turnbull’s *The Strait Settlements 1826-67: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony* (1972)\(^{23}\); Michael Stenson’s work *Class, Race and Colonialism in West Malaysia: The Indian Case* (1980)\(^{24}\); Anthony R. Walker’s work (ed.) *New Place, Old Ways: Essays on Indian Society and Culture in Modern Singapore* (1994)\(^{25}\); Muzafar Desmond Tate’s work *The Malaysian Indian: History, Problem and Future* (2008)\(^{26}\); Saw Swee-Hock’s *The Population of Singapore* (2012)\(^{27}\).

Political Change in Malaya, 1945-1957 (1981); Sharon Siddique and Nirmala Puru Shotam’s Singapore’s Little India: Past, Present and Future (1982); I.J Bahadur’s Indians in SouthEast Asia (1982); Zakir Hussain’s The Silent Minority: Indians in Thailand (1982); Ramesh Chandra Majumdar’s Suvarṇadvīpa: Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East (1986); Tung Nath Dubey’s India and Thailand (A Brief History) (1990); Surendra K. Gupta’s Indians in Thailand (1999); Lipi Ghosh and Ramkrishna Chatterjee’s Indian Diaspora in Asian and Pacific Regions: Culture, People, Interactions (2004); Kernal Singh Sandhu and A. Mani (eds.) Indian Communities in Southeast Asia (2008 edition); K. Kesavapany, A Mani and P. Ramasamy’s Rising India and Indian Communities in East Asia (2008); Rajesh Rai and Peter Reeves work The South Asian Diaspora-Transnational Networks and Changing Identities (2009); Faizal Bin Yahya and Arunajeet Kaur’s The Migration of Indian Human Capital: The ebb and flow of Indian professionals in Southeast Asia (2011 edition); Veena Sikri’s India and Malaysia: Intermingled Strands (2013).


In addition to these books, few articles which focus on Indian communities in South East Asia are Abdul Karim bin Bagoo’s The Origin and Development of the Malay States Guides (1962); Chandra Jayawardena’s Migration and Social Change: A Survey of Indian Communities Overseas (1968); Kernial Singh Sandhu’s Some Aspects of Indian settlement in Singapore, 1819-1969 (1969); Kernial Singh Sandhu’s Some

Those who have devoted their attention towards general Indian diaspora studies are T. Geoghegan’s Emigration from India in as early as 1873; L.F. Rushbrooks (ed.) Indian Emigration (1924); I.J. Baxter’s Report on Indian Immigration (1941); Narendra Nath Gangulee’s Indians in Empire overseas: A Survey (1947); Chenchala Kondapi’s Indians Overseas, 1839-1947 (1951); N.V Raj Kumar’s Indians Outside India: A General Survey with the Resolutions of Indian National Congress on the subject 1885-1948 (1951); Mahin Gosine’s (ed.) The East Indian Odyssey: Dilemmas of a Migrant people (1964); I.M. Cumpston’s Indian overseas in British Territories 1834-1854 (1969); Hugh Tinker’s The Banyan Tree: Overseas Emigrant from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (1977); George Kurian and others Overseas Indians: A Study in Adaptation (1983); I.J Bahadur Singh’s work Indians in South Asia (1984).

There are quite a few studies which focus on Indian and Punjabi communities outside India but other than South East Asian countries like Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A, Fiji, and United Kingdom etc.

The brief details of their work are as follows:-

L.F Rushbrook Williams (ed.) *India of To-day: Indian Emigration* published in 1924 is collection of booklets that deals with the Indian population overseas. Starting with the Indian migration to other areas of world, this booklet gave detailed account of early historical journey of Indians to Java, Sumatra and Ceylon. Other than the general introduction of Indian emigration to British Guiana, Mauritius, West Indies, Re’ union island and other areas after the abolition of slavery, this study described the migration of South Indians to Strait Settlements and Malaya as *Indentured* and *Kangani* labourers.
Various laws were imposed to maintain the control over this migration which is relevant to our work.

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri’s *Report on the Conditions of Indian labour in Malaya* published in 1937; is a contemporary detailed report submitted by Mr. Sastri to the secretary to Government of India regarding the conditions of Indian labourers in Malaya. Starting with the environmental conditions of Malaya, Sastri gave the detailed description of plantation estates, wages given to South Indians labour, their working hours, medical facilities provided to them, their housing patterns etc. He also focuses on the male-female ratio in plantation labour. After providing detailed description on the conditions of labour under *kangani* labour system, he offered some suggestions to facilitate the interest of migrant labourers.

K.A Neelakandha Aiyer’s *Indian Problems in Malaya: A Brief Survey in Relation to Emigration* published in 1938 is a critical analysis of problems of Indian migrants working in Malaya. Starting with the origin of Indian as well as Chinese communities in Malaya, Aiyer focuses on the arrival of British Indian convicts and their role in construction of number of Government buildings in Malaya. With time South Indians were encouraged to migrate to Malaya to work in sugar and rubber plantations through *Indentured* system earlier and later on through *Kangani* system. Various aspects have been analyzed critically which was the major concern at that time like the lack in the proper facilities to the Indian labourers, their exploitation in terms of wages. He points out that Indian laboring class was the weakest class as they don’t have their own trade unions. This study also explores the wealth owned by Indians in Malaya, i.e., how many of them own estates, tin mines etc. Appendices given in later part of the book helped to have clear picture of number of Indian arrived in Malaya from 1900 to 1931.

Chenchala Kondapi’s *Indians Overseas, 1838-1948* published in 1951 is the detailed discussion of Indian migrants abroad. Main focus is on their reasons of migration, the journey made by migrants to various colonies from ancient times, their settlements, problems, education provided to their children in these colonies and labour laws in these colonies. C. Kondapi held responsible famines, overpopulation, land revenue settlements in India as the main reasons for the migration among Indians to the
British colonies. British colonial rule demanded the Indian labour to work in the plantation estates in Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Fiji, Kenya and South Africa. He focuses on the law that regulates the Indian migration, allowances and marriage laws. Strength of Indians overseas included in the appendix.

George Netto’s *Indians in Malaya: Historical Facts and Figures* published in 1961 examine the early Indian migrants in Malaya and Strait Settlements, their experiences, influences and their settlement patterns. This book also deals with occupation of Indians and their conditions, their ethnic composition and demographic profile up to 1957.

