CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Diaspora Literature involves an idea of a homeland, a place from where the displacement occurs and narratives of harsh journeys undertaken on account of economic compulsions. Basically Diaspora is a minority community living in exile.

The Oxford English Dictionary 1989 Edition (second) traces the etymology of the word 'Diaspora' back to its Greek root and to its appearance in the Old Testament (Deut: 28:25) as such it references. God's intentions for the people of Israel to be dispersed across the world. The Oxford English Dictionary here commences with the Judic History, mentioning only two types of dispersal: The "Jews living dispersed among the gentiles after the captivity" and The Jewish Christians residing outside the Palestine. The dispersal (initially) signifies the location of a fluid human autonomous space involving a complex set of negotiation and exchange between the nostalgia and desire for the Homeland and the making of a new home, adapting to the power, relationships between the minority and majority, being spokes persons for minority rights and their people back home and significantly transacting the Contact Zone - a space changed with the possibility of multiple challenges.

Birth of Diaspora Literature: the 1993 Edition of Shorter Oxford's definition of Diaspora can be found. While still insisting on capitalization of the first letter, 'Diaspora' now also refers to 'anybody lives outside their traditional homeland'.

In the tradition of Indo-Christian the fall of Satan from the heaven and humankind's separation from the Garden of Eden, metaphorically the separation from God constitute diasporic situations. Etymologically, 'Diaspora' with its connotative political weight is drawn from Greek meaning to disperse and signifies a voluntary or forcible movement of the people from the homeland into new regions.

Under Colonialism, 'Diaspora' is a multifarious movement which involves the temporary or permanent movement of Europeans all over the world, leading to Colonial settlement. Consequently the ensuing economic exploitation of the settled areas necessitated large amount of labor that could not be fulfilled by local populace. This leads to the Diaspora results from the enslavement of Africans and their relocation to places like the British colonies. After slavery was out low the continued demand for workers created indenture labor. This produced large bodies of the people from poor areas of India, China and other to the West Indies, Malaya Fiji, Eastern and Southern Africa, etc.

William Sarfan points out that the term Diaspora can be applied to expatriate minority communities whose members share some of the common characteristics given hereunder:

(1) They or their ancestor have been dispersed from a special original 'centre' or two or more 'peripheral' of foreign regions; (2) they retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland-its physical location, history and achievements; (3) they believe they are not and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their lost society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulted from it; (4) they regard their ancestral homeland as true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendents would (or should) eventually return when conditions are appropriate; (5) they believe they should collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their homeland and its safety and prosperity; and (6) they continue to relate, personally and vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno- communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship ; (Safren Willam cited in Satendra Nandan: 'Diasporic Consciousness' Interrogative Post-Colonial: Column Theory, Text and Context, Editors: Harish Trivedi and Meenakshi Mukherjee; Indian Institute of Advanced Studies 1996).

Robin Cohen classifies Diaspora as:

(1) Victim Diasporas (2) Labour Diaspora (3) Imperial Diaspora (4) Trade Diaspora
(5) Homeland Diaspora (6) Cultural Diaspora

There is a common element in all forms of Diaspora. These are people who live outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories and recognize that their traditional homelands are reflected deeply in the languages they speak, religion they adopt, and cultures they produce. Each of the categories of Diasporas underline a particular cause of migration usually associated with particular groups of people. So for example, the Africans through their experience of slavery have been noted to be victims of extremely aggressive transmigration policies. (Cohen) Though in the age of technological advancement which has made the traveling easier and the distance shorter so the term Diaspora has lost its original connotation, yet simultaneously it has also emerged in another form healthier than the former. At first, it is concerned with human beings attached to the homelands. Their sense of yearning for the homeland, a curious attachment to its traditions, religions and languages give birth to diasporic literature which is primarily concerned with the individual's or community's attachment to the homeland.

Indian Diaspora can be classified into two kinds which are as follows:

1. Forced: Forced Migration to Africa, Fiji or the Caribbean on account of slavery or indentured labour in the 18th or 19th century.

2.Voluntary : Voluntary Migration to U.S.A., U.K., Germany, France or other European countries for the sake of professional or academic purposes.

According to Amitava Ghose, the Indian Diaspora is one of the most important demographic dislocations of Modern Times and each day is growing and assuming the form of representative of a significant force in global culture. If we take the Markand Paranjpe, we will find two distinct phases of Diaspora, these are called the Visitor Diaspora and Settler Diaspora much similar to Maxwell's 'Invader' and 'Settler' Colonialist.

The first Diaspora consisted of unprivileged and subaltern classes forced alienation was a one way ticket to a distant diasporic settlement. As, in the days of yore, the return to Homeland was next to impossible due to lack of proper means of transportation, economic deficiency, and vast distances so the physical distance became a psychological alienation, and the homeland became the sacred icon in the diasporic imagination of the authors also.

But the second Diaspora was the result of man's choice and inclination towards the material gains, professional and business interests. It is particularly the representation of privilege and access to contemporary advanced technology and communication. Here, no dearth of money or means is visible rather economic and life style advantages are facilitated by the multiple visas and frequent flyer utilities.

