INTRODUCTION

History of the world can be seen as the history of migration. Human beings have been migrating since the beginning of their existence. Today, human mobility has become an integral part of the global economy. Since early 1990s the world has been witnessing a rapid process of internationalisation of capital, technology and economic activities. Global corporate activities through multinational and transnational corporations have grown rapidly. Trade and financial liberalisation are more pronounced today. The growth of mass media along with the development in transportation and communication technologies and the free flow of information is leading to a rapidly ‘shrinking world’. International migration as an exchange of human capital has also played an important role. It is now an interconnected ‘one world’ whose economies, societies and cultures are more closely intertwined and are commonly referred to as a global village.

However, until recently in the study of migration demographers were dominated. In sociology studies on emigration and diaspora have recently started. The studies that fall under this category generally focus on two aspects- the adaptation and the impact on societies, groups, communities after the emigration of the people. More often than not, what gets overlooked is interaction patterns of the migrating groups in the new society to which they have migrated and the host society’s response to these groups. How emigration became the cause of structural changes in a country of origin like India particularly the subaltern group is largely ignored by the scholars. This study tries to fill this gap by understanding the process and the impact of emigration of Dalits on the community and society from the villages of the Doaba region of Punjab.

Initially the concept of migration got broadened from just the physical movement of people to include the change of social and psychological setting of the people. The English word migration derives from the Latin word “migrare” meaning “to move from one place to another”. Eisenstadt (1954) regards migration as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and a different one. Zlinsky (1971) also considers migration as a process of simultaneous
shifts in both spatial and social loci. Manglam (1968) has defined migration in terms of the change in the interaction system of migrants.

Several criteria can be used to classify migration. For example, the distance moved the points of origin and destination of migration (urban/rural), forces of migration, motivation, duration of stay, social, economic, cultural and political composition of migrants, etc. Prothero (1979) used the variables of time and space to classify migration. Space is seen in terms of urban and rural movements within or between each of these spheres. Time is considered in terms of periodicity, ranging from circulatory movements of a few hours duration to those resulting in a permanent change of residence.

The International migration is a movement of people that transcends the national boundaries. The term emigration is normally used to connote out-migration across the international border. Similarly, the concept of immigration means the movement into a nation’s international border. Someone who moves out of a territory is known as emigrant and one who enters in a territory is immigrant for that geographical locality.

Zachariah (1961) has classified migration on the basis of the distance of movement. Lee (1966) classified migration as permanent, i.e., never going back or semi permanent i.e. with some chances of going back. Golini (1987) has presented a statistical typology of population movements using the criteria of distance (long or short), periodicity and duration (short term and long term), legitimacy (illegal or legal) and cause (political, economic, social or religious).

1.1 Epistemology of the Term Diaspora

The movement of people out of their nation states led the scholars to define the concept of diaspora. Similarly, the organization of these groups across the transnational boundaries led to the concept of transnational communities.

Etymologically, the term diaspora is derived from the Greek word “dia” (through) and “speiro” (to scatter), literally meaning scattering or dispersion. It was originally used to refer to the dispersion of Jews after the Babylonian exile in 586 BC and to the aggregate of Jews or Jewish communities scattered in exile outside Palestine. In current parlance, the term is applied to describe any group of people
who are outside the country of birth and stay in another country temporarily or permanently (Gosh, 2004). For Tololyan (1991) this concept includes the entire ‘semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugees, guest workers, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community’. In a critique of such far-reaching definitions, Safran (1991) has attempted a kind of ‘ideal type’ representation of diaspora. According to him the concept diaspora refers to the expatriate minority communities, dispersed from an original “centre” to at least two “peripheral” places. They maintain a memory or myth about their original homeland; they believe they are not, and perhaps cannot, be fully accepted by their host country; and they see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return and a place to maintain or restore’. The collective identities of these diaspora communities are defined by this continuing relationship with the homeland

The present study deals with another type of diaspora that is transient diaspora, the term is used for the migration which is purely temporary in nature when people migrate to the other countries for a short period and they have to come back after a limited period. The term transitory migration is generally used for those groups of people who plan to stay at a place for a limited period of time. In his work on Diaspora, Cohen (1997) suggested a typology of Diaspora the follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Jews, Africans, Armenians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Chinese, Lebanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Caribbean</td>
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As Cohen notes, these are not fixed categories. Indeed, the Jews might now just as appropriately fit under the trade label, the Chinese under labour. Thus the African diaspora’s victim label better suits those exported from Africa as slaves the older diaspora than it does the newer or neo African Diaspora. In other words, those Africans who have emigrated in the post World War Two period, and specifically in the latter years of the post-colonial period.
Until the late 1960s, there were extensive studies on three classical or traditional Diasporas viz., Jewish, Armenian and Greek, of which the ideal case was the first. For the last four decades, many dispersed communities, once known as minorities, ethnic groups, migrants, etc., have now been renamed as ‘diasporas’ either by intellectual and political leaders, or by scholars and academicians. Today, intellectuals and activists from various disciplines are increasingly using the term ‘diaspora’ to describe such categories as ‘immigrants, guest workers, ethnic and racial minorities, refugees, expatriates and travellers’ (Vertovec, 1997).

The new diaspora discourse has replaced the former interest in immigration and assimilation by an interest in transnational networks. Thus the concept of diaspora used today as the processes of transnationalism as well as the salience of pre-migration social networks, cultures and capital, in a wide range of communities which experience a feeling of displacement (Clifford 1994; Safran 1991; Tololyan, 1991).

1.2 World Scenario on International Migration

The phenomenon of International migration has continued in the recent times regularly in almost all the parts of the world though with varied social, political, economic, psychological and demographic reasons and effects.

According to International Migration Report (2002), around 175 million persons currently reside in the country other than where they were born, which is more than 3 per cent of world population. The number of migrants has more than doubled since 1970. Sixty percent of the world’s migrants currently reside in more developed regions and 40 per cent in less developed regions. Almost one of every 10 persons living in more developed regions is a emigrant. In contrast, nearly one of every 70 persons in developing regions is a migrant (Messina and Lahav, 2006).

As per the World Bank (2000) between 2 to 3 million people emigrate each year, the majority of them to just four countries: the United States, Germany, Canada, and Australia, in that order. In North America and Western Europe the migrant stock grew at 2.5 per cent a year between 1965 and 1990 far outstripping growth of indigenous populations. One of the earliest streams of migration with historical significance for European societies was the westward movement of
nomadic societies in Europe and Central Asia coincident with the fall of the Roman Empire. In many societies that moved westward during this period included those speaking Celtic, Germanic and Ural-Altaic languages. As the easternmost groups moved westward, they pushed forward those in front of them. (ibid)

The European and African migration to North America, South America and Oceania began slowly after Columbus voyage to America. An estimated 60 million Europeans left for overseas destinations. The migration from Africa to the New World was almost wholly a forced migration of slaves. During the period of the slave trade, about 4,00,000 Africans were brought to the United States, and in 1790, 20 percent of the 4 million persons in the United States were of African descent (Ibid).

As industrialization spread through Europe between 1800 and 1925, considerable numbers of people were pushed of their land and emigrated to Argentina, Australia, Canada, New Zealand or the United States. The absolute number of persons reaching the United States was at peak in 1907, when about 13,00,000 immigrants reached the nation. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the rate of immigration from Europe into the United States was 9.2 per thousand, U.S. populations and the emigration rate from Europe to the United States was about 2 per thousand. However, the emigration rate from Europe to the United States varied considerably from nation to nation and time to time. During the decade of the Irish potato famine (from 1845 to 1854), the emigration from Ireland to the United States was extremely heavy. About 1.4 million Irish immigrated to the United States from a population that had been in 1841 only a little more than 8 million (Messina and Lahav, 2006).

After World War I, massive migrations from Europe came to an end. The United States and other receiving nations passed laws restricting immigration, and the Great Depression of the 1930s stifled international migration, except for some return migration to Europe. Human migrations began to reach a larger scale in the period shortly before World War II, when Jewish refugees escaped Germany, Poland and other European countries. The related migration from Israel following World War II is noteworthy because it illustrates an extremely high rate of immigration. In
1948, the population of Israel was 650000. By 1961, it had risen to 2.2 million due to the influx of more than 1 million immigrants (ibid).

In 1947, the gross interchange of population in a short time span took place between India and Pakistan following the partition of British India. Beginning in the 1950s, international migration became global, as more nations became senders and receivers of migrants. The major areas of emigration included Africa, Asia and Latin America and included political refugees and migrants motivated by economic concerns. Over 1 million refugees fled Indo-China between 1975 and 1981. Almost half emigrated to the United States, large numbers also went to China, Canada, France and Australia. Over 100,000 Kampucheans remained in refugee camps in Thailand, waiting for a receiving country to take them.

In the twentieth century, the most significant international migration stream to the United States has come from Mexico. The early migration was not as substantial as the earlier migrations from Europe had been, but it laid the foundation for further Mexican migration. Moreover the number of Mexican migrants to the United States was quite large relative to the population of Mexico. By 1930, persons in the United States who had been born in Mexico almost 4 per cent of the total population of Mexico and 0.5 per cent of the population of the United States. However, during the next decade, the period of the Great Depression, the flow of immigration between Mexico and United States reversed due to lack of jobs in the United States and provisions of U.S. immigration law that allowed deportation of legal immigrants who could not support themselves. After World War II, net Mexican migration to the United States resumed and then accelerated. By 1980, more than 2 million Mexican born persons lived in the United States. These persons constituted about 1 per cent of the total U.S. population and equal 3 percent of the population of Mexico (Messina and Lahav, 2006).

