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SOCIOLOGY OF MIGRATION AND DIASPORA

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1.1 Introduction: Migration

Migration is the third determining factor of population, the other being birth rate and death rate. Migration is determined by the social, cultural, economic and political factors. This shows the trend of social change. Migration, simply means the movement of a person or group of persons from one area to another, either temporarily or permanently. It is the movement of people between regions or countries.

There are various types of migration, especially based on the boundaries of countries and states as well as based on the number of persons migrated and so on. The following are the types of migration.
a) Immigration and Emigration- when people move from one country to another country, for example, if people from India move to America then for America, it is termed as immigration and for India it is Emigration.

b) In-migration and out-migration- in-migration means migration occurring within an area only, while out-migration means migration out of the area. Both of these are called internal migration occurring within the country. For example, migration from Bihar to Kerala is in-migration for Kerala and it is out-migration for Bihar.

c) Gross and Net migration- during any time period, the total number of persons coming in the country and the total number of people going out of the country for residing is called gross migration. The difference between the total number of persons coming to reside in a country and going out of the country for residing during any time period is termed as net migration.

d) Internal and External migration- internal migration means the movement of people in different states and regions within a country from
one place to another. External or international migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another for permanent settlement.

Theories of migration

There are various theories on migration such as Push-pull theory by Everett Lee, Standing’s theory of Materialism, Duncan’s theory, Ravenstein’s Laws of migration, World System theory, Network theory, Institutional theory, the theory of Cumulative Causation and so on. Here we are discussing the two most important theories of migration by Everett Lee and Ravenstein and its contemporary relevance.

Everett Lee’s theory of Migration

Lee in his ‘A Theory of Migration’ divides the factors that determine the decision to migrate and the process of migration into four categories. They are the following:

a) Factors associated with the area of Origin- there are various factors that motivates people to move from their area of origin to outside areas; these are called push factors.

b) Factors associated with the area of Destination- these are the attractive forces at the area of
destination which attracts or pull people to that area. According to Lee these factors are found in metropolitan areas of a country.

c) Intervening Obstacles- Lee says that distance and transportation are the intervening obstacles for migration. For him, these obstacles have been lessened in modern times with technological advances. Lee also says about some more obstacles like cost of movement, ethnic barriers and personal factors.

d) Personal factors- According to Lee there are many personal factors that determine the decision to migrate from place of origin to the place of destination. It is an individual’s perception of the ‘pull and push forces’ which influence actual migration. Lee categorises these forces in to ‘pluses’ and ‘minuses’ respectively. Clearly, the pluses are the pull factors and minuses are the push factors. In between these factors, there are ‘zeros’ which balance the competing forces. The following model of migration describes the idea obviously.
In the above figure, the first circle represents the area of origin and the second circle represents the area of destination. The pluses sign represents the forces that attract people to a place (pull factors) and that of minuses represents the forces that push people from the area. Zeros represents the indifference of the people towards migration. In between these forces are the intervening obstacles. According to Lee the personal factors like age, sex, education which along with push-pull factors and intervening obstacles, that determine migration.

Everett Lee has formulated three hypotheses (Characteristics of migrants, Volume of migration and Streams of migration) and this explains why some people migrate and others do not migrate. These hypotheses are mentioned in the following section.
A) Characteristics of migrants- Lee discusses the characteristics of the migrants under seven heads. They are-

1. Migration is selective- due to differences in personal factors, the conditions at the places of origin and destination, and intervening obstacles are responded differently by different individuals. The selectivity could be both positive and negative. It is positive when there is selection of migrants of high quality, and negative when the selection is of low quality.

2. Migrants respond primarily to the plus factors at destination term to be positively selected- these persons are under no necessity to migrate but do so because they perceive opportunities from afar and they weigh the advantages and disadvantages in the place of origin and destination. For example, professionals, managerial people and educated ones who are comfortably situated in the place of origin also migrate if they get better offers elsewhere and so migration means advancement for them.

3. Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected; or, where the minus factors are overwhelming for the entire population group, they may not be selected for migration; In other
words, migrants responding to negative factors at origin tend to be negatively selected.

4. When all migrants are considered together, selection for migration tends to be bimodal—any given origin, some of the migrants who leave are responding primarily to plus factors at destination and therefore tend to be positively selected. While others are responding and minus factors and therefore taken to be negatively selected. Therefore, if we plot characteristics of total migrants along a continuum ranging from poor to excellent, we often get a J-shaped or U-shaped curve. Such curves are found, for example, where the characteristic is either occupational class or education.

5. The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty posed by the intervening obstacles—even though selection is negative or random at origin, intervening obstacles serve to weed out some of the weak or the incapable. Thus, the rigors of the voyage to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries eliminated many of the weak, and the same kind of selection is apparent among the German refugees from eastern Europe during and after World War II. It is also commonly noted that as distance of migration increases, the migrants become an increasingly superior group. At
the other extreme, we have the milling-around in restricted areas of persons who, by any definition, are less capable; for example, uneducated slum dwellers often move round and round within a few-block radius. Such short distance movements were also characteristic of sharecroppers in the pre-World War II days in the United States.

6. The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle is important in the selection of migrants—some degree, migration is a part of the *rites de passage*. Thus, persons who enter the labor force or get married tend to migrate from their parental home, while persons who are divorced or widowed also tend to move away. Since some of these events happen at quite well defined ages, they are important in shaping the curve of age selection. They are also important in establishing other types of selection—marital status or size of family, for example.

7. The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population of the place of origin and of the population of the place of destination—persons with different characteristics react differently to the balance of plus and minus factors at origin and destination. Even before they leave, migrants
tend to have taken on some of the characteristics of the population at destination, but they can never completely lose some which they share with the population at origin. It is because they are already to some degree like the population at destination that they find certain positive factors there, and it is because they are unlike the population at origin that certain minus factors there warrant migration. Many studies have shown this intermediate relationship. The fertility of migrants, for example, tends to fall between that of the population at origin and the population at destination, and the education of migrants from rural areas, while greater than that of non-migrants at origin, is less than that of the population at destination. Thus, we have one of the paradoxes of migration in that the movement of people may tend to lower the quality of population, as expressed in terms of some particular characteristic, at both origin and destination.

B) Volume of migration—there are six points mentioned by Lee about the volume of migration, which are as follows—

1. The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree diversity of the areas included in that territory—If migration, as we have assumed, results in
part from a consideration of positive and negative factors at origin and destination, then a high degree of diversity among areas should result in high levels of migration. These we find in countries which are being opened up for settlement, as was the United States in the nineteenth century, eastern Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Siberia in the twentieth century. Under such conditions, opportunities arise which are sufficient to attract to them persons whose dissatisfaction with their places of origin is little more than minimal. Very great attractions spring up suddenly, as, for example, the discovery of gold in California, of silver in Colorado, and the opening up of Indian Territory for white settlement. The servicing of such a movement, in terms of providing transportation, protection, supplies, and the niceties as well as the necessities of life, creates highly specialized but often very lucrative opportunities. Thus, pioneers and settlers are accompanied by soldiers and merchants and ladies of fortune, who indeed may push ahead of the wave of settlement to establish outposts and nodal points.

The end of the period of settlement does not necessarily imply a decrease in areal diversity. On the contrary, the industrialization, which has traditionally followed settlement, is a great creator of areal diversity.
In a dynamic economy, new opportunities are continually created in places to which workers must be drawn, and old enterprises are ruthlessly abandoned when they are no longer profitable.

2. The volume of migration varies with the diversity of the people in that territory. Where there is a great sameness among people - whether in terms of race or ethnic origin, of education, of income, or tradition - we may expect a lesser rate of migration than where there is great diversity.

3. The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of the surmounting intervening variables. In other words, the more is the intervening obstacles the less is the volume of migration. One of the most important considerations in the decision to migrate is the difficulty of the intervening obstacles. To tunnel under the Berlin Wall is a hazardous task not to be undertaken lightly; nor was sea passage to the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The removal of immigration restrictions within the Common Market countries has been accompanied by large migrations of workers from one of these countries to another.

4. The volume of migration fluctuates with the economy- business cycles affect the volume of migration in many
ways, but a crucial consideration is the manner in which they affect the comparison of positive and negative factors at origin and destination. During periods of economic expansion, new businesses and industries are created at a rapid rate, and old industries begin to recruit workmen from afar. Such opportunities, however, are by no means evenly spread, and parts of the country remain in a state of relative stagnation. The contrast between the positive factors at origin and destination is therefore heightened, and the negative factors at origin seem more distressing. During depressions, however, some of the newly created businesses fail and others cease to expand. A leveling of opportunities occurs, and sheer familiarity with the place of residence (which in itself constitutes an element of safety), militates against moving to places where positive factors no longer so heavily outweigh those at home.

5. Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time- the volume of migration tends to increase with time for a number of reasons, among them increasing diversity of areas, increasing diversity of people, and the diminution of intervening obstacles.
6. The volume and rate of migration vary with the state of progress in a country or area. In an economically progressive country, the differences among areas are accentuated by industrial development and the differences among people by education. At the same time, intervening obstacles to migration within the country are lessened by improving technology and by political design. We should, therefore, expect to find heavy immigration to developed countries where this is permitted and within such countries a high rate of internal migration. On the other hand, in the least developed countries we should find a largely immobile population which usually changes residence only under duress and then en masse rather than through individual action. In the United States, economically the most advanced of nations, rates of migration are unbelievably high, one in five persons changing his residence each year. In other economically advanced countries, like Sweden, Canada, or West Germany, we find this repeated at a somewhat lower level.

C) Streams and counter-streams of migration - here Lee talked about the flow of migrants form one area to another with the help of six points.
1. Migration tends to take place largely within well-defined streams - a common observation that migrants proceed along well-defined routes toward highly specific destinations. This is true in part because opportunities tend to be highly localized and in part because migrants must usually follow established routes of transportation.

2. For every major migration stream, a counter-stream also develops - A counterstream is established for several reasons. One is that positive factors at origin may disappear, or be muted, as during a depression, or there may be a re-evaluation of the balance of positive and negative factors at origin and destination. The very existence of a migration stream creates contacts between origin and destination, and the acquisition of the new attributes at destination, be they skills or wealth, often makes it possible to return to the origin on advantageous terms. Migrants become aware of opportunities at origin which were not previously exploited, or they may use their contacts in the new area to set up businesses in the old. Accompanying the returning migrants will be their children born at destination, and along with them will be people indigenous to the area of destination who have become aware of opportunities or amenities at the place of origin through stream migrants. Furthermore, not all
persons who migrate intend to remain indefinitely at the place of destination.

3. The efficiency of the stream (ratio of stream to counter-stream or the net redistribution of population affected by the opposite flow) is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream are minus factors at origin - This point is so obvious that it hardly needs elaboration. Few of the Irish who fled famine conditions returned to Ireland, and few American Negroes return to the South.

4. The efficiency of the stream and the counter-stream of migration tends to be low if the place of origin and the place of destination are similar - this case, persons moving in opposing flows move largely for the same reasons and in effect cancel each other out.

5. The efficiency of migration streams will be high if the intervening obstacles are great - migrants who overcome a considerable set of intervening obstacles do so for compelling reasons, and such migrations are not undertaken lightly. To some degree, the set of obstacles in stream and counterstream is the same, and return migrants are faced with the necessity of twice negotiating a nearly overwhelming set of obstacles. For example, migrants from Pennsylvania to California are
deterred from returning by the very expense of the journey.

6. The deficiency of the migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression—during boom times the usual areas of destination, that is, the great centers of commerce and industry, expand rapidly, and relatively few persons, either return migrants or others, make the countermove. In times of depression, however, many migrants return to the area of origin, and others move toward the comparatively “safer” non-industrialized areas. In extreme instances stream and counterstreams may be reversed, as was the case with movement to and from rural areas during the worst years of the Great Depression. More recently, the mild recession in 1949 seems to have reversed the usual net flow from Oklahoma to California.

Everett Lee concludes that migration is always selective and influenced by push-pull factors. Areas having plus factors are first selected for migration. Generally the pull factors which lead to migration to urban areas rather than push factors, even though intervening obstacles do influence migration.
Criticism of the theory

Many scholars claim that it is difficult to determine which plus factors and which minus factors at both origin and destination are quantitatively the most important to different groups and classes of people. Moreover, the presence of intervening obstacles do not help demographers to identify which factors have major influence and which ones are minor factors. For this reason, Lee’s theory offers little practical guidance for policy and decision-making in developing nations.

Ravenstein’s Law of Migration

Ravenstein developed his law of migration in the year 1885. By considering the inter-country migration, Ravenstein developed some generalisations regarding migrations and this known as the ‘laws of migration’, which is relevant even today. The following are the generalisations by Ravenstein.

a) There is an inverse relation between distance and volume of migration. Majority of migrants moves to short distance only. Migrants going long distance generally go by preference to the large centres of commerce and industry.
b) Migration proceeds step by step. The inhabitants of countryside flock into the nearby rapidly growing town. The gap created by this out-migration in the countryside is filled up by in-migration from still remoter countryside. The inhabitants of the town then move to the nearby urban centre up in the hierarchy.

c) Every migration current produces a counter-current.

d) The native of the rural areas are more mobile than their counterpart in the urban areas, and the major direction of migration is from agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce.

e) Females are more mobile than male in the country of birth, but male more frequently venture beyond.

f) Migration is highly age selective where adults in the working age groups display a greater propensity to migrate.

g) Volume of migration increases with the process of diversification of the economy, and improvement in transport facilities.
h) Migration occurs mainly due to economic reasons.

Current discussion on the theory—Migration declines with increasing distance, is a universal fact. But this is not relevant in this modern period of transportation. Internal migration is high due to the modernisation and uneven development. Most of the studies prove that migration is highly age-selective. For instance, the gap created by the emigrants and outmigrants from Kerala is filled up by the in-migrants form different states of India like Bihar and West Bengal. Likewise, the gulf migration from Kerala created a high gap in the employment field of Kerala and this was replaced firstly by the Tamil in-migrants and later by the other north and northeast people. The current trend of migration in India shows that the people from agricultural areas move to the urban centres in search of better wage and occupation. Many of the recent studies on migration shows that the younger age groups are more tempted to migrate than others. The increased transportation facilities resulted the easy movement and the migrants are highly selective in their place of destination. People select rich countries as destination for instance, migration to European countries are high in this period. The theory was propounded in
the year 1885, but the relevance of the theory did not distorted even in the current situation.

The laws put forward by Ravenstein is relevant in the current trend of migration. As the law says that there is a trend of migration from one particular place to another, for instance, in India, the migration from West Begal to Kerala.

Criticism of the Theory

The law of migration are flawed and has limited applicability in the modern world. The advancement in technology such as transport has rendered some of the laws obsolete.

Firstly, the idea that migrants are replaced by another batch moving in is not always true nowadays. For example, many migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa in 2008 were not replaced by other migrants moving into Zimbabwe. Instead, majority were dispersing from Zimbabwe. The same can be observed were most Mexican migrants to USA are dispersing than they’re being replaced. Perhaps this law may be applicable to some remote tribes that replaced each other in search of fertile lands.
The law that females are more migratory than males in their local area and the males undertake longer journeys is fading out nowadays. Although the females migrate more internally, they can also be seen migrating longer distances which is facilitated by improved transport systems and woman emancipation.

The idea that migration occurs in steps have also became obsolete. Most recent migrants especially rural ones looking for employment don’t follow steps, but instead migrate to that metropolitan area where they know employment is available. His theory was based on England and Europe and failed to apply to other regions.

1.2 Migration and Formation of Diaspora

What we have seen in studies on migration is an “academic evolution” from the notion of ‘migrants’ to that of ‘diasporas’ and then, ultimately, to that of ‘transnational social movements.’ That said, the greatest overlap between studies on diasporas (originating out of the cultural studies discipline) and sociology of migration theories lies in the area of transnational migration. However, in the opinion of Nadja Johnson, diaspora studies move beyond theories of transnational migration can be summarized in two points: (1) ‘diaspora studies’ focus on how members of diasporas
self-identify as belonging to the diaspora communities and eventually formulate a new movement based on this identity and (2) the ways in which members of diasporas connect not only with the host country and the home country but also the ways in which they connect with each other. The above two points becomes a problem to those who try to categorise and define the people who move across borders. Academics have utilized the concept of diaspora widely and contributed to the field of diaspora. Diaspora studies differentiates itself from studies of migration based on the premise that the members of diasporas are self-identified; they do not quite fit nicely into theoretical typologies or defining characteristics- they define themselves and operate accordingly. In short, diaspora is more than just another concept being introduced to group and categorize persons; it is also a social process. It is a process in which some migrants actively engage- a process that possibly shares qualities of a movement.