The works of various authors like Kuketu Mehta, Amitava Ghosh, Tabish, Khair, Agha Shahid Ali, Sonali Bose, Salman Rushdie confirm a hybridity between diasporic and domiciled consciousness. They are National, not Nationalistic inclusive not parochial, respecting the local while being ecumenical, celebrating human values and Indian pluralism as a vital 'worldliness'. The diasporian authors engage in cultural transmission that is equitably exchanged in the manner of translating a map of reality for multiple readerships. Besides, they are equipped with bundles of memories and articulate an amalgam of global and national strands that embody real and imagined experience.

Suketu Mehta is advocate of idea of home which is not a consumable entity. He says: "You cannot go home by eating certain foods, by replaying its films on your T.V. screens. At some point you have to live there again". So his novel Maximum City is the delineation of real lives, habits, cares, customs, traditions, dreams and gloominess of Metro life on the edge, in an act of morphing Mumbai through the unmaking of Bombay. It is also true, therefore, that diasporic writing is full of feelings of alienation, loving for homeland dispersed and dejection, a double identification with original homeland and adopted country, crisis of identity, mythnic memory and the protest against discrimination is the adopted country. An Autonomous space becomes permanent which non- Diasporas fail to fill. M K Gandhi, the first one to realize the value of syncretism solutions' hence he never asked for a pure homeland for Indians in South Socio-cultural space and so Sudhir Kumar confirms Gandhi as the first practitioner of diasporic hybridity. Gandhi considered all discriminations of high and low, small or great, Hindu or Muslim or Christian or Sikh but found them 'All were alike the children of Mother India.'

Diasporic writings are to some extent about the business of finding new Angles to enter reality; the distance, geographical and cultural enables new structures of feeling. The hybridity is subversive. It resists cultural authoritarianism and challenges official truths."(Ahmad Aizaz, In

Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures; OUP, 1992) one of the most relevant aspects of diasporic writing is that it forces interrogates and challenges the authoritative voices of time (History). The Shadow Line of Amitav Ghosh has the impulse when the Indian States were complicit in the programmes after Indira Gandhi's assassination. The author elaborates the truth in the book when he says: "In India there is a drill associated with civil disturbances, a curfew is declared, and paramilitary units are deployed; in extreme cases, the army monarchs to the stricken areas. No city in India is better equipped to perform this drill than New Delhi, with its high security apparatus."

The writers of Diaspora are the global paradigm shift, since the challenges of Postmodernism to overreaching narratives of power relations to silence the voices of the dispossessed; these marginal voices have gained ascendance and even found a current status of privilege. These shifts suggest: "That it is from those who have suffered the sentence of history-subjugation, domination, Diaspora, displacement- that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking."

Diasporic Studies related to Indian Diaspora in England, America & Canada

Hundreds of studies exist on Indian Diaspora. The review of these studies point out three things: (i) number of studies on Gujarati immigrants living in Asian-African countries are quite more than those living in England, America and Canada. (ii) Most of these studies are done by non-Indian scholars and through the perspective of the host countries i.e. study of conditions and problems created by Indian immigrants. (iii) Most of these studies are about their Geo-Physical, Eco- political conditions leaving out socio-cultural aspects.

Some of the notable studies on Indian Diaspora include: K.G.Kahlo's study on characteristics of Gujarati community in Bolton city(1980), Michells Leon's study on Ethnicity in Briton: Gujarati tradition(1972), P. J. Patel and Mario Rutton's study on socio-economic networks between Patels of central Gujarat and Greater London and Patels as a Metaphor of Indian Diaspora(2003), A.S. Patel's study on cultural diversity created by Gujarati immigrants in New jersey(2004), Makrand

Mehta's study on Historical context of Indian and Gujarati Diaspora(2004), Jayprakash Trivedi's study on change and continuity among NRI from Charotar region of Gujarat(2004) and Gujarati Diaspora: Emigration and social structure (2007), P.S. Choondawat's study on socio- economic background of Indian Diaspora in Canada (2012) etc. These studies provide informative and theoretical frame work within which future study on Indian Diaspora may be made in socio-cultural perspective.

Socio-cultural change is important point of sociological research. The socio-cultural changes arrive in the life of Indian immigrants living in foreign country may be examined in terms of degree, nature, causes, sources and consequences. Here, the changes arrives in value, beliefs, practices related with marriage, family, kinship, caste, religion, status of women and other institutional spheres of Indian immigrants' life are to be examined. Similarly, as exposed to multicultural living situation in foreign country, the changes in the work habits, religious thoughts and practices as well as languages should be studied.

A study by Bhargawa and Sharma (2008), studies the role of Indian diaspora in Canada in term of their role in bridging bridges in socio-economic-cultural life of Canada. From the literature review, it is revealed that unlike on Sikhs, an insignificant amount of work is being done on Gujarati diaspora in Canada. Gujarati reported as mother tongue is one of the top 25 languages of Canada and has a share of 1.4% in total permanent residents of Canada (source: Citizenship and immigration, Canada).

According to Jay Gajjar (2010), Gujaratis are spread all over the world including England, America and Canada. The first Gujarati to arrive in Canada was Chhagan Kheraj Varma a Lohana by caste but became Muslim, Husain Rahim, on January 14, 1910 in Vancouver. He was charged by the government for violation immigration laws but he won the lawsuit. He then moved to San Francisco. US, where he started the first Gujarati paper named 'Gaddar' in 1914. There was a slowdown for a few years and few immigrants arrived in Canada in early 20th century. The trend was to move to America. After 1950 Canada opened its doors and attracted many Gujaratis. In 1960, there were about 900 Gujaratis in Toronto and today that number has crossed 100,000 in Toronto alone. Toronto, the biggest city in Canada is today a hub of immigrants.