But when we talked about emigration from India then it can be found that it has a long history of migration to the different parts of the world. Indians are the second largest Diaspora, next only to the Chinese. India’s links with Europe date back to the tenth century B.C. with ships moving between the mouth of the river Indus and the Persian Gulf.
Form centuries Indian workers have been emigrating to join the labour force of several countries. Indian migration in the modern times can be traced back to the 18th century when the slavery was abolished and the colonial rulers required labour to work on plantations (Sandhu, 1969). During the 18th and 19th centuries workers were sent from India as indentured labourers in the Caribbean and African countries. India and China were the main suppliers of indentured labour to the erstwhile European colonies (Neymark and Cervantes, 1996). It is estimated that 3 million Indians emigrated to different parts of the world between 1800 and 1945. Out of these 2.2 million went to Ceylon, Burma and Malaysia; 420,000 to East Africa and Mauritius; 400,000 to the west Indies and Fiji; and 50,000 to the United States of America, United Kingdom and Canada and other countries (Madhavan, 1985).

1.3 Emigration from India to the Middle East

Today when we look at the demographic map of the world, there is hardly any country where there are no people of Indian origin (POI). According to an estimate there are about 20 million POI and some six million non resident Indians (NRIs) living in various parts of the world particularly in West, The Middle East, Africa, West Indies, South and Southeast Asia (Zachariah, Mathews, Rajan, 2001). As discussed earlier in the history of Indian emigration, they followed different trends and patterns in different periods. As far as the emigration of Indian to the Gulf coast is concerned, a considerable number of Indians appears to have emigrated there in the Pre-Islamic era, either to establish business, seek employment with Arab traders or to escape instability at home (Jain, 2005). Although the Indian presence in the countries of the Middle East has a long history spanning several centuries, their number remained small and largely confined to Indian traders travelling between Mesopotamia and the port cities of western India until the 1930s. Some of these merchants were also known to have settled in the neighbouring Gulf States, where Dubai was the main enter pot for the traders of Indian goods throughout the Arab region. Trader link between Bahrain, Oman and India expended during the British period, when these countries were British protectorates under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Presidency (Lal, 2007). But a totally new dimension was added to the profile of Indian community in the region after the advent of oil in the Middle East. Now it has also become a very vital feature of the economies of several South Asian
India has probably the highest share of emigrant workers in the Gulf countries. Three important characteristics of emigration to the oil exporting countries of the Middle East are:

i) The emigrant workers of these countries are mostly those who are at the lower end of the spectrum of skills, education as well as income.

ii) Overwhelmingly large proportions are working there as temporary emigrants who return to India after a short period of contractual employment.

iii) Some of them who are earning well are not allowed to own any business or immobile property in the Gulf countries. They are always required to make a local or entity a majority even if sleep partner in their enterprise.

There were only 14000 Indians in the Gulf in 1948. By 1971 their number had risen to 40,000. But during the seventies and eighties there was unprecedented emigration of Indians to the Gulf countries due to the oil boom. Their number had risen from 1, 54,418 in 1975 to 5, 99,500 in 1981 and 11, 50,000 in 1992. The current estimates are that there are 3.3 million Indians engaged with various categories of economic activities. Of the three million plus about 70 per cent are semi-skilled and unskilled, White collar employees including families 20 per cent, professionals including families 10 per cent. The largest number of them are in UAE about 1.3 million followed by Saudi Arabia 1.2 million. In Oman their number is estimated at 3, 36,000, in Kuwait 2, 60,000, in Bahrain 1, 40,000 and in Qatar 1, 20,000 (Pant, 2001)

According to the estimate made by Janardhan (2007) in 2006 the proportion of Indian workers are rising in the GCC countries. Their number in Bahrain is 135,000; Kuwait 350,000; Oman 400,000; Qatar 150, 000; Saudi Arabia 1,800,000; UAE 1,200,000; total 40, 35,000. It is also to be noted that there are more than 4.5 million Indians in GCC countries including those who are residing illegally.

According to Lal (2007) number of Indian in the Gulf Corporation Council (GCC) countries of Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and United Arab Emirate (UAE) exceeded 3.3 million. According to 2002 estimate the Indian population in the GCC Countries constitutes about 11 per cent of the total population (National and non national). The vast majority of them reside in Saudi
Arabia (46 per cent) and the UAE (27 per cent). In 2002, Indians alone constitute 28 per cent of the total expatriate population in the GCC countries.

According to the Annual Report 2009-10 of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs Govt of India, in the last three decades of the 20th century the character of migration began to change and a ‘new Diaspora’ led by highly skilled professionals moving to the western world and semi-skilled on contract workers moving to the Gulf, West and South East Asia emerged.

Unlike emigration to industrialised developed English speaking countries emigration to the Middle East is relatively different. Emigration of Indians as blue collar disposable workers to the Middle East countries on a large scale is a post-Second World War phenomenon. The oil boom in the Gulf countries resulted in an unprecedented development of physical infrastructure as a result these countries invariably had to import unskilled and skilled workers, and white and blue-collar workers from other countries due to paucity of required personnel. During the 1960s they got workers from the other Arab countries, especially from Egypt, Yemen and Jordan. But as far as the Indians and other Asian in the Middle East is concerned till the end of the decade, there were only a few Indians in the Gulf in 1970s. But with the increase in the developmental activities in many countries there was scarcity of labour and South Asia became the next source of labour for the Gulf countries. Large number of Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis emigrated to the Gulf and West Asia (Singh, 2007).

The year 1973 was the beginning of a rapidly increasing demand for expatriate labour in oil-exporting countries of the Gulf region particularly in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Qatar and Oman. In the following years the oil revenue of these countries increased considerably and they started in a big way the erection of physical infrastructure, which led to the demand for labour, especially in the construction sector, and largely for unskilled labour.

A new class that emerged in almost all the oil producing countries was the foreign workers. Unlike the European or industrialized developed countries the countries of the Middle East treat the workers differently. The host government imposed many restrictions on them. The foreign workers are not immigrants in
these countries. They are not entitled to become the citizens. They are disposable workers who can be thrown any time by the host government. They are allowed to remain in their host countries for a limited period of time only to work and can be forced by the government to leave. These workers are almost ethically, culturally and socially different from the population of their host countries. The host country does not encourage them to assimilate with the native population, change their identity or mix socially with the locals. The host society and government prefer that they remain foreign. It is assumed that someday they will return to their homeland. They are not permitted to own property. There is no free labour market. Emigrant workers receive the work permit only after obtaining No objection Certificate (NOC) from the government and may not change jobs without the consent of their employers and Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the host countries under the Kafala System, if they change employment without consent they are liable to deportation. Emigrant workers of these countries have not any political rights they may neither form nor join trade unions nor hold public meetings. Various social political benefits are not extended to foreign workers (Weiner, 1982).

These policies do more than simply establish the temporary position of the emigrant workers. They institutionalised a pattern of dualism (with its implication of opposing principle) as distinct from pluralism (with its implications of equality). These arrangements set boundaries not only for the conduct of the foreign workers but also for the way the host and home countries relate to one another over the issue of foreign workers.

Despite the intention of the governments and expectation of nationals these oil rich countries of the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) have large numbers of foreign workers, recruited from the East Asian and non oil producing countries of the world particularly from India.

Weiner (1982) said, “to understand the presence of foreign workers one must find the answer that why do governments choose to deal with a manpower shortage by importing temporary workers rather than permanent immigrants. He gives the answer of these questions; first perhaps in the industrialised countries the local population is unwilling to accept the jobs at the prevailing wage rates particularly when more attractive opportunities are available. Unacceptable jobs may be
unskilled, manual low status employment etc. Secondly it is less expensive for employers to recruit a foreign worker than a local labourer”.

In the oil producing Arab countries, virtually the entire spectrum of jobs is available to foreign workers from unskilled construction work to jobs as engineers and managers. Among the five small countries of Gulf, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Oman approximately two third of the labour force is imported. Foreign workers are fully incorporated into the economic structure. They are employed as construction workers, household workers, skilled labourers, doctors etc. Despite the decline of oil price, economic expansion continues and there are indications that the Gulf States are becoming more dependent on the foreign workers (ibid).

According to Biros and Sinclair (1980) there are several factors contributing to the inability of the countries to get the needed labourers within the country. There were very small domestic populations, a low participation rate in the labour market caused by the low participation rate of women, the traditional aversion of the people to blue-collar jobs, and lack of technical personnel.

Initially these countries imported the needed personnel from the neighbouring Arab countries like Yemen, Egypt and Jordan. India also had the tradition of sending workers to the West Asia since the Second World War. But not many Indians had migrated till the early seventies. With the oil boom and increase in the developmental activities in the 1970s, it became inevitable for these countries to turn to South Asia for obtaining labour. Several private agents started recruiting people in South Asia. Within a short span large-scale emigration of South Asians to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) started (Evans and Papps, 1999).

In 1975, about 71 per cent of the expatriate labours in the Middle East were nationals of other countries, the majority of them were coming from the Indian subcontinent. Non-Arabs were concentrated in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE. Over the years the nationality structure of the labourers changed. There was a steep rise in the number of South Asian labourers. The main reasons which made the South Asians competitive in the labour market were, they were cheap, disciplined
and hardworking and they came from either Muslim countries (Pakistan and Bangladesh) or Muslim regions of India like Kerala (Gulati, 1986).

