

A STUDY OF GENERATION DIFFERENCES
IN IMMIGRANT GROUPS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SIKHS

MARCUS A. THOMPSON

Thesis submitted for M. Phil. degree in Social
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ABSTRACT

A study of generation differences in immigrant groups,
with special reference to Sikhs

The study is based on data about Punjabi Sikh immigrants collected during nine months field work in Coventry. The three main themes of the thesis are:

- (1) the determination of the extent to which the social relations of Punjabi immigrants are with natives and the extent to which they are with other Punjabis;
- (2) the comparison of the patterns of social relations of first generation immigrants with those of subsequent generations;
- (3) the comparison of social behaviour in various fields of young second generation immigrants with the behaviour of other young immigrants more recently arrived in the immigrant situation.

Chapter 1 deals with the methods and problems of field-work. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 give a background to the analysis of the local situation in the following chapters, including a definition of terms, the theoretical framework, a typology of chain migration with a review of previous migration into England, the aetiology of the Punjabi migration and a sketch of the Punjabi settlement in Coventry. In Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 the three main themes are developed with reference to the family, household and marriage; to education and employment; to peer group association and to political activity. The final chapter is a summary of the conclusions of the four previous chapters.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: THE FIELDWORK

This thesis is based on both library and field research. To introduce it, I will discuss briefly the fieldwork on which much of the study is based, and the particular problems attached both to the methods used to collect information, and my role as a researcher in the field situation.

I chose to do my research in Coventry. I wanted to base the study on a local knowledge of the situation of Punjabi immigrants in a city in England. The value of this became clearer as the work progressed and as conversations with colleagues engaged on similar projects in other cities showed me that the immigrant situations they were studying were different from that in Coventry in many respects. Throughout, I am careful to maintain that the situation I describe is as it existed in Coventry through the 18 months of June, 1968, to January, 1970. It may or may not be similar to the situation in other cities then or even in Coventry itself at another time.

The choice of Coventry was based on several considerations. To begin with, a high proportion of the total number of 'new Commonwealth' 'coloured' immigrants in Coventry are Punjabis (direct from Punjab as opposed to East Africa). Patterson, (1969:12) lists the cities in the United Kingdom according to her estimation of the number of Commonwealth immigrants resident in them; Coventry is listed ninth, but, with Leicester, has a higher proportion of Indian immigrants to the total number of immigrants in the city than any other city. "Two thirds are

Indians with equal numbers of Pakistanis and West Indians." Of the Indian population, I estimate at least 70% to be Punjabis. The Indian immigrant settlement is concentrated in a small area in the city, which suggested that the universe of study might be easier to define than if the settlement were large and at the same time dispersed.

By the summer of 1968, Coventry had not featured in the national press as an area with particular race relations problems in the same way as Wolverhampton, Smethwick, Southall or Bradford; nor in fact did it attract any attention on race relation issues during the time of my stay there. By comparison with some other cities race relations in the city are good partly I think due to extensive development since the war, in which the city suffered badly from enemy air action, so that housing is relatively plentiful in the city.¹ The absence of any burning race relations issue meant that I could pursue my study of the internal dynamics of the Punjabi settlement and not be stereotyped by those with whom I came into contact as a student of race relations. Coventry was also the only city with a large immigrant population with which I had any familiarity personally and to my knowledge there was no other social scientist working there on a similar study at the time.

I visited Coventry for three months in the summer of 1968 and again for six months from June to December, 1969. During my stay in 1968 I did not live in an immigrant house but in a flat on the edge of the main area of immigrant settlement. My intention was to make a preliminary study to see if I could fruitfully pursue my wish to study the extent to which

the so-called second generation immigrants were conforming to, or deviating from, their parents' generation in their patterns of social relations. In these three months I set out to meet and talk to as many Punjabi immigrants as I could of all generations and ages, but paying particular attention to the younger people who had been resident there a long time. I had not formulated any concrete hypothesis that I wished to test by the collection of any survey material. I explained myself as a student who had spent a year teaching in a Sikh school in Punjab and was interested to see what the Punjabis were doing and how they were getting on in England. I explained that I hoped that I might return to Coventry to write a book about the Punjabis living there if I found there was enough material.

During the following university session I wrote some preliminary chapters in which I distinguished some of the spheres of social activity and the different generations of the immigrant population. I also wrote the political case study from events that had taken place during my three month stay in the summer.

In the six months of the latter half of 1969 I lived in two first generation immigrant houses, as a member of the family rather than as a lodger. The Punjabis live in general in small terraced houses in nuclear or extended family households. The fact that any household that included some young people who had lived in England for several years filled their house to capacity meant I was unable to find any suitable 'second generation' house in which to live. That may have been a blessing in disguise in that I would have been closely identified with the young people in that house by others in the city and thus my freedom to associate with whomever I

chase might have been restricted. I attempted to meet and talk to as many young Punjabis as I could who had lived some years in Coventry, in order to expand my knowledge of the various fields of social activity that I had distinguished the previous year.

This course of action had two important effects on the orientation of my study. The first resulted from the attempt to draw out the spheres in which the young people differed from their elders: here I concentrated on meeting individuals and talking to them about their own lives, and particularly their relations with senior members of their families in England. Hence my emphasis was on establishing general patterns derived from information learned from a number of individuals. I realised in the course of the six month stay in 1969 that this emphasis was leading me away from the study of a most important field of social relations, the peer groups of young people active in the city. I had material on the peer groups, but had not systematically collected it with any hypothesis in view. As a result, the chapter on peer groups is not as comprehensive or as thorough as it could have been if time had allowed.

The second effect on the study of my initial course of action is its essentially immigrant-native orientation, as opposed to a racial minority orientation. Writers in the field of race relations have emphasised that this immigrant-native orientation may be of little value. As the racial perspective becomes correspondingly more appropriate "the immigration perspective may be of diminishing utility" (Banton, 1967:387). "... We must break away from the focus of an immigrant-host relationship and turn instead to a study of the relationships between groups within a society in which

one of the groups was distinguished by the factor of colour" (Rose, 1969:6).

However, for the study of Punjabi society in England the 'immigrant' orientation is still of value, particularly for any study of social relations of the first generation immigrants who have taken the initiative in establishing regional settlements orientated towards the villages of origin, and of the deviation from those patterns by their children. From the start of my work I conceived of it as a study focusing on the relationship between first and second generation Punjabi immigrants, within the regional settlement, not on the immigrant-native relationship. This is not to say that the immigrant-native relationship is not important for each generation in their relations with each other, but in the context of this study even that relationship is more usefully considered in immigrant native terms than in coloured minority terms.

Fieldwork method

The fieldwork in Coventry presented two closely related problems familiar to all anthropologists: the method to be used in collecting information, and my role as a researcher vis à vis my informants.

I adopted methods in collecting field material that have come to be associated with anthropologists, of interviewing a limited number of people in depth and of observing social behaviour by living with my informants, both involving the establishment of consistent relations over a long period of time. I did not collect any survey material by questionnaire in formal 'doorstep' interviewing situations, which do

not involve the researcher and informant in any consistent personal relations. My hypotheses were about the personal relations of individuals within and outside the family, and so were not suitable for verification by formal survey.

"Any sociologist who simply goes along to interview Punjabis armed with a notebook or interview schedule expecting to get replies to direct questions is in for a rude surprise. Not only will the answers be invariably peripheral, but the Punjabis may well consider our sociologist crude and unsophisticated and simply abandon him". (Marsh, 1967:vi).

I was more anxious to get reliable information in a limited quantity than a huge amount of survey data derived from oversimplified answers. As I found for myself some of my informants gave answers to questions in my early acquaintance with them that I later realised were, to say the least, misleading. All of them agreed that I could not get a realistic understanding of their situation by asking a lot of personal questions as a stranger.

The greatest danger in collecting data from a limited number of people is that it is not representative. How could I be sure that I was not only reaching those people interested to befriend and talk to Englishmen? Of course, it could not be guaranteed, except that the researcher aware of the problem can guard against it. I had a higher chance of meeting boys who belonged to a group of Punjabi friends than those who did not, since to meet one of a group of Punjabi friends means to meet them all. The chances of meeting a single boy not a member of any group were very small. I met Punjabi boys in

chance encounters - in the pubs, at meetings, in the parks, but more regularly through the introduction of some of their friends or relatives. Strictly the total number of boys I met as informants is no 'sample' in that they were not selected by any random way. I made an effort to meet everyone I heard of who had been to school in England and was over school leaving age, and a particular effort to meet those who had been in England before the age of ten. This 'sample', that I use to illustrate my thesis, is composed of 71 boys between the ages of 17 and 25. Of the total, 45 of them have had some years' schooling in England, and the remaining 26, second generation boys, have had all their schooling in England. I have restricted inclusion in the sample to those over 16 years old, as being those boys who are responsible for themselves and are able to take their own decisions as to their modes of association inside and outside the family.

" Closely related to the methods of study adopted is the problem of the role of the researcher in the field situation, which involves explaining the study to the informants and establishing consistent, mutually acceptable relations between researcher and informants.²

I based my explanation of my study on the need for accurate information on the extent to which young people were living in the same way as their parents, and the extent to which they were living differently. I argued that the need for this information being made available to members of English society was made urgent by what I considered the

ill-informed 'clap-trap' of some politicians that was poisoning English attitudes to immigrants. Most people sympathised with this motive, and agreed that the only realistic way to make such a study was to meet and talk to as many young Punjabis as possible. Many people abbreviated my explanation to the bare fact that I was writing a book about Punjabis, which seemed to them quite acceptable. Like Whyte "I found that my acceptance in the district depended on the personal relations I developed far more than on any explanations I might give". (Whyte, 1943:300). I was anxious to build relationships with Punjabis so that everyone would know what I was doing and why I was particularly interested in them, but would also see me as a personal friend, not only as a researcher.

The greatest problem in embarking on this course of action is one of time available for personal relationships may be slow to develop, and people do not rush to a researcher to make friends with him. In the three months of 1968 I had tried to expose myself in situations where I considered I had a good chance of meeting young Punjabis - in the Gurudwara (Sikh Temple), in the pubs, at public meetings and in the parks. The contacts I made in these situations gave me a number of links through which I could meet more people.

A constant fear was that I should be accused, and perhaps justly, of exploiting the friendships I made to extort information. In general the policy of keeping all new contacts informed of what I was doing made it clear in everybody's mind that I hoped they would be willing to help

me in an informal way with my research. Once I had established good contacts within the network of relations that makes up the Punjabi 'community', I was able to get contacts to introduce me to their friends. "Just remember you're my friend. That's all they need to know" Doc said to Whyte (1943:291). I found it equally true in many situations.

When those people who had confidence in me introduced me to their friends the introduction greatly eased my efforts in establishing their confidence in me. As all my informants knew as much as they cared to about my work I am not betraying their confidence in making this study, but upholding it in portraying their situation as I perceived it.

At no time in my fieldwork did I attempt to collect information 'in disguise' as a member of the community, but always maintained the role of an 'outsider' to some extent. Banton argues that attempting to make investigations disguised as a member of the group under study is not very effective - particularly for a member of the native society in an immigrant situation. "The romantic idea of the investigator who gets his information by going around in disguise had been badly overworked". (Banton, 1955:118).

The role of outsider is not without its drawbacks. Suspicion of me was aggravated by the political climate of tightened and continually tightening immigration restrictions at the time. In that climate, an unknown Englishman enquiring about various aspects of the immigrants' lives quite understandably aroused some suspicion. Like Banton

I, too, was under suspicion as a C.I.D. man, particularly when I attended political meetings. The only recourse one has is to one's reputation spread by those with whom one has personal contacts.

As an outsider I was in a politically neutral position with reference to local Punjabi politics and able to meet representatives of all groups quite freely. I had no position locally that gave me high status in the eyes of any political groups, so I could circulate freely, and attend political meetings without any danger of being invited on to the platform or drawn into disputes.

As an English university graduate, I did have requests to act as a 'social worker' or broker in assisting young first generation immigrants in completing and typing various forms, and accompanying them to Solicitors' offices, etc. This role as a broker is not to be confused with that as a friend of second generation immigrants which also involved the exchange of services.

I spent most of my time with boys of the 17 - 25 year old age group. If I went out with them to the pub, the cinema or for a walk, we might sometimes have general and light-hearted discussions, or none at all, but I had the opportunity to observe their social behaviour together. Time spent with one individual was the chance for valuable serious discussions. I learned by experience which questions on which topics were appropriate in particular situations. I never used a notebook or tape recorder to take down information as it was related, but took advantage of the informal situations to discuss matters as

thoroughly as possible.

The role that I adopted of joining in the peer group activities of the boys in the 17 - 25 year age group, and thus establishing moral relationships with the members similar to the relations that existed between them, excluded me from contact with the girls of that age. Punjabi society strictly segregates unrelated and unmarried young men and women. Members of English society are generally excused on the grounds of their own ignorance for any indiscretion they may make in this field. I had no excuse of ignorance and, though my research and my being English would have given me some licence, I decided to by-pass the girls completely. Peer group members did not have any social contact with other members' sisters. I did not want to complicate my relations with members of peer groups I knew by deviating from the norms and seeking introduction by brothers to their sisters. Any relations with girls would have complicated my relations with their fathers and brothers in all but the most 'anglicised' families. Moreover, any interviews I could have had with girls would have been in their homes and in the presence of their parents or brothers, so the discussion would inevitably have been guarded. The only realistic way in which I could have included the girls would have been through the use of a female colleague or assistant.

For the most part, language was no problem, since all the young people who have been to school in England speak English. Some of the first generation immigrants, particularly women, speak little or no English. I can understand and speak Punjabi sufficiently to make myself

understood over the telephone, on the doorstep or in simple conversations. My faltering Punjabi served more to support my assertion that I had a genuine interest in the Punjabis in Coventry. It was of novelty value, but of little value in serious conversation.

Overall, my attempts to collect accurate material were given sympathetic treatment by the Punjabis in the city. I am confident that they sought genuinely to give me a realistic insight into their way of life. The greatest drawback was the limited amount of time I spent in the field which allowed me some insight into problems to which I applied myself, but restricted me in following up further hypotheses developed in the fieldwork situation.

Chapters 4 to 9 are based on my fieldwork in Coventry. In chapter 2, I shall define some of the terms I shall use in this study and develop a model continuum on which to place different immigrant situations in relation to each other. In Chapter 3 as a background to the Punjabi immigration to England and the particular settlement in Coventry I shall review some studies, completed in the last 25 years of other immigrant settlements. This includes a consideration of the 'push' and 'pull' factors and a typology of 'chain' migration. Turning to the Punjabi population in Coventry in chapter 4 I shall give a general description of the settlement as a preliminary to the chapters on the patterns of relations in household and marriage, employment, peer groups and politics of the different generations in the population.

Footnotes to Chapter 1

1. City of Coventry Housing Report, 1969, shows that the 'waiting list' for council housing was 5,732 in March, 1966, and 3,193 in March, 1969. It was estimated unofficially to be "about 6,000" in March, 1970.

2. I found the discussions of Banton (1955: 111-119) and Whyte (1943: Appendix) most helpful in this respect.

Chapter 2

THE PROBLEMS AND THEIR THEORETICAL CONTEXTIntroduction

The Asian immigrants who have arrived in Britain since the beginning of the 1950s are the most recent of a steady flow of immigrants to the British Isles. In this century alone, they have included East European political exiles and refugees from the Second World War, among them Poles, Ukrainians, Balts, Czechs, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, and Jews from various European countries. There have also been selected economic migrants from western and southern Europe, Germany, Italy, Austria and Spain, who have generally come with Ministry of Labour permits. Within the British Isles there has been a very large scale migration of Irish into the industrial centres of England, and through the century a migration of people from 'depressed' areas like Wales and the North-East to flourishing centres of industry.

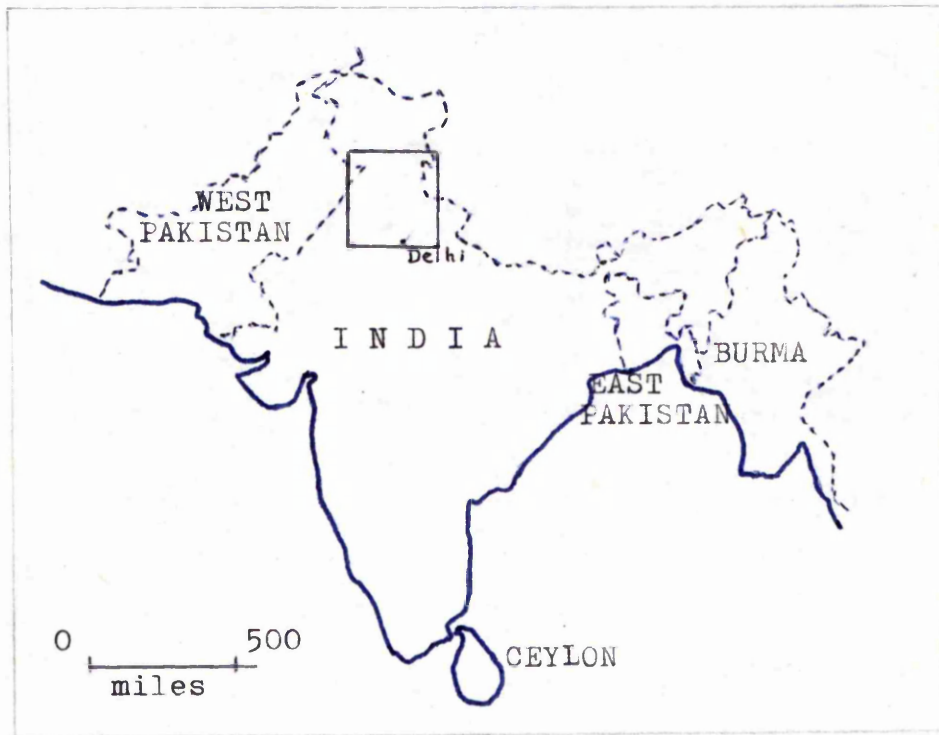
The Asians, along with the West Indians, are different from their predecessors in that they come from countries that Britain has held as colonies, and which it has come to regard as 'underdeveloped'. These immigrants are identifiable (as many previous immigrants were in different ways) by the colour of their skin, and obvious cultural characteristics. It is as yet not possible to say whether this most recent immigration will in the long run be seen as any different from those that preceded it, or whether it will develop in a way that is different from any of the others. The issues

of race and community relations that have leaped into prominence in the political arena and into almost all departments of everyday life are to be compared with similar debates aroused in earlier years by the arrival of other immigrants (Rose, 1969:34).

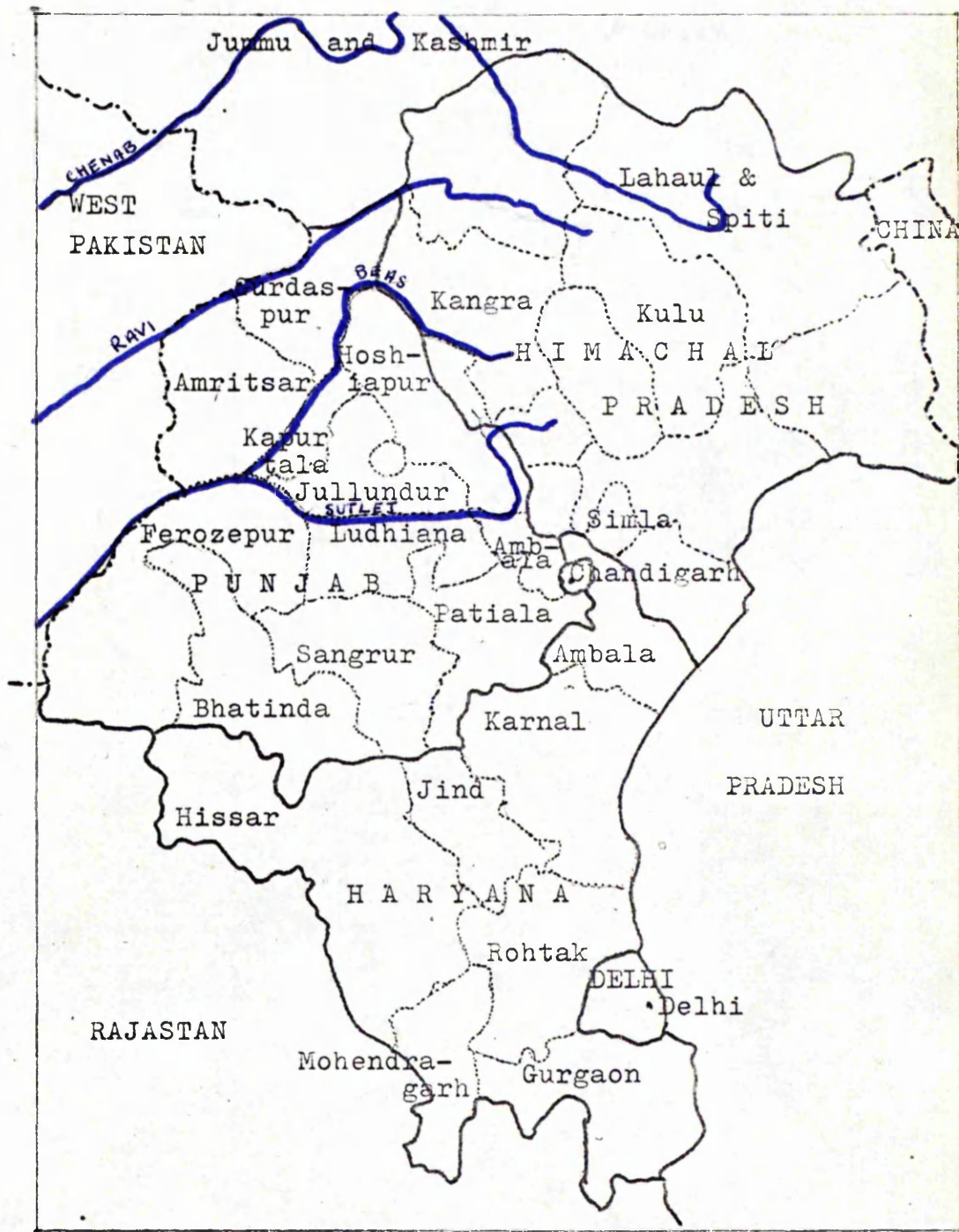
The settlement in England of Commonwealth immigrants has been followed by a growth in race relations and immigrant studies. The focus of most of these is the relationship between the ethnically distinct populations in society. In contrast, my interest in this study is the dynamics within one group of these immigrants, the Punjabis from the area of Punjab known as Doaba (from Punjabi 'do' = two, 'āb' = river, the land between two rivers, Sutlej and Beas, which includes Kapurtala, Hoshiarpur and Jullunder districts (See maps 1, 2 and 3).) Of course the relationship between these immigrants and the other groups of society in England affects the development of social relations within the Doabi population, but the focus of my interest is on relationships of individuals within the Doabi population, and their development in the immigrant situation.

Though there have been Indians in this country throughout the century, there was never a movement of people on the scale that there was after the Second World War, particularly between 1950 and 1962. Since the Commonwealth Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1968 have severely restricted immigration, it can be seen as both a recent and a short and sharp migration. This allows social studies to keep pace with the developing patterns of the immigrants' lives, particularly in relation to the changing patterns of their social relations, in contrast to

Map 1. India and Pakistan, with inset showing the area covered in Map 2, the states of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

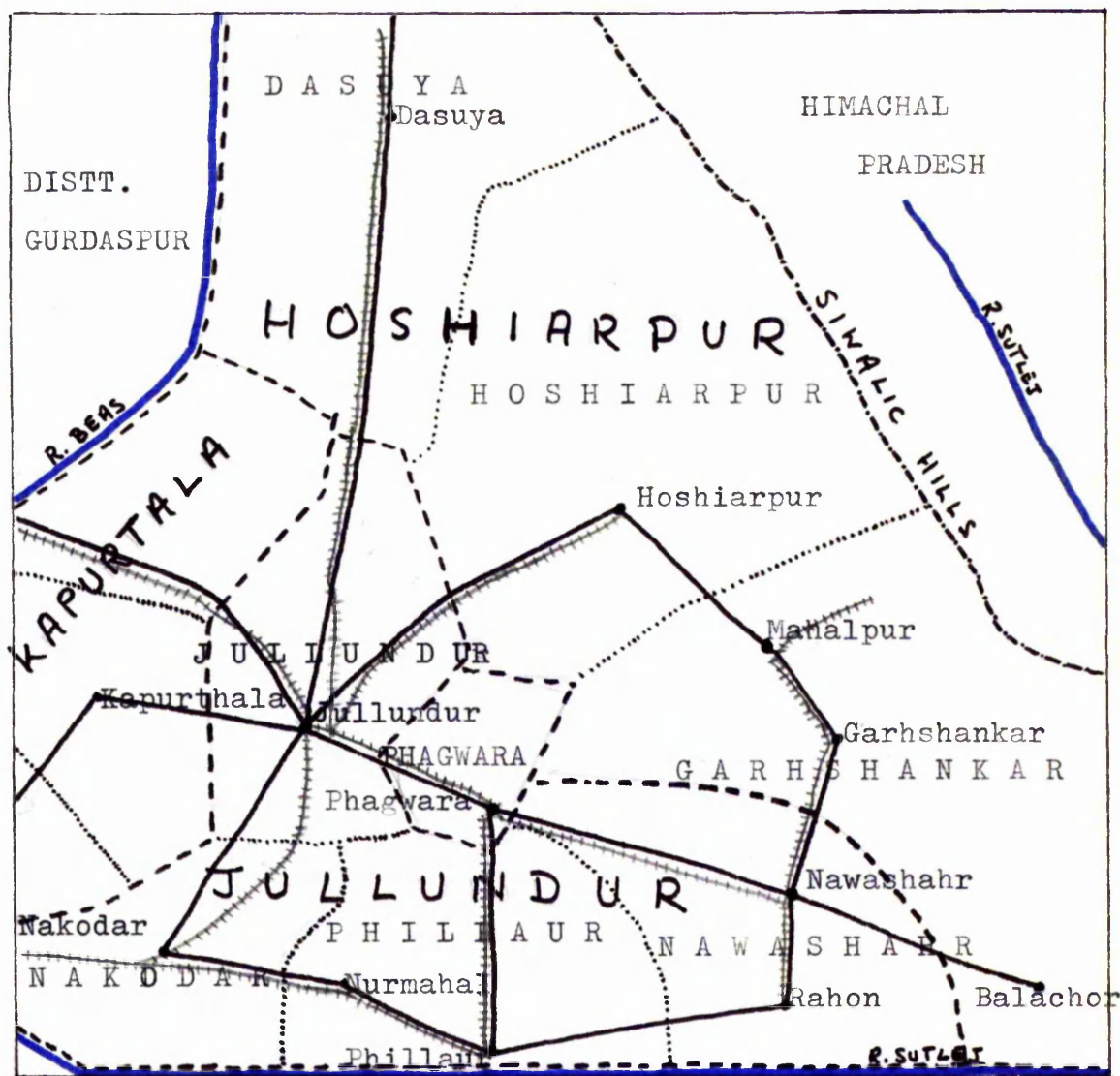


Map 2 The new Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh boundaries, November 1, 1966.



In November 1966 Haryana was created and Himachal enlarged at the expense of the old state of Punjab. Jullundur and Hoshiarpur are both retained within the redrawn boundaries of Punjab, but Una tehsil (local district) previously in Hoshiarpur district is now Kangra district, Himachal Pradesh.

Map 3. Sketch map of Doaba, showing the tehsils of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts.



The three districts of Doaba, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Kapurthala are in bold letters, the tehsils (sub-districts) are in spaced capitals. Also marked are the main towns, roads and railways (from Survey of India maps 1922, 1928).

many studies particularly in America that deal with immigrant groups long after the event of migration, and are unable to describe the developing situation in the early years of settlement.

Those children born to immigrant parents in the early 1950s, or brought up here are now reaching an age of responsibility and adulthood. This allows a study of the immigrant settlement as the second generation emerges.

This study will examine whether the generation brought up in a modern industrial society adopts the structural pattern of life in that society, or whether it maintains the pattern of relationships that are familiar in the villages from which the families originated. American studies of different immigrant and ethnic groups have shown that their patterns of social relationships change after several generations in the immigrant situation (Moynihan and Glazer, 1958:16; Gans, 1965). The West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis are the first non-Europeans who have settled in England in sufficient numbers to allow comparable studies. It remains to be seen whether they will repeat patterns already documented.

This study is centred around three themes. One is the determination of the overall position of the Punjabi population in Coventry in terms of their social relations with other people in the city. I shall construct a model continuum in this chapter based theoretically on the interplay of cultural and structural variables, on which the Punjabis can be placed for comparison with other minority and immigrant groups.

The second, and most important theme, is the examination of the patterns of social relations of the second generation

to compare them with those of the first generation. I shall try to draw out and explain the fields in which the second generation conforms to and deviates from the first generation patterns. Because the first generation migrated as adults and the second generation are only now reaching maturity this contrast is also one of youth and age.

The third theme is a comparison of the second generation with others of the same age who have not been in England so long, in their relations with the older immigrants and with the institutions and members of native society. Theoretically, this is contrasting physical with sociological age; in my terms as I shall define them, the differentiation of a cohort by generation.

For a study of an immigrant group to be of comparative value that group must be seen in the context of minority group, immigration and race relations studies generally. Before going on to look at the background to this migration to be seen in studies already completed, I shall define some of the terms currently in use, in particular those I shall use, and go on to place this study in the theoretical context of immigrant studies generally.

Definition of terms

By 'immigrant situation' I refer to the presence of an immigrant population settled for a longer or shorter period as neighbours of an already settled population. I do not mean to imply any particular proportions or relations between the populations.

'Integration' has no generally accepted technical definition. The ideas of harmony and concord that popular

use have made implicit in the term are too well established to be avoided even by the social scientist. Each tends to define it as what he personally regards as the optimum solution to the give and take problems of the immigrant situation. There is further confusion as the word is used to describe both a policy and a process. Collins, (1957) does not define integration but uses it in the sense of establishing a friendly relationship between members of the groups. Desai, (1963:67, 71,125) uses it to label an harmonious situation not a social process. He does not define it but refers by it to "a compatible and relatively peaceful existence of an immigrant group achieved through two processes: assimilation and accommodation" (1963:147). Aurora, (1967) uses integration to refer to immigrants becoming culturally assimilated to and "getting on" with members of English society. Again, integration has recently been used as a technical term to describe the policy and situation which is currently regarded as the most just and acceptable for both immigrants and natives: cultural diversity and social equality (Borrie, Nieva and Diegues, 1959; Rose, 1969:24). Roy Jenkins, then Home Secretary, defined integration in this sense, as the goal to be aimed at in England. He considered it "not a flattening process of assimilation, but as equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (1966). The term is perhaps valuable in the sense of being whatever process and situation is mutually acceptable to both groups in their relations with each other, and its use is best avoided in any other sense. I shall use it in this way.

The terms 'group' and 'community' tend to be given such

broad definitions as to be of no use in analysis (Landecker, 1964; Sjoberg, 1964). To refer to the category of people who are immigrants from one particular area, some neutral term like 'immigrant population' or 'Indians' is necessary. 'Group' implies some sort of common identification, consciousness or coactivity, if not formal membership. I shall use it only when I am referring to a specific collection of people united by some common activity together, which I have previously mentioned and to which I am clearly referring. 'Community', overworked in popular use, has become a relative term depending for its reference on the standpoint of the observer. To English citizens of Coventry there is an immigrant community, to West Indians there is an Indian community, to Gujaratis there is a Pujabi community, to Jats there is a Ram Gharria community, and so on. 'Community' implies in the eyes of the outsider a corporate group with a degree of consciousness and coactivity - but this impression may be completely erroneous.

However, the popular usage can be given a technical definition. In Coventry there is a comprehensive network of relations that extends throughout the city within which primary and, to a large extent, secondary relations of Punjabis are restricted. With reference to any individual the network is unbounded, but as a whole it is bounded in that it extends only to include the local Punjabi population of several thousands. Some individuals and subgroups are marginal to this network in that they have a limited number of links leading into it, but through the network of links almost any Punjabi can 'fix' in a social position almost any other. All the members of this network make up the Punjabi community. It corresponds exactly

with what is popularly regarded as such.

The term 'community' has in popular usage the connotations of harmony and common will, and this may by implication misrepresent the situation it refers to. The Punjabi community in Coventry is criss-crossed by conflicting interests and groups, to be considered in more detail in subsequent chapters.

'Immigrant' and 'host' are value-laden terms. 'Host', particularly, has overtones of a population being the indigenous, rightful inheritors of a country, allowing any outsiders to settle on suffrage, with insecure tenure and the obligation to fall in with the mainstream of the society. Dahya suggests that the terms 'host' and 'receiving' society are inappropriate as they imply that immigrants are admitted on suffrage, or have been invited (1967). The implications of these terms are contributory to feelings of writers on race relations that the focus of students in that subject should be towards the relationship between groups within society distinguished by colour. (See page 11 above). These writers are bypassing the fruitless argument about when an immigrant becomes a native, and for how long after initial settlement it is still relevant to see the newcomers and the already settled population in terms of immigrant and host. For race relations studies it is more useful to see racial problems in terms of groups distinguished by colour. For the study of Punjabi society in England at present the role of the first generation as immigrants remains of considerable importance. The first generation Punjabi immigrants in England have not, in general, come to make England their permanent home, but to fulfil certain economic goals and return to India. This orientation affects the patterns of social relations that are established in England

and is, therefore, of direct relevance. No term presents itself as a suitable alternative for 'immigrant' but some of the inappropriate overtones of 'host' can be avoided if it is replaced by 'native'.

Fong, (1959:41) adopts the term 'sojourners' for Chinese in New Zealand who migrated for specific reasons intending to return to China and, therefore, have resisted pressures to be "assimilated" into New Zealand society. This is a useful distinction, but is complicated by migrants who may intend to return home on the achievement of their goals, but who either never achieve them or do not return even when they do. The situations of individual migrants involve too many variables for the social scientist to be able to categorise all migrants as either settlers, intending to stay permanently, or sojourners staying temporarily. I shall use 'native' and 'immigrant' to distinguish one group already settled in an area from another whose members are newly arrived; 'settler' and 'sojourner' to distinguish the intending permanent settler from the immigrant staying temporarily.

My use of the phrase 'second generation immigrant' to refer to an individual who was either born in England or arrived here before the age of five is a descriptive term. I do not mean by it that he regards himself, or is regarded, as an 'immigrant'. Some descriptive term is necessary to distinguish this category of people. 'Second generation immigrant' is the generally accepted phrase. I will use it with the above proviso.

'Generation' and 'cohort'. No anthropologist to my knowledge has yet attempted a close definition of generation as it applies in an urban or peasant situation. Anthropologists have studied age grades, classes and groups (Gulliver, 1968),

but these have been in tribal African and Plains Indian societies, with the exception of Eisenstadt (1956) and Arensburg (1937).

Bacon (1964) lists the factors which give the term generation its different aspects of meaning; abbreviated, they are:

- each link in a genealogy,
- unrelated people born about the same time,
- about 30 years measured as a period of time.

To these factors, the immigrant situation adds:

- the time since migration.

These different meanings allow the term to be used in different senses. I shall use the term only in the sense of it being a link in a genealogy, the reference point being the time of migration. The first generation is made up of those migrating adults of working age, the second generation, their children born in the immigrant situation, the third, their children and so on. The fourth generation will have two generations of parents born in the immigrant situation. One exception to this scheme are those people who were not born in the immigrant situation, but were brought into it before they were 5 years old, before school age. I include them in the second generation.

In short, by my definition, 'generation' can refer only to a category of people distinguished by their age at migration. The second generation refers to those people born to immigrant parents in the immigrant situation and may include people of any age living over any number of years. The immigrant situation and the peculiar definition of generation that it requires renders studies of generations defined in any other ways irrelevant to the understanding of the early generations

of an immigrant settlement.

Other students studying immigrant situations have adopted similar definitions of generation. Kitano (1969) found that the Japanese in America have a special terminology for each generation. 'Issei' are first generation immigrants born in Japan, 'Nisei' the second generation, and 'Sansai' the third, born to the Nisei.

Fong (1959) subdivides the three generations of Chinese in New Zealand:

First generation	(a) who migrated as adults (b) who migrated as children under 12 years	} "marginal"
Second generation	(a) who were born in New Zealand, adult. (b) who were born in New Zealand, still children.	
Third generation	born in New Zealand of parents born in New Zealand	

He describes adults who migrated before the age of 12 years and those born in New Zealand as "marginal men".¹

This categorisation of immigrants by generation, dating from the time of their migration excludes a group of migrants born in their homeland but migrating as children between the ages of five and fifteen, i.e. of school age. The members of this category stand in a unique position. They have stronger ties with their homeland than their children, since these are born in the immigrant situation. At the same time, they have stronger ties with the place of immigration than their parents, in that they came at a younger age, when they were less established in their cultural and structural patterns than their parents. They are neither first nor second generation, and I shall call them 'child migrants'. This category may be of particular importance in establishing the general

social patterns of the second generation since, in the early years of the migration, the child migrants will be a few years senior to the second generation but, as members of the same age group, they may take on the role of pacemakers.

The classification of child migrants as a separate generation removes the middle ground between first and second generations consisting of people who are closer culturally to the second generation if they migrated between the ages of 5 and 10 years, but to the first generation if they came between the ages of 10 and 15 years. For immigrants in England it is the formative years between the ages of 5 and 15 in which they are most exposed to English cultural norms in school. Those ten years schooling are important in the internalisation of English culture to a degree that cannot be equalled in children who have been brought up and schooled outside England. Children who have migrated at the ages of 6 or 14 years are at opposite extremes of the child migrant generation. The immigrant arriving at the age of 6 to get at least 9 years of schooling in England will have a similar experience to members of the second generation; one who arrives at the age of 15 with only one year of schooling will have a similar experience to members of the first generation. I shall subdivide the generation of child migrants between the 'early' child migrants who arrived between the ages of 5 and 10 and the 'late' child migrants who arrived between the ages of 10 and 15.

To refer to a category of people of the same age regardless of their generations I shall use the term 'cohort'. Whereas a generation cuts across all ages, a cohort of people

of a specified age cuts across all generations. The range of age in a cohort is arbitrary. It includes all the people within any specified range. In this thesis I am particularly concerned with the 17-25 year old cohort of Punjabis in Coventry, which includes members of the first, second and child migrant generations. My use of 'young men' and 'boys' to refer to members of this cohort is interchangeable.

My use of the term 'reference group' does not correspond exactly with its use by Merton (1968) or Hyman and Singer (1968). Merton emphasises that the particular concern of reference group theory is the individual's orientation to groups of which he is not a member. He admits that reference 'groups' to which he and others refer are, in many cases, not groups at all, but general status categories (1957:282-3). Reference group theory as Merton interprets it concentrates on the taking of norms and values of non-membership 'groups' as frames for the individual's normative and comparative reference in ideas, attitudes and other fields besides social relations.

By reference group I mean a small membership group, of the type of which Merton was aware, "an intimate subgroup of which one is a member, characterised by sustained social relations" (Merton 1957:332). It is a membership group with a normative code of social behaviour that governs the behaviour of members. Rosen (1968) illustrates reference groups of this type in a study of conflicting group membership, with the family and peer groups as conflicting reference groups.

"The peer group with which we are here concerned is not a general category of the adolescent's age mates, but only those who form his own particular subgroup and clique" (1968:403).

The reference groups that the individual adopts and emulates validate or invalidate his own conceptions of himself. In short, this means that the boy who regards himself foremost as a Punjabi behaves according to what he considers to be Punjabi ways, and seeks validation from Punjabi reference groups, such as the family and a Punjabi peer group. In many cases the reference group of emulation and the reference group of validation are the same group. In some cases as I shall show they are not. In dealing with the social relations of young people outside the family the peer group is the major reference group.

This concept of 'reference group' is closely related to the concept of 'identity'. I shall leave that to be discussed below (p.247) where it is directly relevant and turn now to the theoretical aspects of immigrant settlement.

The theoretical context

There are two "social dimensions", which Nadel considers more "as different ways of looking at the same things" than "referring to different things". (Nadel, 1953:80). He argues that social reality may be looked at from two aspects:

"Social reality, then, is perceived under two aspects and collected into two orders of things social. One rests on the purposive character of action patterns; the other on the criteria of the relationship between individuals and on their position towards or in regard to each other. The order of standardized purposive action patterns contains the social entities we know as Institutions; the order of relationships, the social entities we know as groups or groupings!" (1953:78).

He argues forcefully that these are only different aspects of the same social reality, and that all social facts are correspondingly two dimensional. He labels these two aspects Culture and Society respectively. A simple example makes this distinction clear; the way people cook and eat their food is the cultural aspect; who prepares it for whom and who eats with whom is the social aspect. Culture here is given a more limited definition than by Tylor in 1888. This distinction can be usefully applied to the immigrant situation to distinguish the cultural from the 'structural' aspect of immigrants' behaviour. It seems more appropriate to use Radcliffe-Brown's terminology here, replacing the overused word 'social' by 'structural', contrasting structural with cultural. Nadel himself discusses the use of the terms 'structure' and 'content' (or 'function') to represent these two complementary aspects, but decides against it (1950:83). These provide two independent levels of change in an immigrant group. Immigrants may make cultural concessions to the native way of life, but such changes do not necessarily imply changes at the other level, that of relationships and the pattern of relationships that go to make up social structure as Radcliffe-Brown (1950) defined it.

Gordon (1964) develops a similar scheme. He gives culture the same definition as it is given by Tylor, which is broad enough to include what I have defined as 'structure', and he uses structure to refer to social relations between or within minority groups, using the concept particularly to discuss assimilation in terms of Cooley's concept of primary and secondary contacts between individuals within these groups.

Cooley (1933) was writing at an early date and much of his book appears naive and unsubstantial to the modern student. He devotes two chapters to the idea of primary and secondary groups. He is arguing in evolutionist vein that primary groups, like the family, are the prototype of man's associations and, in them, the ideals of loyalty, lawfulness and freedom find their origin. The primary group he distinguishes as a group characterised by face to face association, the unspecialised character of that association, the "relative permanence" of the group, the small number of persons involved (up to 50), and the relative intimacy of its constituents. In contrasting primary and secondary groups, Cooley is making the distinction, later made more explicit by anthropologists, between groups characterised by multiplex and simplex relations:

"In primary groups people meet as persons i.e. unconstrained by artificiality, special purpose, limited contact and the like. In secondary groups, on the other hand, they are functioning units in an organisation or mere acquaintances at best. Secondary association is partial association. It is association narrowed down by special purpose, by communication at a distance, by rules, by social barriers or by the casual nature of contact." (Cooley, 1933:214).

This simplex/multiplex variable is relevant and useful in the associational patterns of immigrant and native with each other. Cooley refers to identifiable primary and secondary groups, like the family, the neighbourhood and the village. Such self contained groups are more difficult to identify in industrial suburban society - but primary and secondary relations which characterise these groups are identifiable. These concepts are relevant in considering the structural relations between

members of different groups, regardless of cultural diversity or uniformity.

Gordon uses these concepts to distinguish populations that may be culturally uniform, but which retain their identity by restricting primary relations exclusively within each population. We are dealing here with the correlation of four variables: culture, social structure, and, at the level of social structure, primary/multiplex and secondary/simplex relations. These four are adequate variables by which to distinguish in broad terms the variety of relations between the members of different populations in the immigrant situation. The variables of culture and structure allow comparison between the patterns of the institutions as Nadel defines them (p.36 above) and groupings of different populations. Those of primary and secondary relations enable us to describe and analyse the relations of people with others of the same or other populations.

These concepts are useful in the construction of different model immigrant situations, and in the definition of terms used to describe these model situations which I call pluralism, cultural assimilation and structural assimilation.

Pluralism

The concept of plural society originated with Furnivall (1948), by which he referred to a population of different ethnic and cultural groups living geographically together but maintaining their separate identity and coming into contact only in the market situation. He had in mind such places as Burma and Malaya. M. G. Smith (1960) first attempted to develop Furnivall's concept. He follows Nadel (and Furnivall) in defining a 'society' as a political unit, but his definition of institutions is in much

broader terms, involving both cultural and structural criteria. Smith defines pluralism as a situation in which there are two cultures (as defined by Tyler 1888) within the same society, "the core of a culture" being "its institutional system". Morris criticises Smith in his contribution to the definition of plural society. His major criticism is of Smith's basic institutional criteria of mixed cultural and structural aspects, in that it is so comprehensive that it is doubtful if he has said more than "that some societies have subcultures". Morris himself argues that ethnic difference is not an adequate criterion for the definition of a plural society and, arguing on the structural divisions in the Gujarati population in Uganda, suggests that "the ordering of relationships and not cultural differences are the most significant facts to consider in the analysis of a social structure" (Morris, 1967:182). Morris's criterion of "the ordering of relationships" is more acceptable than Smith's but itself seems to include a wide range of minority group situations based as it is on the broadest of structural relations. Does, for instance, the ordering of relationships which make up the 'triple melting pots' of Catholic, Protestant and Jew in American society (Kennedy, 1952) justify the classification of American society as plural?

The definition of plural society in structural terms, as Morris suggests, presents the problem of departing from Cooley's concepts of primary and secondary groups to use those of primary and secondary relations which characterise those groups. We cannot identify distinct and exclusive primary and secondary groups in urban society of the size

that Cooley suggested. Therefore, we must distinguish the self-contained primary groups of Cooley from a much larger category of people, which is characterised by internal primary relations, but not between every person included in it. Clearly in modern society all the members of a local immigrant population of thousands do not have primary relations with all the other members, though they may have primary relation only with other immigrants. But if plural society is defined only in structural terms, by the existence of sections, self-contained in that primary relations are exclusively within them, then every society is to some extent plural.

Further difficulties arise in using the concepts of cultural and structural distinction. It is arbitrary what criteria are used to gauge how different the cultural traits of two sections of a society have to be for them to have different cultures. It is on his hypothesis that "the core of a culture" is "its institutional system" that Smith's definition falls. Similarly, how many of one section have to establish primary relations with members of another before the sections are no longer structurally distinct?

I mean by plural society, a society which contains sections which are culturally distinct and which are also structurally distinct in that primary relations are restricted to members of the same section. This definition of pluralism on both cultural and structural criteria allows the situation in which the populations are structurally distinct but culturally homogeneous to be distinguished from it. This latter situation I shall call cultural assimilation.

Cultural Assimilation (or Acculturation)

What I define here as cultural assimilation is included in what Morris would call pluralism. Structurally, there is no change from the plural situation but the structurally distinct sections do not maintain distinct cultures. This is the situation widely documented for immigrant groups in America; groups that have adopted the 'all-American' cultural norms and patterns, but remain structurally separate. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) describe groups of immigrants and their descendants who have adopted all-American cultural norms but remain structurally distinct sections of the population. Gans (1962) describes the same pattern for Italian Americans in Boston, who with the notable exception of food, have adopted American cultural norms.

Banton's concept of "social assimilation" approximates to cultural assimilation. Social assimilation is the end state of a dual process of modification by the members of each population in making some concessions to the others:

"The immigrants adapt their social life so that language, customs and institutions of their adopted country become their own in some more thoroughgoing way than mere use implies; the natives become acquainted with the newcomers, perhaps learning something from them and ultimately they come to accept them as socially their equals, as guests at their tables and as conceivable relatives by marriage. Social assimilation as the end state produced by the operation of these dual processes may be defined as a state of affairs in which a person's membership of the immigrant grouping does

not in any way hinder him in his relations with non-immigrants. It requires not that the immigrant forget his own culture but that he be fully at home in that of his adopted land." (Banton, 1955:75).

The two populations are culturally assimilated, yet the weaker group has not surrendered its former culture. Their sharing a common culture means that the membership of the immigrant grouping need not in any way hinder the immigrants in their relations with non-immigrants. It is not clear whether the "immigrant grouping" that survives social assimilation is a category or a group, but if a group then I suggest primary relation will in general be restricted to within the group, but Banton looks on to the development of primary relations between members of the different populations as natives "ultimately come to accept them (the immigrants) as socially their equals, as guests at their tables and as conceivable relatives by marriage."

The suggestion of primary relations developing between populations which retain some distinguishing cultural features raises the question whether members of culturally diverse populations can establish primary relation with each other but stop short of inter-marriage and retain their cultural identity. This hypothesis cannot yet be tested on Punjabi material in England. American evidence analysed by Glazer and Moynihan (1963), Kennedy (1962) and Gordon (1964) suggests that marriage is only between members of the 'triple melting pots' of Catholic, Protestant and Jew; but none of these writers has studied the extent of primary relations between members of the different categories.

Primary relations could develop between some members of culturally distinct populations if both populations maintained a firm loyalty to their cultural heritage, and persisted in restricting most of their primary relations - particularly in marriage - to other members of the same population, but developed limited primary relations subordinate to those with other immigrants, with some of the other population. I have made no provision for a distinction between 'predominant' and 'subordinate' primary relations, so such a situation cannot be related exactly to any of the model situations that I outline. As the populations in such a situation are culturally and structurally distinct, I would classify it as a plural situation, but it may mark a stage between pluralism and cultural assimilation.

If extensive primary relations are established between members of the two populations, giving place to widespread inter-marriage, the situation of cultural assimilation will give way to what I have called 'structural assimilation'.

Structural Assimilation

This is the situation that exists when cultural and structural assimilation coincide with primary relations established between members of the previously distinct populations. An important aspect of this situation is inter-marriage, which is likely to follow the establishment of primary relations. Gordon argues that, as a result of primary relations between parents, children of different groups will become close friends, "it is unrealistic not to expect these children ... to love and to marry each other ..."

"If marital assimilation, an inevitable by-product of structural assimilation, takes place fully, the

minority group loses its ethnic identity in the larger host or core society ... eventually the descendants of the original minority group become indistinguishable." (1964:80).

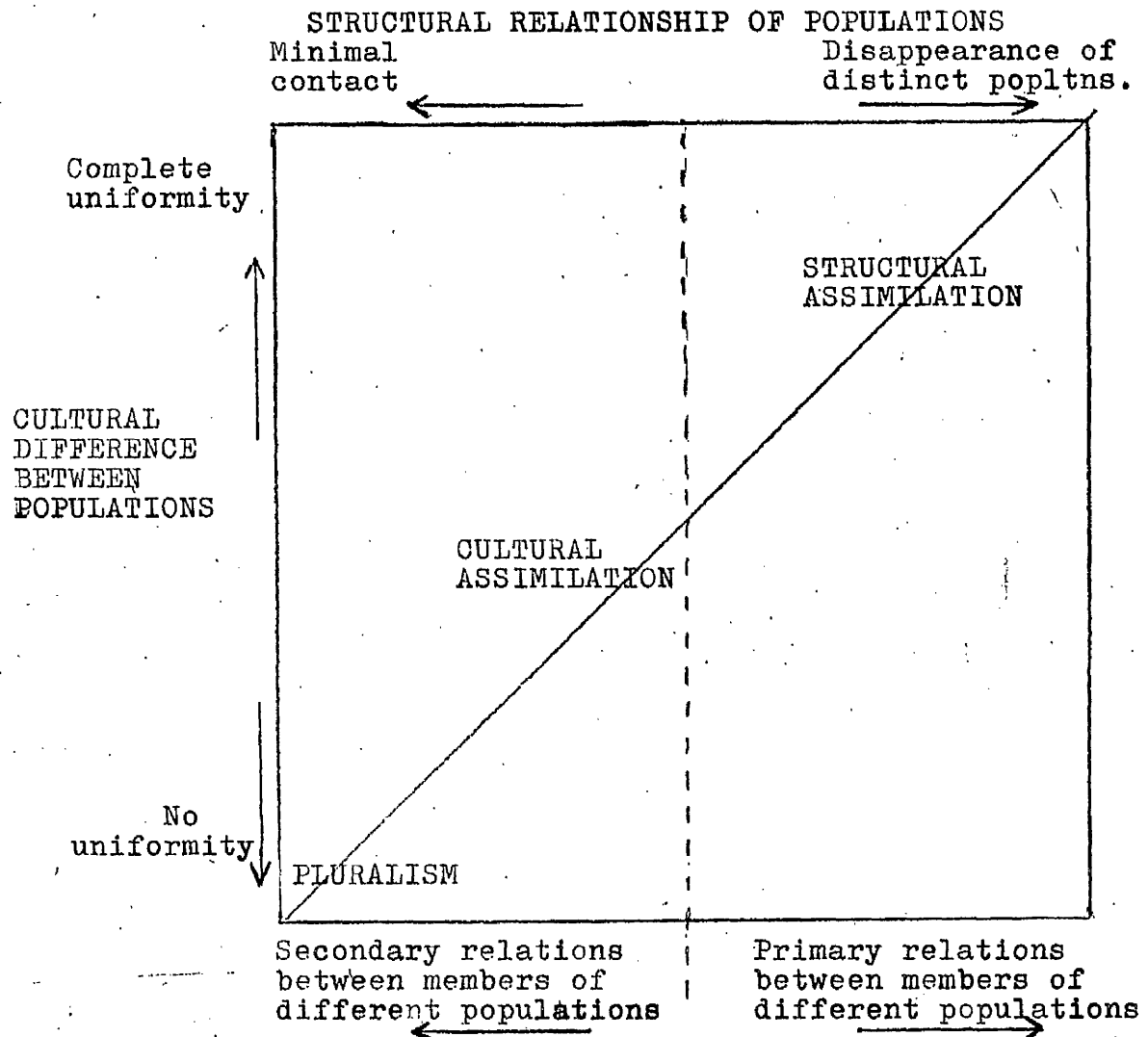
Structural assimilation means the disappearance of the distinct populations. Banton suggests assimilation was the fate of the Negro population in 19th Century London (1959:26-7), and, according to Glazer and Moynihan (1963:311-13), was the fate of the German immigrants in America.

From a comparative study of American immigrant populations, Gordon makes three well-substantiated generalisations, which I am here abbreviating (1964:77,81).

1. Cultural assimilation is likely to precede structural assimilation.
2. Cultural assimilation may take place and not be followed by structural assimilation at all.
3. If structural assimilation takes place, then cultural assimilation is bound to follow.

Gordon is suggesting that cultural diversity inhibits the development of primary relations between individuals of the different cultural sections and that it is a prerequisite for structural assimilation. If primary relations are established between members of culturally different populations, their contrasting cultures will not survive. Accepting these generalisations on the inter-relations of the cultural and structural variables, in terms of which I have defined the model immigrant situations a continuum relating the model situations to each other can be represented on a graph (see diagram 1). The axes will show the degree of cultural

Diagram 1. A continuum of immigrant situations.



uniformity and structural integration of the two groups, respectively. The path of the graph will be a continuum on which the various immigrant situations can be placed. Such a graph will also allow the inclusion of the variable of primary and secondary relations between members of different groups.