According to the US Census Bureau (2006), there were 1,417,000 people in the US who spoke Gujarati, Hindi or other Indic languages (e.g. Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu) at home; Gujaratis comprised 299,000 of these numbers). Early 2010 figures estimate that there are 104,000 people who speak Gujarati in Canada, with the majority living in the Greater Toronto Area.(Wilfred Whitely, Language in Kenya) In the UK, Gujarati people live primarily in London and Leicester (Voices- Multilingual Nation: BBC Retrieved 9 December 2011).

With the help of Solow's growth model ("A contribution to the theory of Economic Growth" Quarterly journal of economic, febuary 1956, Vol.70, pp.65-94), the impact of immigration on growth can be examined. In this model, production is considered to be a function of labour, capital and human capital. If the level of immigrant's human capital is lower than that of natives, the pace of growth will be lower. Thus for studying the impact of immigrants on growth, it is crucial to know the level of human capital immigrants carry as compared to that of the natives. Empirical studies show that immigrants to Organization for Economic Corporation and Development (OECD) have lower human capital than native (J. Dolado, A. Guria and A. Ichina, " Immigration, Human capital and growth in the Host Country", Working Paper Fomdazione ENI, Enrico Mattei 1993).

Within the renewed debate on the meaning of 'diaspora' and on the significance of diasporic studies, one can identify a few systematic attempts to define the field and suggest ways of approaching and studying diasporic phenomena. In one of the earliest and most systematic efforts to delineate the concept, back in 1991, William Safran argued that the concept of 'diaspora' is linked to those communities that share some or all of the following characteristics:
the original community has spread from a homeland to two or more countries; they are bound from their disparate geographical locations by a common vision, memory or myth about their homelands; they have a belief that they will never be accepted by their host societies and therefore develop their autonomous cultural and social needs; they or their descendants will return to the homeland should the conditions prove favorable; they should continue to maintain support for homeland and therefore the communal consciousness and solidarity enables them to continue these activities **(Safran 1991, 83-4).**

This attempt to construct a quite specific ideal-type stressed the transnational character of diaspora, the symbolic and material importance - for Safran and other proponents of similar notions of diaspora - of a homeland and a vision of eventual return to it, and introduced an array of other factors such as the Tsagarousianou, Rethinking the Concept of Diaspora 55 perceived marginalization in the country of settlement experienced by members of a diasporic community. As I have argued elsewhere, the above list, although a useful one, is quite limited and limiting as it clearly revolves around the relationship of the diasporic group with its homeland and therefore plays down other important relationships and linkages that inform the diasporic condition **(Fazal & Tsagarousianou 2002, 6-7).**

In essence, it could be argued that, in this context, diasporas are primarily seen as not a lot more than a sub-category of an ethnic group, or a nation. Other theorists such as Cohen (1997) have used the same prescriptive formula of constructing an ideal type of a 'diaspora' as a vehicle of expanding the definition to include a broader range of phenomena. Cohen thus proposes that perhaps these features need to be adjusted and that four other elements should be added to the list proposed by Safran. According to him, therefore, a definition of 'diaspora' needs to:
be able to include those groups that scatter voluntarily or as a result of fleeing aggression, persecution or extreme hardship; take into account the necessity for a sufficient time period before any community can be described as a diaspora.

According to Cohen, there should be indications of a transnational community's strong links to the past that thwart assimilation in the present as well as the future; recognize more positive aspects of diasporic communities. For instance, the tensions between ethnic, national and transnational identities can lead to creative formulations; acknowledge that diasporic communities not only form a collective identity in the place of settlement or with their homeland, but also share a common identity with members of the same ethnic communities in other countries. Cohen has clearly attempted to move the debate forward by not only reemphasizing the transnational character of Diasporas but also by pointing out the significance of their 'transnationality' in the production of creative tensions and syntheses. However, his renewed emphasis on 'strong links to the past', albeit moderated by his emphasis on the creativity and forward vision of diasporas, does not push the debate decisively forward.

Such attempts to define diasporas undoubtedly offer useful insights and correctly reflect the formative influence of a sense of loss and displacement (and, by implication, the primacy of the relationship of diasporas with a 'homeland') that is common among many –though not all– diasporas. However, they have also been marked by some fundamental weaknesses.

As James Clifford, characteristically pointed out, 'we should be wary of constructing our working definition of a term like diaspora by recourse to an ideal type' (1994, 306). The notion of diaspora is a very elusive one and although attempts have been made to provide a typology (Cohen 1997) such typologies and definitions do not recognise the dynamic and fluid character of both diasporas and the volatile transnational contexts in which they emerge and acquire substance .For example, whereas Cohen's distinction between the categories of 'victim' (e.g. Jews, African and Armenians), labour (e.g. the Indian indentured labourers), trade (e.g. the Chinese and the Lebanese), imperial (e.g. the British) and cultural (e.g. the Caribbeans abroad) diasporas take into account the diversity of diasporic experience, they do not really take on board late modern transnational mobility that takes significantly novel forms (such as transnational commuting or mental migration) that cannot be readily discarded as having no relevance to the study of diasporic phenomena (cf. Tölölian 1991; Cunningham and Sinclair 2000). In addition, insightful attempts to make sense of the intensively transnational phenomenon of the Muslim Umma in diasporic terms by Mandaville (2001), although the latter does not fit the strict and primarily ethnocentric criteria advanced by the definitions in question, have the potential of expanding the horizons of our understanding diasporic phenomena.