During the initial years of the oil boom, the oil-rich countries concentrated on building the infrastructure and imported mainly unskilled labourers. During the later years the emphasis shifted to industrialization that led to importing of more skilled workers. Before 1976, 1 million unskilled workers were employed in the labour importing countries for the infrastructural projects. Between 1975 and 1980 1 million more unskilled workers had to be imported to manage and operate this new infrastructure (Narayan, 2007). Again the oil-rich countries had to turn to South Asia to get the skilled labourers since other Arab countries were unable to provide the needed labour.

As mentioned earlier most of the Indians working in the Gulf are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. As per the 1980s data pertaining to their occupational structure, more than half of them were working in the construction and transport industries. Others were in the utility and maintenance and office and paramedical services (Jain, 1994). But now there is no possibility of Gulf and West Asian countries needing more labourers from India. There is a possibility of a considerable number of Indian workers returning from the Gulf and West Asian countries in the near future. Most of the construction workers may have to return to India since much of the construction of infrastructure facilities is over.

About half the Indians living in the Gulf are from Kerala, and the rest are from Andhra Pradesh Tamil Nadu, Punjab and other states of the country. The annual remittances from the Gulf are now estimated at Rs.10, 000 crores (1992). In the Indian financial sector approximately Rs. 21,000 crores of expatriate investment exists. Bank deposits at Rs 18,000 crores account for the lion’s share (ibid).

Different scholars have different views regarding emigration, thinkers like Stalker (2000) argue that globalization leading to the flows of goods and capital between rich and poor countries is likely to make more people lose their communities and encourage them to look abroad for work and other opportunities provided by it. According to Bolaria (1991) migration is not only the movement of people from one country to another it involves the transfer of valuable human
resource from one country to other. This transfer represents a high cost to the countries of emigration. Perhaps in the modern capitalism it is essential for the survival of a capitalist society. Because it is advantage to capital in many respects, for a capitalist economy to function its labour force must be maintained and renewed. In the case of imported labour the cost of labour force renewal are externalised to an alternate economy and or the state (Burawoy, 1976). That is why it is considered by some of scholars as capital export similar to the export of other factors of production.

1.4 Country wise Profile of Indian in the Countries of Gulf Corporation Council

Presently overseas Indian Workers are estimated by the government of India at over 5 million, with a net outflow of about a million each year, excluding returnees. A significant number of them are women. The vast majority of these workers are temporary migrants and 90 percent of them work in the Gulf. The following details of the profile of Indian Diaspora in six member countries of the Gulf Corporation Council are based on the “country profiles” provided by the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, government of India in its official website.

United Arab Emirate (UAE)

India had close social and mercantile contacts with the erstwhile seven Emirates, of the United Arab Emirates, since 3000 B.C. People-to-people contacts and barter trade for clothes and spices from India in exchange for dates and pearls from the region have existed for centuries. Though there was Indian emigration to the UAE before the World War-I but it is only after the war that the numbers started increasing exponentially. The various emirates that constitute the UAE do not permit naturalization or permanent residence of foreign nationals in their territories. Industries involving the area's oil and natural-gas deposits are critical to the UAE’s economy. Massive infrastructure and development projects required a huge manpower with expertise and labour. India was an obvious choice to become a preferred resource country to meet most of these requirements. The inflow of Indian professionals and workers increased steadily until it peaked at 1.2 million persons by 1996. Most of the Indian migration to the UAE is from the state of Kerala. There are
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studies on return migration from the Gulf region back to Kerala, which also needs to be considered because as a matter of fact UAE does not consider naturalization and hence there is a great possibility of return migration. About 1.2 million Indians are living in UAE working in various fields ranging from managerial positions, senior executives and professionals to labourers. Three fourth of Indian emigration to the UAE were labourers, with the unskilled workers being half the number.

Kingdom of Bahrain

Indians are known to have come to Bahrain as early as 3000 BC when ships plied between “Harappan” settlements, Oman and Bahrain en route to Mesopotamia in pursuit of trade. It is said that it was a group of Indians from Saurashtra that built the Anzac Temple in Dilmun (a cuneiform reference to Bahrain at the time). Indian scholar Romila Thapar interprets Dilmun as the ‘sacred land’. Recent Contacts: In more recent times, Indian merchants had established themselves in Bahrain towards the last quarter of the Nineteenth century. Others moved to Bahrain from Baghdad and Basra regions in today’s Iraq. At the initial stages they traded dates but gradually shifted attention to the purchase and exports of the famous Bahraini pearls. These merchant families came from the province of Sindh and Kathiawad region of Gujarat. By around 1925, around 2500 Indian families had settled in Bahrain. Most of them were involved in small time retailing. The discovery of oil in 1934-45, led to immigrant manpower gravitating towards the oil industry and it’s off shoot development activities. With the subsequent expansion of the Bahraini economy, Indians started emigrating to Bahrain to start business or take up jobs as Managers, Salesman, Assistants, Workers etc. Of the 2,70,000 expatriates, nearly 1,35,000 Indian nationals form the largest expatriate community in Bahrain along with Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Philippine nationals, and Arabs of different nationalities. Of the total workforce in Bahrain of approx. 2, 82,908 the expatriate workforce is approx. 1, 75,403. At approximately 90,000 the Indian workforce is the largest of the expatriate workforce. In addition to our predominant blue-collar labour force, we have a sizable number of doctors, engineers, chartered accountants, bankers, managers and other professionals who play a vital role in Bahrain’s socio-economic development. The largest number of expatriates are from South India, particularly, Kerala. They constitute approx. 65% of the Indian
expatriate community. The other major groups are from Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Goa and Punjab. Today 65-70% of the Indian expatriate workforce is employed in the construction, contracting & maintenance and service sectors. The retail and other business activities include provisions, hard wares, jewellery, electronics, etc. Some others have taken up jobs as storekeepers, Chemists, Carpenters, Barbers, etc. The economic boom of the early 70s and subsequent industrial growth, opened up increasing avenues for job opportunities to expatriate workers and professionals such as Professors, Engineers, Accountants, Doctors, Bank executives, Architects, etc. On the other hand, there is also a relatively small number of housemaids. This is estimated at around 8000-10000. They come from various states such as Kerala, Goa and Andhra Pradesh.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Indians played a major role in the economic and social life of the Saudi people till around 35-40 years ago. This period pertained to the pre-oil boom when the Saudi economy was under developed and most of its people eked a marginal existence. The visits of Indian “Haj” vessels bringing in large quantities of food and thousands of relatively affluent pilgrims from India used to be a source of great excitement among the local people. A number of Indian merchants flourished in the Kingdom controlling the cereals and spices trade. In the wake of the oil boom, there was a steady increase in the employment of Indian nationals in Saudi Arabia. Thus by 1983 the number of Indian workers in Saudi Arabia had increased to 2,70,000 from a mere 15,000 in 1975; by 1990 the number had raised to 6, 50,000. In the wake of the Gulf crises in 1990-91, with the mass exodus of the Yemeni workers from Saudi Arabia, the Saudi employers recruited Indians to replace them, taking the total number to 15 lakhs by the close of the 20th century. By the year 2005, the Indian community in Saudi Arabia is 14.25 lakhs, the largest Indian passport holding community abroad, constituting 20 percent of the expatriate community of Saudi Arabia, which is somewhere around 70 lakhs. The Indian Diaspora in Saudi Arabia may be divided into three broad categories.

They are –

1. Professionals like doctors, engineers, charted accountants, scientists, technocrats, and managers who are employed both with the government and
the private sectors on the basis of specific time-bound contracts, constituting around 10 percent of the Indian community.

2. Non-professional group of 10 per cent of the community, employed in white collar jobs such as clerks, secretaries, accountants, storekeepers, etc.

3. The majority of them 80 per cent consisting of organised labour and technicians working on project sites and industrial establishments, as well as on operations and maintenance jobs. Besides, this group also includes a large number of unorganized labour, working as shepherds, agricultural farm labourers, housemaids, house-drivers etc.

4. Apart from the above, there are also some illegal Indian emigrants. However, periodically the Saudi Government deports such illegal residents.

Indians are the preferred community in Saudi Arabia for their high quality of technical expertise and discipline and the capacity to adjust well with the Saudi social life. Indians have the reputation of peaceful being and not given to illegal activities. The Indians in Saudi Arabia have been remitting to India annually around US $ 3.5 billion. This is the largest amount of inward flow of foreign exchange from any single country.

**Sultanate of Oman**

In Oman, Indian-born workers make up half of the country’s 1 million overseas workers. Majority of Indians work long hours for low wages, without insurance coverage or legal protection. Most of the Indian workers in Oman have emigrated from the south Indian states - Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka or come from Maharashtra and the Punjab. Many are employed in construction workers. Over 30,000 workers from Tamil Nadu are employed in Oman under various categories In Oman; trade union activity is effectively banned. Women domestic workers are especially vulnerable to physical, sexual and psychological abuse. Without rights in a foreign land and generally with no or poor Arab language skills, maids are often forced to work 16 hours a day or more and without even one day off per week. There are around 350,000 Indians in Oman, constituting the largest expatriate community in the country. Coming from all parts of India, they include skilled workers and technicians, and professionals such as doctors, engineers, bankers, finance experts, managers, etc., with many holding middle and senior
management positions in the corporate sector. Several Indians also hold responsible positions in Omani government departments and public undertakings: there are around 2000 Indian doctors working in the country. The contribution of Indians to the development of Oman, particularly in the fields of commerce, healthcare, education, horticulture, finance, construction and communication is widely acknowledged. A number of Persons of Indian origin (PIO) have been granted Omani nationality, some of them being recipients of high awards of the Omani government.