Kernial Singh Sandhu’s *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of their Immigration and Settlement 1786-1957* published in 1969 is a comprehensive study of Indian in Malaya right from the pre-British period till 1957. Starting with the geographical position of Malay Peninsula and its commercial importance, author gave the detailed description of early Indian relation with Malay Peninsula. Traders, missionaries and Brahmins traveled to this region. They influenced the day to day life and culture of Malaya which led to the formation of states influenced by Hindu and Buddhist religious ideas. But with the establishment of Malacca Sultanate, the dominance of Hindu traders was replaced by Muslim traders in court as well as their status in Malay port. This situation changed with the arrival of European companies particularly East India Company in Malaya. Industrial revolution coincided with the commercialization prompted British colonial administrators to search for cheap labour which led to the demand of Indian labour to work on the plantations. As a result, Indians particularly South Indians were encouraged to migrate to work in mines and plantation estates in Malaya. With time other sub ethnic Indian communities arrived here like Gujaratis, Punjabis, Pathans and others. Punjabis were encouraged to get recruited in Malay states police services, Strait Settlements police forces etc. Soon Punjabi commercial migrants also arrived in Malaya to establish their own business.

This study examines the magnitude of the Indian migration by discussing major factors which compelled Indians to migrate to this region, their occupational profile, various type of migrants, their statistical representation (number of arrivals from 1813
till 1957) with the help of graphs and maps, their diminishing role with the arrival of British imperialism, effects of World Wars on the flow of their arrival and lastly their area of distribution in Malay till 1957 is also the subject of this study.

Sinnappah Arasaratnam’s *Indians in Malaya and Singapore* published in 1970 is the detailed study of the origin of settlement of Indians in Malayan peninsula as traders earlier and later on as labourers during British period. Starting with the early contacts of India with the Malay Peninsula, this study further provide valuable information on history of labour recruiting system, restrictions levied by the colonial government on labour, various laws enforced by the same. Further this study focus on the Indian society, political development and their integration in Malaya.

Anirudha Gupta’s edited work *Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa* published in 1971 is a series of articles presented in seminar conducted by Indian Council for Cultural Relations. These articles focus on the problems faced by Indians abroad, their adjustments in Great Britain, Nepal, West Asia, and Central America. Article written by Arasaratnam focuses on South Indian plantation workers in Malaysia and their political organizations after 1945 and their interpersonal relationship with other ethnic groups in Malaysia and Singapore. This volume also focuses on the Chinese and Pakistanis Abroad.

Malkiat Lopo Dhaliwal’s *Some Historical Notes* published in 1971 is the detailed study on the Sikhs residing in Malaysia. This study reveals the historical background of Sikhs by referring the Udasis (travels) of Guru Nanak to Java and Sumatra. Lopo mentions the presence of Punjabi Sikhs in Singapore as early as 1863 when he mentioned about the incident of clashes between two Punjabi subcastes Rawdasees and Majhabi Sikhs in Singapore jail. He also mentions the working of Punjabis under British administration, their recruitment in police services, in military services and their strength in these forces in various Malay states. In addition to this Punjabi commercial and professional migrants also arrived in Malaya to try their luck. He provided the strength of Punjabi Sikhs in police services of various Malay states.

Kernial Singh Sandhu’s *Early Malaysia: some observations on the nature of Indian contacts with the pre-British Malaya* published in 1973 focus on the early trade
relations between India and Malaya, influence of Hindu Buddhist religious ideas and subsequent formation of states of Malay peninsula based on Indian religious culture, dominance of Indian traders in Malaya, Islamic conversion of the Malay states and later on the diminishing role of Indians and dominance of European powers. The position of Indians was now diminished and was encouraged to migrate to work as labourers under British colonial rule. Appendices included in the study about the detailed sources prove the early contacts of India with Malay Peninsula.

I.J. Bahadur’s edited book on *Indians in Southeast Asia* published in 1982 is the compilation of various articles on the overseas Indians in this region. This is divided into two sections, first section is compilation of seminar paper and other is the appendices. First part include articles on Indians in South East Asian region, and study of Indian community as minority ethnic group in Malaysia, Indians in Singapore, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Hong-Kong, Philippines, and lastly trade and commerce relations between these two regions (India and Southeast Asia) is the subject matter this edited volume. Main contributions of these sections are S.R. Sudhamani, Man Mohini Kaul, R.Rajoo, Uma Shankar Singh, Parimal Kumar Das, B.D Arora, G.J Malik, R.N Kaul, Ajit Singh Rye and M.C. Bhatt. Other section includes the estimated number of Indians overseas and discussion and suggestions of the previous seminar (1977 project on the Indian communities abroad). Sudhamani article *Indians in Singapore* provide us some direction towards the history of earliest Indian migration to Singapore. Starting with the reference of Raffles who played dominant part in the arrival of Indians in Singapore, author gave the process of establishment of Indian community there, the formation of “Tamil Education Society”¹¹¹ and the role of Indians in the politics of Singapore. This article further discusses the integration of Indians as a community during Lee Kuan Yew, the then Prime Minister of Singapore. Another article of Sudhamani entitles *Indians in South East Asia :An Approach Paper* discusses the estimated number of Indians currently residing in every country of South East Asia, author provide the historical journey of early Indian migrants to Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Thailand and others. Author further examines the Indian community in Malaya. Prior to 1957, there was no restriction to enter to Malaya but after 1957, various laws were imposed to control this emigration. In addition to this, employment opportunities
for Indians were made difficult with the Employment Registration Act 1968 and New Economic Policy of 1971. Indians in Singapore enjoyed better status than in any other country.

Man Mohini Kaul’s article *Indians in South East Asia* also explores the arrival of Indian migrants to Malaysia and Burma during colonial period to work in plantation estates (sugar, rubber, tobacco etc.). Indian labourers came to Malaya as indentured labourers and work like slaves. They were lured by their recruiters with the false hope of better pay and living conditions. However they faced exploitation and hardships. In case of Burma, Indians were subjected to the continuous attack from Burmese locals. They accused them of stealing their jobs. After the independence of Malaysia in 1957, Indians faced the oppression from newly autonomous Government. Special provisions and laws were formulated to protect the rights of Malays. Indians along with Chinese demanded equal status like Malays. Malaysian Indian Congress was formed to raise the voices of Indians in front of the Government.