The terms like Diaspora, Migration and Transnationalism are different in their meaning and required different theoretical and methodological backgrounds for understanding and researching on the topics. It is the contribution from the academic community to enrich the concepts with various studies.
Migration System Theory

The various propositions of world system theory, network theory, institutional theory and the theory of cumulative causation all suggest that migration flows acquire a measure of stability and structure over space and time, allowing for identification of stable international migration system. These systems are characterised by relatively intense exchange of goods, capital, and people between certain countries and less intense exchange between others. An international migration system generally includes a core receiving region, which may be a country or group of countries, and a set of specific sending countries linked to it by unusually large flows of immigrants.

Migration system theory proposes some hypotheses and propositions. They are the following:

a) Countries within a system need not be geographically close since flow of migrants reflect political and economic relationships rather than physical ones. Although proximity obviously facilitates the formation of exchange relationships, it does not guarantee them, nor does distance preclude them.
b) Multipolar systems are possible whereby a set of dispersed core countries receive immigrants from a set of overlapping sending nations.

c) Nations may belong to more than one migration system, but multiple membership is more common among sending and receiving nations.

d) As political and economic conditions change, systems evolve, so that stability does not imply a fixed structure. Countries may join or dropout of a system in response to social change, economic fluctuations, or political upheavals.

**Transnational Theory**

Transnational migration can be defined as a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country. It is a process by which immigrants build multiple social, economic and cultural relations across geographic and or political boundaries. Multiple identities are possessed by the immigrants through global connectedness. Immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link their societies of origin and settlement. The immigrants are ‘trans-immigrants’ who develop
subjectivities and identities that connect them to two or more nation-states.

Transnationalism as a field of study is subjected to much discussions. The field has undergone a considerable broadening since it was first defined. Transnational theory was, at its inception, primarily concerned with economic and political interconnectedness that migrants maintained with their home country. It can be argued that, during the early era of large-scale migration, activities of a transnational type were apparent. At the beginning of the twentieth century Russian, Polish and Italian immigrants retained links with their home countries, sending back money, investing in business, and visiting kin. Far from undermining the case for transnationalism, it can be argued that recognition of the phenomenon further advocates the need for a solid theoretical framework. At the forefront of the theoretical casting of transnationalism Portes has suggested that, for the purposes of establishing a novel area of investigation, it is preferable to delimit the concept of transnationalism to occupations and activities which require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation. This definition guarantee a solid conceptual grounding for transnational
theory. The emphasis here is placed upon the regular physical presence of the migrant in both the country of origin and settlement. This somewhat neglects the ever-evolving nature of modern communication technologies. Some theorists have described the development of a network society, in which 'new technologies have virtually created new patterns of social relations, or at least strongly reinforced pre-existing tendencies.

It is apparent that it is unwise, even impossible, to apply strict limitations to fields of transnational activity. A literature has developed to suggest that there are a number of ways to engage in transnationality which do not necessitate the migrant's presence in the country of origin. A primary Identity and Marginality consideration is that 'it is only possible (for a migrant) to be integrated to the degree that the integrationist host culture permits'. Where a migrant or group is well integrated with regard to language ability and opportunity their transnational priorities will be very different to those of a marginalized immigrant or group.

In case of migrants who are well integrated, transnationalism is predominantly cultural in character. The production and promulgation of cultural products and mind-sets can 'produce transnational imageries
capable of creating and sustaining new forms of transnational publics'. Notions of here and there can no longer be essentialized and need not be regulated by the physical presence of the transmigrant on the territory of the country of origin.

1.3 Diaspora: Types, Scope and Significance of Diaspora studies

The term diaspora finds its roots in the Greek language and is based on a translation of the Hebrew word, Galut. Based on Speiro (literally, sow the seed) and dia (division and dispersion), in Ancient Greece, the word referred to migration and colonialisation. In social sciences, the term diaspora is recent. Before 1980’s, there are only few quotations of this concept and the concept was not developed. Only during the 80’s that the concept of diaspora has known a period of expansion. In all of its various uses, diaspora has something to do with scattering and dispersal. To the ancient Greeks, diaspora seems to have signified mainly a process of destruction. Historically, the term ‘Diaspora’ referred mainly to the dispersion of Jews from their original homeland; it also referred to other two classical diasporas such as Armenians and Greeks. While, today the term refers not only to such classic groups as Jews, Armenians and
Greeks, but to much wider categories which reflect processes of politically motivated uprooting and moving of populations, voluntary migration, global communications and transport. Now the term expanded to indicate the groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities and overseas communities. According to Tololyan the term diaspora is used to share the meaning of the words like immigrants, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community and ethnic community. Recently, there are various dimensions for the term diaspora and we can define diaspora as a dispersed population across more than one territory having a durable and salient relationship (consisting of a set of claims, practices and/or loyalties) to a common origin, identity or homeland.

Nowadays, the term diaspora has become popularised that it often stands in altogether for immigrants or ethnic groups. For instance, the researchers of the last two decades used ‘Chinese Diaspora’ as synonymous with ‘Chinese Immigrants’. The meaning of and references to diaspora have become so varied and wide that its definition and even its use as a concept have come in to question for many scholars. For Safran, the historical image of diaspora was that of
Jewish, Greek or Armenian diasporas, who were characterised by trauma and exile. Robin Cohen expanded and delimited the term diaspora and he talked about victim diaspora, labour diaspora, trade diaspora, deterritorialized diaspora. Safran identified some characters of diaspora such as:

a) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original ‘center’ to two or more ‘peripheral,’ or foreign, regions;

b) They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland- its physical location, history, and achievements;

c) They believe that they are not- and perhaps cannot be- fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;

d) They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return -when conditions are appropriate;

e) They believe that they should, collectively be committed to the maintenance or restoration of
their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and

f) They continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.

Diversities within a Diaspora

According to Jayaram in India the diversities within diaspora have many dimensions. They may arise form the context and nature of migration takes place; whether people migrated during the period of pre-colonial, colonial or post-colonial period. This difference is based on whether they are convicts, indentured labourers or free migrants. Diversities also reflects the socio-cultural diversities within the nation; diversities especially on language, occupation, class, caste and religion. The notion of ‘one nation, one diaspora’ does not hold truth because of these diversities.

Complex diasporas- not only the above mentioned diversities, there are similarities shared by some diasporas. For Werbner, “In such complex diasporas the fact that the people from a particular region share a rich material culture of consumption, both high
and popular, and often a dominant religion, creates public arenas and economic channels for cooperation and communal enjoyment, which cut across the national origins or religious beliefs of performers and participants”. The South Indian diaspora is one example for such diaspora. This includes people from India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal.

Double and triple diasporas- Diasporic journeys sometimes do not end with migration away from homeland to a different destination. Due to a range of reasons, such as inimical conditions in the hostland, better opportunities elsewhere, changing geo-political alignments and the passage of time, diasporas relocate sometimes once and then again, forming what are termed ‘double’ and ‘triple’ diasporas. A striking example is that of Gujarati business and trade related migrants who went to East Africa in colonial times, relocated to UK following Idi Amin’s hostile policies in the 1960s. Later in the 1980s and 90s, they moved on to the US for better business and professional prospects. The recent relocation of indentured labour migrants from India to the Caribbean to USA, Canada and the Netherlands, due to volatile political conditions is yet another example.
Incipient Diasporas- Sheffer states that the new ethno-national groups that either are on the verge of becoming fully established, permanent diasporas or are still in the early stages of development. The term has been used to refer newer migrations, particularly labour migrations to North America, Europe and Gulf States that bear an ‘illusion of impermanence’. They share same characteristics of diasporas they are the result of voluntary rather than forced migration. For example, Turks in Germany, Pakistanis in Britain, Denmark and other countries in Europe and the Persian Gulf, the Gypsies and other groups that have begun to organise themselves into diasporic entities.

Diaspora and allied terms:

Diaspora and exile- another term that is used to refer to people or groups forced to live outside of their homeland is Exile. Along with ‘Diaspora’ the term ‘Exile’ is also associated with the Jewish experience. While the meaning of the term diaspora broadened with its popularity and use, the word exile did not share the same fate. It is still used to refer to banishment, or forced migration. As Baumann puts it, “‘Exile,’ in contrast to Diaspora, is seldom associated with religious connotations and semantics. It appears that
its user relates more explicitly to political persecution and forced flight caused by a nation-state than does ‘diaspora’.”

Migration and Diaspora- the term diaspora shares a lot of overlap with migration or dispersion. It is very important to realise that while all diasporas result from migration, all migration does not result in the formation of diasporas. On arrival into a new location, migrants do not automatically form a diaspora, unless there already is an established diasporic community of co-ethnics which they slide into. The characteristics of diaspora that distinguish them from migrants are a ‘diasporic consciousness’ or collective identity that preserve element of homeland’s cultural practices and secondly the organised efforts to maintain the relation with ethnic community elsewhere, and with the home land, to which they usually do not return but retain an orientation toward through travel, remittances and cultural exchange.

Diaspora and Borderlands- While diasporas involve migrations across national borders, sometimes these migrations take place between neighbouring countries across a single border that is shared by the homeland and the hostland. These migrations tend to be
unique in that the opposite sides appear to be separated by arbitrary borders but joined by continuous movements of people, money, goods, and information by legal or illegal means. Though they share many overlaps with the concept of Diaspora, the term is avoided in these cases in favour of the term ‘Borderlands’ since they refer to a contiguous region divided by a specific geo-political border. The border between India and Nepal and the one between Mexico and the USA are examples of such Borderlands.

Diaspora and Transnationalism- Diaspora conveys a sense of a community of migrants fixed in the space of the hostland with memories of homeland and a desire for return. A transnational community is one whose financial, personal, familial activities and networks span more than one country.

Types of Diaspora:

During 1990’s many typologies were proposed to understand and to describe diaspora. Alain Medam proposed a typology based on the degree of cohesiveness and the dynamism of the diasporic organization. In this perspective, Medam differentiates “crystallised diasporas” and “fluid diasporas”. In the former type, he presents some dynamic diasporas characterised by the
efficiency of their transnational networks; as, for example, the Chinese diaspora. There were not much description by Medam about the fluid diasporas. Later Gabriel Sheffer talked about the three types of diasporas which are mentioned in the next paragraph. In Sheffer’s classification he says about the fluid diasporas. The diasporas with a state of origin are fluid diasporas. For another specialist of this question, Michel Bruneau, the typology must be based on the diasporic organisation. He defined three major types of diasporas:

1. The entrepreneurial diasporas (ie. Chinese or Libanese);
2. The religious diasporas (ie. Jews or Greeks);
3. The political diasporas (ie. Palestinians, Tibetans).

Gabriel Sheffer proposed to operate a distinction between diasporas: those without State of origin, called *stateless diasporas* (ex. Palestinians) and those with a State of origin, defined as *state-based diaspora*. This typology allows the description of the fluidity of the forms of organization in ethnic groups along their history: as for the Jews who were state-based, stateless and, since 1948, state-based.
Robin Cohen proposed four typologies of diaspora:

1. Labour diasporas (i.e. Indians);
2. Imperial diasporas (i.e. British);
3. The trade diasporas (i.e. Chinese, Lebanese);
4. And the Cultural diasporas; with the Caribbean case.
5. Victim diaspora

This fourth type of diaspora – the cultural diaspora – with the Caribbean case became one of the most stimulating and productive type. It comes from the fact that most of the actors of this group, most of the leaders were (and still tend to be) intellectuals, writers, very active in the public sphere. The diaspora discourse, in its cultural dimension, offered a large place to the notion of hybridity, used by post-modernist authors to denote the evolution of new social dynamics as mixed cultures. The French Caribbean is a good example of the emergence of the question of hybridity.

Robin Cohen defined all these types of diasporas. Firstly, victim diasporas are classic diasporas forced into exile such as the Jewish, African, American diasporas. Secondly, labour diasporas denotes mass migration in
search of work and economic opportunities such as the Indian and Turkish diasporas. Thirdly, trade diasporas seeking migrations to open trade routes and links such as the Chinese and Lebanese diasporas. Fourthly, imperial diasporas defined as migration among those keen to serve and maintain empires such as British and French diasporas. Finally, cultural diasporas are those who move through a process of chain migration such as Caribbean peoples, Sindhis, Parsis diaspora. In the Indian context, examples of cultural diasporas are as follows the Jews of Kochi, Arabs of Calicut, Portugese of Goa and Kochi.

In addition to these types Paul Gilroy introduced Black Diaspora. Cohen summarised this current by quoting that in this perspective: “diasporas are positioned somewhere between “nations-states” and “travelling cultures” in that they involve dwelling in a nation-state in a physical sense, but travelling in an astral or spiritual sense that falls outside the nationstate’s space/time zone.”

Scope and Significance of Diaspora Studies:

James Clifford throws light on the need of focusing on the “history of displacement, suffering, adaptation, or resistance which are as important as the
projection of a specific origin”. While migration studies focuses on the reasons and circumstances under which people move, which could be economic, political or based on other such cause, diaspora studies incline towards, studying the gender roles and economic status of people settled in a foreign land and how they deal with their allegiance to the home country and the blending with the new one. Diasporic literature and cinema provides an excellent route for pursuing such studies. For instance, exemplifying the familiarity of the concept in all cultures, Vijay Mishra in his book The Literature of the Indian diaspora: Theorizing the Diasporic Imaginary (2007) mentions that the one story that speaks to the heart of the diasporic experience is the Ramayana because the exile of Rama is characterized by loss and trauma.
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• [http://journals.openedition.org.bcrfj/257](http://journals.openedition.org.bcrfj/257)


2.1 Indian Diaspora: A Historical Overview: Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post-colonial

2.2 Perspectives of studying Indian Diaspora- Retentionist, Adaptationist, Plural Society, Ethnicity and Political Economy perspectives

2.3 Case studies of Indian Diaspora: Cultural Revivalism: The Caribbean, Enclavisation and Racism: USA, UK and Canada, Transient Diaspora: West Asia, Ethnicity, Racism and Violence: Srilanka

2.1 Indian Diaspora: A Historical Overview: Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post-colonial

The Indian Diaspora

Perhaps no other diaspora in the world is characterised by such diversity in its population as the Indian diaspora in terms of culture, including languages, regions, religions and other forms of social stratification. Emigration from India too has been widely varied in terms of the historical context, causes, and consequences of migration from India as much as the social characteristics such as level of education, caste, gender,
class, place of origin, and religious and linguistic affiliation of these immigrants. A brief history of Indian migration to other parts of the world show how the Indian diaspora formed under different socio-economic and political contexts over a period of time. Landy and others have categorised the Indian emigration, from the historical to the contemporary period, into six broad phases:

a) Merchants who went to East Africa or Southeast Asia before the 16th century;

b) Migration of various groups (traders, farmers) to neighbouring countries (Sri Lanka, Nepal)

c) Indentured labourers to colonial empires like the Caribbean, Fiji, Mauritius or Natal; as well as migration through middlemen (kangani, maistry) to Southeast Asia

d) Migration of skilled workers after the Second World War towards the developed countries (UK);

e) Migration of contract workers to the Gulf countries.

f) Recent migration of knowledgeworkers to developed countries (USA).

Based on the above six categories of the history of Indian emigration, we briefly explain those under four broad patterns of emigration.
• Pre-colonial emigration;

• Colonial emigration that began in the 1830’s to the British, French, and Dutch colonies;

• Post-colonial emigration to the industrially developed countries;

• Recent emigration to West Asia

Pre-colonial Emigration

In the Indian context, emigration has been a continuous process since pre-colonial times when its purposes were for trade and the propagation of religion. Historical and archival data suggest that Indian emigration goes back to the first century AD when Indian princesses, priests, poets, and artisans migrated to Southeast Asian countries. The early emigration from India owed its origins to the Buddhist missionaries, when the Hindu kingdoms of medieval Southeast Asia attracted labour and craftsmen from India during the sixteenth century. According to Vinay Lal, "long before the Mediterranean trading routes were established in the early modern period, the Indian Ocean trading system facilitated the migration of Indians to the east coast of Africa, Southeast Asia, and the area that is now
encompassed under the term Middle East". These trade contacts slowly developed, and thereby small colonies established themselves in East Africa and Southeast Asia. Also during this period, merchants from Gujarat, Bengal, and Tamil Nadu settled in the great port cities of Southeast Asia, such as Malacca, Acheh, Ternate, and Tidor. They gradually assimilated with the local population. Claude Markovits provides an excellent analysis of diasporic trading networks of Hindu merchants from the towns of Shikarpur and Hyderabad in the province of Sind, describing how they came to control the trading networks throughout the world. In reference to the case of Gujarati merchants and their trading networks, for instance, Jha pointed out that the commercial activities of Gujarati merchants developed much on overseas trade and international contacts during the pre-modern period. The oceanic networks in the Indian Ocean were old and well established, and for centuries Gujarati merchants operated on these networks. However, large-scale migration of people from the Indian subcontinent into Southeast Asia began with the expansion of western colonialism and capitalism during the last two centuries.
Colonial Emigration

It was only in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the wake of European imperialist expansion, that further conditions for the emigration of large numbers of Indians to different parts of the world were created. New plantations and industrial and commercial ventures in European colonies created the need for large supplies of labour, and with the abolition of slavery in the British, French, and Dutch colonies, respectively, in 1834, 1846, and 1873, there were severe shortages of labourers to work in the sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, and rubber plantations in the colonies. Looking for alternative sources of labour, aside from the African ex-slaves and European immigrants, the colonial government imported Indians under the designation of "indentured labour. During 19th century, thousands of Indian and Chinese labourers went to work on plantations, in mines and in road and railway construction projects around the world. In India, indentured labourers were hired under contracts which promised return travel to India after they had worked five years on their employer’s plantation. The indenture labour system took a variety of forms, typically articulating with indigenous social relations, but generally was a contractual arrangement with penal
sanctions whereby workers agreed to passage to and employment in a foreign country under specified terms, usually for five to ten years". The emigration of indentured labour started during the late eighteenth century and continued up to the early twentieth century. Thousands of Indian semigrated to East and South Africa. Mauritius, Fiji, and the Caribbean under this system.