**Concerns and problems of Indian Diaspora**

1. Issues of Illegal immigrants/absconder – due to various reasons, immigrants are not ready to leave the Oman which imposes penalty on them and considered Illegal immigrant, creating number of problems.
2. Problems of non-payment by Insurance companies
3. Lack of Post mortem facility in Muscat
4. Duped by Omani’ employers and recruitment Agents in India : need for service agreements duly attested by the Embassy of India
5. Exploitation of house maids

**Labour disputes**

1. Non-payment of salary
2. Absence of proper basic amenities
3. Non-renewal of labour card and visa
4. Non-payment of gratuity on termination of job
5. Employer refusing to give permission to travel to India
6. Discouraging return of labour if find job unsuitable
7. Mislead by recruiting agents in India

**Qatar**

Qatar has been a late starter in the commercial exploitation of its oil, as also in commencing its infrastructure and other development work with the help of labour and expertise from abroad. But the situation underwent a drastic change by the 1980’s. Presently, Qatar has a huge Indian population which comes around 2 lakhs (Indian Embassy, 2006). Most of the local establishment, whether
governmental, business or industrial, prefer to employ Indians in various capacities. A majority of the Indian population in Qatar are engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled work, which means that it may be considered as belonging to the low or middle income-earning group, Indian professionals constitute a small but important component of the Indian community in Qatar. The Institution of Engineers, Indian Medical Association and the Institution of Chartered Accountants maintain active chapters in Qatar, with an expanding membership and on-going activities. In addition, there are a number of specialists working in other fields like management, education, pharmacies, computers, etc. As Qatar’s economic development accelerates in future, the numbers and involvement of Indians at all levels in Qatar is expected to grow, despite a reduction in visas issued for generalists, labourers, etc. Qatar does not give citizenship to the expatriates which make all the Indians remain Indian citizens. This gives lot of scope for exploitation of the foreign workers. The Indians have registered lot of cases of exploitation by the employers. Another major threat and problem for the Indians is the recruitment agencies. There are many cases of fraud and extortion by the Recruitment agencies. There is a need to have a check on the recruitment agencies. Many of the housemaids are exploited through the present system of recruitment of domestic workers. There are also cases of non observance of terms of contracts by employers leading to distress of many Indian workers. Apart from this many of the Indians are vulnerable to neglect, disease, accidents, and unemployment. Many of the expatriates want their wards to get education in India and they are demanding for quota or facilities to facilitate their demands. Many people find financial and procedural barriers to education in India. There are also complains of lack of accessible investment/pension schemes.

Kuwait

India and Kuwait continue to enjoy traditional friendly relations. Geographical proximity, historical trade links, cultural affinities and presence of a large number of Indian expatriates have all continued to sustain and nurture the longstanding relationship over the years. India has been a natural trading partner and a destination for higher learning. The community of Indians in Kuwait includes Indian expatriates in Kuwait, as well as Kuwaiti citizens of Indian origin or descent. According to the Kuwaiti Ministry of Interior, there are 579,058 Indians in, 2008,
constituting the largest expatriate community in Kuwait. Most of the Indians in Kuwait are NRI’s as foreigners do not normally qualify for local citizenship. Only foreign women married to Kuwaiti nationals are the exception to this rule. It is said, by the HLC Report on Indian Diaspora, that the size of the Indian Diaspora in Kuwait has increase to more than 2,94,000 since the expulsion of Iraqi forces from the country. Being foreign nationals, they are also not permitted to own a business or purchase immovable property in their own name. Most of the Indians who are engaged in foodstuffs, jewellery, garments and motor parts trading, are well off. However majority are unskilled or semi-skilled workers. As many as 1,20,000 have gone there as domestic servants, a large number of whom are housemaids and governesses working with Kuwaiti families. Some Kuwaitis view India as a fast growing economy and a source of highly qualified professional and technical personnel. Professionals like engineers, doctors, chartered accountants, scientists, software experts, management consultants, architects, skilled workers like technicians and nurses, semi-skilled workers, retail traders and businessmen mainly constitute the Indian community. A large proportion of the Indian expatriates are also unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Of late, there has been an increase in the number of highly qualified Indian experts in hi-tech areas, especially in the software and financial sector in Kuwait. In the field of health, India not only supplies top specialists but also para-medical staff who enjoys a high reputation. Inward remittances from Kuwait to India are substantial. There are 17 Indian Schools in Kuwait affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education. There were 164 Indian community Associations earlier registered with the Indian Embassy of Kuwait. Following introduction of a re-registration requirement, 106 of these Indian community Associations have once again registered with the Embassy and the number of registered Associations is growing at a steady pace.

**Gulf Corporation Council (GCC)**

Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates are six wealthy states that border the Persian Gulf and are politically connected through the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). These states are rich in capital and oil but poor in labour reserves. Together the six countries had a population of 24 million in 1993. The six states are connected by a formal agreement, they share similar
cultures, religions, and economic structures; they have the same history of immigration and expatriates occupy the same kind of economic segment, plus they have similar kind of policies that encourages temporary labour migration while it discourages permanent settlement and citizenship (Birks and Sinclair 1992 in Massey et al. 1998). Furthermore, the countries are ruled by the same kind of political system. Before the modern development in the oil trade, the six countries were feudal tribal states. However, the fast-speeded industrialization has not brought much modernization to the political and social sphere (Evand and Papps, 1999). The government system is hereditary, and non-democratic.

Indian emigration to the GCC started when large scale development activities started following the 1973 spurt in oil prices in the six Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE, an upsurge in the flow of workers and labourers began from India to the Gulf. India and Pakistan supplied most of such unskilled labour, registering almost 200 percent growth between 1970 and 1975. In 1975, Indian expatriates constituted 39.1 percent, Pakistanis 58.1 per cent, and other Asians 2.8 per cent of the total non–Arab expatriates in the Gulf. Since then, Indian migration has overtaken that of Pakistan and other Asian countries of origin. Further, since the Kuwait war of 1990–91, Indians has replaced even the non–national Arabs in the Gulf, viz., the Jordanians, Yemenis, Palestinians and Egyptians. From less than 258,000 in 1975, emigrant Indian population in the Gulf went up to 3.318 million in 2001, which is estimated to have crossed 3.5 million in 2006 (MOIA, 2010)

Admission to the GCC countries was not as difficult prior to the mid–1970s, but thereafter restrictions have been imposed by the host countries due to the fear of rapid growth of non–national population. Thus it has been difficult for families to accompany the non–nationals workers to these countries, particularly the unskilled contract workers. Foreigners are not allowed to own businesses or immovable property in the Gulf countries; for running business enterprises they are required to have local citizens or agencies as major partners in their ventures, whether active or as «sleeping» partner. When it comes to human resources, shortage of labour has been endemic in all the countries of the Gulf, for the entire range of work – from professionals like doctors and nurses, engineers, architects, accountants and
managers, to semi–skilled workers like craftsmen, drivers, artisans, and other technical workers, to unskilled labourers in construction sites, farmlands, livestock ranches, shops and stores and households (Khadria, 2006)

Table 1.1
The Labour Force and Percentage of National and Non-National Labour
In the Six Gulf Countries in 2005

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of National Labour</td>
<td>National Labour %</td>
<td>No. of non National Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>3,315,000</td>
<td>577,000</td>
<td>2,738,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom of Bahrain</td>
<td>522,000</td>
<td>216,000</td>
<td>306,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom of Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>7,579,000</td>
<td>2,685,000</td>
<td>4,894,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultanate of Oman</td>
<td>914,000</td>
<td>309,000</td>
<td>605,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of Qatar</td>
<td>555,714</td>
<td>240,680</td>
<td>315,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of Kuwait</td>
<td>1,594,603</td>
<td>291,812</td>
<td>1,302,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14,480,317</td>
<td>4,319,492</td>
<td>10,160,825</td>
</tr>
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1.5 Labour Emigration from Punjab and Dalit Diaspora

Migration is part of Punjabi heritage. Punjabis were originally in mobile bands who contact with the outside world had been considered due to their location on the east west trade route. During much of the 20th century, but especially since the 1950s, international migration from Punjab has been substantial. The great emigrations from India in the 19th century had drawn only modestly from Punjab. The indentured labour came from poorer groups from central, eastern and southern
India, and on contract based from Punjab. By contrast in the 20th century, Punjab has been one of the leading states of emigration from India (along with Kerala and Gujarat). The export of man power has already been established as one of the most lucrative industry in Punjab. A good number of young economically motivated all over the state particularly from the Doaba region were motivated to the direction of industrialized developed countries in the search of employment and a better future. They emigrated to the America, united Kingdom, Africa, Australia etc.

The studies on migration by scholars (Judge 1994; 2002, McLeod 1986, Kessinger, 1973, Helweg, 1979) show that initial emigration from Punjab was the emigration where higher castes were dominated. It shows during much of the 20th century, but especially since the 1950s, international migration from Punjab has been substantial. Several factors contributed to this change. One, the rapid expansion of canal irrigation in the late 19th century in western Punjab raised incomes, allowing households to meet the threshold expenses for free passage. Second, their location on the east west trade route and the recruitment of professionals by the Europeans to train the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh further exposed them to western culture (Helweg, 1979). Third post-1857 Punjab emerged as the principal area of recruitment in the British Indian army. Overseas postings led to some of them settling abroad after retirement. Fourth, labour recruitment, especially for craftsman in East Africa during the railway construction boom, created another conduit of overseas migration (especially Ramgarhia Sikhs). However, the biggest change came in the 1950s with the growing demand for labour in England. Subsequently, from the 1970s onwards, large numbers have emigrated to North America, especially Canada. Given the sizable numbers of international migrants one might expect economic and sociological consequences to be considerable.