Another aspect shared by the majority of attempts to build ideal-type definitions of diasporas, perhaps linked to their emphasis on empirically observable 'facts' and the recurrence of these over time, relates to an overrated emphasis on the perceived nostalgic links and memories diasporas have of an original home or homeland. However the notion of home that many researchers stress are questionable as the issue of home within contemporary diasporas becomes somewhat irrelevant.

In contrast to the emphasis that commentators like Safran put on the importance for diasporic communities of maintaining strong links and identifications with the traditions of the

'homeland', Hall points out that the link between these communities and their 'homeland' or the possibility of a return to the past are much more precarious than usually thought (1993, 355). For the place called homeland will have transformed beyond recognition. But it is not only 'back home' that has been caught up in the process of modernization – diasporas themselves are deeply affected by their position at the centre of contemporary globalization flows. In that sense, there is no going 'home' again. There is detour and no return. Diasporas and diasporic experiences, even their apparently more traditionalist variants, should not be dismissed simplistically as backward-looking, as they almost invariably constitute new transnational spaces of experience (Morley 2000) that are complexly interfacing with the experiential frameworks that both countries of settlement and purported countries of origin represent.

Avtar Brah writes, what is home? On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also a lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, somber grey skies in the middle of the day…all this, as mediated by the historically specific of everyday social relations. In other words, the varying experiences of pains and pleasures, the terrors and contentment, or the highs and humdrum of everyday lived culture that marks how, for example, a cold winter night might be differently experienced sitting by a crackling fireside in a mansion compared with standing huddled around a makeshift fire on the streets of nineteenth century England. (Brah 1996, 192)

The notion of home therefore is much more complex than approaches to diasporas premised on the power of nostalgia would want us believe. It 'is intrinsically linked with the way in which the processes of inclusion or exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances. It relates to the complex political and personal struggles over the social regulation of 'belonging' '(Brah, 1996, p.194).

As Fazal and Tsagarousianou (2002: 11) argue, what is important in diasporic notions of home is their relationship to a multiplicity of locations through geographical and cultural boundaries. Within the frame of contemporary diasporas, the notions of 'home' and when a location becomes home are therefore linked with the issues related to inclusion or exclusion which tend to be

subjectively experienced depending upon the circumstances. When does a location become a home? How can one distinguish between 'feeling at home and staking a claim to a place as one's own?' (Fazal and Tsagarousianou 2002, 11-12)

Bagley (1984) in his study of "Education, Ethnicity and Racism: A European-Canadian Perspective" highlighted that Canadian ethnic policies work, because the migrated population has been committed to the social relations required by the capitalism and these migrants were specially selected because of their professional skills, experiences and their willingness to fit in with a social structure based on individuality and individual enterprise.

If we look into the history of Indian migration to Canada, we find that the early Indo-Canadian community was mostly comprised of young Sikh men from Punjab, who came to British Columbia with the hope of finding the better economic opportunities (Johnston, 1984; Sampat-Mehta, 1984; Walton-Roberts, 2003; Bhat & Sahoo, 2003). East Indians first knew Canada in 1897. Stopping in Canadian route in their journey home from Britain to India, a Sikh regiment of the British Indian Army participated in a parade to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in London. This regiment visited British Columbia (Tatla, 1999; Kurian, 1993) and subsequently recommended North America to the other Sikhs who were seeking employment opportunities abroad. The number of East Indians in Canada by 1903 was only three hundred (Tatla, 1999). However, between 1904 and 1908, this number increased to 5185 (5158 men and 15 women and 12 Children) (Chadney, 1984; Johnston, 1988). The access of East Indian immigrants in 1904 matched with Canada's need for manual labour due to an intermission in Chinese immigration. The Canadian government had raised the head-tax on Chinese immigrants to $500.00 and needed Indian immigrants to take their place (Johnston, 1984). Occupation in big Canadian companies such as Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson Bay Company as well as in the resource industries were guaranteed for East Indians. They were able to find jobs in lumber camps, in sawmills, on cattle farms, and in fruit orchards (Nayar, 2004).Though the first immigrants had been guaranteed, they would not face discrimination (since they were British subjects, and Canada was a part of the British Empire). Sikhs faced widespread racism by local white Canadians who attacked them as threats to their jobs. Chandrasekhar (1986) in his study notes that Sikhs were easy targets of the anti-oriental feeling and anti-color prejudice: Being highly

visible—beards, brown complexion, colorful turbans and all—and unable to communicate in English, they were easy targets of economic exploitation by their fellow white workers. At that time white labor was not organized into unions able to demand that the Asians not be hired, particularly at below white wage levels, and so the white laborers rioted and demanded that these "Hindus" be deported. (p. 19)

Initially, India, like Canada, was a British colony; Indians did not need visa to travel to Canada. When the number of Indian immigrants increased, white Canadians felt that "the growing number of Indians would take over their jobs in factories, mills and lumberyards. For this reason, anti-Asian riots started against the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians, they became unwanted Asian ethnic groups. Fright of labor competition and demand for exclusionary laws was followed by racial hostility. As a result, in British Columbia, attempts were made to pass stringent laws discouraging the immigration of Indians to Canada (Sibia, 2007). However, "British Columbia could not regulate immigration through legislation; the British North American Act had placed that responsibility on Ottawa" (Mangalam1986). Ottawa preferred to act vigilantly because Indians were British subjects and "keeping them out would be to deny a fundamental right within the imperial realm, namely freedom of movement within the British Empire" (Mangalam, 1986).