Three factors have to be borne in mind in the representation of immigrant situations on such a graph. Firstly, in a model such as this, there is no way, as yet, of grading the variables along the two axes empirically. This leaves similar situations open to wide interpretation by different observers. Furthermore, the continuum itself cannot be divided rigidly, as each stage shades into those on either side of it. There is no one point at which it can be said primary relations start between members of different groups. The graph does, however, give a matrix on which we can relate different immigrant situations to each other.

Secondly, such a continuum can be used with groups of any proportion of the total population but no particular proportion can be assumed from the continuum itself, nor any assumption made as to the extent of each group's cultural or structural concessions to the other group. It offers only to represent the cultural and structural relations between members of the groups, not the concessions of either group to the other.

Thirdly, no immigrant situation is bound to develop along the continuum from one end to the other. An immigrant group may maintain its old cultural or structural patterns indefinitely. The maintenance of a cultural and structural

identity in the immigrant situation is illustrated by the Indians in East Africa in this century (Morris 1968), and by the Europeans in East and Southern Africa. In some immigration studies in Britain, there has been an implicit acceptance of a gradual development towards structural assimilation. Banton makes this assumption in his definition of social assimilation (1955:75, quoted above p. 42), though he does not repeat it later (1967) when he specifically says that "a permanent state of peripheral contact could be maintained" between two cultures equally balanced and of an inward looking nature", which he labels symbiosis (1967:77). Aurora comments that "the Indo-Pakistani immigrants cherish their separate identity and stand guard against the pernicious influences of the host society" (1967:131), but he comments elsewhere on "the time lag between the arrival of the immigrant and his ultimate (cultural?) assimilation." (1967:15) While events may show it to be well founded, this assumption is unnecessary and possibly harmful for the social scientist in the field.

One aspect of intergroup relations that this scheme does not include is the political quality of relations between the populations as groups. Nadel (1951: 178) gives one typology of inter group relations in terms of the relations between the subgroups, not between their members:

1. Simple coexistence, in which subgroups could exist without each other, and in any number. A further subgroup could be added, or one subtracted without it affecting the others.
2. The segments are "co-ordinated in a determinate fashion",

each playing a part in a delicately balanced system such that they are mutually interdependent; changes in one directly affecting the other.

3. The sections may oppose each other in some form of conflict and competition.

Primary and secondary relations between individual members of the groups cannot be correlated exactly with these different types of relations between the groups, but one of the features of the groups is probably that they are characterised by primary relations within each one, so that all three are plural situations by my definition.

Many immigrant situations involve intergroup relations in which the groups are populations of different ethnic origin, including the one on which this study is based. Group, immigration and race relations studies overlap in these cases. In situations where race is a "role sign" (Banton, 1967) it dictates the quality of relations appropriate between people of different ethnic populations, often conditioned by a history of the subordination of one to the other. Banton gives a typology of inter-group relations between distinct ethnic populations as "six orders of race relations" (1967:68ff.), based on the relations between them as groups. Where relations between different ethnic populations are institutionalised and the 'race' of individuals determines (by law or social convention) their behaviour towards other individuals the extent of cultural assimilation and the development of primary relations is correspondingly limited, but I shall by-pass these typologies of sub-group and race relations as they are not helpful in themselves in determining the extent of primary relations between members of the different populations. Most of the 'orders'

that Banton distinguishes would be classified, like those of Nadel above, in my scheme as plural situations since the criteria for their distinctions are the political relationships between structurally distinct populations.

I am concerned in this study with the nature of relations, whether they are primary or secondary, between individuals in a particular immigrant situation in which neither population has been politically subordinated to the other, and in which race is not a dominant role sign in prescribing appropriate behaviour between members of the different populations.

It remains in this chapter to establish the position of the Punjabi immigrants in Coventry on the range of immigration situations illustrated in diagram 1. As I shall show in chapters 3 and 4, the Punjabis have not come to England to become assimilated in English society in any way at all. They have come intending, for the most part, to stay a few years before returning to Punjab. In anticipation of returning they have retained the culture and social relations valid in their home context. The first generation are culturally distinct from their English (or Anglicised) neighbours in almost every aspect of life. Primary relations exist only between members of the Punjabi population; it is in fact a plural situation. The first generation wants "accommodation" (Desai, 1963:68; Dahya, 1967) with English society; peaceful co-existence in a plural situation. It is my contention that the young representatives of the second generation and the child migrants show an overwhelming tendency to maintain at least the structural identity of the Punjabi population.

Before turning to consider the Punjabi population in Coventry I shall place it in the context of immigration into England by reviewing the relevant published studies..

Footnote to Chapter 2

1. The concept of 'marginal man' first developed by Stonquist (1937) has been given more methodical study by Dickie-Clark (1966) for use in psychological analysis. Stonquist's study has a psychological aspect and he develops aspects like the "maladjustment" of the individual in the marginal situation. I have found the concept of marginal man in these studies only of descriptive value. I shall not use it.

Chapter 3

THE BACKGROUND TO THE PUNJABI MIGRATIONIntroduction

I shall in this chapter distinguish two types of migration by which non-European immigrants have come to England, and two types of immigrant settlement that have resulted from this immigration. One type of migration, by which the Punjabi immigrants have come to England, we may call 'chain' migration which has resulted in a number of Punjabi regional settlements. The other, by which the earlier migrant settlements were established, we can call the 'individual seamen' migration. This has resulted in a number of dockland seamen settlements.

I shall point out the main sociological characteristics of the seamen settlements as they are seen in published studies, and then go on to consider the settlements established by chain migration. Using Price's model of the development of the chain migration (Price, 1963), I shall examine three studies (Desai, 1963, Dahya, 1967 and Aurora, 1967) of different immigrant populations to show that the settlements studied were at various stages of development, all of which the Punjabi population of Coventry has passed through. This consideration of studies of other Asian populations in Britain at earlier stages in the settlement process, through which the Coventry settlement has passed, will bring us to a convenient jumping-off point from which to go on to consider the lives of the Punjabis now resident in that city.

Dockland seamen settlements

Non-European migrants settling prior to 1950 had been

seamen primarily, and came from a wide range of places throughout the World: East and West Africa, the West Indies, the Middle East, India and the Far East. There was no mass migration of these people to England on the scale of the chain migrations that followed. Rather, there was a movement of individual seamen unrelated to each other in any way other than that they were all seamen. The mixed dockland settlements where these seamen lived have received some attention from sociologists and anthropologists (Little, 1947, Banton, 1955 and Collins, 1957), whose studies show that there are differences not only in size but also in kind from the more dense and socially homogeneous settlements of Indian, Pakistani and West Indian immigrants, none of whom were seamen, that have been established since 1950.

Little's (1947) study was of an ethnically and nationally heterogeneous settlement in Cardiff. The seamen who lived there shared the common characteristic of being regarded by the Welsh and English as 'coloured'. Little calls it "a community of coloured folk" (1947:33), composed predominantly of West Indians, African and Arab elements, but including also Malays, Southern Europeans and Indians. Besides colour, (which in fact not all these elements had in common), this seamen settlement had the following characteristics:

1. Its members were all seamen who were either waiting for another voyage or had jumped ship or, at the end of a voyage, had decided to settle to some dock-based employment. That these settlers were seamen is particularly important in that they did not come to find places in or be integrated into the local shore-based industry as employees, whereas the search

for employment inland is an important characteristic of the members of chain migration. It seems from Little that even those who gave up the sea for permanent settlement in England still retained a loyalty and commitment to the seamen 'community' of Bute Town in that they continued to live and work there. This is probably attributable to the fact that, on the one hand, the rest of the city of Cardiff did not welcome them and, on the other, Little was only studying Bute Town, and so did not cover in his study any who may have left Cardiff for settlement elsewhere. However, he seems confident that social barriers prevented any escape by the settlers from Bute Town.

2. The settlement was geographically isolated from the rest of the city by being on a peninsular of the dockland remote from the residential areas of the city and restricted in its access to the city to three road bridges.

3. The settlement was correspondingly socially isolated from the rest of the city, in a way 'outcaste' as the coloured quarter. Little repeatedly emphasises the geographical and social isolation of Bute Town from the mainstream of Cardiff's life, and shows its effect in uniting the 'coloured community' in opposition to a society that regarded them as an undifferentiated and undesirable community.

4. Bute Town was an all-male seamen settlement in that the coloured seamen did not bring their women with them to settle in Cardiff. The various liaisons in and outside marriage were with native born women. Little suggests that these women gave the men some security in the alien environment. They brought some coherence into the community, introducing a relationship and, to an extent, a language

common to men from all parts of the World. They gave Bute Town society a continuity in what was otherwise a largely shifting population of seamen. Little concludes that "the basis of the community is the coloured seaman and the white housewife" (1947:161).

Little does not mention any connection between men of the same tribe or country who settled in Cardiff, nor of the possibility of some men acting as sponsors to others of their kin or friends to join them. From Dahya's study of Yemeni immigrants in Birmingham, in which he suggests that Little was referring by 'Arabs' to Yemenis and Adenis (1967:97,308), it seems likely that there were in Cardiff at the time of Little's research small self-contained groups of seamen from the same village or kin group, small 'proto-chains', some of which were in the 1950s to draw many more migrants from Asia to Britain. Dahya records that at this time ships' crews of Yemenis were being recruited through personal and family links, fathers sponsoring sons and brothers sponsoring brothers (1967:98). These groups were evidently too small or too insignificant to be noticed by Little at that time.

Banton's (1955) study in the East End of London portrays a society in essence the same as Bute Town, Cardiff. East London contained a racially heterogeneous dockland settlement of seamen; he does not emphasise the position of the local women as Little does, but it is clear from his study that they play similar roles to the women in Cardiff. London has been a point of disembarkation for all sorts of immigrants over centuries, and the 'community' was not so easily isolated nor so easily identifiable.

The proportion of immigrants employed on shore, in other than shipyard and dockside jobs was higher than in Cardiff. One particular group that Banton distinguished who were not seamen, were the Sikhs. In Banton's estimation they were a small group of about 100 men (1955:215). The central position of the Gurudwara (Sikh Temple) in the social life of this group reflected the close ties of the members. Banton regarded the Sikhs as the most cohesive of all the groups in the 'coloured quarter'. This reference is the first mention of a group of the type that Dahya suggests (1967:97) must have existed in Cardiff at the time of Little's research. This group of Sikhs was made up of pedlars. Banton lists, among others, three interesting characteristics of these men: their objectives in their migration here were limited to the economic sphere; their identification and association in the immigrant situation was by caste, village and district of origin; and their orientation was to return to their villages with the money earned abroad. These three characteristics were to be maintained and have become the strongest factors in shaping the character of the later Punjabi settlements in England.

Collins (1957) made a study of six immigrant groups in three areas: The Muslims and Negroes on Tyneside and in Cardiff, and a Chinese and a Negro 'community' in Lancashire. His orientation is not so much to study the different immigrant groups, but rather the extent of their assimilation into English society. "My aim is to give a comparative sketch of race relations in Britain" (1957:17). The most interesting aspect of his study is the widely differing social situations he finds in each of

the six 'communities'. For Bute Town, Cardiff, he largely reiterates Little's findings of a coloured quarter that is isolated from the rest of the city and is comparatively undifferentiated internally, with an absence of strong tribal or regional groups; comparative, that is, with his findings in the two groups on Tyneside, and with the regional settlements he found in Lancashire. On Tyneside, Collins documents a numerically stable Negro group. From his own arguments it seems questionable whether this category of seamen is in any way a 'community'; it appears to be so only in the eyes of the local native population observing it from the outside.

Throughout his book, Collins emphasises the relationship between the size of the immigrant population, its settlement pattern and local race relations. On Tyneside, the outstanding feature of the settlement was its very slow growth over a long period. There were only about 100 Negroes there in 1949-50 and that number had not increased at the time he was writing. The age of the settlement is witnessed by the existence of three generations of settlers. Collins distinguishes them as:

1. The 'old timers',
2. Children of the 'old timers', married locally, and some 'newcomers'.
3. The children of category 2.

He does not develop the structural links within and between these categories. By my definition given above (p.32) the inclusion of 'newcomers' in the second category excludes these categories from being generations. Collins is referring to the age of the settlement in generations, not to the generations of the migrants themselves, as I do.

The settlement of these negroes had been sufficiently

dispersed to allay any serious fears among the natives of the establishment of a coloured quarter, as at Cardiff. Further, no institutions had developed which sought to express a united front to local society. The absence of such institutions probably reflects more the attitude of local people to the coloured immigrants, than that of the immigrants themselves, in that the latter felt no need to assert their identity or press their interests in the face of hostile outsiders. The only formal organisation was the International Coloured Peoples' Alliance, whose activities were those of a general social club, the highspot of the year being a party at Christmas.

Most of the wives of these coloured seamen were native girls, a feature that this 'community' shared with both Cardiff and London. Collins, like Little, emphasises the focal position of the white women in the immigrant situation. A significant distinction between this group and the chain migration settlers is the nature and criteria of relationships between coloured families. On Tyneside, they were locally based. Though some friendships resulted from the recognition of common nationality or common homeland of the men, most friendships were established in much the same way as those between local white and between white and coloured families, through marriage links, residential proximity, and as workmates or wives of workmates.

The Moslem settlement on Tyneside was heterogeneous like that of the Negroes, with Arab (Yemeni and Adeni), Somali and Pakistani elements. It was also slow in its development, numbers rising from 850 in 1949 to 1,000 in 1956. In 1957, Collins could say "no Moslem immigrant has settled in Tyneside

for more than 40 years" (p.152). The differences in the development of this 'community' from that of the negroes, lies in the policy of the local authority in allotting to them segregated housing, and in what Collins calls "the dominant integrating role of religion" (1957:173). As a result of these factors, the 'community' is not the extension of a number of villages in the Middle East established in England, with all its links stretching back to the villages of the migrants' origin, as Dahya (1967) shows the Yemeni community in Birmingham to be, nor is it an English community. Circumstances have resulted in a community developing that has adopted some English culture but retains a cultural loyalty to Islam and an Arab world, particularly in religion, with a Mosque, a resident sheikh, celebration of Islamic festivals, and the teaching of Arabic. National dishes are still eaten in Moslem houses and Moslem law is upheld in its prohibition of certain foods and of drinking. In employment, a cultural loyalty is maintained in that the Arab immigrants were traditionally seamen, and their children continue to follow their fathers, with their fathers' encouragement, help and supervision. These cultural differences of religion and employment have structural implications in that they segregate the Muslims from the mainstream of British society in their neighbourhood, and primary relations are restricted to the 'community'. The relationships established between the Muslim families are on the same criteria as those mentioned above that Collins gives for links between other coloured families. They are not generally based on ascribed positions in a society of origin, though some may be where a partial regional settlement has been established. The picture

Of the 'community' that emerges is of a group that has made some concessions to the immigrant situation, the most obvious of which is accepting native women as wives, and making corresponding allowances for these wives' different upbringing and way of life from those of a traditional Muslim wife. Some of the ties in the old village and kin idiom are maintained, namely those relating to kin and friends from the same region. Some of these links are transposed on to new friends they have met since leaving home. Marriages are generally endogamous within the community. These are old structural features in a new situation, binding together a new group. Collins might have described it as an 'emergent' community; not the transplantation of already established and familiar social institutions by people from the same region, but a peculiar product of the particular situation of Muslims on Tyneside.

Of the two immigrant groups in Lancashire, the Negroes stand out as being markedly distinct from all the other groups mentioned. The Chinese are seamen like all the other groups Collins mentions, except the Lancashire Negroes, though the Chinese do not duplicate the pattern of settlement of the other seamen settlements. They seem to be the most cohesive of all the seamen settlements, even in the absence of any obvious rejection by the local population, and are certainly the most homogeneous group ethnically. Like the other groups most of their wives were local women, at least until the end of the Second World War. These Chinese have enjoyed steady employment as seamen by a reliable and satisfactory sponsor. This economic position and their loyalty to Chinese culture help to explain their ability to retain the succeeding

generation within the group better than any of the other groups have been able to do.

In the light of subsequent events, the unstable settlement of negro newcomers to Lancashire who were not seamen, but sought employment on shore was the beginning of a large West Indian migration. This migration was to result in settlements, which, with the Indian and Pakistani settlements, were to dwarf the dockland settlements in size and in numbers. These migrations were to establish 'coloured communities' in other places than the docklands where they had come to be accepted and one suspects tolerated because they were conveniently out of sight of most of the country. Four characteristics of the West Indian settlements in Lancashire that Collins mentions will be seen to persist in the chain migration that I shall go on to discuss: a high proportion of migrants seeking employment on shore; extreme instability of immigrant associations and leadership; a different pattern of household composition; and notably, in strong contrast to the previous seamen settlements, the very low status of the local wife in the 'community'.

Chain migration and regional settlement

The arrival of the Empire Windrush from the West Indies in June, 1948, caused a stir in Parliament and the press at the time, and the disembarkation of the 492 West Indian immigrants who had sailed in her has become a symbol of the beginning of the migration to England from the new Commonwealth countries. The chain migration of Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians was independent of the dockland settlements. Ports were by-passed in favour of cities which had industry demanding labour, with two conspicuous exceptions. Southall does owe its special status as the largest and best established Punjabi

settlement in England to being adjacent to a port - London's Heathrow Airport - and Gravesend is a port on the Thames estuary that has attracted Punjabi labour, though primarily to paper mills, not to the docks, and in which a large Punjabi regional settlement has developed. The industrial cities inland, in the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire had had little or no experience of coloured people before the 1950s and were taken by surprise. In the Midlands, these cities included Birmingham, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Wolverhampton, Leamington and Coventry.

The West Indian migration somewhat predated the Indian migration. Rose tabulates the figures for the changing balance between Indian, Pakistani and West Indian net arrivals in Britain, 1955-1967 (1969:84 fig.8.1).

Table 1

Percentage distribution of net arrivals 1955-1967

	<u>Indian</u> (Pakistanis not included)	<u>West Indian</u> *
1955-1960	19%	51%
1960-1962	25%	30%
1962-1967	56%	19%

* Rose gives the figures for Jamaicans and other West Indians separately. I have combined them. I have rounded all the figures to the nearest whole number.

These figures show that 1960 - 1962, the period leading up to immigration control, marked a turning-point in both migrations, slowing down that from the West Indies and accelerating that from India. These figures explain why studies of West Indian immigrants were undertaken before those on Indian migrant populations. Richmond's study (1954)

of West Indians in Liverpool predates even Banton (1955) and Collins (1957). The 1950s mark the parting of the ways for the successors of Indian and West Indian elements in the dockland settlements of seamen. The newcomers no longer settled in 'coloured quarters', relying to some extent on other 'coloured' people for security and identity, but established regional settlements where they could identify and live with other people from their own villages. I shall confine myself to a consideration of the Indian and, in passing, the Yemeni migration and settlements. No study of a Pakistani settlement has yet been published. The West Indian migration has been given separate attention in contemporary studies and I shall not consider it further. (See Culley, 1965; Collins, 1965; Davidson, 1962, 1966; Hill, 1963; Patterson, 1963; Peach, 1968 and Richmond, 1954).

The term 'chain migration' has been used in the recent study of migration by Price (1963). He traces its currency to the early years of this century, to the European migration to America and its first use to the report of the United States Commissioner-General refers to the letters that migrants send back to their villages, which "constitute the most extensive methods of advertising that can be imagined; almost immeasurable endless chains are thus daily forged link by link" (Quoted from Price, 1963:108). 'Chain migration' continued in currency in the literature of United States migration (Fairchild, 1911; Hanson, M.L., 1945; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927). Lochore (1951), writing of immigration to New Zealand, uses the term but in a restricted way to refer to the "process whereby a particular village or town in Europe sends numerous of its sons and

daughters to build up counterparts of itself overseas".
(Price, 1963:110).

By 'chain migration', I follow Price in referring to a migration, over any length of time, of men decisively influenced to follow them by the letters, visits, or remittances home of already established migrants. A common characteristic, though not a necessary one, of chain migration is that these 'following' migrants are given direct assistance, financially, to help pay the fare, official sponsorship when necessary and hospitality and help on arrival in the immigrant situation by the already established migrants.

Chain migration leads to a localisation of emigration, "selective migration" (Dahya, 1967:98) and the establishment of regional settlements in the immigrant situation consisting of many of those emigrants who can thus recreate the "village universe" (Mayer, 1959:11) with which they were familiar in their home country. This contrasts with the haphazard settlements of individual or small groups of seamen with little or nothing in common with any others. Recruitment to seafaring itself, however, was in some cases by the chain process (Dahya, 1967:98).

The aetiology of chain migration; factors of 'push' and 'pull'

Among the causes of chain migration, Price lists economic pressure, overpopulation and political upheaval in the homelands of the migrants. All these factors we will see are contributory to the emigration of Punjabis. But he argues that these have provided only steady pressure for emigration, not in general immediate and urgent pretexts for evacuation. These reasons cannot account for the concrete rises and falls in emigration

figures which are not related to particular surges in population growth, natural disasters or periods of political unrest. He also discounts the presence overseas of emigrants already established, the potential founders of further chains, as sufficient incentive in themselves for people to emigrate. Jerome (1926) pointed out that in America "both immigration and re-emigration rose and fell with the booms and depressions in the United States rather than with events in Europe" (quoted from Price, 1963:120). Price documents the same pattern for Australian immigration.

"Much the same thing happened with migration to Australia. The steep fall in the emigration of adult males from all the main districts of origin during the early 1930s to less than one-tenth the total prevailing between 1925 and 1928 shows the effect on migration of severe depression in Australia ... Chain migration is, then, very sensitive to booms and depressions in the country of settlement - as is inevitable when persons abroad may have to finance their friends' passages and find them accommodation and employment. Some writers have praised chain migration for this sensitivity (he refers to Lochore (1951) particularly), arguing that the system is essentially self-regulating: when conditions in America or Australia are prosperous and the country can absorb more labour, then chain migration imports workers; when conditions are depressed, chain migration ceases and the country is not burdened with newcomers competing for scarce employment."

(Price, 1963:120-1).

In the debate on the factors of 'push' and 'pull' in motivating migration, Price attributes the decisive forces controlling the direction and occasions for migration to the native society, with only occasional circumstances where political or natural disaster forced people to flee from their homeland. In this section, I shall consider this contention with regard to the chain migration of Punjabis to England, by looking at the evidence for the relative strength of push and pull factors in the Punjabi migration to Britain.

The first striking feature of Punjabi emigration is that it has been going on since the beginning of the century. Darling mentions it frequently in his books on Punjab (1923: 25,36,43; 1929:178). Gillion suggests the first 'free' Punjabi immigrants to Fiji, that is besides those indentured earlier, were the 74 who arrived in 1904.

"From about 1905, many went to Canada and the United States, others to East Africa, Latin America, Australia and New Zealand; over 90% of these were Sikhs". (Gillion, 1962:131).

Gillion contributes to the debate on the influences of various push and pull factors in Indian migration. His material and arguments are of limited value for use in this study, as he is writing an historical account of indentured Indian migration to Fiji up until 1920, the end of the indenture. Indenture is another type of migration to be classified with chain and seamen migrations already mentioned. Talking generally, he says that "emigration was not popular

with the people of India ... but until the political awakening of India after the turn of the (20th) century, there was more silent disapproval than active resistance" (1962:23).

"There was strong repugnance to emigration in North India and, for this reason, it had to be much more highly organised than emigration from Europe". (p.39).

The silent disapproval was clear by the general absence of enthusiasm of people to indenture themselves. This, in turn, resulted in the activities of numerous agents and sub-agents throughout the country, recruiting people by fair means or foul, to meet the demands of the Fiji government requisition, and collect their commission. (p.30-35)

Gillion stresses the economic factors that existed to push people into indentured labour but, while these factors explain why certain people were pushed more easily than others, they do not explain the emigration itself. Gillion himself says "the volume of the migration was determined entirely by the demand from Fiji" (1962:30). He does not show that the influence of the pressure for emigration outweighed or even balanced the influence of the demand for labour from Fiji. The numbers recruited and ease of recruitment were related inversely to good harvests and prosperity in the regions in India. The better the harvests, the harder the job of recruitment for the agents.

Moreover, the Punjabi emigrants to Fiji cannot be dealt with in the same generalisations that refer to emigrants from

much of the rest of India. There were few indentured Punjabis, compared with other regions; not least because they earned a reputation for quarrelling, fighting and generally causing trouble. Some Punjabis rioted in the Fiji depot in Calcutta in 1903; in Fiji in 1907, a "menacing crowd" of Punjabis had the Police open fire on them. The result of this latter incident was that the agent was instructed not to recruit any more Punjabis to be sent to Fiji, nor did he until growing scarcity of recruits forced him to turn again to Punjab (Gillion, 1962:48-9).

A more important reason for the absence of Punjabi recruits was, as the agent complained, that "although the Punjabi peasant was more enterprising than the peasant in the United Provinces, he was not as poor and had less incentive to emigrate" (Gillion, 1962:48). Evidently, the prosperity at home was a more transient force against emigration than the poverty and religious sanctions elsewhere, for towards the end of and after the period of indenture the numbers of Punjabis going to Fiji as free immigrants rose.

"In general, Punjabis have shown a greater propensity to migrate than other Indians, traders excepted, and are to be found throughout India and in many foreign countries". Gillion, 1962:131).

It is when Gillion comes to consider the free immigrants, almost exclusively Gujarati and Punjabi, that we can see the push factors balancing those pulling from Fiji. The letter he quotes from 46 Punjabis, written in 1914 to the Deputy Commissioner, Jullunder, complaining about two Muslim agents, shows that even free immigrants were recruited by agents receiving commission from shipping companies. A most interesting feature

of this letter in the light of the Punjabi population later to settle in Britain is that of the 46 "all were men and all were from Jullundur district; 22 from Nawanshahr (sic) tahsil, and the rest (where stated) from Garshankar, Phagwara, and Phillaur. There were little groups from each village, usually about four in each ... including 23 Jats and 4 Chamars" (1962:132).

The comparison of the pattern of emigration from Punjab with that of other regions in India suggests that the prosperity of Punjab made it a fruitless recruiting ground for agents seeking to indenture labourers. It was this same prosperity in a greater degree later that resulted in free emigration of those who could not find sufficient outlet for their energies and labour at home, but had sufficient prosperity to be able to look elsewhere.

Darling, writing at the time of the end of the indenture (1925;1929,1934) confirms the view that it was ... certainly not poverty on a large scale that forced emigration from Punjab, though he sees the prosperity rather as a result of emigration than as a cause of it;

"The Jats are not only less indebted, but there are fewer of them in debt. In three out of four districts not more than seven per cent. of the proprietors would appear to be free of debt. For the Jat districts of Jullundur and Rohtak and the Jat portions of Hoshiarpur the corresponding percentage is at least 25. The explanation of this may be found in the fact already stated, that for the smallholder to keep out of debt a supplementary source of income is almost essential.

The Rajput has only service and soldiering to help him, but the Jat has a number of strings to his bow. If he stays at home, he may start a kiln, deal in cattle, run a lorry, become a shop-keeper, or set up as a money-lender. If he goes abroad he will be found fattening cows in China, sawing wood in Canada, tinning fruit in California, or trading in Australia."

(Darling, 1925:36).

If the migrants retain their loyalty to their places of origin and remit money to help those left at home, as the Punjabis do, the two factors of prosperity and chain emigration in an overpopulated area are cumulative. The more who emigrate, the more capital that flows back, the more prosperous the home society and the more emigrants can leave. The particular problem of Jullundur and Hoshiapur - "increasing population, decreasing size of holdings, due to sub-division, rising agricultural indebtedness and declining water level, causes which were also operative in the earlier period," (Gillion, 1962:132) had not persuaded the Punjabis to take to indentured labour, so it is not reasonable to see them wholly responsible for migration at the end of the indenture period.

In more recent times, sociologists have continued to attribute pressure for emigration to the same factors. Aurora (1967) and Marsh (1967)¹ quote the 1951 and 1961 Census of India reports to demonstrate, not only that Punjab has an increasing population of increasing density, but that Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts, the home of the overwhelming majority of Punjabi immigrants in England and in

Coventry, have population densities relatively much greater than the rest of the districts of Punjab. Jullundur has the densest population of all the districts, but there are five other districts more densely populated than Hoshiarpur.

Table 2

Density of Population
Persons per Square Mile

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	
		<u>Whole District</u>	<u>Rural Areas</u>
Jullundur	711	914	670
Hoshiarpur	439	555	494
Garhshankar Tehsil	552		
Dasuya Tehsil	447		

1951 figures quoted from Aurora (1967)
1961 figures quoted from John (1969:15)

Aurora seeks to explain away the low density in Hoshiarpur district by saying that Garhshankar and Dasuya Tehsils in Hoshiarpur district have "quite high" density of population.

"From my knowledge of the Indian inhabitants of Greenend, I may say that most of the Indians from Hoshiarpur belong to the two tehsils mentioned above". (1967:25).

From my knowledge of the Indian inhabitants of Coventry, I would say there are very few, if any, from Dasuya tehsil. Neither I nor any of my informants have heard of any. There are many other parts of India where pressure of population is even greater than in Jullundur but whose people do not migrate. If the high density of population is a justified correlation

with a propensity to emigrate, then it certainly does not explain the phenomenon entirely.

The Census figures further show that, of the total number of landholders in Punjab, the percentage of peasant proprietors in Jullundur is relatively low, and that of Hoshiarpur relatively high:

Table 3

Peasant proprietors as a percentage of all landholders

Gurgaon	52%
Rohtak	50%
HOSHIARPUR	45%
Hissar	44%
Karnal	36%
Ferozepur	33%
Ambala	28%
Gurdaspur	24%
JULLUNDUR	24%

(Source: Aurora, 1967)

Aurora relates these figures to the emigration of the small peasant proprietors from Jullundur district. He dismisses the idea that those who do not cultivate their own lands tend to migrate because their prospects of becoming landed are so remote, for they could not gather the capital necessary for the passage. He suggests it is the small landed proprietors who are selling up to come to Britain in the face of the fragmentation of estates.

"Today about 25% of all landholdings in Jullundur are below one acre. Jullundur district has the highest

percentage of small uneconomic landholdings compared to the landholding classes of all the other districts of the Punjab" (1967:26).

The threat, he suggests, is not one of starvation, but of a drop in the status of the family.

"It is the marginal landholder who is in mortal fear of becoming a kami, or landless agricultural labourer, who gambles his last to regain it another day" (1967:26).

The propensity of these small landholders to emigrate is not to be questioned from the general impression I have gained in Coventry. I would qualify the generalisation in two ways. Firstly, there is a large proportion of rather larger landholders, in no danger of becoming 'kamis' but with more sons than are needed on the farm, who send some of the family to earn money abroad. Secondly, a large proportion of immigrant families do not seem to have had to sell their land to afford the costs of migration, though they may have pledged their land against their ability to pay back loans soon after getting established in the immigrant situation. The figures from Census for Jullundur and Hoshiarpur which Aurora, Marsh and John use, show no consistency, which suggests that they do not particularly reflect the pressure of fragmentation and scarcity of land. From my observation, the migrants are from Phagwara and from the tehsils of Nakodar, Phillaur and Nawshahr in Jullundur district, much more than from Jullundur Tehsil itself, and in Hoshiarpur from tehsil Garhshankar, more than from tehsils Una, Hoshiarpur

and Dasuya (See map p. 25). In this case, the overall figures for the two districts may not be at all relevant. Besides this, emigration from Punjab has been continuous from the beginning of the century, so the 1951 and 1961 Census figures are likely to show results of emigration as much as its causes.

John (1969) also spends much of his section in the Introduction on the anatomy of the Punjabi community, demonstrating from Census of India figures the overpopulation and pressure on land in Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts, of which he sees emigration as the direct result. Perhaps the most significant fact that he gleaned from the figures is that Punjab is one of the most prosperous states in India and that Jullundur and Hoshiarpur "contain some of the best farmland in the state, but are no more prosperous than the rest of Punjab because they are densely populated." (John, 1969:13).

Partition and the large number of refugees from West Punjab add another unsettling factor to the situation of the Sikhs in Punjab now. Rai (1965) gives us some idea of the extent of the disruption and chaos caused at partition. He states that 15% of the population of East Punjab² are refugees. Rai gives no district-wise figures for refugees in East Punjab. He says that the Sikh colonists of the rural areas of West Punjab were mainly from Jullundur and were resettled in their home districts, added to which "a large section of the Sikh urban displaced persons ... got settled in Jullundur division" (Rai, 1965:121,203). In spite of this, he does not include Jullundur in the list of districts in East Punjab where refugees were settled: Ambala, Ludhiana, Karnal and Pepsu

(p.127). It would be interesting to know the number of Sikhs in England who were refugees, or suffered in some other way at partition. I have no statistical information but I have met several immigrants whose family were refugees in 1947. Many refugees lost all they had, economically and socially, at that time. In the context of the strong economic and political competition that that upheaval engendered, migration may have had a strong appeal, particularly for those who saw themselves as having very little to lose.

Aurora lists a number of factors that he sees as contributory to the growth of the tradition to migrate. He includes the relationship developed between the Punjabi Jat and the British administrator; the Punjabis' part in the colonisation of the canal colonies of what is now Pakistan; the Westernisation and the literacy in English of Punjabis; the sociological revolution in Punjab since partition; and the ideology of Sikhism. As soldiers in the British Indian Army in and outside India, as entrepreneurs in the cities of India, East Africa, and the Far East, contractors on the East African railways and as pioneer farmers in Sindh, the Sikhs have established a tradition to which the modern day equivalents as policemen in Singapore, lumberers in Canada and labourers in England are but extensions.

Aurora considers this tradition in itself to be one of the push factors at work in causing the migration to England. We must be very careful in evaluating the influence of tradition. It certainly is part of an ideology that gives prestige to those who go abroad and to their families. It is an element in the chain of migration, encouraging potential emigrants with stories

of successes abroad. But it is more a result of migration from other causes than a cause itself. In the chain the results of migration are causes for further migration but we should be careful to distinguish these from other original causes. I find no evidence to support Aurora's statement that "once a tradition of migration is established, it acts as a 'social force' and many an element which may not have an economic reason to migrate are drawn into it" (1967:27). I have yet to find any Punjabi men who have migrated for any other than economic reasons. Of course, the economic pressure on some immigrants is more acute than on others, but even the son of the wealthy Jat farmer is here to make his fortune not just to 'enjoy'.

Overall, we can see that there are factors in Punjab which exert a general pressure for emigration. This is clear from the fact that not all emigrants have been drawn directly to centres needing their labour, and some in seeking their fortunes have wandered from place to place always in the hope of finding greener pastures. As long as this pressure for emigration has been maintained the Punjabis have been a mobile labour force willing to go wherever they have heard from reliable sources that the prospects were good. Darling under-estimated the possibilities of emigration when he concluded that it was the most obvious remedy to relieve pressure on land at home, and one "that the Punjabis would cordially welcome ... but emigration is now subject to so many restrictions that it cannot be of much assistance" (1925:254).

There must be few places in the world that have not seen at least one Punjabi pioneer, but it has only been when he has found a demand for labour that a chain migration has developed. In England the pull factors were absent in the depression years of

the 1930s; the war closed the commercial sea traffic from India; immediately after the war, displaced and demobilised Europeans were in an easier position to take up the opportunities in England than were the Punjabis. By the early 1950s "a period of austerity imposed by two Labour governments had ended, and a period of rapid expansion in many branches of industry had begun with a keen demand for labour" (Marsh, 1967:14). It was at this stage that the wartime sources of supply of labour (refugees and the demobilised) were drying up and the opportunities were open for immigrants of another kind.

In a labourer's market even those who had initially taken unskilled employment were able to improve their employment situation. The result was a demand particularly for unskilled labour, for the low status, generally heavy and dirty jobs. This situation is illustrated by the early break by the Woolf's Rubber Company into the immigrant labour market in Southall, offering employment in heavy and dirty work, involving the handling of chemicals "such as carbon black and sulphur" (Marsh, 1967:16) that English labour shunned.

Price's conclusion about the strength of the pull factors in the migration of Southern Europeans to Australia is echoed by Peach (1968), Rose (1969) and Wright (1968) about migration to England in the 1950s. Peach's research on the West Indian migration led him to the conclusions that economic conditions in the home society allow emigration, but they do not cause it; "that trends in migration are governed by factors external to the West Indies" (1968:36) and that "conditions in Britain were the major determinents in the trends in that migration" (1968:49).

Rose admits that the effects of labour demand in Britain on the Indian migration is more difficult to assess than for the West Indian migration "but if one allows a greater time lag than that shown by the West Indian, then the very small inflows in 1959 following two years of almost continuous fall in labour demand may be significant" (1969:77).

Table 4

Estimated net immigration to the United Kingdom from India

1955 - 1966

<u>Year</u>	<u>Persons</u>
1955	5,800
1956	5,600
1957	6,600
1958	6,200
1959	2,950
1960	5,900
1961	23,750
1962 (Jan. - June)	19,050
	<u>Actual net immigration from India</u>
1962 (July - Dec.)	3,050
1963	17,498
1964	15,513
1965	18,815
1966	18,402

Source: John (1969:21)

Rose lists three factors that radically changed the pattern in 1961. "First, there was the fear of control

in Britain. This affected the organisation of transport and the activities of travel agents in India and Pakistan who exploited and helped to create the demand. In turn, this led to the wide-scale avoidance and the removal of controls which had previously been imposed by the Indian and Pakistani Governments to restrict emigration to Britain ... It was undoubtedly fear of control that completely changed the well-established pattern of migration" (1969:77).

If any elements in Punjabi society without economic reasons to migrate were drawn into migration, as Aurora suggests, they are to be attributed to fluctuations in the pull factors such as the threat of control.

Aurora adds two further factors which may be classified as pull factors:

"Britain had been ruling India for so long that the conception that anyone who comes into contact with British society imbibes some of its superiority is still prevalent. Many young men come to Britain as adventurers to Eldorado. They come not merely to earn money but also to have fun in London's night clubs and with easily-attracted white women" (1967:31).

Besides being an English-speaking country, a feature India shares with several others, the particular attraction of England only accounts for the presence of a few pioneers not the mass of immigrants. Against the demand for labour, and the absence of immigration restriction, the attraction

of England's "superiority" is insignificant. Sexual exploits with "easily-attracted white women" might occupy some immigrants once they are in England, but I find absolutely no evidence to support the suggestion that women can take any credit for attracting the Punjabi immigrants to England.

On the evidence available it seems that the Punjabi migration to England conforms to the general pattern in respect of the push and pull factors. The chain migration - at least of peasant folk to an industrial society - is characterised by its sensitivity to economic indicators in the host country. The conditions in Punjab and the existence of a few pioneers in England in the late 1940s and early 1950s put them in a good position to meet the demand for labour as it arose. Some of the misunderstandings of the race relations situation in Britain might have been avoided if it had been generally realised in England that the Punjabis came because there was a demand for their labour in England, they were 'pulled', not because they were 'pushed' by poverty at home. The Jats of Doaba live in prosperity, not poverty. Further, they came not to escape permanently from any poverty in India, but to work in England with the intention of returning to their villages when they had saved sufficient money to fulfil some goal there. The general British stereotype that the Indian immigrants came because there was poverty in India, and to benefit from the welfare state is not supported by any evidence.

The typology of chain migration

Price gives a table of different types of chain migration and the percentage of the Southern European immigrants who came to Australia by the different types of chain. The variables he uses in his scheme are the nature and size of the catchment areas of the migration and of the settlement area (1963:112).

Table 5Types of chain migration

1. Major village to village concentrations	46%
2. Minor villages to small village concentrations	8%
3. Major or minor village to several district, regional or Folk concentrations	20%
4. Unproductive villages in major or minor districts of origin to several district, regional or Folk concentrations	10%
5. Scattered family to family group	1%
6. Major, minor and unproductive villages in important districts of origin to dispersed settlement	8%
7. Migration outside the chain process	7%
Total Southern European settler immigration	<u>100%</u>

In the light of further discussion, Price elaborates this outline of chain migration types (1963:135):

Table 5aTypes of chain migration

- I. A pioneer influencing almost no-one in his own village or in the surrounding district.
- II. A pioneer influencing a few persons
 - (a) in his own village - small village chain
 - (b) in nearby villages - small district chain

III. Pioneers and later settlers influencing
numerous persons.

(a) in one village - large village chain

(b) in other villages and towns - large
district chain

IV. Large scale emigration from both villages
in particular and the district in general ...

As we shall see (p.128 below) the settlement of
Punjabis in Coventry, as a whole, has resulted from type
III (b) - "a large district chain", with pioneers and later
settlers influencing other people from the villages and
towns of one area - Doaba, though, in individual cases,
migrants may have come by types II and III(a).

There are several general characteristics that Price
gives. One is the accidental quality of the initial settle-
ments of the pioneers. For Southern Europeans in Australia
Price lists almost as many reasons for the pioneers' migration
and settlement as there were pioneers. In many cases, no
other cause but chance can be put forward to explain why some
pioneers started chains, and others did not. The 'causes'
of the migration were the economic factors; but that particular
individual pioneers should find themselves in certain places
and start chains was the result of chance factors.

In tracing the stories of the migrants back to get at
the original causes of the individual pioneers' migration and
settlements, Price unearths three more characteristics, which
he sees in terms of "tendencies" of the chain migration,
"problems" to the student. One is the development of myths
round the names of the original pioneers which gives the des-
cendants of these pioneers a notable pedigree. A development

of this is the emergence of the

"legendary and stereotyped figure of a Southern European pioneer; someone who enters Australia with nothing - preferably by accident or in colourful circumstances such as shipwreck - but who rises by skill and hard work to a position of wealth and eminence" (1963:129)

There is a tendency also for ethnic groups to emphasise their contribution to the life of their new country. This backs up the myths of origin in giving the immigrants the charter of their place in society, and gives to other Australians the picture of them that the immigrants would like them to have. The development of myths of origin and stereotyped figures of pioneers have not yet emerged among the Punjabis in England, probably because many of the original pioneers are still alive, but we may expect developments of this sort in the future.

The final characteristic of the chain migration is its influence in the field of employment of the immigrants in the immigrant situation. The influence of the chain factor is one of many affecting the immigrants' choice of employment. Among these are familiarity with certain types of work from previous experience; the fields of demand in the host country and the restriction imposed by that country, both intentional with laws against such things as buying land or property by immigrants, and unintentional like those fields that need large capital investment or a fluency in the native language. A significant factor in the chain migration situation is the influence of previous migrants' success in particular fields, which tends to inspire others to follow in their footsteps. Anyway, as already mentioned, many will

have started work initially under the sponsorship of a friend or relative, as his assistant, or under the same employer, and may simply adhere to whatever employment in which they first find themselves. In Australia, the overwhelming gravitation of Greeks to the catering industry must be explained to some extent in these terms, though there are other reasons which Price lists (1963: 159-161) why such fields as catering were immediately attractive to the pioneers.

Stages in chain migration

Besides these characteristics of chain migration, some of which we shall see illustrated by the Punjabi migrants, Price identifies four stages in a chain migration which I will consider with particular reference to the Indian immigrants in England, and the studies mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

Stage I

The first stage in the chain migration is pioneer settlement - the settlement of those men who for one reason or another found themselves in a situation that was prosperous and pleasant, and were prepared to stay there, let others of their people know of the prosperity they had discovered, and encourage some of them to come and share it. If this first stage is characterised by anything it is by the variety of pretexts that decided the places that pioneers were to settle in, and the occupations they were to follow. It is at this stage that the chain migration, like a new baby, is most vulnerable. "Their (the pioneers) careers were of paramount importance; on their success or failure hung the fate of migration from their particular village or

district of origin" (Price, 1963:169).

Aurora (1967) refers by 'new frontiersmen' to men who followed the original pioneers. One of the pioneers was the man who chanced to call on the personnel manager of Woolf's Rubber Factory in Southall; Aurora quotes the personnel manager:

"About eight years ago, a Sikh came to me, looking for a job. He was a tall and broad fellow with a very graceful, military kind of personality. In the last war, I had been in contact with a Sikh regiment on the Middle East Front, where I had made some very good friends among them. Anyway, I took this fellow on. After a few months' service with us, he recommended some of his friends from the city. Since he had proved an extremely good worker and since we also were in the process of expanding, we took his friends on also. Ever since, more and more Indians have been employed and, today, onethird of the total labour force consists of Indian workers" (1967:35). Marsh, (1967:16) gives the same story by the same man.

Aurora did his fieldwork between 1957 and 1959 (1967:VII) so that this Sikh must have met the personnel manager in about 1950. In 1960, according to Aurora (1967:35), Woolf's employed 40% of the employed Indian population of the district and, according to the personnel manager, that was one third of his labour force. By 1965, according to Marsh (1967:16), 90% of the unskilled labour force at the factory was made up of Punjabi Sikhs.

Besides the pioneers like the man who first gained employment at Woolf's in Southall, there were already in

England by 1950 a number of Punjabi pedlars, some of whom owned houses, and were familiar with life in England. Pioneer migrants were able to use these men in finding employment and accommodation. Desai (1963:5) divides the total population of Indians in England into three categories. The first is the older population of seamen, most of whom came before 1949. These men live in the dockland seamen settlements we have already looked at. They had no contact with the new immigrants. The second category is of Sikh pedlars. Desai estimated their numbers to be between 3,000 and 4,000. "They are some of the earliest immigrants among them and some have been in Britain for 20 years or more" (p. 5). It is not clear whether Desai is referring only to the Sikhs of Bhattra caste, who have established a reputation among the immigrants as pedlars, particularly in Scotland, or whether he included Jats and Ram Gharias as well, for pioneers of both castes often started peddling cheap clothes from door to door before they were able to get more acceptable employment. The third category is numerically the largest, and the most recently arrived. These are the immigrants who work and live in industrial towns. Aurora relates how one of the pedlar immigrants, not necessarily within the framework of the chain migration, helped some of the early immigrants in Southall. Fakeer Singh had been in Southall peddling goods during the war and he bought a house in the poorest part of Southall. When the influx of Punjabis came and there was pressure for beds in his house, he bought other dilapidated property and owned six houses at the time of Aurora's writing (p.37). In giving a hand to the pioneers and their early followers,

these pedlar immigrants were in the early years a chance element which had considerable effect on the establishment of certain chains.

Dahya classifies the Yemenis in Britain into two of Desai's categories: early seamen settlers and, after 1945, the migrants proper (1967:96). He is careful to point out that the first settlers were seamen, not really immigrants; but it was some of these seamen who were the pioneers of the regional settlement that established itself in Birmingham.

"At the end of the Second World War, when employment conditions in industry improved ... a number of those Yemeni seamen who retained their ties with their kin group in Yemen went to places like Birmingham and Sheffield to seek their fortunes in factories and foundries. These were the first Yemenis not to settle in a sea port" (Dahya, 1967:100).

A most important factor was that, unlike many other Asian seamen, these men had not severed their links with their kin groups in Yemen. The eight or nine Yemenis in Birmingham in 1947-8 had all been able to start chains within a year or so by sending for their younger brothers or other kin. The news of their success reaching other seamen who happened to be passing through British ports caused them to swell the numbers. The arrival of these men following the pioneers brings us to the second stage of the chain migration.

Stage II

There are two outstanding features of the second stage in the migration. One is that the men who follow the pioneers come alone. If they are married, they leave their wives in safety at home, usually in the care of the joint family. The

other is the mobility of these men in the immigrant situation both spatially and in terms of occupation. Price gives a very colourful account of the travels of some Southern Europeans over thousands of miles and through many different jobs in these early years (1963:169-80).

This was the stage the Punjabi population in Southall had reached at the time of Aurora's field work, 1957-9.

"Over one thousand, two hundred Indians lived within the precincts of the Borough of which nearly four per cent. were adult females, about ninety per cent. adult males and the rest ... children. Nearly ninety per cent. of the population (adult males) were in the working age group between eighteen and sixty" (1967:40).

The absence of women at this stage of the migration reflects either the short term intentions of the migrants or an apprehension of commitment to settlement in a new environment, resulting in an exploratory stay by the men, allowing a return home with as little loss as possible if the adventure turned out not to be as profitable or as desirable as had been hoped. For the Sikhs the aim of the migration was that it would be a short term trip to earn money with which they could fulfil aims in the village that they could not otherwise do.

The mobility of the Sikhs is not clear from the Southall evidence, largely because it was very close to the main point of arrival, London (Heathrow) Airport, and offered work on the doorstep of the airport. The four factories that, in 1960, employed 60% of the Punjabis in Southall - Woolf's Rubber, two bakeries and a vegetable-canning factory - show at least the versatility of the newly-arrived labourers. (Marsh, 1967:15). Aurora does not mention the mobility of the frontiersmen in

his chapter on "The Indians as Workers"; but Desai documents this mobility more clearly.

Desai's study of Gujarati immigrants shows a group that is in the transition between the second and third stages of chain migration, but it shows some features of the second stage. There was a local slump in the Midlands in 1956. A large number of immigrants moved to Yorkshire, many of them not really aware of the slump, but only that they were on short time in the Midlands and that there were jobs with overtime to be had in Yorkshire.

"The move was reversed in 1958, when there was a slump in Yorkshire, particularly in Bradford. A majority of Indians, mainly Gujaratis, moved back to the Midlands or to Preston. At the end of 1958, there were not more than fifty families, all of them house-owners, remaining in Bradford" (1963:80).

Among other cases, Desai gives to illustrate the mobility of Indians he cites one in which, "within less than six months fourteen immigrants had moved to Huddersfield", all through the good offices of one man who had heard that immigrants were getting jobs there as bus conductors. The case also shows the efficiency of the chain factor in communicating opportunities within the host society. This is secondary chain migration, in that the chain factor is at work among immigrants within the host country. Once in the host country, the migrants still live within the framework of the chain, keeping friends or other members of the family or village informed of events by letter or visit, sponsoring them, and helping them with employment and accommodation.

The character and structure of this second stage of chain

migration is the subject of the monographs of both Aurora (1967) and Dahya (1967), and I can do no more than summarise from their work what are the most significant characteristics of this stage, besides the two already mentioned.

The primary relations that the migrants maintained were exclusively with other migrants from the same region, many of whom they may have known before their migration, the rest of whom could be accorded behaviour appropriate to their ascribed status in the society of origin. These men related to each other as they would have done in the kin and village groups of their society of origin. The exceptions to this pattern were not the result at all of any intrusion of local English mores into the community, but the result of circumstances arising from the migration itself. Such people as house owners, landlords and those who could act as intermediaries with the members of British society with whom the migrants had occasion to deal, were accorded behaviour appropriate to their achieved positions. In every way the migrants retained their membership of their extended family and benefitted from it. In the immigrant situation they developed further links through mutual aid and comradeship with friends and distant relatives whom they met, but these were articulated in the old idiom of the society of origin.

In their general orientation the migrants continued to look to their homes and villages, where their families remained and to which they intended to return to fulfil economic and status goals that were impossible to attain without money earned abroad. Price admits that he himself is not clear just what proportion of the Southern Europeans came to settle in Australia permanently, and what proportion intended to

return to Southern Europe; but it is clear that at this second stage of the migration even those who had come with the intention to settle permanently maintained their closest relations with those who had come with them to the same place, and retained a keen interest in those who continued to tend the family farm or run the family business at home. They helped those at home either by sending money or by preparing to accommodate them when they should follow. For the Southern Europeans, as for the Punjabis and Gujaratis, common motives bound together groups with a common standard of values and attitudes in the immigrant situation which resulted in them working long hours of overtime, living as cheaply, and saving as much, as possible.

Ties with other friends and kin in the immigrant situation, and the participation in a common ideology were cemented by the immigrants' interdependence on each other, giving mutual help in many spheres, and particularly by their living together. A common feature of the Yemeni, Punjabi and Gujarati settlements at this stage was the existence of dormitory, bachelor houses. Aurora estimated 60% of the Punjabi houses in Southall to have been bachelor houses. In accordance with the intention of an early return, most of these houses were cheap properties in the poorest parts of the town. They were not regarded as homes in the same way as an Englishman regards his house, but as temporary accommodation until such time as enough money had been accumulated to merit returning home. As a result, the houses were not as well appointed as the local English people considered proper. The terms that persistently crop up in the discussions of the

housing at this stage in the migration reflect the roles of those living in the houses: 'owner', 'partner', 'landlord', 'tenant', 'lodger', (I will deal with the factors involved in the development of the housing situation more fully in considering the situation in Coventry).

A characteristic of the bachelor houses was that the occupants were nearly all related to each other by ties of kinship or close friendship (Dahya, 1967:157-9; Desai, 1963: 30 and Aurora, 1967:65-6). The criteria for moving into a house was much more the links that the prospective tenant had with those already living there than, for example, his ability to pay the rent or his temperament. The high mobility of the migrants and the very slight commitment the tenants had to the house itself resulted in a very high turnover of people living in the houses, which was again documented by both Desai and Aurora. The Yemenis were less mobile than the Punjabis largely because they found regular well-paid work in Birmingham and their 'community' was well-established there.

These features of the immigrant situation show that the migrants maintained links with their kin and village almost as close as those that existed when they were living in the village itself, and to the exclusion of any strong links with members of the native society. The most common link with the native society, as might be expected, was that with the employer. Dahya also mentions an English grocer who showed he was prepared to stock the goods the Yemenis wanted, and act as an intermediary in their relations with English society, particularly the bureaucracy. This man and his wife were rewarded by a holiday in Aden at the migrants' expense. (Dahya, 1967:272-3)

Besides the economic relations that are established of necessity for the success of the economically oriented migration, like those with the employer, and with intermediaries like the grocer just mentioned, Aurora makes much of the primary relations that some of the Punjabis developed with locally found white, if not native, women. Desai devotes a chapter to 'The Deviants: mixed marriages and sex relations' (1962:122). Dahya gives more analytical consideration to the position of the Yemenis who had married locally and their wives than either Aurora or Desai. None of Dahya's second category of Yemeni migrants proper had married locally and, to his knowledge, only three of these migrants had clandestinely visited mistresses in local Pakistani houses (p.307 footnote). The Yemeni migrants were too tightly knit and closely involved in the ties that bound them to their kin and villages to risk the loss of the benefits their ascribed positions afforded them, which consequent sanctions would have entailed, even had they wished to develop relations with native women. There was no test case to show the strength of these sanctions, but the very absence is evidence in itself. Five of the first category, seamen settlers, who had come to live in Birmingham did have local wives who helped them in their roles as intermediaries between the Yemenis and English society. It is important to notice that Dahya emphasises that these men did not join the immigrant 'community' in the city, but simply lived near it. These men were regarded as "strangers" by the 'community' whose members accepted that local wives were alright for such people, as they had severed their links with the Yemen and were, anyway, going to live in England (p.303,p.309).