The Indian presence in East Africa dates back to the first century AD when merchants from India had trade connection with East Africa as Jones writes. "the beginning of the Asian diaspora in East Africa may be imagined as a shrewd and self-serving businessman traversing the Indian Ocean in both directions, looking out to sea rather than in to land a dynamic and cosmopolitan figure that is not entirely displaced by the experiences of Indian indentured labourers". They were mostly from the Gujarati-speaking areas of Kathiawad and Cutch on the north-western coast of India, and played a significant role in the economic development of that region both before and during European colonial rule. By the middle of the twentieth century, the Indian community started to increase in large numbers as a result of several developments under British rule. For instance, the large-scale "influx of Indians began with the building of the Uganda Railway which was started in
1896. They were recruited as labourers for the construction of railways because of the absence of local labour, and after the work had been completed they were permitted to remain". Referring to the socio-cultural life of Indians in East Africa, Stephen Morris writes, "the Indians who came to Africa were in a sense a selected group. They were selected by geographical proximity to convenient ports in India and their position in their society at home. Representatives of various Muslim sects and Hindu sects came to East Africa, and in coming they had necessarily to alter many of the distinguishing marks and much of the behaviours which had characterized them as castes and sects at home".

The history of Indian presence in South Africa goes back to the seventeenth century: however, it was only during the mid-nineteenth century that large-scale emigration took place under the indentured system, which was first used in Mauritius in 1834, then in the West Indies, followed by Natal in 1860. "A tripartite agreement between the governments of India, Natal and Great Britain facilitated the arrival of Indian agricultural labourers for an initial period of five years.... The late 1870s saw the arrival of a new class of Indians – the so-called "passenger' Indians, who were mainly traders, mostly Muslims, and were often referred to incorrectly as
Arabs. They traded in Indian goods and found a ready market in the indentured migrants". Among these indentured emigrants, two-thirds were Tamil and Telugu-speaking Hindus from the then Madras Presidency as well as from Mysore and surrounding areas, and the rest of the migrants from eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal. Most of these emigrants were illiterate, but they carried with them the memories of their rich traditions, customs, and rituals which they preserved even during the difficult periods of indentured life in plantations. According to the 1996 census, there were almost 1.1 million South African "Indians". They make up less than 3 percent of the total South African population.

Mohapatra in the study says that Indian indentured labour went to the British West Indies immediately after the abolition of slavery in 1838. By 1917, when the indentured labour system was abolished, 241,000 and 145,000 labourers had arrived in British Guiana and Trinidad, respectively. According to Peter Manuel, most of the immigrants who came to the Caribbean "were lower-caste peasants from the Bhojpuri-speaking region of what is now Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Although many of them returned to India, the majority remained in the Caribbean, and their descendants now constitute..."
largest ethnic groups in Trinidad, Guyana, and Suriname, outnumbering their Afro-Caribbean compatriots, and accounting for about twenty percent of the English-speaking West Indian population as a whole. Despite harsh working conditions in the plantations, Indians successfully transplanted their cultural traditions in the Caribbean and brought a "completely new culture where religion, language and social customs marked their unique identity". Today the descendants of the indentured workers are spread over the whole Caribbean space, forming a majority in Guyana and substantial minorities in Trinidad and Tobago as well as Suriname. In sum, the colonial emigration of Indians to the different countries of Africa and the Caribbean had similar features of Indian indentured labourers. During the colonial period, Calcutta and Madras were the chief points of embarkation, and the major districts for recruiting labour included Tamil and Telugu populations and the districts of Bhojpuri region of eastern Uttar Pradesh and northern Bihar. For Tinker, approximately 1.5 million Indians crossed the Indian Ocean under contracts of indenture, including 61,000 to Fiji from 1879 to 1916. Various factors pushed Indian migrants into seeking employment under indenture. The first was the destruction of the Indian village and cottage
industry, which resulted in unemployment and extreme poverty. The West, on the other hand, was becoming affluent because of industrial development. Second, all colonial masters found Indians skilful, hardworking, and useful, so that the British, the French, the Dutch, and the Portuguese all took Indian skilled labour for the development of plantations and the agricultural economics of their territories. Upon their arrival in the colonies, the immigrants were assigned to plantations to which they were "bound" for five or more years. They lived there in isolated and insulated conditions. Although they were promised fair wages and a return voyage to India in exchange for a predetermined number of years spent working in the colonies, poverty and the desire to build a new life ensured that very few of these indentured labourers ever returned to India. There are Sri Lankan indentured labourers at Thenmala, Gavi, which is a good example from Kerala. The migration of Indians to Sri Lanka, Burma, and Malaya during the British period was different from earlier migrations. It also presents a marked difference in contrast to the African and Caribbean countries. Jayawardena stated that all the emigrants to Sri Lanka and Malaya were from the southern parts of India and were recruited by a headman known as kangani. "Each kangani recruited a score or
more of men belonging mainly to his own caste and kingroup...Often the kangani was a man with some capital who lent his followers the expense of travelling to, and settling down on, a plantation. The demand for south Indian labourers was based on the fact that they were more docile and reliable. Kaur in his study argued that the Indians under this system worked on the tea, coffee, and rubber plantations. The peak of kangani-assisted recruitment occurred in the 1910s, when about 50,000 to 80,000 Indian workers arrived per annum. Jain has estimated that, during the period 1852 and 1937, approximately 1.5 million Indians went to Ceylon, 2 million to Malaya, and 2.5 million to Burma. They "formed an important minority in Burma and Malaya where they filled a critical need in the urban manufacturing sector (Burma) and the plantation sector (Malaya)." After 1920s, the kangani emigration (totalling around 6 million) gradually gave way to individual or unrecruited, free migration due to the fall in demand for Indian labour.

**Post-colonial Emigration**

The post-World War II scenario has changed the whole international migration process by affecting every migrant country, and India was not far behind. During this period migration was directed towards developed
countries, and the migrants were, for the most part, talented professionals, skilled labourers, and entrepreneurs from the peripheral colonial and underdeveloped countries besides Anglo-Indians. This post-war migration was totally different from the earlier migration of indentured, kangani, and other forms of labour migration. During this period, large-scale migration of Indians took place to the developed countries such as the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK), Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Indians from other parts of the world, especially from the former colonies, also started entering these countries. They were labelled as "twicemigrants".

The first phase of Indian settlement in the US began in the nineteenth century, but as a result of tightened immigration legislation, displacements, and voluntary return movements to India, the community almost ceased to exist after the Second World War. Only since the reformation of the immigration laws of the US in 1965 have people from South Asia in general, and India in particular, gone to the US in greater numbers. The new immigrants who have migrated to the US since 1965 were different in many respects from the nineteenth century old immigrants with whom Americans were most familiar. They included members of the educated and
professional elite such as engineers, scientists, and doctors as well as accountants and businessmen. This pattern of emigration of Indian professionals was triggered by the availability of jobs for trained engineers, physicians, and scientists, by the promise of a materially superior lifestyle, and also by a shortage of medical personnel and engineers in the US until the mid-1970s. There are also immigrants who were admitted under family reunification categories. These new immigrants have challenged the established American conceptions of race and ethnicity since many of them hail from areas of the world where groups are categorized on the basis of very different criteria.

Laxmi says that the Indian presence is particularly important in the UK. The Indian population has been a part of Britain for almost three centuries. For instance, the Parsi community of Gujarat and the Bengali community arrived in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as qualified lawyers, doctors, and professionals to settle down in the UK. However, since the Second World War, Indian emigration to the UK started in large numbers. Large numbers of Indians, especially from Punjab, went to the UK in the aftermath of the post-World War II reconstruction efforts in the industrial sectors. Another large group of Indians
from former colonies in East Africa came to the UK in the wake of ethnic violence in those countries. These "twice migrants" had considerable expertise in trade and business. The most recent migration of Indians to the UK mainly consists of highly skilled workers such as IT experts, doctors, nurses, teachers, and engineers. According to the 2001 census, the Indian population is the largest single ethnic minority group in Britain, making up almost one quarter of the total minority ethnic population. They are considered hard-working and successful, and in spite of racial discrimination and disadvantage, the Indian community is found to be progressively better off than other groups in British society.

In the case of Canada, the first decade of the twentieth century saw a steady growth of Indian immigration. But after the Second World War, the Canadian immigration restrictions were gradually loosened and legislation in 1962 and 1967 substantially liberalised immigration. Prior to 1962, most of the immigrants were from the Punjab region and settled in the province in British Columbia. But thereafter the influx was more balanced, made up of people from every regional, linguistic, and occupational group represented in India. Besides Sikhs from Punjab, Hindus from
Gujarat, Bombay, and Delhi, Christians from Kerala and Parsis from Bombay too immigrated to Canada during this period. In the multicultural society of Canada, Indians today constitute a significant proportion of the total immigrants and emerged to be one of the most prosperous and educated “visible” minority that enjoyed much higher level of acceptance than the other immigrants in Canada. The impact of globalisation and transnationalism on the Indian communities in Canada has also become evident through the development of hybrid forms of cultural forms, blending elements from Indian and Indian diasporic communities.

Migration of Indians to Australia can be categorised under three broad waves. The first wave of migration began during the early part of the twentieth century, when both Australia and India were under British colonial rule, and most of them belonged to the Sikh community. The Sikhs mainly moved to Australia to work on the banana plantations in Southern Queensland. The second wave started after 1947 when India achieved independence, and a large number of British and Anglo-Indians joined in this migratory flow. The relaxation of the restrictive immigration policy by the Australian authorities in 1966 led to a marked rise in migration to Australia. The third wave of Indian
emigration to Australia occurred about 25 years ago, after Australia abandoned its "Whites Only" policy. When the policy was abolished, many white collar workers and professionals, most of them originating from Punjab and Gujarat, came to settle in Australia. The big influx of Indians began with the revolution in communication technology (IT boom when a large number of computer software professionals started migrating to Australia from 1976 onwards. The current waves of Indian immigration consist largely of engineers, toolmakers, doctors, and students. It may be mentioned here that Gujarati business families from Africa, Indo-Fijians from Fiji, and the second-generation relatives of Indians are also in this flow. The Indian emigration to New Zealand has a long history, way back to the nineteenth century. And since their arrival, they have established an 'Indian' identity based on occupational activities which they typically undertook and on the regions of India from which they originated". The first Indian to enter into New Zealand was a Goan Edward Peters. "His gold prospecting facilitated a mid-nineteenth century gold-rush upon which Otago's early economic wealth was built. Peters has received little mention by historians and instead the accolades have gone to a European, Gabriel Read". However, it was only after the implementation of
a new immigration policy in 1987 which emphasized education, skills and investment capital in the selection of migrants" that this immigrant community's numbers increased considerably and became the second largest ethnicity within the Asian community after the Chinese, and the country's third largest minority. Indians who migrated to New Zealand before 1987 had their ancestral roots either in Gujarat or Punjab. But after 1987, Indo-Fijians, another branch of the Indian diaspora, began to enter into New Zealand, in the wake of two military coups in Fiji. Although their number rapidly declined after 1988, there was a steady flow from Fiji through the 1990s, and this, once again, accelerated after another attempted nationalist coup in 2000.

In contrast to the ex-indentured populations, Indian immigrants in the industrially developed countries today have been able to maintain extensive ties with India because of their comparative affluence. Marriage arrangements, kinship networks, religious affiliations keep many immigrants well linked to their places of origin, since a large number of Indians are still first-generation migrants. Another factor that has enabled overseas Indians to maintain ties with their homeland is
Recent Emigration to West Asia:

The recent migration of Indians to West Asian countries is basically oriented to labour and servicing occupations on a contract basis. The year 1973 marked the beginning of the rapidly increasing demand for expatriate labour in oil-exporting countries of the Gulf and North Africa - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, and Libya. These countries adopted a development strategy revolving around the building up of infrastructure and, in turn, created a demand for unskilled manual labour, especially in the construction sector. At the termination of the first phase of infrastructural projects and with the new emphasis on industrialisation in the Middle East, there was a significant change in the nature of labour demand. Between 1975 and 1980, 1 million skilled workers had been imported to manage and operate this new infrastructure.

In addition to these discussions, we should consider the Indo-pak partition and its creation of religious diasporic community. While considering the recent changes we can say that the introduction of the
Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA-2019) raised a lot questions regarding the citizenship. Obviously this CAA may lead to the creation of a religious diasporic community in future. The Act seeks to amend the definition of illegal immigrant for Hindu, Sikh, parsi, Buddhist and Christian immigrants from Pakistan, Afganistan and Bangladesh, who have lived in India without documentation. They will be granted fast track citizenship in six years. Twelve years of residence has been the standard eligibility requirement for naturalisation. The bill discriminates against Muslims and violates the right to equality enshrined in the Indian Constitution. This is a movement against the Muslims and the standpoint of India towards the Muslim should be discussed in the context of diaspora.

2.2 Perspectives of Studying Indian Diaspora

The diaspora studies is a newly emerged area of study and so a very few monographs are available on the topic. The search for theoretical paradigms to integrate the study is going on and the following session will discuss some of the perspectives developed for studying Indian diaspora. There are mainly five perspectives; Retentionist, Adaptationist, Plural Society, Ethnicity and Political Economy Perspectives.
a) The Retentionist Perspective

Retentionist perspective deals with cultural persistence. This deals with the view of Indian culture overseas and the studies related to this perspective shows the ability of the Indians to retain, reconstitute and revitalize many aspects of their culture in an overseas setting. Since the late 19th century the Indians were settled in villages. Before that they believed in a common bond of race, language and racial prejudice, which segregated the Indians first in barracks where they were indentured labourers. Rural isolation, ethnic identity and the sheer tenacity of Indian institutions have been considered as major mechanisms for preserving Indian culture.

Morton Klass’s study on East Indians in Trinidad (1961) can be placed a best example for this perspective. He provides an extensive account of the social organisation of the villages of Indians in Amity and reports that they were faithfully modelled after a kind of generalised north Indian culture. Villagers had rebuilt a community resembling the socio cultural system of village India. The study shows that East Indians have successfully transplanted the institution of family in its basic form from their homeland. Still the East Indian
family in Trinidad is characterised by the parental selection of mate, less chance for divorce, unequal status for women and many other.

The studies on cultural persistence is coming under the acculturation process. These studies concentrated on the retention of cultural customs and traditions and not inquired about the disappearance of the conventional patterns and the reasons behind it. There is also a problem about the approach to social change and history in this framework. During the period of initial emigration from India took place, the culture of the Indians and the overseas started to change. This dimension is not studied in this retentionist perspective.

b) The Adaptationist Perspective

The studies in this perspective concerned with the adaptation of the social group in the host society and its social environment. R. K. Jain’s (1970) work on adaptationist perspective focused on the South Indian migrants in the Malaysian setting, especially their conditions of work and life in the rubber plantations. The study highlighted the interaction between norms of the traditional rural people from south India and the procedures of an industrial bureaucracy. Burton Benedict (1961) studied about the Indians settled in Mauritius,
which begins with the detailed description of the physical, demographic, economic and political setting of Mauritius where the Indians settled. Then it narrows down to the Indian situations, examining the households, land tenure, domestic economy, kinship and marriage, Indian religious beliefs and the village political structure. Adrian Mayer (1973) studied the rural Indian society in Fiji and focused on the Indian pattern of settlement, rural activities, caste, culture and kinship keeping in view the aspect of adaptation. This perspective has been criticised due to its failure to incorporate the comparative aspect. This perspective also faced a criticism for not being able to relate the microcosm to the macrocosm. This perspective studied many of the micro aspects of diaspora such as working conditions, norms of the rural people, physical, economic, social settings of life, their domestic economy, land tenure and so on. While the approach failed to connect the above mentioned micro aspects with the macro aspects of the diaspora community such as the bonds between the labourers and the bureaucrats, the pacts between countries and so on.

c) Plural Society Perspective

This perspective was first introduced by Furnivall (1948) in the context of colonial society of South East
Asia. For him this type of society possess three characteristics: cultural, economic and political. Culturally, a plural society consists of incongruous and incompatible cultural sections between which communication is hampered. Economically, the relationship between the cultural sections are those of the market place. Politically, this kind of plural society is held together only by the fact of being dominated by an external colonial power. R.K. Jain argued that the idea of Furnivall can be applicable only to ‘settlement societies’ and not to civilizations. M.G. Smith applied this theory to the Caribbean society, restricted to modern colonial situations and to the European industrial expansion and laissez-faire capitalism. Further, it confined to the study of multi-racial communities. Pluralism was defined in terms of both structure and culture, it is a social structure characterised by continuous discontinuities and cleavages and a cultural complex based on systematic institutional diversity.