On the other hand, there was more discrimination in the British territory that had unpleasant political consequences for the British government when nationalistic protest movements were in operation in India. In response to the 1907 anti-Asian sentiments in Vancouver, the Canadian government began to establish barriers against Asian immigration. In 1907, Indians were disenfranchised despite of being British subjects. The Canadian government passed a bill whereby Indians were deprived who were not born of Anglo-Saxon parents from their right to vote in future general elections. In 1908, the Canadian government established more new rules to restrict Indian immigration. Mangalam (1986) in his study The Komagata Maru Affair, 1917 in S. Chandrasekhar (Ed.), From India to Canada: A brief history of immigration; problems of discrimination; admission and assimilation emphasizes on the new rules of Indian immigration to Canada. These new rules were:

1) Prospective immigrants must have traveled on a through ticket purchased before leaving the

Country of their birth or citizenship and journeying continuously; 2) they must have in their possession $200 each; 3) they were subject to medical and sanitary examination upon arrival; and 4) their landing in Canada was subject to the needs of labour in Canada. All these precautionary actions, as well as rejection of voting rights for all Indians, restrictions against running for public office, exclusion from service on jury duty, accounting, pharmaceutical, or legal work, and the other discriminatory conditions indicate the exclusionary location of Canada at that time. As result of such socio/economic pressures and the restrictive immigration policies, most of the Sikh immigrants decided to return to India and those the small number who stayed in Canada were not allowed to have their families in Canada until 1919. Quotas established by the Canadian government limited the number of East Indian immigrants. The period between 1909 and 1913, nearly a million and half immigrants entered Canada, among whom only 101 were from East India: 93 men, 6 women and 12 children **(Chadney, 1984).**

In fact, the Canadian immigration implementation of a "continuous journey" rule made immigration to Canada by East Indians almost impossible. The "continuous journey" required every ship to arrive in Canada directly from its homeport, but a ship from India, due to distance, was compelled to stop at a foreign port to refuel. In 1913, 39 Indians traveling with S.S. Panama Maru were not allowed to land in Vancouver. Indian immigrants requested their case as the result Gordon Hunter; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia ruled in the favour of Indians and let them enter Canada (Mangalam, 1986). In 1914, the Japanese ship, Komagata Maru with 376 Punjabis under the leadership of Gurdit Singh was chartered from Hong Kong in an attempt to get around the "continuous journey" restriction. After a non-stop voyage, the Komagata Maru arrived in May to "the Burrard Inlet—a narrow arm of the sea between the mountains and the city of Vancouver" (Chandrasekhar, 1986). Only 22 of these passengers were permitted to land and the rest of the 376 passengers, from Punjab but all British subjects, were repelled from settling in Vancouver and after five months living on the ship they had to go back to India (Johnson, 1979). During the migration, food "ran short on the ship, but the immigration officers were not prepared to supply provisions, saying that it was the responsibility of Gurdit Singh, who had chartered the ship and sold ticket" (Mangalam, 1986). This incident that made prominent the exclusion laws in Canada, which designed to keep out immigrants of Asian origin (Sibia, 2007).

Chandrasekhar (1986) in his book writes about this incident:

The Sikh passengers appealed to the Canadian people and the government for justice and sent cables to the King, the Viceroy and Indian political leaders in India and England. Only Annie Besant, the British Feminist leader of many causes, who was later to become the President of the Theosophical Society in India and sometime later President of the Indian National Congress and to settle in Madras, took up the cause in the British press, but to no avail. (p. 20)

The reply of Sir Richard McBride, the head of the provincial administration of British Columbia, was very hostile. In his statement, he aggressively asserted that: "To admit Orientals in large numbers would mean, in the end, of extinction of the white people and we have always in mind the necessity of keeping this a white man's country" (The Times (London), May 23, 1914, cited in Chandrasekhar, 1986). Sikhs permanently residing in Vancouver took the case to court. However, the court ruled that the new Orders-in-Council barred law courts from passing judgments on decisions of the Immigration Department. In September, the ship returned to Calcutta because of the restrictive immigration policies for Asians, between 1914 and 1918, only one East Indian man entered Canada (Chadney, 1984). These restrictive policies deterred women more than men from entering the country (Doman, 1984). In the period between 1921 and 1923, only 11 women and 9 children came to Canada from India (Sheel, 2005). Later than in 1918, a few East Indians were allowed to come to Canada and the number remained quite low from 1919 to 1945 (only 675 Indians) (Singh, 2002). From 1947 to 1957, fewer than 100 people a year from India were allowed to immigrate to Canada. After 1950, with changes in Canada's immigration law, East Indian immigration to Canada increased. In 1957, the number of immigrants from India increased to 300 people a year. During this period, immigration to Canada was easier for those Indians who had a sponsor in Canada. Since the earlier East Indian, immigrants were Sikh, the sponsorship system "worked in favour of Sikh immigrants" (Nayar, 2004, p. 17). The sponsorship system resulted in an increase in the population of a community of immigrants who came from a region in Punjab known as Doaba (Johnston, 1988a). This tight regional migration can be view even in the composition of the population of East Indo-Canadian today. In 1947, Indians were allowed to vote "after an intense struggle for elementary political and property rights" (Sheel, 2005). Singhvi (2001) in his report writes that: Nothing demonstrated how the