Before discussing the emigration of Dalits we must have to define the concept “Dalit”. The concept ‘Dalit’ often mingled with the concept of ‘Caste’ in the Indian context, as it is said any aspect of the discussion on Dalits has led to begin with India’s hidden apartheid called ‘caste system’, which has originated from thousand years back. The word *caste* is derived from the Portuguese word ‘Casta’ which literally means ‘breed or lineage’. The Sanskrit word applied to the groupings is *Varna* or in English called ‘colour’. Srinivas (1962) defines this system as a hereditary, endogamous, usually localized group, having a traditional association
with an occupation, and a particular position in the hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed, among other things, by the concepts of pollution, and purity, and generally maximum commonality occurs within the caste’.

The origin of caste system is widely accepted from the Divine Theory, which states that the four castes namely Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and the Sudras, came from four different organs of the Hindu figure Brahma such as from mouth, arms, thighs, and feet respectively. At the top of the hierarchy are the Brahmans, who are mostly the descendants of the priests and wise men of the society. Following the Brahman castes are the Kshatriyas, who are soldiers or warriors. The third caste consists of the Vaisyas who are artisans by their nature, and the lowest caste is the Sudras who basically are farmers and peasants by their occupation. Beneath the above four main castes is the scheduled castes called by other names as ‘Dalit’ - the untouchables - who does not have any caste. Mahatma Gandhi named those groups as ‘harijan’ which means ‘the people of God.

The term Dalit, is derived from the Sanskrit root ‘dal’, which means burst, split, broken or torn asunder, downtrodden, scattered, crushed, destroyed (Massey, 1997). The word first used by British, then by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his Marathi Speech, ‘The Untouchables’ published in 1948. Later the Dalit Panthers revived the term in their 1973 Manifesto extending its definition to include schedule tribes, neo-Buddhists, the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women, and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion’ (Webster, 1999). Generally they are the poor and downtrodden, they were traditional placed at the bottom of Hindu caste hierarchy. Initially the term Dalits include those termed in the administrative parlance as scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and other backward classes. However in day to day uses in the political discourse the term is so far mainly confined to scheduled caste. They are the caste identified by the president of India under article 341 and put under the scheduled. Before this they were known as Sudra, Ati- Shudra or Chandals (Shah, 2001). In India there are approximately 240 million Dalits living under inhuman conditions and by adding the total Asian figure it surpasses 260 million. The majority of Dalits are poor, deprived of basic needs, and socially backward. Many do not have access to a sufficient amount of food, health care, housing or clothing. Though traditional occupations are
gradually dissolving, Dalits generally continue to be concentrated in occupations that render little social status or possibility for social mobility.

In Punjab large numbers of them are still engaged with the polluted occupations. But there are lots of differences among the dalits of the three cultural zones of Punjab regarding social mobility and assimilation with the mainstream of society. Dalits of the Doaba region of Punjab are more forwarded than the rest of Punjab. Even the use of the word untouchables is not suitable in the modern era in context to Punjab because the present Punjab is regarded as the social sit in which untouchability declined considerably under the influence of Sikh religion though caste hierarchy and discrimination continue to exist. Therefore the use of the word ‘Dalit’ is appropriate in comparison to ‘untouchable’ (Judge and Bal, 2009).

As per the emigration of Dalits from the country is concerned the life and history of Dalit Diaspora is an unimaginable metaphor. The pioneers of the diasporic studies focused their attention towards the study of migration in general and very little considerations have been given to the study of Dalit diaspora. The emigration of Dalits has a history old then that of higher caste. The emigration of Dalits to outside world started during the colonial period as a result of the large-scale emigration to British, French and Dutch colonies as indentured labourers to work in the plantations. The post-colonial migration of Dalits were directed towards the developed countries such as the USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as professionals and later to the Gulf and South East Asian countries as skilled or unskilled labourers. Today, Dalits in the diaspora form an important part of the Global Indian diaspora. The Dalits had suffered and resist changes in the diaspora culture despite oppressions over a period of time in various countries. However, at present it is observed that the Dalits diaspora has become resilient and in a position to support their counterparts in India the land of their forefathers.

Emigration of Dalits from India as mentioned above started to the other countries initially as indentured labourer or forced labourer, but Punjabi Dalits emigration is a post independence phenomenon, as a voluntary labourer and it resulted their economic development. Initially Chamars of Doaba region were numerically predominant among the Dalits in the immigration process which seems to be a result of their economic improvement. The change in the economic
conditions of Dalits is both a cause and a consequence of emigration. (Judge, 2002, 2010).

1.6 Theoretical Perspectives

Theories are generalisations drawn on the basis of studies done by researchers. A theory tends to focus more on generalities and the specific situations are out of preview of the theories. Therefore, although the migration whether internal or international has been explained by the various established theories, they are not capable of explaining this multidimensional and complex phenomenon happening in all the parts of the world in different degrees and with variations over time and space. The theories on migration can be both focusing on structural and individual factors.

The first formal attempt towards theory building in the field of migration was made by Ravenstein in 1885 when he came up with his “Laws of migration” in the 1880s based on studies carried out in the UK. The laws mentioned by him are as follows: the greatest body of migrants travel short distances; this produces currents directed towards great commercial centres; each current has a compensating counter-current in the opposite direction; both currents display similar characteristics; long distance movements are directed towards great commercial centres; people in rural areas migrate less than people in urban areas and males migrate more over long distances and females migrate more over short distances. In addition to these laws, he also holds that most migrants are between 20-34 years of age; people mainly move for economic reasons and urban housing development is inadequate for the influx of migrants and therefore ghettos/shanties are formed.

According to Lee (1966), migration is defined as results of the interplay of factors stimulating and inhibiting movements associated with the origin and destination, together with intervening obstacles (for example, distance) and personal characteristics of the migrants. Accordingly he visualized the process of migration as the product of three sets of factors relating to the place of origin, destination and the intervening obstacles as perceived by the individual. In both origin and destination areas, there are negative (push) and positive (pull) factors, both of which form the basis for decisions to stay or move.
There are theories of migration which focus on the economic aspects of international migration. They are the neoclassical economic theory of migration, the new household economics of migration, and dual labour market theory. These theories apply classic supply and demand paradigms to migration at the individual level, household unit, and in determining where employment opportunities are for migrants.

The Push-pull factor theory of emigration traced out the economic factors of emigration in the sending country as well as in the receiving country. The factors of emigration include but not limited to demographic pressure, high unemployment and low living standards in the home country. These factors were identified as push-factors. The factors of emigration in the receiving country included the demand for labour, promising economic opportunities, and political freedom and these factors were identified as pull factors. Emigration, any type, whether documented or undocumented, forced or voluntary, can be explained in terms of push-pull factors. Push factors attribute to the negative characteristics operating at the centre of origin whereas pull factors identify the positive characteristics at the centre of destination. Push-pull factor theory also assumes that any emigration is a result of push forces at the origin and pull faces at the destination.

Apart from the above theoretical frameworks, Sharma (1989) proposes a twofold typology of sociological perspectives on diaspora viz. the socio-cultural perspective and the political economy perspective. Focusing on cultural identity and integration of the diasporic communities, the socio-cultural perspective has largely operated from within the parameters of conventional structural-functionalism. It addresses the questions of socio-cultural continuity and change among the diasporic communities on the one hand, and the dynamics of these communities in the context of multiculturalism on the other. Drawing insights from a variety of Marxist and non-Marxist socio-economic thinking, the political economy perspective focuses on the economic and political aspects of the phenomenon of Diaspora. This perspective emphasizes the historical context of the Diaspora, the mode of economy of the "host" country and the place of the Diaspora in it, and the nature of the state in the "host" country. While these two theoretical perspectives are different both in their substantive interests and conceptual apparatus, they can only be complementary to one another in providing a more comprehensive understanding of Diaspora.
Emigration is such a complex phenomena that cannot be explained by using any single perspective. Therefore, in the present study there are primarily three kinds of theoretical perspectives which have been used to understand the emigration of Dalits to the Middle East, namely the functional, the conflict, the network.

As we know the traditional caste system was based on the distribution of occupation. Each caste uses to perform specific function for the maintenance of system. Polluted and lower occupations used to be performed by the Dalits in the traditional caste hierarchy. Functional perspective as propounded by Parsons assumes that the society is a system. The individuals are related to each other in such a way that their roles are complementary and lead to the overall stability of the society. A disturbance or movement in one part leads to adjustments in other parts of the system so that the system continues to survive. Thus the emigration of one or more members of a particular community that use to perform a particular function leads to the social, economic and psychological changes and adjustments in the society in such a way that the system of society survives. If we consider a society as a system, with each unit related to other. Then we believe that migration of a member of community will make necessary changes in roles and pattern of interactions in the society. This study has focused on understanding the alternative arrangements made by other members (higher caste) of society. It has explained how the agrarian system of Punjab replaced the Dalit agrarian labour of Punjab with the labour of Uttara Pradesh and Bihar etc. and how with the global economic crises has affected both the sending and receiving societies and it also highlights the alternative arrangement made by the two affected groups.

Second perspective that has been used in this study is the conflict perspective. The main premises of this theory emphasize the importance of interest over power and the way in which the pursuit of power interest generates various types of conflict. The theory asserts that “order” exists in society only or largely as a result of power, which some men have to command compliance from others. This perspective has been used to understand conflict and friction between the two communities (higher and lower) and emigrants and host. The main premises of this theory assume that the conflicts are normal in all the societies. Scholars of migration studies used this perspective to understand the changes happening in the family system in the absence of head of the family. It has been observed that
families of the emigrants face new kind of conflicts due to fight for the control of power among the father in law and daughter in law for decision making. The sibling conflict may increase due to lack of parental control due to the absence of the traditional authority of the father. The use of violence can be there to have control over the land and property. The conflicts could be due to the changing roles of different members or role conflicts and clash over new kind of values and norms operating in the families of emigrant.