The Punjabi and Gujarati groups were not as tightly knit as the Yemeni, reflecting that they were both in a more developed stage than the Yemeni migration when they were studied, though in the same scheme I have set out both the Yemenis and the Punjabis fall within the second stage. The Punjabi and Gujarati settlements were more scattered spatially, a higher proportion of their members were sufficiently educated in English to be able to feel at ease in English society and, as a result, their patterns of relations were less involuted, less intense in the group and less exclusive to it. In general the effects of their establishing primary relations with local women were the same as for the Yemenis as far as their membership of the group was concerned. Of Desai's three case histories of intermarriage with local girls only one was successful, because the Indian groom had no family in England to object to the match at the time and, for various reasons, he could not look forward to a happy future in India. The two other marriages both failed; one because of "the internal solidarity of the family groups of N (the Indian groom) and his wife, respectively" (1963:139); the other solely because of the pressure on the groom from immigrant relatives and friends and his family in India. Both Desai's and Aurora's accounts show that the establishment of primary relations with local women was regarded by the immigrant group as a severe threat to relations with kin and village in the home society, and with the other immigrants themselves. They show that the men who developed these relations were drawn or pushed out of the immigrant group in direct proportion to the degree of their involvement with local girls.

Price deals very carefully with the intermarriage patterns of many Southern European immigrant groups in Australia, and is hesitant to make any generalisations about the changing fates of intermarriage at the different stages in the chain migration. He cites the figures for several chain migration settlements each of which shows completely different trends in the succeeding stages of the migration (1963:254-62). The factors affecting these rates are the immigrants' own attitude to intermarriage, the length of time the migrants stay in the immigrant situation before visiting home, the strengths of the local regional 'community', the extent to which marriages are performed by proxy or are with fiancées sent from the home society, and the fluctuation in the numbers of arrivals in the chain migration itself. For the Punjabis in England, the second stage of the migration, lasting generally until the end of the 1950s, was a time in which the ties of the village and kin group, and particularly of the morality of the village, were weakest and least enforceable; numbers of kin and villagers in England were generally still quite small, some of the migrants were young educated men who had originally come to England to study and who had no difficulty with English; frequent visits home were too expensive to be considered, and because they had not given up their idea of a quick return home very few women had arrived to join their husbands. As a result, we might expect more intermarriage in the second stage of the Indian chain migration in England, than in the following stage when the settlements were consolidated by the arrival of women and children. But the prominence that Aurora and Desai give to their accounts of intermarriage should not be allowed to

obscure the fact that the second stage of the Indian migration in general saw very few cases of intermarriage indeed. Desai says that in five years field work he came to know of a total of only seven instances of intermarriage, involving four Gujaratis and three Punjabis. Aurora's assertion that "they came not merely to make money but also to have fun in London's night clubs and with easily attracted white women" (p.31) is not at all substantiated. That some of the migrants used the services of prostitutes is certainly true, but such relations were tolerated only if they did not involve the development of primary relations which would influence the man's relations with his friends and kin.

Stage III

The development of the third stage of the chain migration is heralded by the arrival of increasing numbers of dependents of the frontiersmen. Once established, its structure is characterised most obviously by the replacement of bachelor houses by family households including women and children.

This stage is again well documented by Price for Southern Europeans in Australia (1963:180-190). No general studies of Asian immigrants in England has been completed since Desai's study in 1960.³ Desai's study reflects a slightly more developed stage in the migration than Aurora's, though their periods of field work do partially overlap. His table of the Gujarati populations of Bradford and Birmingham shows a consistent ratio of one woman to every four men, though for some reason there were twice as many children in Bradford than in Birmingham.

Table
Gujarati population by sex

<u>Place</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Birmingham conurbation	191	52	31	274
Bradford	207	47	63	317

(Source: Desai, 1963: 8 Table II)

Desai thinks that the Punjabis "do not differ very much in this respect from the Gujaratis (1963:8) In the course of a case history showing the composition of an immigrant house over five years, 1956 - 1961, Desai mentions that the owner of a 'bachelor' house brought to England his wife and two daughters, just after his nephew, who had lived with him, went back to India to get married. Another Gujarati tenant moved out, bought a house and brought his wife from India, another moved into the house with his wife and child and, soon after that, two other Gujaratis already living there brought their wives and families from India to the house.

"The character of the house changed gradually from that of a dormitory to that of a multiple family house"

(1963:34).

The trend of bringing over dependants also resulted in the immigrants buying an increasing number of houses, in which they could comfortably accommodate their families. Aurora suggests that the Punjabis in Southall were on the verge of the transition to the third stage of the migration, for although he estimated that, in 1960, 90% of the population were adult men, 4% women and 6% children, in "1958-9 alone the number of women and children in the community trebled"

(1967:40).

In the case of the Yemenis the third stage was still in the future at the time of Dahya's field work, but he looks forward to it.

"Three of the migrants outside Birmingham have already brought their wives over and at least two migrants in Birmingham are known to be planning to sponsor their wives and children" (1967:145).

A second characteristic of the third stage of migration that Price noted for the Southern Europeans was a general change of occupation from the often unpleasant unskilled jobs they had taken on arrival to more agreeable and permanent occupations. They moved from timber and bush clearing, and other unskilled labour, to farming, deep-sea-fishing and catering. The absence of any mention of this trend in the literature in England reflects possibly the stronger commitment of the Indians to the idea of an early return home and, consequently, a feeling that they should make as much money as they could in well paid employment, rather than settle down in satisfying independent businesses - changing their frame of reference from the success and prestige of the family in the village, to professional success in the native society. Price declines to say what proportion of the migrants came to Australia to adopt it as their new home, and what proportion came with the intention of returning 'home' when they had made their fortunes. Again he shows that different regional groups came with different ambitions. From his account it seems that overall a higher proportion went to Australia to settle than was the case in the Punjabi migration to England. The proportion of first generation Punjabi immigrants intending to settle permanently among the post-war immigrants is in my estimation 5% at the most. As we shall see, the Punjabis in

Coventry have moved into many other types of employment besides the heavy labouring that monopolised their work patterns in the early stages of the migration.

A third characteristic of the third stage is a loss of the mobility of the first and second stages, or at least a restriction of it, with a more rigid pattern of settlement. Regional 'communities' have established themselves and act as magnets to those moving about within the country, either by secondary chain migration or by 'gravitation' (Price, 1963: 233) to an area where they know a 'community' exists. The dependants of settled immigrants and new arrivals both prefer to live close to other immigrants from the same regions, and so the settlements tend to become consolidated. In this movement the essential factor in the chain migration, kin, village and regional loyalty, works against any potential pioneer whose dependants have already joined him. He may want to strike out to find greener pastures elsewhere in the country, but the dependants' preference for life in a regional settlement works to prevent his moving and so consolidates the already established settlement.

Stage IV

"The definitive feature of the fourth stage of settlement is the growing to maturity of the second generation ... Their entry into the ranks of the adult community, their acceptance of the responsibility for ordering their own lives, their capacity to marry and set up their own homes all brought about profound changes in the pattern of many Southern European settlements abroad. Unfortunately, on this particular subject Australian material is very defective" (Price, 1963:190).
Material on this subject is completely absent with regard to the

Punjabi immigrants in England, largely because the first members of the second generation are only now reaching adulthood.

Price does show that the characteristic behaviour of the second generation of different groups is not uniform. In general, he says that, at this stage in the migration, the first generation migrants have lost their mobility, largely because they are now getting old. The wish of the second generation may also be of influence in this increased stability if they have put down roots in a particular locality and have peer group ties there. In some groups in Australia, the second generation has moved away from the area of settlement of their parents; from inner to outer suburbs, from the sugar area to the larger cities of Queensland. In others, they have remained in the places they were brought up. In occupation, there has been a recognisable trend common to nearly all groups, away from the farming and other traditional employment to new fields of skilled, business and professional careers, as these figures illustrate:

<u>Table 7</u>		
<u>Immigrants to Australia and Canada,</u>		
<u>occupations by generation.</u>		
<u>Group</u>	<u>First</u> <u>generation</u>	<u>Second</u> <u>generation</u>
Venetian settlement in Griffith, Australia, in non-farming occupations	10%	25%
Greeks in New South Wales, Australia in skilled, business and professional work	10%	50%
Greeks in Toronto, Canada, in skilled, business and professional work	25%	75%

(Compiled from rough figures given by Price, 1963:194)

This feature of the occupational differentiation between generations is to be seen also in the Punjabi immigrants in Coventry. Several other problems particular to the second generation and the problems they present to their first generation parents, which Price also mentions, will be considered at further length as we examine similar situations in Coventry.

The only other study of Punjabi chain migration is Mayer's report (1959). The Vancouver settlement is of particular interest because the pioneers settled there as early as 1905 and, at the time Mayer wrote, it was in the fourth stage of chain migration. There seems to have been a minimum of the occupational mobility in Canada that Price documents in Australia. The Punjabis in the early years of this century found work in "railroad construction, and in the logging and lumber industry" (Mayer, 1959:2) and Mayer was told that 75% of the East Indians were still employed in the production and processing of forest products. (This industry in itself may represent a very large proportion of the total of local industries, so his figure may give an exaggerated impression of the occupational stability. Further, because of the large number of recent first generation arrivals, a figure for the population as a whole may not really reflect the trends of the earlier and second generation immigrants). The fact that the remainder were mainly professional people does suggest some upward mobility.

The Vancouver migration was a long time in changing from the second to the third stage due to the virtual ban on Indian immigration 1909-47. Of the five thousand men who had arrived between 1905 and 1907, those who had settled in Vancouver numbered only 1,100 in 1939, almost entirely single males. The end of the war marked the period when immigration

resumed, presumably of young men followed by their wives. This resumption marked the third stage of the migration for, by 1959, the single elementary family was by far the most common domestic unit.

Mayer suggests that the new wave of immigration, post 1947, was the result of settled migrants bringing their relatives to Canada in the more liberal climate of that time towards immigration. This is a clear example of the fluctuation of a chain migration. In this case, the links had been maintained over a period of about 40 years in which immigration had been negligible. Coming at a time when there were a few second generation Punjabis reaching adulthood, the post-war first generation migrants produced a situation like some that Price describes in Australia (1963: 196-7), in which recent arrivals and second generations are in the same age cohort. We shall see there is a cohort of similar composition in Coventry, though not as a result of quite the same time lag between fluctuations in the chain migration.

The Vancouver case of the revitalisation of a chain after about 40 years illustrates a final general point to be made about the stages of chain migration. It is not possible to make any generalisation about the time span of each or all the stages. The accidental quality already mentioned enters again here, as there are so many variables involved. We have already seen that the chain migration responds delicately to the variables particularly at the settlement end of the migration. One can only say that, as long as there are representatives of a village or an area

in the immigrant situation who maintain some ties with their homeland, so is there a potential chain that can be activated if the circumstances permit.

I have considered in this chapter the difference between seamen settlements and regional settlements. I went on to consider the main features of chain migration and considered the relative strengths of the push and pull factors, particularly in the Punjabi migration to England. I have looked at the stages in the development of chain migration and how they are illustrated by studies in England of chain settlements at different stages. In the light of these considerations, I will now turn to the Punjabi settlement in Coventry which we shall see in the following chapter is moving from the third into the fourth stage.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

1. Marsh (1967) uses Aurora extensively in his first chapter on the sociological background. They come to the same conclusions.

2. By East Punjab, I refer to what was the state of Punjab, India, before the recent creation of the state of Haryana, and the simultaneous redrawing of state boundaries. (See map 2).
By West Punjab, I refer to the portion of Punjab that was made part of West Pakistan at partition.

3. Aurora, though published in 1967, is based on field-work that predates Desai's. John's study of Indian Workers' Associations (1969) and Marsh's The Anatomy of a Strike (1967) are both concerned with specific elements and events in the migrant groups settled here. The authors did not conduct any field-work on the development of the migration itself. For their ethnographic data they themselves rely on Aurora and Desai.

Chapter 4

THE PUNJABIS IN COVENTRY

In this chapter I shall deal in general terms with the Punjabi settlement in Coventry, to throw some light on the general situation, of which the particular aspect that concerns me is part, and as a frame in which the particular events I shall mention took place. To show how the four stages of chain migration work themselves out in a particular settlement, I shall distinguish some of the characteristics of the early stages of settlement, the variables that have changed the situation to what it is today and finally give a general description of Punjabi Coventry as it exists today, in the fourth stage of chain migration.

I have dealt with the 'push' and 'pull' factors involved in the chain migration of Punjabis to England in the previous chapter. It has been clearly demonstrated that the demand for labour in England in the early 1950s was the most important single cause of the immigration of Commonwealth citizens.

Wright (1968) who conducted his research in industrial towns in the North and Midlands (perhaps even in Coventry) comments that the shortage of labour was so acute that, in 1947, 1952 and 1956, the mid-year number of unfilled vacancies registered at labour exchanges exceeded the number of men unemployed. There was a man-power deficit of some hundreds of thousands. "It was this desperate shortage of labour which was filled, in part, by the large-scale immigration of coloured people." (Wright, 1968:41). In non-directive

interviews he found, and quotes (pp.40-50), employment officers and managers who attributed their initial employment of coloured workers to the unavailability of other labour. In a questionnaire survey, he asked them why coloured workers had first been employed in their firms.

Table 8

The reasons given by British firms for first employing coloured workers

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Number of factories</u>	<u>Percentage of sample</u>
1. Lack of alternative sources of labour	19	51.4%
2. Humanitarian reasons	1	2.7%
3. As a matter of course when they became available	10	27%
4. Combination of 1,2,3	7	18.9%
	<u>37</u>	<u>100%</u>

(from Wright, 1968:46 abbreviated)

The factories in which Wright made his enquiries were particularly engineering concerns, foundries, castings and drop-forge specialists, and a bus company; much the same types of firm that are the employers of large numbers of immigrants in Coventry.

Coventry produces a wide range of goods, but its economy is heavily weighted on the side of light and heavy engineering - electrical (G.E.C.), machine tool (Herbert's), chemical (Courtauld's), rubber (Dunlop) and, above all, motor vehicle manufacturers (Jaguar, British Leyland Motor

Corporation, Rootes Group, Alvis, Triumph, Massey Ferguson). As a result, Coventry has always been a large employer of skilled and unskilled labour from outside. Between the Wars, it was from Wales, from the North-East, and, above all, from Ireland. The War brought large numbers of displaced and demobilised European workers, particularly Poles.

The 1966 Census shows that there were 1,290 people born in Poland enumerated in Coventry, that is less than those born in India and those born in the West Indies, but more than those born in Pakistan. (See below p.121).

In Coventry in the early 1950s, as all over England, there was general prosperity and expansion in industry with a corresponding demand for labour. Personnel Officers in the Coventry firms who were among the first to employ Punjabis, and continue to employ a large proportion of them, echoed the statements of those who spoke to Wright. In the labourer's market of the early 1950s those people with less attractive jobs were able to move to more attractive places of work - particularly into the car industry from the foundries, and move up within factories from the dirtiest and heaviest to more skilled, cleaner work. Factory managers were more inclined to give the better opportunities to their old workers and offer the poorer jobs to newcomers. As the British moved out of bad jobs there was not only a shortage of labour but a shortage of labourers to do the kind of job which was least attractive to the British worker.

This situation is illustrated by the early break of the Woolf Rubber Company into the immigrant labour market in Southall, offering employment in heavy and dirty work, involving

the handling of chemicals that English labour shunned. In Coventry, Stirling Metals and Herbert's foundries and the Dunlop Rubber Company were among the first employers of immigrants.

The personnel manager of a local foundry said that they tried using Italian labour, but the experiment was not very successful. On the other hand, he spoke very highly of the early Indian immigrants they employed, noting particularly their willingness to work untiringly for very long hours at almost any job they were given, and the very low turnover of Indian labour in those days.

Another local employment manager mentioned another advantage in using immigrant labour. They did not cost the firm anything to recruit. To recruit men from Scotland or elsewhere involved payment of their travelling expenses, and involvement in their problems of housing, etc., whereas the immigrants just arrived when there were jobs, and seemed always to be able to find some relative or friend to live with for a time.

Figures to show the demand for unskilled labour are not readily available either from the local employment exchange statistics department or the firms concerned. The statistics department of the employment exchange classifies demand and its supply of manpower by the Standard Industrial Index, which classifies jobs by industry and not the jobs within each of those industries. They cannot supply figures that show the demand for unskilled labour in the 1950s.

The personnel manager of the largest local foundry

explained that:

1. The amount of unskilled labour in the foundries had actually gone down over the 1950s period due to advances in automation and mechanisation so that figures of unskilled labour would give the impression that demand for labour actually went down over the period.
2. Over the years jobs that are classified as unskilled labour have decreased with reclassification of some as semi-skilled, so comparison of figures over time would not be a comparison of like with like.
3. Figures of the increase in output of the plant are not necessarily direct reflections of the numbers employed. Mechanisation alone may account for increased productivity.
4. A generally high turnover in unskilled labour further complicates the interpretation of any figures in order to assess the demand.

The early stages of settlement

The first stage of the migration began in the 1930s when a few villagers from Doaba found their way to England and, among other cities, to Coventry. In the lean days of the 1930s, they took what employment they could and, in many cases, peddled cheap clothing in the absence of any other profitable work. One man in Coventry relates how he came to England in the 1930s after a few months in Kenya. He peddled goods in Hitchin and Bedford, then one of his customers helped him get a job in a brickyard near Bedford. He left that to work on the construction of an Army camp on Salisbury Plain, then came to Coventry where he laboured on building sites before getting a job with Stirling Metals.

The employment opportunities in that firm allowed him to sponsor many relatives and villagers from Doaba, for whom, previously, he could not have been sure of finding employment.

Before the War, there was no concentrated settlement of Indian immigrants in the city; there were, anyway, very few of them and they were living all over the city, often in rented accommodation in the houses of English families, otherwise, together in a house rented by two or three of them. Immediately after the War, there were few passages available to and from India, so the second stage of migration did not begin until the early 1950s.

This second stage coincides with the decade of the 1950s. As I have noted, Aurora, whose field work was done in the last years of that decade, 1957-9 (1967:vii), describes a settlement in the second stage, and on the verge of moving into the third. Increasingly through the 1950s, those men already in Coventry sent to Doaba word of the work available, and sponsored their kin and fellow villagers to come to England. The man mentioned above sponsored about 36 immigrants who, themselves, may have sponsored many more. These newcomers were channelled into the factories of those already employed through their recommendations to the works manager or foreman. They came alone - that is without their wives and children - and were extremely adaptable, content to take employment in almost any field that offered good wages. Although they had all been farmers in Doaba; they nearly all became unskilled foundry workers in Coventry.

It was in this second stage of chain migration that the Punjabi settlement was established in the city. The problems

of housing and accommodation for 'coloured' immigrants are highlighted by Rex and Moore for another Midlands district, Sparkbrook in Birmingham, where a large proportion of the immigrants are Asians. (See also Rose, 1969, Chapter 17). In Coventry, similar factors were at work, resulting in the Punjabis taking property in the oldest 'twilight' area of the city. The treatment of the immigrants by members of English society and some of the immigrants' own attitudes and behaviour were reflected in these factors. Furthermore, Immigrant buyers were an unknown risk to both house sellers and to the agents of lenders of money like the building societies. Recently arrived immigrants could offer very little in the way of security to back up their bids to buy property. Like the South European immigrants in Australia, the Punjabis put a high value on being independent of strangers, and they were keen to buy houses rather than rent them. Nor were they put off by owners' and agents' demands for high down-payments and quick payment of the balance. These demands and the ideology of an early return to Punjab put a premium on getting cheap houses, and on using the accommodation they provided to maximum advantage to recoup the outlay involved in the purchase, and meet repayment obligations. Credit was generally hard to obtain outside informal loans from kin and friends, as the immigrant could not give the references and security that other borrowers could. Besides this, the formal institutions like banks and building societies presented formidable problems to those not familiar with them, not very fluent in English and possibly illiterate. These institutions were anyway loath to

lend money for old and dilapidated property with a short lease and in an area scheduled for development. However, the immigrants were not frustrated in their desire to purchase houses by the difficulties of getting loans from formal institutions. Loans raised between kin, most of whom were saving substantial sums through extensive overtime work, were available to them at easier rates than loans from building societies. Finally, there was an unwillingness to sell to coloured immigrants both among sellers and estate agents. The seller felt moral obligations to his erstwhile neighbours not to be the first to sell to Indians who had an increasingly bad reputation for overcrowding and not maintaining the property according to the standard considered appropriate by the locals. The arrival of immigrants was feared by local house owners as a cause of the fall in the value of their property. Estate Agents were aware of all these factors - and the loss of English business to them if they became generally known to be selling houses to immigrants. In the opinion of one estate agent in the city, when an Indian bought a house, the houses on either side of that one could only be sold to other Indians.

For their part, the Punjabis did not regard the houses they were buying as 'homes' in the same way as the English family does, but as places in which to live until they returned home. They wanted cheap houses, conveniently situated near their places of work and near each other. They wanted houses that would serve their needs for the few years they were in England before they returned to their villages. Given these preconditions, it was to be expected that the Punjabis would

overcrowd their all-male houses to some extent, would neglect the paintwork and their front gardens, and so offend their English neighbours by failing to conform to middle and working class conventions of domestic behaviour. The obligations of hospitality of a house-owner to kin and villagers arriving in the city were unavoidable, however little room there was available for the newcomer in the house.

Coventry, unlike Bradford, Birmingham and some London boroughs, has been blessed by the absence of any large terraced houses built for the Victorian middle classes, deserted by their former owners to become multi-occupied property into which immigrants and low-income families are squeezed by slum clearance in the centre on one hand, and the 'suburban noose' on the other. It does have a very large proportion of small 'working class' Victorian and early 20th Century terraced housing that rings the city centre, the poorest and oldest being in Hillfields, to the north-east of the city centre. The immigrants settled here and in Foleshill and Edgwick to the north and north-east of the city centre. The largest of the factories employing Indians were also situated in this area of the city. Earlsdon, to the west of the centre, is likewise an area of old terraced housing, but is not in an area of industrial development and has never become an area of concentrated immigrant settlement.

The development of Punjabi settlement

Various factors have changed the 'New frontiersmen' situation of the 1950s to the more stable situation of an

on-going Punjabi community as it exists today. The years that have elapsed since many of the Punjabi immigrants arrived here have allowed them to settle more securely than when they first came. This may be seen in two developments: one with reference to their relations with their villages in Punjab, the other with reference to their relations in England.

The men have been able to re-establish a consistent and mutually acceptable position vis-à-vis their kin and fellow villagers in Punjab. Although in England, they have continued to live by the norms of behaviour current in the village society from which they came, and have maintained their relations with fellow-villagers both in the village in Doaba and in England. By coming to England, they have not opted out of the moral sphere of the village and family. The maintenance of village links is expressed by the remittance of money earned here for the benefit of the family in the village context; by the sending of gifts and messages of various sorts with the travellers going both ways between England and India; by visiting parents and friends in India on the occasion of a wedding in the family (or vice versa); by continuing to arrange marriages in the context of the village and subcaste, often with a family member in India as intermediary between the parties; and perhaps most importantly, by sponsoring other members of the group to come to England. The remittance of money is on a very large scale but there are no realistic figures for it as a large proportion is remitted on the black market. The Indian government is also co-operating with tractor manufacturers in England to

operate a 'tractor gift scheme', by which new tractors can be sent to India duty free as the free gift to a relative of an immigrant in England. New tractors cost up to £1,500 each. One manufacturer had sent about 20 tractors to India bought by Coventry residents by the beginning of 1970 - some going to Gujarat, some to Punjab.

The expression of relationships has continued in the idiom familiar in the villages. Men returning to Punjab, permanently or for a visit, take expensive presents for each and every member of the family. Senior family members are given the appropriate respectful welcome at London Airport, new babies are sent money, and appropriate gifts are exchanged according to the festival, all as in India itself.

All the men have now brought some or all of their immediate family to live with them in Coventry - wife, children and parents, although the wives and sons are most frequently brought here, immigrants' parents being loath to leave their friends, other family members and the familiarity of the village. Daughters have often been left behind in India since it is believed they will receive a more appropriate upbringing there for their future station in life as a wife. The presence of a sister or daughter with the kin group at home also serves to reinforce strong ties with that group. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, very few Punjabis seem to have had to sell land in order to come to England, and the majority of Doabi immigrants are Jats who have at least two or three acres of land, (in itself quite valuable, as farm land is selling in some parts of Doaba at Rs.20,000 an acre, about £1,000). A large proportion of immigrants

are in England to improve these small-holdings or buy more. In such cases, the immigrant has to leave the land in the care of someone, usually a brother or other close relative. To an extent, it symbolises his commitment to remaining a villager and he will continue to relate as one in his social behaviour while in England. The fact that someone in the inner family circle has to stay in the village to oversee the farm provides another safeguard against a family abandoning its Punjabi heritage in the immigrant situation, which it might be tempted to do if the whole of the family were in England.

The arrival of women and children puts a stop to any tendency the men may have had to establish any relations with local women, as did the earlier seamen immigrants. Their arrival marks the third stage of the chain migration and goes a long way to establishing the domestic situation with which the Punjabis were familiar at home. Some of the strongest personal motivations to earn one's fortune and return home are removed, and the short term urgency of the migration is eased. The husband purchases a separate house for himself and his family, possibly a better one than sufficed to board the 'frontiersmen'. At least, it is kept better: nor is he likely to crowd it in a desperate effort to pay off his mortgage or debts. With a wife and children, and possibly other dependants, living off one income, and at a higher standard than before, debts have to wait longer for settlement and the rate of saving is cut. As there are no large Victorian houses in or around the primary area of immigrant settlement in Coventry there has not been a movement out of

the area of initial settlement but a gradual increase in the number of nuclear family households to a figure many times greater than the number of 'bachelor' households in the second stage of the migration, though within broadly the same area. "The majority of Commonwealth immigrants (2,600 out of 2,900 Indians and Pakistanis on the electoral rolls) have settled in older terraced houses located around the city centre which can be purchased for small deposits ... Because of the relatively low prices of these properties and also, no doubt, the substantial deposits, 77% of weekly mortgage repayments (of the sample of Indian house owners) were under £2."(sic) Weinberg, 1966).

In this third stage of the migration, the ideology of saving money to send back to the family is maintained though the amounts of money remitted must be reduced at times when expenditure is high. At this stage, men seem more likely to be able to give support to their kin by rendering services in the city than by sending money home to the village.

Seen from the other aspect, of relations in England, the Punjabis have become an immigrant 'community' in the city at large, and have established a wide range of new ties in Coventry since the first stages of the migration. Many of the men, particularly the ones that migrated young, have picked up enough English to have no difficulty in dealings with the formal institutions in the city, or in personal contacts with their workmates and neighbours. They have involved themselves with different aspects of English society in Coventry, both culturally and structurally.

To begin with, in giving up some of the rigours of the second stage of migration - living as frugally, and saving as much, as possible - they have taken advantage of some of

the luxuries generally available in England; owning a television set and telephone, running a family car, redecorating and improving their houses. These are expressions of the adoption of some local cultural norms that they find attractive, but some have structural implications. The purchase of a house involves a large outlay of capital. It probably involves the contracting of a loan from a formal or informal source, either of which involves the establishment of new obligations which the debtor has to pay off. He may be loath to leave such an investment to return home, or indeed may well have a number of creditors so that he cannot afford to return unless he sells the house.

Some, but very few, of the first generation have established structural links with English society outside the field of employment. Among them are men who have skilled and professional jobs, and have joined the other citizens of Coventry in the struggle for middle class goals of promotion and suburban comfort, or have married locally. More generally, first generation parents have children at school or taking courses in the technical colleges and are anxious that these are successfully completed.

However, the strongest structural links that have developed in England are not with members or institutions of English society, but with the Punjabi community that has been established in the city. The "village universe" (Mayer, 1959:11), has been recreated in the city, so that people have been able to relate with other Doabis as they might do in a large village in Doaba itself.

A number of "emergent" and "traditional" institutions (Collins, 1957:20) have developed, in which familiar setting the Punjabis can express their political, cultural and religious sentiments. In these contexts they become involved in the life of the Punjabi community in the city as opposed to its English institutions. They include three Indian Workers' Associations, other political parties and movements, cultural societies, sports teams, two cinemas, two Gurudwaras, a Mosque, and a part-time Hindu temple. There are also shops selling groceries, vegetables and fruit, clothes, records and other goods. In short, all the needs of a family living culturally as nearly as English housing and weather will allow to the way it did in the village in Punjab are catered for, and the structural relations of the Punjabis, with the exception of employment, can be exclusive to the Punjabi community.

The establishment of satisfactory, consistent relations with members of the kin group left in Punjab, the adoption of some cultural aspects of English life, and the establishment of structural links with English society and the local Punjabi community have undermined the very short term ideas of earning, saving and returning. The Punjabis have established their settlement in the English context, while retaining their identity as Punjabis and their positions as members of their kingroups in Punjab. The fact that many Punjabis long outstay the length of time for which they originally intended to come, may have brought their wives and children, and may indeed never return to Punjab does not alter the normative context of the migration. Those who settle permanently in England may not be opting out of the village situation nor establishing

themselves as Englishmen, but setting up a permanent extension to their village and kin group, or establishing a new village within which their children will continue to relate.

It is to a description of this Punjabi community in Coventry that I will now turn.

The Punjabi community in Coventry

The numbers of the Punjabi population in Coventry today are not known exactly. Different sources give varying figures. Patterson, (1969:12) gives an estimation of the numbers of all immigrant concentrations in the United Kingdom. Coventry is listed ninth. In a total population of 315,670 she estimates there are 6,500 immigrants, "two thirds Indians with equal numbers of Pakistani and West Indians". That is roughly 4,000 Indians, 2,000 Pakistanis and 2,000 West Indians.

"These figures do not include children born to immigrants in this country. This is only a rough estimate made up of figures collected by the Institute (of Race Relations) Survey of Race Relations from a number of sources 1966-7."¹ Weinberg, (1966), using Asian names on the electoral register in October, 1964, a register of births from 1961 to 1965 and a survey of non-English speaking immigrants in Coventry schools estimated that, in 1965, there were 4,300 Indians, 2,000 West Indians and 1,000 Pakistanis in Coventry. John estimated that "in Coventry, there are about 3,500 to 4,000 Punjabis" (1969:25).

The Census figures have been carefully studied in the Survey of Race Relations and the problems of the enumeration of 'white' Indians, the enumeration of coloured children born to immigrants in this Country and census under-enumeration, are dealt with by Rose, (1969: Chapter 9 and in Appdx.III.3.

p.769). The Census figures I give below for 1951 and 1961 are crude figures direct from the published census reports which I have not attempted to 'correct' at all.

Table 9

Residents of Coventry born outside the British Isles by
Country of birth

<u>1951</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Born in India	584	286	870
Born in Pakistan	164	12	176
<u>1961</u>			
Born in India	1,877	966	2,843
Born in Pakistan	560	36	596
Born in West Indies			1,996
Born in Poland			1,290
<u>1966 (10% Census)</u>			
Born in India			5,910
Born in Pakistan			1,350
Born in West Indies			2,070

Sources

1951 and 1961

Census: County Reports, Warwickshire.

From the table of birth places . . of residents of England and Wales ... born outside the British Isles, enumerated in Coventry.

1966

Institute of Race Relations (1969:8)

There has been no increase in the number of West Indian immigrants between 1961 and 1966, consistent with the decline of West Indian migration in the early years of the 1960s. (Rose, 1969:83,84). The Indians and Pakistanis include a generally higher proportion of men than women, though the source for the 1966 figures does not give the numbers by sex. The 1966 Census County Report, Warwickshire, does not give birth places of Coventry residents by country, but numbers 11,340 persons enumerated in the city borough born in Commonwealth countries, colonies and protectorates.

The Census figures exclude children born to immigrants in Coventry. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose there are at least 10,000 Indians and Pakistani immigrants and their children in Coventry in 1970. Of these, I estimate about 70%, roughly 7,000, to be Indian Punjabis, the overwhelming majority of them from Doaba, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. 15% (about 1,500) also Punjabis from Pakistan, and about 15% Gujuratis (possibly 50% of them from East Africa). A small proportion of the Punjabis, perhaps 10%, have come to England after living in East Africa. Weinberg (1966) found that, of a sample of Indians in Coventry, 62% arrived before 1955, and 27% before 1960.

It is reliably estimated that, since 1952, about 22,000 'immigrants', which includes Irish, Europeans, etc., have registered with a local National Health Doctor in the city. This figure says nothing about the number of Indians in the city, but it does not contradict a figure of about 10,000 Asians.

From the point of view of research into the dynamics of an ongoing Punjabi settlement, knowledge of exact numbers of immigrants and their children is irrelevant, for the social system works in just the same way if there are 5,000, 10,000 or 15,000 people. The numbers in the regional settlement affect the market for Punjabi goods and services, and the extent of lateral links between members of the community, but between 5,000 and 15,000, numbers are not a vital factor in understanding the dynamics of social relations within the community.

However, the dangers of the misinterpretation of demographic statistics by students untrained in demography are such that the less it is attempted the better.

The composition of the Asian population by age and sex is difficult to estimate accurately. From the census figures it is clear that there was up until 1966 a larger proportion of men than women, especially among the Pakistanis. The Doabi population probably still contains a larger proportion of men than women but the third stage pattern of wives coming to join their husbands, and boys of marriageable age marrying, in the immigrant situation, girls often brought from Punjab, has caused the proportion of women to grow. It is the rule rather than the exception now for a man, whether old or young, to have his wife with him in England. Very few bachelor houses remain today, and even fewer, if any, are being newly established. Nearly all the men now have the services of a wife, mother or sister to cook, wash and clean their houses for them.

Information from the Census of percentage distribution of immigrant populations by age is tabulated by the six

conurbations, not by cities.

Table 10

Percentage distributions of Indian immigrants by age

<u>Age groups</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1966</u>
45 years +	15	11	} 51%
25 - 44	35	40	
15 - 24	15	16	16%
5 - 14	20	17	} 33%
0 - 4	15	16	
	—	—	—
	100	100	100%
	—	—	—

(Figures estimated from tables in Rose, 1969:110)

The census figures for 1966 show that, in the six conurbations, 33% of the Indians were below 15 years of age, 51% over 25 years, and 16% between 15 and 24 years. The figures do not suggest a particularly small proportion of Indians aged 15-24, since the percentage of this age group in the total population is only 14%, 2% less than for the Indians. The figures do not suggest any reason why there are few second generation boys in the 15-24 year age group. There are very few because they would have been born in England before 1953, or have arrived as children under 5 years of age before 1958, and the third stage of the migration did not develop until the early 1960s.

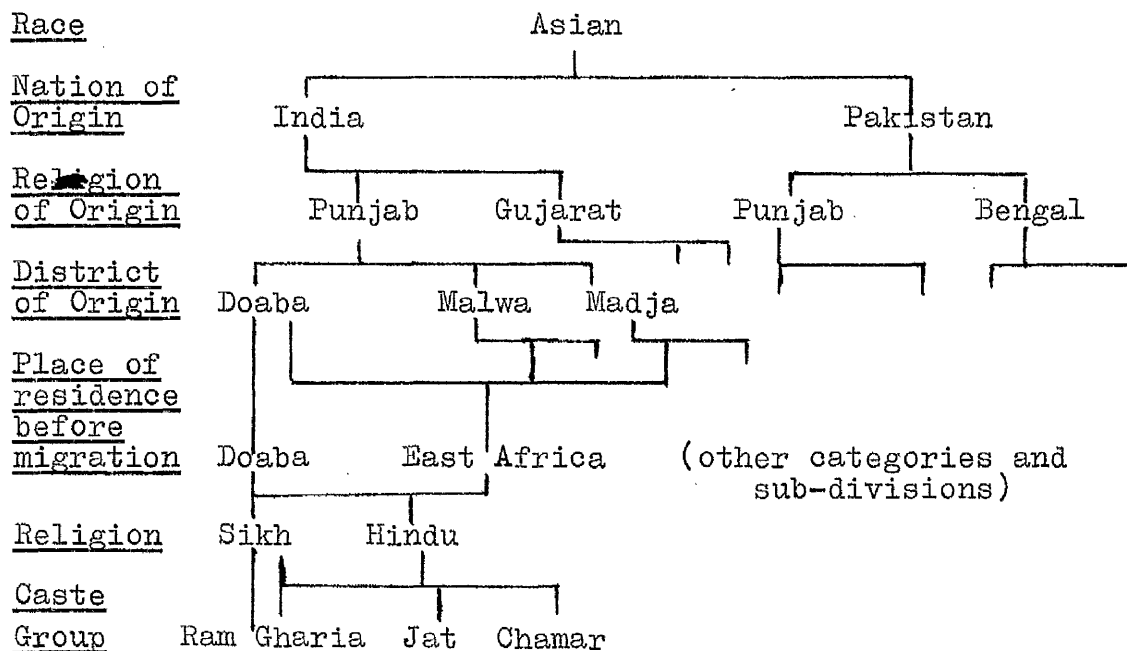
There are men and women of all ages in Coventry, but only a small proportion of very old people. Few men above 50 migrate to work, and those who migrated below that age have not yet reached retiring age. Again, there are fewer old women than old men, and very much fewer to be seen out of doors. Some of these old people are ageing pioneers who

came to England in the 1930s and 1940s, but most of them are dependents of their children living and working here. Not infrequently, parents still living in Punjab visit their children and other relatives here but, after a month or six weeks' holiday, they usually return home.

A description of the sub-categories of Asians in the city, some of which are sub-groups, becomes very complicated. The population can be divided up by nation of origin, region and district of origin, religion, place of residence prior to immigration to England, and caste group. The result is anomalies like the Pakistani Punjabis having much in common with Indian Punjabis, (physical features, language, caste groups and customs) but not having much in common with Pakistani Bengalis besides their Muslim faith or, again, the Sikhs from Doaba have much more in common with the Sikhs from Malwa than they have with other Sikhs from Doaba who have lived a long time in East Africa. The various sub-categories can be represented on a diagram.

Diagram 2

A Classification of immigrants of Asian origin living in Coventry



Doabi immigrants are in the majority in Coventry and form the subject of this research. The sub-group most clearly distinguished within the Doabi population is that of Ram Gharias, the artisans and craftsmen who are ranked considerably lower in the scale of Punjabi castes than the Jats. Aurora gives a chart of the status situation of a Punjabi village (which I am abbreviating here).

Table 11

Hierarchy of status in a Punjabi village

1. Elite	Jats and Sikh Rajputs
2. Ritual Elite	Brahmins Bhais and Nihang Sikhs
3. Commercial castes	
4. Cultivators and Agriculturalists	
5. Artisans and Craftsmen	Tarkhan and Lohar (Ram Gharia)
6. Village servants	
7. Untouchables	

Source: Aurora (1967:115)

The Ram Gharias have retained a separate identity in Coventry. Many of them have lived in East Africa for many years, which gives them a separate identity from the Jats, most of whom came to Coventry direct from India. They have kept to their original skills as craftsmen - particularly as carpenters, bricklayers, etc., in the building trade. They maintain a separate Gurudwara in the city, the recent large extension of which they constructed to a considerable extent themselves. In general, the Ram Gharias keep out of the

mainstream of Punjabi politics and secular affairs in the city. Nor have they adopted English cultural norms as much as the Jats, symbolised by their maintenance of the five 'kakkas'² of the Sikh religion.

Whereas the Ram Gharias are generally identifiable as a separate sub-group within the city, the Chamars and immigrants from other 'untouchable' or 'scheduled' castes are not identifiable in the same ways. There are in addition about 30 Christian families most of whom are from the scheduled castes. Among the Sikhs there is no segregation of Jats from Chamars. Of all the features and social customs that might have been re-established in England the stigma against members of these castes has not. Though sub-caste endogamy is maintained, the members of the scheduled castes visit the Gurudwara with the Jats, drink together in the pubs, eat in each other's houses, belong to the same peer groups. That both Jats and Chamars have come to England direct from their villages in Doaba, in contrast to many of the Ram Gharias who have lived in East Africa, may account to some extent for why they have not developed patterns of social relations in the same way. That the Jats and Chamars have been associated together in the same factory and foundry work may also be of significance.

However, these generalisations do not apply to all Ram Gharias. Some of those who have migrated from Doaba have disregarded the religious symbols, and taken factory and foundry jobs. They live a secular life as undifferentiated members of the Punjabi society of the city which is predominantly Jat, and are members of local Jat peer groups.

The sub-groups mentioned above are not reflected in the patterns of settlement within the area of immigrant settlement. The only generally recognised spatial settlement is of Gujaratis in and around Dorset, Somerset and Widderington Roads. Some subgroups have settled in particular areas but these are groups of villagers from the same village in Doaba, and again this is not a general feature since some villages have a concentrated settlement in the city while others do not. Of the Doabi villages that are particularly well represented in Coventry the villagers of Didyal and Littran are not concentrated in particular areas, whereas those from Rurka Kalan are settled around Station Street, Gondhpur around the Courtaulds factory on the Foleshill Road, and Bhangal Kalan in Stoke.

By the process of chain migration some villages who quite early on had pioneers abroad, have had a great advantage over others who did not, in having representatives to assess the opportunities for employment, to put down the money on fares, to sponsor new immigrants into the country, to accommodate them on arrival and sponsor them at their place of work. Family ties cut across villages, so fellow villagers of pioneer immigrants were not the only ones to benefit from the pioneers' sponsorship. Family members from other villages could then start chains of migration from their own village. It is a common joke among villagers from Didyal that there are no men of working age left in the village. They are all in East Africa, England, North America or the Far East. One of the pioneers in Coventry has sponsored over 30 people since he has been here, each of whom may have sponsored others before

restrictions were imposed. Through the process of chain migration some villages like Didyal and Rurka Kalan have their strongest concentration of villagers in England in Coventry, with a few living in other cities. Other villages, like Herian, are only represented by two families in Coventry but have much larger concentrations in other cities.

Villages in Phillaur tehsil in Jullunder district are most strongly represented in Coventry. Almost every village in Phillaur tehsil is represented in Coventry by one or a hundred people. Villages in Nakodar and Nawashahr tehsils in Jullunder district, and Garhshankar tehsil in Hoshiarpur district are also well represented (as they were in Fiji p. 69 above) as are some village in other tehsils in these two districts. (See map 3 p. 25). There are very few immigrants from Ludhiana and Amritsar districts, outside Doaba.

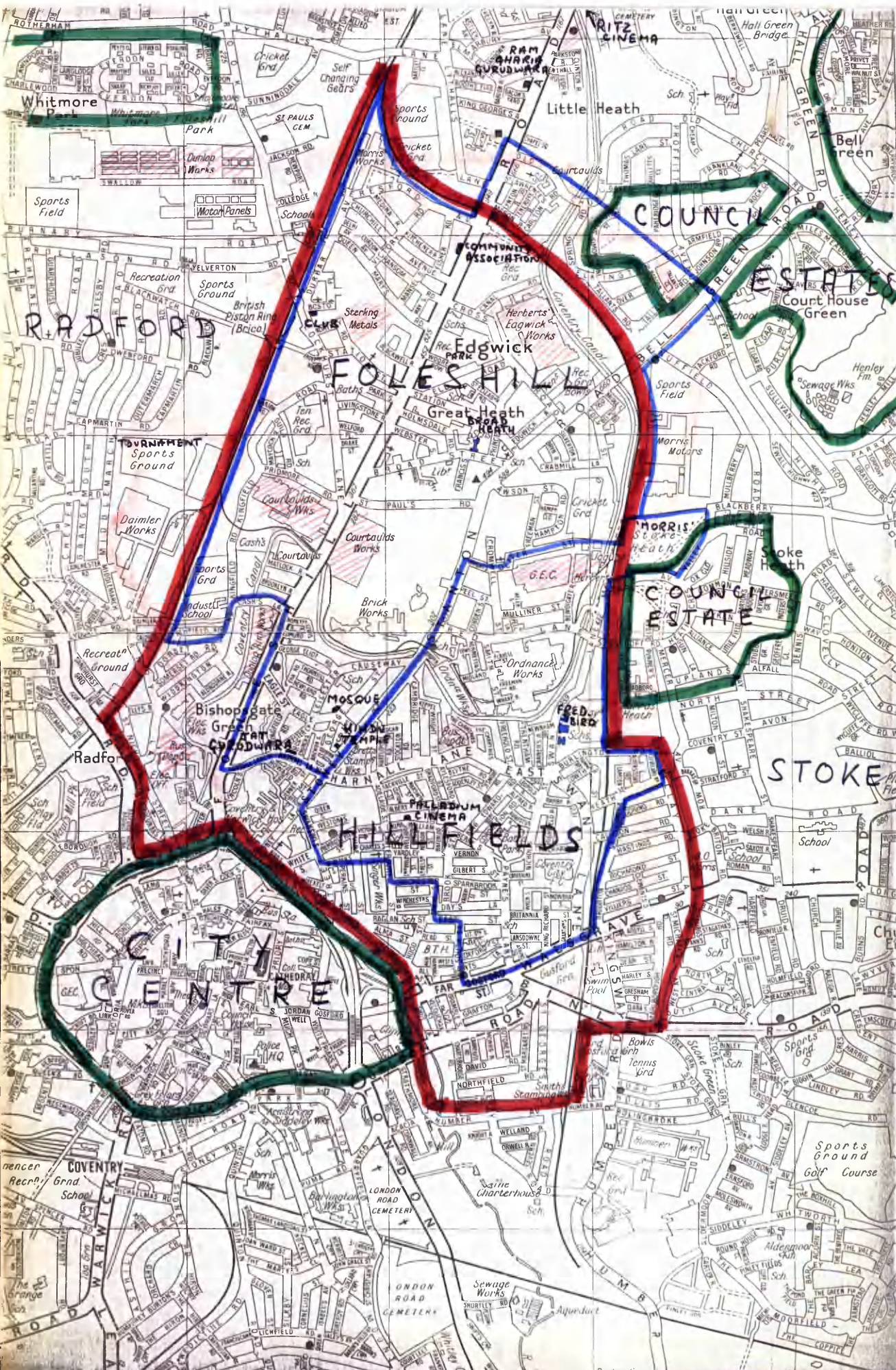
The settlement in Coventry of all the Punjabis (and other Indians) remains concentrated in the Hill Fields, Foleshill and Edgwick areas where it was first established. In the early 1950s the settlement was simultaneous in the whole area. But recently, as Hill Fields has been demolished for redevelopment and families have been growing, there has been a general movement from Hill Fields to Foleshill, Edgwick and beyond. Foleshill (including Edgwick) is now generally recognised to be the heart of the Indian settlement.

The streets in Hill Fields consist of rows of small terraced houses fronting onto the pavement with two rooms upstairs, two down, a kitchen at the back and an outside toilet

Scale:
4ins.
10cms.
1mile.

-  Primary area of settlement
-  Major employers of Punjabi labour
-  Secondary school catchment areas
-  Areas blocking the expansion of primary area of settlement

In all cases these areas are approximations.



no bath. They were built in the latter half of the last century or before the First World War. In Foleshill, there are some streets of similar types of houses built about the early 'twenties, but there are also houses built in the 1920s and 1930s that are larger, with two rooms and a kitchen downstairs, two rooms and often a third or a bathroom upstairs. They have small front gardens and, in some streets, are set in avenues of trees. These have a more varied and decorative appearance than the featureless, terraced houses adjoining the pavement.

The area of the largest concentration of Punjabi immigrants is conveniently bounded by the railway line from the north which divides in the northern part of Edgwick. One line runs parallel with the Foleshill Road, about one third of a mile to the west; the other crosses the road, heads south with the canal and then crosses the Walsgrave Road. I estimate that at least 90% of the Punjabis live within this area, the other 10% just outside it to the north, north-west and south-east. For convenience I will call this area the primary area of settlement. It is not wholly coincidental that the area is bordered on three sides by the railway line and on one of those by the canal as well, and that the settlement has remained concentrated in this area. The railway, canal and some of the factories which they served limit pedestrian access outside the area particularly to the west - to Radford, to the north - to Small Heath, and to the north-east - to Court House Green and Stoke Heath.

The area bordered by the railway line, the primary area of immigrant settlement also coincides almost exactly with the

catchment areas of two secondary schools sited in the area. This means that all the young immigrant boys, with the exception of the small proportion who have earned places at comprehensive or grammar schools elsewhere in the city, are associated together as schoolboys of Broad Heath and Frederick Bird secondary schools. The proportion of the total of Punjabi boys who go to these two schools is very high. To date, only a small proportion of the schoolboy population, second generation and early child migrants, have the basic education and articulation in English to put them in the running for places at the comprehensive schools in the city. For the others, the years at school have given them the chance to meet, recognise, befriend and identify with the other Punjabi boys in the city. In 1968-9 Broad Heath had a proportion of over 75% of its pupils immigrants, most of them Asians, and most of these Punjabis.

The primary area is bordered on the south-west by the commercial centre of the city. To the west it adjoins a lower middle class housing estate and a council estate (just off Map 4), both in Radford, and to the north-west another council estate and middle class estates built post-war. The Indians have now begun to settle in the private estates in these areas, and to the north of the railway line in Little Heath, where the houses are much the same as in Edgwick. To the east and north-east, any expansion of the Punjabi settlement is blocked by large council estates in Bell Green, Court House Green and Stoke Heath. To the south-east Stoke offers houses larger than those in Hill Fields and Foleshill and in a quieter and more 'respectable' area. It is particularly to north Radford, Little Heath and Stoke that the Punjabis might have

been expected to move, as these are the only areas bordering the primary area in which private housing is available. My observation and the opinion of local estate agents suggests that these are the areas to which Punjabis are increasingly moving.

One reason for the continued concentrated settlement in the primary area is the difficulty of selling the property, even to other immigrants. Many residents of Hill Fields would like to move but they cannot sell their houses since the whole area is scheduled for redevelopment and is rapidly being pulled down. No-one is willing to take up the very short leases, or risk coming under a compulsory purchase order. But Hill Fields is coming down and the immigrants settled there are being dispersed, as they prefer to buy houses privately, rather than be rehoused in the same area or in any other as council tenants. Weinberg (1966) found that 73% of a sample of Indian householders in Coventry owned their houses, against the 54% of all Coventry householders.

A bachelor who lived in his own house in Hill Fields, with his more recently arrived married brother told me simply "Hill Fields is being pulled down, so we are moving to Stoke." The married brother already had a grocery shop serving Indian customers in Stoke.

Within the primary area there are a number of large industrial plants, and there are more just outside it. Among these are some of the largest employers of Indian labour, in the production of machine tools, motor vehicles and parts, chemicals, textiles, rubber, gas and electrical goods. A large proportion of Punjabis has found employment in these factories, but not all of them work there or in the immediate vicinity. Stirling Metals foundries were in Coventry before

the war within the primary area. They have continued to attract Indian labour even though their whole factory is now some 8 miles to the north of the city. Coventry colliery is a mile or two outside the city but also attracts some Indian labour, and some of the labourers in the foundries and metal works in Leamington are also resident in Coventry. Besides the foundry and heavy engineering workers, a large number of immigrants are employed in the public transport service. There are also teachers, hospital staff, shop-keepers, craftsmen, garage mechanics, office staff, skilled and unskilled factory workers in all parts of the city.

Only a small, but increasing, proportion of the Punjabi women work. These are girls not yet married and young married women who work almost exclusively in the workshops of G.E.C., manufacturers of electrical goods. There are also two Punjabi-owned clothing factories which employ all female Indian labour on sewing machines, but the largest of these only employs about 40 women.

A characteristic of the third stage of migration noted in Chapter 2 was the general diversification of employment away from the often unpleasant unskilled jobs taken by immigrants on their arrival. As we have seen, the Punjabis in Coventry have moved into many spheres of employment other than the heavy labouring that monopolised their labour in the earlier stages of migration. One of these spheres has developed through the provision of goods and services demanded by the rising population of Punjabis. The demands for a wide range of Indian consumer goods and services from the large regional settlement have been sufficient to be profitably met by entrepreneurs in

the city. Supplying this demand is the full-time employment of many Punjabis in the city, besides those who are selling services and goods to English society.

There are in Coventry about 60 Indian grocers, and about half that number of drapers, a halwai (maker and seller of Indian sweets), a record shop, driving schools, photographers, goldsmiths, insurance agents, travel agents, café owners, doctors and dentists. It is difficult to distinguish between full-time businesses and those run on the side since shopkeepers and factory labourers are often also insurance agents. One factory labourer retails Indian quilts from his house, which he buys from mills in Yorkshire. Men who are fully employed outside own shops that family members staff. There is a conspicuous absence of specifically Indian teashops in the city, though there are cafés run by Punjabis. This absence is related, I think, to the hours that the Punjabis work, their partiality to beer and hence their patronage of the numerous public houses.

Formal organisations

In reply to my question about the existence of Punjabi cultural organisations, a young Gujarati said that "only the Gujaratis have culture, the Punjabis have religion and politics". In terms of 'community-wide' organisations in the city this is true. There is no Gujarati political organisation like the Indian Workers' Associations which, though 'all-Indian', are Punjabi-dominated and do not involve the Gujaratis at all. There are two Gujarati cultural societies: Kala Niketan and Rang Tarang, who have held concerts of Gujarati music and culture in school halls and community centres. The Punjabi cultural societies are restricted to Navrang, a drama group

of young Punjabis, and the Indian Cultural Society, whose only activity is showing Indian films in the Ritz cinema.

The 1968-9 Report of the Coventry Community Relations Council shows that it has representatives of the following Asian immigrant organisations:³

- * Indian National Group
 - Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain
 - Indian Cultural Society
 - Sikh Temple, Harnall Lane (Jat)
- * Sikh Study Circle
- * International Sikh Brotherhood
 - Indian Workers' Association
 - Sikh Temple, Foleshill Road (Ram Gharla)
- * Coventry Hindu Society
- * Islamic Brotherhood
- * Pakistani Welfare Association
 - Pakistani Workers' Association
 - Hindu Satsang Mandal

* I have no knowledge of the nature of membership or activities of these groups, but they are not 'community wide' organisations as the others are.

There are four important political groups among the Punjabis. In 1963, the Indian Workers' Association (I.W.A.) split to form the I.W.A.G.B. and I.W.A. Coventry. The I.W.A.G.B. is a strongly communist, nationally affiliated organisation. It has a card carrying membership claimed to be 700. The I.W.A. Coventry is the other half of the old I.W.A. This is a specifically non-communist organisation claiming to promote the best

interests of all the Indians in the city. It does not have subscription-paying members, "where there is money there is trouble, so we do not have any money except when there is a specific need". Two political organisations have been formed more recently - a second I.W.A.G.B. with an extreme left-wing platform committed to communist revolution in India (and in England), claiming a membership of hundreds, and the Jai Hind party, started by a group of young Punjabis in Coventry, committed to a more right-wing, nationalist revolution in India. They both have card carrying, subscription-paying memberships, that of Jai Hind being greatly increased since it involved itself in domestic politics in Coventry. I shall return more fully to a consideration of these political groups in a later chapter. None of these four organisations has offices besides the homes of their leaders.