destinies of the Diaspora and India were bound together, as the fact that Indo-Canadians won the right to vote soon after the same time India won its Independence from colonial rule. Thus Indian Independence awakened the pride of the Indo-Canadian community, which gave an unprecedented welcome to the first Indian High Commissioner Shri H.S. Malik. Nehru strongly advocated its cause during his visit to Canada.

Although the Canadian immigration policy became more liberal at this time allowing Indian citizens to vote and to study in the universities and colleges (Jayaram, 2003), the most major changes in immigration policy occurred in 1962. 1962 onwards the Canadian government was in need of educated professionals (Wood, 1978) for economic development as a result they began to initiate more changes in immigration policy. Some scholars like (Bannerji, 1996; Bolaria and Li, 1985; Das Gupta, 1995; Thobani, 2000) indicating the racialized nature of Canadian immigration policy, argue that in the early twentieth century, Canadian immigration policy favored white people immigrating from Northern and Western Europe. Hence, the policy was racially biased (Helweg, 1986) and operated as a policy of exclusion of non-European migrants. In 1967 with the reformulation of immigration policy and removal of discriminatory laws based on race and nationality, Indian immigrants "were assessed on a point system relating to education and training, occupational skill, and employment opportunities or arrangements. The new point system was closely related to the needs of the Canadian economy and placed a premium upon professional and technical skills" (Tinker, 1977). As a result, a new group of East Indians came to Canada who was more educated. In contrast with the pioneers who were "dominantly of the skilled or unskilled labour class" (Jayaram, 2003) and mostly "illiterate and few spoke English" (Johnston, 1984, p. 6), the group who entered Canada based on its "point system" was well versed in English and was educated professionals. With the liberalization of Canadian immigration regulations between 1962 and 1967, the population ratios and patterns in terms of sex and ethnicity became more balanced. The new reclassification of the categories for entry included the skilled class and the family class, which permitted more women and children as well as more ethnically diverse groups to enter Canada. Prior to 1962, most of the immigrants from India were men mainly from the Punjab region, but thereafter the arrival was more balanced between men and women. Apart from, the Sikhs from Punjab, Hindus from Gujarat,

Bombay and Delhi, Christians from Kerala and Parsis from Bombay too immigrated to Canada. (Bhat & Sahoo, 2003).

Bhargava and Seethapathy (2004) in Indo-Canadians & Canada-India Relationships: Towards a Win-Win Scenario notes that despite of the elimination of explicit bias on racial origin in immigration policy in 1960, Indo-Canadian "challenges of racial tension, language and cultural issues, incidents of unemployment, lack of preparedness of the host society in Canada, and inability of the then small Indian immigrant community to their needs" (p. 2) continued during the 60s and 70s. In continuation both bhargava and senapathy notes that with the ascension of racial attacks, in the late 1970s, the Indo-Canadian community pressed, through political/human rights activities, for the development of public policy. Submission of a report entitled Equal Opportunity and Public Policy: the Role of the South Asian Community in the Canadian Mosaic was one of these efforts, presenting "a road map for all sectors of Canadian society for giving better protection of Human Rights and creating harmonious race relations". Such efforts alongside the official announcement of the policy of Multiculturalism in 1971 resulted in bringing public attention to issues of racial discrimination, access and equity and opening up more room for respecting cultural/racial diversity. However, the number of immigrants entering Canada has had difficulties, "there has been a Continuous, if not also steady, flow of Indian emigrants into Canada" (Jayaram, 2003). By 1991, the Indo-Canadian community became one of the most significant proportions of the total immigrant populations in Canada.

The current state of the Indian Diaspora in Canada: In 1967, with the replacement of a point system for immigration quotas based on ethnicity, Indian immigrant population began to increase. According to Statistics Canada, since the late 1990's, approximately 25,000-30,000 Indians arrive each year, making Indians the second highest group immigrating to Canada after Chinese immigrants. The 2001 Census of Canada estimates the number of people who identified themselves as being of Indian origin at 713,330. The majority of the Canadian population is comprised of new immigrants from India, or second and third generation Indian Canadians. However, there are groups of Indians who have moved from other countries such as Uganda and African nations (Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and South Africa), and the Caribbean (Guyana, Trinidad, Tobago, Suriname).