During the late 1950s and 60s this perspective faced a lot of criticisms. R. T. Smith argued that the Caribbean society is the worst example for plural society and he also criticised the definition for plural society by Furnivall. He also argued that Fiji is relatively a close model for plural society.
d) The Ethnicity Approach

Jayawardena has tackled the question of diverse forms of culture in Guyana and Fiji through the parameters of ethnicity. This approach accords explanatory primacy to relations of class, status and power and ethnicity is seen as emerging from these factors. The existence of ethnicity depended up on a particular combination of political and historical forces. In Guyana the Indian population had lost or abandoned all but the basic principles of traditional Indian culture and were thus forced to fabricate a mythical identity. It is because, they were compelled to live like the host people with strong emotional ties with their Indian identity. The Indo-Guyanese thus possessed both an ethnic identity and ‘ethnicity’. But the Indian population in Fiji possessed an ethnic identity but not an ethnicity because they keep a regular contact with the homeland and regarded their Indian identity as a routine feature of their lives.

Drummond has criticised this perspective mainly on the ground of ethnicity. Another limitation is its framework is descriptive rather than analytical. Then he applies a cultural/linguistic model in an ethnographic study and this model also faced criticisms.
e) The political Economy Perspective

Most of the above frameworks are in macro perspective. One of the sociologist John Rex (1982) suggest that there is a continuation between 19th-century emigration of Indians and the 20th century migration to the industrially developed countries. Migrants from the underdeveloped countries are not given the same status-though they belong to the same economic class-as the labour force belonging to a different race in to the metropolitan countries themselves. Normally, this is a worldwide phenomenon which is connected to the 17th-century imperialism and colonialism. This perspective took the ideas of the theorists of development of underdevelopment thesis, who take a global view of migration, settlement and Indian communities abroad.

The theorists like A.G. Frank, Wallerstein and Samir Amin argued in terms of the core-periphery model of the global development of capitalism. They argued that geopolitical constraints of the 19th century and even earlier have shapes the unequal regional economic development all over the globe. In this perspective, the Indian diaspora would seem to belong to an especially
underdeveloped and deprived section of the global population.

2.3 Case studies of Indian Diaspora

I. Caribbean Region-

Caribbean region is situated in between the North and South America and it is an island and mainland country. During the 19th century, many of the Indian labourers were migrated to the Caribbean region. Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Surinam are the countries absorbed a lot of Indians and it is a multi-ethnic community, these countries are focused for further discussion. These countries accommodates not only migrants from India but also from Africa. The plantations run by Europeans absorbed many of the Africans as slaves and after the abolition of slavery, many of the Indians were reached there as indentured labourers. Indians in Caribbean countries were strongly attached to their religious cultures. Diaspora communities of different countries in the Caribbean region are discussed below.

a) Trinidad and Tobago

This is a twin island country, rich with its ethnic and cultural diversities. Indians migrated to Trinidad in
1845 as indentured labourers. East Indians are the largest single ethnic group in Trinidad and they were employed in sugar cane plantations. Later the Indians purchased land and started faming of sugar cane and thus they established there. Bhojpuri culture was dominant there and these people tried to follow their religion strongly even after decades of migration.

Vertovec in his book says that in the beginning of 20th century, the Trinidad society started to urbanise due to the activities of the peasant immigrants from India. From 1930s onwards, the Indian migrants utilized the educational opportunities provided by the Christian missionaries and then becomes urban educated professional class people in the host community. Haraksingh argued that the traditional Hindu patriarchal joint family structure of the migrants changed to nuclear families. Bhojpuri was the language for communication since 1970s and this was replaced by English. The economic position of the Indian migrants improved rapidly and they started to migrate to Canada and US and sent remittances to their families in Trinidad.

Ryan in his studies (1972 and 1973), talked about the social stratification among the east Indians and the Africans. Africans and the East Indians were the two
major ethnic groups in Trinidad and both these groups were unaware about their history and culture and this leads to the racial stereotypes. Africans considered the Indians to be a threat to their newly won freedom from slavery while the Indians feared contact with the Africans which they considered would diminish the purity of their race.

Indian migrants were integrated highly with the Caribbean society. For instance, the highly popular ‘soca’ dance form, which is a syncretic fusion of the traditional Caribbean calypso and Indian dance forms, has been named to reflect this merger: the last letter of calypso (so) and the first letter of the Hindi alphabet (ka) have come together in the name ‘Soca’.

a) Guyana

Issues of integration of the Indian diaspora in Guyana cannot be understood without reference to the contemporary social and political situation characterized by extreme ethnic hostilities between the people of African descent and those of Indian descent, with the ever-present danger of violence erupting. Currently, the majority group are Indians in Guyana, which is revealed form the study by Shepherd. Indian diaspora had a strong representation in army, police and public service
institutions. The origin of the racial conflict in Guyana is the importation of slave labour from Africa by the Dutch and importing of cheap indentured labour by Britishers from Portuguese Madeira, China, and finally India to work on white-owned sugar plantations. In between 1838 and 1917 many of the Indians migrated to Guyana and majority of them were from Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Madras. Orthodox Sanatani Hinduism with a Bhojpuri linguistic and cultural ethos was prevalent, but it was a modified form that challenged brahmanical hegemony; Brahmin priests too were adaptive faced with preaching Christianity. They accepted inter-dining with other castes.

During 1920s, an Indian middle class has emerged and they were the pioneers in education and experts in medicine and law. They acquired land and this lead to the creation of tension among the African people in Guyana. The increased level of adaptation of the Indian people in Guyana reveals the following: J.I.Ramphal was an Indian educationist, whose effort helped the girls to educate. J.I.Ramphal’s son Shridath Ramphal who later became the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, is an example of the outstanding educational and professional achievements of the new East Indian middleclass in Guyana.
In the initial period of migration, the number of Indians and the Africans were virtually same. But the outbreak of Malaria killed many people including Indians and after the eradication of Malaria the demographic change of the Indian population had increased drastically. This sharpened the political rivalries between the two groups. Seecharan in his study noted that, in the initial period of migration the number of women were very less. The proportion of men and women were equal during 1920s, this lead to the entrenchment of the traditional values and the patriarchal joint family. An undercurrent of fear and resentment emerged among the Africans due to the ascendancy of the East Indians in their numerical strength, education and economic betterment.

The contemporary situation of Guyana is rife with problems, especially after 1960s. A small group of rich people from India and Africa, engaged in illegal financial activities. Currently, corruption, crime, drug trade, violence and upheavals are common in Guyana.

b) Surinam

Surinam is the third major country in the Caribbean and it is multi-ethnic and plural society. The people of Indian descent are called Hindustanis. They
immigrated as indentured labour in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Even though some returned to India at the end of their contracts, most stayed back and today form the largest ethnic group. The second largest ethnic group is Creoles followed by Javanese and Maroons. A tiny group of Chinese, Amerindians also constitute the Surinam society. Surinam was first conquered by Dutch in the 16th century and was following predominantly plantation economy. In 1863, slavery was abolished and in order to replace the slaves the indentured labourers were imported from Portugal, Madeira, China and West Africa, but finding this inadequate, looked to India. During the colonial rule, the Dutch opened negotiations with the British government, and an agreement was signed in 1870 according to which they would appoint an agent, approved by the British, in every centre of recruitment, and follow the British regulations. Source of labour was mainly UP, Bihar and a mix of castes emigrated. Being relatively late importers of indentured labour, Surinam could establish certain improved conditions. For example, Hoeftedocuments how each shipment of emigrants was to have at least 33 percent women, and that it was prohibited to separate married couples or parents from their children under the age of 15.
From the end of 19th century onwards, govt. actively promoted the permanent settlement of Hindustanis, by offering plots of land to those who had fulfilled their contractual obligations and did not claim return passage. They moved occupationally to becoming small holders who produced rice, vegetable, fruit, meat and milk. After the Second World War, Surinam shifted its economy form agricultural to bauxite production economy. Mechanisation, urbanisation and westernisation had made changes in the society. There occurred an educational and economic betterment of the society. There was internal hierarchy among the Hindustanis. The uncontrolled birth lead to the increase of the population of the Hindustanis and they became the largest group during 1970s.

In the early decades, the low standard of living, displacement, social marginalisation, geographical isolation in plantations, ethnic distinctiveness, combined to compel Hindustanis towards recreation of little India in the Caribbean environment. Immigrants, especially in 20th century, started forming associations to promote their ethnic interests: SIV, the largest, most important association was founded in 1910. It promoted immigration from India, persuaded Hindustanis not to get repatriated, and in 1922 changed its name to Bharat
Uday (Rising India). But to get their communal identity established, they did not embark upon confrontation but rather cooperated with the authorities.

In the 20th century, ethnicity was important in politics. Hindustanis did not support the freedom movements by the Surinamese, because they need the protection from the Dutch people from the Afro domination. By the end of the 20th century, the importance of ethnicity in politics has diminished.

In conclusion, taken together, the three Caribbean countries are a remarkable example of the power of colonial policy to shape and mould inter-ethnic relations and impact the nature of diasporic consciousness even a couple of centuries after the demise of colonial rule. The somewhat contrasting legacies of Dutch and British colonialism are also revealed.

II. Canada, United Kingdom and United States of America

Though neighbours sharing a long common border, the immigration policies of Canada and the United States of America have been somewhat different.

Chand Masud in his study argues that it is always assumed that United States as a melting pot of all
cultures, where the individuality of all migrants are erased in order to produce a new identity, where the migrants lose their distinctiveness to fit in the ‘American Identity’. In the process of becoming ‘Americanised’ the migrants lose their linguistic, cultural and social identity and even the values of the host society. Meanwhile Canada adopted a multicultural approach of accepting all cultures without the dominance of the host culture and that’s why it is called a ‘Salad Bowl’.

a) Canada

A study by Lal and others says that historical studies prove that the immigration policy of Canada is a recent phenomenon and it is multi-culturalist policy. The story of Indians in Canada, referred as ‘East Indians’, goes back to the group of Sikhs from Punjab stationed in British regiments in Hong Kong who travelled through Vancouver. They brought back the stories of rich soil, favourable climate of the British Columbia, similar to Punjab and high earnings from lumber yards. The effort of a Sikh leader Gurdit Singh helped the Indians to stay in Canada. But it was applicable only for 20 passengers who had a resident status and the others were not allowed to land in the land of Canada.
The inflow of Asians began in the early 20th century comprising initially of Chinese, Japanese, Indians (Sikhs) but the government collected head tax for the migrants. Lal and others conducted study on the topic of immigration to Canada by Indians and revealed that later Canada has changed their immigration policy and allowed Indians to immigrate with their wives and children. Later in 1947 the restrictions on voting rights for East Indians were also removed. As the immigration selection criteria was favourable to the professionals and educated people, many of the educated professionals have migrated to Canada during 1950s and 1960s. According to the 2001 census, Indo-Canadians are found largely in Toronto, Vancouver, Edminton, Calgary in Albert.

The ‘White paper on Immigration’ in 1966, ‘Green paper on immigration’ in 1975 opening up for categories like ‘family reunification’ and ‘refugee classes’ as well as the ‘Employment Equity Act’ 1986 seeking to promote equality in workplace avoiding racism are some of the important landmarks. Report by the High Level Committee on the Indian diaspora (2004) revealed that the Indian immigrants have a larger component of persons with mathematics, engineering and applied sciences background than other groups and
their performance is remarkable in Canadian universities particularly in technical faculties like computer science, engineering, medicines, basic sciences etc. Keeping in mind their economic performance, the Canadian government has been making the immigration process easier for qualified Indians.

Canada has provided a space to express the socio-cultural and religious identity for the Indians. The Indo-Canadians have remarkable contribution in the field of film, literature and so on. Lal and others in their study shows that Canada provided a space to celebrate different Indian festivals like Holi, Ramadan, Guru Nanak’s birthday along with respect given to traditional medicines, dietary, customs etc.

b) United States of America

The United States is today home to one of the largest Indian populations in the world. The immigration and settling of the Indians in the United States could be understood in 2 phases namely the pre- 1965 phase and the post -1965 phase which saw various policies and laws concerning the entry of the Indians in the U.S.

Indian immigrants are the fastest growing Asian immigrants in America followed by Chinese and Filipino respectively. There were large number of skilled
labourers in the field of IT, engineering, science and other academic fields migrated to US after Indian independence in 1947.

The United States celebrates diverse religious beliefs and practices with its secular legal system but yet challenges are faced by the Indian immigrants while expressing their religious faith. Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, Zoroastrians, and adherents of many other faith traditions all flourish here, making the United States one of the most religiously diverse nations in the world. The Sikhs established Gurudwara in Stockton, California, Vedanta Society established in 1894 in New York and opened a branch in San Francisco. Swami Bhaktivedanta established the International society of Krishna consciousness [ISKCON], today members of ISKCON known commonly as ‘Hare Krishna’ can be found in many metropolitan cities in the U.S along with vegetarian restaurants managed by Hare Krishnas. There is freedom to belief, worship and continue ones’ own religion, but there are instances of religious prejudice, stereotyping and religious discrimination in U.S. The second generation Indian Americans are often faced with the complexity of dual identities while assimilating into
the mainstream and pressure from their parents to maintain their ‘Indianness’.

Regarding the political field, Indians have also participated in elections through voting. According to Asian American legal defense and education fund (2008), 69 percent of Indian Americans were enrolled in the Democratic Party and 91 percent of the Indian Americans said they voted for Barack Obama. Bobby Jindal in 2004 was a candidate for the governor’s post of Louisiana, while in 2012 elections Dr. Amira Bera became the third Indian American elected to the Congress. The last election in U.S. is the best example for the political participation of Indians in the U.S. politics. Kamala Devi Harris, the first women vice president of U.S. who is basically an Indian, as well as the first African American and first Asian American vice president in America.

According to Lal, some of the well-known Indian writers in the United States are Salman Rushdie, Amitav Ghosh, Vikram Seth, Chitra Divakaruni and Jhumpa Lahiri. Many writings by Indian Americans try to capture the dynamics of multiple identities, resistance and negotiation while integrating into the mainstream.
In case of socio-cultural integration, the Indo-Americans are integrated to the host society. While there exists a generation gap between the first generation migrants and the youths. The first generation migrants tightly hold some values related to family, marriage and religion. While the teenagers hold different values which is imparted from the host society and so the Indian teenagers in America complain that their parents forbid them from dating before marriage, pre-marital sex taboo and this is because the parents strongly tied with the Indian traditions and culture. Lal and others says that the Indian Americans are structurally integrated to the mainstream but strongly follow their traditional ethnic ties.

In the case of linguistic integration, the Indian migrants prefers to use English language. Indian migrants abandon their language and culture and adopt to that of mainstream. Thus new immigrants have always tried to preserve their cultural heritage taught by their parents but eventually they integrate into the American mainstream and culture producing a hybrid of traditions and values taken from both.
c) United Kingdom

In the fifteen-member European Union (EU)- the largest economic entity in the world- two-thirds of the entire Indian community reside in the UK. The Indian community has risen to become one of the highest earning and best-educated groups in the UK, achieving eminence in business, information technology, the health sector and media and entertainment industries. It has formed a number of social, cultural and political organisations in the UK, and almost all wealthy PIOs have individual trusts or charities for projects pertaining to health, education or other infrastructure back in their home states and villages in India. During times of national crises, like natural calamities in India, the community organisations raise generous contributions for relief and rehabilitation of the victims. Today the Indian community in the UK occupies a unique position, enriching the British culture, society and politics, and contributing to making the UK a genuinely multicultural society. Indians are considered disciplined and model community with the lowest crime rates amongst all immigrant groups.

Since 1950s Indians expelled from Uganda immigrated to UK as refugees. Today almost 1.5 million
Indians are there in UK which is the most prosperous group among the immigrants. Now Indian immigrant are the most important contributors for the economy of UK. Indians own business in UK and contributed a lot in the field of art, education and other professions. In the case of political participation, the Indian diaspora has been involved in politics for many years. The House of Commons currently boasts 15 members of Indian origin, and there are 23 peers of Indian origin in the House of Lords. The first Member of Parliament of Indian origin was Dadabhai Naoroji, who sat as a Liberal Democrat from 1892–95.

The Indian cuisine is popular in UK and they follow the recipes of Indians which shows the integration. This regular use of Indian cuisine leads to the emergence of trade of raw materials of food from India to UK. The contribution of Indians to the field of business, health service, trade, education, art and culture, films, literature are remarkable.