Sikh religious life is split between two Gurudwaras. The Sri Guru Nanak Parkash Sikh Temple in Harnall Lane, the Jat Gurudwara, is a large new building on its own site in a very prominent position in a street that runs through the heart of the primary area. Until a year ago, it could hold about 750 people; with the new extension, recently completed, possibly 1,000. It was until recently the showpiece of Sikhism in Coventry, but the Ram Gharia Gurudwara has now taken over that honour. This was situated in a large converted house on the Foleshill Road, just to the north of the primary area. Recently, it has been substantially extended with the addition of a new Gurudwara Hall of almost the proportions of the one in Harnall Lane. The extension was built largely by the Ram Gharias

themselves and formally opened with great ceremony in the Autumn of 1969. It is easily accessible by bus from Hill Fields and Foleshill.

The affairs of each Gurudwara are managed by an elected committee. The services in each are broadly the same: for everyone, every Sunday morning from 7.30 a.m. to about 1 p.m., and on Thursday afternoon one for the women only (and on particular feast days). On Sunday mornings, the congregation is slow to arrive. Men, women and children come and go at will but most of them arrive by about 11 a.m. and the Gurudwara remains full until the distribution of 'Kra Prasad' marks the end of the service. There is then ample opportunity to meet friends and talk together. Though the Jat Gurudwara is packed to near capacity on successive Sunday mornings, a large proportion of Sikhs go at most only on the occasions of special religious celebrations, such as a wedding. It is impossible to specify the proportions or even the total number of visitors on any Sunday morning as people are coming and going all the time.

The two Gurudwaras are in competition, particularly for status, but not in conflict. There are some people who frequent both, and do not seem to have torn loyalties. The Jats have largely disregarded the five 'kakkas', or at best have retained the bangle and the pants. I estimate about 80% of the men in Gurudwara on any Sunday morning have no turbans, but cover their heads with handkerchiefs. This is more a reflection of the adoption of English norms, than a loss of the Punjabi religious identity. Safety regulations in the factories are met, and

English suspicions allayed, by the Sikhs being clean shaven and wearing neither turban nor bangle. But giving up some cultural diacritical marks does not affect their Punjabi structural patterns. They may be less orthodox Sikhs without being any less Punjabi. Cutting one's hair does not seem to relate directly to one's attendance at Gurudwara. Nor do office holders have to be Khalsa Sikhs (wearing the five 'kakkas'). The wearing of turbans is maintained much more by the Ram Gharia Sikhs which gives them considerable pride, and a reason to grade themselves above the Jats in the context of religious orthodoxy.

The Gurudwaras do not provide the same focal point for the community as do those in Vancouver (Mayer, 1959: 9). Neither Gurudwara premises is in use as an 'hotel', since the congregation is not sufficiently scattered to need this. Visitors that come to Coventry stay with friends or relatives, not in the Gurudwara, with the exception of the weekend of the Indian Sports' Tournament in the city when some people do stay in the Gurudwara. In Coventry, the settlement is sufficiently concentrated, and mens' paths cross on sufficient informal occasions for there to be no need for the Gurudwaras to be focal points at which everyone can meet everyone else. Neither of the Gurudwaras sponsors, arranges or provides facilities for any other activities besides religious worship.⁵

The religious services in the Gurudwara give great scope for political activity and for gaining prestige, by the practice of allowing anyone to address the congregation on any matter of general interest, and of announcing publicly every week those who contribute money to various causes. However, in Coventry

the Gurudwaras are used as arenas only for domestic Gurudwara politics, and the struggles for religious and moral authority. Those issues I have heard discussed on a Sunday morning have been local domestic issues - whether the aged should be fed completely freely at the Gurudwara, or asked to help clean it in return - and the like. In contrast to Vancouver where "struggles for power between rival leaders have been largely struggles for control of the temple committee, and religious issues have been major weapons used by adversaries" (Mayer, 1959:11), religion is divorced from politics in Coventry. The politicians are not religious nor are the religious leaders secular politicians. I have never seen I.W.A. politicians in Gurudwara, except for weddings, nor Gurudwara management committee members at I.W.A. meetings.

A small proportion of the young people visits the Jat Gurudwara on Sunday mornings. Some "religious minded" boys, usually those from particularly "religious" families, are there frequently. Some peer groups of young men meet there on a Sunday morning, after which they may go to the pub for a lunch-time drink and then off to play football. Informants have mentioned to me that someone I have been enquiring about goes to Gurudwara every Sunday, and that I can easily meet him there.

Among the formal institutions, the Gurudwara is central in maintaining a Punjabi identity in the city, but it is infrequently visited by the majority of child migrants and second generation boys. If they do visit it, they generally stay only for an hour or so, and then excuse themselves. It cannot be said that the Gurudwara is the central or focal point of Punjabi society in the city in any but a symbolic sense. It

does draw the largest regular crowd of Punjabis together in any one place week after week, but these are usually the same people.

The Mosque is a small new building in Eagle Street, seating perhaps two hundred people, and situated not a quarter of a mile from the Jat Gurudwara. Between these two on the Stony Stanton Road, the (Gujarati) Hindu Satsang Mandal worships in a part of an old school building, now being run as a community centre. This room holds a hundred at the most, and is badly overcrowded at the celebrations of Hindu festivals. The Hindu Satsang Mandal's quest for a site for a temple has, as yet, proved fruitless. They had their eyes on the old police station in Holmsdale Road, off Foleshill Road, but that has been denied them by the local authority. Their search continues.

Recreation

The young Punjabis are keen sportsmen; football, hockey, weight-lifting, athletics and 'kabaddi'⁴ are all popular. An Indian tournament is held annually in the Summer in a large local recreation ground in which the local Indian teams play football, kabaddi and hockey against other teams from Indian settlements elsewhere in England. The interest of the young is centred in their own football teams, though they also take an interest and watch Coventry City's games. Weight-lifting comes second only to football, but as a body-building hobby rather than a sport. The enthusiasm for weight-lifting is related to popular images, conveyed by films and Punjabi wrestlers of the strapping, tough young Jats.

Besides sport, Punjabis find recreation in Coventry's numerous public houses, visiting friends, watching television, at the cinema or at the club. The club, the Indian and Commonwealth Social Club is in the north-west of the primary area. It is owned and managed by a pioneer immigrant who made his living selling from market stalls in the Midlands market towns and working in a local factory. He has turned his attention to the new immigrants, running the club which is patronised largely by West Indians and Punjabis. He has extended the facilities to the whole of the old hotel building of which he formally had only a part. The Club consists of two bars and a lounge. In one bar the wall is decked with pictures of Nehru and Gandhi and has a juke box in a corner stocked with Indian and West Indian records. Above this bar is a dance hall in which Indian concerts and other functions are held periodically.

There are two cinemas showing Indian films. These are the Palladium in King William Street, Hill Fields, and the Ritz, just outside the primary area on the Foleshill Road. The Palladium is privately owned by a Pakistani, who lives elsewhere and owns several cinemas in the Midlands. It shows both Indian and Pakistani films. The Ritz is owned by Ritz Cinema Holdings, a syndicate of Punjabis, and is rented by the Indian Cultural Society at weekends and holidays to show Hindi films. By all accounts these cinemas are seldom packed to capacity though they have a regular clientele, mainly of young people.

A further place of recreation in the summer months is Edgwick Park. It is the scene of long discussions between old men on its benches, of intent groups of men and boys sitting

on the grass playing cards, of groups of children and adolescents playing football and cricket, and of mothers watching children in the playground and the paddling pool.

The Punjabi settlement in Coventry has passed through the first three stages of chain migration. At the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, when the third stage was beginning with the arrival of increasing numbers of women, some elements of the second stage were reinforced by the arrival of 'beat-the-ban' first generation male immigrants, but most of those have now been joined by their families. The number of second generation people aged 17 and over is very small. They were born in England before 1953, or brought to England under the age of five before 1958. The proportion of child migrants in the 17-25 year-old age cohort is very high - they have arrived here between the ages of 5 and 15 at any time up to 1967. In the following chapters, I shall consider the ways in which the three generations of young people in this 17-25 age cohort are developing social relations in comparison with the older first generation, and with others of different generations in the cohort.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. Hooper (1965:17-19) derives his figures from the same source as Patterson.
2. Kase - uncut hair, hence a turban,
Kanga - comb,
K'r - bangle, worn on the wrist,
Kirpan - sword, dagger,
Kacha - shorts.
3. I believe the Jai Hind party is also represented on the Council.
4. Kabaddi is a team game with eight players to a team. Each team defends their half of the kabaddi circle. In turn a member of each team crosses into the other's semi-circle to touch or be touched by one of the opposing team and return to his own side before being caught by the man he has touched, and before he draws a breath in the opposition's half. To show he does not draw a breath, he chants 'kabaddi' while in their half.
5. The Jat Gurudwara does run a Sunday School to teach Punjabi children Gurmukhi (written Punjabi, in which the Holy Book, Guru Granth Sahib, is written). They also maintain a small library of newspapers and religious books in Gurmukhi. On Sunday morning, everyone is offered a meal (langar) of food cooked by volunteers at the Gurudwara. Everyone is treated equally at

this meal - servers and served alike, a symbol of the denial of caste distinction in Sikhism. These three activities are all closely related to the central theme of religious worship. The Gurudwara does not play a leading role in the organisation or sponsorship of the tournament, as in other towns, but a football team may bear its name.

Chapter 5

THE FAMILY: HOUSEHOLD AND MARRIAGEIntroduction

Punjabi village society is characterised by patrilineal extended family kin groups. Three concepts are useful in the description and analysis of Punjabi kinship relations. They are the extended family, the joint family and the joint household, and they must be carefully distinguished. The extended family is a category of related people, it generally includes a man and his wife, their unmarried daughters, their sons and their wives. It may also include the unmarried children of the sons and daughters-in-law, and their married sons. These kin may or may not live together in one household, a joint household. Again, they may or may not live as a joint family, holding property jointly and pooling the incomes of all the members of the family, for which the head of the family has responsibility, but in which all the coparceners have equal rights. In many cases, Jat extended families live in a joint household and work the family property jointly. The coparceners have equal rights in the property if it is divided, and even when the extended family is not living in a joint household, the family may still own property jointly.

The joint family has no legal status in England as it has in India, so by a 'hard' legal definition it does not exist at all in England. However, families do live jointly in that the members do not keep separate financial accounts, and give their income to the head of the family. I shall use 'joint family' by the 'soft' definition of a family living

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jointly de facto, a moral unit, even though it is not a legal unit of coparceners. The property in England of families living jointly may be held in the name of any member of the family, not necessarily the head of the family but is not considered to be 'owned' by that member to the exclusion of other joint family members. In general, there is no family property in England besides the family house so the issue does not often arise of the division of property held jointly, but in the name of one legal owner. Mayer, (1961:171) documents a situation in Fiji where this issue has arisen.

In Punjab, the membership of a kin group, normally the patrilocal extended and joint family, is of great importance to a Punjabi in many of his relations inside and outside his village. In the first place, it gives economic security. The Jats of the villages of Doaba are predominantly farmers; membership of the joint family means a share in the products of the farm (and any other family enterprise) and the obligation to help work it or contribute to the family property in other ways. The family looks after its minors, students, women, old people and any who are ill or unable to work for a time. In short, the joint family looks to the welfare of all its members.

Closely related to the land that the family farms is its status in the village and the locality. Land ownership and high status are indistinguishable in Doabi society. Achievement in almost any field by any members of the family is translated into village terms by the acquisition of land by the joint family. Outside the family a man is accorded respect appropriate to the status of his family, so the local status of the family has implications in many fields for its members. Economic strength and high status give political 'influence' locally;

this opens possibilities to some family members such as finding employment in government service. They and their sisters can also attract spouses from other families of comparable status.

Accompanying this social system, in which in many spheres men are judged and relate as members of their joint family, is an ideology of very strong and harmonious relations between members of the family, and of maintaining 'izzat' (the family honour) at all costs.

For the immigrant Punjabi family in Coventry the extended joint family group is seldom re-created completely. Some members remain in India to oversee and work the family land. But even though the members of the family are not associated together in a common economic enterprise in England, and in general have no family land here, they continue to behave according to norms familiar in Punjab. They work to supply the family treasury and improve the property in the village, and in general support each other in maintaining the family 'izzat' in England and in India.

Kin group solidarity is demonstrated continually in unspectacular ways - by sponsoring kin to immigrate, by offering accommodation and hospitality to newcomers, by lending money, sponsoring kin in employment, educating and supporting kinsmen's children, etc. It is demonstrated graphically when kin groups fall foul of one another in the immigrant situation. Quarrels may start in England or be maintained in England after starting, possibly generations previously, in Punjab.

In the course of my stay in Coventry, there was a brawl

outside a public house in the city, involving about a dozen men from two kin groups, after a confrontation between them in the pub over an incident in a foundry where some members of each group work. The incident ended in a broken leg, a head split open, fines and prison sentences for some of those involved.

On the occasion of a wedding I attended, a group was included in the groom's party from a neighbouring village of the groom's family, whose members have a long-standing quarrel with the members of the groom's family, and these chose to provoke an argument at the wedding feast, shaming the groom's party in front of their hosts and in-laws. The outcome was a brawl that overflowed from the bride's house into the street.

Incidents such as these two are exceptional, nor do they generally involve the child migrants and second generation boys, who do not share the convictions of their parents and elders that the family 'izzat' is to be maintained in brawling. But for the first generation at least family membership is involved in economic, political and other fields. Kinship relations continue to provide a framework through which 'purposive actions' find expression.

I would disagree with Fortes (1949) and argue with Worsley (1956) that kinship relations are reducible to economic, political and other terms. In this study, I shall confine my discussion in the chapters on employment and politics to transactions and patterns in those fields, generally outside the family, and shall consider some of the implications they have on relations within the family and

between the generations. I shall consider in this chapter the personal relations within the family that could be reduced to political and economic terms, particularly household composition and the patterns of marriage which together make up the framework of links along which economic, political and other transactions pass.

The data on which I draw for this discussion are derived from observation and discussion with a sample of male Punjabi immigrants, all direct from Doaba and all between the ages of 17 and 25 whom I have met, visited and with whom I have been able to discuss these matters. The 'sample' consists of 71 people from 49 households, composed of 45 child migrants and 26 second generation boys. This is not a cross-section of Punjabis in Coventry, nor even of households, as most houses are without any second generation or child migrant adults, but I think it is a representative section of persons of these two generations in the 17-25 year cohort.

The household

The first characteristic common to all the boys in my sample is that none lives in isolation from all members of his family. They all live either with their parents or with some other relatives. They have all been brought up, either in Punjab or in England, by parents who want them to behave in every way as Punjabis.

The basic domestic group in Punjab is the patrilocal extended family. Sons do not leave their father's household at marriage but bring their wives to live in his house.

Table 12The types of household of the 71 child migrant and second generation boys of the sample

	<u>Child migrant</u>	<u>Second generation</u>
Single boys living in parents' nuclear household	18	19
Married boys living in their own nuclear household	2	-
Single boys living in extended family households	6	5
Married boys living in extended family households	18	2
Single boys living in 'bachelor' households	1	-
	<u>45</u>	<u>26</u>

By 'nuclear household' I mean a household consisting only of a man and wife and their unmarried children and any elderly or unmarried relatives. By 'extended family household' I mean a household consisting of more than one married couple, with closely related members, usually father and sons, occasionally brothers or nephew and uncle. The composition of the household has no bearing on whether or not the members live jointly though, as is made clear in the text, families living in extended family households usually live jointly. This pattern is repeated in England, though it may not be statistically the most commonly found because many young first generation immigrants have come without their parents who are still living on the farm in Doaba. Where parents and their married sons are in England they are usually living together under the same roof. Of the 22 married boys in my sample, 19 have fathers living in England.

of whom 16 live with them. The remaining three boys have widowed mothers living in England, two live in the same household as their mothers and one lives in his nuclear family household.

Of a total of six married boys from families in my sample, (four just mentioned) who do not live with their parents, the fathers of three have married again and live with their second wives and the children of that marriage. In two families, the eldest sons' wives have not had a child before the wife of the second son which has caused conflicts in the extended family and prompted the eldest son to leave home. One has gone to North America (and hence is not in the sample), the other has a house in Coventry. Finally, there is a doctor who lives and works elsewhere in the Midlands (and hence is not in the sample). A family with a married son or sons often moves to a large house or buys another house next door, or near to, their previous one to allow all the members of the joint family to live together comfortably, and with a bedroom for each of the married couples and adult children. I know of no household in which more than two married sons are living with their father. Married brothers of the first generation whose parents are either dead or not living in England do not live in joint households. Nor do they necessarily live close together, but are often living in different cities.

When the father is in Coventry it is only in exceptional cases, through the demands of training or employment, that his sons are spread over different cities. Even when the sons no longer live in a joint household with their father, they have, to date, tended to live near their father's house. Even in

England, then, where the father has no land, and only exceptionally a business in which to employ his sons, it is only to find employment that sons will leave their parents' area of settlement and live elsewhere. The eldest son (just mentioned) who went to North America went to join other family members and to work there. It remains to be seen in the future whether the second generation and early child migrants will seek employment in other fields than are available locally.

An important result of the custom of married couples settling virilocally, whether they live in the house of the husband's father or not, will be to perpetuate that pattern familiar in Punjab of brothers living near together, while their sisters are dispersed all over the country. The concentration of certain families and villages will be increased and perpetuated in certain cities in subsequent generations. At present, if married daughters settle patrilocally, they do so either because they have married a man living in the same town as their father, or because they have married a man who came from India for that specific reason. The latter arrangement is the only incidence of uxori-local marriage to be found, and is unlikely to be of very frequent incidence in the future as fiancés of girls already in England are no longer allowed into England except as ordinary voucher holders (Amendment to the Common-wealth Immigration Act, January, 1969). <sup>- (they
ave
allowed
now)</sup>

The composition of most households has changed over the years, as the local Punjabi population grew with the new arrivals nearly all of whom came initially to relatives, or friends they had known in Punjab.

A man's house may have been the initial staging post of a number of relatives and friends. Aurora (1967) remarks on the instability of the composition of a bachelor household. The arrival of a man's wife and children in his house stabilises this situation, but the composition of households continues to alter in two ways: daughters move away at marriage, daughters-in-law move in, and relatives using the house as a reception centre or staging post move in and out of the house as their needs dictate.

Narain Singh's small terraced house at first accommodated himself, his wife, his three daughters and two sons. The eldest daughter has married another Coventry man from Jullunder district and they have a house of their own. The middle daughter has married a Jullunder boy living in Lancashire, and now lives with him and his family there. The eldest boy has married a Punjabi girl whose family was living in another Midlands town and they now live in his parents' house in Coventry. This eldest son and his wife have one child. Since the birth of this child, the family has bought a three-bedroomed house to accommodate the whole family more comfortably, also looking to the day when the youngest son, now seventeen, marries and brings his wife home. In the past, a brother's son of Narain's wife lived with them in the first house from the time he arrived until he bought himself a house. The use of the house as a staging post for this man illustrates how important a related household is to a kin group some of whose members wish to emigrate.

The joint family

As in Punjab, the norm in England is for the family to live jointly. In Punjab, this means common labour on the

farm with no wages paid and the income not divided. In England it means handing over the son's wage packet and that of his wife, if she is working, very often unopened, to his mother or father, with whom he is living. In return, the family provides all his needs in terms of food, accommodation and money for clothes and other expenses incurred in day to day living. This is the pattern of all those married boys living under the same roof as their father, and of the three sons of one family not doing so, whose father lives with their step-mother. In only two families in the sample, does a working son living in his father's house not give his earnings to his family. In one of these, the son retains his on his father's instructions. This household consists of a man, his wife and two sons, one child migrant, 20, working in a factory, the other second generation boy, 17, still at school with ambitions of studying medicine at University. The father has lived outside India nearly all his life in Fiji, New Zealand and England. The son does not think the father wants to go back to his village, or will do so, nor does he himself intend going. He asserted that, if he did go to India, it would be to a city and not to his village or to farming. He keeps the money he earns here paying his mother something for living at home. This, he rationalises with arguments that money always causes trouble in a family, particularly when a boy is married, and that his father wants him to gain some experience in dealing with his own affairs. The eldest son is not yet married, so it remains to be seen whether he will continue to live in his father's house when he is. In the other family, there is a second generation boy who has taken a group of English friends as his reference group and seeks to

live his life in conformity with their norms. This involves keeping his own wages, out of which he gives his mother a sum each week for his keep at home.

Not many married girls start work or continue to work once they are married, so it is the exception to find a family where a son and his wife both contribute to the joint family income. In the only case in the sample the son and his wife left that family and now live alone in their own house. They have children, so the wife no longer works.

In families where the sons are living jointly with the father, there is not usually any record maintained of the respective contributions of each son; the fact that the eldest may have contributed much more than the youngest is not taken into account. On this point, older brothers always refer to the fact that they will, anyway, take some responsibility for the education and welfare of their younger brothers, so that it makes no difference whether they keep the money themselves or add it to the joint family savings.

In the sample, there are sixteen families where more than one brother is contributing to a joint income. In only one of these is account kept of individual incomes. In this case, the father who has been in England for 15 years and has no ambitions to settle and farm in India himself, acts as a banker for his three sons.

In remaining in their father's house and living jointly, the behaviour of the second generation conforms to that of the first generation children and child migrants. Those still full-time students who work during the vacations give their wages to the family in the same way. Student grants are

outside this field of 'earning' and are kept in their entirety for expenses at the university, except by those who are living at home and studying in the same town. A few boys deviate from this pattern, second generation boys who "live like English boys" in that they do not live jointly, not giving their earnings to their parents, even while living at home. They feature prominently in conversations with first generation migrants but, contrary to the opinion of these people, the majority of all generations conform to the joint family norms in this respect.

The head of the joint family household, as in Punjab, is the senior male member, usually the father who has his sons living with him. His position is recognised by the sons' handing over to him their weekly wage packets and their respectful behaviour towards him. The holding of the purse strings is not, in every case, the task of the head of the family. In one family in the sample, though the members live jointly, the son, a child migrant, holds the family account. His mother is dead, so his wife sees to the domestic needs of her father-in-law, husband, young brother-in-law and her little son. The son and his wife run the household, but still his father maintains his position as titular head of the family.

There is here the emergence of an idea of appropriate spheres of interest and control. The man who is uneducated and non-English-speaking defers to his son in fields where he has no knowledge or experience, such as dealings with the building society and the bank. He must also leave to his son

decisions with regard to the son's further education and employment. In the context of the family decisions vis-à-vis other Punjabi families, in such fields as marriage, the traditional head of the family remains responsible for all decisions. The extent to which certain spheres are given over to a son depends entirely on the comparative competence of each in those spheres in England. A man who has had a good education in India, to whom spoken English is no problem, and whose sons have been here no longer than he himself, may keep his authority in all fields as he would have done in India. One such man has two child migrant sons of 20 and 22, both unmarried, both of whom submit completely to the decisions of their father to the extent of not being out of the house later than 10 p.m. without legitimate cause which, in most cases, is restricted to work.

The factors which contribute to the break-up of the joint family in England are not clear from my observation in Coventry, furthermore my definition of the joint family as a moral not a legal unit in England makes it difficult to establish just where a family ceases to be 'joint'. It is comparatively easy to establish the nature of relationships in a family living in a joint household by whether or not the junior members retain their wages or hand them over to the head of the family. If the extended family members live in nuclear households, the son living in his own household will, in any case, retain his wages for the running expenses of his house though he may also maintain a loyalty to the joint family in sharing some family expenses. The absence of a joint family property in England that can be divided makes it difficult to detect whether or not a family living in different households is still living jointly in England, whether or not they hold family property in India jointly.

I suggest that the break-up of the joint household usually coincides with the break-up of the joint family in England, but the break-up of the joint household and family in England does not necessarily affect the joint property in India. This is the case in the two joint families whose break-up I can document in Coventry. In one family the break-up was on grounds that are familiar in India. Hostility between brothers was caused, at least in the opinion of the rest of the family, by the hostility of their wives. One of the two brothers moved to a house elsewhere in the city. In the other, it resulted from the discord between the son and his step-mother.

Because of the absence of family land in England, the family property in England is not regarded in the same way as the property in India. The child migrants in my sample not living jointly are anxious that they are not excluded from their share of the family property in India, but child migrants living jointly in England have no fear of being by-passed in the division. One married child migrant boy who has left the joint family in England still has a hope that he will not be disinherited by his father in favour of his step-brother in the division of the land in India. Besides being his father's son, the fact that he contributed his income for five years, and that of his wife for some of that time, makes him feel justified in claiming his share. The second generation boys

are generally unaware of the legalities of their situation and, anyway, show little or no interest in claiming their share of the family land.

Personal relations within the family

I shall consider here the personal relations between parents and children, and between siblings, but not between husband and wife as they are not relevant to the theme of my research.

For the children of the first generation migrants, the pattern of relations within the family continues to be that familiar in Punjab. The boys are allowed considerable licence in their personal lives, in the hours and company they keep. The girls, on the other hand, are given none, and are expected, from an early age, to make themselves useful in domestic pursuits.

The freedom that the young men are given here in England, besides corresponding with the freedom given to English boys, reflects the code of behaviour in India. Most young men can combine their role as a member of the family, in earning money and fulfilling their commitments to their joint family, with freedom in the way they spend their leisure. Much of this time is spent with friends in sport, visiting other friends, at the cinema, at the pub, the club or looking for girls. Many of the child migrant boys, especially those that have mixed with English contemporaries and been introduced to English society at school, are strongly drawn to English cultural norms in places and modes of entertainment. It is impossible to generalise about the line drawn by families between the acceptable and

unacceptable places of entertainment. Different families have widely differing attitudes about how often, and to what extent, a boy should be out, whether or not he should smoke and drink or what company he should or should not keep. Besides sport, visiting the pubs is, I think, the least objectionable pastime, if only because large numbers of the first generation are frequent drinkers. The company of English women is the great stumbling block in relations between sons and their parents. This is a field where links with the family and the family honour are threatened. If it becomes generally known that a boy keeps company with English girls, his parents may experience difficulty in finding him a suitable bride. There is the danger that he will want to choose his own wife, possibly an English girl. These problems do not cause boys to refrain from meeting English girls, they simply ensure that the contacts are kept secret from the family. Several Punjabi boys have been told by their fathers that, if they want a woman, they can very easily have a wife, but that they should not chase English girls. These particular 18-year-old boys have no intention of marrying until they are in their twenties, but the offer is open to them.

Most boys are able to lead something of a double life, one at home as members of their families, and one outside the home with their friends. As long as their external activity does not threaten to complicate relations within the family context, particularly if it would in any way bring dishonour on the family, then there is, in most cases, a tacit condoning of the behaviour in the hope that marriage and the passage of

time will, themselves, bring a man to realise his proper responsibilities in the family.

The subordination of the younger children to the older, and particularly the eldest brother, is still marked in most households, so that, in the absence of mother, a sister or younger brother will clean the house, cook and serve the food.

The girls in the family are accorded very different treatment from the boys. Their present is seen always in terms of their future. A girl is brought up to be honourably married, and the honour of the whole family is implicated in her marriage. The relationship of a daughter with her family leaves no room for any relationships outside the home except with other girls of the same age. Girls are strictly supervised not only by their parents but by their brothers. Some second generation brothers and sisters over 17 are sufficiently close to each other to be able to help each other in spending time out of the home together. The brother is responsible for his sister if he goes out anywhere with her, but a boy is, in any case, freer than his sister so is unlikely to want to burden himself frequently with responsibility for her.

Relations between siblings of the same generations are consistent, but there is a difference between the relations of a brother and sister of the second generation, and siblings of the first or late child migrant generations. Relations between members of the first generation are based on the different roles of men and women in the traditional Punjabi code of behaviour. All sisters are left at home by their brothers when they go out with their friends. First generation brothers are concerned that the behaviour of their

sisters does not threaten the family honour and are, therefore, very careful not to let them out of the house alone or into the company of men. Second generation brothers and sisters are less committed to the strict segregation of their roles and take a more liberal view of the ways in which they might debase the family name. Second generation brothers are in general less concerned about their sisters' keeping mixed company - they may have been to co-educational schools together. Both will have internalised some of the English values of the propriety of respectful but friendly relations between young men and women in their late teens and early twenties. Though not necessarily less concerned about the family honour than the first generation, the second generation do not see 'ordinary social contact' in the English sense at school or college social functions, in youth clubs, in group visits to the cinema, as detrimental to the family.

However, it is not the opinion of the second generation young people that carries weight, but those of their first generation parents. The second generation accept their parents' régime albeit somewhat grudgingly. I know of no Punjabi girl who is able to exercise a will of her own as to the company and the hours she keeps, or the places she visits, in opposition to the wishes of her family. School is a possible threat to this. At home, all Punjabi girls wear Punjabi clothes, including the 'salwar'¹. The large secondary schools in the primary area with a high proportion of Punjabi girls, and the comprehensive schools just outside the area, have school uniforms that include skirts. Parents

acquiesce in demands such as this for concessions to English cultural norms, when they are backed up by being "for school". Extra-curricular activities at school can be used in the same way to justify leaving the house. Attitudes to the behaviour of the girls at work are much the same as at school. The girls' graduation from school to work has no repercussions on their personal relations with the family at home, or their freedom outside it. Almost all the Punjabi girl school-leavers go out to work until they are married, but the same constraints remain. Periodic local scandals reinforce the norms, restricting the freedom of girls before marriage. During my field-work, perhaps the most well-known was the running away from home of the daughter of a prominent member of the local Gurudwara. The news quickly spread throughout the city and caused a tightening of control and supervision of girls in the following months, though the actual extent of this may have been greater in the minds of the young men than in actual fact.

Marriage

For a Punjabi girl in India, marriage is the step by which she leaves her natal home and natal family and becomes a member of her husband's. But her marriage is much more than an event in her life. The marriage establishes a link between the two families and between two villages, with a series of ceremonies that involve the status and esteem of each group, both in the eyes of each other and of the rest of the onlookers. Marriage forges a link that is maintained by interaction between the members of the two groups, attendant

on the presence of the girl with her husband's family; she is ground between them in the event of uneasy relations between the two groups. At her marriage, the girl is herself transferred from her natal to her husband's family, a large dowry accompanies her, and a link is forged between the groups.

Because of the permanence of the marriage union, and its implications for the future relations of these groups, all the values of the Punjabi village society are epitomised in the ceremonies of a marriage. Above all, the reputations of the families are at stake - particularly that of the girl. It is this that provides the strongest incentive for a family to requite itself honourably at the marriage of any daughters. In the immigrant situation the celebration of a marriage remains among the strongest restatements of Punjabi identity and values.

The central role which links by marriage play in the developments of family alliances in the villages of Punjab, makes any deviation from the first generation pattern by subsequent generations of significance, in changing the types of family alliance and network in which they will be involved. I shall try to outline the marriage patterns of the first generation in sufficient detail to show what comparison there is between them and those for the child migrants and second generations, and go on to consider the implications of the second generation pattern.

The evidence on which these remarks are based is my personal knowledge of 22 boys between 17 and 25, 21 married, 1 engaged at the time of writing, all in the sample mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

First generation patterns

A Punjabi must marry outside his village and outside his 'got'² but, by the traditional code, within his caste. The restriction on village and 'got' largely overlap, in that all members of a village and 'got' are supposedly related. If there is a particular village with which a man's village is very closely related, he will not take a wife from there either. In many cases, a man's 'got' may betray his village of origin. For example, most Sahotas are from Barrapind, near Goraya, most Bains are from villages near Mahalpur, and most Nagras are from village Nagra, near Pasla.

Traditionally, the match is arranged by a common friend or relative of the two parties, who themselves have no say in the matter. The bride is married in her own village, and brought home by her husband. She returns home the following day and is collected again by her husband after a few days. The restrictions on an unmarried girl's relations with anyone unrelated, except her peers, means that the criteria on which a daughter-in-law, and to an extent son-in-law, are chosen, are their conformity to cultural ideals and norms, in behaviour, bearing and looks; the advice of those friends or relatives close to the family of both groups, and the general reputation and status of the family. Parents must be extremely careful in their selection if they are not to be reproached by their children for making a bad match.

Transposed into the English situation, these marriage customs are not necessarily upset. The fact that the marriage involves the whole family of each partner, means

that in every case there are family members in India who can act as intermediaries there just as they would have done had both partners been there. A marriage may be arranged in three alternative ways. It may be arranged directly by families in England; it may be arranged between the respective parents in England through a third party in England or India, or through a third party in England or India, between one party in England, the other in India. Immigrants are not cut off from their potential marriage partners by emigration, nor do they themselves have to return to India to find a wife. In some cases young men do return to India to get married, often spending about six months there. This may be because their bride has no close family in England to make the arrangements for the marriage, or it may be that one party wants a village wedding, which is on a grander scale than one held in England, with celebrations lasting several days.

Another reason is frequently that the boy has not been to his village for many years, possibly since he emigrated, and there is pressure for him to visit from relatives who want to see him again, and possibly from parents in England who want him to see his village again. As a result, boys who have "gone back to India to get married" frequently stay six months and sometimes up to two years.

The effects of the immigrant situation on the marriage of first generation immigrants is minimal. In the opinion of immigrants in Coventry, the common conception in India of wealth of emigrants to England has caused the material value of the dowry to go up, at least in the cases where the girl

has relatives in England. In general, the wedding celebrations in England are arranged on a more modest scale than in the village. The splendour of the entertainment and the length of the ceremonies and celebrations has been cut in this alien environment because of the nature of the buildings, the cost of hiring suitable accommodation, the limited number of people involved, distances travelled and the restrictions of a five or six day working week.

By the nature of the chain migration, there were very few unmarried women who came to England before about 1960. However, this is not reflected in the census figures.

In the Census figures, the proportion of Indian men to women in the city was about 2:1 in 1961, just as it was in 1951. These figures include the 'white Indians'³ in the city - presumably about 50% of them are female, though the 'white Indian' proportion of the total Indian population is unknown. The Indian women who came first to join the immigrant men in the third stage of the migration were wives, not daughters of marriageable age. The number of unmarried girls of marriageable age in the city must have been a very small fraction of the total of women in the city, much smaller than the proportion of bachelors of marriageable age, until at least the middle of the 1960s.

This demographic imbalance meant that nearly all those men who were to marry a Punjabi girl had to go to India or marry a girl who came from India for the wedding. This pattern of marrying women from the villages in Punjab - possibly the same woman that the man would have married had he not emigrated - greatly strengthened their ties as members of the village and

family with the obligations to relate in all fields as such.

The child migrant and second generations

The importance of the union between husband and wife, as a link between extended family groups, is indicative of the importance of the marriage patterns of the child migrant and second generations, in maintaining the first generation patterns of social relations generally. A boy's marriage is an event in his life in which his membership of his family, of his village and kin group, and of the community are of paramount importance. For the child migrants and second generation, as for first generation boys, their social behaviour before marriage has some influence on their marriage, and their marriage has an important influence on their social behaviour as married men.

To an extent, the prospect of marrying by custom depends on behaviour that conforms to the code of which that marriage is part. A strong tie developed between an unmarried boy and girl, either Indian or English, will complicate or even rupture a boy's relations with members of his family and other members of the regional settlement. If ties he has with a Punjabi girl in the regional settlement come to light, then they will result in strained or hostile relations between his family and hers, and between him and other members of his family. If he fails, in ways like this, to conform to certain behavioural norms, he will imperil the reputation of his family and the ability of his family to find suitable spouses, not only for himself but for his siblings, particularly the girls.

The maintenance of normal relations within the family and the regional settlement has been the prerequisite of

marrying a wife at a wedding arranged between the families. Unmarried boys have much greater freedom than girls, and their misdemeanours as young men are more quickly passed over and forgotten than any of their sisters. The maintenance of the boy's normal relations with the family is not governed by so restricting a code of behaviour as that of the girls. In an isolated case (related below p.182), a boy adopted social behaviour and established social relations at variance with Punjabi norms, and in opposition to his family, but his family used his ties with them to force him back into conformity which will be finalised by his marriage. No boys have yet risked the disgrace to themselves and their families that would result if they married a woman, Punjabi or English, against their families' wishes, and by other than traditional custom.

This is not to say that Punjabi couples anxious to get married have not put pressure on their families to accede to their wishes and marry them in the traditional way. But no child migrant or second generation boy has taken the law into his own hands to be thrown out of his father's house, in effect disinherited and his relations with the family severed.

2 Punjabi girls are only available in one market. Therefore, one must conform to the traditional code of behaviour and use appropriate channels if one is to be an eligible suitor. Moreover, until recently, the scarcity of girls of marriageable age in England has forced those boys who have wanted to marry a Punjabi girl, by the traditional customs, to rely on their family to arrange for one to be sent from India. The simple absence of girls in England effectively prevented boys from

breaking tradition and arranging their own wedding.

As behaviour and relations before marriage have implications on the marriage so, even more, does the marriage have implications for the behaviour and relations of the man who is son, husband and son-in-law in his married life. Marriage by custom is a commitment to a life lived according to the whole code of behaviour of which that marriage is a part. Though they do not rationalise it in these terms, this is the logic behind fathers getting their sons "married off" if they appear to be straying from the straight and narrow path in their social relations and behaviour. Punjabi boys may threaten to defy their family and marry an English girl, or even a Punjabi girl-friend; they may protest strongly against the wife and wedding being arranged for them; but if, in the end, they conform to their family's wishes (and as I have said, they do so), then the battle is won for the family. The sanctions against breaking the ties which bind a man to his wife, and which have implications for his future social behaviour, are too severe for any break to be considered.

The child migrants have been in a similar predicament to the first generation in terms of finding wives, in that the imbalance in numbers of men and women has been continued, though to a lesser extent, in the number of arrivals in the early 1960s. From this demographic point of view, it is inevitable that, to marry Punjabi girls, some men must look to India for a bride. This demographic necessity for bringing women from Punjab has been reinforced by the strong preference the child migrants have for/from Punjab as wives and their girls

ability to get them because of the high status that marriage with an immigrant brings. This reflects the continued adherence to first generation norms and values in this field, and the continuation of the immigrants' closest ties with kin and villagers in India, rather than with other immigrants here. Of the 19 child migrants in the sample who are married, all of them have wives who came directly from India to marry them, or whom they married in India.

There is an underlying belief in the superiority, or at least the appropriateness, of a Punjabi upbringing for a Punjabi girl, if she is to be a Punjabi's wife. This corresponds with suspicion and disapproval of the way of life of English girls, coloured particularly by the experiences and observations of Punjabis. This preference is a strong sanction against bringing a daughter (or sister) to England for her upbringing, until she comes to get married. I have suggested that most of the women enumerated by the census were wives rather than daughters brought to England, though the census itself gives no evidence of this. A man's marriageability in India is distinctly enhanced by his being, or having been, in England. With a girl, certainly in the normative view of the first and child migrant generation Punjabis in England, the reverse is true. The reasons given for the preference for girls from Punjab are varied, but broadly they are on one theme. English society is corrupting of high Punjabi morals and standards. This is not only in terms of sex. A child migrant boy put it to me "Coming to England rots the minds of the girls. They come here with nothing, no education; they are able to get money (by going out to work) and that

changes them." He was referring to the demand for consumer goods, a more expensive style of life and what he sees as their immodesty in following some English fashions.

From the point of view of their chastity and contact with men outside the home, the two bogeys of school and work mean that, even if a girl has behaved herself irreproachably since she has been in England, "you can never be sure." This possibly reflects the corrupting effect that many first generation and child migrants have found living in England to have had on them, particularly at a time when few men had their wives here. It also reflects their own and their friends' behaviour in the contact they have had with some of the girls they have met at school or at work. Many of the unmarried child migrant and second generation boys in my sample have met Punjabi girls alone, in secret, though these meetings are often so short and so secretive that it is inaccurate to refer to them as 'dating'. None of them is in a position to think of getting married to such girls (see below p.270).

There is a strong contrast between the behaviour of many young men in associating with English girls and even meeting Indian girls, and their attitudes to the women in their own family. (This is not unique to Punjabi or Indian society; a double standard like this is not uncommon in English society.) A child migrant expressed a familiar sentiment to me "I would kill my sister if I found that she was going out with anybody." Another, reflecting on a couple of girls, classmates of his at school whom he had seen out walking down the main road late one evening "If that were my sister I would give her a good thrashing when we got home." This attitude is demonstrated in these child migrants' reactions to two cases in the London area, widely

reported in the press, resulting from girls being punished by their families for their behaviour. In one, a Sikh girl was murdered by her father for her associations with a Muslim boy, in another a Sikh girl was 'tortured', as the press would have it, for refusing to marry her arranged fiancé, declaring her love for another Sikh boy she had met locally. In both these cases, the sympathies of the child migrants are with the fathers and families of the girls. The murdered girl had "had it coming to her" if she behaved like that. "Her father will be able to hold his head up when he comes out of prison for upholding the family honour". The only misgivings were possibly that the father should not have gone quite as far as to kill her. Some of the child migrant boys felt they would do the same if it happened in their family.

Of the 19 married child migrants in my sample, five of them have themselves been to India to get married and have then brought their wives back to England with them. Going to India to get married allows the boys to have a village wedding on a grander scale than in England, but it has further implications for the child migrants in that it involves them closely with their village, the family members who are living there, and re-establishes close links between them which long absence in England might otherwise have weakened (see below p.254). All the child migrant boys in my sample now married have wives brought up in Punjab, whether they married them in India or in England. One of them was engaged to a girl in another city, but received a letter saying that she did not want to marry him, and hoped to marry a boy she already knew in that city. The result of this on the contemporaries of the boy was to confirm suspicion that

that girls in England are not to be trusted, and he himself went to India to get married.

Given the preference for Punjabi girls from India among the first generation men and child migrants in England, and a corresponding preference for husbands in England on the part of the girls and their families in Punjab, there may be a large proportion of hypogamous marriages in England, in the present situation. Girls from Punjab may be marrying men of lower status in the village scheme, but of enhanced reputation because they live in England; and girls already in England may be marrying men of lower status because of the preference of men in England for girls from Punjab. Put the other way, men in England are able to attract brides from Punjab of higher status families than they would have been able to in their village, and can also attract brides from the girls settled in England of higher status families than they would have been able to in the village, because the girls have lived in England. Only quantitative data will verify either of these trends. It is not possible to generalise on this point for, as yet, there are very few girls of school leaving age brought up in England. Further, verification necessitates both an understanding of the gradations of status in the village context, and a very intimate knowledge of the parties involved in any sample to get a disinterested assessment of the relative status of the families. At present, one can only say that men with daughters brought up in England are uneasy at the prospects of finding suitable husbands for them.

In the terms of the further movement of people, it seems likely that there will continue to be a one-way movement of

girls to England, which will work towards evening out the ratio of men to women. As I have shown, the child migrants show no tendency to deviate from the patterns of the first generation in marriage. Their own preference for a girl from India reinforces their family's preference in most cases to find them such a girl. In their social relations within the family (and outside it as I shall show in later chapters) they conform to the norms of the first generation Punjabi code, so there is no inconsistency in their getting married by custom, nor, once married, in their living according to the whole code of behaviour of which that marriage is part.

The second generation

The marriage preference of the second generation boys is not as yet clear, largely because there are at present few of a marriageable age which is somewhat higher - i.e. post-graduation, post-apprenticeship - than for the first generation or child migrants. Preferences are closely related to personal ambitions and visions of the future. Those boys who see their future in India, and are planning to return with their family or on their own, tend to favour the idea of having a wife from the village. A sure source of vigorous argument among a group of boys approaching marriageable age is the hypothesis that village girls would be preferable as wives to girls brought up here in England. Those second generation boys who have given up ideas of returning to their village or to India are quick to support the virtues of the English educated.

Though some parents may have an open mind on whether their son's bride should come from India or England, most of the parents of second generation boys are anxious that their

children should marry by the traditional system. In the marriage of second generation boys so far in Coventry, the traditional pattern of marrying outside the village and 'got' has been maintained; the identification of a person by his village in India is still followed, in preference to his city in England. But links made in the immigrant situation are beginning to have some effects. Of the two married second generation boys in my sample, one is married to a girl who came direct from Punjab for the wedding, the other is married to a girl who has been brought up in Coventry and has lived in an adjacent street to her husband. Another second generation boy (the only second generation boy in my sample engaged to be married) is engaged to a girl who has been brought up in England and has similarly lived in an adjacent street to her fiancé. These two latter matches have been arranged by the respective parents with the consent at least of the boys - but not at their request. The links between the parents in these cases are not through India, but as friends and workmates in the immigrant situation. Both these boys' parents have been in England for over 15 years, so also have those of both girls. These matches may reflect a strengthening of ties locally in England, possibly at the expense of those in India. The fact that the prospective partners live near to each other in England, a fact that would disallow the match in India, is more than counterbalanced by the fact that their families are from different villages in Doaba. The close proximity of the girl's home here means that the boy and his family know well what sort of family it is and whether or not the girl has been behaving herself appropriately. In one case, the boy's elder brother is already married to a girl from the fiancée's

family. The suspicion of whether the girls in England behave themselves seems to be allayed if a girl's family lives close to, and is very well known to, the boy's.

The future of the second generation girls is in the hands of the second generation boys and their families. These boys can attract wives from the villages of Punjab, as the first generation and child migrants have done. Furthermore, the bargaining power of a girl in England, in being able to bring over her fiancé after the restrictions of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, has now been lost. By a recent amendment to the Act (January, 1969), these fiancé immigrants have been denied the right to settle in England after their marriage, except as normal voucher holders. If the second generation boys choose to marry the girls brought up in England, all will be well for the girls who wish to stay in England. If not, there will come a point where there are more girls than boys, and some girls will have to return to India to get married. As yet, I know of only one case of a girl brought up here being sent back to India to get married. It is unlikely that girls who have been brought up in England will return to marry and settle in Punjab, for most of their families are likely to be here - or they themselves would not be. Second generation girls are also unlikely to choose to return to the unfamiliar and constricting atmosphere of the village.

With a levelling of the ratio of men to women in England, there is likely to be a change in the status of girls brought up in England, and more marriages between parties both of whom have lived in England. If all fathers have daughters to be

married, as well as sons, it is in their own interests to raise the girls' status especially since they cannot now legally get husbands for their girls by paying the price of sponsorship into England of a boy from Punjab, but I have no evidence to show whether or not the status of the girls is being raised.

The strongest sanctions against the second generation deviating from first generation patterns in marriage, are those threatened by their families, which are rationalised in terms of responsibility to parents, and particularly to younger siblings. Two second generation boys now at the university are clearly aware of the options open to them to behave in this field as Englishmen; or as Punjabis.

One is the eldest son of a widow: by appearance, he could be taken for an Englishman, and his accent reveals only that he comes from Coventry. As an only son, he will inherit the family holding in Doaba, and it is to him that his mother and grandmother look to take them back eventually to their village. He has visited his village once for a stay of about two months in the past five years, to visit a sick relative. He is aware that it would break his mother's heart if he did not conform to Punjabi norms, marry a Punjabi girl in the traditional way and return to the village. He is also acutely aware of the responsibility he has to his thirteen-year-old sister, in that when she is of marriageable age, she will not be judged as an individual but by her family's reputation; as her elder brother he will be expected to take responsibility for the arrangement of her marriage when the time comes. This boy says that he does not intend getting

married himself for four or five years, that is until he is qualified, and by that time his sister will be married, so he can make his choice a little more freely. Though he is hesitant, he thinks that he will, in the end, conform to the norms of his family, rather than those of English society.

The other boy, though the eldest son, is not the only son and has no intention of returning to work on the family property, but he still feels a strong responsibility to his unmarried sisters, in that they and his brothers will be judged, and married, according to his behaviour. He was born in Coventry, but has visited his village on two occasions. He is thinking in terms of marrying a girl from a village - though manipulating the system a little to ensure that he and his prospective wife are satisfied with the match before it is solemnised.

The independence of mind that these second generation boys could adopt in choosing an (English) wife, seem to be balanced by the responsibilities they feel to their families, and by the fact that the Punjabi girls are available as wives only in one market - through their parents. This situation may change in the future in that girls are able to meet boys at college, university or at work, but for them to be honourably married, the event must at least appear to be arranged in the traditional manner. In this situation, the prospective partners can put considerable pressure on their parents to arrange their marriage, with the threat that, alternatively, they will run away together, with great disgrace to their families. If the marriage were prevented and it later became known that the girl had previously attempted to get married, it would greatly increase the problem of marrying her elsewhere by the traditional system.

To summarise, very few second generation boys have yet married. Those who have, have married according to custom. They have all been brought up as Punjabi boys, and they have, in general, been sufficiently discreet in their social behaviour outside the home, to prevent any violation of Punjabi norms becoming generally known or reflected within the family. The social behaviour of most of the second generation boys is in conformity with the first generation norms in that they remain loyal to their joint family, and subordinate to the authority of its senior members. In this way, they are maintaining their relations with the members of the extended family who will be able to find them a wife in due course. They are not committed to choosing their own wives, nor will their social behaviour embarrass other family members who have to find them suitable wives. This is not to say that some of the second generation will not take the law into their own hands, defy their families and choose their own wives - but they are not in general committed to such a course by their established social behaviour. There are a few boys who are, in their social behaviour, at variance with joint family members, and are determined to defy the family in the choice of their wives - though none of them has yet put it to the test.

The sanctions against deviation

As I have said, the motivation of second generation boys to conform to the expectations of their family in marriage is not the sanctions that threaten them if they should deviate, but the responsibilities they feel to their parents and siblings and, to date, none of them has deviated from the expectations

of his family in this respect. The sanctions against young people for deviating from the Punjabi customs in marriage would be extreme, though there are very few cases in point. One girl, well educated in Punjab and a teacher in Doaba, refused to marry the man with whom her sister had arranged her marriage when she arrived in England for her marriage. In the following months, she found that life was made so unpleasant for her at her sister's home that she spent as little time there as possible. She had been able to get a teaching job in the city and, in the course of her work, met an Englishman. They decided to get married. Her family, and some of the local Jat Gurudwara committee strongly opposed the match - in that she was already engaged - but they were married. This couple now live well outside the primary area, but the girl's mother is sufficiently reconciled with her to be living with her daughter and her son-in-law. This is the only case in Coventry of a first generation Doabi girl marrying a native man.

Bhajan, now 23, came to England at the age of eight. He has been fighting a losing battle at home to be allowed to marry his English girl-friend. He is an early child migrant, a member of a child migrant peer group, but he has withdrawn from peer group activity proportionately to his involvement with his girl-friend. Recently, the death of his mother seems to have effected some changes in his attitudes, though he is still opposed to the match his family has arranged with a Punjabi girl. His Punjabi fiancée has been flown to England; he had to meet her at

London Airport for her to be allowed into the Country and she lives with her family in the South of England awaiting the wedding day. Bhajan recently left home for a week or ten days on this issue, but he returned and that incident is now forgotten. A further complication is that his mother's brother believes him to be 'a bad lot' and is seeking to persuade his fiancée's parents to break the engagement. Bhajan regards this as a last hope. Failing this, he gives three reasons for going through with the wedding. He relies now for his domestic needs on his sister-in-law. She has no sympathy with him and, therefore, makes his life unpleasant. His two unmarried teenage sisters will suffer and, possibly most significant, he has been told that he will be completely disowned by the whole family and relatives if he marries the English girl.

Only one child migrant boy (outside my sample), not living with his parents, lived for several years with a girl from another part of the British Isles, who bore him a son. He never married her and she left the city when he returned to India to get married.

Aurora (1967) and Desai (1963) both show how the Punjabis are obliged to conform to the group norms in marriage, or opt out of the group. The efforts by which the boys conceal their relations with English girls from their families, and their attitude to the prospect of marrying against the will of the family corresponds proportionally to the extent of sanction against such actions.

Cases such as that of Bhajan should not be taken as typical even of the second generation, at least at present.

Most boys do not wish to marry English girls though they may enjoy their company as girl-friends. One second generation boy, an eighteen-year-old, is at odds with his family because in their opinion he is too much like an English boy. He has solved this problem by declaring firmly that he has no intention of getting married at all.

The general pattern of second generation marriage is to be compared more closely with that of the first generation and child migrants than with any pattern of inter-marriage leading to assimilation with the host society. The second generation is more assimilated culturally than its parents, but not structurally. The contrasts between the first and second generation are contrasts of the way in which the marriages are arranged and of the patterns of status and generation of the families linked by marriage, not of marrying Indian or native women.

No second generation or child migrant Doabi boy in Coventry has yet married a native girl. In the rare cases where first generation Punjabi immigrants have married native girls, they are well known and almost universally condemned among the Punjabi population.

Much more difficult to detect, and probably much more frequent, are the marriages of Punjabis that are performed according to traditional custom, but which may have been 'arranged' under pressure from the boy and girl themselves, not through a third party. Yet I estimate that the marriages which are pressed on parents in this way still make up only a very small proportion of the total of weddings performed in the city.

The implications for the future

The most significant of the changing patterns - and even that is not yet fully established - lies in the matches made between second generation boys and girls in England. In its immediate effects it will give the nuclear family so formed much less of an orientation towards India than if one of the spouses has been brought up there. This is not inevitably so in every case, but the links of each spouse with India will, in most cases, be weaker than those of one who has been brought up there, and their links in England will be correspondingly stronger. The restriction of further male immigration, but the continued flow of dependents, women and children to men already here, is restoring the balance in numbers between the sexes among the second generation children. In the short term, the first generation wives of second generation migrants will maintain strong links with the village and conform to village norms, but in the long term this will obviate the demographic need for men to get wives from India. It is likely that, as second generation Punjabi boys become reconciled to living their lives in England, they will increasingly want wives with whom they have a common educational background, who are familiar with English society and English institutions as they themselves are. Though no such pattern has yet established itself in Coventry, it is likely that there will be an increasing number of Punjabi marriages between partners both of whom are second generation.

With the restriction of further immigration of men from India by the Act of 1968 and subsequent amendments to it, the marriage of second generation spouses in England may result in the development of an isolated emigrant Punjabi population

with different cultural patterns from those of the villages, like that which exists in East Africa and which is represented in Coventry, but which is clearly distinct from the Punjabis direct from Doaba.

It is too early yet to determine whether the marriage patterns of the 17-25 year old cohort are distinguishable by generation; to determine whether the pattern of second generation marriage is deviating from the first and child migrant generation norms in regard to marrying girls brought up in England. It seems likely that, in the near future, the first generation and child migrants at least will continue to get wives of their first preference - direct from Punjab. The second generation may conform to that pattern, or break away to marry girls of the same generation as themselves. If the current immigration restriction is maintained then very few more first generation and child migrants will be able to enter the country so that in the future generation and cohort will coincide and structural conformity will then be by cohort and generation.

Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. A Salwar is the loose-fitting trouser-type garment, gathered at each ankle, that all Punjabi women and girls wear. A salwar is worn under a simple dress-like garment, a chemise.

2. All Punjabis except the 'untouchables' have a clan or 'got' which is the subdivision of their subcaste or caste. They do not include their clan name. All the members of a got are supposedly descended from one ancestor, the founder of their father's village, hence they cannot marry. Some 'got' names are village names, though their bearers do not necessarily come themselves from that village. Some Punjabis use their 'got' as a surname in England, some their village, others use 'Singh', a name common to all Sikhs.

(See John, 1969:50 footnote 6)

3. 'White Indians' are English people born in India (usually in the days of British rule) who are enumerated in the Census as being born in India - the same as immigrants. Rose, (see page 120) deals with this problem in the analysis of Census figures.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY - EMPLOYMENT

The concentrated settlement of Punjabis in Coventry is a direct result of the employment available in the city's industries. There are two reasons for emphasising the importance of examining whether the generations have different occupations and different patterns of employment. Firstly, in the field of employment more than in any other, the Punjabis have contact with members of local English society. The Punjabi population is integrated with the local population in the many factories, services and shops that make up the commercial and industrial complex of the city. At close quarters, the contrast is strongest between the economic orientation of the first generation immigrants and that of the members of English society. Second generation boys are working in a greater variety of occupations and jobs than the first generation. They are, in many cases, working with English colleagues alone. They may be establishing primary relations with people of a different economic outlook from their own families. It is here that the transmission of the economic ideology of the first generation is at risk.

Secondly, it was the village-centred goals of the first generation immigrants, which could be met by fulfilling demands for labour in England, which were the very *raison d'être* of migration; any changing pattern of economic incentives in this field in the following generations threatens to alter the nature of the established immigrant settlement.

In this chapter I shall attempt to distinguish the different patterns of employment of the different generations, discuss the implications of these patterns, and note the extent of their coverage.

Employment - The first generation

Given the goals of the first generation, their lack of qualifications and the demand for unskilled labour in heavy industry, most of them found employment as unskilled labourers in the heavy industrial plants in the city. These Punjabis were willing to take employment that to many Englishmen meant very inconvenient hours or unpleasant conditions, but which paid well. Night shifts in the engineering, textile and chemical industries and in the bakeries all attracted the first generation Punjabis, as did the foundry furnaces, die-casting and general heavy labouring in the day shifts. Many have been content to remain in this work; it offers the chance of long hours of overtime, high rates of pay and a turnover of staff that gives a man opportunities to sponsor the employment of some of his friends or family. For others, the handicap of inadequate English, the lack of appropriate qualifications, and age, have prevented them from graduating from this level of employment. Discriminatory practice has added another difficulty to any attempt to follow their British and white immigrant predecessors up the rungs of the ladder of production. They have found themselves to be unacceptable in certain jobs. To mention one example, the largest machine tool manufacturers and one of the largest employers of Indian labour in the city has no Indians employed except in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in their factories.

The persistence of many first generation Punjabis in unskilled employment, besides in some cases being a result of discriminatory practice, reflects a maintenance of first generation migration ideals that this is a temporary visit to England to obtain the financial means to fulfil the goals of the village context, both materially and in status terms which the migrants were unable to do in Punjab. The prominent characteristic of this is to earn as much, and spend as little, as possible in England, since this is a situation in which spending serves no good purpose in terms of village goals. Hence, long hours and extremely hard work have become characteristic of the first generation migrants who share the ideals of a return to the village with a fortune earned abroad. This ideal has resulted in a moral code that throws some suspicion on a man who does no overtime when he is otherwise only sitting at home or entertaining himself elsewhere, and esteems those who take all the overtime they can, working up to, or over, a 60-hour-week.

Consistent with the third stage of migration, there has been a move by some migrants to higher status employment. This move has been made, particularly, by a category of first generation Punjabi immigrants distinct from the labourers who still make up the majority of Punjabi workers in the city. This is a category of young first generation migrants, many with Indian university degrees, who have been able to take higher status employment than the older villagers, many of whom had little or no education. Many of these are recent immigrants who have arrived under the voucher system introduced by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962. (See John, 1969:23-24).

It is impossible to give any accurate estimate of their numbers, or even of the proportion of them in the city, but it may be as much as a quarter of the adult male population. They include teachers, men in the English service industries, particularly the post office and the corporation bus service, shop-keepers and office staff. The post office and bus service no longer practise any discrimination, and they offer the hours of overtime that the Punjabis must work to earn the money that they want. It is important to emphasise that, in many of these fields, the Punjabis, and indeed immigrants, are not alone in putting in long hours of overtime.

Not all Punjabi immigrants are in England for immediate financial gain. Some of them are following professional careers. In the teaching profession particularly, the clean conditions, regular hours, regular rates of pay and the higher status it affords in both English and Punjabi society, have to compensate for high wages and overtime pay of some of the other occupations. The move to teaching, in some cases, reflects an ambition to make a secure future in this country and the abandonment of any immediate ambitions to return to Punjab, but this is not always the case. Of the eight school-teachers I know living in Coventry, six live right outside the primary area. Of these, only one has an immediate ambition to return to India, but that is neither as a farmer, nor as a teacher, but as a politician. Of the two who live within the primary area, neither has any ambition to return in the short term. One young first generation migrant who has M.A., B.T., degrees from Punjab University, and who has been offered a teaching job by the local education authority, declined the offer in favour of work on the buses, because of the higher wages available in the light of his

ambitions to fulfil goals in his village.

A third category of employment of the first generation is in services to the Punjabi population in the city (see p.135 above). It is impossible to give any figures of the number or proportion of Punjabis engaged in various services compared to the rest of the Indian community in the city, though with a population in the region of 10,000, there is a large market that Punjabis and others have not been slow to exploit. The provision of these services takes the form of business for a small proportion of the first generation migrants, some of whom enter business partnerships with friends in England, often continuing in full-time employment as well. These businesses are carried on outside factory hours, or left in charge of one of the partners or his wife.

Employment - The second generation and child migrants.

None of the second generation boys are involved in these services to the Indians of the city. A prerequisite for starting a business is some capital: this excludes almost all but those who have been able to accumulate some by working here. The occupations of the second generation and child migrants are different from those of the first. The majority of the second generation are still at school. There are very few who have left school and started work, none of whom are in labouring jobs like their fathers. In general, for the child migrant and second generations, the range of employment begins where it ended for their fathers.

In my sample of 75¹ child migrant and second generation boys in the 17-25 year cohort, I found the following distribution of occupations:

Table 13

		<u>Unskilled</u>	<u>Semi-Skilled</u>	<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Apprentices and Professional Trainees</u>	<u>Full time Students</u>
Child migrants	(46)	7	4	16	12	7
Second generation	(29)	2	3	-	11	13
	—					
	75					
	—					

My classification of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled is the same as in popular usage in the city. I have used no technical classification. Among the child migrants the length of time at school in England, and the quality of their education in India, is reflected in the range of their employment in England. The high number of skilled jobs include inspection in factories, public service vehicle driving, machine operating and mechanics. The full time students are all early child migrants with the exception of two boys who were privately educated in India outside Doaba. The second generation figures show a high proportion of apprentices and full time students. One of the two unskilled second generation boys left school early and has changed jobs several times, though he is not labouring. The other contracted an illness when he left school and missed the chance of obtaining an apprenticeship before his recovery, by which time, he found he was too old to be acceptable with his qualifications. The absence of second generation boys in skilled manual work, compared to the large proportion of child migrants, is accounted for by second generation boys being able to get craft and technician apprenticeships, which late child migrants

were unable to get through lack of qualifications in England. Some of the unskilled, semi-skilled and apprenticed second generation will eventually become skilled workers.

The number of second generation boys in full time employment at present is low because many of them at comprehensive schools and technical colleges are continuing their education beyond the statutory school leaving age. There are exceptions among the early child migrant and second generation boys, who, like some native boys, never found success at school and left at the earliest opportunity to earn their living. These are 'failures' by the standards of the first generation. These boys have, in many cases, adopted an English reference group among their school or work mates which is taken as the cause of their failure by their family and other Punjabi friends. This may, on the other hand, be more the result of their failures and the consequent criticism of them by their Punjabi reference groups. The second generation boys who are at work do not share the ideology of the first generation of working long hours of overtime, but adhere more to the English values of working an eight hour day and putting a high priority on the hours of recreation and leisure.

The style of life of most of the second generation, including the adoption of the general youth and 'pop' culture of English society, coincides with an attitude of the first generation towards them that contrasts strongly with the latter's own behaviour. First generation parents are ambitious for their children, and often subordinate their agricultural or commercial ambitions in India, to their ambitions for their children which they hope will be fulfilled

as a result of their higher education in England. They want their children to have better opportunities than they had, whether in England or in India, besides, the prowess of a son reflects on the whole family. To this end, they tend to be indulgent towards children who might otherwise be anxious to give up studying or their apprenticeship to take better paid employment. In the families of students, and to a lesser extent apprentices, there is the feeling that boys will be boys, and the family must put up with long hair and, what appears to them to be, eccentric clothes, because it is all in the good cause of their son gaining valuable qualifications.

One child migrant studying at the technical college for G.C.E. 'A' levels enjoys considerable freedom in the hours and company he keeps, and is treated generously by his parents with pocket money and new clothes, etc., but he is aware that this will only last "as long as I keep passing the exams". Another boy, second generation, disappointed his father by leaving school at 16, after taking G.C.E. 'O' levels, and taking up a technician apprenticeship. His father threatened to throw him out of the house but has relented, though the threat remains if the son should dare give up his apprenticeship and take an unskilled job. The disappointment of parents at their sons' taking up apprenticeships, when they had hopes of their going on to higher education, is a familiar complaint of the second generation.

The first of the second generation boys to become a medical student who has lived in the city with his family since childhood, is the example to which many boys are pointed by their families and to whom some take their children for advice on their future. Many of these children do not have the aptitude

or ability to fulfil the grand ambitions of their parents, but the disappointment of parents should not be allowed to conceal that an apprenticeship will still give a labourer's son the prospect of a skilled career his father never had.

In school, second generation children certainly benefit from the first generation ideals of conscientiousness with which they are brought up. First generation parents, who themselves never had the opportunities to benefit from such educational facilities as those available in England, are very anxious that their children should not waste the opportunities afforded them. They are given firm encouragement; and success and achievement in school carry a high value at home. Second generation boys have no problems of communication and, in general, do very well in school. Furthermore, sociologists have established that one of the most significant factors of a child's success at school is parental interest and encouragement. (Douglas, J. W. B., 1964, 1968). The encouragement that Punjabi children receive from parents generally produces good results. A secondary school headmaster told me that, in Coventry, the Indians enjoy a reputation as hard workers, a reputation earned by the first generation, from which the school-leavers benefit. The boys now continuing in full time education have yet to settle in their careers, but they will have options open to them of employment in the professions, business or the higher levels of industry.

Most late child migrants are handicapped in fulfilling ambitions of high status jobs by a lack of spoken and written English. The limited prospects for those with no qualifications throws these migrants back onto the values of the

first generation, cherishing the ideas of a return to India with a fortune earned, or a useful skill learned, abroad.

One family which has been in Coventry since 1960, includes three sons, all of whom came to England at school-age. The three sons live together in a separate house from their father, though they live jointly. The eldest son, 24, is a labourer in a large foundry in a neighbouring town; the middle son, 20, went to school for four years but got a labouring job when he left, with the intention of earning as much as he could before the family returns to India; the youngest one, an early child migrant, has been brought up in England with the idea of returning to India and is now an apprentice motor mechanic, learning a skill that will be useful in the village and on the farm. The orientation of these child migrant boys is that of the first generation. They do not see their future in England, but on a farm they will be able to enlarge in India. The prospect of that goal is adequate incentive to the elder two for the few years of factory work now.

This case illustrates the influence that elder brothers can have on the younger. The youngest brother is closely bound up in the ambitions of his elder brothers though his qualification as a skilled motor mechanic would offer him a skilled career in England if he chose it. The ages at which the elder boys came to England puts them closer to the first generation than to the second. Their younger brother has accepted the same ideology.

It is almost impossible to generalise about, or clearly distinguish the child migrants in the field of

employment. The length of schooling in England is a very important factor in a village boy's employment prospects here, and, by my definition, child migrants include all those who have migrated in the ten years of compulsory school age. In terms of employment, the child migrants are divided according to their age at migration to the more clearly distinguishable first and second generation patterns. In general terms, the first generation earn money to achieve their aims on returning to India. The second generation acquire technical skills and education which they may put to use in England, in India, or elsewhere. The child migrants fall into both categories depending largely on their age at migration, their basic education in India and their prowess at school in England. They include a high proportion of skilled manual workers who, but for their more recent arrival and corresponding lack of qualifications, would probably have been apprenticed.

Evidence of records kept by Youth Employment Office.

The records kept by the Youth Employment Office, while thrown open to me to study as I chose, were not of much help in showing particular patterns of employment among the Punjabi boys leaving school. The Youth Employment Office does not record how long any particular boy has been in England, but the records could give some statistical figures of the preferences in employment of all school leavers, the first jobs of all school leavers, the successive jobs of some boys, and the job of the fathers or guardians of the boys in some cases. However, without considerable cross-checking of these records, they are not reliable since the Youth Employment Officers are

not concerned to keep detailed and accurate records, but to find these boys employment. The first job that all the leavers have is always registered, as boys under 18 have to get insurance cards from the Y. E. O. But this job is not necessarily held for more than a few weeks or months; and the clerks who up-date records from information given by boys visiting the office, may not be able to get from a boy whose English is poor exactly what jobs he has had since the last one of which they had a record, or exactly what job he has in his factory at the time of his visit. Hence, it is impossible to obtain job careers from the records, or to distinguish jobs by generational categories.

However, some characteristics become clear from these records. I looked at the records of the Punjabi school-leavers over the last three years, at the two secondary schools that have the highest proportion of Punjabi pupils (see above p132). Between a quarter and a third of the 15-year-olds continue at school or leave for further education. Though this figure appears to be contradicted by the figures for the larger of the schools' summer, 1968, list of leavers, of whom only two out of twenty-five Punjabis are listed as continuing their education, many of those who get a job continue with evening and day release courses and may, therefore, get on the record either as being at work, or as taking 'further education'. The preferences in employment that the boys give while still at school were almost exclusively in engineering, with the exception of those who had the immediate prospect of going into a relative's shop or business. This is explained by Youth Employment Officers as an expression

of the fascination which technology holds for Indians who see it as the unique feature of Western society, a feature that Indian society lacks and needs. It is certainly highly valued and valuable in India, but I am not convinced that these child migrants and second generation boys choose a job specifically because it will be of use in India. I think the influence of first generation 'frontiersmen' is of significance in channelling children's interests into the immediately practical and obviously valuable jobs, that they themselves would have liked and regard as most useful in Britain itself.

These records do not specify particularly whether others of the boy's family work at the factory at which he applies, or is accepted for a job, but they do, in some cases, mention the father's or brother's work. In only two cases, in the last three years' records of these schools, is there any record of the father employed at the same factory as his son, and in one of those it was only after five interviews elsewhere. The implication is that those boys who get employment in the same place as their fathers do so through the formal channels of the Youth Employment Office, rather than by the first generation patterns of sponsoring by relations. Those boys who work as shop assistants do so only in their family businesses.

The only way in which a father who is a labourer could directly help in obtaining employment for a son with good qualifications, is by persuading the firm to accept him as an apprentice, which they may do as something of a bonus for a man who has worked with them for a long period, on a

job in which he has no prospects of advancement, nor any hope of a dramatic rise in wages. I have seen no case where this has actually happened.

The overall conclusion drawn from the Youth Employment Office records is that, for boys with qualifications that allow them the opportunity to get other than labouring jobs, the first generation can be of no help in sponsoring them at their place of work. The boys' qualifications have moved them out of the range of family influence, and so broken one of the economic links between boys and their joint family. The implications of different patterns of employment

There are three important implications of this trend for the second generation and some child migrants to move away from manual labour.

There is a break from the old pattern of gaining employment through the good offices of a friend or kinsman, a link which Aurora, (1967:99) and John, (1969:51-53) both mention as being one that helps bind groups together, and particularly binds men to the leader of a group or faction. This pattern is restricted largely to labouring jobs. Opportunities may arise quite frequently for a man to obtain labouring jobs for others, in that the job is such that any able-bodied man could do, and the foreman may be prepared to accept an inducement of a pound or two to give a vacancy to the man's nominee. A child migrant boy was able to get a job in a large chemical and textile concern in the city, through the influence of a friend of his father who worked there. His father gave the friend £5 "for his trouble" in this case. The experience of another family also illustrates

this pattern. Narain Singh has worked as a labourer in a large car factory, with some small breaks, ever since he came to England about ten years ago. During one of these breaks, he was employed at a bakery where he was able to get his son, Sukhdev, now 23, a similar labouring job. Now Sukhdev has lost his job at the bakery after an industrial dispute, and his father has helped him to get another, comparatively good, job as a storeman at the car factory. While at the bakery, the father was able to get a job also for his wife's brother's son when he first arrived from Punjab, before he took a job elsewhere and, while Sukhdev was at the bakery, he, too, was able to get a temporary job for his younger brother. This younger brother has been studying for 'O' levels at the local college, but has failed his examinations twice now and so has given up full-time academic pursuits for the moment to go out to work. He found a job for himself as an apprentice at a large electrical concern, but did not take it at the time as he was earning more at the bakery. He now works for the Post Office, and is hoping either to get a job behind the counter or to get a clerical job elsewhere. His family had hopes that, with his English education, he would be able to go on to obtain further qualifications and, though he has not given up these ambitions, the family seems to be getting sceptical of his abilities. Besides the temporary job at the bakery, the family has not been of much use in finding employment for him, as his English qualifications have moved him out of their range of influence.

As the English-educated second generation boy leaves school with good qualifications and moves into employment in fields of which his parents and family have no knowledge and no experience, his kin can no longer help him directly in getting a job. In this situation, a boy has to use his own initiative, the formal channels of the school careers' master and the Youth Employment Officer, so breaking one link in his relationship with his family, one of whose members might, in other circumstances, have sponsored the boy at his place of work.

The second implication of the new range of employment open to the second generation boys results from the change it makes in their occupations, earning power and place of residence before the age of about 21, and the repercussions these have on their links with the family.

The inability of university and other full-time students to contribute to the family income contrasts strongly with the position of young people who begin work at the age of 15 or 16 years, when they leave school. Those boys who go out to work at school-leaving-age bring in a wage packet which, customarily, they give to their parents, often unopened. Those boys are thus bound very closely to their family and are repeatedly asserting their membership of the joint family and joint household. They usually receive from their parents the few pounds a week necessary for weekly expenses incurred travelling, at the pub, buying clothes, etc. The alternative - keeping the weekly wage packet - represents an assertion of independence from the joint family. As we have seen, this pattern of living jointly is continued usually after marriage, as long

as a man lives with his parents in a joint household. As contributors to the joint family income at an early age these boys' economic futures are caught up with the economic future of the family. The father's economic aspirations may well be in India - where he wants to buy land or start a business. If the son's contributions are channelled to that end, he, too, will feel oriented to a future in India, for, besides being the son and heir of his father, the fruit of his labours has gone into the family holding in India.

To a lesser extent, apprentices, and to a greater extent boys who stay at school until they are 18 and continue as full-time students, do not make the same contribution to the family income until they are much older. Some of them in fact remain a financial burden on the family for up to ten years after the minimum age at which they could have left school and begun earning. University students graduate in subjects which, with few exceptions, there is little scope to pursue outside the cities in India but, for which, there is great scope in England and North America. The exceptions include agricultural science, medicine and engineering and even these are more profitably pursued in England or America. During their student days, these graduates have not been in any position to contribute to the economic goals of the family in the village and, hence, do not have the same motivation of those boys who have invested their earnings in the joint family holdings to return to claim their inheritance.

Even regardless of the relative strengths of their

orientation to India, the 'students' and 'workers' have different economic links with their families in England.

The students who can go on to professional careers in England or India, or elsewhere, need their families' support while they are studying. They are tied to the family economically in the short term by their need of support but, once qualified, can be self-sufficient and so are not economically dependent in the long term. Local Education Authority maintenance grants considerably relieve the family of the burden of maintenance, but these are awarded to assist parents to support students, not to support them exclusively. There is a traditional ideal that those who choose the hardship of studying should be given help and encouragement by their family. The grant may reduce the debt the student feels to his family but does not cancel it.

The economic links of second generation professionals with their families contrasts with that of the first generation and late child migrants who go out to work immediately they leave school. They have money in their pockets which in the short term could make them independent of the family if they chose to be, but the inclusion of their income over the years in the joint family fortunes, the inevitable insecurity of unskilled work and their inability to command the resources of professional employment ties them more closely to the family in the long term.

It is not yet clear whether or not second generation boys, once qualified, will throw in their lot with the joint family and shoulder responsibilities its members consider commensurate with their privileged status within, and

professional position outside it.

A third aspect in which the 'students' lives contrast with those of the 'workers' is the risks to which they are exposed of developing primary relations outside the Punjabi community.

The education and training of members of the second generation presents a very real dilemma to parents. For their sons to get higher education - university degrees, professional qualifications - they must in most cases leave home to attend universities or places of work elsewhere in the country. Brought up completely in England, they suffer no disadvantages in relating socially with other members of English society. Inevitably, they run a very high risk of developing primary relations extensively with non-Punjabis, of adopting an English reference group and developing ambitions that conflict with those of the family, so that they gain their qualifications but are lost to the family. In particular, they may develop professional ambitions which can be better achieved in England or North America. On the other hand, the boys who stay at home, perhaps to pursue more limited ambitions, are not so exposed to the risks of "becoming an Englishman".

To my knowledge, in Coventry, the second generation boys who have adopted English reference groups are not the students, but some of the apprentices and others who have developed friendships with English boys at school, and have continued these friendships on leaving. No second generation boy who has gone on to higher education has yet completed it, but it seems likely that the responsibilities such boys feel towards their families will ensure that they

will continue to behave as Punjabis and as joint family members. In their effect on family solidarity, the occupations of the first and second generations may operate equally in maintaining conformity to family expectations of them. It seems likely that the responsibilities felt by the second generation technical and professional boys will in the long run bind them to the joint family at a time when they are not economically dependent, in much the same way as the investments and responsibilities of the less well qualified will in the long term bind them to the joint family.

Manjit is a second generation boy. He was born in Coventry. He has stayed at school to take 'A' levels and is now taking a full-time course in business management. He has no interest in farming, has never done any, and does not feel identified with his father's years of work in England that have enabled him to buy a large farm in Punjab. He has a younger brother whom he imagines will take up his father's mantle on the farm. This brother, though born in England, has spent much of his childhood in the village in India. As the eldest son, Manjit feels his responsibilities to his parents, his unmarried sisters and younger brothers. He will fulfil these responsibilities, not by going to India to supervise the farm, but by sharing with his younger siblings and parents the material rewards of a successful business career. The support he has been given by his family at a time when he might otherwise have been earning have influenced him to maintain a strong loyalty to the family.

The fact that it is some of the apprentices, and not the university students, among the second generation who have

already been distinguished as 'rebels' in the Punjabi population, suggests that this hypothesis, that it is the students in higher education who are at the highest risk, needs some modification. Two factors may account for this anomaly. In the first place, the students are afforded greater freedom than the apprentices. Not only are they absent from home for long periods, but at home are given freedom in their personal lives corresponding to their high status in taking higher education. Overall, they have considerably greater scope for deviation than the apprentices before being regarded as rebels. Secondly, in some cases, the apprentices feel that their families are disappointed in them and consider them to have 'failed' in not qualifying for higher education. Two of the three second generation 'rebels' in my sample particularly mentioned their having disappointed their families. Their rebel reaction may be related to their being censured by a reference group of validation - the family - and their adoption of a reference group of emulation by which, as a reference group of validation, they are rewarded.

The third implication of the education and employment patterns of the child migrants and second generation is closely related to the previous point about their relative inability to contribute to the family treasury as early as if they had started earning at school-leaving-age. The upbringing and education of children in England changes the orientation of the family from one of a quick return to a prosperous status in the village, to one of longer term settlement. It reflects a change in the time schedule

but not necessarily in the basic goals which the family sees for its future.

To buy a farm is to provide for the future of the children who will farm it, and who themselves will care for their parents in old age; to invest that money in England and give the children education will similarly ensure their prosperity and their parents a happy retirement. Many men who planned a short visit to England have extended their stay now that their wives and children have joined them, and are becoming reconciled to the idea that education for their children in England means the investment of money, otherwise destined for India, in a house, furniture and other consumer expenditure, with a lower rate of saving dictated by these higher expenses.

Education is valued very highly by both the families orientated to returning to India and those intending to stay in England indefinitely. For the India-oriented father it is valued for prestige reasons and the provision of material satisfaction in the long term, but it is not motivated by economic self-interest in the short term since giving higher education for the children does not bring a quick inflow of money, nor allows a wholly Indian orientation of expenditure and investment.

With the exceptions of those who have reasons such as entanglement with the police or family feuds to prevent them from returning to Punjab, and the few first generation professional men who have chosen to follow their profession in England, the Punjabi villagers who have over-stayed the expected time of their visit to England are held by structural factors, particularly those relating to the upbringing,

education and training of their children, not by cultural factors. It is these structural factors that influence the shift of orientation from India to England, rather than the technological attractions of the consumer society. For the first generation, the attractions of consumer society available in England do not rival the attractions of life 'at home' in Punjab. English youth culture and consumer goods appeal more to the child migrant and second generations, but with the exception of television comparable consumer goods are available in Doaba, and the attractions of dances, cinemas, pubs, fashionable clothes and the company of English women are weak compared with structural factors. The higher paid employment and more plentiful education and training facilities are England's greatest attractions, not only to the first generation but to the child migrant and second generations. The enjoyment by a man and his family of these features over years in England necessarily results in high consumer expenditure, particularly in providing a suitable home for the family and in the upbringing of the children.

It will only be to some members of the second and subsequent generation who have never visited Punjab that life in England will be more attractive than in Punjab, and, besides the cultural attractions of English society for these people, their structural ties in England, with close relatives and friends, through careers, expenditure and investment will outweigh their ties in Punjab. Even for those of the second generation and subsequent generations who prefer to remain in England, it will be structural as well as cultural factors that will determine their preference.

From the forgoing discussion there emerge two decisions with regard to employment that may be termed crucial - that is decisions taken by members of one generation parents that will allow no option to their children in the way they behave in certain fields, or decisions taken by the members of one generation that result necessarily in that generation behaving in a certain way. The most obvious is the decision to use the financial contributions of children in acquiring more property in India. This affects the type of employment the latter will take, and gives them a strong interest in the family property in India, together with a minimum commitment to a career in England. It will also have repercussions in other fields in that, to involve oneself with the ambitions of the family, and to look for an inheritance to the family property, demands conformity in social behaviour with family norms in relations within it, and as a representative of it outside.

The decision to give the child higher education is the other crucial decision in that it effectively excludes him from returning to farm land as his father plans to do. It does not inevitably mean that the boy will not find his career in India but it is unlikely that the subject he should choose in which to specialise can be practised in or near the village. With the exception of one boy studying business management, all the Punjabi university students and prospective students in sixth forms are doctors, engineers or scientists. Medicine can be practised in the villages of India, but is not as prosperous a profession there as in the towns and cities, and again practice in the cities in India is not as prosperous for

either doctors, engineers or scientists as it is in England or North America. In short, higher education means employment in an occupation outside the village. Though this, in itself, says nothing of any inevitability of his opting out of his role as a joint family member, the risks of his doing so are greater than for the school leaver who goes into an apprenticeship or out to work.

The second generation and child migrants who have technician and craft apprenticeships or hold skilled technical jobs in England are unlikely to return to farming in their villages where, with the exceptions of mechanics, their skills would be wasted. They would not want to take up, nor perhaps be able to find, jobs in India with acceptable conditions or rates of pay corresponding to the jobs they have had in England. They speak invariably of "starting some (manufacturing) business" in Doaba, based on their skills, if and when they return.

I have focused in this chapter on the nature of the economic links with their joint families of second generation and child migrant Punjabis, and the influence on these of education and employment. I have also looked at the implications these two factors hold for their future links with their families. There is no one to one correlation to be made here. Joint family relations in the future are not dependent solely on the occupations of their 17-25 year old members in the immigrant situation, but among the second generation there is a pronounced movement into education-based careers which, in the short term, frustrate the family ambitions of an early return to Punjab with money earned

abroad.

There is a differentiation by generation of the 17-25 year old age cohort. The child migrants are still largely in manual work, much of it skilled, but not with qualifications by apprenticeship and examination. The second generation members of the cohort are overwhelmingly apprentices or students. As we have seen, this differentiation is one that has important implications on their relations within the joint family. It is the employment and education of the child migrant and second generation boys that threaten the cohesion of the joint family in the immigrant situation, and the economic orientation of the first generation. All employment besides labouring is outside the gift of the first generation family members. The course of individuals through apprenticeships, training schemes or places of higher education renders them unable to contribute materially in the short term to the family fortunes in India, and exposes them to potential reference groups other than Punjabi groups. Those few second generation boys who have opted out of the community and weakened their links with their joint family have adopted a reference group from school or work. None of the boys who has gone on to higher education is in this category. At present, they and others of the second generation are only 'at risk', and their structural links with the family and community are being maintained, but if the ties that hold together the joint family, and its ideology of village goals, are undermined, it will be as a result of the education and employment of its sons.

I have emphasised that it is through education and

employment that the loyalty of the second generation boys to the joint family is threatened. Though much of the work of the child migrants and second generation takes place in the overwhelming company of natives, this has not meant that non-economic social contacts have developed between Punjabis and natives in the work situation. Outside working hours there is association in recreation and leisure activities with people who are neither family members nor workmates. This is association with peer group members and cliques of friends. It is to a consideration of this association that I will now turn.

Footnote to Chapter 6

1. This sample of 75 includes the 71 people mentioned previously but includes three more second generation boys and one more child migrant for whom I have details of employment.

Chapter 7

PEER GROUP SOCIETYIntroduction

In dealing with the patterns of social relations in the family and in employment, I have not dealt specifically with peer groups which are a major mode of association of all male Punjabis of all ages in the city. In terms of the amount of time spent with other peer group members, peer group activities for the young Punjabis are as demanding as family activities, and much more for those whose workmates are also members of the same group.

In this chapter I shall define and describe the type of peer group that exists among the young Punjabis in the city. I shall consider its various activities and structure and the significance of the social relations that the child migrants and second generation Punjabis are developing in these groups. Towards the end of the chapter I shall consider the extent to which the peer group activities of the 17-25 year old cohort are cutting across 'community' barriers, and the differences in the peer groups of young people of different generations.

Peer groups of young Punjabis have provided another dimension of links in the network that has included all the Punjabis living within the primary area of settlement. Recently, as the settlement has begun to fray at the edges and young Punjabis are brought up in distant parts of the city, localised peer groups have developed, restricted in membership to those boys living in the area. Though the Punjabis are no longer so closely involved together by living in a concentrated settlement, the peer groups are Punjabi

reference groups by which the members regulate their behaviour, and competition in various fields between these groups unites Punjabis from all over the city in the struggle for common goals.

By definition a peer is an "equal in civil standing or rank, equal in any respect" (O.E.D.). To social scientists a peer group has come to mean "a group of homogeneous age composition" (Landecker, 1964). I do not wish to refer by peer group to a large number of members of an age cohort mobilised by one person on a particular occasion - an action set (Mayer, 1966) - nor a 'general status category' (Merton, 1957: 332). I refer by peer group to a smaller group, like that defined by Rosen (1968:403, quoted above p. 35) with a maximum of about 20 members of the same age and status, all of whom know each of the others, have multiplex ties linking each other together, and who meet freely to enjoy leisure pursuits together, though they may also work or go to school together. The group is known to the members as "my mates", "the lads", "the friends I hang around with".

The use of the concept of the 'peer group', therefore, raises some problems of definition. The difference in the O.E.D. and Gould and Kolb definitions is of some significance. The peer group I have described is not only a group of boys of the same age but also of equal status. The peer groups in Coventry are usually of members of the same generation. Equal status is a common feature of peer group members, which makes the groups more than just homogeneous by age. Status is determined on several, not one single criterion. These include education and employment, fluency in Punjabi, sporting skills and length of residence in England. Some of these criteria

e.g. education, employment and fluency in Punjabi can be correlated directly with the length of residence in England as we have seen (p.193), so it is to be expected that peer groups will consist of members of the same generation and of the same age.

One of the characteristics of a peer group is that members take part together in a number of activities, though the same members do not take part in every activity, nor necessarily do all the members take part in any one activity. There are within these peer groups smaller sub-groups - which I will call cliques - of two to four close friends and relatives who interact together more than they do with other peer group members. It is difficult in this study on the limited evidence I have on peer groups to draw out the exact relationship between cliques and peer groups. Different peer groups have different structures of cliques. Some cliques are gathering strength so that they threaten to develop into peer groups themselves by my definition. On the other hand, there are some cliques whose members are very strongly tied to each other and seem to exist almost independently of any peer group. The general interpretation of the situation is simplified by the relative permanence of the alliances between cliques. The membership of both the cliques and the peer groups they make up has remained consistent through the period of my field work, but some cliques seem to have links into more than one peer group, so that, though the peer groups are generally exclusive to a generation, their boundaries merge somewhat.

The permanence of the alliances between cliques in a peer group is a function of the multiple links between members of that

peer group. Members have contact with each other in several spheres and so moral relationships are established within the group. The inclusion of multiplex links between members in my definition of a peer group is consistent with the peer group situation on the ground. 'Outsiders', not members of the group, may join with the group in a particular activity on a particular occasion, but not necessarily become a member. An exceptional footballer may be recruited to play for a peer group team on the criterion of his footballing skill alone, but develop no further links with the members of the peer group. He does not become a member simply by joining in one activity.

As relatively permanent groups, the cliques and peer groups take on the function of reference groups for their members and a recognised code of behaviour and standard of values in accordance with which the behaviour of members is rewarded or punished informally by other members of the group. The function of the peer groups as reference groups leads to the problem of the 'identity' of group members, which I will deal with below (p.247).

Studies of immigrant peer groups in America are of peer groups that are exclusively of immigrants or their descendants (Gans, 196, Whyte, 1943). First generation and child migrants are members of exclusively Punjabi peer groups in the immigrant settlement in Coventry. This is not so true for the second generation immigrants, though there are, as yet, so few of these above school age that any quantitative representation giving an indication of the proportion of second generation boys making alternative associations would be unreliable. Except when discussing specifically mixed peer groups, I refer to exclusively Punjabi peer groups.

Recruitment to these groups is generally of boys who live close to one another, and hence are thrown together in school, in sharing local recreation facilities, sometimes at work, or because other family members are friends. For all Punjabi boys the peer group is the major mode of association, complementary to the family, in which strong multiplex links are established. A boy interacts more frequently with members of his peer group than with anyone else outside the members of his family. The social relations established in the peer group are generally stronger, in that they are more multiplex than those established at a place of work, though the work situation itself may also be a sphere of peer group activity as well as a place of peer group recruitment.

Peer groups exist throughout the Punjabi population in Coventry; there are groups of peers from schoolboys to old men. Among young people the spheres of activity on which the peer groups centre are at school, at work, in the pubs and in sport, particularly football, weight-lifting and kabaddi.¹ Peer groups that engage in these activities do not include the whole of the 17-25 year old cohort in the city. But those mentioned are the activities of the majority of young peer groups. Others centre on such activities as badminton, car mechanics, amateur dramatics and politics.

Nearly all the members of the cohort belong to peer groups. The few exceptions are those boys who remain very closely within the framework of the extended family, outside of which they have one or two particular friends, but do not join in peer group activities. A very few other boys are engaged in activities marginal to the mainstream of Punjabi life in the city - like

photography as an art as opposed to taking family snapshots - or mix in the activity of a group from another age cohort - like the one or two boys involved in activities at the temple with men in general of the over 40 year old cohort.

I did not have personal contact with all the peer groups of the 17-25 cohort in the city, but the universe in which I am working in this chapter is the peer groups of child migrant and second generation members of that cohort. Within this category I know of nine peer groups. Two of those are in areas just outside the primary area of settlement, and I have had no personal contact with their members. (There may be more than two in these areas.) Of the seven I know within the primary area, I have had contact with the members of six. I would suggest that the groups known to me are at least half of the peer groups of child migrants and second generation in the cohort. Only one of these is exclusively of second generation boys above 17 years old. This was recruited at a local comprehensive school and maintained with common activity in a rugby team, of which one member is captain, and in the pubs and discotheques. Among the second generation boys in the cohort, the small cliques of friends seem more common than the larger peer groups. This is because there are few second generation boys above school age and those few are dispersed by places of residence, education and employment. In the dispersion, they are drawn into relations with English peer groups. The isolation of some second generation boys, in that they have not found any second generation peer groups which they can join results in their establishing very close friendships with one or two boys. Otherwise, they join

predominantly child migrant peer groups (to which they are probably introduced by a child migrant relative) or predominantly English groups.

Besides the one second generation peer group mentioned there are at least two second generation cliques, one of sixth form schoolboys and the other of apprentices, both of which are marginal to the second generation group, but are not part of it.

Sport is one of the most important activities for many of the peer groups in the 17-25 cohort in the city. It is also one of the most visible activities to an outsider. In this chapter I shall consider some peer groups for which a sport is a major group activity. Football is one of the most important peer group activities of young Punjabis. As it provides an arena for competition between peer groups it is important to see it in the wider context of Punjabi sport in the city. Before going on to discuss the individual football teams and the various other fields of activity in which peer group members interact, I shall discuss the annual sports tournament, in the light of which all the Summer sporting activity is conducted, and which provides a focus for all Punjabi sport in the city throughout the year.

The Tournament

In terms of numbers participating, and in the opinion of most Punjabis in the city, the tournament is the biggest Punjabi event of the year, particularly for the young people who are the sportsmen and so directly involved. The tournament has been organised over the two days of a week-end in July for the last four years in this city. The first tournament was held

in Birmingham in 1965; in 1966 there was also one in Coventry. Other cities have followed their example so that, by 1969, there were tournaments in Birmingham, Coventry, Gravesend, Leicester and Wolverhampton, on different week-ends of July and August.

The tournament has been organised in Coventry by a committee of young first generation men, acting on their own behalf and not as a branch of any other organisation, though the Secretary of the Committee is an executive member of the local I.W.A.G.B. It is called the Udham Singh² Memorial Tournament. Its aim is to attract Indian sportsmen and teams from all over England to compete with each other over the week-end at football, hockey, volleyball and kabaddi. Since its inception, the tournament has grown in popularity and is now well known to Punjabis throughout the country. Coventry is fortunate in having a very large recreation ground that can accommodate three football pitches, a hockey pitch, volleyball pitch, athletics track, kabaddi circle and car park. The following comments are based on my observation of the 1969 tournament.

The impressive programme of fixtures for the two days which included teams from Birmingham, Southall, Gravesend, Leamington, Leicester and elsewhere, went completely by the board. Some teams failed to appear, players in one event were also in others, so the timetable had to be disrupted as a kabaddi team waited for a football match to end which involved some of its players. Overall, maximum attention was paid to the events whenever they were staged and a minimal emphasis was put on the bureaucratic organisation and the programme

timetable. Over the Saturday and Sunday one can confidently say that all the men of Punjabi Coventry were at the tournament for some time. I was there on both days and saw almost every Punjabi I knew in the city. On the other hand, I saw no Gujaratis. Besides the Coventry Punjabis there were sizeable contingents of men from other cities in England, players, supporters and spectators.

The most popular sports are football and kabaddi - most popular that is to the Doabis. Hockey remains generally the monopoly of the East Africans. Every kabaddi match concentrated the whole of the crowd around it, all but clearing the rest of the ground. I estimated there to be between 1,000 and 1,500 people at some of these matches, three or four deep around a circle some 50 yards across. Football and kabaddi attract different categories of people. The first generation and child migrants are all keen followers of kabaddi. The kabaddi teams are made up of the strongest young men of the 18 - 30 age cohort and, to my knowledge, included no second generation boys. To the old first generation migrants, it is reminiscent of the village tournaments of Doaba. By comparison, they showed little interest in the other sports on the programme.

The earlier child migrants and second generation who, in general, are too small to be considered for the kabaddi teams, retain a much keener interest in football. They consider kabaddi something of a villagers' game, with much brute force and little skill required, as opposed to football. But most of them join in the crowd of spectators all the same. The programme of the tournament could not be completed by Sunday evening so some of the final matches had to be left

until Monday and Tuesday, the first two days of the local two week industrial holiday. The kabaddi final was left as the grand finale on Tuesday afternoon. It was watched by the Mayor and Lady Mayoress who, besides a few Police and the odd Pressman, were the only English spectators, apart from myself. After the match, the Mayor made a speech and presented the prizes. The tournament committee general secretary took the opportunity to address in Punjabi the largest single annual gathering of Punjabis in the city. He chastised those who had failed to make up the teams they had entered, congratulated those who had won, thanked all those who had helped, and criticised the Gurudwara management in particular for their half-hearted support and lack of generosity. (In other towns the Gurudwaras play the major part in organising and sponsoring the tournaments).

The implications of the tournament for the solidarity of the Punjabi population in Coventry in general, and for the under 25 year old cohort in particular, are important.

On the week-end of the tournament, the sports ground itself has the air of a fair ground about it. It is a place where the Coventry Punjabi may meet his fellow villagers living in other cities in England, erstwhile friends who have moved to other cities, or any of a large number of Punjabis settled in other cities with whom he may have ties of different sorts.

The week-end is a period of general visiting. Team members, team supporters and general spectators from other towns stay with their friends and relatives in the town for the week-end. The women do not go to the sports ground but they may accompany their husbands to the city to visit friends and relatives. Many (some Punjabis say most) Punjabi houses in

Coventry have villagers and kin staying with them that weekend. In the house in which I lived, two boys from Leamington, fellow villagers of the householder, both in football teams, arrived to stay the night. Those who have no relatives or friends on whom they can call are able to stay in the Gurudwara. It is inconceivable that any Punjabi should book into a hotel for the weekend.

The tournament reflects the segregation of the East Africans from the Punjabis. Though the East Africans were not the only hockey players, they were conspicuously absent from the kabaddi teams, and in general even from the crowd of spectators. The situation gave the Punjabis another opportunity to point out that the East Africans keep to themselves and think they are 'better' than the Punjabis, and the East Africans the opportunity to observe rather disparagingly the vulgarity and coarseness of kabaddi and its supporters.

The tournament is the one annual event which involves nearly all the Punjabis in the city - and certainly all the members of the 17-25 year old cohort. It is the week-end when young friends and relatives visit Coventry residents. The eyes of Punjabis the length of the country are on the Coventry settlement for that week-end. The Punjabis in Coventry are proud of having a recreation ground with adequate facilities for all the sports, and the young sportsmen have the highest motivation 'to win at home'.

In general, the tournament gives strong expression to those Punjabi values which are maintained in the immigrant situation. The Jat values of strength and manliness are

epitomised in kabaddi, generally acknowledged as the most popular sport of Punjab. The maintenance of these values in England makes kabaddi clearly the most popular sport of the tournament, and its popularity reinforces the masculine values. Again, the whole tournament is visited only by men. There were no women there at any time in any role. The child migrants I questioned on this point said the women were not brought along because of the bad language they might hear and the rough treatment they might receive in the crowds. In general, it was "no place for women". The second generation were more explicit: they thought it was because it was traditional for women not to come to a gathering like that, and because they would be made fun of, everyone would look at them.

The tournament also reinforces individual Punjabi immigrants' identity by places of residence in England - as opposed to identity by villages in India. There were no teams playing under the names of villages in Doaba, but all were under the names of the places of settlement in England. Birmingham and Coventry were the first cities to organise tournaments, and there is a strong rivalry between them, Coventry v. Birmingham matches attracting particular interest in both kabaddi and football. On the other hand, there is no regulation about team membership and residence. Some of the kabaddi teams are recruited around one man, or one clique in a town, who will not hesitate to call a good player, known personally to them, from another town. As a result, one man now living in Southall played for Coventry, and some Coventry boys played for Leamington. The star players are remembered

and recognised from tournaments in previous years, are in demand and may appear in almost any team to which they choose to attach themselves. There are memories of one unbeatable kabaddi team made up of the members of one village in Doaba in one of the previous years, but there were no village teams in 1969. The reason given was that village members are spread over the country and could not practise together. This is not very conclusive in that several teams did include men from different towns and, anyway, kabaddi does not require much team practice. A more feasible explanation is that those who practise together i.e. members of locally based peer groups in England are drawn to play together with outsiders recruited by particular members of the group. In short, the teams are based on peer groups in Punjabi settlements in England, not on village groups.

Only two Coventry teams entered the 1969 kabaddi contest with a total of 18 players. These included a number of young first generation men who made up the senior team, and a number of the eldest child migrant peer group who made up the core of the second team. I did not see the senior team training together, but the child migrant players practised on the Morris common (see below p.229) on the evenings of the weeks leading up to the tournaments. One or two of them are also football players but, in general, the bigger, heavier and stronger men who can acquit themselves at kabaddi find themselves out of their depth on the football field. In Coventry at least, there is little duplication of kabaddi and football players. Some of the members of the oldest child migrant peer group in Coventry make up a proportion of the teams or at least join

in the training. The training and practice at the park on summer evenings is one of a number of activities of members of this peer group. Kabaddi is played only at the tournaments. There is no local league to sustain interest in the teams through the rest of the year so kabaddi does not focus the competition between peer groups as football does.

Peer group activities: football

Against the background of the tournament, I will go on to discuss the peer groups and peer group activities of the young Punjabis. The most popular activity is football; as a popular sport, though not as a peer group activity, it is rivalled only by kabaddi. The tournament season of July and August provides a focus for the sporting activity of the 16-25 year old cohort throughout the summer, and to an extent through the winter also.

Through the summer months, the Punjabi boys train and play football at the recreation grounds in the evenings and at weekends, when the rest of Coventry's footballers have left the game for the pursuit of tennis and cricket. Some of the boys practise at the recreation grounds near their homes outside the Foleshill area, like the Humber Road ground in Stoke and the Radford ground. The majority congregate on a large common on the edge of the primary area next to a large car factory, known to them as 'the Morris', and to the rest of Coventry as Stoke Heath.

Here the groups who made up some of the teams in the local youth football league in the previous winter practise together for a couple of hours before retiring to a pub for the rest of the evening, or going home. In the summer months, the teams for the tournaments are decided on. Some are the same as those

who played in the league the previous year. Other teams may have split up, and the remnants are either recruited to other teams or form new ones. The Morris, covering about 15 acres, can comfortably accommodate as many groups as want to practise there. This allows everyone to see the progress and ability of other groups and their members, and engineer recruitment of players to their particular group. The teams that play together at the tournaments usually continue to play together in the local leagues the following winter.

In answer to one of my enquiries about the number of Indian football teams that there were, one of my informants commented "there is a team in every street", which reflects the popularity of the game, and the pool of players numbers many more than the team members who will be playing in the local league any one Saturday afternoon, or in training during the week. In the Saturday leagues there are many all-English teams, some all Indian, and one that sometimes includes several Punjabis. Through the winter of 1969-70 there were seven Punjabi teams in the Saturday league:

<u>Table 14</u>	<u>Club</u>	<u>Locality and practice ground</u>
over 21	Indian and Commonwealth Club	Morris
under 21	Indian New Star	Morris
under 18	Sporting Club 'A'	Humber Road, Stoke
	Pravanne United	Morris
	Indian Youth Club	Morris
under 16	Radford	Radford
	Sporting Club 'B'	Humber Road, Stoke
	All Stars	Edgwick Park

The names of the teams have no significance beyond giving credit to whoever provided them with football shirts at the beginning of the season. Thus in three seasons one team has had three labels: The Sikh Temple, the Indian Workers' Association, and the Indian and Commonwealth Club. Other names reflect only the imaginativeness of their team members.

The week to week programmes of the teams are duplicated by the local league organisation for distribution to players, and the Saturday fixtures appear in the local paper every Thursday.

In general the Punjabi teams are peer groups operating on the football field. Hence, they are not formally constituted clubs with elected officers, a manager and coach, etc. The leadership of the team is held by one of the leaders of the peer group. Because of the importance of football, above other activities, to the members of groups that play football, the leader's position is established on a balance of footballing skill and leadership on the field, and prowess in the peer group activities off the field. This is similar to the hierarchy of the gang demonstrated in the results of the bowling matches of the Corner boys (Whyte, 1943: 14-25), but not exactly the same. No individual football team member can 'win' quantifiably as one can in tenpin bowling. On the other hand, the footballing skill of individuals is a matter of opinion open to endless discussion and argument, and thus the recognition of a captain and the selection of a team continuously provides the pretexts for competition and conflict. As a result of this informal organisation, the captain on the field is captain by consensus, rather than by appointment or election. Most of the members of the Punjabi teams see each other

in the week in various activities, at least once specifically to train, when they can discuss the prospects for Saturday's game. After the game on Saturday evening, the group meets in its 'local' or 'regular' pub for the post mortem.

The nucleus of the Commonwealth Club team is formed by members of the oldest child migrant peer group in the city, many of whom went through Broad Heath school together as some of the first Punjabi schoolboys to have several years of schooling in the city. Marriage and moving out of the primary area have thinned the ranks a little now, but members of this peer group cherish the memories of the days of their wild youth, particularly the incident when, in retaliation for an attack on some Indian boys, they apparently fought a pitched battle with the 'Longford Rockers', who have never since ventured into the Foleshill area!

An Indian Youth Club team of 1964 included five of Commonwealth's present players. All of the 1964 I.Y.C. team still live in Coventry: two of them now play for an English team when they play, three others no longer play football, and one is in India, getting married. There are other members of this old peer group who have never interested themselves in football, but they do frequent the same pub as the old nucleus of Commonwealth players do, and the two old I.Y.C. players who no longer play for any team. To the nucleus of Commonwealth players, who have played together for some years, several young players have been recruited, all of whom have some links with some members of the leading clique of the team. The following table shows consistency of association of some members of this peer group.

Table 15

Peer Group Association

Peer group members	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Broad Heath School boys	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1964 I.Y.C. Team	*	*	*	*				*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1969 Indian Commonwealth	*	*	*	*										*
Play kabaddi		*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*				*
Drink together in 'regular'	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Weight-lifters	*	*	*		*	*	*			*				
Drink together											*	*	*	
Play for English team											*		*	

The top two lateral columns show association in the past. The lower six show association in 1969. N continues only to play football with the members of this group and spends most of his other time with another group.

Drinking together is the one activity that involves all the members of one peer group (A - K). K, L and M have moved into another peer group which meets in another pub, K and L play darts for the team there, K and M played for the same football team this winter.

Indian New Star is in the under 21 section of the youth league. It was formed by various cliques of boys who previously played for other teams, around a footballer who left the Sikh Temple team in about 1967. The training sessions at the Morris

have allowed the leaders of this team to recruit players they have seen training there. The specific activity of playing football together has welded the nucleus of New Star together into a peer group whose members keep each other company at the week-end and on some week nights. There are eight boys who spend almost their whole week-end together. On Saturday morning, they stroll around the town, window shopping; in the afternoon, they play football, and in the evening go out, usually to their pub together. They meet in their 'regular' and then sometimes move on to others. On Sunday morning, they meet at Gurudwara; in the afternoon, they either play football or go training; and go to a film, usually an Indian film, in the evening. The members of this group are nearly all early child migrants, of the same generation as the leaders of the Commonwealth team, but a little younger. The difference of age is reflected in Commonwealth playing in the over 21 division, New Star in the over 18 division of the local league. The boys in the New Star peer group went to a wide variety of schools, only two or three of them going to Broad Heath. None of them work together, but as apprentices they do go to college together. Even those who are not doing college courses sometimes go to the college on the nights when they know their friends will be there.

There are three other boys who play for New Star who do not frequent this group. One is a "very religious type". He does not go out drinking or join in any of the peer group activities besides football. Another, an apprentice mechanic, is a little younger than most of the group. He is also a member of another peer group with whom he interacts in other

fields. The third is another apprentice mechanic who has replaced his brother as goalkeeper of the team. He would like to go out with the rest of the group, but lives a long way from most of the other members of the group and from their present 'regular', so that transport is one problem. He is also the youngest of three brothers who are very close to one another so he has a strong alternative form of association to the peer group. These three players only see each other, and the rest of the New Star team regularly on Saturday afternoons in the winter, and at the Morris in the evenings of the summer.

New Star was formed by a young footballer who played for the county schools team and who failed to gain acceptance in the Indian Sikh Temple team as it was then called, at one of the early tournaments. Since the creation of New Star the problem of selecting one 'all Coventry' Punjabi team, primarily from the players of Commonwealth and New Star, to sweep the board at the tournaments has been an annual source of quarrels, dissension and rivalry between them. The winter of 1969-70 saw the leaders of each team open enemies, but fortunately the teams were in different leagues, so they did not have to play each other. The pattern of the recurring disputes has been the same over the years. Different people, particularly two active members of the tournament committee, have consistently tried to persuade the teams to combine, but no-one has yet managed to field a combined team without considerable acrimony and inevitable disbandment after one match.

In the winter of 1968-9 both teams were in the same league, and put a very high priority on beating each other when they were drawn to play together. The final clash of that season was a very rough game from all accounts, which New Star managed

to win. After that, the teams were not disposed to combine for the 1969 tournament season. As usual, attempts were made before the first tournament of the 1969 season at Gravesend. To that end, the leader of New Star and the playing captain met two of the Coventry tournament committee and the leader of the Commonwealth team for a few hours in a pub. They could reach no agreement. The teams went to play at Gravesend under their own names but, when Commonwealth lost their first game, they persuaded New Star to make up a combined team for their match. New Star were disenchanted at that episode and both teams played separately for the Coventry tournament. There was further pressure, particularly from a second generation university student who played with the Commonwealth team members before going to the university, and who is a very respected friend of the New Star leader, and from the tournament committee, to select one good team for the Birmingham tournament. Some sort of agreement was reached that the New Star leader would select a team. He selected a squad of about 16, seven players from the Commonwealth team and nine from New Star. All appeared to be going satisfactorily. However, the leader of the Commonwealth team was angered by rumours suggesting he had a hand in excluding one of his friends and team-mates. The outcome was a fight with the leader of New Star at the Morris on the eve of the Birmingham tournament. The New Star leader, who came off worse in the fight, did not go to Birmingham, but the other players were persuaded to and the combined team won its first matches. One of the tournament committee visited the New Star leader at home and persuaded him to go and play in the later rounds, but they did not win the competition. For the 1969-70

winter season both teams were back in the league where they are refining their arts and recruiting players for the inevitable clash at the 1970 tournaments.