But in the present study this perspective has been used in three ways. The first way is to understand the conflict between higher caste and lower caste due to changing economic condition as a result of emigration. Secondly, to understand the process of emigration of Dalit community to the Middle East. Third, to understanding the relationship between the emigrants and the natives of the host countries of the Middle East.

Judge and Bal (2009) has pointed out that in the Doaba region by virtue of emigration the social and economic status of Dalit community has raised. They became economically prosperous and politically organised that challenge the traditional domination of higher caste. Therefore it is obvious that the contradiction between the two communities came in existence because one community trying to preserve their traditional status and other one is fighting for their emancipation. We have seen many caste conflicts happened between the two communities (higher/lower) during the last few years, the murder of Saint Ramanand of Dera Sachkhand of Ballan and conflict over Talhan gurudawara are some example of these types of conflicts.

For the last two variables have been understood by using the World systems theory that is based on the Marxist perspective. It is a theory of a divided world: there is a core set of wealthy and developed states, and at the periphery in wealth and development are the states disrupted and transformed by those at the core. Thus this perspective has been to understand the contradiction between labour sending and receiving countries.

The social network theory also reflects interactions, at the level of the individual and community. The premise of this theory is that migrants establish interpersonal ties in their countries of origin and destination through ties of kinship,
family, friends, and shared community origin that increase the likelihood of others migrating to that particular destination. Networking in this way decreases the risk of migration by making it more likely to gain employment through connections in the country of origin (Hugo, 1981). Having family members at a potential destination also increases the likelihood of actually migrating to that location. Networks based on familial ties, or country of origin provides social support and makes the migratory process safer and more manageable for the migrants and their families. Once a network system has been established, migration becomes self-sustaining, and diffused to the point that large numbers of people are able to migrate safely within its net (Messina and Lahav, 2006).

This perspective has been used in the third chapter of this thesis to understand the process of Dalit emigration to the Middle East countries. This perspective became very useful to understand transnational and national network system of emigration that creates a chain system which facilitates the emigration process.

1.7 Reviews of Empirical Literature

For the convenience of study we divide the review of literature into three parts:

a) The emigration of Dalits from India.

b) The emigration of Dalits from Punjab.

c) The impact of emigration.

a) The Emigration of Dalits From India

There are some studies which elaborate the picture of indentured labour migration in the colonial period in which proportions of Dalits was higher among the pioneers. These studies also narrate the history of Dalit migration.

Chandra (1986) found that emigrate families in Malaysia differed from non-migrant families in age, education, labour force participation, occupational structure, housing conditions and ownership, and family income. Ethnicity as well as regional population composition also affected these patterns of differentials.

Lal (1984) points out that out of 60,965 Indian indentured labourers who migrated to Fiji between 1879 and 1916 about 11,907 or 26.2 per cent belonged to
low menial castes like *Chamars, Koris, Pasis*, etc. Brereton’s (1974) study which focuses on Indian indentured labour in Trinidad, observes. It is not only the lower castes who migrated to Trinidad but also the Brahmins too join this labour process. Among the Hindus those who migrated to Trinidad during the period 1876 and 1885 are includes: 18 per cent Brahmin and other high castes groups; artisan castes 8.5 per cent; agricultural castes 32 per cent; low castes 41.5 per cent. The occupational background of the indentured Dalits includes such as palanquin-bearer, drum beater, landless labourer, sweeper, washer, beggar, hawker, shoemaker, tanner, porter or day labourer and house servant.

Sandhu (1969) elaborates the presence of south Indian Dalits belonging to *Cherumans, Parayans, Pallans* and other depressed castes as indentured labourers in Malaysia. According to him, the people of the subcontinent the south Indian peasant, particularly the untouchables or low caste Madrasi, were considered the most satisfactory type of labourer.

Jain’s (1984) study shows the Indian indentured migration to Malaysia where he mentioned about the migration of untouchable castes. It is observed that, from 1870 to 1885 the Indians who migrated to the Caribbean under the indentured system, the majority of them i.e., 41.5 per cent were belonged to the lower castes especially from the state of Calcutta. This migration was clearly illustrates the pathetic conditions of Dalits of India. These emigrants were economically, culturally, and socially oppressed within ‘mainstream’ Indian society, whether Hindu or Muslim, for centuries.

Dalits who migrated to the Caribbean include individuals from groups such as pariahs and Pallars from south India; *Doms, Dosadhs, Lohars* (blacksmiths) and Chamars (tanners) from Uttar Pradesh and north India; and Noonias, Santals, and Kahars from Bihar. In the Caribbean, they are referred to as Chamars or ‘low caste’. In the first two decades of indentured labour emigration, tribal people, Dhangars or ‘hill coolies’, from the Chota Nagpur area of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa comprised a significant proportion of those emigrating. During the 1840s and 1850s, two-fifths to one-half of the emigrants were Dhangars, people with a distinct culture. Bonded labourers were recruited from other ‘tribal’ and semi-aboriginal groups in south and north India (Seenarine, 1996).
Smith’s (1959) study focuses on the Indian indentured labourers in Guyana. He found that, between the period 1865 and 1917, the indentured migrants in Guyana constituted 31.1 per cent were low caste; 30.1 per cent were agricultural castes; 16.4 per cent were Muslims and Christians; 13.6 per cent were high castes; and 8.7 per cent were artisans.

Gosine and Narine (1999) however observed that the percentages of Dalits might be much higher as many emigrants discarded lower caste origins for intermediate and higher caste ones for various reasons. For one, they wanted to escape continued caste oppression and start a new life in Guyana and ‘non-polluted’ Hindus.

Seenarine (1996) in his study ‘Gender and Caste in Colonial Guyana’ points out that from 1872, when a ranking of emigrants was included in colonial annual reports, the low caste group was the single largest group of emigrants from Calcutta’. The colonisers exploited these groups during their indentured ship and even after. As Wood notes that, from 1870 to 1885, 41.5 per cent of emigrants were from the low castes. Similarly, a dispatch from the government of India in 1877, noted that the source of recruitment was chiefly the labourers, dependent for their support upon the cultivating classes’ (c.f Jha, 1974).

Brown’s (1989) study focuses on the life of the Indian indentured labourers in Fiji for the cultivation of sugar and cotton during the colonial period. This study stated that Indian that came to Fiji from 1879 to 1903 were from Bihar and north India. The study noted that there were about 50 castes could be identified among the 350000 Indians. There were no any caste organization could be found but in the local level politics was managed by the cultural groups which were dominated by the people of higher caste. The study also shows that caste system was existing among the Indians in Fiji also. They used to practice endogamy for marriages Brahmins, Chamars, and Thakur had the highest rate of endogamy at 70 per cent, 60 per cent, 56 per cent respectively.

In the same study the writer mention the study of Gillion (1962) that has given caste wise data of Indians entering Fiji it shows that among the Indians in Fiji 16 per cent were higher caste 31 per cent were agricultural castes, 6 per cent were artisans, 31 per cent were lower castes, 14 per cent were Muslims. We can see the
proportion of Dalits to the proportion of other castes was higher they are the pioneers who entered in the migration process from India. Brown also discussed the migration of Sikhs who entered in Fiji between 1920 to 1936. They were only 3 per cent engaged with the agriculture.

On the other hand Dalit migration to the United States is a recent phenomenon especially after the 1965 Immigration Act. The Dalits those who migrated to the United States for a greener pasture carried with them the same stigma, which they had in back home. But after mixing up with the ‘East Indians’ in United States especially the migrants from the Caribbean and other countries, the Dalits got a better chance to move upward in the social mobility. As Rao (2000) observes, in America, Indians of low caste backgrounds have the same opportunities to flourish financially as other people living in the United States do, ‘because of the mixed migration’. Therefore, since the dominant oppressive caste culture does not prevail in America, they are no longer subjected to caste bondage or persecution. The migration of East Indians to America, Canada, and other parts of North America not only offers chances that were merely dreams to Dalits back in home, but also helps to establish a lost asset in the Indian community – possessing the skills to compete more effectively in society. The case of second-generation dalits can be pointed out here (Gosine and Narine, 1999).

Vivek Kumar (2004) has juxtaposed the ‘Indian diaspora’ - both new and old into the case of Dalits. He has divided the Dalit Diaspora into two streams called old and new diaspora. The old diaspora was formed, according to him, as a result of indentured migration to various British colonies, and the new diaspora formed as a result of the voluntary migration to developed countries of Europe and America.

b) The Emigration of Dalits from Punjab

Kessinger (1973) in his study of Vilayatpur feels that the enhancement of status of emigrants especially lower castes due to the purchase of the pucca houses and the purchase of additional land holding are the main factors for the emigration. Kissingher’s detailed ethnographic account of one village (Vilayatpur) shows the many channels through which this rural development was brought in the area especially the Jalandhar Doab region. The migration (especially of young men) reduced the pressure to sub-divide the land in smaller and smaller plots. And
remittances not only helped investments in the land but also to acquire more land. He mentioned the migration of Dalits to the other countries during the half of the 20th century and found that 2 per cent of the Chamars and 1 per cent Julaha born in Vilyatpura were living abroad in 1898. In 1910 1 per cent of Chamars and 3 per cent of Julahas of the village were living abroad. Interestingly in 1922 only Julahas showed any trend 9 per cent of them were living abroad, whereas no one from among the Chamars had gone out of the country. Another important caste among the Dalits of the village was Churas. There was no tendency among them to migrate. (C.f Judge, 2002).