G. J Malik’s article on *Indians in Thailand* reflects on the Punjabi community residing in Thailand, their estimated number, subethnic Indian groups and their occupational profiles in passing only. This article also focuses on religious affiliation and associations of Punjabis in Thailand i.e., Sri Guru Singh Sabha Gurudwara and Namdhari Gurudwara. He further mentioned that Punjabi community were the wealthiest among all Indian migrants in Thailand. This description, however, runs into only a few sentences.

Sharon Siddique and Nirmala Puru Shotam’s *Singapore’s Little India: Past, Present and Future* published in 1982 examines the Indian Community residing in Singapore with the lucid representation in the form of photos of various temples, Indian shops, markets of paanwalas, jewelry shops, saariwalas, spice makers and of festivals etc. Starting with the foundation of Singapore, this study gives the detailed account of the development of Serangoon road in Singapore and status of the Indians residing there. Author further examine the future of Indian communities in multiethnic Singapore.
Zakir Hussain’s *The Silent Minority: Indians in Thailand* is an unpublished mimeograph of Chulalongkorn University publication published in 1982. This study started with the general introduction of Indian migrants worldwide including South East Asia; their reasons of migration followed by the number of Indians in Malaya and in Burma. He also mentioned in this chapter that in 1957, there were 61,400 Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus in Malaysia.\(^{113}\) Chapter third provides us the valuable information about the early Indian contacts with Thailand. With the reference of Suvarnabhumi in Ramayana, author mentions the arrival of merchants and Brahmans in the Thailand and their dominance in Thai courts. With the arrival of Europeans and their subsequent treaties with Thai royals undermined the dominance of Indians. After 1826, Indians arrived in Thailand as British subjects to work in various Government projects as well as to establish their own business of textiles, moneylending and many more. Further this chapter focuses on the role of Indians in freedom struggle. Chapter four focuses on the Indian communities in Bangkok, their occupational pattern and the area of their distribution.

Sewa Singh Gandharab’s *Early Sikh Pioneers of Singapore* published in 1983 examines the early Sikh migrants (political prisoners in Singapore) and their predecessors in British police forces and armed forces in Singapore. This study also deals with the detailed discussions on the Sikh temples and priests and ragis in Singapore, these Sikh migrants also play the good role in the missionary activities and publish many newspapers in their language (Gurmukhi script).

Vidya Sagar and Manohar Puri’s *Mother India Children Abroad* published in 1986 is a collection of articles focuses on Indians overseas. Sudhamani explores Indian community in Malaysia after its independence in 1957, emigration policies and Bhumiputra policy adopted by Malaysian government restricted the economic interests of Indians residing there.

Harish Srivastava article on ‘*malay bhartiyon ki sanskritik samasyayein*’ examines various problems faced by Indian communities in Malaysia. They were being discriminated in terms of employment, culture and education. Author later on gives
suggestions as to how to secure the interests of Indian community. Tamil literature on Malay life should be given the status of National literature.

K.L Dalal’s *Indians in Thailand* provides the historical background of early relationship established between India and Thailand through the travels of merchants, traders, and Buddhist missioners. This study further explores the diplomatic relations between these two countries after their independence from the British colonial rule. Various cultural and religious organizations were established to strengthen the ties between the two. Indo Thai Chamber of Commerce and Sri Guru Singh Sabha were among few.

Manjit Sidhu’s *Sikhs in Thailand* published in 1993 is the ethnic specific study deals based on the field work about the Sikh community in Thailand. This study gave information about the history, process and reasons of migration, their economic and social profile on the basis of questionnaire and interviews. How they took the journey, financing the journey, source of knowledge of job, first job and time taken by them to revisit Punjab were the key points he discussed in his study. He mentions that Kirparam Madan was the founder of Punjabi migration to Thailand. Soon regular flow of Punjabi migration started in the last decades of nineteenth century. Majority of them arrived from Gujranwala, Mianwali areas of undivided Punjab to earn their fortunes. With time they transformed themselves from petty shopkeepers to textile factory owners. On the basis of interviews author concludes that majority of Punjabis were born in the year of the first half of twentieth century. They had their relatives in Thailand so they came to work under them. So the first job they acquired was mostly hawking, peddling or sales. Only small portion of them became teachers, clerks, priests while some of them joined Indian National Army. The income of average businessman was 10000 Baht per month while professional skilled worker earned nearly 3000 to 5000 Baht per month. Sikhs were mainly distributed in Phaurat area, Chakraphet road of Bangkok, in Phuket, in Chiang Mai, Sampheng and Nakhom Phonom area of Thailand.

Anthony walker’s edited book *New Place, Old Ways: Essay on Indian Society and Culture in Modern Singapore* published in 1994 is the collection of various articles
on Indian community in Singapore. Starting with Anthony Walker article *Indians in Singapore* which deals with the earliest arrival of Indians started in 1819 with the foundation of Singapore. Under British colonial administration Indians were encouraged to migrate here. Narain Pillai was named as the leader of modern Singapore Indian community. Mohd Ali focus on the practices of rituals in Hindu temples with the colorful photograph; Saroja Devi Dorairajoo focus on the Chettiar family business, their settlement and their situation during World War-II; this study also deals with the dairy workers in Singapore and Vellalars in Singapore.

Surendra Gupta’s *Indians in Thailand* published in 1999 is the detailed study on Indians in Thailand. Starting with the early contacts with Thailand, this study examines the occupational profile, business prospects of Punjabis and Gorakhpuris in particular. Two whole chapters discuss the historical pattern of Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus in Thailand. Their occupational profile, culture, marriage ceremonies and religious shrines are also the subject matter of this study. This study also emphasizes on the changing culture composition of Punjabis residing there, their liking towards Thai food, preference to adopt Thai citizenship and cultural indifference of Gorakhpuris on the other. Unlike Punjabi they try to maintain their separate cultural identity. This study also focuses on the possibility of future assimilation in the adopted society.

Gurmukh Singh’s *The Global Indian: The Rise of Sikhs Abroad* published in 2003 is the travelogue study of Sikhs residing in various countries outside India. Starting with the earliest arrival of total number of Sikhs earliest arrival of Punjabi Sikhs in every country, author focuses on the occupations adopted by them. In addition to this, author has put special emphasis on the major contribution by the Sikhs in the country of their adoption in various fields such as education (higher education sector), business, sports and IT sectors. Selective stories of *rags to riches* of Sikhs are also the subject matter of his travelogue.