Half of the Indian population in Canada is Punjabi. The other Indian ethnic communities are Gujaratis, Tamils (Indian as opposed to Sri Lankan), and Keralites, Bengalis, Sindhis and others. Due to such cultural and ethnic diversity, Indo-Canadians speak various languages. The most widely spoken language is Punjabi. The second broadly spoken language is Tamil. Urdu is mostly the language of Muslims who come from North India. Hindi is mainly spoken by Indo-Canadians from North India. People also speak Gujarati from Gujarat. Bengali is the language of people from the state of West Bengal. Indo-Canadians are very diverse in terms of religious backgrounds. Sikhs, at 33.5% are the largest group among Indo-Canadians, while this group comprises only 2% of the population in India. In India, Hindus, at 80%, are the greater population. However, they comprise only 27% of the Indo-Canadian population. Muslims and Christians respectively are 17.5% and 16.5% of East-Indian population in Canada.

Indo-Canadians represent diversity in culture, religion and language. Groups with differing ethnic and religious backgrounds have divergent cultural practices. For Indo-Canadians, marriage is an important cultural element. Maintenance of traditional Indian values prevents the practice of dating, as is common among the other Canadians. As in India, arranged marriages are more prevalent among Indo-Canadians. Parents arrange marriages with their specific caste/ethnic community. Interracial marriage is not very common among Indo-Canadian communities compared to the other immigrant groups. Most of Indians prefer to reside in larger urban centers like Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. Indians in Toronto are from Punjab, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. In terms of settling in Canada, the majority of immigrants of South Asian–origin (over 80%) are concentrated in Ontario or British Colombia. The ethnic and religious population patterns of Indo-Canadians indicate how an immigration policy affects the formation of diasporic communities. A brief review of the history of Indian migration to Canada illustrates how Canadian immigration policies over the time have designed the pattern of Indian communities in Canada. Until 1961, Canadian immigration policy was radically in favor of white European origins: 95.9% of Canada's annual acceptance at that time was of people from the UK, Europe and the US. By developing a points system in 1967, the source of Canada's immigrants dramatically changed and the flow of immigration turned to Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Caribbean. Due to the restrictive immigration policies and anti-Asian sentiment in the early twentieth century, the population of Indian in Canada was limited. When immigration rules

softened and limited family immigration through the sponsorship program were allow, the population slowly developed its composition as it is today. The sponsorship system produced a dominantly Punjab class in Indo-Canadian communities, who have since taken leading roles in politics and professions.

Johnston (1988) in his study explains that this ascendancy is derived from a specific region within Punjab, known as Doaba. Thousands of Doaba's young men emigrated due to the transformation of Doaba's agricultural economy under colonialism and in the 1970's; approximately 70 percent of Indian immigrants in Canada were from Punjab (Kessinger, 1974, Wood, 1978). In the early 1990's, the same figure has been reported (Paynter, 1995). The majority of this population is Sikh. However, this dominance occurs alongside a wide variety of Indo-Canadians' regional, ethnic, caste, religious, linguistic, economic and educational backgrounds, and ultimately constitutes a diaspora of considerable heterogeneity (Jayaram, 2003; Lele, 2003; Pandit, 2003). Nonetheless, the attitude of considering non-Sikh or non-Punjabi-origin Indian immigrants as "not apna," (not "our own") has led "to an insular vision of the Indian immigrant community on the parts of both Canadian Sikhs and the 'mainstream'" (Kurl, 2000 cited in Walton-Roberts, 2003, p. 238). Punjabis, the first Indians to immigrate to Canada, retained their dress style and hence, they are easily distinguishable from the other Indians.

According to Judge (1994), there are two levels of ethnic consciousness among Punjabis: the sharing of a common status of an immigrant community with other South Asians, and the exhibition of distinct behavior patterns from others. Indian Diasporas in Canada have persisted in the maintenance of their cultural identity. Bhat &Sahoo (2003) in their study emphasize that: Despite the distance, the age-old traditions such as rituals, customs, festivals, religion, cultural expressions and performing arts have remained central to the life and identity of Indian immigrants in Canada. They also exhibit a strong desire to pass on these values and culture to the next generation to make them appreciate their own cultural roots.

Among Indian immigrants, family interests have priority to personal interests. Filial relationships and family harmony are the most important component of their culture. Various studies by (Dhruvarajan, 1993; Gibson, 1988; Kurian, 1986; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981) noticed that

there are also a gender division of labour and gender roles among Indo-Canadian with the supremacy of males and female subordination. Indo-Canadians are among the largest and most important diaspora in Canada. However, they do not have the influence of their American Indian counterparts. "Many have observed the lack of mainstream participation by Indo-Canadians" Ray noticed this, (1994) as well as generational conflicts due to a strict devotion to the preservation of their culture and traditions. Scholar Vanjana Dhruvanjan focused on second generation Canadians. She had conducted a research interview based on second-generation indo Canadians. In this, she has argued on the question of identity. She discovered by this research that those individuals who she interacted shown a sense of pride and affinity to India but perceived Canada as home. She has also emphasized on the problem of 'generational gap'. In this regard, Dhruvanjan noted that parents usually differentiate between core and peripheral values. Core values included marriage, dating and are not negotiable and peripheral values, which included eating patterns, which are negotiable. She has also focused on the problem of 'Racism'.

Another scholar Maharaj (2003) in his study on Comparative reflections on the Indian Diaspora: Historical and recent perspectives revealed that: Parents are optimistic for their children to be economically successful. This requires them to embrace the mainstream Canadian culture. However, at home children are often expected to embrace Indian cultural values. There is a conflict between the mainstream western Canadian culture at the school or at workplace and the Indian culture of the home. Maharaj concludes that Indians are economically successful in Canada. However, they experience "serious psycho-social problems, which are in part related to cultural conflicts" (p. 62).