III. West Asia

India’s diaspora in West Asia is concentrated in two regions: the Persian Gulf countries and Israel. Archaeological and literary evidences shows that India and West Asia had trade relations since at least the days of Indus Valley Civilization.
Indians in the Gulf region- Indians migrated to Gulf regions even in the pre-Islamic period, either for establishing trade, seeking employment or for escaping from the instabilities of the home land. The seventh to 10th century period is known as the ‘golden age’ of Indo-Arab trade. A significant number of merchants, artisans and professionals were settled in Obulla, West Asia. The British administration in Gulf countries helped many Indians to settle across the region.

Evidences shows that the Indian labour migration to Gulf countries began after the oil era started in 1973. In the initial period of oil boom there were Indians and after the oil era the number of the Indian labourers increased rapidly. Since the late 1980s the construction workers, skilled and semi-skilled labourers were decreased and many of the Indians flowed for white collar jobs. A significant number of the Indians were engaged in business. A minimal number of Indian immigrants in UAE engaged criminal activities like smuggling, trade in narcotics and arms etc. Migration to the Gulf countries is male dominated.

According to Weiner, migrants are incorporated in the economic structure, but excluded from the social structure. Separation is the strategy of the Gulf region,
not integration or assimilation. There is no claim for permanent resident status, naturalisation or citizenship for Indian migrants. There is a clear demarcation between the Arabs and Non-Arabs, fortunately there is no racism exists but ethnic articulation such as native and non-native as well as Muslim and non-Muslim is there.

It can be said that in Gulf countries, there is no organised community life among most of the class except the middle class. The community life of the middle class is based on the traditional Indian social structure and institutions such as caste, family, kinship and so on. Migrants in Gulf countries had more or less same identities and patterns of cultural consumption as in India. Here, the migrants lives away from the areas of the native Arabs and leading a highly segmented life. Therefore the chance for making a community with the Arabs is impossible to large extent. According to Weiner, there are groups for the migrant Indians for sports, schools, clubs, where they meet and engage time together.

During 1974, the Sultan of Oman allowed to build social centres for Indians and as a result there are temples, Gurudwara and schools. Later various fashion
shows, films, music concerts have been conducted and the Arabs also participated in these programmes. Similarly Indian food, fashion and jewellery were some of the items which gained ground in the Middle East.

The remittances from the Gulf regions became the back bone of Indian economy and the details about this remittances are given in the following chapter.

a) Israel

According to Weil the Indian Jewry has been living in India for about 2000 years consisted of three distinct communities: Bene Israel, Cochinis and Baghdadis. The origin of Bene Israel and Cochin Jews is in the Konkan region and the Malabar Coast of India respectively. Baghdadis immigrated to India from Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey, Yemen etc. in the 18th and 19th centuries and were mostly settled in Bombay and Calcutta.

Abraham and Kushner states that the Israeli policy for the absorption of the immigrants helped the Indian Jews to settle in Israel. The Indian Jews were specialised in variety of occupations and they settle in agriculture-based towns. In the initial period of migration the Indian Jews were economically marginalised in the Israeli society. This process of marginalisation further compounded by educational,
cultural and welfare policies and programmes of the government.

In the 1960s the Bene Israel were socially discriminated against on the ground that they were not ‘full Jews’. Their marriages were subject to verification. A socio-religious issue soon turned into major political controversy. In 1963 a bill was passed that they are ‘full Jews’. Since then the Jews gained considerable progress in life including education and occupation. In the initial period they had to work hard and the Indian Jews adapted successfully in the Israeli society. The formation of associations like Central Organisation of Indian Jews and Israel-India Cultural Association in recent years reflects the consolidation of the Indian Jewish diaspora in Israel.

IV. Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is geopolitically located in the Indian Ocean (in the Southeast of India). The distance between Dhanushkodi in Tamil Nadu and Talaimannar in Sri Lanka is a little less than 27 km. This geopolitical proximity was a factor in the Indian Tamil migration to Sri Lanka. It was during the colonial period, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, that migration on a large scale took place. It may be noted
that Sri Lanka has been a colony of three different European countries- Portugal, the Netherlands and Britain, and it attained independence from Britain in 1948. Sri Lanka is basically a multi-religious and multi-linguistic country with two largest ethnic groups - the Sinhalese who form more or less 74 per cent and the Tamils who constitute 18.2 per cent of the total population. Sri Lankan Tamils consist of 12.6 per cent and the Indian Tamils constitute 5.6 per cent of the total Tamil population. The Sri Lankan Tamils constitute a majority in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. They were socially and economically in a better position than the Tamils of the Indian origin, a good majority of whom were plantation labourers. A brief discussion of the socioeconomic history of Sri Lanka would provide the background of migration, problems in inter-ethnic relations and the eventual statelessness of the Indian Tamils.

Lodowyk (1967) in her study noted that the Indian migrants moved to Sri Lanka seasonally during the 14th and 15th centuries, and they were mostly employed in cinnamon plantations. During the 19th and 20th centuries the labour migration had taken a new turn, primarily to work in coffee and then to tea plantations. Colonial administration in Sri Lanka changes its
economy from agricultural to plantation. The Britishers imported cheap labour from South India to Sri Lanka.

Article published in the Economic Review revealed that the condition of the plantation labourers was very poor. The estate Tamils (the Britishers brought Indian tamils ot Sri Lanka in 19th century as estate labourers to work initially in coffee plantation and then later in tea and rubber plantations. They were known as estate tamils) had no opportunity to interact with the Sri Lankan Tamil people. The Kangani system (recruiters or overseers) made the life of the estate Tamils more miserable. Indian Emigration Act of 1922 changes the situation of the labourers.

However, in Sri Lanka, the Indian labourers working in estates began to face new problems-pertaining to their political status and economic rights. With the introduction of new constitutional and electoral reforms in the 1920s, the Indian Tamil labourers feared that this would have adverse implications for their existence. It was under these circumstances that the Donoughmore Commission in its report of 1928 decided to recommend the adoption of universal adult suffrage and abolishing separate communal representations.
The Sri Lankan perception of the issue was very much influenced by two factors. First, the economic depression of the 1930s caused severe unemployment, and Indian labour was seen as a major challenge that would deprive the indigenous labour of gainful employment. Secondly, because of the transient nature of the Indian labour, between India and Sri Lanka, the question of domicile became a critical issue in order to assure an “abiding interest” in the country and a desire to settle “permanently.” The Nehru-Senanayake talks and their correspondence that followed were to address two major questions. First, who among the Indian residents in Sri Lanka were entitled to be Sri Lankan Citizens, and second, how they should be admitted to such Citizenship. All of the tensions of the Indian Tamil migrants had doubled after the independence of the Sri Lanka in 1948 because Sri Lanka passed citizenship Act. The Sri Lanka Citizenship Act denied citizenship to a person born in the country before or after 1948 unless, at least, his father was born in or was a citizen of Sri Lanka. With these citizenship regulations in place, almost a million Tamils of Indian origin, working and living in the island (and for whom Sri Lanka was seen their permanent home), became stateless.
The future of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka after independence, particularly with the passing of Citizenship Acts and regulations, became much more complex and complicated issue. The delay in determining the eligibility of citizenship and the uncertain conditions of nearly a million Tamils of Sri Lanka called for the role and intervention of India. This eventually resulted in bilateral pacts between the two countries. Yet, it took years, if not decades, for a resolution of uncertainty regarding the political status of the Indian Tamils in the island.

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MODULE III
INDIA AND INDIAN DIASPORA

3.1. Policies and Initiatives by the Government of India for the Indian Diaspora

3.2 Role of Indian Diaspora in placing India in the Global Scenario

3.3 Remittance economy and its socio-economic impact, Problems of return migrants: Socio cultural and Economic problems with special reference to Kerala

3.1. Policies and Initiatives by the Government of India for the Indian Diaspora

India had a long history of migration and the country with largest emigrant population in world. The country has also a long history of establishing institutional framework and multi-facted infrastructure for its diverse diaspora populations. In the past 40 years, many institutions were formed, discarded, changed and merged. Some of the institutions were temporary in nature, some were established in partnership with private sector. About 17.5 million persons born in India are now living abroad. The huge number of heterogenous
diaspora and the emigrant workers have lead to plethora of policy initiatives. Because of the political will to communicate about the adoption of proactive policies and the limited resources of a developing country several policies exist on paper or are limited to low scale implementation.

Generally there are two terms that used to indicate the migrants and diaspora that is NRIs and PIOs. NRI’s are Non-Resident Indians and PIOs are Persons of Indian Origin. The common term used to describe diasporic Indians are NRIs, which derived from a tax category. The term NRI is used to refer to Indian citizens living in India for less than 182 days each year. In this sense, it is often used to distinguish Indian citizens living abroad from those who have acquired a different citizenship, who are referred to as Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs). Naujoks says that as an overarching category to include NRIs and PIOs, government documents and policies refer to the Indian diaspora, Overseas Indians, or its Hindi equivalent Pravasi Bharatiya.

As seen through the policy eyes of the Indian political system, overseas Indians fall into three broad categories:
NRI temporary workers, mostly in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries;

- NRI and PIOs in the US, Canada, Australia and Europe;

- PIOs in countries where large-scale emigration took places roughly 150 years ago (Mauritius, South Africa, Fiji, Malaysia, Singapore, etc.), often referred to as the “old diaspora”.

The diaspora consists of three elements. First, those who left under colonial rule and who live in remote places like the Caribbean, Africa and Fiji, where they face significant social difficulties from the indigenous population, which is why India should not try to reach out to them. Second, highly-skilled migrants residing in industrialized Western countries, most of whom obtained free education in India and deserted India for their personal benefit, without caring about the progress of the country. Third, laborers who move temporarily to the Gulf countries and whose remittances are critical for their communities of origin.

India’s Diaspora Infrastructure

India’s government institutions are geared towards specific components of these three categories of
overseas Indians laid out in the previous section. In 2004, India established a special Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) that had different joint secretaries and divisions to cater to different categories of overseas Indians. Gamlen says that there were a limited number of diasporas related government offices were there, but in the last decade these institutions established in many countries. By 2015, the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi merged the MOIA with the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), where the bulk of issues related to diaspora and NRI affairs are handled now at the ministerial level. Within the MEA, the diaspora infrastructure is housed in the Overseas Indian Affairs division that includes the Protector of Emigrants, which focuses on (mostly temporary and low-skilled) labor emigration. Until 2004, the Protector of Emigrants was housed in the Ministry of Labour. Then it became an integral part of the newly created MOIA, before moving with the entire overseas Indian portfolio to the MEA in 2015. The Protector of Emigrants focuses on protecting less-skilled labor emigration to the Gulf region and elsewhere. The other sestion of MEA’s overseas Indian division focus on the other two segments of India’s diaspora population. The MEA overseas embassies and consulates in 160 countries, as well as honorary councils
in an additional 36 countries that cater to the needs of India’s overseas population.

The work by the MEA is flanked by several independent or semi-independent bodies. Especially, the India Centre for Migration (ICM) and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR). The ICM is supposed to act as a government-controlled think tank that undertakes research and studies on migration of Indian workers for overseas employment and supports informed policy making. Lastly, the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) under the auspices of the Ministry of External Affairs is India’s primary agency to formulate and implement policies and programs relating to India’s external cultural relations.

The MEA runs Indian Workers Resource Centres (IWRC) in the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Malaysia. They provide 24x7 helpdesks for both intending migrants and overseas Indians and an electronic platform attends to queries in 11 Indian Languages. These centres abroad are integrated with five domestic Migrant Resource Centres (MRCs) based in Kochi, Hyderabad, Gurgaon, Lucknow, and Chennai.

In India, the states of Kerala, Punjab and Gujarat pursue active policies relating to their expatriate
population. Since 1998, the Gujarat government maintains a separate Department for Non-Resident Gujaratis under which an autonomous Gujarat State Non-Resident Gujaratis (NRGs) Foundation aims at promoting social, cultural and linguistic bonds among the global Gujarati family. NRGs also explore the possibilities of how NRIs and NRGs can play a vital role in the development of the state and identify the areas which needed assistance to the NRIs and NRGs.

In Kerala, NORKA (Non-resident Keralites’ Affairs) was established in 1996 and in 2002 the field agency Norka-Roots also established. In 1996 the NRI sabha, Punjab was also constituted as a NGO, but it was chaired by the government’s Commissioner for NRI Affairs. The chief patron of NRI Sabha was the Chief Minister of Punjab ex-officio, its elected President has to be a former NRI, which include foreign citizen of Indian origin. In 2007 Punjab government established a department of NRI affairs and later many states have created NRI centres and cells in order to strengthen the relationship with the overseas Indians and to address their problems.
Diaspora Policies

Over the past 20 years, Indian state institutions have established diaspora centres, policies and programs for labour migrants.

Participation and Representation- In 2003, government of India held a diaspora conference - *Pravasi Bhartiya Divas* - which aims to consult with the diaspora and migrant labourers. The NRI Sabha, Punjab set up a consultative body that include government officials and elected NRIs.

A 2010 amendment of the Representation of the People Act allowed NRIs to be included into voter rolls. However, NRI voters needed to return physically to India on election day to cast their vote and could not use postal ballot, voting at voting stations abroad or other remote procedures. As expected, this leads to no significant NRI voter turnout. In the end of 2017, the Government introduced the Representation of People Act Amendment bill 2017 that would allow NRIs to avail themselves of proxy voting. However, the bill lapsed with the dissolution of the 16th Lok Sabha and has since then not been reintroduced.
Economic policies

The contribution of the NRIs to the economy of the country is very significant and so for the past 20 years the government strongly interfere in to the economic policies for NRIs.

Naujoks says that India created special savings policies for the NRIs. They had comparatively higher rate of interest for deposits and receives tax exceptions.

Cultural and Educational Policies

The Indian Council for Cultural Relation (ICCR) is the main institution to promote Indian culture abroad. ICCR regularly provide cultural assistance to NRIs. ICCR runs 30 cultural centres around the world and focus on teaching of Indian dance, music, yoga, language and arrange festivals and national days. Since 2006, ICCR provides scholarship of upto USD 4000 per annum to 100-150 NRIs or PIOs students for undergraduate courses.

Tracing Roots Programmes was conducted by the government with the cooperation of the private institutions. In order to make awareness about the Indian society, culture, economy and all other aspects of India,
a three week orientation programme was conducted which was named as Know India Programme (KIP)

The following table indicates the Indian policy for diasporic engagement:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No.</th>
<th>Diaspora Engagement Action</th>
<th>Status of Indian Policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Flexible Citizenship Laws and Residency and Visa Requirements</td>
<td>India does not permit Dual citizenship however its OCI Card scheme provides for life-time visa free travel and full residency and employment rights for Persons of Indian origin who are citizens of other countries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Political Rights</td>
<td>Voting rights have not been accorded to Persons of Indian origin who are citizens of other countries, however Non-Resident Indians (NRIs - Indian Passport holders settled overseas) have been recently restored their right to vote by</td>
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<td>amending rules for registration of voters located overseas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Special Property Rights</td>
<td>Indian Diaspora holding PIO or OCI cards have the right to purchase property in India (except farm and plantation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tax Incentives</td>
<td>Reduced customs duty regime for transfer of residence of Overseas Indians returning back to India are available including the retention of NRI status upto three years after return. Provisions for transfer of funds for philanthropy and tax exemption for the same are available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Portable Benefits</td>
<td>Through the provision of SSAs (Social Security Agreements) pensionary benefits of Indian workers and professionals working overseas are both portable and can be totalised in countries where SSAs have been executed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>To promote investments from</td>
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</table>
Indian Diaspora, several provisions have been put in place ranging from special incentives for Bank deposits, investments in the Share Market, and certain special provisions for OCIs and NRIs for Foreign Direct Investment. Also, to encourage employment of overseas Indians, amendments to rules for doctors, scientists, academics and accountants have been or are in the process of being amended.

**Diapora Policies and Protection in India**

As one of the largest sending countries of labor migrants, many of which reside in countries where migrants have limited access to host country social protection schemes, the country has created a considerable number of policies and schemes to provide transnational protections for its citizens abroad. Many of these are restricted to Indian nationals residing in specific countries, most importantly the Gulf Cooperation Countries.
Welfare and social protection policies for overseas Indians include the now defunct *Mahatma Gandhi Pravasi Suraksha Yojana* (MGPSY) pension scheme for NRIs that will be discussed below, legal and financial assistance and the *Pravasi Bhartiya Bima Yojana* (PBBY), as well as the Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF).

Since 2009, the Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF) has assisted Indian nationals abroad in times of distress and emergency in the ‘most deserving cases’ on a ‘means tested basis.’ Beneficiaries do not have to repay the cost covered. It includes legal and financial assistance to Indian women who were abandoned, cheated, and/or abused by their NRI/PIO or foreign spouses; emergency medical care for accidents with serious life threatening injuries; the payment for small fines and penalties in respect of Indian nationals for minor offences/crimes, such as for “illegal stay in the host country where *prima facie* the worker is not at fault”, and assistance for repatriation of nationals abroad. The stated target groups are “overseas Indian workers duped by unscrupulous intermediaries in the host countries, runaway house maids, those who become victim of accidents, deserted spouses of Overseas Indians or undocumented Overseas Indian workers in
need of emergency assistance or any other Overseas Indian citizens who are in distress would be the main beneficiaries of the Fund.” The ICWF rules further allow consulates to pay for the transportation of mortal remains of deceased Indian national to India or local cremation/burial of deceased.