Arunajeet Kaur’s *Sikhs in the policing of British Malaya and Strait Settlements (1874-1957)* published in 2003 published master’s thesis is a detailed study on the Sikhs as policemen under British colonial administration in search of better future and steady income in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Shortage of land holdings,
development of canal colonies, rural indebtedness were the main reasons given by her that forced Punjabis to migrate in South East Asian region. Arunajeet Kaur elaborates the colonial policy adopted by British rule to recruit the Sikhs (who were regarded as martial race by them) in their colonial forces. British authorities find it very beneficial to recruit Punjabis in order to maintain law and order in new acquired Malaya and Strait Settlements. Author gives detailed information on the strength of Punjabi Sikhs in different Malay state forces. She has divided the British colonial policy in Malaya into three distinct phases. In the first phase, British authorities used Punjabis as policemen to protect Malaya as their commercial asset. In second phase they recruited Punjabis to maintain law and order and to protect Malaya from insurgents from inside and outside both, which could challenge the British authorities. In the third phase British authorities were suspicious of Punjabis due to their possible role in freedom struggle for Indian independence and with Indian National Army during Second World War. This ultimately led to the declining status of Punjabis in police and military forces. Appendices contain the valuable information on the year wise comparative strength of Punjabi Sikhs in Federated Malay States police as well as in Strait Settlement Police Force.

Lipi Ghosh and Ram Krishna Chatterjee’s Indian Diaspora in Asian and Pacific region published in 2004, is divided into four main sections i.e. Indians in Central Asia, in East Asia (China, Japan); in South East Asia (Burma, Malaysia) and in Pacific region (Fiji). Lipi Ghosh article Indians in Thailand provides the valuable information on the early historical contacts between these two countries. She however based her study almost entirely on Surendra Gupta work Indians in Thailand. The continuous arrival of Indians however started during Ayutthaya period when they were employed as clerks and officials in Thai royal court. With the arrival of British, Indians were granted to stay here and work in railways, plantations and in government agencies. Author also examines the occupational and demographic profiles of Indian communities there.

Surya Narain Yadav’s edited two volumes on Journey of Overseas Indians: Labour to Investors published in 2005 is the set of two volumes deals with the migration of Indian overseas. Migration of Indians to the South Africa, South East Asia
and Caribbean cover in volume one while volume second include overseas Indians in Sub Saharan Africa and American continents and discusses socio-cultural, political and economic issues of the Indian migrants worldwide.

Brij V. Lal’s *The Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora* published in 2006 (reprint) is the edited volume which covers the various aspects of Indian migrants worldwide. This volume is a most detailed work on the Indian Diaspora which focuses on the history of migration, their origin of settlement, major occupational profile, and change in their profile during World Wars and their future prospects in their country of adoption. Illustrated with maps, graphs and pictures, this volume can be read as the basis for the understanding of Indian migration to all the countries of world. Some articles deals with the South East Asian region. Amarjit Kaur’s article Malaysia depicts the origin and process of migration of Indians during British imperialism. South Indians were employed under *Indentured* and *kangani* labourers system for period of two to three years. A committee on Indian Immigration was established in 1907 to protect the interest of Indian labourers. Other subethnic communities also arrived in the first half of twentieth century. They were engaged in variety of occupations. Indians particularly Punjabis played dominant role in Indian freedom struggle against British. Malaysia was the central spot for revolutionaries. Since the independence of Malaysia, Indian community faced numerous changes in the field of employment, education and other areas.

Rajesh Rai’s article *Singapore* focuses on the migration of Indian communities there since its foundation as commercial port. Being a penal colony, Indian prisoners were sent here. Soon voluntary migration was started with the arrival of Indians in search of jobs. They engaged in variety of skilled and unskilled jobs. Punjabis were recruited in the Strait Settlement police forces. However this force was disbanded in 1946. Author further examines the exodus of Sindhis and Punjabis to Singapore in order to escape the partition riots in Punjab. This flow was continued till 1959. After the separation of Singapore from Malaysia, restriction was imposed by autonomous Singapore Government. Indian communities today are trying best to absorb in the multicultural society of Singapore.
Amarjiva Lochan’s article *Thailand* explores the Indian migration to Thailand. To start with the origin of contacts with Thailand through traders, Brahmins, this study examines the cultural influence of India on Thailand. However, regular flow of migration started during Chulalongkorn reign when Indians were migrated here for job prospects. In addition to these articles, others focus on the Indians migration to Philippines, Myanmar and Hong Kong which is somehow relevant to our area of research.

Arunajeet Kaur’s another work on *The Evolution of the Sikh Identity in Singapore* was published in 2008. This study explores the earliest arrival of Punjabi Sikhs in Singapore as prisoners of British colonial administration. Later on voluntary migration started with Sikhs getting recruited as police constables in the police. With time they were also assigned with the civil and military duties. The author focuses on the establishment of religious institutions (Gurudwaras) and their Amrit Dhari regulation. This study also explores the changes in their religious identity during pre-independence period, in 1960’s and 1970’s, and how their status changed during this time. Punjabis played the dominant role in persuading the Government to declare Punjabis as the distinct race and recognize the Punjabi language. She further pointed that the Punjabi youth today took no interest in promotion of their religion. So steps should be taken to attract their youth into Sikh religion.

Kernial Singh Sandhu and A. Mani’s edited volume *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*’s 2008th edition is the result of ten year project on Indian ethnic communities in South East Asia. Indians arrived in this region under British imperial rule. They were brought here to work in variety of occupations like in agriculture, industries, mines, oil refineries, in railways and many more. This study examines the changes in their settlement patterns, demographic profile, occupational profile and their role in the economy of the countries of their adoption before and after the World Wars. Though in minority, Indian communities played dominant role in almost every field of the host country’s economy.

Kernial S Sandhu’s article *The coming of Indians to Malaysia*, explores the causes related to modern migration of these communities. This work examines the
entire process, their area of distribution, demographic profile and their role in the Malaysian economy. Their habitats and role in politics are also subject matters of this article.