The majority of Indian immigrants in Canada are Sikhs. Although early Indian immigrants to North America were largely all Sikh peasants from Punjab, there is a distinct difference of position between Canada and the United States. The Sikh population profiles in the US diverged rapidly because Sikhs in the US frequently married local Mexican American women **(Leonard, 1993)**, unlike those in Canada who neither married women of European descent nor could bring wives with them from India. Yet Sikhs now constitute the majority of the Indian population in Canada, while in the US, Hindus are now the most numerous.

41

Leonard (2002) in his study argues that the Indian Muslim communities in both Canada and the US are becoming increasingly important. Considering that Sikhs in India are a minority population, these Indo-Canadians' lack of a strong link with their ancestral homeland is justifiable. Unlike Indo-Canadians, Indians in the US are dominantly Hindus and have "a highly variant relationship with India. One link is the remittances that they sometimes send home" (Maharaj, p. 60). According to the US 1990 Census, Indians had the highest median household income, family income, and per capita income of any immigrant community. The major populations of Indian in the US are professionals. Hence, such privileged socioeconomic status gives them "the power of diaspora" (Leonard, 2000, p. 23).

Nair (2004), comparing the first seven countries in terms of the number of Indian Diaspora, argues that United States, with the lowest population of Indian Diaspora in its total population in 2001 (i.e. 0.59%,) has the highest share of India's total trade in 2000-2001 (i.e.12.96%). Canada, with a share of 2.74% of the Indian Diaspora population has only 1.11% share of India's total trade. He writes: The two highest values in terms of the relative importance of total trade go to USA and the UK, which also have the first and third positions in the table in terms of per capita income. This only goes on to lend further credence to the usually accepted view in international trade theory of the higher degree of complementarily between the more developed than between the less developed countries. Canada provides an interesting case in the table. It has the second highest value in terms of per capita income among the countries considered in the table, the value in this regard being higher than that of the U.K. But it occupies the second position from below in regard to the relative importance in terms of the share in India's total trade with the world. This is actually so despite the fact that Canada is better off than the other two countries of the western and developed world - U.S.A and U.K. in terms of the relative importance of the Indian Diaspora in their respective populations. It is true that facts of history and geography have stood in the way of stronger economic ties between India and Canada. But to the extent that the relative importance of the Indian Diaspora can overcome these obstacles, the evidence appears to be that there is considerable potential to improve matters.

N .Jayaram (2003) discussed about the number of themes and issues related to Indian diaspora. He has focused on themes and issues such as demography of Indian emigration to Canada, cause of and conditions for migration to Canada, the background of Indian immigrants, and the process of emigration, changing composition of Canadian population, dynamics of the Canadian society, social organization of the diasporic community cultural dynamics of Indians in Canada, the question of identity, the struggle for power, orientation of the Indians in Canada to the ancestral land and orientation of the ancestral land to the diasporic Indians. Jayaram think that raising these issues will result in an understanding of the multicultural experience— from both the points of view of Canada and that of the diasporic Indians there.

Another scholar Jayant Lele highlights two fundamental questions, i.e., what is diaspora and who is an Indian. He brings to our notice that most of these migrant were Sikhs, but they all identified as Hindus. He says that there were two phases of Indian migration to Canada. Second phase of Indian immigrants were mostly comprised of professionals. According to him the major support for hindutuva comes from this class, which he further identifies with the phenomena namely 'long distance nationalism' and growth of a 'particular kind of nationalist sentiments. In the study "Diaspora to transitional Networks: The Case of Indians in Canada" by Chanderashekhar Bhat and Ajay Kumar Sahoo focuses on the formation of networks in diasporic communities. They emphasize on the issues of linkages and how they are maintained. They highlighted the continuance of tradition, the outward expression of cultural tradition. They have explained this on the basis of their observation of certain traditions, which are "central to the life, and identity of immigrants in Canada. On this basis they also focused on 'Transnational' networks, which they explained with the reference to two Indian communities in Canada- the Punjabis and The Guajarati's both of which constitute important 'visible minorities'. The key factors, which these authors pointed out in transnational networks, are the radical developments in transport and communications, including the internet.

CONCLUSION

The above review of literature regarding Indian Diaspora reveals that an ample work has been done on various dimensions on Indian Diasporas in socio-economic field but still the socio-cultural studies are very less. In above review of literature some studies were carried out by applying historical approaches to the Indian Diaspora, while other studies focused on the structures of Diaspora communities and yet others emphasized on the agencies of immigrants. Some studies focused and highlighted the historical and geographical elements acting on Canada, America, England/India relations. Some studies focused on the social adjustment of immigrants in Canada, America and England. They explored cultural determination as well as the dynamics of family change, religion, language, ethnicity, culture etc. From the above review of literature, it is discovered that very less amount of work has been done on Gujarati Diaspora in Canada, America and England, which forms an important part of the great Indian Diaspora.

Hence, the present study aims to study the role of Guajarati Diasporas in Canada, America and England in the light of their socio- cultural and other related issues. The study also examines the influence of Guajarati Diaspora in Canada, America and England upon the family and kin members behind in their country of origin and socio-cultural changes in host country.