Judge, (2000) considers emigration from Punjab as a problem of cultural crisis. The author studied Punjabi migration to three countries of multicultural background viz Canada, USA and UK. He highlighted the involvement of Jat caste in the migration which is higher in the caste hierarchy and economically and numerically dominant. The Punjabis, predominantly Jat Sikhs of rural backgrounds, migrate to a hub of a multicultural society. The crisis of identity emerges largely due to the family’s role in creating positive self-images and negative other-images other-host society. The central theme of the study is that the way the socio-cultural life of Punjabis has been evolving is leading to a crisis of identity. Considerable problems emerge due to this cultural clash. Hence, arranged marriages become a forced reality in which region, religion and caste identities are maintained and perpetuated. The host societies are perceived as morally loose and form a reference group of negation. There is visible conflict between the two generations. It is interesting that the new generation returns to the ethnic fold, not because of its strength, but mainly due to discrimination and racism in the host societies. The elderly and women are the two groups which are caught in a trap and feel considerably powerless. It also explained how a trend or culture in a particular community responsible for its emigration.

McLeod (1986) has given caste wise data of Punjabis entering New Zealand. According to this data, out of 212 Punjabi entering between 1912 and 1921, 133 were Jats and 24 were Chamars. Among the Chamars 22 belonged to the Doaba region whereas other two were from Majha. Surprisingly not even a single Julaha is to be found among the Punjabis in New Zealand.
Judge (2002) in his study highlighted the international migration of Dalits from Punjab with special reference to Chamars or Ad-Dharmis. He also gave reasons how Dalits of Punjab with economic disabilities could manage to emigrate. It is explained by the fact that they formed majority in the Doaba region of Punjab. He highlights the role of increased value of leather with the British annexation in Punjab that helped them arrange money for emigration. They hoped to enhance their social status from this process. Another reason that he quoted from the study of Briggs (1920:58) in the early 20th century economic changes were taking place among the Chamars due to the increase in the value of farm products that lead to the substitution of cash grain as wage it assisted their upward mobility by facilitating emigration. The third reason that he gave is perhaps some landowners took them along with them. Probably the Jat landowners became the source of information for them regarding unlimited opportunity available aboard. He further gave the reference of Midland where he saw that Dalits of Punjab who emigrated to England particularly Balimikis / Mazhbis and the Ad-Dharmis are economically active as the Jats and other non Dalits are.

Saberwal (1990) noted that Chamar is a mobile caste as compared to the other castes among the Dalits of Punjab. He did not give much importance to the emigration for the upliftment of Dalits but however he recorded the emigration of the Dalits and also observed that Chamars among the Dalits as more mobile than Valmiki.

Helwig’s (1979) study of the village Jandiali shows that while most of the Jat (higher caste) emigrated to the England about 100 Chamars out of the total 400 houses of village with other specialist castes had emigrated to the Middle East countries to improve their social status. He also noted that the first emigrant of this village was a Chamar “Ganda Singh” who had been a sweeper in the in the Indian railway and started a trend of emigration from the village. This study also shows that how remittance from abroad improved the status of Chamars and other emigrants.

In his later study Helwig (1979) further argues that the remittances were ‘responsible for a large increase in yields. Money enabled local residents to live better, invest in machinery, obtain and use new varieties of seed and gain new ideas about farming from abroad. Also with the outflow of people, the pressure on the
land decreased so that there was more production for less people. Emigration played positive role in the development of Punjabi community.

Some Studies on Punjab focus on economic reasons responsible for migration from Punjab primarily hold economic factors as responsible. Sir Malcolm Darling in his books published from 1925 to 1934 maintains that subdivision of land reduced the land for average farmers and some young Jat men migrated to earn enough money to allow them to buy a larger and more economically viable holding on their return to Punjab. Also, receding water level aggravated the problem resulting in the displacement of peasantry Jat caste group from this area towards the western and central Punjab, which was comparatively fertile due to the development of canal colonies in this part, these factors are also important in addition to the economic factors as suggested by Darling. The comparatively light recruitment of soldiers from this part of Punjab almost certainly meant that migration provided a particularly significant option for young men (and the families they belonged to) in this part of the Punjab

On the other hand studies on emigration from Punjab by McLeod, Kessinger and Helweg focused on social reasons for migration. McLeod (1986) has also suggested that the distinctive social milieu of the Bara Pind (big village) network of this part of Punjab may well have been an important factor in driving out-migration. McLeod suggests that the practice of female infanticide, which was an important element of the particularly high premium these communities placed on izzat, resulted in a marked gender imbalance and a result some young men opted to migrate to seek status in the face of constrained marriage options

Gupta (2005) found that the village of Kharodi, which has received over a crore of rupees in investments (primarily from Canadian NRIs) that have led to improvements in the quality of roads, water and sewage systems, and a resulting decline in the incidence of various water-borne diseases, is frequently cited as an example of the beneficial effects of remittances. Remittances have also contributed to scheduled caste mobilization in recent years. Adi-dharm households buoyed by income from family members living abroad that has reduced their dependence on Jat patronage have increasingly challenged the hegemony of Jat Sikhs.
c) Literature Available on the Impact of Emigration

Arcinas and Bautista, (1992) studied the economic impacts and use of remittances in the Filipino families. The economic impacts of migration on families generally converge in pointing out that on the whole, and in the short-run at least, migration has enabled families to experience economic improvement. Better housing, funds for the education of children or family members, or capital to start a business is the usual indicators of migrant families’ material improvement.

Muhidin (2003) in Indonesia contests that it will be important to examine population mobility in Indonesia by considering the family as well as the individual as the unit of analysis. Unlike individual migration, family migration has received little attention among scholars of migration. A study of the family in the context of migration is necessary as the family plays a crucial role in triggering migration among Indonesians. For example, it is customary after marriage that a married man/woman follows his/her spouse to set up a household away from one’s previous residence. Alternatively, the couple may set up residence in a place different from their previous residences. Furthermore in Indonesia, a common practice is for family members to be economically dependent on the head of a household or parents. As such, family reunions become common once the wage-earner within the family (the parents or the head of household) migrates. Thus, the phenomenon of chain migration (that is, migration by a person who follows the track of former migrants who may or may not be related) also appears among Indonesian migrants.

Battistella and Conaco (1998) found that children of migrant families left behind fared less in academic performance relative to other children. The children of migrant mothers tend to lag somewhat behind compared to the other children. It is also possible that the better economic status of migrant families has contributed to better health.

The most prevalent studies in India on Gulf migration is from Kerala. Gulati (1993) in her study on women left behind in Kerala made 10 case studies on women left behind in Kerala. She concluded that the female left behind have adapted to the new situation by becoming more extrovert. They have to enter the social arena where they don’t normally enter. They have to take charge of all the roles his
migrant husband was doing or was expected to have done. The female headed households increase due to migration.

Rahman (2001) explained the impact of labour migration to the Gulf on the society left behind in Bihar in term of changing socio-economic status, attitudes and behaviour, values and religious practices of labourers and their family members. The study showed that the effects of emigration are functional rather than dysfunctional. This is not only in terms of economic gains but also in other matters like social, cultural and political. It is observed that the migration brings many positive changes in the socio-cultural attitudes of migrants and their family members. Half of the migrants’ families left behind were able to improve their social status and had more economic earnings than before emigration from their family. Migrants’ children are now getting more education than before. Girl child and female get status equivalent to their male counterparts in education and workforce. Migrants’ attitude changed significantly. The structure of the family also changed. The nuclear family is increasing as a result of the breakdown of the extended or joint family. Moreover, family relations are also affected due to changes in the attitudes and behaviour of migrants and their family members. The communal harmony is strengthened rather than weakened due to emigration. And the villages are more prosperous due to inflow of remittances.

Helweg (1979) in his study of the village Jandiali feel that the level of expenditure on the marriage of the daughters was also symbol of prestige attached to the family. Since emigration helped these caste groups achieve such objectives. He also argues that the remittances were ‘responsible for a large increase in yields. Money enabled local residents to live better, invest in machinery, obtain and use new varieties of seed and gain new ideas about farming from abroad. Also with the outflow of people, the pressure on the land decreased so that there was more production for less people. The flow of remittance created a consumerist behaviour among the village resident.

The research, conducted by demographers Zachariah and Rajan, (1997) was carried out among 10,000 households selected at random from the state's 62 sub-districts. This study also highlighted the economic impact of emigration on the society left behind. They found that the figure for annual remittances to the state was
seven times what Kerala receives from the central government as budget support. But on the other hand the study found that emigration had a significant role in the rapid increase in the unemployment rate in Kerala.

Thus we find that studies on emigration from Punjab and India are focused upon either the reasons for migration or pattern of migration and adaptation by the emigrants in the host countries. Apart from studies in this region, a lot of studies have been done to explain how the Indian emigrants adjusted themselves, in different degrees in the various parts of the world. Another section of studies has been done to explain that how the emigrants have been making either successful or unsuccessful efforts to continue their native cultures in the countries of the world. It can be clearly observed that the area of emigration of Dalits from Punjab in particular India in general, has been hardly touched by the scholars. The studies are polarised and ignored the emigration of Dalits and its role for the development and empowerment of Dalit community.