Kernial Singh Sandhu’s article, *Sikhs in Malaysia: A Society in Transition* focuses on the recent changes in the Sikh community in Malaysia. Unlike other Indian sub ethnic groups, Sikhs don’t a have powerful institution or in the words of Sandhu, “well founded local clergy” responsible for the promotion of Punjabi culture and religion. Importance of Gurudwara in day to day life of Punjabis kept on declining. It is therefore necessary for them to unite into one institution.

Sandhu’s article on *Indian migration and settlement in Singapore* focuses on the process and pattern of Indian migration and their settlements in Singapore. Most of the South Indians worked as traders, money lenders and petty shopkeepers. Indian communities are mostly settled in High Street, Serangoon road, and Chulia Street of Singapore. While Sindhis and Punjabi Sikhs mostly engaged in stones and jewelry business. Sandhu further explores role of Indians in the Singapore economy and politics.

A.Mani’s article *Indians in Thailand* explores the Indian migration patterns and their settlements in Thailand. Author further explores the occupational profile and social status of sub ethnic Indian communities respectively and their level of assimilation in the Thai culture. Various religious, educational and social welfare institutions were established by these communities there. In addition to these, few other articles deal with Indians in South East Asian countries, i.e. A.Mani’s *A Community in Transition: Indians in Negara Brunei Darussalam; Indians in Jakarta;* Harsja W. Bachtiar’s *Indians in Indonesia;* Ajit Singh Rye’s *The Indian community in the Philippines* and Netnapis Nakavachara’s *Indian communities in Bangkok* are included in this volume.

K. Kesavapany, A. Mani and P. Ramasamy’s *Rising India and Indian Communities in East Asia* published in 2008 is large volume divided into two parts, first part deals with the regional perspectives including overview introductory note on contact between India and East Asia; while second section deals with the country perspectives, having contacts with India and Brunei Darussalam, China, Indonesia,
Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand. Major contributors are Arunajeet Kaur, Uma Rajan, Sudhir Devare, Masako Azuma, A. Mani, Marina Carter, Faizal Yahya and Kripa Sridharan.

Rajesh Rai and Peter Reeves edited book *The South Asian Diaspora – Transnational Networks* published in 2009; a Routledge publication, divided into three sections – Transnational networks which includes Marina Carter’s Indians in Mauritius; Murari Kumar’s *Ethnic Gujaratis traders in maritime business*. Second section discusses the socio-economic change which includes the study of Indians residing in South East Asia and in Fiji. Section three is the study of culture and diaspora identities which includes the study on the South Asian language in Singapore and Tan Li Jen’s article on the making of Sikh model minority in Malaya and Singapore which can be regarded as the ethnic specific study.

Amarjit Kaur’s article *Indians in South East Asia* focuses on the Indian migration in South East Asia in general while in Burma and Malaysia in particular. Usually male labourers and traders dominated the course of migration. Two forms of labour system prevalent during colonial rule, i.e. *indentured* and *kangani* system. Majority of these labourers were South Indians. In addition to these labourers, commercial and professional migrants also arrived in 1920’s and 1930’s. This article also focuses on the recent arrival of skilled and unskilled Indian migrants from India to Singapore and Malaysia.

Faizal Bin Yahya and Arunajeet Kaur’s *The Migration of Indian Human Capital: The ebb and flow of Indian professionals in Southeast Asia* published in 2011 examine the main trends in human capital flows from India to South East Asia. Main countries taken into account are Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and living conditions supported with the interviews of Indians taken by the authors and discussion with them regarding their journey from India to particular country of this region, their occupational pattern and their struggle and problem faced in that particular country of their adoption and to what extent there has been the change in their cultural identity are some of the aspects focused in this study.
A.B. Shamsul and Arunajeet Kaur edited study *Sikhs in Southeast Asia: Negotiating an Identity* published in 2011 is the collection of articles on various themes like colonialism, its effects on Punjabi migration, their settlement in South East Asia, identity and their linkages, socio-economic profile of Sikh migrants in almost all the major destinations of South East Asia. To start with the Arunajeet Kaur’s *Introduction on Sikh community in South East Asia* examines the involuntary migration of political prisoners named Bhai Maharaj Singh and Kharak Singh in Singapore. Impressed with the bravery of Punjabis, they were recruited in the police forces of newly acquired colonies of Malaya, Hong Kong, China and Shanghai. Sikhs on the other hand were keen to have secured jobs to earn money and status. Author strengthened her statement by quoting authors like W.H McLeod, Tatla and Dusenbery.

Amarjit Kaur’s article *Sikh Migration and Settlement in South East Asia* explores the process of Punjabi migration to this region in last decades of nineteenth century as constables in auxiliary forces. Those who were not suitable in government services were engaged in any other venture available to them, like bullock cart drivers, milkmen and salesmen. Author categorized the flow of Punjabi migration into three main streams. First stream comprise the recruitment of Punjabis with the assistance of private employers. Second phase comprises the Punjabis get recruited with the help of officers on leave in India. Third stream of Punjabi migrants came on their own as skilled professionals, traders etc.

Faizal Bin Yahya’s article *Sikh Businessmen in Singapore* explores the nature of Punjabi Sikhs as businessmen. Traditional Sikh businessmen were known as *Bhappas* and known for business in a professional manner. They don’t allow any outsider in their business establishments. Mostly family members are included in almost every decision making. They were reluctant to adapt themselves with the changing trends and ongoing globalization. They have their own Gurudwara where they held sabhas and consulting sessions for young youth of their community. Other businessmen are well aware of the changing trends in business and they felt the need to include young entrepreneurs for the betterment of their future. Their businesses are progressing rapidly. Punjabis today are engaged in variety of professions like travel agency, real estate, information technology and multimedia.
Hla Theingi and Theingi’s article *Sikh business community in Thailand* explores the occupational profile and area of the distribution of Punjabis in Thailand. Early migrants arrived in the last decade of nineteenth century. With time they established themselves as textiles traders. Other than these, substantial number of Punjabis also arrived during partition of Punjab in order to avoid the massacre. At present, they mostly settled in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Phuket and Pattaya areas of Thailand.\(^{117}\) Today they are engaged in textile trading, tailoring, hotel business and in pharmaceuticals.\(^{118}\)

In addition to these articles, A. Mani’s *Sikhs in Brunei Darussalam* and *Sikhs in multiethnic Indonesia*; Myot Man’s *Socio Economic position of Sikhs in Myanmar*; Joefe Santarita’s *Sikhs in Philippines* are few articles provide the direction for our research.