There is considerable rivalry between the two teams in recruiting. New Star looks more for younger players in more junior teams to whom they can offer a 'break', and whom they will train. The Commonwealth leadership are less concerned to train players as to offer some good players a game. New Star have offered one or two Commonwealth players a game, but they have declined, one of them specifically because "I have to play for my friends, I can't just leave them." Both New Star and Commonwealth offered a place to a young apprentice this winter. He joined Commonwealth because he had closer links with the leader of that team. Peer group membership and the links it involves are, therefore, important factors to be considered, along with footballing skill, in recruiting.

Through the years, the advocates of a combined team have failed to see that these two teams are two peer groups, each of whose members want to play together, and each of whose leaders cherish the idea of winning the biggest prize in Punjabi football - the tournament football competition - with their own team. The clash of the peer groups is reflected in the clash of personalities in the leaders.

The leader of New Star feels he has chosen and trained his team himself. He is a fancy player, a fact that he feels was recognised by his playing for Warwickshire schools. He has no respect for the footballing ability of the leaders of the Commonwealth team. For their part, the Commonwealth leaders despise him as being self-opinionated and independent, anxious only for New Star to win for the credit that will

accrue then to him.

The antipathy that characterises the relations between the leaders of these groups is modified between members of the two groups. Some members of each team meet each other in different spheres of activity in their day to day lives. Some members of the two teams work together, some live near each other. There are two brothers, one of whom plays for New Star, the other for Commonwealth but, notably, neither of them joins much in other activities with the peer groups, some of whose members are the nucleus of each team.

There are three Punjabi teams in the under-18 section of the league. Sporting Club is the senior team fielded by a group that lives in Stoke, outside the primary area of settlement, and which practises on a park in that area. Like the others, its members form a peer group who enjoy playing together. The New Star leader compared them with his own team in this respect and did not think they were likely to split up to help form a 'Coventry' team. A group of younger boys from this area play under the same name in the under-16 section.

Pravanne United is a team of Punjabi boys, the core of which is made up of full-time Henley College students. They are the most recently formed of the Punjabi teams, and on a basis that makes them likely to be the most short-lived. Towards the end of the 1969-70 winter season, they accepted the overtures from New Star to join the New Star squad to train for the tournaments.

The present Indian Youth Club team is made up of Punjabi boys and a West Indian who went through Broad Heath school

together. A table similar to the one given above (p.233) shows the cliques that made up the I.Y.C. team in the winter of 1970.

Table 16

Peer Group Association 1969-70.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Ex Broad Heath Schoolboys				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
Football I.Y.C.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
I.C.C.														*	*	*
'Drinking together'																
1	*	*	*													
2				*	*	*	*									*
3										*	*	*	*	*		

I.Y.C. AND I.C.C. are not in close competition. The cross cutting links between some I.Y.C. and I.C.C. players - they went to school and go out drinking together-- are used to give certain I.C.C. players a game with I.Y.C. on some days when I.C.C. are not playing. This also happens to players from other teams who have links with I.Y.C. players. M is the recognised leader of I.Y.C., but he is not a peer group leader in the way that the leaders of I.C.C. and New Star are. I.Y.C. seems to be an alliance for footballing between at least three cliques, and does not represent a peer group as some other teams do. This is reflected in the second drinking clique discussing making up a new team next year. I.Y.C. is a more heterogeneous team than any of the others in that A,B,C, and E are Gujaratis, G a second generation West Indian. I.C.C. players N,O,P, are not among those I.C.C. players in the other table. M, the leader of I.Y.C., is a second generation boy who has been drawn into a Punjabi clique after he found "he didn't somehow get on" with his English colleagues at school and at work. He attributes his joining an Indian clique of friends and peer group to football. He has joined an early child migrant peer group and clique and adopted them as his reference group.

In the under-16 section there are the younger boys from Humber Road, Sporting Club, and a group of younger boys who practise together in Edgwick Park. The nucleus of each of

these groups go to school together.

To my suggestion that football was one activity that united all the young Punjabis in the city, a Commonwealth player protested that, on the contrary, it caused most dissension and division than anything else. It is true that there is some conflict in the competition between peer groups and between cliques within peer groups. But in their football, and particularly in the tournament football competition, a large proportion of the young Punjabis in the city are associated together in competition for the same goal, of building up a team that will be recognised as the best Indian team in the city, and possibly in the country.

The pubs

The peer groups of footballers are only some of the many peer groups that meet in the pubs. Among the older first generation immigrants, the pubs are the only regular places of peer group meeting and activity. They are the arenas for the establishment of status, through generosity and in conversation, for the communication of news and gossip, the propagation of political ideas, recruitment to parties, and the occasional fight. The pubs have much the same roles for the younger peer groups but less of a monopoly of their time.

Different pubs are adopted as 'regulars' by different groups. The public and saloon bars of some of the older pubs within the primary area are used by the first generation and some child migrant groups, the lounges of the newer and more 'decent' pubs around the area are used by the second generation and earlier child migrant groups. The groups' links with their local are based on convenience, but a brush with some of

the other locals or members of the staff may cause a group to take its custom elsewhere. Members of the older peer groups meet in the 'local' every night. The younger are usually unable to meet there so often because of evening courses and homework. When they do meet, the evenings are spent drinking, talking, playing dominoes and darts. Every pub offers facilities for these limited pursuits.

Some of the oldest child migrant group, some of whose members are the old core of the Commonwealth football team, had an argument with their 'local' landlord, over a couple of minor incidents, involving familiarity with one of the barmaids and slow service. The outcome was a scuffle between the landlord and some of the members of the group. As a consequence, the group has left that pub and has adopted as its meeting place another very close by. They feel satisfied that they have taken away a considerable proportion of the licensee's trade.

Members of another peer group, two of them erstwhile players in the 1964 Indian Youth Club team, make up the darts team of their local. They fell foul of the licensee's wife over the issue of refreshments provided at their matches, and as a result have moved out, as a team, to play for another nearby pub, though they still visit their earlier haunt fairly frequently to drink.

One of the groups of child migrants that used to frequent the Indian and Commonwealth Club just before the cinema dispute (see Chapter 8), found it was joined by large numbers of Punjabi boys who supported Jai Hind's stand. The dropping of the cinema action, and a dispute that a particular peer group had with the landlord, resulted in them all leaving the club as a regular meeting place.

It does not take long for it to become common knowledge among young people as to which pub has been adopted by which peer group or clique as its meeting place. The peer groups are not given names either of prominent members of the group or of the pub where they are often to be found though, if the group is represented by a football team, the group might be referred to informally by that name, even though not all members of it play for the team. Some pubs are the meeting place of more than one peer group, but not generally of the same generation or the same age cohort. In some cases, it is that the members of one group feel themselves to be 'different' from the members of another. Individual members of each are probably known to each other and would, therefore, be obliged to engage in some social exchanges. Therefore, in pubs where there are two peer groups meeting, they are of different generations and of different age cohorts, so they co-exist with little interaction between members of each.

The repeated gatherings of members of a peer group in their 'regular' pub reflects the unity of the group. It is a sphere in which every member of the group can join the others with no preconditions of athletic ability, as in football, or strength, as in weight-lifting. As a result, drinking together is one activity common to all peer groups of every generation, and common to most members of those groups.

Weight-lifting

Weight-lifting is another popular activity, particularly of the young first generation and late child migrant groups. The popularity of football, which is a popular game both for the English and Punjabis, needs no explanation, nor does that of kabaddi, which is the most popular village sport in Punjab.

Moreover, both of these sports are encouraged by the tournaments. The explanation of the popularity of weight-lifting, which has a comparatively small following in England, is somewhat difficult.

Its popularity may be related to the tendency in a society of sexually segregated peer groups for members of the male peer groups to emphasise their masculinity and compete with each other in fields of activity that give them the opportunities to display their manliness. This would account to some extent for the popularity of wrestling and kabaddi in Punjab. Gans documents the functions of peer group activity in providing an arena for the individual to display himself, to show his individuality in the peer group. (Gans, 1962:80-). The second generation Italian settlement in Boston is of a society like the Punjabi society in Coventry - in which individuals pass much of their time in sexually segregated groups (1962:47-50).

The corner boys of Cornerville were enthusiastic bowlers, they went to the alleys at least every Saturday night. Bowling provided them with an activity in which each displayed his prowess to the others. Whyte shows forcefully that the performance in bowling was in some way directly related to the corner boys' position in the hierarchy of their gang and that, in spite of themselves, the results of a bowling match served to reinforce these positions (Whyte, 1943:14-25).

Immigrant Punjabi society is more segregated than immigrant Italian, in that ideally boys have no contact at all with unrelated women. As a result, boys must find nearly all their social activity in all-male peer groups. The

development of individuality, in competition for respect, power and status has to be within these peer groups.

Among the Boston Italians the idiom through which this competition and the assertion of masculinity were articulated was conspicuous consumption and display, in that they spent much money on clothes and food. Gans mentions cars particularly as being "an important mode of self-expression to the male West Ender ... it displays his strength and taste. The size of the car and the power of its motor express his toughness, the accessories, the carefully preserved finish and chrome are an extension of himself he displays to the peer group" (Gans, 1965:184). He mentions that this pattern of conspicuous expenditure prevents the young Italians from saving money (p.83).

In time, this may be the case with second generation Punjabis but, to date, male display to the peer group finds other expression among Punjabis; of all things it does not interfere with saving. It seems to have a closer relation to undisguised masculinity than in the Italian scheme. The Jat is idealised above all as tough, hard-working and strong. It is the demonstration of these characteristics, that weight-lifting allows, that explain its popularity (along with that of kabaddi and wrestling). The explanation of weight-lifting given by the boys who practise it is that "I'm getting fat; it helps keep me fit", "it gives you a good figure". Keeping fit is synonymous with keeping strong. Moreover, weight-lifting is fairly cheap, only the weights themselves are needed as equipment and weight training can be done at home in the house, in the garage or in the garden shed. As a result, weight-lifting groups are very often small, consisting of two or three

friends, very often meeting in a room in one of their homes. There may be two or three weight-lifting groups in a larger peer group identifiable by its playing football or drinking together.

There are many other spheres of peer group activity besides football, kabaddi, weight-lifting and visiting the pubs, which involve peer group interaction but which need not be mentioned in detail. These include school, college, work, the cinemas, politics and the Gurudwara.

I have not listed kabaddi separately in this section on the different contexts of peer group activity because there is no lasting organisation to maintain the kabaddi teams outside the tournament season. Peer group structure does not have the same implications for the composition of kabaddi teams as it does for the football teams so the note on kabaddi teams in the section on the tournament is adequate.

The structure of peer groups

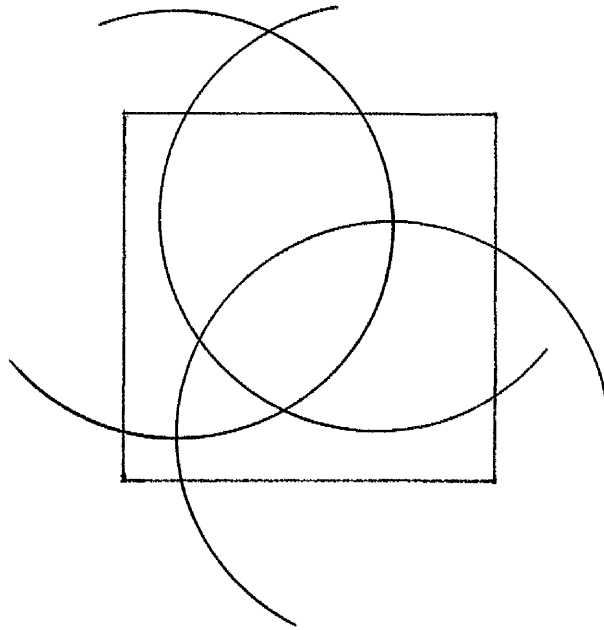
The peer groups are not strictly exclusive groups of a given number of boys who all interact with each other, and only with each other in every activity. Any one group may be much larger than the football team that is made up from some of its members, and which itself may be made up of three or four cliques of very closely linked friends. Different groups of individuals from the peer group may take part in different spheres of activity and with others who are not members of the peer group and do not associate with members in any other spheres.

The overlap in peer group activities of some members of different peer groups shows clearly that peer groups are not exclusive. This overlap may be represented by a diagram. In this diagram, the peer group is represented by a square, and

different peer group activities by the three intersecting circles. I have drawn only three to avoid confusion though in any peer group there are more than three group activities.

Diagram 2

Peer Group Activities



It is clearly represented in the diagram that not all members are involved in all activities, and a different selection of members are involved in each different activity, with outsiders who are not members of the peer group. The overlapping of some activities with members of other groups undermines the exclusiveness of the group, and from a descriptive and analytical point of view presents difficulties of establishing where one group ends and another begins. There are some boys and some cliques who have marginal membership of two groups, and moral relations with members of each, but their ambiguous position does not disprove the fact that there are groups identifiable by the moral relations and frequency of interaction of group members.

The diagram on p.246 and the analysis of the activities and membership of individual peer groups raise the questions whether 'core groups' and 'core activities' can be identified for peer groups. The core activity would be the activity that involves all the peer group members together; it could be represented in the diagram by a circle that includes the whole of the square of the peer group. The core group would be that group of members who took part in every activity of the group, represented by the area of the square included in all the activity circles. In the case of the child migrant peer group to which the leaders of the Commonwealth Club belong 'drinking' appears to be the core activity. For the peer group from which the New Star Players are drawn, football is an important activity, but again 'going out together', usually drinking, is probably the most consistent group activity. In distinguishing core groups - such as the group of eight New Star players who frequently spend much of their time together - the problem arises of distinguishing cliques from the core group within the peer group. To continue analysis along these lines, a full study would be needed on the interaction of group members as such, which I was unable to make in the limited time available.

The social functions of peer groups

The most obvious general function of these peer groups, which are exclusively Punjabi, is to maintain a Punjabi identity for the boys of Punjabi origin in the city. I do not want to go into the psychological aspects of the identity of the individual, but I shall explain briefly my use of it in the anthropological context. I use 'identity' as a shorthand term for the conception that the individual has of himself with regard

to his place in the groups and categories of people in society, which finds expression in corresponding social behaviour. It has implications for the range of social relations into which the individual enters, and the content of those relations.

Child (1943) writes as a psychologist about the problems of identity of second generation Italian immigrants in America. He analyses responses to the conflicting choices faced by all members of the second generation.

"The individual of the second generation is repeatedly faced with alternatives, the one Italian, the other American, which cannot both be followed at once."

(1943:51).

He concludes from his field material that there are three types of reaction by second generation members to their situation which determine how they respond to the conflicts: the rebel, the ingroup and the apathetic reaction. Each of these reactions is characterised by different responses to the symbols of national grouping, relationship with associates and responses to cultural differences.

In the study of social relations in a Punjabi regional settlement, I would narrow these alternative reactions to two: the rebel and the ingroup reaction. The strength of the family and community ties in channelling young men to develop social relations with other young Punjabis is such that to be apathetic is to relate according to the ingroup reaction.

There are two optional identities open to young Punjabis - particularly to the second generation. One is as a Punjabi, the 'ingroup' reaction of Child, the other, as an Englishman, the 'rebel' reaction of Child. Though there are people who might

appear superficially to be of every shade between these two extremes, their conception of themselves is as one or other of these alternatives. For example, those young people critical of some traditional aspects of Punjabi society (like arranged marriages) do not wish to become English. They wish to remain Punjabis, but to adopt some aspects of the code of behaviour appropriate to certain relationships.

Young Punjabis do not have to join English peer groups to fulfil their desires for companionship or participation in sport and recreation. This is not to say that these boys are maintaining their identity as a result of any failure to establish an English identity or deal satisfactorily with members or institutions of English society. The early child migrants and the second generation are as much at home with English, and in dealing with the institutions of English society as the English themselves. In many cases, they are more familiar with the English 'way of life' than they are with the Punjabi. Many of them participate to a greater or lesser extent in English, as well as Punjabi, peer groups, which they are able to do as long as membership of the one is not seen to be at the expense of the other.

Language is of particular importance in the context of the individual's identity. In every house, Punjabi is the language of the parents, and all children learn it as their first language before school age. Even those boys who are losing the spoken language retain it enough to be able to speak to and understand their mothers at home. Language is an important feature of peer group activity. With the exception of the groups of second generation boys, Punjabi is the general language of peer group

activities, and so is maintained as a language of currency among boys who might otherwise have lost it in favour of English. It is maintained to some extent even by the oldest second generation peer group known well to me, when they interact with other peer groups, in such circumstances as in the pubs or in political meetings and in the Gurudwara.

The language gives the Punjabis an identity in contrast to all other groups in the city. It also gives the Punjabis a very effective weapon against them. The English seem sensitive about the use of a language foreign to them in England, and particularly in their presence. By using Punjabi, the Punjabis can infuriate members of English society who are annoying them and they can discuss them in their presence and abuse them with impunity.

Fluency in Punjabi allows the young people to enter fully into first generation situations, such as political meetings, discussions in the pubs, and family gatherings. Full participation in such activities itself reinforces the individual's Punjabi identity and helps to maintain and develop the language, which itself is continuously in use in such situations. The converse is equally true. Those boys who are members of English peer groups and develop closer links with their English peers than with other Punjabis, lose their fluency in Punjabi, because they use it infrequently; they avoid the first generation situations in which they feel strangers, and progressively lose touch with the language and the members of the first generation themselves, and correspondingly strengthen ties with their English peer group.

Two child migrant boys, about 20 years old, who both came to England at the age of ten independently related the same story

to me. At one time one of them did not have much to do with Indian boys. He lived well within the primary area but went to a comprehensive school to the north of the area where he was one of very few Indian boys. As a result, he developed friendships with English boys at school. One incident stands out in his mind when he offered to play for an English football team. At the training session, some of the English boys tried to "get the blacks". He never played for them and, as he remembers it, from that time began to "mix more with Indian kids". His reference group of emulation refused to validate his status as a member of that group, so he switched to another reference group which did. He is now one of the leaders of a Punjabi peer group, with definite intentions of returning before long to India and the family farm.

The other made a similar identification with English boys at school and at work, adopting an English reference group of emulation. It took a visit to India to get married to cause him to reconsider his identity. In India, he was removed from his reference group of emulation and had his identity as a Punjabi, the son of his parents, strongly impressed on him by a group of validation - kin, in-laws and family friends in the village. He, too, is now the member of a Punjabi peer group, and has strong Indian nationalist sentiments. Another child migrant, now 23 years old, recalled that, when he started work in a local factory, he was the only Indian in the section and, but for the subsequent arrival of many other Indians, he can see that he might have "become an Englishman" as his younger brother seems to him to have done.

As child migrants, all three boys have a good command of Punjabi which they are unlikely ever to lose, but second

generation youths do not have so firm a grounding in the language. Fluency in Punjabi is a very clear index of the intensity of a second generation boy's relations with his family and a Punjabi peer group. Second generation boys have had crises of identity similar to those child migrants just mentioned. One of them won a scholarship to a grammar school in the city. There he was cut off from his Punjabi friends and began to lose his spoken Punjabi. At about the age of 12, his father died and, as he remembers it, he made a conscious effort to retain his fluency in Punjabi and re-establish his Punjabi identity; by seeing Indian films regularly, by playing football with a group of Punjabi boys, and by joining a Punjabi peer group. Another second generation boy has gone beyond the position where he can retain his Punjabi; his fluency has gone, but he has retained a strong link with other second generation Punjabis at school. He recently spent a five week holiday in India which has caused him to reconsider his identity and he is planning to return for another visit, if not for good. He is now in his final years at school. The trip to India and the comradeship of other Indians at school, even though he has lost his fluency in Punjabi, have redeemed him from 'becoming an Englishman.'

Another second generation boy is a member of an English peer group, has adopted it as a reference group of emulation and had his position validated by its members. He found himself invited to the 21st birthday party of the brother of one of his Punjabi friends, whom he met at the Technical College Badminton Club. Their parents do not know each other and are from widely different social backgrounds in India and

in England. A large proportion of the boys at the party were Punjabis from East Africa and, exceptionally for a party in a Punjabi house in Coventry, there were several girls at the party (again mostly from East Africa, the daughters of friends of the parents, who are themselves not East African, and sisters of the brothers' friends). There was no segregation of the sexes in different rooms in the house, though there was in social intercourse during the evening. After about two hours, the second generation boy made a move to leave; he was persuaded not to, but confided that the reason for his attempt was that the party and its atmosphere were too Indian, and he felt out of place and a stranger. By first generation Punjabi standards, the East Africans have gone a long way to becoming English, but in this situation a second generation Punjabi boy found that they were "too Indian" for him to feel at home.

There is, it seems, a point in the life of second generation Punjabi children which is something of a 'point of no return' in their adoption of an English identity. This may be in early teenage, though it probably varies with different individuals. The children of Punjabi parents are sent to English schools - in some cases specifically to schools where there are no other Indian boys so that they will have every chance of excelling at school and not run the risk of being 'pulled down' by Punjabi speakers. At home, they are encouraged to work hard and adopt some of the norms of their English colleagues, all in the cause of their education. The result of this may be that the child goes beyond his parents' expectations and "becomes an English boy" in his teenage years, neglecting his Punjabi language and adopting the code of social

behaviour of his English peers. The 'point of no return' is the stage of alienation from other Punjabi children that makes his presence with them an embarrassment to him and hence pushes him further into relationships with non-Punjabis.

This scheme is not so relevant the other way round, for those boys adopting Punjabi 'ingroup' identity. Going to school in England has equipped all second generation boys with the necessary skills to behave as Englishmen; if they choose to. They are not forced to remain in the 'ingroup' by the loss of these skills which would be necessary for social behaviour as a rebel, though there may be other pressures from the majority group denying validation to a rebel who has adopted them as a group of emulation.

In this discussion, and that about marriage (p.174above), visits to Punjab emerge as an important factor in establishing the second generation and early child migrant's identity. I have mentioned that some of the child migrants have returned to their villages to get married, and that the visits have served to reinforce and strengthen their links with their kin in the village. This is an important experience as it has repercussions on the individual's identity on his return to England. It is particularly important for those early child migrants who have not seen their villages since childhood, and for the second generation who have never seen them.

A visit to Punjab is to go 'home' to what the elder members of the family have always regarded as their home and to which they intend to return. It is probably also the place where money earned in England has been invested in land or buildings. The resources that the head of the family has been accumulating there are his provision for his sons' secure

future. I have yet to meet a young Punjabi not pleasantly impressed by the experience of a visit to his village. He meets those family members who have been only names to him in England. He is received lovingly and generously by them as one of the long lost sons of the family. Moreover, he enjoys very high status in the village as 'vlathi' (from abroad). He is the centre of attraction in the neighbourhood, particularly so if he is also an eligible bachelor intending to get married. The family in India becomes a very forceful reference group of validation, asserting the individual's position in the family and in the village, and dispersing any feeling of anomie that may have been felt in England.

A visit to Punjab has thus been a turning-point in the lives of several child migrant and second generation boys, who were identifying as English boys and adopting an English reference group. In one case, the father resorted to taking his son for a visit specifically to this end.

Another of the characteristics of the Punjabi peer groups that serve to prevent the adoption of English reference groups of emulation by their members, is the scornful attitude that the peer group members have towards the Punjabi boys who are members of English peer groups and who do not relate outside the family with other Punjabis, such as the boy at the 21st birthday party mentioned above.

Punjabi boys who play for English teams in the Saturday league appear to other Punjabis to be proclaiming their identification with the English. This is resented by the body of child migrants and second generation boys playing for Punjabi teams. Considerable pressure is brought to bear on such individuals to join in a Punjabi team - and a Punjabi peer

group. The criticisms that "he is trying to be like an English kid", "he goes round with English kids", "he thinks he is better than us" are extremely scathing, the most cutting of all criticisms. Few boys continue to suffer the pressure of other young Punjabis, whom they invariably meet in other fields - through family connections, at school, or at work - without succumbing to it and perhaps joining a peer group or playing for an Indian team. Those who do not are pushed by the same process further from the Punjabi peer groups and more towards English groups.

Some boys manage to survive in both Punjabi and English groups, though only when their membership of the English group does not appear to threaten their membership of the Punjabi group. Both English and Punjabi peer group activities take place at the same time, in the evenings and at week-ends. In effect, a boy can be a full member of only one group and a peripheral member of another, since he cannot always be in two places at once. Some Punjabi boys can with impunity be peripheral members of an English peer group while retaining their full membership of their Punjabi group, which usually means joining in an English peer group's activity which is not a group activity for their Punjabi peer group.

This is illustrated in the activity of football. There are no Punjabi teams in the local Sunday league. "Many of the Indian boys want to go to the cinema and the temple" so one footballer told me. Anyway, Sunday is the day on which all celebrations are held, weddings, birthday parties, sundry religious celebrations, and on which general visiting of friends and relatives, within and between towns, takes place. On the other hand, it gives those who do want to play football the chance of joining an English team. Many Punjabi boys feel

the obligation to play for their works' team in the Sunday leagues. Those who play for English teams on Sunday are recruited through players they have met in various situations, usually through work or peer group association. Playing for an English team on Sunday is no threat to the peer group or the Saturday league team so no sanctions are necessary.

In the Saturday league one second generation boy, Swaran, and one child migrant boy, Bharpur, play for an otherwise English team. Bharpur is an active member of a Punjabi peer group of long standing - some of whose members frequent a particular pub, play darts together, go together to watch City football matches, and go out together at week-ends. They do not play football together, though the other members of the group recognise that Bharpur likes to play. His playing for the English club is no threat to his membership of the peer group, or in their eyes an attempt to establish an English identity. Swaran is a member of an English peer group and identifies with its members. He considers himself English, not Punjabi. His playing with that team is seen by those Punjabi boys that know him as a major aspect of his general identification with the English for which they criticise him. He is widely acknowledged as a good player, so there is considerable effort to recruit him as a player for the tournament, but if he plays he does not stay with the team through the following winter.

The membership of Punjabi peer groups of most of the second generation and child migrants reinforces their identity as Punjabis, but the identification of peer groups within the Punjabi population is from the immigrant, not the 'home' situation. The groups are products of the circumstances of settlement, not

of villages of origin in Punjab. The partial concentration of some villagers in particular streets in the primary area results in their children belonging to the same groups. This is a result of living near each other, being school mates, and sharing common interests in the immigrant situation, though it may be backed up by village and kin ties between families. As we have seen, two areas of settlement in Coventry have locally-based football teams.

The child migrants and second generation are identified by their villages to the first generation, particularly in marriage (which, to date, is essentially a first generation family affair). A second generation boy and child migrant boy wrote a booklet 'An introduction to Sikhism' for the management of the Jat Gurudwara, which published it. On the cover the full names of the authors, that is including their 'got', were followed by their respective villages in brackets, but this identification is not general, being restricted usually to the more conservative first generation.

In the peer group activities of young people, village and family ties are, therefore, of little significance. The extent of the knowledge of peer group members' family and village by other members is often minimal, though they personally know each other very well. Some members know about the families of their peers because these peers are identified to their parents as the son of such a man, from such a village, now living in such a street. Individual identification between members of child migrant and second generation peer groups is not by family or village but by nick-name, peer group and place of residence in the city. Many boys have adopted an English nick-name by which they are known to their English work-mates

and neighbours, and by peer group members. A group that meets frequently in one bar, are known to each other as Curly, Pete, John, Shorty, Paul and Dave. These are the nearest English names to their Punjabi names, given them by English friends and adopted by their Punjabi friends. Married men are not distinguishable as peer group members from those who are not married, except that, in some cases, they withdraw from peer group activities to some extent after marriage. In general, they are as regular in attendance at group activities as the unmarried, and as they themselves were before marriage.

In the course of giving the Punjabis an identity and a reference group, the peer group itself also exerts pressures for conformity on any members who seek to assert an individuality outside the framework of the group's norms. It puts pressure for conformity on any member who tends to deviate. One of the most important is the sanction, already mentioned, of disapproval shown to any member who seeks to withdraw his membership in favour of an English group.

For example, peer group sanctions are influential in maintaining norms of sexual behaviour. Child migrant peer groups, whose members are in general committed to maintaining the pattern of relations they have been brought up to recognise, particularly in the mode in which they will find a wife, are yet permissive towards sexual exploits of their members with English and even 'bad' Indian women. Sexual conquests are one form of displaying masculinity to other peer group members. On the other hand, peer group members impose sanctions on any member who develops a 'steady' relationship that threatens to disrupt, or throw suspicion on, the group.

One member of a football team peer group has developed steady relations with an English girl, whom he says he would marry but for the very strong opposition of his parents. Evenings spent in his girl-friend's company have been at the expense of joining in peer group activities, and he has steadily withdrawn from it, though he still plays football. The other members of the group openly criticise and condemn his behaviour, as well as trying to persuade him that she is 'no good'. His persistence, and theirs, and his deepening attachment serve to isolate him even more from the group.

The intensity of interaction of the oldest child migrant peer groups, particularly those that meet nightly in their regular pub, precludes any members from maintaining a regular relationship secretly with an English girl, because the absence, particularly during the evenings of the week-end, would be so noticeable.

The one exclusively second generation peer group is more equivocal in its attitudes to members' romantic attachments. The members have internalised English values of the propriety of a steady relationship with a girl-friend, and the group does not exert pressure to disrupt such a relationship, because it does not feel threatened by it, or regard it, as do the child migrants, as somehow 'wrong'.

The peer group is also a sphere of redistribution of some goods held by individual members but, in terms of the net weekly income of the members, this is a very small proportion. The members of the under 25 year old peer groups all maintain their strongest financial attachment to their families (as mentioned in the chapter: Family and Marriage).

The main resource available to peer group members to spend in peer group activities is pocket money, which has either been retained from the wage packet before handing over the rest to the family, or has been given back by the head of the family specifically as spending money.

Peer group norms of generosity which serve to redistribute members' wealth within the group are seen clearly in the pubs. First generation norms in this context are maintained by child migrants and second generation groups alike. A man already in the pub buys the first drink for his friends as they arrive, after the customary modest protest by the recipient. The drinks are always returned later in the evening, or on another occasion. The overall result is frequently that everyone buys a round for everyone else. Disapproval falls on anyone who shirks his turn without good reason, and there are some good reasons. A member who has no cash at the time (a not uncommon fate of apprentices on very low wages) is not denied drinks by those with cash as they will make up the debt on a later date. However, anyone who is found to be shirking his obligation, or making too frequent demands, is correspondingly denied the credit. In general, it is recognised that those who command smaller resources, such as apprentices and, now traditionally, students, are not in any position to carry their full proportion of peer group costs and the better-off members are correspondingly more generous.

In one English peer group there are two second generation Punjabi boys, both apprentices and very close friends, having gone through school together and living near each other. On

one evening late in the week they were sitting penniless in their local with some other members of the group. One of them was with a clique which had some money and whose members were buying drinks for him. The other, sitting with the penniless clique, did not ask for a drink from his friend through the evening, but towards closing time he did ask for a cigarette (an equally precious commodity, and in correspondingly short supply) and was given one. "He's my mate, and I didn't ask him for a drink when he knew that I wanted one, so he had to give me a cigarette. He couldn't let a mate down".

The sharing out of available resources is one aspect of the mutual assistance exchanged within the peer groups, in many spheres of day to day life. Peer group members are birds of a feather. They all face common problems of reconciling their Punjabi upbringing with their lives as members of society in England. Individuals can find considerable relief and assistance in discussing their problems with friends who understand them and have to face similar ones themselves. Peer group members support each other in their difficulties with their parents, particularly in justifying the freedom they want in order to enjoy the social facilities of the city, and in countering parents' fears that they are not behaving appropriately as Punjabi boys.

Mutual help is also given in more specialised fields and material ways. The apprentice mechanics, panel-beaters and sprayers are frequently obliged to help their friends with their cars, electricians with domestic appliances, and television engineers with television sets. One child migrant,

now a labourer, uses a second generation technician apprentice to write his romantic correspondence for him to a girl who lives elsewhere, as he does not feel himself sufficiently articulate in English. The apprentice plays football in the team of which this man is one of the leaders, and benefits from the protection he is afforded on and, if necessary, off the field.

These characteristics of the peer groups, and particularly the transactional aspects serve to reinforce the groups that meet in the many spheres of peer group activity.

Peer groups - by community and generation

I have not yet made any clear differentiation of peer groups by generation. The pattern of relationships within peer groups of all generations is generally the same. The main structural difference is that the peer groups of the first generation are restricted in their spheres of activity to the works, the pubs and the Gurudwaras. The activities of the younger people are much more diverse, and, therefore, the choice of alternative patterns of association are much wider. Before describing in greater detail the differences between the child migrant and second generation peer groups, I shall deal in brief with the 'communal' composition of peer groups.

I have paid particular attention in my fieldwork only to Punjabi Jat peer groups, and English peer groups which include second generation Punjabis. In general, the Pakistanis and Gujaratis are not members of these groups, though there are some exceptions to this in the newer cliques and peer groups of early child migrants and second generation boys. In these cases, the non-Punjabis have been recruited

through school. In one group, which makes up part of the I.Y.C. team, there are two or three Gujaratis and a West Indian.

The East African Punjabis are not members of the Punjabi peer groups. They interact with each other in almost exclusively East African peer groups. As I have noted, there is an underlying disdain of East Africans by the Punjabis, and vice versa. There is one child migrant Punjabi in an East African peer group, but he is not from Doaba, and has never lived in a village. His father was professionally employed in a city in India before migration. This family conforms much more to the English middle class cultural norms than most Punjabi families, in the same way as do the East Africans.

Formal attempts to create 'Indian' organisations for young people from all parts of India have not been successful. As I shall show below, the I.W.As. in the city are exclusively Punjabi, and even at that have failed to attract the young people. ⁴ Jai Hind too was and still is exclusively Punjabi. The Indian and Commonwealth Club has in the past been patronised by Punjabis, but only as a pub, and at the time of writing, all but a few of them have left it for other pubs. Two other formal attempts have been made to attract young Indians.

The Sombrero Club was the idea of a group of students, who worked together at a technical college in the city, and some of their friends. The group, composed eventually of about 20 boys and 10 girls, included Punjabis, East Africans, Muslims (i.e. children of Pakistani parents), and Gujaratis. The Club held together for about a year and then disintegrated, though not directly as a result of its mixed composition (See below).

'Navrang' is a drama group organised by a second generation and a child migrant Punjabi, who both attend drama classes at the local technical college. They recruited other interested young Punjabis and Gujaratis to the society, through personal links, and produced a Hindi play - specifically because it would have wide appeal. The play was first performed at a Gujarati cultural evening in a neighbouring town. In return, the Gujarati dancing and singing group from that town made up the supporting bill of Navrang's performance one Saturday evening in the theatre of the technical college in Coventry. The audience of about 150 consisted of a few family groups, both Punjabi and Gujarati, and a large proportion of Punjabi men and boys from the peer groups of participants in the show. Members of a well-established peer group of young East African Punjabis who were there were clearly segregated from the more numerous Punjabis, as were all unrelated unmarried men and women.

The Navrang leadership hoped that the evening's entertainment would get them well known and respected in the city, raise some funds and help recruiting. The programme consisted of the performance of the Hindi play, the Gujarati dancing team and a show by "the best Bhangra³ group in the United Kingdom" from Birmingham. From the point of view of the organisers, the play was the central item, the Bhangra was there to draw a large Punjabi audience, and the Gujarati Garba dancing to support the other two, to give girls a place in the show, with an eye to recruitment, and show the diversity of Navrang's interest; that they were not exclusively Punjabi. As it happened, the Punjabis who came, particularly to see the

Bhangra, were disappointed by the failure of the Bhangra group to arrive in time to prepare themselves for their performance. After some procrastination, it was announced that they would not be performing. The Punjabi (as opposed to Hindi) songs that the audience demanded from those filling in time were no substitute. The evening ended with the Punjabis disgruntled that they had been let down, and Navrang disillusioned as to how receptive the Indian public was to the idea of an Indian cultural expression, as opposed to an exclusively Punjabi one. One of the Navrang leaders told me later "It showed that the public is not ready for it yet". The evening paid for itself, so that members of the society were not out of pocket, but it remains to be seen whether Navrang will survive, at least as a mixed Indian group as opposed to an all-male Punjabi one.

Except in the range of their activities, the peer groups of different generations are structurally similar. Culturally, they are very different. The second generation and child migrants who have had the greater part of their education in England follow English cultural norms closely, in clothes, hairstyles, language, and in some of their interests, while still retaining loyalty to a distinctively Punjabi peer group. Their activities as a group show their greater internalisation of English cultural norms than the first generation or late child migrants. They tend not to frequent the public bars of the 'scruffy pubs', but to prefer the lounges of the 'decent' ones in the centre and other areas of the city. They see English films as much or more frequently than Indian films; they listen to, and enjoy, English 'pop' music, as well as,

or in preference to Indian music, and in general partake of the current English 'pop' culture. They visit the discotheques and dance halls around the city as opposed to contenting themselves with darts and dominoes in their 'regular' in the evenings.

Their visits to discotheques and dance halls reflect the acquisition of a skill which marks them off clearly from the late child migrants and the first generation. This is their ability to cope with the situation that involves interaction with English girls. The Punjabi code of morals and behaviour offers two alternative modes of behaviour for unrelated girls and women with whom the young Punjabi may have contact. In deference to an unmarried daughter of a friend or relative's friend the appropriate behaviour is respect and complete avoidance; respect but less avoidance to a woman married to a friend. The alternative, appropriate to an unrelated girl who is so 'unashamed' as to have contact with a man in her own right (i.e. not as her father's daughter, or her husband's wife) is familiarity and exploitation to whatever degree is practicable. The converse of this, as mentioned in Chapter 5, is that those boys who share this code are very solicitous of their sisters' well-being and will strongly support their parents in forbidding their sister to go out unaccompanied, particularly in the evening. Young men will behave discreetly towards any girl they see as a potential wife, a 'good' girl, but any girl who is unaccompanied in a situation where she may meet men is almost by definition 'bad'; a 'good' girl could never be in that

situation. This code is internalised by most of the late child migrants, and though the early child migrants and second generation acknowledge it in the presence of their elders, they have internalised the English code in which respectful, yet friendly behaviour is appropriate to unrelated girls with whom they come into contact as individuals.

The conflict of these two codes of behaviour often causes the second generation some embarrassment in situations where they themselves behave with a degree of respect and familiarity towards English girls, potential girl-friends, as is appropriate in the English code, and are upset by their first generation friends who cannot cope with the situation, offend the girls and frustrate their friends with too much familiarity. The latter are unable to distinguish the conventions that dictate where familiarity becomes rudeness. This is a cultural difference between the generations, but one which has structural implications, as it opens to the second generation a pattern of association with English girls. At the same time, it gives them a common complaint at what they see as the hamfistedness and tactlessness of the first generation, whom they tend to exclude from such evenings out. Second generation boys specifically avoid taking their first generation friends to discotheques, etc., where they know they will not behave 'properly'.

Both the Sombrero Club and Navrang have been troubled by this clash of values. Navrang's attempts to recruit some girls interested in acting have been met with limited success. They had an East African girl living in Coventry to play their leading lady role, but family pressure caused her to drop out.

She was replaced by a Gujarati girl from a neighbouring town (which accounts partly for Navrang's links with the Gujaratis in that town and the reciprocal performance). Navrang's problem is to break a vicious circle. No Indian will allow his daughters to participate in such activity because he is suspicious of it; and he knows that no other Indian allows his daughter to join it. If a few people had the confidence in the society and those running it to allow their daughters and sisters to join it, they would, by their presence, proclaim its respectability to others. The Navrang production was geared to attract recruits, particularly girls, and break the vicious circle, but the cat calls and barracking by the first generation and late child migrant Punjabis in the audience must have served only to reinforce the fears of first generation parents.

The Sombrero Club was also beset by this problem of a clash of moral and behavioural codes. The young people involved were fully aware of the problems they faced in setting up a club which would include both boys and girls. To counter the inevitable objections from parents, they went out of their way to explain to parents what they were doing. They persuaded the local Bishop's Chaplain for community relations, a very well-known and highly-respected figure by Indians, in the city, to accept an honorary position as President of the club, and further used the Cathedral Youth Club premises, as guarantees of respectability. Among the club's activities, which involved meeting one night a week, drinking coffee, listening to records, etc., were several day-outings, and periodic committee meetings. There were some problems with the girl members. A Punjabi father

visited the club one day and saw his daughter dancing. Neither she nor her sister came to the club again. On another occasion, one of the girls was late home from a committee meeting in one of the member's houses. She could not come to the club again.

Within a year, the committee of the club felt the situation to be slipping, so they attempted to redeem it by organising a meeting for parents in which they attempted to explain themselves. The Chaplain and the local Community Relations Officer also spoke in support of the club - to no avail. The club continued to exist, but activities were finally brought to a close by the arrival of some of the child migrant boys who had heard of the club, and who, at least, in the eyes of the original club members, came with the wrong motives - to meet unrelated girls out alone. These were the people who would fulfil the worst fears of the girls' parents. The club committee's attempt to exclude them brought the committee into some conflict with their sponsors who, as non-partisan, city-wide figures, were loath to condone the members denying access to the club and its facilities to anyone. There was no resolution to this problem and the club ceased to exist.

A note is in order at the end of this section about the extent of relations between unrelated boys and girls. Over recent years, there has been a change in the prestige of the English girl-friend. When there were very few Punjabi girls in the city, and even fewer allowed the liberty of attending colleges or going out to work, the English girls had no competitors for the attentions of Punjabi boys. Now that unmarried Punjabi girls at work and at college are commonplace,

the prestige and attraction of English girls have fallen, and that of Punjabis have risen accordingly. The sanctions against a boy suspected of meeting Indian girls are very strong, because his family will be involved with that of the girl's if the friendship comes to light. The sanctions against the girl are extreme because the family honour depends on her reputation. Though vehemently denied by almost all concerned, a large proportion of the second generation and child migrant boys above the age of about 17 maintain some sort of relationship with Indian girls. At school, as classmates, these are comparatively relaxed and generally acceptable. Otherwise, friendships are maintained under conditions of the strictest secrecy, which results in snatched meetings at inconvenient times in uncongenial places. 'College', as so frequently in Hindi films, is very often the only place that a couple can pass some time together. These friendly relations are with 'good' girls; those with 'bad' girls do not need to be kept so secret, nor are they so highly valued in themselves by the men. In all this, both parties are usually fully aware of their helplessness to attempt to gain any say in the ultimate selection of their spouse, and so have no illusion about the future of such friendships. It is conventional that when the girl is engaged and married the friendship ceases forthwith.

Conclusion

With a few second generation and a few very 'orthodox' exceptions, the young Punjabis in Coventry are all members of Punjabi peer groups, which work with family and kinship links to keep them within the Punjabi 'community'. This is approved by the first generation parents, who strongly disapprove of what they conceive of as the English way of life for their children;

but it is disapproved of by much of English society as showing that "they don't want to integrate", "they keep to themselves".

Peer group activities and relationships add another dimension of links, by which Punjabis meet other Punjabis from all over the city, to add to the network of kinship, factory and neighbourhood links. Through the composite network of these links it has been possible for any young Punjabi to 'fix' in a social position almost every other in the city by kinship, factory, neighbourhood or peer group links, or a mixture of all.

This comprehensive network is now being undermined by two factors demonstrated in the peer group situation. Firstly, those second generation boys, who restrict to a minimum their interaction with kin outside their immediate family, have not adopted an Indian reference group, belong to English peer groups and, hence, have little contact with other Indian boys at work or in the neighbourhood, are escaping from this network in that they have few links with people in it. Members of the total network, the 'community', are unknown to them, and they are correspondingly unknown to the 'community'. However, Punjabi peer groups form one alternative of association outside the family which have made such cases the exception rather than the rule. Further, as we have seen, they put pressure on those boys who deviate to return to the fold - though this pressure may also push them much further away.

Secondly, the population is becoming dispersed so that young people are growing up outside the primary area, at opposite extremes of the city, going to different schools

and forming unrelated peer groups. There is a partial dispersion of Punjabi settlement, the fraying at the edges of the compact Indian settlement. A situation is developing where the very existence of some Punjabis is completely unknown to others, even though they both relate as Punjabis within the family and in peer groups. With the disappearance of an Indian settlement clearly identifiable on the ground, go the primary area neighbourhood links of nearly all Punjabis that, at one time, involved common schools and common recreation facilities for the young people. In this situation, the formation of peer groups in different areas outside the primary area of settlement remains one way in which second generation migrants can continue to give expression to their Punjabi identity and in which, as members of peer groups in competition for common goals, they are brought into contact with members of other peer groups in the city.

Footnotes to Chapter 7

1. See Chapter 4, Footnote 4.
2. Udham Singh is the most notable of India's militant nationalists to have distinguished himself in England. In March, 1940, he assassinated Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of Punjab at the time of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, 1919. O'Dwyer had supported the actions of Col. R. E. H. Dyer and his men at Jallianwala Bagh. Udham Singh shot O'Dwyer at Caxton Hall, London, during a meeting of the East India Association and Royal Central Asian Society. He was arrested on the spot, tried and hanged in Leicester Prison later in 1940.
3. Bhangra is a Punjabi folk-dance that characterises village celebrations in Punjab, particularly after the harvest. In the immigrant situation, it is a symbol of Punjabi village society, and a restatement of Punjabi identity.
4. Jai Hind is a young political party in Coventry, I shall consider it in detail in chapter 8.

Chapter 8

JAI HIND - POLITICS BY AGEIntroduction

In this chapter, I shall give an analysis of a political party in Coventry, founded in the winter of 1967-68, and composed exclusively of young Punjabis, mostly below the age of 25 and all below the age of 30. My aim in this analysis is two-fold. Firstly, I want to show the way in which the 17-25 year old cohort articulates its political sentiments, and to establish whether there is any differentiation by generation within this single major political movement involving young Punjabis in the city. Secondly, I want to compare this party with the other well-established Punjabi political groups in Coventry and elsewhere in England, to establish whether this new face in the political picture is structurally different from those organisations that have preceded it, or whether it is established on the same structural pattern.

To make this comparative analysis, I shall begin by considering the characteristic structure of small scale political groupings in Punjab, village factions - not political parties. A consideration of some of the studies of these factions involves the definition and clarification of certain terms used in the political context, besides giving a background to Indian Workers' Association (I.W.A.) politics in England. This will lead

to a consideration of I.W.As. established in England. For material, I shall rely heavily on John's work (1969), and to an extent on my own observation in Coventry. I shall deal at some length with the patterns of political activity established by the I.W.As. to give a clear picture of the political situation in which the new party appeared. In the case study I will outline the constitution and origin of the new party, going on to give a full account of a dispute involving the showing of Hindi and Punjabi films, in which the new party was involved with two of the I.W.As. in the city. I will consider some of the implications of the dispute for the structure of the party, and outline the changes that have taken place in it since the dispute has been dropped. I will conclude the chapter by comparing the structural pattern of the new party with that established by the I.W.As.

Structure of local political groupings in the villages of Punjab

Available sources for a study of the patterns and nature of factional alliances in the villages of Punjab are very scarce. John lists five authorities in his comparison of politics in Punjabi villages with those in I.W.As. in Britain. Of those five, two are based on field material from the new Indian state of Punjab (Izmerlain, 1964; Leaf, 1966), one on material from Haryana (Morrison, 1965), and one on material from a village near Meerut in U.P. (Pradhan, 1966); (John, 1969:94). The three studies of Punjab are unpublished Ph.D. theses in America; the two studies available to me are based on data from outside Punjab. From these works¹, one can try to distinguish the different types of factional alliance that exist in villages

in India as models with which to compare the political groupings of Indian villagers in England.

There is an initial problem of definition. Writers have used the words 'faction' and 'party' freely without a common definition. This leads to confusion with the same word used for different things and vice versa. The major point of difference is the permanence or transience of factions. Some writers defining factions as temporary, transient groupings, others as more permanent, long term alliances. Pocock (1957) is of the former school; he gives a faction three characteristics. It implies "a part of a whole in a special sense"; it is not a permanent group, but is relevant to particular circumstances; and membership is determined by the precise circumstances of the faction's occurrence. Mayer (1957) defines a faction in a similar way as a group recruited over one or more disputes, a temporary association not to be confused with groups formed on some other basis. Like kinship, which may also involve themselves in disputes. Beal's (1959) also sees factions as temporary groupings.

"As the ties which hold a particular faction together are extremely loose it could be said that a faction exists for a particular dispute and that its membership changes as the dispute changes" (1959:433).

To avoid confusion, John does not use the word 'faction'. He uses the concept of faction as Mayer and Pocock define it, but labels it 'paRTi', the word that the Punjabis themselves use (John, 1969:95-6). PaRTi is derived from the English 'party' but assumes a particular meaning in this context.

I follow John in this usage.

Beals also draws attention to smaller more permanent groupings.

"Underlying the factional structure of social relationships in the village are a series of more stable familial and clique groups" (1959:433).

John (1969:97) suggests it is to these components of larger less permanent groupings that Nicolas (1965:45-6) refers as factions.

The 'temporary association' factions are then made up of small groups of two or three people who are linked closely, almost permanently, by ties of kinship, friendship or interdependence. They are more permanent than the parties recruited over particular issues which such groups come together to form.

Lewis (1958) refers by factions to large, more permanent groups, based primarily on kinship ties.

(Factions) "are not political groupings, or temporary alliances of individuals to fight court cases, although some of them do take on political functions ... Rather they are primarily kinship groupings which carry on important social, economic and ceremonial functions in addition to their factional struggles against one another. It is these positive functions which account for the remarkable stability of the groups over the years".

(Lewis, 1958:147).

Lewis's study of factions that run very largely on kinship lines would have been more helpful if he had considered separately the activities and working of the kinship groups and lineages, as opposed to the factions, if there were any

differences between them. The activities of the factions and their exclusive memberships suggest they may be the effective kinship groupings of the village. Informants "tend to equate their factions with their kinship group, even when they are aware that the two may not entirely coincide". The factions are composed of lineages with very few exceptions. There are only four cases of third cousins in different factions, only one of first cousins and none of brothers. Lewis lists the operation of factions as "more or less cohesive units on ceremonial occasions": "in court litigation; in the operation of traditional caste panchayats; and in recent years in district board, state and national elections". They act as units in co-operative, economic undertakings and in quarrels over land. The members of hostile factions do not attend each other's ceremonial celebrations, will not visit each other's homes and, as a rule, will not smoke the hookah together. The relationship of the factions to the landholding economy of the village is such that only one of the six factions will rent out land to members of another faction. Renting out land brings high status, but one evidently allows one's own faction members to benefit rather than the members of any others. In mortgaging land, faction solidarity is even more striking, "there has not been a single case in the last five years of land mortgaged outside one's own faction" (Lewis, 1958:122).

It seems that factions have completely usurped the position of clans and maximal lineages. In those cases where kinship clashes with factional allegiance, which seems primarily in maximal lineages being associated together in the same faction, it seems as if social kinship is replacing biological kinship.

However, Pocock takes Lewis to task for giving factions

such permanence, and further points out that he misinterprets his own evidence in saying that, 12 years ago, two and a half of the present day factions formed one faction for eight years; but even this seems to document more permanence than he or Mayer would give to a 'faction'.

It is difficult to see the relationship between the paRTi and the kin based faction that Lewis documents for village Rampur. They may be groupings of a different nature, or the factions of Rampur may be particularly persistent paRTis. I see them as groupings of a different nature clearly documented in different situations because of the different orientation of the individual anthropologists. It is only in Pradhan's work that the two are clearly documented together.

Pradhan classifies two types of faction in the Meerut villages. "The first is based on kinship and is closely related to the lineage groups of varying depth spans." (1966:213). This is very similar to the factions to which Lewis refers. "In the second, kinship does not play an important part, its place being taken by personal interests". "An individual may belong to a faction whose members come from allied castes or different villages, or perhaps from other thoks²" (1966:213). Unfortunately, Pradhan says nothing of the relative permanence of these two types, but he does say that the kin based factions are the more important of the two, because more of a man's transactions are with kin and along kin links, and a man's relationship with non-kin are, therefore, less important.

Although Pradhan maintains that the kin based factions are the more significant of the two types in Shoron, he also gives evidence to suggest that factions recruited on other criteria are gaining strength. This has resulted from the intrusion

of new economic factors into the village. The economic changes, the prosperity of cash crop farming and the continued search for more prosperity "has brought about a new form of economic grouping". Groups have formed for economic enterprise on other bases than lineage affiliation. Families of different thoks, castes and religion may form a group owning common machinery and working it jointly. These new economic partnerships may become the bases of cliques and factions at the village level. Pradhan gives no evidence to suggest whether they will emerge as another, third type of grouping, distinct from both the kin based factions and from the transient paRTis.

In the light of these studies we can postulate a classification of three types of political groupings found in the villages of north-west India: the large kin based factions, as documented by Lewis and Pradhan; the temporary factions or paRTi, made up of a number of small permanent cliques allying with each other in different ways, as the needs of each issue dictate; and the smaller units of household groups, minimal lineages, individuals and groups of friends which themselves are more permanent than the paRTis, perhaps less permanent than the kin based factions, but which are the units that make up the paRTis and kin based factions by different criteria of recruitment.

If groups of these types are general, then Lewis has failed to identify the transient groupings which we may expect to exist within and beside the largely kin based factions of Rampur. These he perhaps considered to be too transient to merit documentation, or in his large village they were contained within the larger, more permanent factional groupings, and so

eluded detection.

It is particularly groupings of the paRTi kind that sociologists, studying Indians settled abroad, have found emerging, with the absence of consolidated lineages in the immigrant situation. It is groups of this kind that Mayer documents among the Fiji Indians and that jostle for control of sugar plantation gangs, the school management committee, the Settlement Association and the Panchayat Council of the village. (Mayer, 1961:Chap.5). Again it is groups of this type that John defines as paRTis in India, and which he finds repeating themselves in I.W.A. politics in England (John,1969:106).

Patterns of I.W.A. politics in England

In his section on the 'patterns of conflict in Indian villages' (1969:94), John distinguishes four bases of recruitment to paRTis in rural Punjab: kinship, economic interdependence, friendship and obligation in return for favours done. Close kinship often implies common membership of the same paRTi - particularly when kin live together in one household. It is common, on the other hand, to find opposing sections of a lineage in opposing paRTis, as the result of a disputed inheritance - usually land. The so-called Jajmani system results in the economic interdependence of individuals of different 'jati' within the village. These economic ties may be exploited to recruit members of a paRTi. The tie of friendship may subsume many aspects that might be classified otherwise, by kin links or economic links, but it includes cliques of men who for some reason, possibly from school or college days together, have maintained close links with each other, and act together

in the political field. The obligation that villagers have towards each other are the result of favours done by one influential man for those who do not have such influence, say with the bureaucracy; local government administration, or the police. The particular platforms and policies presented by the paRTi leader, or the nature of the dispute over which the paRTi is recruited, may not be crucial in the way the individuals line up against each other in paRTis, except of course when the interests of individuals directly conflict.