The Pravasi Bharatiya Bima Yojana (PBBY) is a mandatory insurance scheme aimed at safeguarding the interests of Indian emigrant workers falling under Emigration Check Required (ECR) category going for overseas employment to ECR countries. This applies to the 18 official ECR countries: Afghanistan, Bahrain, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, UAE, and Yemen, of which, at the time of writing, departures to Libya, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen have been suspended because of the security situation in these countries. The scheme, initially launched in 2003, has been amended in 2006, 2008, and 2017 with the overarching objective of strengthening the coverage of emigrant workers. At the regional level, under the Kerala Pravasi Welfare Board, the Non-Resident Keralites’ Welfare Fund Act 2008 has developed some welfare schemes for the benefits of
Non-Resident Keralites, such as several pension schemes.

The following sections will deal with the policies and programs that address policy issues related to unemployment, health care, pensions, family-related benefits, as well as resources for economic hardships.

**Unemployment**

*Pravasi Kaushal Vikas Yojana* (PKVY)- Indian government is not providing anything to unemployed migrants but the government has taken initiative to improve the employability of the Indians in the migrated area. PKVY aims to enhance the skill sets of potential migrant workers and facilitate overseas employment opportunities. This was launched at the 14th *Pravasi Bhartiya Divas* convention in 2017. This program is implemented by the MEA (Ministry of External Affairs) in collaboration with the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE). It is complemented by a compulsory pre-departure orientation (PDO), which prepares migrants for the journey to ECR countries. In Kerala, Norka-Roots conducts one-day pre-departure training courses to overseas job aspirants to make them aware of the general job situations abroad and to impart essential information relating to visa, emigration rules,
employment contract, customs regulations, and travel formalities etc.

**Health Care**

In India there are government health insurance scheme as well as private schemes. The public insurance system includes government-owned companies, such as New India Assurance Co., Oriental Insurance Co., National Insurance Co. and United Insurance India. NRIs could buy health insurance policies from such insurers for treatment in India, though there is no special provision or communication strategy on the part of the Government or these companies. For policies that allow accessing health care abroad, residential guidelines generally state that policies can be issued to Indian citizens residing in India alone. They explicitly says that the cover is not allowed to NRIs. NRIs are also not covered by India’s *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana* (RSBY) health insurance scheme for the poor, though they might be eligible upon their return. The Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF) provide emergency medical care on a means tested basis to overseas Indians who are involved in an accident with serious life-threatening injuries, who have life-threatening medical conditions or suffer a serious disability. However, in the
first 10 years of the fund’s existence, fewer than 500 individuals have received support for emergency health care. The *Pravasi Bharatiya Bima Yojana* insurance scheme for emigrant workers in the ECR category covers birth-related hospital costs of up to USD 350 in India, though to avail themselves of these maternity benefits abroad, all required documents need to be certified by the Indian Mission, thus creating a significant barrier to access said benefits.

Kerala Pravasi Welfare Board can provide financial assistance under its medical treatment, accident–cum-death insurance scheme. Under this scheme, a member Non-Resident Keralite (NRK) who is afflicted with critical illness is eligible for obtaining a maximum financial assistance of INR 50,000 (approximately USD730) during the entire period of his or her membership. Financial Assistance scheme for returned NRKs in distress, financial assistance is provided to NRKs or their dependent family members in case of medical treatment expenses, death assistance or the acquisition of artificial limbs, crutches, wheel chair or other aids to overcome physical disability.
Pensions

India’s National Pension Scheme (NPS) is a government-sponsored contribution pension system. Whereas it was initially launched for government employees only, since 2009 it is open to all employees in India. In 2015, NRIs were allowed to obtain a unique Permanent Retirement Account Number (PRAN) and thus subscribe to the pension scheme. NRIs pay into the scheme either by inward remittance through normal banking channels or out of funds held in their special diaspora savings accounts. NPS account will be closed if they acquire a different citizenship, thus forfeiting their Indian citizenship.

In 2012, the government had launched the Mahatma Gandhi Suraksha Pravasi Yojana (MGPSY), as a voluntary scheme to provide social security coverage to Indians in emigration check required (ECR) countries. However, the lack of sufficient subscribers led to abandoning the scheme in early 2017.

In the state of Kerala, Non-Resident Keralites who continuously contribute to the Welfare Fund up to the age of 60, are eligible for a monthly pension of INR 2,000 (approximately USD 30) after the age of 60.
Economic Hardship

The Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF) is meant to assist Indian nationals abroad in times of distress and emergency. Under the ICWF, consulates can provide distressed nationals abroad with boarding and lodging in a budget category or in shelters run by the Indian mission or an NGO empanelled with the mission. It can also pay for air passage to India for stranded overseas Indian nationals, as well as legal assistance for Indian nationals abroad who have committed minor crimes, offences or have been falsely implicated by their employer and put in jails. The consulate can further provide legal and financial assistance to Indian women, who were abandoned, cheated, or abused by their NRI/PIO or foreign spouses. It can also pay small fines and penalties in respect of Indian nationals for minor offences, such as for illegal stay in the host country where *prima facie* the worker is not at fault, and to enable release of Indian nationals from jail or a detention center. There are no regional policies or schemes to cover such resources.

The above mentioned are the initiatives taken by the government of India and State governments and also discussed some policies related to the NRIs and PIOs.
3.2 Role of Indian Diaspora in placing India in the Global Scenario

Diaspora plays an important role in the development of homeland. This contributes through remittances, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), entrepreneurship, philanthropy etc. According to the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), India has the second-largest Diaspora in the world, after China, with around 25 million people living in some 110 countries (in all six continents). In the world, India receives the highest amount of remittances, most of them come from Gulf countries.

Afram in his study estimated that overseas Indians sent an annual income of US $ 400 billion, equivalent to 30 percent of India’s GDP. The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) reports that workers’ remittances to India reached US$ 46.4 billion for year 2008-2009 up from US$2.1 billion in the year 1990-1991. It shows that Indian remittance amount has increased from year to year. Maximum remittance India receives is from the US followed by Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates(UAE).

Reserve Bank of India reported that migrants sent money back home to the families. More than half (61
percent) of the remittances received by Indian’s are used for family maintenance, that is, to meet the requirements of food, education, health, marriages, house constructions and so on. Money is sent from parents to children and children to parents. Afram’s study shows that on an average, about 20 percent of the funds received are deposited in bank accounts, and about 7 percent of the funds received are invested in land, property, or securities. Tumbe revealed that international remittances were received in the year 2007-2008 by various states like Kerala (Rs. 51,211 crores) followed by Maharashtra (Rs. 26,481 crores), Tamil Nadu (Rs. 17,277 crores), Punjab (Rs. 16,505 crores), Andhra Pradesh (Rs. 9,512 crores), Delhi (Rs. 8,392 crores), Gujarat (Rs. 8,305 crores), Karnataka (Rs. 7,564 crores) and Uttar Pradesh (Rs. 6,553 crore). Kerala tops the remittance list. It reflects the fact that Middle East accounts for the maximum proportion of remittances. Various states receive remittance in the following proportion with reference to the total remittances India receives (2007-2008) Kerala (34 percent), Maharashtra (17 percent), Tamil Nadu (11 percent) and Punjab (11 percent), while Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and Gujarat receives 6 percent each. North America and Europe are the next largest host regions of massive remittance.
infloows into the home country. According to an RBI estimate in 2009-2010 an amount of US $ 53.9 billion was sent as remittance to India by Indians living abroad. This amount does not include the money sent through other channels. These remittances helped the Indian economy to emerge as a big power in a short period of time. Kathleen Newland says that remittances are not the only instrument of Diaspora contribution. They can be a major source of Direct Foreign Investment (FDI), market development (outsourcing), technology transfer, philanthropy, tourism, political contributions and more tangible flows of knowledge, new attitudes and cultural influence. Poverty reduction is another major contribution of the diaspora to the homeland.

Rather than the remittances the other impacts of migration is discussed below.

Migration and housing

There is difference between a migrant and non-migrant in their construction of houses. Study conducted in Centre for Development Studies revealed that the migrants are constructing more luxurious houses compared to non-migrants. This is one major impact of migration in society, which become a part of maintenance of status.
Household Amenities

Many of the research studies by Irudaya Rajan, Zachariah, Mathew and Fried proved that in the initial period of the Gulf migration from India resulted various developments in grassroot level. This was because of the influence of the remittances. Compared to the non-migrant people, the house of the migrants are electrified. They use LPG for cooking and all these shows the increase in the standard of living of the migrants. The migrant families purchase and use all types of household amenities and they had high purchasing capacity when compared to the non-migrant families (Irudaya Rajan, 1994).

Possession of Consumer Durables

Conspicuous consumption is the hallmark of the migrant, especially in Kerala. The migrants are accustomed with using the consumer durable goods and they purchase this in their homeland. Study by Irudaya Rajan shows that the reason for increase in the purchasing power was the remittances. The income of the emigrant household had increased and this leads to the increase in the purchasing power.
Education and Occupation

Studies proved that the migrants spent a large amount of the remittance for the education of their children. Later, the results of higher education leads to the emergence of professionals. Many of them were employed in high salaried jobs and this leads to the betterment of the society and the economy. Thus the remittance played an important role in the Indian society.

Changes in the village economy

The scenario of village communities had changed after emigration to Middle East. Villages have changed their face in to an urban mode. Abundant construction works have facilitated the growth of the villages.

This high inflow of social and economic remittances helped the country to improve in all means. Remittances to India lead to the development of the country and emerged as a new power in the globalised world. Therefore, the contribution diaspora is remarkable to the novel Indian society and economy.

3.3 Remittance economy and its socio-economic impact, Problems of return migrants: Socio cultural and Economic problems with special reference to Kerala
The above section dealt with the importance of remittances to India and how this remittances helped the country to place in a higher position in the globalised world. In this section we are discussing about the problems of the return migrants and the main focus is to the State of Kerala. Kerala receiving the highest amount of remittances and the state which supplies huge number of diaspora. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on Kerala situation and the role of State Government in treating the diaspora and the returnees.

According to Zachariah and Irudaya Rajan, if we look at the state wise distribution of these return migrants in India from abroad, Kerala has nearly 50 percent of these return migrants. It seems the emigrants from Kerala are also higher, and which has been persistent from 1990’s has the higher tendency of migrants returning back because of the decline in oil prices, economic depression in the Gulf and immigration-discouraging measurers taken by the Gulf Governments. The retun emigrants to Kerala reached a peak in 1996-97 period. The statistical data related to migrants in Kerala bring us to its importance in the social and economic scenario of Kerala population. At
present one out of every 29 persons in Kerala, one out of every 22 adult population of Kerala, one out of every 19 working age population of Kerala, and one out of every 9 working age male population of Kerala are return emigrants. Corresponding to every 100 households in Kerala, there are 16 return emigrants; 12 of them have at least one return emigrant. About 1.3 percent households have more than one return emigrant. At present, there are roughly over 1.3 million return emigrants in Kerala. According to the Kerala Migration Survey, the return emigrants are about 1.6 million in 2015. This rate has increased during the period of covid pandemic and this will be discussed later in this chapter.

Return migration is a movement of migrants back to their home land to resettle. According to Conde the main motive of emigration is generally economic, the reason for return are numerous, complex and sometimes contradictory. The reasons for return migration are as follows: cancellation or expiry of job contracts, discrimination of foreign labour in the host country and the insecure job tenure, non-payment and drastic reduction in salaries, difficult working and living conditions, verbal and physical abuse, poor health, family problems and some of the returnees says that they have achieved the objective of their emigration. Apart
from these reasons Nitaquat and in some situations the movements like ‘Son of the Soil’ resulted the return migration. Economic recession in overseas countries resulted the sudden return of migrants in large scale. Both individual and social factors influence the return migration. Conde says that one of the most important and difficult problem faced by return migrants is their reintegration in to their own society. This is because of the changing aspirations of the returnees. The return migrants, most probably face a challenge to accept their occupation previous to migration and this create an internal conflict. Rhoades and Gmelch in their study proved that the returnees may be viewed by the host society as successful and upwardly mobile individuals. This may sometimes lead to tensions in the returnees.

Policy initiative for the return migrants

National level policies and programmes for the return migrants are very rare. While, in the state level analysis Kerala is far front in the return policies and initiative. It is the only State in India with a systematic policies and programs for the returnees as well as the emigrants. The Departments of NORKA and its field agency NORKA ROOTS carries a big role in the reintegration process of the returnees. In the analysis of
the nature of the policies it is clear that most of the policies are related to the economic incentive policies.

With regard to the nature of the policies framed for the reintegration of returnees can be divided into three categories such as information-based policies, economic incentive-based policies, and institution-based policies. Information-based policies focus on providing returning workers with information that can allow them to reintegrate more successfully into their communities. Economic incentive-based policies provide workers with additional material benefits to encourage workers to return to their home country. Institution-based policies refer to changing laws and practices that directly promote the reintegration of workers. The following table describes the policies for the return migrants.
Policies for Indian Diaspora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information based policies</th>
<th>Economic incentive based policies</th>
<th>Institution based policies</th>
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6. Skill upgradation trainings

7. My village My dream Project

Re-integration Problems

Though the state Kerala could plan more policies and implement programs on the other side it affects a lot of challenges in reintegration process of returnees. The nature of problems and challenges may be personal or situational. Reintegration has been influenced by both structural and individual factors of the returnees. Though the personal problems like lack of adjustment with family or home society is not a big problem. The challenges regarding to the excessive labour migration and lack of alternative systems become a big challenge to the Government and other related departments.
Indebtedness and unfavourable financial status after return migration:

The indebtedness and unfavorable financial status of return migrants are one of the main challenges in the reintegration process of the returnees. The financial situation after return and debt problems and access to money are obviously of crucial importance for setting up or revamping a life back in India. Money also increases the chances on the labor market, e.g. by investing in one's own business, which consequently helps for both economic and social integration.

The accessibility of money and sufficient economic condition is one of the important elements for the better social and personal achievement of every person. The absence of adequate financial background and indebtedness after the return is a major challenge for the reintegration to home society. Majority of the return migrants borrowed money during the emigration to overseas countries and the sudden return lead to the debt of huge amounts. Though they got a job after the return they are liable to pay back the loan amounts.

The unemployment scenario in the State—unemployment rate in the state is increasing quickly and in this situation the return migrants are a burden and the
remittances are reduced when they return. State like Kerala is not capable to receive a large group of migrants returning into its economic sector.

In general, the major issues faced by the return migrants include, indebtedness and unfavourable financial status, labour migration to Kerala, lack of information and utilisation of return programs, various adjustmental problems, lack of alternative systems and unhealthy perceptions and high level of unemployment in the state. More than these issues the return migrants face another issue in this covid pandemic period. This ranges from socio-economic-cultural, health and political areas as the covid pandemic squeezes the entire world. The return migrants during the period of covid pandemic is discussed below.

In the last few months, 413,000 Non-Resident Keralites (NRKs) living outside India have registered to return to Kerala due to the pandemic. So far, 150,000 Indians have registered with the Indian Embassy in the United Arab Emirates to return. Half of those registered are NRKs. The majority are blue-collar workers, willing to return to India due to the loss of their jobs. NRKs, as the largest migrant community in the Gulf, have suffered the most from job losses and pay cuts.
Workers fear not only the threat of the virus but also the economic effects of the slowdown of the Gulf economy, which largely depends on oil and related activities. The number of available jobs is shrinking. Moreover, the migrants who have returned to Kerala for breaks/holidays are stuck and are in danger of losing their livelihoods. The drastically decreased remittances, returning of migrants and the pandemic condition affected the Kerala economy.

Enhancing the skills of returning migrants may also facilitate further international migration to new destinations or to the Gulf itself. However, this hypothesis would require comprehensive research to examine the best possible ways for the economic integration of the returning NRKs. In Kerala, for quite some time, return migration and integration policies have lost their relevance. This moment could be an opportunity to re-orient these policies to address the current needs.
References


4.1 The concept of home among diasporic communities - Homeland: imaginary or real

4.2 Indian Diaspora in Cyberspace Indian Diaspora and Films, Indian Diasporic Writing

4.3 Diaspora and Identity: Gender and Diaspora, Role of Pravasi organizations

4.1 The concept of home among diasporic communities - Homeland: imaginary or real

Clifford says that one of the important features of diasporic experience is a strong attachment to and desire for literal return to a well-preserved homeland. Walters explains that the notion of diaspora can represent multiple, plurilocal, constructed location of home, thus avoiding ideas of fixity, boundedness, and nostalgic exclusivity traditionally implied by the word home. Home is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of ‘origin’. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and
smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies in the middle of the day …all this, as mediated by the historically specific everyday of social relations. Chinatown in London is an example for the establishment of their familiar space to make themselves feel at home and creating a sense of belonging at where they are-home away from home.