Jayati Bhattacharya – *Beyond the myth: Indian Business communities in Singapore* published in 2011 explores the Indian business communities in Singapore. Kartar Singh Thakral, Amrik Singh, Satpal Khattar, Kirparam Sharma were the few major prominent ones in the Punjabi business community in Singapore. Author gives detailed information on the branches, expertise, profits and development of these business firms. In addition to this many of these big firms have their branches in all over the world.

Manjit Inder Singh and Tejinder Kaur edited book *Critical perspectives on Indian/Punjabi diaspora* edited by published in 2015 is the collection of articles presented in International conference on Diaspora. Hardeep K Wairaich’s article *Punjabi Diaspora: Far East connections* explore the process of Punjabi migration to Southeast Asia region and Australian continent. Bravery of Sikhs was evidenced by British authorities in two Anglo Sikh wars. British authorities were keen to recruit them in their forces. Sikhs on the other hand, faced economic disparity in the village due to repeated occurrences of famines. With the establishment of British rule, new agrarian and land revenue policies prompted Sikhs to migrate overseas for better living. Decline of the handicrafts forced the village artisans out of the traditional system and seek fortune elsewhere. They get recruited in police forces as constables, regulars in different colonies of South East Asia i.e. Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Thailand. Regular pays and
Attracted more Punjabis in their colonies. Author further gave the estimated number of Punjabis in Malay States Guides, Strait Settlement Police Forces etc.

Surendra K. Gupta’s *Study of Emerging Sandwich Culture* published in 2013 focuses on the “emerging sandwich cultures among Indian population residing in Trinidad, United States of America and Thailand”\(^{119}\). These three areas are totally different from each other in the level of culture; economic opportunities and the level of absorption of Indians there. They try their best to mix in the culture. The problem faced by the Indians in the particular host country determines their relationship and assimilation with the country of their adoption. They either fully transform into that country’s culture or remain as it is or in order to survive, they made few adjustments and adopt few cultural traits which may or may not affect their religion, social and cultural life. This type of culture is known as sandwich culture. Punjabis in Thailand kept on assimilating in the Thai culture while Gorakhpuris in Thailand maintained their distances with Thais. While some communities adopt selected features of that particular country in which they work. They also retain their identity and culture of their motherland.

Veena Sikri’s *India and Malaysia: Intertwined Strands* published in 2013 is the recent study on the Indian migrants in Malaysia starting from the ancient period supported with the various inscriptive sources and archaeological sources showing the early contacts with Malaysia, Islamic conversion of Malacca sultanate and its impact on Indians residing there, this study further focus on decline in the status of Indians with the dominating European powers in Malaya, establishment of colonial power in Malaya, new migrants and their recruitment under *Indentured* and *Kangani* labour system. Lastly this study examines the post-colonial Malaya with the future of Indians there.

In addition to these studies, few other works though does not refer to Indian migration to South East Asia, they however provide some direction. For instance:

Jagat K. Motwani, Mahin Gosine and Jyoti Barot Motwani’s edited book *Global Indian Diaspora: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* published in 1993 is study of Indian migrants residing outside India. This study consists of number of articles on the various aspects relating to the Indian Diaspora. Dipak Malik’s article on *Colonialism and
Indian migration in South Asia provides the information on the reasons which prompted the Indian communities migrated to Malaya Peninsula during British colonial period. Demand of cheap labour in Malaya and lack of employment in India were the prominent factors of migration. South Indians came to this Peninsula to work in plantations through indenture labour systems. But, with the series of criticism, this labour system was replaced by kangani labour system.

K.N. Vaid’s article *Indians in Thailand* focuses on the Indian migration to Thailand. Tamilians were the first Indian community who arrived here in Bangkok. Later on other ethnic communities arrived in search of better future. Punjabis were mostly engaged in textile trades or became hawkers, peddlers or money changers. While among Uttar Pradesh migrants, many became milk deliverers or watchmen. In addition to these two communities, Sindhi became tailors and engaged in financial sector. Different Indian communities established cultural and communal organizations in Thailand to promote their culture.

Ravindra K. Jain’s *Indian Communities Abroad* published in 1993 focus on the overseas migration in the nineteenth century, nature of their migration in the twentieth century and changes in the destinations of the migration of Indians. Starting with the migration of Indians to Mauritius, Fiji, British Guiana, Malay Peninsula and Surinam during nineteenth century, this study examines the indentured and kangani labour system in these colonies. Author further explores certain characteristics related to the emigration i.e. whether these migrants travelled there in group or as individuals; what kind of ties they formed with their motherland and host country and what are their status in the host country etc. Their religious life and familial bond in the host country is also the subject matter of this study.

Kalyani Mehta and Amarjit Singh’s *Indian Diaspora: Voices of the Diaspora Elders in Five Countries* published in 2008 deals with the Punjabi elders residing in Canada, Indian residing in U.S.A, in the West and Gujratis senior citizens in Singapore. Main writers in these studies are Sarah lamb, Rohit Barat, Kiran Shah, Maya Khemlani David, Kalyani Mehta and Amarjit Singh etc.
Verne A. Dusenbery, \textit{Sikhs at large: Religion, Culture and Politics in Global Perspective} published in 2008 discuss the question of how the small minority (Sikhs) tries in adjusting in their adopted home, in the multiculturist society. However, some chapters in the book are related to South East Asian countries. Main focus is on the Sikh ethnic minority and their comparison in Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia. How they were being treated in the nation states also covers the discussion in this book. For instance chapter on socializing Sikhs in Singapore focuses on the early history of the arrival of Punjabi Sikhs in Singapore as convicts. Later on Punjabis came here under British colonial administration as police constables. With time other Punjabis also came here and became watchmen, security guards, peddlers. They established religious associations there. Further this study also explores the government attitude towards Punjabi Sikhs in Singapore and the problems faced by them in the field of religion and education. In the 1960s, government recognized the Punjabis as the distinct race\textsuperscript{120} and gave permission to boost the Punjabi language and culture. But side by side, the Government also imposed certain limitations on the religious front.