PaRTis arise from a broad variety of circumstances, some overtly political like elections, others clearly apolitical, like assault, disputed boundaries, or rivalry in organising the celebration of a festival.

The four bases of recruitment continue in I.W.A. politics in England - and the recruitment of paRTis outside the arena of the I.W.A. - kinship, economic interdependence, friendship and obligations. The distinction between economic interdependence (in the sense of the Jajmani system of the village) and obligations becomes blurred in the immigrant situation. There is no re-creation of the Jajmani system in England, but some of those who were linked in the system in India may continue to relate in ways that link them together. The Jats of a village have often been the first members of the village to come to England, and then have helped to sponsor other villagers, usually their clients if not their family, and so have transferred a Jajmani link in the village to an obligation of return for favours done in England. In Coventry the early arrivals from particular villages have been active in sponsoring and assisting others from the village, not all of their own 'jati' (sub-caste)

to come to England. The acceptance of assistance in migration changes the earlier tie of interdependence - which may continue to exist in the village - to one of obligation to the sponsor in England. The assistance of 'social workers' (brokers)³ which many of the illiterate immigrants needed in overcoming the problems of filling income tax returns, writing letters home, and visiting the doctor, bank, post office or estate agent changed the context of favours done in the village, but the obligation incurred remained the same. Even literate and educated men often indebted themselves to others to fulfil their immediate needs of employment and accommodation.

The early experiences of men in the immigrant situation often served to forge a strong link of friendship between men who by chance found themselves facing the same strange situations together. Such a strong link of friendship - that has in the past served to recruit to a paRTi - exists between two men in Coventry who found themselves both destined for the city when they boarded ship in Bombay. After five years, the younger of the two still regards the elder as the closest of his friends in the city. He has given the older man the place of an eldest brother, so that he is not only his closest friend, but also his most respected adviser.

Ties of kinship continue to be criteria of recruitment, though the intensity of relations between kin may be weakened in England where married brothers often do not live together and where there is no farm or property on which they work together, or over the division of which they may quarrel.

John considers the major difference between paRTis in

India and I.W.A. groups in Britain to be the amount at stake in their struggles with each other. He contrasts the very real fruits of victory in India - influence in the control of various scarce resources locally, and even access to public funds - to fruits of struggles in the I.W.As. which were nearly all in terms of prestige, for there was little else at stake.

In discussing the I.W.As., John draws a distinction between the situation that existed in the early days of the settlement and which continued until quite recently, and that which exists now.

"In the last year or two there have been signs that the monopolising position of the I.W.A. is weakening. New organisations have been formed; some Punjabis have won positions of prominence in British organisations, and the I.W.As. in most towns have split irrevocably" (John, 1969:47).

Though much of the description and analysis of the earlier years of the I.W.As. still holds true, I shall follow John in using the past tense in the section of this chapter in which I describe the features of the I.W.As. as they were until about 1966.

The activities of the I.W.As., and the paRTis that jostled for power within them, reflected the activities of similar groups in India. As we have seen the exact context of doing favours changed from the village to the immigrant situation, but the brokerage was of the same nature, and created for the client the same obligations to support his broker in paRTi struggles. The role of broker was the most characteristic role of the early I.W.A. and paRTi leaders. The advice and assistance of the

type they were able to give was in strong demand. To have a reputation as a broker meant that men would, of themselves, approach the broker as their needs arose, and so relieve him of much of the effort of overt recruitment. Return for the services of a broker was: sometimes in the form of cash, as a 'present' for his trouble, but more generally the favour marked a stage in a moral relationship in which part of the return at least was support in his party, of the broker as a politician. This pattern is particularly clear in Coventry where the two longest established I.W.A. politicians still continue their brokerage services.

John is concerned only with parties in England in the arena of I.W.A. politics, but these parties in I.W.A. politics are only a few of the parties that developed from many spheres of day to day life, between opposing parties in villages in India both represented in England, between opposing lineage factions represented in England, and between parties to disputes that have arisen in England on the factory floor or in the pubs. (See Chapter 5 p.148). Parties have no formal organisation and most of them never control the formal offices of any society. However, the parties in competition for control of an I.W.A. branch did invest themselves with the formal offices of the I.W.A. when they were successful.

Individual party leaders spent a good deal of time in brokers' work for other immigrants and in the struggle to gain office, but once they held office there were other activities besides these. Like the parties in India it has long been the custom in England for the I.W.A. executive to organise the celebration of Indian holidays. In Coventry, this has been

the national Indian holidays - Independence Day and Republic Day, and the birthdays and anniversaries of political figures - rather than religious holidays which have been left to the Gurudwaras.

A second activity of the local I.W.A. was to show Hindi and Punjabi films at the week-ends by arrangement with one of the local cinemas. John points out the usefulness of the cinema as a rendez-vous where the social worker/politicians were always on hand if anyone wanted them. I was first introduced to one of the leading politicians in Coventry at the cinema on a Sunday afternoon, by a friend whom I had asked to arrange the introduction and who knew that the politician would be at the cinema at that time.

Another important I.W.A. activity was representing the Punjabi 'community' in dealings with the leaders of the local British community. The I.W.A. invited local dignitaries on to its platform on different occasions, and its leaders were on occasions similarly honoured by local committees. The police and social welfare agencies often consulted the I.W.A. leaders about the mores of the Punjabi immigrants, and about the provision of interpreters as particular problems arose. The appearance of local English dignitaries on I.W.A. platforms with particular leaders served more to boost the leaders' prestige among the immigrants than to establish any link that could be used to redress grievances or 'promote integration' generally.

Gurnam Singh, one of the two most prominent I.W.A. politicians in Coventry, has developed an alliance with a local Labour M.P., from which the politician derives considerable

prestige as an expert in handling affairs with prominent members of English society. He refers legal cases to the local M.P.'s. firm of Solicitors, and the M.P. sits on the platform and speaks at the meetings organised by the I.W.A. of which Gurnam is president. The link between these two was demonstrated in the course of the cinema dispute. I.W.A. leaders have not enjoyed a reputation for being particularly active or successful in fighting for causes on behalf of their members. John says he knows of no case where the I.W.A. was involved in the various campaigns to get local bus companies to recruit turbaned crews (1969:90), but one of the prominent politicians in Coventry, an I.W.A. President, is given credit by the Punjabi bus crews in the city for his part in a campaign to get the Corporation to employ Indians at all on the buses.

The fourth important I.W.A. activity, a very specific campaign that was ultimately successful, was the demand made over several years that the Indians who held forged passports (many of them apparently unwittingly) should be issued with valid ones by the High Commission. The success of the 1956-1960 campaign gave particular prestige to the various I.W.As.

John argues that the most important latent function of the I.W.As. was the unity and cohesion they added to the Punjabi communities, in that most influential Punjabis took part in competition for office and "the I.W.As. became symbols that united the local Punjabi communities" (1969:89). Though different parties were in competition with each other, they were united in competing for the common goal of leadership of the I.W.A., which formally represented the local community. It was the breakdown of the unity in I.W.A. organisation in each locality

that John considers one of the significant facts in the development of the new situation in Punjabi politics in England which exists today.

The Indian Workers' Association 1966 - 1969

John lists four factors that have changed the immigrant situation since 1966.

"(1) the immigrant settlements are becoming permanent communities composed largely of families; (2) individual immigrants are learning how to get along in daily life without their comrades' help; (3) the Punjabi communities are becoming differentiated along caste, religious, class, and educational lines; (4) the immigrants are increasingly aware of their low status in British Society." (1969:110).

1. The majority of first generation immigrants in Coventry would deny that they came to settle permanently in England, though there are some who admit that, although it was not their original intention, they see they are unlikely to return. Looking objectively, the settlement has already become a permanent one composed mostly of families, even though many of the individual families now living in the city may fulfil their ambition and return "home". The establishment of nuclear and extended family households has meant that a man's time outside working hours is increasingly occupied by family matters, and he does not have the time, nor possibly the inclination, to associate so closely with his colleagues or to involve himself in 'politicking' in the I.W.A. arena as he may have done before his family joined him. Others who have reconciled themselves to at least a lengthy stay in England have become disillusioned with I.W.A. politics, and consider the mainstream of English politics to be of more relevance

to their lives than disputes in the I.W.A.

2. Competence in dealing with bureaucracy in Britain is born either of residence for several years, or of education (in England or India). Many of the immigrants who arrived in the 1950s have learned enough English or have children here old enough to help them and their wives to do simple tasks, by filling up forms, reading and writing letters in English, interpreting on shopping expeditions and using the telephone. Since the introduction of immigration restrictions in 1962, the majority of immigrants have been university graduates who can find their feet without the help of brokers. On the other hand, the need for help in more complex transactions is increasing. More immigrants are buying houses, cars and insurance, in which they need the help of people who can offer expert advice. The effect of the fall in demand for simple favours has been to cause some of the old brokers to stop acting as such, or at least be much less active. Others have left their factory jobs and set up as businessmen to meet the demand for expert knowledge necessary in the more sophisticated transactions. In Coventry the brokers who have gone into business are mostly insurance agents. None of them has become a shopkeeper.

Not all those who have gone into business in recent years are necessarily aspiring politicians or brokers 'in the making'. The increase in the number of Punjabis living in the city has created a demand for services, so that many people have been able to set up in various businesses, some of them listed on pp. 135

"Most of the social workers (brokers) who have gone into business have become insurance agents, managers of film shows run for profit ..." Some men "have combined the

roles of businessmen, social worker, and I.W.A. politician. Insurance agents are especially good positions to combine all three activities .. it is only a short step from being a social worker to selling insurance. Much of an insurance agent's time is taken up filling in forms and acting as an interpreter between an immigrant and English officials. Agents also write letters in English, prepare income tax returns and give legal advice - all for a small fee or for the implicit promise that some life insurance will be bought" (John, 1969:116).

An insurance agency also allows the agent to take on the job gradually. Part-time agents can continue working in a factory at least until they are well established. It is again to be emphasised that not all insurance agents are politicians. One large American Insurance Company has eight full-time Punjabi agents in the city. In total, there must be at least sixteen full-time agents and many times that number of part-time agents.

3. "The pre-eminence of the I.W.As. (in Punjabi politics in England) is explained by two other factors: the homogeneity of the Punjabi communities and the policy of the communists towards the I.W.As." (John, 1969:121). The policy of the communists until recent years was to work within the I.W.A. structure, competing for the same goals of leadership as the non-communists. The homogeneity of the Punjabi communities resulted from nearly all the immigrants being Jat farmers from Doaba in Punjab, many of them illiterate and living in close proximity to one another, in similar employment in England and with common goals to save money and return home. These Punjabi 'communities' have been

joined by Jats, and particularly Ram Gharria Sikhs from East Africa. The East Africans have not, in general, joined in the competition for office in the I.W.As., but have regarded them rather disdainfully as arenas of Indian village politics in England. Numbers of members of other Punjabi castes have grown sufficiently in some towns to precipitate their withdrawal from the I.W.A. with its 'Jat domination', to form new associations. In Coventry, there are religious societies for Hindu and Ram Gharria immigrants and a Ram Das Association for scheduled caste immigrants, but these are essentially religious and not political or 'social' associations.

Perhaps the two most significant factors in the decline of the pre-eminence of united I.W.A. branches are the attitudes of the more-recently arrived graduate immigrants and the communists. The I.W.A. has always been the political arena of villager immigrants. John says that the graduates and otherwise educated immigrants have not joined in the I.W.A. activities, firstly, because the I.W.As. are controlled by established politicians whom they have been unable to displace, secondly, because, to become a powerful man, "one must put in a good deal of time making friends and doing favours" (1969:124), which the graduates have not had time to do, and, thirdly, because they have a disdainful regard for the politicians, many of whom they regard as rather uncouth and uneducated. The frustration of the graduates, who may have expected good white-collar jobs and been disappointed, has not led them to seek redress through the I.W.As. They do not see that they are capable of helping in any way. Such men as the graduates may be driven by their own disillusion to the more radical movements related to 'Black Power', which are based on the grievances of coloured immigrants in their

failure to receive just treatment.

4. I would like to suggest that a movement in this direction is the likely result of the fourth factor affecting the change in I.W.A. politics, that the immigrants are increasingly aware of their low status in British society, and the graduates are likely to be the first to become aware of their low status and to be the most indignant. However, there is, as yet, no sign in Coventry of any of the Punjabis becoming involved in organisations oriented to race relations in English society. The further left of the two I.W.A.G.B. branches in the town has close connections with the Birmingham branch of the Coloured Peoples' Alliance (C.P.A.), but a Punjabi speaker, nationally well-known, from the Birmingham I.W.A.G.B. and C.P.A. received a cold response at a Coventry IWAGB meeting to his impassioned pleas for united action with local West Indians.

The changed attitude of the communists to the I.W.A. that John documents, presumably for Southall, is not so clear in Coventry. It has no connection with his assertion that the immigrants are increasingly aware of their low status in British society. John traces the split in the Punjabi communists to the split within the Communist Party of India in 1964, and the decision in 1966 to expel certain left-wing Punjabi members from the Communist Party of Great Britain.

In 1969, there were in Coventry three I.W.As., two of them communist, and a parti of Punjabis in the local branch of the C.P.G.B. The three I.W.As. are cast in the same mould, with one man and his parti at the nucleus of each. They all conform in patterns of recruitment, structure and activity to the features summarised from John. They all boast a membership of hundreds, but many of these members may be members more in

the letter than in the spirit.

Recruitment to these I.W.As. is by the mobilisation of members of quasi-groups (John, 1969:55). A member of the paRTi will visit the homes of his friends with a leading member, probably the leader of the paRTi, to discredit the other paRTi and try to persuade the friend to join them. However, Punjabi conventions of hospitality are such that a friend is never denied a request for money without very good reason. Many people who have little or no interest in the man's I.W.A. give him the subscription of a few shillings "to keep him happy and make him go away". As a result some people may be members of more than one I.W.A., but never actively participate in the activities of any. One man known to me in Coventry is a member of all three at once. There are probably many more like him.

I will discuss the split between the two best-established I.W.As. in Coventry when I come to consider the history of the film shows in the city. The third I.W.A., known even to the other communist I.W.A. as 'Maoist', is the party furthest to the left in its political outlook, its position being reflected by the belief of the members that India invaded China in 1962. It took no part in the cinema dispute I shall discuss, in which the other two I.W.As. were involved. The relation between the two communist I.W.A.G.Bs. reflects the split nationally in England of the I.W.A.G.B, corresponding to the split in the Communist Party of India in 1964 (John, 1969:125), but is not directly related to it.

Of the new groups that have sprung up in this period of 'transformation or decline' of the I.W.As., the group of young Punjabis in Coventry who are members of the 'Jai Hind' party have made the most impact on the Punjabi political scene in the

city. It is to a case study of this party, and particularly of a dispute in which it was involved over the showing of Indian films in the city to which I shall now turn.

Jai Hind and the cinema dispute

The importance of showing Hindi and Punjabi films as an I.W.A. activity has already been mentioned (p.287). It was in this familiar field of I.W.A. competition that Jai Hind made its impact as a local political party. It was through the mobilisation of local opinion in this cause that the party leaped into prominence as a Punjabi political force in Coventry, from being the political club of a small group of friends. Before relating the course of the dispute, I shall enlarge on the significance of film shows within the Indian immigrant settlements, and give a brief history of film-showing in Coventry.

The showing of Indian films

The showing of Hindi and Punjabi films allows the Indian population to meet together to enjoy several hours of their home culture in a situation, once inside the cinema, which might easily be in Nawashahr or Jullundur as in Coventry. The distribution of films is a well-developed business, so that the cinema operators can get one or two different films each week, among them some of the new releases from Bombay. Besides the activities of the Gurudwara, the showing of Indian films is one of the strongest, and is the most far-reaching, of formal expressions of Indian culture in the immigrant situation; far-reaching because (unlike the political organisations) it caters for men and women, old and young.

The popularity of Indian films has led some men in almost every centre of Indian settlement to branch into the business

and, by giving a service to the community, to gain profit or prestige or both. The profitability of showing Indian films is difficult to understand in some cases, particularly where there is a relatively small immigrant population, for shows will only be attended at week-ends. The cinema, therefore, stands empty the rest of the week. If the operators hire an English cinema in which to show the films, they may have to show their films only on Sunday mornings as the English management is probably loath to lose its week-end clientèle for the matinée and evening performances.

Perhaps as a result of problems arising from the dilemma between owning a cinema to give only week-end shows, or renting a cinema at restricted times, much of the operation of cinemas has been taken over by organisations ostensibly working 'for the good of the community', foremost among these, the I.W.As. The tax laws relating to charities and non-profit-making bodies also encourage operators to work through such a non-profit-making organisation as the I.W.A.

As a result, showing films and the cinema business have come to be closely associated with I.W.A. politics. "One of the most important activities of the I.W.As. was to show Indian films at the week-ends" (John, 1969:89). I have already mentioned the usefulness of a cinema to politicians in providing them with a place to meet their potential supporters. John suggests that making a profit from showing films was almost incidental to the politician:

"There was prestige to be had by running film shows, appearing on the stage to make announcements before the film, or just standing in the halls with the other

I.W.A. officers, overseeing matters as the crowd filed in and out" (1969:89).

By showing films, the politicians could draw the crowds, be seen, and be available to anyone who wanted to discuss any matter with them. The logical extension of this was rival film shows given by rival groups, which were a common feature of the politics/entertainment fields in different towns. John quotes a man who recalls the days when he and his paRTi members canvassed the audience from house to house, and stood on street corners on Sunday mornings, persuading the public to see their show and not that of their rivals.

A dispute like the one I shall discuss must be seen in the light of political competition in a familiar sphere, and in a sphere which is the exclusive preserve of immigrant Indians. But it is more than a dispute over a simple issue of ticket prices.

Indian films in Coventry

Indian films have been shown in Coventry since the early 1950s. They were started in about 1954, under the auspices of a branch of Krishna Memon's India League in a cinema, now a warehouse, in Lockhurst Lane (to the north-west of the primary area) and in the Alexandra cinema on the edge of Hill Fields in the primary area. Films were shown infrequently, often several weeks apart.

In about 1956, the organisers of the previous shows were joined by a man later to become one of the two most prominent Indian politicians in the city. They showed films in a cinema, now converted into a warehouse, well outside the primary area to the west of the city centre, and then in the Ritz, outside the area to the north, where films are still shown. At this

time there were two other operators, both well outside the primary area, in Radford and Earlsdon to the north-west and west of the area, respectively, but both of these stopped after some time.

In 1960, the shows at the Ritz were causing the operators some financial embarrassment, so the I.W.A. took over responsibility - but the same individuals were still involved. The financial situation did not improve, so in 1962 the main operator, the Chairman of the Cultural Committee of the I.W.A., proposed that they abandon the showing of films. This, it seems, was agreed, but a communist party within the I.W.A. led by the other prominent Indian politician in the city then held a meeting in which they decided to buy the cinema themselves and continue showing films. I was told by a partisan source that both parties were interested in buying, but the former owners cleverly played off one against the other. The non-communists led by the former chairman of the cultural committee considered buying the Ritz for nearly £40,000, and made representations to the council for a mortgage in the name of the I.W.A. The Council Surveyor valued the property at half that sum so the scheme was dropped. Meanwhile "Some employee of the Council House" told the communist group that the I.W.A. were going to buy and that, if they were interested, they had better make a bid quickly. The communist group interested enough locally resident Punjabis through personal links to put down £20,000 of the purchase price of £40,000. The contributors became shareholders in Ritz Cinema Holdings, Limited, the owners of the cinema. Sources conflict, but they suggest that the balance was borrowed, either from the national funds

of the communist controlled I.W.A.G.B. or, more reliably, I think, was settled by a private mortgage with the sellers.

The decision of the communist group to purchase the cinema brought the conflicts between the two parties to a head. On the pretext of the non-communist president of the I.W.A.'s. support of the 1962 Immigration Act and further complicated by factional alliances in the national elections of the I.W.A.G.B., the two groups split in 1963 to form the I.W.A. Coventry under the leadership of the non-communist leader, and the I.W.A.G.B. Coventry Branch, consisting largely of the communist group who had bought the cinema (See John, 1967:86-88).

At about the time of this split, another cinema was taken over in Coventry to show Indian films. This cinema, the Palladium, is in the heart of the primary area in King William Street, Hill Fields, but is different from the Ritz and its forerunners in that it is Pakistani-owned, and is one of a chain of several cinemas owned privately and controlled from Birmingham. Since the establishment of the Palladium and Ritz cinemas, neither the I.W.A. Coventry nor any other group has shown Indian feature films in the city.

The competition between the I.W.A. Coventry and the I.W.A.G.B. as the honest representative of the best interests of the Indian immigrants in Coventry has continued since the split between them. The third I.W.A. was part of the I.W.A.G.B. until about the time of the Jai Hind campaign against the Ritz. But they have not yet had time to build themselves the support to compete with the two well-established I.W.As. in the city. They are, in any case, less concerned with leading the Punjabi community than with promoting the cause of the communist revolution in India and England. They supported the I.W.A.G.B.

stand against Jai Hind.

The I.W.A.G.B. seemed to score a success over the I.W.A. Coventry in buying and operating the Ritz and maintaining the film shows, but the I.W.A. has not conceded the point and has plans to build a new cinema/social club on a site well within the primary area. The vehicle of the I.W.A., the Indian Cinematographic Club (I.C.C.), has, as Chairman, the President of the I.W.A. and, for members, largely the membership of the I.W.A. Coventry. The I.C.C. has leased a derelict corner site in the Foleshill Road. They applied to the local authority for a loan of £30,000 to develop it but their application was rejected in the summer of 1969. The refusal of the application was reported in the local press with a comment that a petition from the Indians in Coventry against the granting of the loan had been given to the committee considering the loan ! The refusal has been the pretext for remonstrations by the I.C.C. and a complaint has been lodged with the local Community Relations Council, but the City Council has stood firm in its refusal.

The contending parties in the dispute

The opposing sides in the dispute to be discussed are not the two I.W.As. Rather, they are the syndicate of Punjabi men who form the shareholders of Ritz Cinema Holdings (R.C.H.) and a new party in Coventry called the Jai Hind National Socialist Indian Workers (Revolutionary) Party, to which I will refer as Jai Hind, the name by which it is known in the city. It is not to be confused with any of the three I.W.As. in the city.

'The Forty Thieves', as Jai Hind branded the forty shareholders of R.C.H. are a group of middle-aged first

first generation Punjabis who live in Coventry, most inside, but a few outside, the primary area. I do not know the identity of all of them. They do not all belong to one ilaga^G group or kin group. But they all had links with some other members of the group before they joined it as shareholders, either through kinship, working together, or membership of the I.W.A. No-one I spoke to identified them together by any village or kin group but only as the Ritz shareholders. They are all Punjabi Jats.

Their role as shareholders was complicated by the fact that most were also members of the I.W.A.G.B., and further to that, members of the Indian Cultural Society, a registered charitable society. The Cultural Society rents the Ritz at week-ends from R.C.H. to show Indian films. During the rest of the week, the Ritz is not used at all. When the I.W.A.G.B. organise a meeting, it is always on a Saturday and would displace the film; and for that reason they usually hire a hall elsewhere in which to meet.

Iqbal Singh, about 45, the President and recognised leader of the I.W.A.G.B. is a prominent member of the shareholders and of the Cultural Society. He lives in a little terraced house in the centre of Hill Fields, from which he operates as a broker and as an insurance agent. Iqbal comes from a village in Jullundur District where he owns 20 acres of land as the only son of his father. His father came to work in England, and left Iqbal in the village. He says that he came to Coventry in the late 1950s to see his father because he was ill. Otherwise, he would never have come and, had his father not died, he would probably not have stayed. He was

interested in politics in India, and was secretary of the Panchayat Association of Jullundur District before he came to England. In England, he failed to get work in the large heavy industrial factories in the city, but was able to get work in the local colliery. After six months there he gave that up to become a full-time agent for an Insurance Corporation in India.

The secretary of the Cultural Society for 1968 was Kulwant Singh, a younger man of about 35, a close friend of Iqbal Singh. The other prominent official on the side of the shareholders was Gill, about 45, a labourer in a factory, and secretary of the I.W.A.G.B. Coventry branch. He has been active in politics in Coventry since the 1950s. The leadership of the shareholders was assumed by these three, two at least seasoned politicians. I do not know the other 37 well enough to list them by occupation though I estimate their average age to be about 40. The majority were factory labourers, with only one or two businessmen.

By contrast, Jai Hind is a party consisting entirely of Punjabis in their twenties or younger. Jai Hind was started in Coventry by the man who was to become the leader of the party, Ajit Singh. It resulted from discussions he had with his Punjabi friends in the city about the political situation in India. In the winter of 1967-1968 he and his friend, Jagpal, decided to form the party and, together, toured the pubs, distributing leaflets and, with the landlords' permission, speaking for ten minutes or so to the clientele in the pub. They received a mixed reception but some people, particularly young people, responded and enrolled as members. One of the

subsequent leaders of the party met Ajit in this way.

A more general means of recruitment, once there was a handful of members, was on the same pattern as the I.W.A. paRTis, visiting friends with other party members and persuading them to join. One of the three leaders of the action against the Ritz shareholders was a boy recruited by Ajit through personal links. Ajit and his father had lived in the house of this boy's family when they first arrived in Coventry.

From its inception, the orientation of the party has been to India. It seeks to bring revolution to Punjab and, from there, to the rest of India. The most prominent leaders of Jai Hind have plans to return to India in the near future to establish the party and begin political activity there. In the early summer of 1968, there was a meeting in a hall in the city-centre at which some films of the famine in Bihar were shown and some money raised for its relief. Similarly, the Jai Hind Aims and Constitution produced in English shows a very clear orientation to India, not to the immigrant situation in England to which the I.W.As. were oriented. This booklet points for inspiration to Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army. Bose exemplifies the Indian working abroad for India's freedom, and 'Jai Hind' reflects the name of his political organisation. In his section on the 'transformation or decline' of I.W.A. politics in England, John notes (1969:123) that Indian political parties have begun to give their names to small local parties formed in England. This has not happened in Coventry. There is no Jai Hind party in India: the Jai Hind party in Coventry has no connection with any party in India or elsewhere, but it does look for inspiration

and example to Bose's stand against the British and seeks a return to the nationalism that he symbolised. Other nationalist heroes mentioned in the Aims are the Akalis who went from Canada to India to fight for independence, and Udham Singh, executed for the murder of Dwyer, "the instigator of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre"(See chap.7 ftnt.2)

By contrast, the party is warned off deriving any inspiration from communist countries. The anti-communist strain running through the Aims is reminiscent of the anti-communist witch hunt in Coventry by the I.W.A. Coventry and by Jai Hind against all things communist, including the two communist I.W.A.G.Bs. and the group of Punjabis in Coventry C.P.G.B. Some of the aims of the party illustrate its anti-communist sentiment:

" (3) Every encouragement should be given to foster a cultural revolution in our Motherland. This does not mean having young hooligans chanting meaningless slogans and rioting throughout the country. In any case, we think it degrading that millions of human beings should treat one of their number almost though he were a God and almost literally worship his writings. Witness the case of the Chinese 'People's Democracy', where seven hundred and fifty million Chinese are blindly following the whims of the old man. Culture should be preserved ..."

Elsewhere:

"We are equally opposed to those 'Indians' who extol the virtues of Moscow or Peking, and attempt to degrade or falsify Indian religions and nationalism. These people are traitors who are stabbing us in the back by strangling our Indian nationalism. For two hundred

years, the political situation in India has been determined from foreign capitals. To these people this is not enough for they attempt to introduce into our motherland a foreign creed which despises Indian religions and culture. These 'Indians' have no right to help in the reconstruction of India but should go to their "workers' paradises", about which they are forever talking."

The anti-Chinese element is a function of the nationalism of the party, but the hostile comments against the easily identifiable I.W.A. leaders reflects a challenge by Jai Hind to their leadership of the Indians in the city.

The keys to the Aims are nationalism and socialism.

"Nationalism which gained us independence from foreign rule is now dead in India." Jai Hind is pledged to resurrecting it. The programme is introduced by the idea that before India can seek to play the role of a great power, leader of the non-aligned block, she must put her own house in order and be strong at home. To this end Jai Hind proposes:

1. to ban all political parties based on religious and regional differences. "Our party is not against democracy if democracy is taken to mean the right of free speech for the individual and the right to vote. What we do believe is that two parties should be allowed to exist which should be based nationally."
2. to smash the old social stigma of caste and other social barriers, and abolish discrimination on grounds of caste, creed or colour.
3. to foster a cultural revolution in the motherland
4. to raise the standard of living and allow justice,

liberty, equality and fraternity to all.

5. to develop Indian resources by Indian industry only.

To achieve all this, Jai Hind proposes to take over all foreign investments and undertakings, guarantee minimum wages, form co-operative farms (but the people not the state continue to own the land), give free education, initiate national reconstruction projects, enforce the adoption of Hindi as the national language and introduce conscription.

According to the constitution, the executive committee consists of seven members, four office holders and three others, one elected, two co-opted. These have all been Jat Sikhs in their late teens and early twenties.

Ajit Singh, the Jathedar (leader) of Jai Hind, as the shareholders call him, is the chairman and guiding light of the party. He is the most committed and politically active of the committee, and is the best orator in Punjabi. His English is good, but he never uses it in public. Though he himself was born in Fiji his family is from a village in Jullundur district, near the town of Phillaur. Ajit had his primary and secondary education in village schools in Phillaur tehsil. He has been in England with his father, mother and brothers since 1961, but his two sisters remained in India, and are married there. One of his brothers and his mother have recently returned to India. His father was one of four brothers who had to divide 12 acres between them and, since the family has been in England, they have bought another 12 acres near the village. The family lives jointly so the income of the brothers working in England has contributed to the purchase. Ajit says that he and his brothers have no intention of working the land themselves.

He had suggested they put up a factory on some of the land, but his father did not agree. Ajit is intending to make a career in politics when he goes to India, establishing the headquarters of the party at Phillaur and working out from there. In Coventry, he is working as a skilled machinist, at which he has been employed by several small engineering firms. He does not drink or frequent the pubs as do many of the Punjabis, particularly the politicians, and can be found at home almost any evening of the week. He is concerned to escape the image of the politician who is always seen around the pubs "meddling in people's domestic affairs". He thinks that involvement in personal affairs and political discussions in pubs result in factionalism and the development of antagonistic parties. He seems to have made a correct appraisal of the situation, for Jai Hind is not troubled by quarrelling parties.

Jagpal Singh joined Ajit in the creation and the first steps of Jai Hind. He is in his mid-twenties, but is a first generation immigrant, as he has only been in England about four years. He lives just within the primary area, but at the other side of it from Ajit. He also has ambitions to return to Punjab. Though one of the leaders and one of the oldest members of Jai Hind, Jagpal has never been in the limelight of publicity. He has of his own choice deliberately avoided it. During the action against the Ritz cinema he was one of the decision making trio at the helm of Jai Hind, but his place was taken in the limelight by another young Punjabi, Joginder.

Manjit Singh joined Jai Hind after its establishment

by Ajit and Jagpal. He was recruited directly by Ajit, who has been a personal friend since he and his father lived with Manjit's family when they first came to Coventry. Manjit did not join only because of his links with Ajit, through which he felt obliged to support him; he is a firm believer in the aims and policies of the party. Manjit was born in Coventry, has lived in the city all his life, and lives with his family in a small terraced house in the primary area. His father, the Lambardar of his village in Hoshiarpur district, was one of the first immigrants to settle in Coventry in the 1930s. Since then, he has acted as sponsor to many immigrants from his kin group, village and ilaqa, most of whom have lived at least some time in his house on arrival; he also acted as a broker and an active official in the I.W.A. in the 1950s, being Welfare Officer of the I.W.A., but leaving it "when the businessmen and politicians took over". Manjit's mother was in Coventry through the 1950s, but has returned to the village to oversee affairs on the large farm that they have bought. Manjit has visited India three times himself. At the time of the cinema dispute, he was studying for his G.C.E. 'A' level examinations at a local comprehensive school. Manjit cuts an English figure, speaks perfect English and fluent Punjabi, but not of the standard of Ajit. As general secretary of Jai Hind, he was responsible for all correspondence, public relations towards English society, and the writing in English of the Aims and Constitution. It was not coincidental that he was an early contact of mine. His political interest had earlier led him to be a card-carrying member of the local Labour party, until the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1968.

Joginder, in his early twenties, another committee member at the time of the dispute, has been in England since the age of ten. He is a handsome, debonair fellow, intent on a career in films in India, though at present working in one of the large industrial firms of the city. He is from a family which has a reputation for fighting in Coventry, and Joginder upholds the tradition. He is what Gans (1962 p/b. 1965:28) calls an 'action seeker'. He enjoyed the publicity and drama that came from involvement in the action against the cinema. He had been to his village in Jullundur district for six months a year or so prior to the cinema dispute to get married. His wife and first child now live with his joint family in their terraced house in the primary area. He has spoken at length of his strong preference for life in Punjab and a desire to return to India. At the time of the cinema dispute, he was careful to draw to my attention that Jai Hind's policies were for India and were not to be confused with this little cinema business that they had on their hands at that moment. His English nick-name reflects the company he used to keep before he went to India to get married. He talks of the days when he used to behave like an English boy and spend his time with English friends, but he has decided now to reassert his identity as a Punjabi.

The other members of the executive of Jai Hind were mostly child migrants like Ajit and Joginder or young first generation migrants like Jagpal. It was this group of four that directed, and were seen to direct, the action.

The course of the dispute

The basis of the dispute was the price of admission to the Indian cinemas and the number of films at each show. Ajit

explained that in the early campaign to recruit supporters for the party, a number of the people, particularly in the pubs, had been sceptical of the party doing anything in India from this distance and even questioned whether it could do anything in England. One of the most persistent local complaints was that cinema seat prices were irregular and exorbitant. This had apparently been a complaint of Indian cinema-goers for several years, "since 1961" according to Jai Hind; but no-one had previously mobilised the general body of opinion against the cinemas as Jai Hind succeeded in doing through the summer of 1968.

Though Jai Hind leadership might have wanted to attack the cinema managements as an anti-communist measure, they directed their criticism of the cinema managers strictly through their accusations that they were exploiting the people in the guise of offering a community service. The criticism was made all the more biting in that the cinema owners, as I.W.A.G.B. members, were communists.

The leadership of Jai Hind decided among themselves that, though their interest was in revolution in India, they should, on behalf of the Indians here, tackle what evils they found in Coventry, as an initial exercise, to convince people of their good intentions and show their strength. They decided to make an example of the cinema management. Accordingly, they circulated a petition throughout the Indian population of Coventry through August and collected some 6,000 signatures. These were collected from house to house and in public places. I saw them being canvassed at the door of the Harnall Lane Gurudwara on the Sunday mornings of August. The petition

was aimed at the management of the Ritz cinema; it deplored their action in exploiting their fellow Indians and yet claiming to be communists. The petition demanded that seat prices be standardised at 5/- and 6/- and not 10/- and 12/-, that two films be shown instead of one at each performance and that children be admitted at half-price.⁵

The climax to all the signature collecting came on the morning of Sunday, 1st September, when there was a mass meeting at the Foleshill Community Association on the Foleshill Road. The Cultural Society had duplicated a handout in Punjabi entitled 'Jai Hind or Fascism' which was distributed at the meeting. This handout in Gurmukhi addressed to the "Dear Indian and Pakistani brothers and sisters" discredited Jai Hind as being another fascist group in the tradition of Hitler in Nazi Germany and Powell "and company" in Britain, and in a similar way, of trying to whip up the support of the working people, only to act then against their best interests. They listed the previous false cries that Jai Hind had raised in their unsuccessful attempts to heighten feelings; 'crying wolf' at American neo-colonialism in India, and at border incidents threatening Indian independence. It alleged they had adopted this "cinema racket" to seek power in the guise of saving a few shillings for the public. The sheet concluded with the assertion that the allegations about ticket prices were false. The handouts were duly ripped up and laughed off as rubbish by the majority of the meeting, already committed to the Jai Hind cause.

The crowd at the meeting then marched up the Foleshill Road, to the Ritz Cinema where the petition was presented to the Cultural Society management. The petition was accepted it seems, then one of the more impetuous shareholders ripped it up in full view of the assembled demonstrators. Iqbal Singh

remarked that this was a foolish and discourteous thing to do, because it gave Jai Hind ample pretext, which they eagerly took, to take offence and gain sympathy. A man I met at a subsequent demonstration said he had joined the campaign when he heard that the petition had been ripped up. The demonstrators continued to picket the cinema for the afternoon and evening performances, but the demonstration then broke up peacefully.

The meeting, the march and the picketting was solely by young Punjabis. There were no women or girls at all, and they made little concerted attempt to prevent people entering the cinema. Only Ajit Singh really remonstrated with customers approaching the cinema. The demonstrators reckoned that most of the 50 who went in for the first show were relatives of the members of the management. The second show was attended by fewer, all of them families with a large proportion of women and children. No-one in the early twenties age cohort went in unless they were very closely related to a shareholder. Those who went in were barracked rather half-heartedly - women were completely immune from any personal approach. The demonstrators clearly recognised most of the customers as the families and close friends of the shareholders. The management put on a bold face, standing in the foyer and on the steps of the Ritz to welcome customers. Occasionally, individuals became involved in heated discussions and exchanges with the demonstrators, but their colleagues ushered inside anyone who appeared to be getting too excited. Ajit continued to encourage the demonstrators throughout, moving from one group to another, talking to and encouraging them.

The Palladium cinema was also picketed at both shows,

but there was no march there, and no formal presentation of a petition. The picketting of the Palladium had apparently been more successful than at the Ritz, "only two got in". The general feeling of those I spoke to that afternoon was that the Palladium would, anyway, be able to hold out longer than the Ritz as the owners had several other cinemas elsewhere in the Midlands. The Ritz, it was said, still had to pay back half the mortgage on the building and so must have audiences, and would therefore be brought to its knees quicker.

During the following week, the whole affair was given an airing in the local press. On Monday, the "Coventry Evening Telegraph" reported 'Indians' cinema prices petition was ripped up'. In the following column the complaint about ticket prices of the demonstrators was briefly stated. Kulwant, the Secretary of the Cultural Society (I.C.S.), was quoted as saying "admission to only one of the 39 Indian films shown this year had been increased to 10/6d. and 12/6d. ...the admission charges were fixed by the distributors." The I.W.A. Coventry entered the fray, announcing that they had "protested to Mr. William Wilson, M.P. for Coventry South, about prices at both cinemas." Mr. Wilson had said he would investigate the matter. Gurnam, the President of the I.W.A. Coventry, gave credit for the organisation of the demonstration to "a new organisation called Jai Hind" and the I.W.A. Secretary was reported as saying "our members were encouraged to participate in this demonstration". (Coventry Evening Telegraph, 2nd September, 1968). This indication that the I.W.A. Coventry was aligned with Jai Hind against the I.W.A.G.B. gave Jai Hind some encouragement but they never co-operated actively with the I.W.A. Coventry in this cause. Tuesday's paper reported ' "Indians misled

over cinema boycott" claim', giving the views of Kulwant and the Cultural Society, who claimed that the average admission prices over the last year were what Jai Hind wanted them to be. "He said he would be pleased to meet representatives of Jai Hind Jatha, but only when the demonstrations have stopped". Gurnam and the I.W.A. were reported to be backing the Jai Hind Jatha in their protest. The demands of Jai Hind were also repeated in the article (Coventry Evening Telegraph, 3rd September, 1968).

Wednesday's paper announced a 'Mass meeting on Foleshill cinema boycott'. It published Ajit's denials of the Cultural Society's allegations that he had misled the people, and of their statement of admission prices. It reported that Jai Hind had submitted the matter to the Prices and Incomes Board (to even the score with Gurnam who had called in the local M.P.). The views of each side on the boycott were aired - Jai Hind claiming its success the previous Sunday, the Cultural Society asserting its failure.

"While the Indian Workers' Association, Coventry branch, have protested to Mr. William Wilson, M.P. for Coventry South, about the alleged price increases, another Coventry organisation - the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain - has come out in support of the Cultural Society. Mr. Iqbal Singh, Association President, claimed today "It is the crafty hand of some politically motivated persons who want to see the closure of the cinema, which is the only source of our people's entertainment." His association was fully aware that the Cultural Society never made any profit from the Ritz, "and the people who run

the society without having any remuneration are serving the community by showing films of our own language." (Coventry Evening Telegraph, 4th September, 1968).

During the week, the I.C.S. produced another broadsheet in Gurmukhi and English dealing less with Jai Hind and more with refuting the allegations about cinema ticket prices. It tabulated the prices of all the films in the 38 weeks of the year that far, concluding that the average price had been 5/7d. and 6/7d. over the year - only 7d. more than Jai Hind's demands.

The pattern of the dispute, at least through the rest of the summer, was set in this first week. The I.C.S. as the society actually showing the films were the most directly involved. Most of the literature supporting the cinema's case was in their name. The I.W.A.G.B. was not directly involved but voiced its support of the I.C.S. in the press. R.C.H. remained silent. Most Punjabis in Coventry recognise that the leading members of each organisation are largely the same people so no great significance was attached to the name under which the broadsheets were issued. The shareholders of R.C.H. stood to lose money. The I.C.S. members pay a subscription to see films a little cheaper than non-members and I.W.A.G.B. members are simply subscription paying Association members. It was popularly supposed that the shareholders of R.C.H. stood to lose revenue from the I.C.S. renting the cinema, with which R.C.H. had to pay off debts incurred in buying the cinema. While shareholders supported their three leaders who took the roles of spokesmen by seeking to bring members of their families and friends to the cinema, ordinary

members of I.C.S. and I.W.A.G.B. did not feel obliged to break the boycott to honour their membership.

The I.C.S., with the support of the I.W.A.G.B., continued to assert that the boycott was ineffective and that they were continuing their shows as usual, again claiming that they only charged anyway what Jai Hind were demanding. They dismissed Jai Hind as a group of publicity seeking trouble makers who had made the I.C.S. a scapegoat. Iqbal and Kulwant explained that the London distributors fixed the seat prices and so they were powerless in the matter. The implication of the protest that the I.C.S. was making a profit was also strongly denied. They insisted that even Ritz Cinema Holdings, itself, was making no profit at that time. They felt that these young people were not alone in their protest, nor was the issue one of cinema prices alone. They saw it as a political battle. Gurnam and the I.W.A. Coventry had always been opposed to the Ritz shareholders politically and could attack them in this way under cover. As they saw it, Gurnam and his party were out to break the I.W.A.G.B. in the sensitive field of showing films through R.H.C. and the I.C.S. To this end, they quoted the fact that the Palladium cinema had escaped with a token demonstration and had hardly featured at all in the whole business. This, they regarded as proof that the dispute was not about cinema seats but politics.

The I.W.A. Coventry claimed no direct involvement in the boycott, or in its instigation, though it did believe the I.W.A.G.B. to be 'crooks' and the cause, therefore, justified. The Secretary said they had written to the M.P. to ask for an enquiry into the whole business of showing Indian films, and their distribution, suggesting that the system allowed some abuse of the law relating to the taxation of charities.⁶ The

report of this in the press brought a phone call from Kulwant who, the Secretary concluded, was getting frightened about the whole thing. Though the I.W.A. did not claim to have instigated the boycott, and gave credit to Jai Hind for doing so, they annoyed Jai Hind because they received so much publicity in the press for doing nothing. In the opinion of the Jai Hind leadership, the I.W.A. attempted to make some political capital in claiming to have encouraged their members to take part. The Secretary of the I.W.A. said that they would only officially adopt the boycott cause if they felt events merited it. Apparently, events never did.

All three groups, Jai Hind, the I.C.S. and the I.W.A. used the local press to communicate their views, but communication through the press was secondary to the personal contacts that were used to mobilise forces on the part of Jai Hind and the I.C.S. The I.W.A. were the only party who seemed to attempt to exploit press coverage to their advantage. Gurnam is the only politician in the city whose comments appear frequently in the columns of the Coventry Evening Telegraph on a wide range of topics. He attempted to use this link to benefit from the dispute, but it served only to alienate Jai Hind.

Jai Hind for its part settled down to maintaining their boycott of the cinemas, which for three months they operated by picketting the doors and demonstrating outside the cinemas until the cold weather and some negotiations caused them to drop the picketting "until the spring".

At the meeting on the Friday evening after the first week-end of the boycott, Jai Hind decided to continue the boycott indefinitely until their demands were met. The

meeting was scheduled for 6.30 p.m., but started about 7 p.m. with about 100 people present. Ajit spoke rousinglly in Punjabi, asserting that there had been a ticket price problem since 1961, but the older people had done nothing about it. Now the young people were doing something, and should not give up as they already nearly had the Ritz management on its knees. He announced that he had sent a letter to the I.C.S. noting certain points about Sunday's demonstration:

- that they had distributed an extremely provocative pamphlet,
- that they had ripped up the petition,
- that some of their members had bribed people to visit the cinema with free tickets,
- that some of their members had adopted provocative attitudes outside the cinema.

The meeting concluded with shouts of 'Chor (thief) Society' 'Jai Hind'. At a safe distance from the meeting, but on all approaches, the management were distributing a handout in English substantially the same as the Punjabi one of the previous Sunday, stating their case and 'the facts' about ticket prices.

The picketting of the Ritz the following Saturday appeared even more successful than on the previous week-end. Jai Hind reckoned that not more than 20 people went in to either show. In the evening, there were about 70 pickets outside the Ritz and about 12 at the Palladium. The shareholders of the Ritz continued to shrug the demonstration off as a publicity stunt, and claimed to be showing films as usual. Sunday is a holiday for more people than Saturday, certainly more people visit the cinema on Sunday evening than at any

other time. Both sides were intent on a show of strength at these shows. By 1 p.m., I estimated about 200 people outside the Ritz - as always, all young Punjabis. About 100 were actively demonstrating, another 100 in the large forecourt of the pub conveniently placed directly opposite the cinema. There were many young men there for the first time, including many who seem to care little about politics but turned up with their friends to see what was going on, and of course readily agreed that prices should be lowered.

By 3.30 p.m., the crowd had swelled to about 350, and as the local pub was closed all were concentrated outside the cinema: the size of the demonstration gave it self-confidence, and there was considerable singing, jeering and booing.

For their part, the management seem to have mustered as much custom as possible to demonstrate the failure of the boycott. I cannot be certain whether all or any of the customers were genuine, but the demonstrators claimed they were not. The members of the management seemed braver than they had been the previous day, staying out on the steps of the cinema to usher in their customers, whose numbers were sufficient to make some of the Jai Hind executive "quite discouraged", even though there was a high proportion of women and children. The demonstrators' comments were that again all the customers were friends and relatives of the management, some from a long distance away. A minibus drew up full of men, all but two of whom were completely unrecognised by the locals. I saw cars unloading women and children just over the bridge from the cinema and driving off - perhaps to return for another load. The demonstrators took comfort from the idea that all these

customers were going in on complimentary tickets, so the management would not be making any money, "and they can't keep using relatives for ever."

A police constable was stationed for the afternoon on the steps. A scuffle in mid-afternoon between one of the management and some demonstrators caused this lone policeman to call for reinforcements. Cars of Police arrived who moved all the management bar one, acting as doorman and commissionaire, inside the cinema and herded the demonstrators into an orderly and well defined crowd, stopping the shouting. At 4.30 p.m., they attempted to move them on by persuasion. The young Punjabis saw no distinction between picketting and demonstrating. The crowd as they saw it was there to do both and for the Police to attempt to disperse them was regarded as overt support for the cinema management. Their point was that as many people as possible should be there so that individuals could recognise and possibly remonstrate with any of their relatives who came to see the films. The Punjabi population of Coventry was too large for everyone to be known to any one person, though almost all might be recognised as Coventry residents by anyone who had been in the city for a long time. With a large crowd almost anyone who came would be known or related to some of the demonstrators. Personal links between individuals were clearly recognised as more useful in dissuading potential customers, than the approach or request of a stranger. A large show of force would also dissuade others, apprehensive of some 'trouble' breaking out. In this sense, the most effective picketting was by a large crowd of 'demonstrators'. They only retreated as far as they were forced to by the Police and at 6.30 p.m.

there were still some 200 scattered around the cinema.

Sunday's show of strength was projected into Monday's Telegraph which reported that the 'Indian film boycott is failing', giving the view of the I.C.S. This article included another mention of negotiations. Again the I.C.S. said it would not meet Jai Hind until the boycott was called off. (Coventry Evening Telegraph 9th September, 1968).

The state of negotiations before the boycott seemed rather muddled. The I.C.S. had offered to show the books to Jai Hind, but they had declined this offer. Joginder said they had had a meeting at which the Jai Hind members were offered bribes and complimentary tickets if they would drop the whole issue. Manjit tells of another meeting arranged on neutral ground, in a pub, at which the I.C.S. had failed to turn up.

During the second week of the boycott, Jai Hind produced a duplicated sheet in Gurmukhi, Urdu and English, its contents in these languages geared to their respective readers. The Gurmukhi version answered the allegations of facism by the I.C.S., the English gave a summary of events as Jai Hind would have had them seen; the struggle of right against wrong, the cinema audiences consisting of the families of the management and advertising a mass meeting for the coming Friday to reaffirm an indefinite boycott.

The following weekend, the third of the boycott, the picketting continued, again successfully as far as I could see. Only about 20 people went into the cinema and very few others had been turned away - the implication being that the news had spread and Jai Hind had general support in that people were indeed staying away. Many potential customers may have stayed away simply to avoid any risk of getting involved in any trouble.

This third week of the boycott brought some moves for negotiations. The owner of the Club (see above p.142) said he had had both the Ritz and Palladium managements in at different times, requesting that he act as mediator or attempt to get some negotiations going. He had no sympathy for the Ritz management, though he said he was a friend of the Palladium manager. He sympathised with Jai Hind and was against both I.W.As; and the general adoption of his club as a meeting and drinking place for Jai Hind supporters certainly did his business good.

The local Community Relations Officer (C.R.O.), concerned at the bad reputation the Indians were earning for themselves in the vicinity of the Ritz, offered his services as a mediator between the two sides. With confidence from the comparative success of the boycott, Jai Hind were flexing their political muscles. They did not welcome the C.R.O's. intervention and talked of giving the local Labour M.P., Mr. William Wilson, an ultimatum that he would lose Jai Hind's support if he continued to support Gurnam and the I.W.A.

The following Saturday, the third, the boycott was again effective. There was an I.W.A.G.B. meeting at the Ritz in the evening (to celebrate Indian Independence Day) instead of a film, in which the demonstrators took no interest, but which the I.W.A.G.B. President said was poorly attended because of the present trouble.

On the Sunday morning when the first few demonstrators arrived, Jai Hind claimed that some 20 of the management sallied forth to attack them and smash their placards. Apparently all the fighting was over when the Police arrived who, to the demonstrators' annoyance, said they could do nothing as they had seen nothing. The picketting continued all day, and at

about 6 p.m. there was a further fight involving some of the same people as in the morning. The Police were on hand to stop the fight and one of the demonstrators was detained and prosecuted.

A two day industrial holiday in Coventry followed this weekend, and the cinema had planned shows on each day in the afternoon. All the shows were again picketed, by 50 to 100 people depending mainly on the weather. On Monday, Police moved all but 20 pickets from the forecourt of the cinema. The rest had to move about 20 yards away. An Indian Policeman, a Muslim from East Africa, remained with the officer in charge. I heard no comment adverse or otherwise about this man.

At about 7 p.m., there was a further scuffle on the cinema steps and in the pub forecourt opposite. The landlord broke that up. This was the prelude to the most violent outburst of the dispute. The management were concluding their evening in the lounge bar of the pub. There was a very large gathering of young Jai Hind supporters in the club which, as Manjit said "has become our headquarters". The news that "one of our lads" had been beaten up at the Ritz resulted in an exodus of about 25 people to the pub where the management were drinking. Several members of Jai Hind specifically warned me against going as "there will be some trouble". The management had apparently shut themselves in the lounge, so there was an attempt to force the door. A general fight ensued until the Police arrived. The focal point of the fight was Gill, the Secretary of the I.W.A.G.B., striking a Jai Hind man on the head and drawing

blood. They were both taken to the police station, but were both discharged.

One of the outcomes of this violence was that Gurnam was reported in the Coventry Evening Telegraph: ' "Avoid violence at the Ritz" Indians told':

"An Indian leader told his supporters not to get involved in violence during demonstrations outside the Ritz cinema. It won't help anybody."

(Coventry Evening Telegraph 25th September, 1968)

This emphasised Gurnam's complete alienation of Jai Hind by his claiming some influence on the demonstrations, and attempting to steal the limelight by announcing that "we support Jai Hind" and by making public, for the first time in the press, that:

"The same shareholders have put money into the Ritz Cinema Holdings, Limited, Cultural Society, and the rival I.W.A.G.B."

This bid to involve himself and assume some leadership of the well-supported boycott seemed to fail as Jai Hind were almost as vehement in their denunciation of him as they were of the I.C.S.

On Tuesday, the demonstrations continued in an orderly way, but with several policemen on duty nearby. In the afternoon, there was a three hour meeting at the office of the Community Relations Officer between Ajit, Joginder and Manjit for Jai Hind; Iqbal, Kulwant and Gill for the I.C.S. The C.R.O. seemed to have offered himself as mediator, but Jai Hind claimed that it was the I.C.S. who actually took the initiative of asking him to arrange the meeting. The I.C.S. were making a concession as they had said they would not negotiate until the

demonstrations ended. A new factor was introduced into the dispute at this meeting, though it had been rumoured previously. The management had a letter from the group of London distributors saying that, from 1st October, they would fix all admission prices at 7/- and 8/-. Jai Hind considered the letter a forgery, the management swore by it. The three hour meeting ended in deadlock, but negotiations were not closed. The boycott and picketing continued at the weekends into October, but so did some negotiations. The following Saturday, Jai Hind Executive Members had a meeting with the Palladium management and were hopeful about the outcome of a further meeting with them. This meeting had no mediator present and was not arranged by any outsider.

The demonstrations continued at least up until mid-November when another fight ended in Court proceedings. Throughout this time, the Ritz cinema bore the brunt of Jai Hind's campaign. The Palladium, butting onto a narrow pavement and set among shops in an old street, was effectively picketed by three or four people, and there were usually no more than that there. Besides this, its management seemed to resign itself to the boycott. It did not seek to break the boycott by encouraging people to attend with free tickets, publicly deny allegations about prices, or abuse Jai Hind. It was even credited by Jai Hind with offers of lowering seat prices - and with being prevented from acting unilaterally by threats from the Ritz management.