After going through the existing literature and theories on international migration, it is clear that the social researches on International migration in general and from Punjab in particular have either ignored the emigration of Dalits and its role for emergence of Dalits in economy, politics and social affairs etc or considered them from only a limited perspective. Therefore there is a need of a detailed investigation on the emigration of Dalit community.

1.8 Aims and Objectives of the Study

Keeping in view the review of the literature the major objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To understand the reasons of emigration of dalits in majority to the Middle East countries.
2. To identify and understand the patterns of emigration in terms of the choice of the country of destination, the role of transnational and national networks in the process of emigration.
3. To present the socio-economic and demographic profile of the emigrants from the Doaba region and also to know the profile of members of the emigrant’s family who are enjoying the fruits of emigration in the form of remittances.
4. To gauge the response of the host society towards the emigrants and the problems and challenges faced by them in the county of destination.
5. To understand the impact of short term emigration on the social, economic, religious and political life of the respondents and dalit community in Punjab.

1.9 Methodology of Study

The universe of the present study is the villages falling in the Doaba region of Punjab. The name "Doaba" or Doab literally translates to "land of two rivers". It is situated in the central region of Punjab, falling between the Beas and Sutlej rivers. (Figure 0.1). The present study is descriptive in nature. The random sampling technique has been used for the selection of villages. Overall 85 different villages were selected from the four administrative districts namely Hoshiarpur, SBS Nagar (Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar or Nawansahar), Jalandhar and Kapurthala of the Doaba region of Punjab from where a large number of people have gone to the Middle East countries. In all 75 Dalit returned emigrants have been randomly selected from the villages of each district. During the selection of respondents, it has been taken care that sufficient representation is given to the first and second generation of the respondents. Proper representation has also been given to the respondents of different castes among the Dalits, their religious and economic groups. It was decided to use both the primary and secondary data in this study. Since it is very difficult to get enumerated data on the total emigration from an area, the study has been based on the primary data collected through the personal interviews. For the depth understanding of the phenomena a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods were used for the collection of data related to the study. This helps in getting deeper insights into the phenomenon in the study. For the quantitative part, 300 respondents were selected using of snowball sampling technique while a total of 08 case studies were prepared to study the qualitative aspect of dalit emigration. Besides studying the patterns of emigration, the responses of the host societies towards the emigrants (based on perceptions of respondents) was considered important to highlight the problems that they faced in the Middle East countries. Case studies of returned emigrants provided additional first-hand information. While selecting the sample of return emigrants, attention was paid to
ensure a diversity of profiles, so as to understand the difference in experiences emigrants.

The respondents in this study were the returned emigrants from the six Gulf countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) of the Middle East, who have spent at least a month in the Middle East Countries in their life. The respondents were asked to answer the questions based on the semi-structured interview schedule. The case studies selected for qualitative study were chosen in such a way that the age, caste and duration of emigration were given proper representation. During the data collection and case studies the answers of the respondents were keenly observed.

Information regarding various socio-demographic and economic indicators such as name, sex, age, caste, religion, father's name, countries to which the respondents have visited, the motivation for their emigration, their frequency of contact with the families and information regarding relationship with the natives of the host country and emigrants, problems of the respondents have been collected. Secondary data have been collected from various books, newspapers, reports published by government departments and Ministries of Indian and Middle Eastern governments. For more proficiency the data has been statistically analysed.

**Figure 0.1**

Doaba Region on Political Map of Punjab
1.10 Significance of the Study

The studies and literature on the nature and pattern of emigration has changed due to the growing importance of global trade and liberal economic policies of nation states in the post-socialist era. It has brought the importance of the Diasporas to the forefront of the various governments and they have started making efforts to bring the Diaspora in their development schemes. Thus, researches on the social background of emigrants, causes of emigration, the impact on host countries and consequences for the countries of origin have become topics of current importance for the sociologists of the world.

The selection of the Doaba in Punjab is also significant as this has continuously witnessed emigration for the last eighty years. Punjab is the state where the proportion of Dalit population is higher to the total population of the state that is higher among the states in India. Punjab has 20 districts and four districts that fall under the Doaba region have the highest proportion of Dalits and Dalits abroad. According to the census of India 2001, Dalit (scheduled caste) constitute 28.85 per cent of the total population of Punjab. The districts which have higher proportion of Dalits than the state average are SBS Nagar (Nawanshahr) (40.46 per cent), Jalandhar (37.69 per cent) Hoshiarpur (34.28 per cent), Kapurthla (29.92 per cent), these districts fall under the Doaba region and constitute higher proportion of Dalit population and Dalits abroad.

But not even a single doctoral level sociological study has been conducted on the emigration of Dalits of this area. Although some studies have been done to understand the impact of emigration from Kerala, Bihar and Gujarat but they ignored the Dalits who were the pioneers of emigration from India and have a very high proportion among the emigrants.

Another reason that makes the study significant is that, as discussed earlier emigration to the Middle East countries is different in nature compare to the emigration of European and other industrialised countries. People who had emigrated to the Middle East countries for seeking employment, works there as temporary workers. They went there on work permit after a short period they are expected to return to their home countries. They are not allowed to bring their
families with them. Thus they save enough money for the purchase of land, build a *pucca* house, luxury items etc, which has totally changed their way of life and empowered them in this region. There is a visible change in emigrants’ households in terms of their changing family patterns and network of familial relations as well as changing roles and statuses within the family and between the communities (Higher and low caste). The life style and life chances of Dalit families in these areas have changed significantly that needed to be studied.

We can also see the clear cut difference in the living standard of Dalits of Doaba region and other parts of Punjab. By virtue of improved economic status Dalits of Doaba region have become much more assertive about their human and political rights.

Various studies have been done from Punjab on emigration to the developed countries like Canada, America, New Zealand etc. But unfortunately not even a single study has been done on the temporary emigration from Punjab which is another largest state sending temporary workers to the Middle East countries.

Social and political participation of Dalits is increasing in Punjab. They are also active in non governmental sectors of the state. Many Dalit presser groups have come into existence in the Doaba region in particular and in whole Punjab in general. These groups are financially supported by the NRI Dalits e.g. Ambedkar Sena in Phillaur and Guru Ravidass Youth Clubs in most of village of Punjab are actively working for the welfare of Dalits. Therefore present study highlights the role of dalit philanthropy for the emergence of these types of organizations.

The study is significant as the Punjabi society is facing many challenges to its traditions and culture due to contact with the outside world, which has suddenly got pace within the last fifty years. Since the emigration in earlier centuries was restricted to the military men, and due to economic poverty, the research work available on the reasons and effects of emigration focused on primarily on economic aspects. The relationships of the diasporic community with the host societies are usually overlooked. Earlier studies always narrate the success stories of the emigrants and never tried to focus on the problems and challenges faced by the emigrants in the host countries. The present study highlights the problems of
emigrants in the countries of destinations by using social exclusion as perspective of the study.

However recent researches have diverted our attention to the non-economic impacts of emigration as well. The role of dalit community has changed as these were in the traditional caste hierarchy they have left their traditional occupation and there would be very few among the ex-untouchable today who would regard themselves as impure or justified their low status in the caste hierarchy. This study highlighted that how emigration contributed for the creation of a new system of social stratification in the Doaba region in which lower castes started claiming equal status with the higher castes and how emigration has become a threat to traditional forms of social structure, hereditary inequality based on caste system, kinship, and land ownership which were the main cause of lower position of the dalits in the society.

Perhaps this is the first Indian doctoral level research that has exclusively focused on Dalit emigration from Punjab as temporary workers. I hope findings from this research will give a better understanding of the needs and vulnerabilities of emigrants working in the Middle East Countries. It may be helpful for the development and implementation of more responsive policies and programs for emigrants working as temporary workers in the Middle East and their families in Punjab.

1.11 Plan of the Study

The present study covers all the issues raised above in seven chapters include a last chapter of summary and conclusion. The first chapter gives the details introduction of the topic of research and second covers the various socio-economic and demographic features of the respondents. The data on the socio economic and demographic variables, besides providing the clear cut profile of the responds’, situate emigrants in comprehensive social context. Details information regarding the demographic and social profiles of respondents and their family members has been given in this chapter.

Third chapter highlights the patterns, trends emigration from Indian and then Punjab to the Middle East countries’ attempts have been made to assess the total
number of emigrants in the Middle East from India and Punjab. Special features of
the Punjabi Diaspora in the Middle East such as first year of emigration of
respondents, destination of Punjabi emigrants, and duration of stay, occupational
profile of emigrants in the host countries, and the nature and cause of return have
been discussed in details. Further role of translational networks has been discussed
in the process of Dalit Diaspora in the Middle East.

Fourth chapter deals with the Dalit diaspora from the social exclusion
perspective. It highlights the causes of social exclusion of dalits and discrimination
faced by the emigrants in the Middle East countries. The chapter provides vivid
information about the right and benefits of the emigrants in the host societies and the
relationship between the natives and emigrants.

Hugh literature is available on the positive impact of emigration on the
society left behind what have been getting overlooked is the problems and
challenges that emigrants faced in the host countries. Fifth chapter through some
light on the problems and challenged faced by the emigrants in the Middle East.
Special focuses have been put on the problems of irregular (illegal) workers in the
host societies. Details discussions have been done on the working and living
condition of both regular and irregular emigrants. Other problems like wage, health,
mobility have also been discussed.

The sixth chapter discusses the impact of emigration on the respondents and
their families in Punjab. Attempts have been made to understand the mode,
frequency and use of remittances by the Gulf emigrants. It also discusses the impacts
of emigration on the social, religious and political life of the respondents. Special
attention has been given to understand the inter caste relations before and after
emigration. The last chapter discusses the major findings of the study with a brief
summary.