Binod Khadria work \textit{India Migration Report} published under Diaspora studies project published in 2010 which deals with the overall study of Indian immigration and emigration worldwide. This reports studies the current trends of migration like which country receives the maximum number of Indians, from which country maximum number of migrants are coming and their demographic profile is the subject matter of the project.

In addition to this, various articles published by European and Indian scholars on Diaspora, its relation with host countries and homeland contributed in the study of Indian communities and particularly Punjabis in South East Asia. Some of them are relevant for the basic understanding regarding the process of Indian migration worldwide. These are:

Prakash C. Jain’s \textit{Indians Abroad: A Current Population Estimate} published in 1982, estimate the total number of overseas Indians living or residing abroad for work. This article divides the emigrants into region wise and different type of labour system, religion; ethnic wise and lastly on the basis of linguistic compositions.
Verne A. Dusenbery’s article on *Budh Singh Dahan and Guru Nanak Mission Medical and Educational trust: A Case Study of Sikh Diaspora in Punjab* published in 2012 is the elaborated case study done on the particular medical institution and education sector and role played by the Punjabi NRIs in these institutions.

Abdul Karim bin Bagoo’s *The Origin and Development of the Malay States Guides* published in 1962 is an in-depth study of the process of origin of Malay States Guides; a para-military police force mostly consisted of Sikhs in Malaya. Starting with the contribution of Captain Tristam Speedy for recruiting Sikhs for resident guards, these guards later on laid the foundation of future Perak Police Force and ultimately discussed the formation of 1st Battalion Sikhs (1884) and Malay States Guides in 1896. This study also examines the role played by this police force before and during 1st world war. Later on, this police force was disbanded in 1919 due to several reasons.

Kernial Singh Sandhu’s *Some Aspects of Indian Settlement in Singapore, 1819-1969* published in 1969 deals discusses the pattern and process of migration of Indian communities to Singapore from 1819. Earlier a penal dwelling, British Indian prisoners were sent here. Later on, voluntary migration started with the arrival of South Indians working as labourers. This article further discusses the continuous arrival of Indians to Singapore from Malaysia after its separation from Malaysia.

Kernial Singh Sandhu’s *Some Preliminary Observations of the Origin and Characteristics of Indian Migration to Malaya 1786-1957* published in 1970 explores the demand of Indian labour and their respective migration to Malaya. Economic conditions were the major reasons behind the migration of these communities to Malaya. Besides labour migration, non labour migration was also the subject matter of this article published in *Intisari*.

Kernial Singh Sandhu’s *Sikh Immigration into Malaya during British Rule* published in 1976 gave valuable information on the economic and as well as other reasons for the migration of Punjabis to Malaya. Their nature of migration, jobs as in police forces like Malay States Guides and Strait Settlement Police forces, arrival of professional and commercial migrants up to 1957 are also the subject matter of this article published in *Punjab Past and Present*. 
Manjit Singh Sidhu’s *Sikh Migration in Peninsular Malaysia* published in 1983; is an in depth study on the Sikh migrants arrived in peninsular Malaysia in search of employment. Based on the interviews, this article focus on the travelling abroad process, origin of migration, source of the knowledge of the available opportunities there, routes taken by these migrants, port of their embarkation, first job took by these at the time of entering Malaysia, their possible revisit in Punjab and their preference of spending last day is the major focus of this study with statistical numbers.

Manjit Singh Sidhu’s *Sikhs in Peninsular Malaysia: Their Distribution and Occupations* published in 1983 explores the district wise and town wise demographic profile of Punjabis throughout Peninsular Malaysia. This study also concerns with their occupation profile currently residing there which includes both foreign born and local born in Malaysia. Three particular occupations i.e., lawyers, doctors and money lending were thoroughly discussed.

Philippe Courtine’s *The Most Integrated Indian Community in Thailand: The Sikhs of Bangkok Chinatown* published in 1995 mainly concerns the history and process of Punjabi Sikh migration to Bangkok. This study reveals the estimated number of Punjabis in Thailand and this study deals with early arrival of Indians. Author further mentions the arrival of Kirparam Madan, founder of Sikh migration to Thailand and the area of their businesses there in Bangkok like Phaurat market, etc. Lastly this article also mentions the religious discourses which were taken by Sikhs residing there.

Sunil Kukreja’s *The Transition to Marriage in a Minority Community: Some Observations among Punjabi Men in Malaysia* published in 1996 based upon the field work done by the author among the Punjabi Hindus in the main city of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. This study focuses on the tradition of marriage fixing among the Punjabi community. In contrast to Punjabi Sikhs in United States, marriage among Malaysian Punjabis was still the matter of elders and family members rather than the individual himself/herself. On the basis of interviews conducted, Kukreja concluded that, majority of young generation seem to be satisfied with the selection of their spouse by their elders which indicate the deep rooted family culture and traditions among this minority
group. Marriage and family ties seemed to be important for the stability of Punjabi community in Malaysia.

Sunil Kukreja’s *The Political Economy of Ethnic Group Incorporation: The Case of Punjabis in Malaya* published in 1997 examines the integration of Punjabis into Malay economy during British colonial rule. Punjabis played different roles in the economy; earlier they were recruited in maintaining law and order under British rule against inside and outside insurgent elements and consolidate British supremacy. They played the role of middlemen between colonial government and locals. They were regarded as “political middlemen”\(^{121}\). During the 1920’s and 1930’s substantial number of commercial Punjabis migrants arrived here on their own. Now their role had changed to “economic middlemen”\(^{122}\). They indulged in cloth selling, petty trading and money lending business.

Verne A. Dusenbery’s *The Poetics and Politics of Recognition: Diaspora Sikhs in Pluralist polities* published in 1997 focus on the current major topics of multicultural and migration with the help of experiences of two cases studies i.e. Canadian and Singaporean Sikhs. This article focuses on the building of the multicultural identity as a result of various ethnic communities, in this case Punjabi Sikhs who trying their best to absorb in the polity, economy in their host countries. Author also examines the challenges, faced by these migrants during their struggle in absorbing and to recognize themselves in the host countries.

Sarjit S. Gill’s *Malaysian Sikhs and Gender Issues* published in 2003, studies the status and position Sikh men and women in Malaysia. Starting with the equality of the gender in Sikhism, this article discusses the inequality between male and female Sikhs in Malaysia. Women are being treating lower than Sikh males there. Discrimination is also present in the Gurudwaras where seldom any women elects as the member of the committee. They were being deprived of proper education. Steps should be taken by the Sikhs organization to uplift the status of women in Malaysia. Women should be given right to participate in the decision making of departments of Gurudwara.