I left Coventry in October. When I returned in December the boycott was still in force as far as Jai Hind were concerned but they had given up the picketting because of the cold weather. Ajit spoke of starting up again in the spring if there was no

settlement. The allegations by both sides had been exaggerated considerably, but there seemed to be no change in the position of either - and no indication of knowing, beyond their respective claims, of the support of either. The I.C.S. continued to claim that the boycott was failing completely, that the trouble was finished, that there was no picketting and the cinema was open as usual. Iqbal said that Jai Hind had only about 40 members in contrast to the I.W.A.G.B. having hundreds. The same day Ajit said that the boycott was still effective, that Jai Hind had a membership of hundreds in contrast to the I.W.A.G.B. which had only about 40. Iqbal's impassioned revelations that Jai Hind was working with C.I.A. money, had fascist agents trained in West Germany (Ajit had once been to West Germany for a few days' holiday) and that a copy of all their publications went to Washington were paralleled by Ajit's allegations against these 'Maoists' who got their instructions from the Chinese Embassy in London. Such statements reflected a considerable hardening of opinion on both sides.

The dispute was finally settled by direct negotiations:

"The outcome was that the cinema management undertook not to exceed 6/- for a circle seat or 5/- for the stalls in future." (Coventry Evening Telegraph 15th March, 1969)

The article reporting this, leading with:

"Mr. Ajit Singh attempting to establish himself as leader of Indians throughout England,"

reported that he intended to open Jai Hind branches in Leamington and Bedford immediately, Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Leicester later. The source of that article was the Jai Hind leadership, and from my experience the Ritz management have not lowered their seat prices to 5/- and 6/-. However, the dispute has gradually been dropped with both sides able to

claim that they were successful and that their stands were vindicated.

The implications of the dispute

There are four important features in the dispute which have implications for the interpretation of the articulation of political activity by generation and cohort.

1. There was the most obvious line up of youth against age, a differentiation of the 17-25 year old cohort against the rest.
2. There was a differentiation by roles of the different generations within Jai Hind, most obviously the leadership was taken by child migrants.
3. The methods of recruitment of support by Jai Hind for the demonstration and boycott marked little departure from I.W.A. practice.
4. The context of the whole dispute was exclusively Indian, more particularly Punjabi.

In the whole campaign against the Ritz, indeed in all of Jai Hind's activity, the party is distinguished from the other political groups in Coventry by the age group of the members and participants. It is exclusively a movement of young Punjabis, and is recognised as such. The I.W.A.G.B. leadership spoke of "these young people" being used by others who were politically motivated. The I.W.A. office holders spoke in conversation of the inexperienced young people challenging old politicians. Jai Hind regards itself as a group of young activists. Ajit addressed the meeting in the Community Association in terms of the older people failing to do anything about the abuse of cinema admission prices, it having been left to the young people to act. The C.R.O. spoke of the general fear among Indians in Coventry as to whom these young people would attack when they had finished with the cinema people. He

spoke of the fact that they had united all the older Indian organisations in Coventry against themselves, which was incorrect, though they could certainly be identified by age in contrast to all the older political groups.

These young people make up a cohort of 15-25-year-olds. They do not belong to any one generation dated from their ages at migration. There seems to be no political distinction in the city by generation, though one can see people of different generations in rather different roles within this Jai Hind cohort.

The second generation were divided between those actively supporting Jai Hind and those simply not interested in Indian films or Indian immigrant politics. The latter did not join in the demonstrations, though probably expressing support of the action by signing the petition and keeping away. Their keeping away was of no significance: they seldom go to the films anyway. This category of second generation boys who did not actively support the Jai Hind action included (particularly) those who have developed primary relations with non-Punjabi young people in Coventry and adopted a non-Punjabi reference group. Even those second generation boys who do have a Punjabi reference group, and primary relations with other young Punjabis, seldom go to see Indian films. The second generation boys are in general less interested than the child migrants or first generation migrants in seeing Indian films, and less interested in Punjabi politics in the city. As a result few of them took an active part in the demonstration and picketting. Those who did were generally those who were more interested in the politics of the dispute than the benefit to be gained in reducing seat prices by a few

shillings. One or two second generation boys, members of a second generation Punjabi peer group who were committed politically to Jai Hind's cause were recruited through personal links with others of their peer group and might not otherwise have taken any interest. Manjit was one of the most active leaders of Jai Hind in the whole affair, and subsequently involved a small group of his close friends.

At the time of the dispute the most active supporters of Jai Hind were child migrants and young first generation boys who normally form the majority of the cinema's clientele. The prominent position of Manjit should not obscure the more general absence of second generation boys.

There had been no formal leaders of the 15-25 year-old cohort before the leadership of Jai Hind was adopted as such by the cohort at the time of the cinema dispute. Such as they were, it was from the child migrant generation that these leaders of the cohort emerged. They were child migrants of five or more years in England. In general terms the second generation are too anglicised to be able to adopt the leadership role of the cohort; they are out of the mainstream of young Punjabi life in the city, studying for 'A' levels, at Comprehensive schools, Universities, or in a different type of employment from most of the child migrants and first generation. They are felt to be 'different' by the first generation and late child migrants, out of touch with Punjabis in Coventry because of their links outside the community and long absences from the city at colleges, etc. Most of them "can't even speak Punjabi properly". Manjit was not a leader of Jai Hind in the same way as Ajit, Joginder, Jagpal or Dilip (of whom more below). He was part of the decision making leadership of Jai Hind, well-educated and respected as such

by the other Jai Hind leaders, familiar with British life and institutions and very capable of handling Jai Hind's interest in any English situation; but he was not a leader of men nor an orator in Punjabi in the same way as the others were.

The young first generation are not sufficiently familiar with the English situation, or confident in using English, a necessary ability if not often used. The older first generation migrants abstained from any involvements in the dispute on the side of Jai Hind. They form in general only a small proportion of the regular cinema audience, so were only indirectly concerned with the immediate issue of ticket prices. Only Gurnam and the I.W.A. party involved themselves in the political aspects of the dispute, but none of them were ever seen at the cinema. In general, the older first generation disdainfully regarded the whole thing as a concern of the young people and left it to them: moreover, they are contemporaries of the shareholders and many have links with them that they did not wish to complicate by opposing them openly. Jai Hind chose to see their absence from the cinema, either inside or out, as a vote with their feet in favour of the boycott.

Other absentees from the demonstration were the young Ram Gharias whose Gurudwara is only a few hundred yards from the cinema. Any generalisations I make about the Ram Gharias are tentative as I have not clearly established the extent of their relations within a Ram Gharia 'community' and with the rest of the Punjabis in the city. Those who do seek to maintain an identity as Ram Gharias articulate this identity by maintaining the five 'Ks' of Sikhism (p.127), particularly the

turban, more than the Jats, by visiting the Ram Gharja Gurudwara, and by generally abstaining from Jat politics. Others who identify more as Punjabis are indistinguishable except by name from the Jats. The Ram Gharjas noticeably absent from the cinema demonstration were those who identify themselves strongly as Ram Gharjas. A further factor that complicates the distinction of Jat and Ram Gharja in their social relations is their place of residence before settling in England. A large proportion of the Ram Gharjas in Coventry have lived for many years in East Africa. In general, the East Africans do not develop links with the immigrants from India. On the other hand, they do patronise the cinemas showing Hindi films as much, and possibly more than than the immigrants from India. Though some East Africans did help Jai Hind in making the placards for the demonstration, the East Africans in the 15-25 year-old cohort in the city did not take an active part in the demonstration. The personal links between the young Punjabis and young East Africans did not exist to be used to recruit the East Africans to the cause, or even keep them out of the cinema. On the contrary, the dispute gave the Punjabis pretext to add another complaint to those they already had about the East Africans: that they went to watch the films whatever the prices of the tickets, regardless of the boycott.

The Jat Gurudwara and its prominent leaders did not involve itself with any aspect of the dispute, which emphasises the complete divorce of political and religious institutions in the city (though the Gurudwara has its own politics). Other Asian groups in Coventry were also completely absent. The Gujaratis took no part, though one or two of the younger ones did go to

the cinema to see what was going on. No Bengalis took even that interest.

The recruitment of supporters for the demonstrations at the cinema and the boycott was undertaken by the small core of Jai Hind party members at the beginning of their campaign. The recruitment of active support was primarily through personal links - as the recruitment to active I.W.A. membership has always been. Those recruited by the inner circle of members in turn recruited their relatives, peer group members and work-mates. The collection of signatures was both by personal contacts and public canvassing. The signing of the petition probably had some effect in getting the members of the public to commit themselves to an extent that would probably discourage them from attending the cinema during the boycott.

The I.C.S. made use of the links its members had to encourage attendance at the cinema, or at least absence from the demonstration. Not all the members of the 15-25 year-old cohort could freely identify themselves with the boycott by reason of having close ties with the members of the families of the management. One child migrant boy refrained from taking any part at all because of a close association with some of the sons of the management with whom he played football in a team which was sponsored in the local league by the I.W.A.G.B. He avoided visiting the cinema during the height of the boycott at weekends. He was usually playing football in the afternoons and serving behind the bar of a club in the evening, and so was busy during the times of the film shows and the demonstrations.

Another child migrant, not a member of Jai Hind and present at neither the demonstrations nor the films, said that a friend

of his father, one of the management, had called to see his father during the first week of the boycott and had offered him a dozen tickets free to bring his family and friends on the following Sunday. His father declined the offer. This boy's elder brother, a 23-year-old first generation Punjabi, had joined the crowd outside the cinema only once, on that second Sunday of the demonstration, but then kept his distance, coming rather to see what was going on than to demonstrate, because a close friend on the management had asked him to keep away, and he wanted to avoid any confrontation. Another child migrant, who supported the Jai Hind stand on that issue, did not join the demonstration because his father was a close friend of one of the management and specifically asked him not to. One of the Jai Hind leadership ignored the request of his father to keep out of the dispute. Their family were very close friends of the family of the Secretary of the I.C.S. The whole dispute, and particularly their facing each other across the negotiating table, caused some strain in relations between the individuals and their families, but was evidently not enough to disrupt relations between the families completely. The Jai Hind man has since withdrawn from active membership of the party. He recently attended the wedding of the sister of the erstwhile I.C.S. Secretary, which saw the restoration of normal relations.

There were boys who obliged their friends and family by staying away from the demonstrations, and others who defied them, but no cases to my knowledge of complete ruptures in relations between families as a direct result of participation in the action against the cinema.

Mayer's alternative types of action set are appropriate

as models of recruitment to the sides in the dispute (Mayer, 1966:103). The I.W.A.G.B./I.C.S./R.C.H. were older organisations than Jai Hind. Unlike the election situation of Mayer's study, in which there is a candidate at the focus of the action set, there were three prominent leaders of the cinema shareholders. Links from them to other shareholders and I.W.A.G.B. members were 'simple', but reinforced by lateral links between individuals in the network.

Jai Hind was a much younger organisation entering the field to recruit a following at a few months' notice before the demonstration and boycott: it was also more clearly focused on a single leader, Ajit Singh, than were the cinema shareholders. A 'complex' network of links radiated from him, through intermediaries to the mass of his supporters. Ajit recruited some supporters through addressing meetings and small groups in pubs, a way in which it is unlikely any supporters of the cinema were recruited to the Jai Hind cause. Shareholders already financially committed to the cinema recruited relatives and friends to their cause through personal links. A formal approach through public speaking cannot compete with recruitment by personal links. Supporters of Jai Hind recruited by formal methods must have been people who had no direct contact with any shareholders.

An empirical study would have revealed a very large action set of supporters loosely allied to Jai Hind through a range of intermediate links, but not extensively linked laterally. For supporters of the three representatives of the cinema interests it would have revealed a smaller action set, with stronger ties to the leaders and more extensively linked laterally.

Consistent with Mayer's model the 'multipronged links' are

the Jai Hind action set were weaker than the 'simple' and collateral links between the shareholders and their supporters. The supporters of the cinema might be close to what Mayer defines as a 'quasi group' in that they are linked so closely that they could mobilise as an action set on repeated occasions. Jai Hind, as we shall see, has lost some of the support of people towards the terminals of the multipronged links as the drama and urgency of the cinema dispute have declined.

The orientation of Jai Hind and the cohort of young people, the political leadership of which it had assumed, is exclusively towards Indian society, in India and in the immigrant situation. The context of the dispute was exclusively Indian and, throughout, Jai Hind made no attempt to involve English or other non-Indian society in their activity, with the exception of seeking some publicity in the local press, read by Indians as well as the English. The intervention of the C.R.O. was not greeted enthusiastically by the Jai Hind leadership, and they persistently denied that it was they who had asked for his help.

Jai Hind maintained the ideal of representing the interests of all the young Indians in Coventry, and though some Gujaratis and East Africans may have been recruited by individuals, and been card-carrying members, the active membership was exclusively composed of Punjabis. Jai Hind would protest bitterly at being called a Punjabi Sikh organisation, but the dispute demonstrated that, among the young people, regional and religious differences in political action are structurally maintained within the Indian population in the city.

The pretext of the dispute was also exclusively Indian.

By the terms of the lease the Ritz can show only Indian films, and these have exclusively Indian audiences. The broadsheets and literature of the dispute were all in Gurmukhi (with the exception of a Jai Hind sheet that also included Urdu and English, and some of the placards at the demonstration). All Jai Hind meetings, and speeches made at them, were conducted in Punjabi. Jai Hind's commitment to introducing Hindi and enforcing it as the national language in India did not have any relevance to Jai Hind activities, but that the meetings were conducted in Punjabi was reasonable in that, for whatever reason, the audiences were exclusively Punjabi. A week before the Coventry Evening Telegraph published any story about the dispute, Ajit Singh had his picture and his campaign reported in Desh Pardesh, a Gurmukhi weekly newspaper published in London with the largest circulation among Punjabis in England (31st August, 1968). The reporting in the Coventry Evening Telegraph kept the rest of Coventry aware of the dispute, but was limited to expressing the claims, allegations and counter-allegations of the parties. It dragged along behind events and neither party directly involved exploited it to communicate with the English readership. Nor did English society in Coventry take much interest in the dispute. The only day that the dispute was the subject of the leading news article it was to report 'A firm warning that violence will not be tolerated given by Coventry Magistrates'. (Coventry Evening Telegraph, 26.9.68).

The Hearing at which this warning was given gave an illustration of the inexperience of Jai Hind in handling English institutions, which the older politicians had made their business. Mohan Singh was found guilty of a breach of the peace in the fight which took place outside the Ritz on the third Sunday evening of the boycott.

He said nothing in his defence but had Ajit Singh called as a witness for him. Ajit attempted to explain that the fight was a continuation of the fight that the management had started first thing that morning. The Court was not interested in that, nor in Ajit's attempted explanation of the demonstration itself. Cross-examined by the Police, he was questioned about the specific incident only. Ajit said the Policeman who stopped the fight had lied in his evidence; he explained that the constable had hit Mohan, knocked off his turban and pulled his hair. The significance of that insult was lost on the Court. Mohan was bound over in the sum of ten pounds to keep the peace for one year. In November, a similar case involving a member of each side, represented by lawyers, resulted in each being "bound over in the sum of £50, with a £50 surety each". (Coventry Evening Telegraph, 31st December, 1968). In these cases, the Jai Hind members considered the summonses an unfortunate side effect of the dispute, not of great consequence and not to be exploited to any advantage.

This dispute was a political struggle fought out over the issue of cinema seat prices. Jai Hind argue that though political in their policies for India, they wanted only to see justice done to the Indians in Coventry and had no further political goals. All the other groups regard Jai Hind's adoption of the issue as a means to a political end. The success that the campaign apparently achieved hugely enhanced Jai Hind's political reputation. When the campaign started a number of the young people I spoke to were only aware that a group of "young people" had formed a committee and were organising it. They seemed quite unaware of what Jai Hind was or what it stood for. By 1969, it had established itself

as another well-known and powerful group in Coventry, and had started branches in Leamington and Bedford. It remains to be seen whether this 'youth power' in political activity will be continued.

Jai Hind since the cinema dispute

Since the winter of 1968-69 in which the issue, if not resolved, was dropped, Jai Hind has reasserted its political orientation towards India rather than towards Indian immigrant society in England. The leadership has changed considerably from the days of the cinema dispute, as has the membership and the reputation of the party and its leaders in the city.

Ajit has remained firmly at the helm of the party. Except for a few months in 1969, when Jai Hind rented a room in a house as their office, Ajit's home has been the permanent address of the party. Jagpal has continued to work with him as advisor and helper. The most important new figure in the leadership is another child migrant, Dilip.

Like Ajit, Dilip comes from a village in Jullundur district. His father worked in England in the 1950s. He returned to the village, built a pakka house, and then brought all his family to England. Dilip is his eldest son, who arrived in England in 1960 at the age of 10. He lives with his family in the heart of the primary area. They all hope to return to live in Punjab one day. In the Spring of 1968, Dilip heard Ajit speak, and talked to him in a pub near the city. He met him again at another pub in similar circumstances when Ajit was campaigning and again discussed the political needs in India and how they were to be met. At

that time he did not show a great interest "because many people get excited about things and try to start a party but they all come to nothing". He was also put off by the party's increasing adoption of the cinema issue. He feels strongly that the Indians here in England are lucky, they can look after themselves and it is they who have the responsibility to help other Indians who are not so well off. He was not interested in any party that was going to involve itself in the struggle for prestige among groups of immigrants settled here. He joined Jai Hind but did not take an active part in the campaign against the cinema. Since then, he has become a close friend of Ajit, has shown himself to be a hard worker for the party in helping to establish a branch in nearby Leamington, and has shown himself a very able Punjabi orator. As it became clearer to him that the party was primarily oriented to political life in India, Dilip took an increasingly active role, and so helped steer the party further away from any orientation to immigrant politics in England. He now stands second only to Ajit in prominence. At the same time as Dilip joined the party three of his close friends, all of them child migrants of the same age who arrived in England at the same time and went through school together, also joined. One of these with a similar orientation towards India has become one of the six most prominent men in the party - not as a public figure like Dilip or Ajit, but as a worker and close associate of them.

Towards the end of the cinema dispute, Joginder was involved in a fight with, among others, the cousin of one

of the other members of Jai Hind leadership. The result was the departure from the party of Joginder's assailant and one or two of his friends, but not the related member of the leadership. This marked the beginning of Joginder's withdrawal from the active membership of the party. Another factor was that the man who was a close friend of his, and who had influenced him to join Jai Hind originally, was suspected of treachery (with the cinema management) and was discredited and evicted from the party by the other members of the leadership. Joginder has now become taken up with other ambitions and does not have the time to give to work for Jai Hind. He says he is no less nationalist, but that he is disillusioned by the inability of Indians to unite in a political cause without falling to quarrelling, and by the rigid authoritative position of Ajit at the head of Jai Hind.

Manjit has also withdrawn from his position in the active leadership of Jai Hind, not because he has fallen foul of other members of the leadership but because since the cinema dispute he has had 'A' level examinations, and has since started a college course in a town away from Coventry. Manjit, more than the other members of the present leadership, is concerned with Jai Hind's place as an organisation in Coventry. At his instigation, Jai Hind sought and gained a place on Coventry Community Relations Council, on which he represents the party. This was a move in competition with other Punjabi immigrant groups in the city.

The departure of Joginder from the party and the withdrawal of Manjit from active leadership has taken, from direct leadership, the two members of the executive most interested in local political action in Coventry. The arrival of Dilip

and one of his close friends has led Ajit and Jagpal more to orienting the party towards political change in India. The action set of Jai Hind supporters radiating from Ajit would reflect these changes over time in the 'core' of Ajit's closest supporters and nearest subordinates. As the core has been taken over by men of strong conviction of the destiny of Jai Hind in India, so the periphery of the action set, made up particularly of those people at the terminals of multipronged links through core members, has correspondingly changed. The orientation towards India has led to a drop in the numbers of active members in that Jai Hind's 'cause' is too remote to interest many even of the core members' personal contacts in active membership.

A place on the C.C.R.C. has not affected the increasing general orientation of the party towards India. This was demonstrated by two public meetings held in 1969, one in Coventry in June, the other in Leamington in August. The meeting in Coventry was in a hall of the school in the primary area used exclusively for teaching English to immigrant children and which is a familiar venue for various I.W.As'. meetings. The meeting was apparently attended by an estimated 200 people, all young Punjabis. (I did not go myself). It was conducted in Punjabi. There was a singing group of Punjabi boys from the Jai Hind branch in Bedford, speeches from Ajit and Dilip about the political situation in India and their remedies for it, and some films of India. The meeting in Leamington Town Hall was Jai Hind's first public meeting in the town and was attended by between 300 and 400 people old and young, many simply interested to see what it was all about, and to see the films of India. The programme

was similar to that in Coventry. The group from Bedford and another from Coventry sang songs, Ajit and Dilip spoke about their plans for India and the same films were shown. One of the films, the story of Subedar Joginder Singh, killed in heroic action against the Chinese precipitated a very strong expression of Punjabi Sikh identity from the audience, with cheering applause and cries of 'Bolai sonehal - Sat Siri Akal' (Originally a Sikh war cry, now repeated in corporate worship in Gurudwara, and the latter part used as a common greeting: a strong symbol of Punjabi Sikh identity).

The orientation of Jai Hind to work in India, and the fading of the cinema dispute into the past, has had a predictable effect on the size of membership of the party. Though it is claimed to be about 3,000 even now, the annual membership subscription, recruited and collected in large numbers at the time of the cinema dispute, expired in the late summer of 1969. Though many of those have been renewed (some by people not wishing to offend a friend by refusing ten shillings), there has been no general effort to recruit or collect subscriptions, and the current membership must have dropped considerably.

The absence of any activity besides the meeting in Coventry in June has led many one time supporters to suppose the party to be "finished", at least in Coventry, and to voice the same complaints against the Jai Hind leadership that these leaders have against the older I.W.A's. leaders - that they are out only to get publicity for themselves. This is not to say that the majority of child migrants and young first generation are not interested in the general policies of the party being concerned with India. They are, but they are not consumed with enthusiasm to struggle for so distant a goal.

Another two meetings were held in Coventry by Jai Hind under the auspices of the Gandhi Centenary Committee to celebrate the centenary of Gandhi's birth. They fell about a month after the Jai Hind public meeting in Coventry, and were disastrous as a show of support for Jai Hind. As a representative on the committee, Manjit had accepted the responsibility for Jai Hind to put on cultural shows in the hall of the Indian and Commonwealth Club on the first two evenings of the centenary week. In the event, the Gujarati singing group that they had booked were prevented from coming, in Manjit's opinion, by a prominent Gujarati also on the committee. Only a dozen Punjabi boys, fringe supporters of Jai Hind, who would probably have been drinking at the club in the evening in any case, arrived to see the few films that had been arranged. The Chairman of the committee taunted Manjit by pointing to the fact that it was a poor showing for Jai Hind, who had officially sponsored and arranged the evening, if they could only muster a dozen people. The following night, the attendance was not better in spite of Ajit's visiting some Jai Hind supporters' houses in his car and persuading them to come. Those who did come saw a selection of short films similar to those shown the previous evening.

The failure of these meetings to attract a crowd may be accounted for by their being organised by a multi-racial committee in which Jai Hind was not particularly interested; nor were the leaders speaking at the meeting, which was to be cultural not political, and they had not arranged much publicity for it. Besides this, Gandhi has been replaced by Subhas Bose as Jai Hind's primary national hero. The meetings were not on

days of the week on which many people go to such shows and, finally, they followed closely on the heels of a general Jai Hind meeting, a month before. The leadership of Jai Hind have plans afoot that might revive their flagging popular support in the absence of another general campaign like the one against the cinema. They have negotiated the purchase of a Japanese film made in the 1940s of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army in action against the British outside India. If Jai Hind can replace the Japanese soundtrack with an English, Hindi or Punjabi one they stand to create considerable interest, particularly among the older first generation immigrants, when it is screened, and so promote their nationalist cause. However, on this issue, they might embroil themselves with some of the local English residents, veterans of the war against Japan and Bose's I.N.A.

Jai Hind and I.W.A. politics

I turn, in conclusion, to consider the structure of Jai Hind in comparison with the pattern of the I.W.As. and their politics.

Each of the major political groups has a different range of resources at its command to be used to recruit support. The I.W.A.G.B. has a firm base for its activities in the Ritz cinema, and its leaders are providing a service to the community. The people know they can find these leaders there at certain times, and the leaders can take advantage of the audience gathered for the films to air their views and be seen. They have an organisation constituted specifically for Indians in the immigrant situation.

The I.W.A. Coventry and its leaders have access, or more importantly the reputation of having access, to prominent members of local English society, prominent men in the city, but as yet they have no permanent base like a cinema for their recruitment of large numbers of followers. The resource of access to prominent men - the ability to be good brokers - is demonstrated at periodic meetings by having local dignitaries on the platform. Their meetings are more frequent and their guest speakers more spectacular than those of the I.W.A.G.B. At a meeting to celebrate Indian Independence Day, 1970, the gathering was addressed by the High Commissioner of India (from London), a local Labour Member of Parliament, the local C.R.O., the Bishop of Coventry's Chaplain for Community Relations, a City Alderman and a representative of the local branch of the Communist party.

Jai Hind, while constituted as an organisation oriented to political action in India, had a major local issue with which to attract local immigrants not concerned with its policies for India. It had a young leadership which had immediate appeal for, and contacts with, many young Punjabis in the city. It had the cinema dispute as a base on which to gather recruits, but it was a temporary base. Jai Hind's orientation away from the immigrant situation and towards political change in India, on the lines advocated by Bose and Bhagat Singh⁷, give it an ideological base that is more likely to appeal to the first generation immigrants who recall the struggle for independence and the Indian National Army, but in Coventry it cannot recruit active members outside the cohort of the leaders, because it is inconsistent that older men should be led by a man in his early twenties. At the same time, Jai Hind's Indian orientation prevents the

recruitment of many active young members because these are more concerned with the business of living in England. Many young people are interested in India and her political future, but they are not consumed with enthusiasm for so distant a goal as the Jai Hind revolution there.

It is interesting that the communist I.W.As. and Jai Hind are committed to land reform in India. Jai Hind proposes the introduction of compulsory co-operative farm units (albeit with the farmers not the state owning the land). The leaders of the parties see no inconsistency in their parties getting mass support from men overwhelmingly of a land-owning caste whose primary motive in migration was to benefit their families, usually in the purchase and development of land. Personal ties are of more consequence than ideology in recruitment to all these parties.

In a number of its features, Jai Hind contrasts strongly with the established I.W.A. pattern. The most obvious is that in Coventry it was the party of the young people, of the 15-25 year-old cohort of Punjabi immigrants, with the exceptions already mentioned. The leaders were young men, well known to many of the other young people in the city as their contemporaries. They were not experienced or seasoned politicians as the I.W.A. politicians have been.

It is important to make the distinction between the support for Jai Hind's action against the cinema - in which everyone except the cinema management stood to gain by cheaper seats - and the support of Jai Hind's policies for India, though at the time all the young Punjabis subscribed to both. The formal orientation of the party towards India contrasts strongly with that of the I.W.As. as they exist today. It compares

with the aims of the I.W.As. in the 1940s, when they were collecting money to defend Udham Singh, and to finance campaigns for Indian independence. It compares also with the general orientation of the branches of Krishna Menon's India League. Since the cinema dispute the Jai Hind leaders have emphasised that the immigrants in England can look after themselves, and that the party is interested only in improving conditions in India, and not in involving itself in another dispute in England to be compared with the campaign against the cinema.

The means of recruitment also mark Jai Hind off from the I.W.As. The party was launched as a political party oriented to India and a nucleus formed by the direct approach of Ajit to a Punjabi public in the pubs of the city. This contrasts with the type of pub recruitment that John documents for Chanan Singh who besides being a broker "went from pub to pub standing drinks for all Indians". (1969:54). Jai Hind's recruitment has also been by personal links, which is similar to much of the I.W.A. paRTi recruitment, but brokerage and its consequent obligations have not been used by any of the Jai Hind leadership to build up a following. Besides any other reason, the young child migrants do not need any help in getting on in England. One young first generation man did seek help from Ajit and Manjit in the early Summer of 1969 after an accident at his factory in which he had been injured and not given proper medical treatment, but this was passed by Jai Hind to C.R.O. who then passed it to the man's Union. Jai Hind made no political capital out of the incident.

A final contrasting feature with the I.W.As. is that

Jai Hind has not been affected by paRTis developing within the party, causing groups to leave or set up rival organisations. The withdrawal of Joginder from active membership of the party and other personal disagreements cannot be interpreted in these terms. That Jai Hind is not affected by paRTis is, however, a premature judgement in that it has only been in existence for two years. It remains to be seen whether paRTis will develop with time.

The structure of the party organisation does reflect an old-established I.W.A. pattern, if for different reasons. The I.W.As. in Coventry have each become organs and mouth-pieces of one prominent politician and his paRTi. John documents the development of this type of situation (1969: pt.1). Jai Hind started with a policy of strong control in the hands of a few, for the sole reason of getting decisive action and avoiding the indecision consequent on competing paRTis struggling for control. Ajit and Dilip were both outspoken on the need for a small group to take decisions on tactics during the cinema dispute, when everyone was offering advice and giving his views as to how to conduct the campaign. "We need one general and a lot of soldiers, not many generals". As a result, elections, as in the I.W.As, have become irrelevant, or at best a formality. In Jai Hind's constitution they are to be held every five years. This has led to Jai Hind being seen by many as Ajit's paRTi, in the same way as the I.W.As. are seen as Gurnam, Iqbal or Santoc's paRTis. It has led also to some members being disillusioned at the 'demogogic' leadership of the party, which is unresponsive to calls from the rank and file.

Jai Hind compares with the I.W.As. in that its active membership is all Punjabi. All its business and meetings are conducted in Punjabi which itself re-enforces its Punjabi exclusiveness. Other Indians have come to regard it as a Punjabi organisation. Though most non-Punjabi Indian immigrants have come to understand some Punjabi, many are still not able to speak it well. The outcome is that they do not join.

At least in the cinema dispute which established Jai Hind's political reputation, the party was competing against one I.W.A, which was involved in the management of the cinema, and with another for the prestige and credit accruing from the demonstration. As we have seen they were competing against an I.W.A. on the very familiar pretext that they were "exploiting the people" (see John; 1969:85) under their cover of "serving the community" (I.W.A.G.B. President, quoted in Coventry Evening Telegraph 4th September, 1968). They were batting on the I.W.A. wicket in that the dispute was in the traditional idiom of I.W.A. politics - Indian film shows. Indeed at the beginning of the dispute Jai Hind themselves had considered showing feature films in a disused cinema within the primary area. The cost of launching such a scheme, and the assertion from some quarters of Jai Hind's ultimate goals in India, prevented them implementing the scheme.

The strong anti-communist sentiment of the Aims and of the party activity generally, is similar to the I.W.A. Coventry's general hounding of all things communist, and again lays Jai Hind partially open to the criticism that they themselves level at the I.W.A. parties in the second sentence of the Aims that

they "have no policies to put forward apart from opposing each other."

In its activities, besides the action against the cinema Jai Hind follows the I.W.A. forms, or, at least, Punjabi forms that the I.W.As. also follow. Jai Hind has begun to hold meetings to celebrate festivals and anniversaries. The meetings held to celebrate the centenary of Gandhi's birth were unqualified failures, from which they may have learned either their mistakes in that instance, or not to organise celebrations of that nature again. The meeting in Leamington coincided with the celebration of Indian Independence Day in August, and was a success.

In the general meetings Jai Hind again follows a pattern common for Punjabi political meetings: of speeches in Punjabi, punctuated by Hindi and Punjabi songs and poetry, and a film when this can be obtained.

Finally, like the I.W.As., Jai Hind shows no indication of making any common cause with the groups in England fighting generally for the rights of coloured or immigrant residents. Its history to date can be divided into two chapters: the activities in which it has followed its formal aim of political action in India, which have been more discussion and planning than action, and which have not inspired a great following in Coventry; and the activities coincidental to the political future of India, concerned with the interests of Punjabi immigrants, notably the action against the cinema, which aroused strong support.

If Jai Hind holds to its allotted course, it will grow further from the pattern of I.W.As. in England, but if it becomes occupied with Punjabi immigrant issues, it will become another association distinguished only in name from the I.W.As.

The ambiguous position of a political party like Jai Hind is appropriate for a 17-25 year-old cohort, the majority of whose members are child migrants. It reflects the ambiguity of their own stance in being more at home in England than the first generation, and yet having more experience of India than the second generation. As the 17-25 year-old cohort becomes increasingly a second generation cohort the second generation may 'outbid' the child migrants in turning the political orientation of the cohort to local goals of improving the Indians' lot in English society. It seems possible that the dispersal of Punjabi settlement now beginning, and occupational mobility of the better-educated second generation, will act against the development of so well bounded and laterally linked a network incorporating second generation Punjabis, such as has existed to date. They will have had an education and upbringing in England in common with other coloured and white boys, and it may be their common experiences with some of these young people that will become the basis for recruitment to political associations that the second generation will join.

Footnotes to Chapter 8.

1. Other studies include Beals(1959,1962), Firth(1957) Pocock(1957), Nicolas(1965) and Chaudheri(1968).
2. A thok is a major geographical subdivision of a village.
3. The Punjabis use the phrase 'social worker' for a man who acts as a broker between a man and a bureaucrat, with whom he has some business, or who helps in the filling of forms etc. John refers to these men as 'social workers'. I shall refer to such men generally as 'brokers' to avoid any misunderstanding in the term 'social worker'.
4. Ilaqa is the Punjabi for a small area covering several villages.
5. At this time the cinema management attempted to forestall any action by visiting Ajit at his home and offering to show him their accounts, duly audited, to demonstrate that they were making more of a loss than a profit, but to no avail.
6. The Times(Jan. 20 1970 p.3) carried an article about "Asian film 'clubs' tax enquiry". " Because they say the shows are private 'for the benefit of members and guests only', they escape payment of tax and duty to which commercial cinemas are normally subject."

7. Bhagat Singh is a hero of the Indian independence struggle, particularly to Punjabis. He advocated the expulsion of the British from India by force. He was active in the late 1920s and was executed by the British in the early 1930s.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONThe plural situation and cultural assimilation

I shall return in conclusion to consider the situation of the Punjabi immigrants in Coventry with reference to the model immigrant situations of pluralism, structural and cultural assimilation analysed in the first chapter (pp.39-46). I have demonstrated that the first generation Punjabi immigrants have sought to retain their culture in the immigrant situation. They have also tried not to compromise the social relations that have validity in the home situation, in anticipation of returning ultimately to Punjab. The result has been the establishment of a Punjabi settlement and a Punjabi community in the city whose first generation members have been culturally and structurally distinct from other residents in the city. Child migrants have found themselves transported from one Punjabi community to another; the second generation has been brought up in one.

Some aspects and institutions of English society have had considerable impact on the lives of the members of the Punjabi community, particularly the educational system and the whole field of local employment, to the extent that one cannot live culturally in the working-class area of a city in England in exactly the same way as one lived as a farmer in a village in Punjab. The first generation immigrants have made some minimal cultural concessions to the English weather, housing

and their employment. Experiences at school, at work and from the mass media have influenced the child migrants and second generation to adopt many aspects of English culture, particularly the culture of the corresponding cohort in English society. They have adopted the contemporary fashions of dress, haircut, language, seek entertainment at the same places, work of the same type, and recreation in the same sports as their native contemporaries. The adoption in the early months of 1970 of the symbols of the popular 'skinhead' image by a small group of child migrant Punjabis itself symbolises the conformity of the young people to contemporary English cultural norms.

A culture common to both the children of immigrants and natives of the same age group removes some barriers preventing the establishment of primary relations between them, but it does not necessarily lead to the establishment of such relations, and the disappearance of the structurally separate groups in an undivided, unbounded network of primary social relations. The Punjabi community still exists for the child migrant and second generation as one in which primary relations are established exclusively between Punjabis.

I do not mean to imply that there is enmity or conflict between young Punjabis of the 17-25 year old cohort and their English contemporaries, or that the Punjabis experience any personal difficulty in dealings with members of the formal or informal institutions of English society. I have no evidence of these at all; but relations established in many different contexts, the family, school, college, employment,

recreation and peer group activities all cut across each other to form the network that is the community, of which the younger Punjabis are almost as much a part as are the members of their parents' generation. Inter-marriage can be used as a gauge of structural assimilation, but not of a stage of cultural assimilation. There has been no inter-marriage between boys of the second or child migrant generations: nor is there any immediate prospect of it. Any assessment of the extent of structural relations between the young Punjabis and members of English society would have to be in terms of moral relations established at school, at work or in some peer group activity.

There is the plural situation in relations between the first generation and local society: they are culturally and structurally distinct. The second generation and, to a lesser extent, the child migrants are culturally assimilated but they remain structurally distinct. There has been structural assimilation with local society only in exceptional cases of individual members of the second generation. Taking the three aspects on which Child (1943) classified three typical second generation immigrant reactions (p.248 above), the second generation Doabis show an overwhelming tendency to the 'ingroup' reaction. They respond enthusiastically to symbols of Indian and particularly Punjabi grouping. In their relationships with their associates they show a strong preference for Punjabi friends (and a Punjabi wife), and, furthermore, they keep the company they prefer.(chap. 7). In response to cultural differences their attitude is more ambiguous. Where cultural features

have no particular national symbolism implied in their adoption they will adopt those of English society, where a cultural feature is a symbol of a Punjabi grouping like the Punjabi language, or the Sikh religion, it is maintained.

The factors maintaining the community

In the preceding chapters I have considered some of the factors that have contributed to the maintenance of the community, established by the first generation, that now includes all the child migrants and most of the second generation. The social behaviour between people in the community has been governed by Punjabi village norms. Various factors have contributed to the establishment of the patterns of relations of the child migrants and second generation boys which are to a large extent in conformity with those of the first generation.

The most important factor is that none of these young people live in Coventry alone or isolated from all the members of their family or other Punjabis who know their family well. Their position contrasts strongly with that of the young 'student types' that Aurora mentions (1967:57), several of whom established primary relations with, and married or lived with, English women. Some of the young Punjabis in Coventry may have come to England to study and gain qualifications, but the context in which they live is very different from that in which the 'student types' were living in Greenend in the late 1950s. Most boys are living with senior members of their families and most of the boys' immediate family members are likely to be in England. Moreover, they are living in a regional

settlement in which the village universe has been re-established.

The child migrants and second generation boys were not the first members of their families to come to England, so they did not have any initiative in establishing the way in which they or other members of the family should live. Here again, they contrast with the student types and other Punjabis of Greenend, who were in many cases the first and only members of their families in England.

The child migrants come to be integrated into the family scheme of economic goals in the village context - even if this includes their getting higher education, or technical skill and not immediately joining other family members as wage earners. The second generation boys have been brought up to accept their families' goals in India, even if they themselves have not been able to sympathise with them. Both have been brought up in a nuclear or extended family household, in England or in India, which included women, usually a mother and often sisters as well. Their upbringing in these homes has predisposed them to accepting an identity as Punjabi boys, and introduced them to a range of people, both kin and family friends with whom they have established primary relations before they have reached the age at which they could themselves choose the identity they wished to adopt.

Marriage by Punjabi custom has an important role in integrating the young people into their families and the community. Social behaviour within and outside the family has an influence on the 'marriageability' of the individual

and of his siblings. To this extent, marriage influences the social behaviour of the bachelors before the event. To a much greater extent, the marriage itself marks a commitment by the individual to the social code by which he will live as a married man.

The establishment of a regional settlement has allowed the first generation to develop primary relations exclusively with other Punjabis, and bring up their children in that context. At school, the Punjabi children, particularly the child migrants, find they have much in common with each other, including language, colour, and some educational problems in the classroom. Furthermore, their parents or other family members may be known to one another. In Coventry, the catchment areas for the two secondary schools in the primary area almost exactly coincide with that area, so that even if being the children of Punjabi parents did not give the boys anything in common, going to the same schools has ensured that most Punjabi boys know a large proportion of the others of the same age in the city. At work, at the local colleges, similar factors operate to bring the Punjabis together, quite apart from their being driven together by any discriminatory practice or prejudiced remarks made on account of their skin colour, language or customs.

The leadership of the family is taken by its senior first generation members whose orientation is towards the village and village goals. The re-created village universe is dominated by the members of the first generation. Not unnaturally, many young people grow up with similar orientation towards Punjab and their villages. The idealisation of the villages and village life has become something of an article

of faith of first generation Punjabi immigrants. This, too, has been passed on to, and adopted by, a number of their children. Even those sceptical of it, are curious to visit this Utopian homeland where milk, fruit and vegetables are always plentiful, fresh and cheap, the people are generous, the weather is good, the houses are big and where "you can really enjoy".

I have shown (p.254) that visits to Punjab of young people of all generations are not simple sentimental journeys. The visits have important consequences in developing and strengthening ties with kin in the village and, in the case of the second generation boys, they give them a personal interest and experience of the village for the first time. The visits have important implications for the identity and social behaviour of the visitors when they return to England.

The composition of peer groups and cliques is, however, the clearest indication of the extent to which the children of Punjabis continue to relate with other Punjabis. I know of no Punjabi peer group that includes any English boys, though some few second generation boys are members of English peer groups. Punjabi boys understand the orientation of each other's families. In more ways than one, they speak the same language. They have common interests as well as sharing common pressures and difficulties that the orientation of their families to Punjab hold in store for the English-educated boys. They find most English boys do not, or cannot, understand or sympathise.

Another sphere in which the orientation towards India

is clearly reflected in the younger people is in their politics. Jai Hind recruited its mass support on a local issue not an issue of politics in Punjab, but this mobilisation of support was on an exclusively Indian issue and, as such, still reflects the non-English orientation of its supporters. The orientation of the young people towards India is not so immediate as to mobilise them to the Jai Hind banner in the cause of revolution - but it is sufficient to lead them to behave and relate socially in the immigrant situation in ways which are consistent with relations in the village universe. The importance of the orientation of the young people, the village goals of the family and their elders' anticipation of returning to Punjab lies not in whether these goals are ever achieved and the family does return - for many of them will do neither. Their importance in the immigrant situation lies in the effect they have on the identity, reference groups, behaviour and social relations of the immigrants and their children.

In connection with most second generation boys continuing to identify themselves as Punjabis, not as Englishmen, and their patterns of relations continuing to be essentially Punjabi, it is important to relate their situation to a commonly held British stereotype expressed by Enoch Powell, M.P., in a speech at Scarborough in January, 1970 (Sunday Times, 18th January, 1970).

It is true that there is a network of primary relations enclosing all the Doabis in the city, and that Punjabi identity is maintained by the children of Doabi immigrants. But these facts do not in any way mean that the second generation in

England are "sojourners in a strange land" as Enoch Powell suggests. None of the adult young people who have been in England since before the age of ten years are, or feel, "strangers", or "sojourners" in England. That they relate socially in England primarily with children of other Punjabis does not imply that they share the feelings of their parents that they are in a strange land. Some of these young people do intend to settle in India, but in England they are no more sojourners in a strange land than intending English emigrants to Australia. Powell's implication is that, if they are not "English in everything but colour" - and clearly they are not - they must be "sojourners in a strange land" - a sort of Punjabi fifth column. I have found absolutely no evidence to support this implication. Even those who have every intention of settling permanently in England retain some interest and affection for their parents' country of origin. The single most influential factor in impressing on some of these young people an insecurity and a fear that they are alien and unwanted, whatever they, themselves, had previously thought, has been persistent and apparently widely acclaimed speeches of Powell himself since 1968.

The differentiation of the cohort by generation

The generations within the 17-25 year old cohort are differentiated by their social behaviour and relations in some fields of activity. The second generation are overwhelmingly employed as apprentices or remain in higher education as full-time students. The child migrant generation is differentiated by employment in that some of the early child migrants are full-time students, while the late child migrants are skilled workers, with some of each

category apprentices.

In their politics, second generation boys are oriented less to the Indian political issues both in the immigrant situation and in India. The second generation boys took less interest in Jai Hind and the cinema dispute than the child migrants and those who were involved were more interested in the politics of the dispute than the issue of cinema seat prices. The one second generation boy in Jai Hind leadership had a different role from the child migrant leaders.

No contrasting patterns are yet emerging in the marriage of the boys of different generations in the cohort but it seems likely that the child migrants will continue to marry girls from Punjab as the second generation begin to marry second generation girls.

The structure of second generation peer groups are the same as those of the child migrants though second generation activities conform closer to those of their English peers than the child migrants' activities.

In some activities, the second generation are outnumbered by the child migrants. The 17-25 year-old cohort consists, at present, of a larger proportion of child migrants than of second generation boys. The higher proportion of child migrants means that they have been able to 'outbid' the second generation in taking the leadership and initiative in most of the activities in which members of the cohort are involved, except those of specifically second generation peer groups. They outnumber the second generation in the composition of football teams, so that, in language and other peer group behaviour, any second generation members are obliged to conform to child migrant norms. For example, in politics, as

we have seen, the child migrants dominated the leadership of Jai Hind and governed the direction of its political activity. Those second generation boys who took an active part had to swim with the child migrant tide.

The child migrants have taken a part as members of the family in the socialisation of the second generation boys, but more by their seniority than their numbers. If there are any child migrant brothers in the family, they are usually the eldest and by the nature of sibling relations have had the initiative in influencing the social behaviour of their younger brothers who are earlier child migrants or second generation boys. They can demonstrate by example the behaviour to which members of the second generation are expected to conform.

Implications for the future

The child migrants have been pacemakers in that they have established patterns for the 17-25 year old cohort that the second generation are following in some fields. The fourth stage of the migration, characterised by the second generation reaching maturity is not yet very far advanced in Coventry. The largest unknown factor in the development is the extent of the changes in patterns of social relations of the cohort that will result from the outnumbering of the child migrants by the second generation.

In the previous chapters, I have mentioned some second generation boys who have developed primary relations which local English friends in school and at work, have adopted English reference groups and joined English peer groups. Accordingly, their links with other Punjabi boys have weakened or failed to

develop into primary relations. These boys have few links with members in the community and hence are known by few people in it. In these cases, the boys have gone past the point where they could have been prevented from 'opting out' of the community and adopting an English identity, before the implications of their associations for their future social relations were realised by the family members. But they are exceptions in that the majority of boys of the same generation who all go through school develop their links with other Punjabi boys, and maintain their membership of the community.

The patterns of the social relations of the second generation in their various fields of activity are structural features which will govern the development of the Punjabi community in the fourth stage of migration, and the relations between and within the families that make it up. Of these various fields of social relations outside the family, that of peer groups within the city seems likely to help maintain the structural exclusiveness of the second generation. The pattern that second generation social relations will take in the field of politics remains unknown. However, in the whole field of education and employment, and in that of marriage[?], second generation patterns are likely to deviate from first generation and child migrant patterns with structural implications for the development of the whole regional settlement.

There is a fraying at the edges of the community in the city, both spacially and in social relations. Some individual second generation boys are developing primary relations outside the community at the expense of their relations within it. At the same time, families are moving out of the primary area of

settlement so that their children are no longer associated together by residential proximity, in common schools and with common recreation facilities. This residential dispersal is reflected in the total social network, including all Punjabis, in that the lateral links are thinning overall and clustering in local groupings. The community is literally getting too big and too spread out to survive as tightly knit as before. This 'fraying' does not mean that individuals in the 17-25 year old cohort will not continue to relate as members of their families, or as Punjabi peer group members, but that the cross cutting ties linking all the members of the community will not be so comprehensive. No longer will anybody be able to 'fix' anybody in a social position. Some Punjabis will be completely unknown to others.

In Coventry the change in settlement pattern is better represented as an extension of the primary area on two sides rather than a dispersal of families throughout the city, but it is into catchment areas for schools other than Broad Heath and Frederick Bird, and into areas at opposite ends of the city two or three miles apart. Peer groups based on local areas of the city will continue to develop, but even so it seems likely that for those boys who stay in Coventry the local football league and the tournament competition, links between first and second generation parents all over the city, and the central institutions like the Gurudwaras and technical colleges, will continue to give young people in each part links with some of those in others.

The future pattern of the political organisations of the second generation is an unknown factor. Jai Hind has been a child migrant organisation. Its ambiguous stance between action in England and in India reflects the ambiguous stance of the child migrants themselves. It may be taken over by the second generation, but not I think with its present orientation to India. The dispersal all over the country in education, and probably employment, of some members of the second generation will exclude them from assuming any leadership roles. But with a strong emphasis on engineering in the higher education of the early child migrants and the second generation, it is likely that a number of Punjabi boys brought up elsewhere in England will move to the city as employees in engineering firms, as students at the Lanchester Polytechnic or the nearby University of Warwick. These 'newcomers' may interest themselves in local Punjabi politics.

If the race relations situation in the Midlands is aggravated in the future, and adverse discrimination by colour continues or increases, the second generation may be attracted to the radical movements pressing demands for the civil rights of all coloured citizens. There has been no indication of any of the second generation boys moving in that direction to date, even though the local Community Relations Officer has attempted to create an awareness among young coloured Coventrians of the struggles of black people in America and elsewhere. On the other hand, antagonism in the near future between residents of the city on the grounds of colour is as likely to drive the second generation to

identify with, and support, any militant Punjabi movement that such a situation would call into existence. Racial unrest would certainly provide an issue to rejuvenate Jai Hind in the immigrant situation. The second generation, like the first and child migrants, is more likely to articulate itself politically through an essentially Punjabi organisation than find common cause with the children of West Indians and African immigrants. Mobilisation of political forces in a Punjabi organisation would revive second generation interest in India and Indian nationalism as Jai Hind did and turn their hopes of technical or skilled careers towards India.

There are two aspects of the patterns of social relations of the second generation that, as structural features built into the development of the settlement in the fourth stage of migration, will have the effect of undermining the traditional patterns of relations within the community, of modifying the original aims and ideology of the first generation immigrants, and possibly of undermining the exclusiveness of primary relations within it.

The first of these features threatening the established structure is the increasing number of girls now reaching marriageable age, evening the proportions of boys and girls in the city. Education, employment and the mores of English society are undermining the restricted freedom of girls outside and their subordination in the home. At the same time, their greater numbers are rendering boys independent of relatives in India in finding a wife. This is not to say that the marriages between parties, both of whom have lived in England,

are not still in accordance with Punjabi tradition, but there is no longer a demographic necessity for boys to have wives sent for them from Punjab. The increasing freedom that girls are likely to demand, and gain, after their education in England is likely to increase the pressure for 'love matches' to become more generally accepted.

The marriage of members of the second generation to each other will give each a spouse who has an upbringing in England in common. They will have strong ties with relations in India but little personal contact with them or their way of life there. However, the match will still be an affair primarily between two kin groups rather than between two individuals. The role as daughter-in-law and wife that a girl is expected to play in the house of her father-in-law and husband will restrict the scope of the couple's activities outside the traditional code. While primary relations may be maintained within the Punjabi community by such marriages the pattern of those relations will be changed.

The second of the two features is the pattern (already clear) for the second generation to take higher education after school leaving age, or at least get technical training in apprenticeships lasting up to four years after leaving school.

The decision to give higher education to the children involves the first generation father in a dilemma the resolution of which has profound implications on the future of the family and of his son. The decision to send him out to

work at school leaving age goes against the very strong ideology of having well-qualified sons, whose achievements are reflected on the whole family. On the other hand, it assures a higher income for the family in the short term, a quicker realisation of village goals and a high chance that the son, staying at home will not deviate from the code of social behaviour his parents believe appropriate for a Punjabi son, to the extent of returning to work on the family holding in Punjab.

To have a highly-educated son is, in itself, to fulfil some status goals in the village, and probably material goals, but in the longer term. The decision to give a son higher education is at the risk of his establishing primary relations with non-Punjabis. In taking up his course, he will, in most cases, be living away from home. This absence will affect the range of peer group activities in which he can join in Coventry, and may weaken links with his local peer group, though, in many cases, those peers are also taking higher education. The group continues to interact in the vacations. Living in isolation from the family and regional settlement, he will be exposed to the risks of developing primary relations with members of English society and of adopting personal ambitions that conflict with family ambitions for him and family goals.

Higher education is so highly valued by the first generation for their children that these risks are outweighed and those boys who are qualified to take advantage of it are encouraged to do so. To date, all the boys in Coventry taking higher education away from home have continued to behave in accordance with their families' expectations of

them, but none of those have yet completed their courses. Even if these and future second generation members continue to conform in their social behaviour to their families' expectations, their very qualifications may have caused some modifications of their families' goals in migration.

The goal of the father to raise the status of the family by purchasing land in Doaba that his sons may inherit a large farm must be modified. The sons will have qualifications that preclude them from going into farming. The costs of giving them higher education will limit the immediate material gains in the village, but the family will enjoy the higher status - and, in time, the prosperity of having sons in professional careers elsewhere in India or abroad.

This all relies on the sons continuing to meet family expectations in their social behaviour. If they do remain loyal to the expectations that other members of the extended family have of them, even if they do not live together in a joint household, then the dispersal of the members over several cities and countries is of no threat to the unity of the family. The second generation will be able to play their part in fulfilling the family goals in the village without ever living there.

The second generation boys who take apprenticeships often disappoint their families who had more ambitious hopes for them. More indulgence is shown by parents to those boys who go on from school to take higher education. In the cases of some second generation boys their parents' disapproval of their son's membership of an English peer group is related to their disappointment that he has not taken up higher education.

There seems to be some correlation between the pressure that a boy feels from his family to take higher education for which he cannot qualify, or does not want, and his membership of a peer group whose members have less ambitious employment, as apprentices, in which he feels some security as a very obvious peer.

In general, apprentices live at home, and their low wages, of about the same per annum as a full-time local education authority grant to an undergraduate student, force them to depend on their families. In this position, the risks of their developing primary relations except with other Punjabis, and adopting personal ambitions which conflict with those of the family, are small. Moreover, the technical skills in which they are apprenticed are those skills which are in demand on the farms and in the industries of Doaba. A skilled mechanic is more useful in Doaba than a research physicist, an electrician more use than a polymer chemist. The alternative of a career in England (or North America) or in India is a more open option for the apprenticed technician or craftsman, than it is for the science or engineering graduate. The apprentice has a skill that can be put at the disposal of the family in the fulfillment of its village goals, but he has also a skill, like the graduates, that can be profitably practised in England.

The attraction of the consumer society in England and North America is a cultural factor that is not to be compared in significance with these structural features for the patterns of relations of the second generation and their implications.

The second generation and child migrants have adopted local cultural norms, but, with few exceptions, are conforming to the patterns of their parents' generation in their social relations. The patterns of their relations in the field of marriage are likely to be different from those of the first generation, as in the fields of education and employment they already are. These changes have crucial implications for the future structure of the regional settlement of the community. Further research on the differences of the second generation from the first, and on the development of the whole Punjabi immigrant settlement will be most fruitful if it is focused on these aspects.

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