Arjun Appadurai studies diaspora as a definite movement of people or ideas through five aspects. These five aspects elaborate on how they eventually bind to the concept of home. The interconnection between diaspora and home is still prevalent as they are influenced through ethnic, technological, economic, media and ideological dispersion. The correlation between diaspora and home is straightforward as all these aspects encompass human element which is central to the notion of home.

Through this and similar interventions, ‘home’ became more and more generously interpreted to mean the place of origin, or the place of settlement, or a local, national or transnational place, or an imagined virtual community (linked, for example, through the internet), or a matrix of known experiences and intimate social
relations (thus conforming to the popular expression that ‘home is where the heart is’).

Safran’s view of the vital importance of homeland in defining one of the essential characteristics of diaspora. For him, members of a diaspora retained a collective memory of ‘their original homeland’; they idealized their ‘ancestral home’, were committed to the restoration of ‘the original homeland’ and continued in various ways to ‘relate to that homeland’. While understanding the homeland-diaspora relationship, three main versions of home/homeland emerged: solid, ductile and liquid.

According to Safran the solid diaspora is the unquestioned need for a homeland. In general, the idea of homeland is filled with an expressive charge and a sentimental pathos that seems to be almost universal. Motherland, Fatherland, Native land, Natal land and Ancestral land, the search for ‘roots’- all these similar notions invest homelands with ‘an emotional, almost reverential dimension. There is a n interplay between the feminine and masculine versions of homeland. In feminine rendition, the motherland is seen as a warm, cornucopian breast from which the people collectively suck their nourishment. This nurturing of white milk is
replaced by blood of the soldiers in discussing the masculine aspect of homeland. Ductile homeland is an intermediate, more complex idea of homeland. When the idea of homeland is created through cultural bonds the notion of home is characterised by ductile homes where the revival of native land is relocated with fresh religious and cultural bonds. Liquid homeland is a post-modernist rendition of virtual home. This is a world of ‘liquid modernity’, says Zygmunt Bauman, where we are witnessing the revenge of nomadism over the principles of territoriality and settlement.

The discussion on the topic diaspora and homeland is going on. The concept of diaspora is strongly stated, while a group of critics (social constructionist) influenced by post modernist readings, asked to decompose two of the major building blocks previously delimiting and demarcating the diasporic idea, namely ‘homeland’ and ‘ethnic/religious community’. In the post-modern world, it was further argued, identities have become deterritorialized and affirmed in a flexible and situational way; accordingly, concepts of diaspora had to be radically reordered in response to this complexity.
We can explicitly identify the feminine and masculine metaphorical renditions of homeland. Feminine versions of homeland are seen as nourishing and the masculine version of homeland accentuate belonging. Moreover home and homeland in diaspora studies are located spatially and territorially affirming myths of native land. When the idea of homeland is created through cultural bonds the notion of home is characterized by ductile homes where the revival of native land is relocated with fresh religious and cultural bonds.

The homeland may be an imagined community, that features prominently in the struggle to survive physically and emotionally in a new and strange location. In this sense, the desire to go back home may be cast in the form of a ‘myth of return’- not a real plan of returning, but to keep its memory alive. But there are also cases of ‘long distance nationalism’ where the diaspora plays a concrete and major role in homeland politics and political causes. More recent scholarly engagements complicate and nuance the concept of homeland without ignoring its significance.
4.2 Indian Diaspora in Cyberspace Indian Diaspora and Films, Indian Diasporic Writing

Indian Diaspora in Cyberspace

The emergence of new technology and globalisation has created a group of online communities or virtual communities and identities. Digital technologies are replacing ‘place’ in its usual sense and digitalizing place into virtual spaces of diverse practices. There have always been the connecting of diasporas all over the world based on one’s religious identity, ethnicity, nationality regions etc, but the coming of information communication technology (ICT) has broadened the scope of communication and intensity and speed of connection. Though ICT may be viewed as a space and a platform to the muted voices to express their ideas, it may also be seen as a space where hegemonic discourses are shared.

Alex, Brinkerhoff and Everett says that Digital diaspora (or E-Diaspora) is a migrant community whose interactions with other community members spread out internationally are electronically mediated via new technologies of communications. The immense growth of new technological advancement for the last decade enabled a different kind of diasporic connectivity.
Rheingold asserted that the ‘virtual world’ has been appropriate for connecting diasporas at local and global level. This offers a platform to share ideas, debate issues, mobilize opinion and generate friendship through this virtual platform. It has been documented by Diminescu, Jacomy, and Renault that diasporas often use Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn to build communities in the digital spaces, which support integration in host countries. Alonso and Oriarzabal have noted that association specific online sites and blogs have been tools for community building and communication, disseminating information relative to the given diasporic population, in both host and home countries. There are grassroot organisations in the cyberspace for creating networks among the globally scattered diasporas. An E-diaspora is a migrant collective, that organizes itself on the internet. Their practices involve interactions which are improved by digital exchange.

Various types of E-diapsoras among Indian Communities

There are various chat groups, blogs and websites on topics ranging from religion and religio-political, cookery and cuisine to tourism in India to matrimonial alliances. Government of India with its pro-diaspora policy during 1990s has exploited the digital technology to push its nationalist agenda. Some examples follows.
a) Digital communication from religious and spiritual organisations-

The existence of different forms of communication and technology have also given rise to religious transnationalism including the flow of ideologies, religious mass movements, access to information etc. using various online sites as a means of spreading their religious ideas. A number of new age Hindu sects for example have followers and devotees who are Indians living in India and diaspora, and also non-Indians. The headquarters is usually in India, and there are often branches or chapters in major metropolitan centers of Europe, North America and elsewhere, wherever there is a big group of devotees. Many of these organizations are wealthy and also have talented followers who can manage their online activities efficiently. For keeping the scattered devotees bonded together and their devotion and loyalty to the sect intact, the internet is used extensively as a tool for communication, as we can see in the Home Pages of some well-known ashrams. For instance, The Art of Living by Sri Sri Ravisankar, Sri Amrithanandamayi devi and International Sai Organisation.
b) Digital Hindutva-

Digital Hindu nationalism gives us a particularly relevant case study to examine the relationship between politicization of religion, migration, technology and transnationalism. It demonstrates the exact sociology of a mobile Hindu nationalist elite and offers a startling example of how a current offline network is translated online. Example for this groups are Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh USA, Vishva Hindu Parishad and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

Govt. of India and digital outreach to its diaspora

From 1990s government of India took a pro active stand towards diaspora and the cyberspace of the diaspora become active. Some examples of the online activities are given below.

Following the Prime Minister’s clarion call of "Start up India, Stand up India" from the ramparts of the Red Fort, NASSCOM, TiE, and IIM Ahmedabad’s CIIE India are hosting the first India- U.S. Startup Konnect in the Silicon Valley on 27th September, to showcase the strengths of India’s startup ecosystem. Indian Diaspora Community Organisation is another cyberspace for the diaspora community.
Indian Diaspora in Films

One of the defining characteristic of the diasporic community is that while its members may have moved away from the homeland, the community still maintains a strong connection with the ‘mother culture’ and retains bonds through spatial connectors such as kinship networks, food habits, clothes, language, music, and films.

Cinema first came to India under British colonialism and slowly consumed folk traditions. The first indigenous feature film was made in 1913 and by 1930 films in India assumed vibrancy. Gokulsing and Diasnayake suggest that filmmaking in India was janus faced- looking at Indian cultural tradition on the one hand and the techniques and aura from around the world.

During the same era, when Indians in the diaspora looked back nostalgically toward India, they looked at Indian cinema. Bollywood films such as Anarkali, Madhuri, Veer Abhimanyu, Maya Bazar, Mistress of Spices and Zarina were screened in Suva, the capital of Fiji, around 1930. From the beginning, Bollywood cinema had found a special cultural space among the Indian diaspora. Today, Indian youths in India and in the Indian diaspora find an identity repertoire from
Bollywood cinema. Dasgupta says that, cinema is the ‘temple of modern India’ and Mishra says that they are ‘temple of desire’ for the Indian diaspora.

Technological changes in the last century have significantly altered the production and consumption of information in India and its diaspora because of satellite television, transnational travel and tourism, internet communication and global consumerism. Sky entertainment in Fiji, Sahara TV in the United Emirates, or ATN cable in Canada have been crucial in bringing the homeland to the diaspora. In fact, the ATN cable in Canada broadcasts directly from Doordarshan in India.

Many films, both mainstream and others dealt with issues of diaspora and contesting identities. The most recent one film in Indian context is English Vinglish. This film addresses women’s sexuality, their journey towards adjusting to an alien culture, their experience of an expatriate motherhood through a romantic lens.

*Bend it like Beckham* (Gurinder Chadha, 2002) explores the disparities of British and Indian cultures through a woman’s perspective. Jess, the protagonist, aspires for a career in football. Being a woman, as also an Asian woman, makes her doubly distanced from her
goal. Unlike other British Asian films, this film focuses on the dreams of Jess and her mother. The movie captures a mother’s dilemma aptly as Jess’s mother berates her for her impractical aspirations. Chadha stated in an interview that many of the lines of dialogue attributed to the two mothers in the film came from her own experience - listening to her own mother and mothers of her white friends. The issue of class struggle of migrants is also raised when we see that Jess had received burns as a child when she was heating food because her mother was away, working late nights at the Heathrow Airport. This family is shown to have risen to affluence, but that in real terms is not always the case.

*My Beautiful Laundrette* written by Hanif Kureshi is a film dealt with Anglo-Asian life in London. The main theme of the movie is British politics and homosexuality, which throw light on gender relations, and how the shift form Pakistan to London shifts people from one form of alienation to another.

*Bride and Prejudice* is another movie that narrates the story of Indian women and her desire to get married and get settled, which ironically a Victorian idea. This movie does not give a picture of internal turmoil of a women who has other dreams.
The first movie in Malayalam on the theme diaspora was *Ezham Kadalinakkare* in the year 1979. *Varavelp* (1989) was a movie based on the issues of the return migrants. *Pathemari* and *Khaddama* are the films that fully based on migrants and their life. *Pathemari* is a movie which depicts the societal and familial life of the migrant through the lens of financial liabilities. *Khaddama* depicts the issues faced by a woman in the place of destination and her efforts to escape from the problems. This movie shows the life of the housemaids in the Arab countries. There are many other movies like *Take Off, Arabikatha, Diamond Necklace, ABCD, English, Life of Josutty, Jacobinte Swargarajyam* which deals with the diasporic communities.

More true to depicting a young woman’s identity crisis in a foreign land is the film *Persepolis* (2006) written and directed by Marjane Satrapi. Following the trajectory of Marjane as she leaves the war torn Iran to study in France, we see ennui and a sense of desperation belong to the new milieu. Marjane is a young girl and she has everything going for her, and yet she is unable to adjust and make a healthy living. She leaves her country when everybody is fighting the Shah regime, and her own uncle Anoush is persecuted for his communist ideology. Marjane tries everything to fit in, and all in
vain. She finds temporary solace in a love affair but that also ends in disaster. She lives on a street for many months until she comes back home to Iran. Here, we see her inability to cope after returning, as is the case with many people who go back home. How a woman’s sexuality, national identity, and ideology can influence her coming of age is best exemplified in *Persepolis*, which was also nominated for the Academy Award for Best Animated Feature in 2007.

**Diasporic Writing**

While considering the Indian diaspora, the first generation diaspora were illiterate and were working class or farming community. All legends, myths and folk narratives they carried out to the new land were primarily oral in nature. Communication sent to the families by the diasporic persons laid the seeds of literature. Similarly, in the songs and poems they composed and sang, the stories they narrated of their various experiences, they exaggerated or underplayed ‘facts’. This was the literature in the new form. These were the beginning of Indian diasporic writing in its infancy. This was so in East Africa, Trinidad, Fiji, Guyana and Jamica, Malaysia and Sri Lanka and in all countries.
Later, these tradition of literatures influenced the diaspora community. Since the later diasporas were literate and highly educated they wrote rather than narrating orally. They composed and published and some did it along with the pursuit of their professions. In course of time, they began to be noticed, read, evaluated and awarded. Soon some of them became household names: Salman Rushdie, V S Naipaul, Rohinton Mistry, M G Vassanji, Bharati Mukherji, Farida Karodia, Anita Deasi, K S Maniam and so on. The following section will discuss the writings of diasporas from different states on India.

a) Writing in Bengali from the Indian diaspora-

From the early eighteenth century onwards, privileged Bengali men have been travelling abroad. The Bengal Renaissance prompted a lot of elite Bengalis to undertake perilous journeys across the oceans. Raja Rammohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Debendranath Tagore, Michael MadhusudanDutt, SayyedAmeer Ali, Satyendranath Tagore, SatyendraprasannaSinha, Rabindranath Tagore and many of his contemporaries were sent by their families to England to study law, medicine or in order to prepare for and take the Civil Services Exam. They wrote of their experiences abroad
and documented their lives as *probashi* (‘one who lives away from home’). These writings can be considered as the first diasporic accounts in Bengali language. Rabindranath Tagore’s *Europe Prabashir Patra* (‘Letters from Europe’) first published in the magazine *Bharati* as letters and then in 1881 as a book is a fine account of English social life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first diasporic Bengali text written by a woman was a travel book first published in 1885 written by Krishnabhabini Das. She had accompanied her husband Debendranath Das to England in 1882 and stayed for eight years minutely observing Victorian society and later compiling her experiences in the volume *InglondeBangamahila* (trans. as ‘A Bengali Lady in England’) published in 1885.

In this contemporary society the diaspora is diverse in its class, caste and culture. Some of the notable contemporary diasporic writers writing in Bangla who are widely read in West Bengal and Bangladesh are from the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Prominent among them are GhulamMurshid, Abdul GaffarChoudhury from UK, DilaraHashem, Alolika Mukhopadhyay from USA.
b) Writing in Telugu from the Indian diaspora-

Though Telugu is spoken primarily in Andhra Pradesh and the Telangana States, parts of Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Orissa and Jharkhand also have Telugu speaking people, thus its widespread communities within the nation and as well as outside the nation assert the language.

Telugu migration overseas dates back to the pre-colonial indentured labour, and continues with the post-colonial professional workers, with large numbers participating in the IT diaspora. For generations, the Telugus have been migrating to different parts of the world such as Burma, Malaysia, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, Indonesia, England, and USA.

Members of the Telugu diaspora gather frequently to organise events that help them to promote their culture, language and more importantly provide a platform for the second generation to understand their roots.

In the last twenty years, the Foundation has brought out forty publications that include 11 volumes of America Telugu Kathanika, a collection of Telugu short stories written by various writers living in America and around the globe edited by PemmaRajuVenugopalRao,
America Illaalu by Chimmata Kamala, Amerikaalakshepam by Vanguri Chitten Raj, Metamorphosis by Veluri Venkateswara Rao and many others.

Writers in Telugu differ from diaspora writers in English wherein they have evolved their own distinct style, with which they express their emotions and ideas freely. Writers like Vanguri Chitten Raj, Kalasapudi Vasundhara, Chimata Kamala, and Pemmaraju Venugopal Rao have remarked that they write fearlessly and are not jealous of their counterparts in India, nor do they expect awards. They confess that they are both the writers and poets on the one hand, and audience, readers and critics on the other hand. They seem to be speaking only to their own fellow immigrants/Telugu readership in diaspora. Telugu writers write about conventional themes of diasporic literature such as nostalgia, alienation and fight for an identity. They also express the additional anxiety of preserving the language in their hybrid cultural communities.

c) Writing in Gujarati from the Diaspora-

We can see Gujarati diaspora in around 44 countries and constitute one-third of the population of the Indian diaspora. Brennen says that The early part
twentieth century saw the emergence of Gujarati newspapers in East Africa and South Africa focusing mainly on nationalistic feelings among the diaspora. *Indian Opinion*, a newspaper started by Mahatma Gandhi and others in 1903, worked towards bringing various Gujarati as well as Indian communities together. The newspaper provided a platform to the diaspora to voice their feelings against the British imperialist rule in India. Many other newspapers such as *Tanganyika Opinion, Tanganyika Herald* and others were published in 1920s and thereafter. They promoted nationalist sentiments and the concept of a “Greater India”.

Bhanushankar Oddhavji Vyas (1924-1987) is considered to be a pioneer among the Gujarati diaspora writers in UK. His novel *BharyuBharyuEkant (The Overflowing Loneliness)* had been serialized in *Asmita*, a literary magazine published by Gujarat Literary Academy, UK. It narrates the psychological experiences of an old couple who takes shelter in the house of the protagonist of the novel.

Balwant Nayak’s *Ne DhartinaKholeNarakVerayu* (*And The Hell Was Let Loose Upon The Earth*) brings out the psychological turmoil of Asmita, the wife of a well-settled Gujarati businessman in Uganda who
comes to UK with her child and struggles to survive in the new land.