Faizal Yahya and Arunajeet Kaur’s *Indian Skilled Workers and Professional Talent in Southeast Asia* published in 2008; focus on the skilled and professional
Indians in Southeast Asia particularly in Malaysia. Starting with the lack of skilled workers required for the industries and IT based companies in Malaysia, the arrival of skilled workers and professionals from India and comparative analysis of the salaries of these workers between Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong are major aspects covered under this study. This article also focuses on the expenditure and life style of these workers in Malaysia from India. Later part of the article emphasizes on the necessity of cooperation by Home Ministry and Department of Immigration to retain these professionals in Malaysia and encourage them to stay where they are.

Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied’s *Micro History and the Study of Minorities: Working-Class Sikhs in Singapore and Malaya* published in 2011; provide a new perspective in the study of Sikhs as a minority community in Singapore and Malaysia. This community faces the wrath of being in the risky money lending business. Based on the killing of Jewa Singh, this article is in depth study of day to day life of Punjabi migrants residing in Malaysia and Singapore.

**III**

From the above description, we find that mostly present state of the studies focus on the historical patterns, origin and nature of Indian migration to South East Asian region. These studies explore the assisted labour migration i.e., *Indentured* and *kangani* who came during nineteenth century; non assisted labour migration i.e., professional and commercial migrants who came during late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In addition to this, these studies focus on the arrival of Indians particularly Punjabis and Sindhis to escape the communal holocaust of India in 1947. However restrictions were imposed on this continuous arrival through various immigration laws in almost every country of South East Asia during the 1950’s and the 1960’s. These works however, do not provide comprehensive information on Punjabis residing in South East Asia. Only a few studies provide the sociological aspects of Punjabi diaspora i.e., Kernial Singh Sandhu’s, Manjit Singh Sidhu’s, Amarjit Kaur’s and Arunajeet Kaur’s research on Punjabis in South East Asia. Migration of the Punjabis to these countries, however, needs to be studied from various angles. The present work is an attempt to study Punjabis in South East Asia in terms of pattern, process and phases of migrations. The
study also takes into account the impact on the lives and lifestyle of migrants in the countries of their adoption. In addition to this, we have attempted to draw a profile of the Punjabi communities in each of the country covered in the study. The work has been divided into five chapters.

First chapter is a review of existing literature and the methodology to be followed. Detailed review of existing literature is covered in the first chapter. Chapter second entitled “India and South East Asia” discusses the process of migration, process and patterns of migration from India to South East Asia during the different stages of Indian history discusses in India. Early migration from India to South East Asia was initiated by Indians in response to their own needs. Most of them were Hindu traders. With the advent of Islam the influence of Hindu traders gradually declined. This dominance was earlier disrupted by Muslim traders and later on by European companies. The pattern of migration changed with the advent of colonial rule. Europeans monopolized the trade and became owners of rubber plantations, spice industry and tin mines etc. Many Indians were in demand to work in these estates due to non-availability of indigenous workers. Those Indians who were not found suitable for these plantation jobs got recruited in police services. Punjabis were prominent in these services. In addition to this, many Indians were recruited as security guards, and bullock cart drivers. These Indians worked and prospered well under British control. But with the Japanese occupation in 1942, many Indians decided to migrate back to India while others decided to settle here in these countries. Earlier, these migrants came as single males but later on they decided to bring their families and settled down permanently in these countries. Two main events directly affected the migration of Indians in these countries: First was end of colonial rule in India and Malaya and second was immigration act of 1952. With the Indian independence (1947), immigration tended to slow down for some period, it again gained momentum when India faced serious communal riots in 1947. Many Punjabis and Sindhis preferred to be back in these countries. But with the number of Immigration laws passed by the government of respective countries, restrictions were imposed on any new migration. At present, Indian communities now in Malaysia, Singapore and in Thailand are the
descendants of the earlier migrants who arrived during colonial rule. Now maximum of these Indians are in the second or third generation.

The process of the Punjabi migration to South East Asian countries is the focus of the third chapter. Under the British rule the Punjab had undergone economic and social transformation. Punjabis were exposed to new opportunities of employment in India and abroad. Many Punjabis sought their fortune in Indian national army and later on police services of British colonies i.e. Shanghai, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore. The Punjabis particularly the Jats were regarded as Martial races and gained importance in these new colonies (Malaya and Singapore) and they ultimately decided to settle there after retirement. Presently most of these Punjabis are trying their best to absorb in the countries of their adoption but their level of absorption differs in every country which is the focus of the fourth chapter.

Fourth chapter discusses the position and status of Punjabis currently residing in Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. This chapter is based on structured survey and interviews taken by researcher. On the basis of their answers, we were able to understand their positions, occupational profile, their homeland linkages as well as their relations with their adopted home. This chapter also deals with how and when the migrations began, how have the migrants adapted themselves to their adopted countries, how much and how have been able to project themselves in the countries of their adoption. Current strength of Punjabis and their future prospects are also discussed in this chapter. For better understanding, migrant’s interview profiles are also included in this chapter. Fifth chapter is the conclusion which is a summary of key points discussed in all the previous chapters.

NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. “By 1893-1894 nearly 1,096,748 acre of wheat crop were under the irrigation”, Revenue Report of Irrigation Department, Punjab, 1893-1894, Revenue and Agriculture, Land Revenue Branch,
May 1895,6B., quoted in Himadri Banerjee, 1982, p 40,F.No 65.Cultivation of cotton also increased in manifold. In 1877-78 only 2/3rd of cotton crop was under irrigation while in 1920’s this was increases up to 4/5th of the total cotton crop, Himadri Banerjee, 1982,p 26.


12. Himadri Banerjee, 1982, p 24.In addition to these districts many other districts were at the peak level of cultivation prior to the establishment of colonial rule. Jallandhar was one of them as there was only 6.5 per cent land was left to be included under cultivation., Report on the Census of Punjab,1868, 14., quoted in Himadri Banerjee, 1982, p37, F. no 47.


114. Manjit Singh Sidhu, Sikhs in Thailand, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, 1993, p 69/70.