Among the Gujarati writers in USA, PannaNaik addresses the issues of feminist concerns as well as the diasporic themes in her writings. Her collections of lyrical poems *Pravesh* (*Entry, 1975*), *Philadelphia* (1980), *Videshini* (*A Female Foreigner, 2000*), *Rang Jharukhe* (*At The Balcony of Colours, 2004*) and others.

d) Diaspora Writing in Hindi

Indentured labourers brought Hindi with its various dialects to Mauritius in the 19th century. On 15th March, 1909, Manilal Doctor started publishing a Hindi magazine named “Hindustani”. The establishment of the AryaSamaj in 1910 boosted instruction in Hindi. Soon, more than 150 branches of evening schools, middle schools, a college, and an orphanage named Gaya Singh were opened. In 1916, “Hindi PrachariniSabha” was established to spread Hindi in Mauritius.

4.3 Diaspora and Identity: Gender and Diaspora, Role of Pravasi organizations

Diaspora and Identity

Disaporic subjectivity- In a diaspora relationship, the migrant moves between two locations. He or she
leaves the sending society (or ‘point of departure’) and arrives at the receiving society (or the ‘location of arrival’). Migration is not just a movement of individual, but that of a collective movement of people from their homeland to the host society. One of the most important diasporic experience is that of movement across ethnocultural and cartographic borders. In other words, we can state that most migration narratives are centered on complex relationship between ‘rooting’ (origin or starting place) and ‘routing’ (direction finding).

Diasporic community keep a strong connection with the mother culture and retains bonds through spatial connectors such as kinship networks, food habits, clothes, language, music, and films. The community strives to retain a collective memory or myth about their original home land. The nostalgia for homeland tends to be sharper if the diaspora faces the issue of racism in the hostland.

In the long course of migration process, the subject experiences complex cross cultural negotiations. This in turn impacts on the notion of the self. The notion of a ‘diasporic subjectivity’ derives from the assumption that when the subject is dislocated from one specific geo-cultural milieu (the Indian subcontinent for instance)
and relocated to another (Canada or the United Kingdom perhaps), this can result in shifts in identity construction and transitions of psychological state of being. This leads to a sense of ‘ambivalence ‘and ‘un-belonging.’

The process of Acculturation- An important corollary to the act of migration is the process of acculturation, which can be described in terms of a modification of the culture of a group or an individual as a result of contact with a different culture. Firstly Ngo describes ‘Acculturation’ as “the process of systematic cultural change which occurs due to direct contact between two cultures as a result of forced relocation, military invasion or migration”. The experience of acculturation therefore challenges the “cultural structure of both, the host society and the immigrants”. Ngo goes on to explain the term ‘assimilation’ as the process of “rejecting one’s own cultural identity and adopting the host or dominant culture. Here, the individual “acquires the social, political and economic standards of the host culture, thus, becoming a part of the host society. The customs, behaviour and collective identity of one’s country of origin are replaced with that of the host culture in order to assimilate”.  

Sociology of Migration and Diaspora
Evolving identities- On arrival, Indian migrants have learnt to adapt, and negotiate their way through their new life styles. In doing so, they experience a range of new emotional experiences. We can therefore state that the act of migration not only entails a shifting from one geo-cultural location to another but also a shift in the consciousness or mind view. As Vijay Agnew explains “... the individual living in the diaspora experiences a dynamic tension every day between living ‘here’ and remembering ‘there’, between memories of place or origin, and entanglements with places of residence, and between the metaphorical and the physical home”. An understanding of the formulation of this double consciousness is crucial to any investigation of the diasporic subjectivity.

Hybridity and Hyphenation- In an important essay called ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’ Stuart Hall discusses issues of diaspora hybridity and difference with reference to Afro-Caribbean cultural identities. According to Hall, “diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew through transformation and difference”. Hall’s insightful analysis of cultural identities and ‘underlying complexities and practices’ can be applied to contexts of the Indian diaspora as well. Hall points out that ‘cultural
identities are never fixed or complete in any sense’. They are not accomplished, already there entities which are represented or projected through the new cultural practices. Rather, they are productions which cannot exist outside the work of representation. They are problematic, highly contested sites and processes”. Another analytical term used by cultural theorists is that of ‘hybridity’ which, in the context of diaspora, refers to a culturally mixed identity.

**Gender and Diaspora**

While analysing the history of migration, it was found that as part of the expansion of colonial capitalism a mass mobility of the Indian men and women moved to colonies of Fiji, Mauritius, Caribbean Islands and South Africa, mainly as indentured labor, as well as large number of passenger Indians to East and South Africa. Here, predominantly the migration was mainly by males and a few females were migrated. After the second World War a new Indian diaspora was created in the United Kingdom as labour to industries. Then after 1960s brain drain started and many professionals and students were migrated to United States. These tend to be the migration of families. Recent migration to Gulf regions is the third wave of migration and this was
dominated by males and a few females migrated. Migration for the occupations like nursing and domestic labour was dominated by females.

The above details of migration shows that it is heterogenous and this resulted in the production of complex diasporic gendered identities among diverse group from India. Therefore, there is neither a ‘singular diaspora experience’ nor a ‘singular diasporic gendered identity’. It is necessary to keep in mind that men and women do not share same experience on migration. With regard to female migrants, the crucial areas of negotiations include personal choice versus community compulsions and repressed sexuality.

Studies on the female experiences of migration are less. It is only in the past two-three decades this area began to discuss. This include the productive-reproductive roles of women, representation of women in diaspora studies and so on.

Push and Pull

According to Herzig, within the traditional, fundamentally patriarchal Indian diaspora, gendered identities are regulated by a binary system of man and woman. Gendered identities are formed through the negotiation of women’s to the patriarchal expectations.
Women who migrate experience loss in multiple forms. For instance, there is the loss of the natal family, and the sense of security that comes from the presence of familiar social linkages. According to Gitanjali Singh Chanda, first generation women migrants are thrice alienated. Firstly, from the country left behind, then from the new host country and finally from their children. Pascale argued that yet, in course of time, as women start to take control of their lives, their identity undergoes a series of change resulting in a refiguration of the self. It is important to understand that women have had to negotiate new cultural experiences which call for ‘accommodation’ with the receiving culture, the degree of which may vary. Varied processes of acculturation in turn result in a complex of evolving identities. Hence the experience of migration can lead to a complex sense of alienation and ambivalence. When identities are disrupted, this can lead to an identity crisis.

Chanda reminds that the home address or the notion of Indianness is crucial in shaping identities and construct of the Indian women. Agnew states that in this regard women have played an important role as ‘custodians of culture’. For example, the burden of retaining ‘core values’ is most often placed on the woman as wife or mother responsible for raising children
in an alien society. She has to tackle the difficult job of instilling cultural norms of the ‘home culture’ within the domestic space thereby ensuring that the family maintains emotional ties with the homeland. And yet she herself is caught within the problematic processes of negotiation with spaces beyond the confines of the home. This includes the way she dresses, the language she speaks and the food she cooks. Clothes also play an important role in how women ‘stand out’ from the mainstream. Women experience racism when they are perceived as different from the mainstream culture. This could be on the basis of their clothing, their ethnicity and even the inability to speak English. Women are compelled to use the ethnic wear and this is the compulsions from the patriarchal society. Dress serves as a class and religious marker. The example of the banning of the burqa in France is an example of how women migrants are caught in the conflict of religious belief of the community on one hand, and demands of the host nation state on the other hand. While many women may see the manner in which they dress as central to their cultural identity, others work out subversive strategies to evolve a liberatory space for themselves. The main protagonist of Ravindra Randhawa’s Hari-janis a young British Asian girl who delights in wearing her salwar-
kameez with a pair of Reeboks shoes. This is an interesting fusion of the tradition with the modern, as also assertion of multiple identities.

In-betweeness

The second generation of women in the diaspora grows up, caught between two worlds; nurturing traditional values on the one hand and cope with the values of the host culture such as individualism and sexual freedom on the other. This generational conflicts often expressed through mother-daughter relationship which is a common theme in migrant narratives.

Sexuality

It is considered that the ‘pure’ wife as the backbone of the Indian patriarchal family. She had no freedom even in her sexuality. Epics shows the history of Sita from Ramayana. With regard to the migrants they were considered as ‘migrant wives’. During the time of indentured labourers, women who set out in the Caribbean Islands included beggars, widows and prostitutes as the number of females were less, they were exploited by the fellow labourers and by the colonial overseers. The sexual relationship with the colonial overseers gave them certain powers for negotiating favours. Later the patriarchal family setup was restored
and exogamous marriages and expressions of female sexuality were banned.

Queer Diaspora Identites

From the mid-1980s onwards, support groups are increasingly giving voice to the hitherto silenced voices of gay, lesbian and transgendered community who are coming to terms with themselves and are beginning to challenge the mainstream/conventional patriarchal hierarchy. They are also discussing racism encountered from white queer communities. In an article titled ‘Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Themes in the Diaspora Literature’, Emmanuel Nelson (2002) shares how writers of the diaspora, born in the Indian subcontinent but who have emigrated to the West, have started to express their sexuality with candor. He argued that this could be because their location in North America or Britain offers greater artistic freedom from ‘culturally imposed constraints. He explains how their “the personal conflicts and political contradictions (are) generated by their interacting ethno-cultural, post-colonial, and homosexual subjectivities”.

Role of Pravasi Organisations

1. International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

IOM addresses the issue of trafficking in human beings through the project called "Prevention and Assistance to Survivors of Trafficking" (PAST). Two more projects have been developed, namely, "Greater Implementation of Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act for Anti-Trafficking in Persons" and "Prevention, Protection and Assistance to Survivors of Trafficking/Vulnerable Population".

The PAST project aims to empower 300 (potential) survivors of trafficking through economic rehabilitation. This includes micro-credit assistance to set up viable business enterprises and/or employment opportunities, capacity building and various trainings in entrepreneurial and marketing skills. In addition, this project will provide psycho-social counselling for the overall well-being of the individuals concerned. The project also envisions the development of a module in the local language for promoting peer education among the survivors on legal issues for raising awareness.

The second project, "Technical Cooperation with Ministry of Women and Child Development for Assistance to Survivors of Trafficking and Vulnerable
Population (TCPA) seeks to capitalize on the base that has been created during the implementation of the PAST project with the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD). This includes collaboration and technical cooperation for taking forward the concept of public-private partnerships in prevention and combating human trafficking in India. As IOM’s approach has been well recognized, replication and up-scaling of the concept is called for thorough capacity building of NGOs on Entrepreneurial Development Skills and the sensitization of the corporate sector on issues of trafficking.

Main Projects- Prevention and Assistance to Survivors of Trafficking (PAST) and Technical Cooperation with Ministry of Women and Child Development on Prevention and Assistance to Survivors of Trafficking (TCPA).

Donors- European Commission - AENEAS Programme and Government of Belgium.

IOM and the Government of India recently signed a Memorandum of Understanding which will serve as a platform for the joint implementation of programmes and activities enhancing the management and facilitation of overseas employment of Indian
workers worldwide. This includes the joint and immediate implementation in India of an IOM programme funded by the European Commission that promotes both regional dialogue and programmes aimed at enhancing managed labour mobility between Asia and the European Union. Under this programme, IOM and the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) will jointly create labour mobility management projects such as the establishment of an Overseas Workers Resource Centre to disseminate information on legal opportunities for potential overseas workers and the implementation of mass information campaigns.

A grass root level information campaign to make people aware of the risks of irregular migration to Europe in general and Belgium in particular is implemented by the IOM in the District of Jalandhar in the State of Punjab.

Main Projects- Enhancing managed labour mobility between Asia and the European Union and information campaign on the risks of irregular migration to Europe, and Belgium in particular

2. India Centre for Migration (ICM)

In a rapidly globalizing world characterized by mobility of people across borders, there is a need to
bring a strategic dimension to the process of emigration of Indians in search of employment. Therefore, The Ministry set up India Centre for Migration (ICM—formerly known as Indian Council of Overseas Employment) as a ‘not for profit’ society under the Societies Registration Act 1860, in July, 2008. The Centre serves as a research think-tank to the Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India, on all matters relating to ‘International Migration’. The Centre undertakes empirical, analytical and policy related research, and undertakes pilot projects to document good practices.

ICM undertakes research and studies on migration of Indian workers for overseas employment and supports informed policy making in MEA. ICM also partners with individuals, institutions and governments to drive empirical, analytical and policy related research; enhance capacities and pilot good practices in international migration and its governance.

Vision-Lead research and analysis on international migration to support informed policy making and enable strategic interventions for a coherent and harmonised response to the transnational movement of people from India.

Main Functions-
• Build and maintain a database on emerging country/sector specific employment opportunities abroad.

• Identify labour supply gaps in overseas labour markets and the skill sets required by Indian workers to fill those gaps.

• Initiate programs for skill development and skill upgradation in consultation with professional bodies and the private sector and promote employment opportunities abroad.

• Initiate pre-departure orientation programs for various categories of workers.

• Coordinate with other employment promotion agencies, including the state manpower development corporations, project manpower suppliers and foreign employers.

• Initiate and support the study, monitoring and analysis of the trends and dynamics of international labour market, problems faced by the emigrant Indian workers in India and abroad, benchmark the best practices of other labour sending countries and recommend policy initiatives/strategies.
• Administer need based welfare support for overseas Indian workers including through institutional arrangements of a welfare fund for the purpose.

Main Objectives-
• To serve as a ‘think tank’ to devise and execute medium to long term strategies for promoting overseas employment of Indians.
• To regularly monitor, study and analyze the trends in the International Labour Markets as well as strategies of various labour sending and receiving countries.
• To develop and sustain a national strategy to be globally competitive as a labour supplier.
• To commission studies on the international labour markets and identify emerging overseas employment opportunities for Indian youth.
• To position potential overseas Indian workers as ‘consumers’ of employment services provided by the private recruitment industry.
• To project India as a supplier of skilled, trained and qualified workers
To adapt training material developed by International Labour Organization and International Organization for Migration for specific states/country and gender.

To administer need based welfare schemes for overseas Indian workers.

The Centre has a two-tier body comprising of a Governing Body and an Executive Directorate. The Governing Body is headed by Secretary (CPV & OIA), MEA, who is the Chairman. Other Ex Officio Members are the Secretaries or their representatives from Department of Economic Affairs (Ministry of Finance), Ministry of External Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises and Ministry of the Ministry and Secretaries of three State Governments by rotation and four experts as external nominees by the Government. The Chief Executive Officer functions as Member Secretary of the Governing Body. The Governing Body provides the broad policy framework for the programmes and activities of ICM.

Initiatives at ICM-

- Skill Development Initiative for Potential Migrants from the North-Eastern States of India was a pilot project in eight North-Eastern states in partnership
with International Organization for Migration (IOM). The project has designed seven International Vocational Qualifications (IVQs) in hospitality sector for use in India and established a Skills Training Certification Resource Centre in Guwahati (Assam) in 2012.

- Developing a Knowledge base for Policy making on India–EU Migration- project was implemented in partnership with (EUI), Florence, to enable a constructive dialogue between the EU and India on migration covering all migration-related aspects. Ten research papers on migration in the India-EU corridor were published, four workshops were held; an awareness campaign was undertaken on safe and legal migration in Punjab and a conference was held in Delhi, as outcomes of the project.

- Empowerment of Women Migrant Workers in the Gulf-ICM organised a workshop on migration of domestic workers from India to GCC in collaboration with UN Women and Government of Andhra Pradesh in November 2014, in Hyderabad.

- Labour Market Assessment (LMA) of six European countries was conducted in 2011-12 by ICM in partnership with IOM to present a market overview
and sectoral opportunities in the labor markets in respective countries. The LMA also provided broad-based as well as short-term recommendations for potential improvement on the supply side of labour mobility in India.

- Second Employer's Conference - ICM was the knowledge partner for Ministry’s Employers Conference, organized in 2013 in Dubai.

- Senior Fellowship Program - Under ICM’s Senior Fellowship program, so far, three Senior Fellows have submitted their research on The Future of Migration from India: Policy, Strategy & Modes of Engagement; Indian Migrants in Myanmar: Emerging Trends & Challenges; and Gulf Migration, Social Remittances and Religion: The Changing dynamics of Kerala Christians.

- Other work of ICM - Since 2015, the Centre has been providing inputs and data to support Ministry’s efforts to draft the Emigration Management Bill (EMB), develop a standard employment contract, Renew Emigration Rules; renew the functioning of the Indian Missions on Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF); and documenting best practices of Colombo Process countries.
3. SHRAMIC

"Strengthen and Harmonize Research and Action on Migration in the Indian Context" (SHRAMIC) started as an initiative on migration and was supported by Tata Trusts. The initiative was anchored by IGIDR in collaboration with CPR, IRIS-KF, NIUA and the Tata Trusts' Migration Program Partners.

Objectives-

- To improve the understandings of:
  - The extent and nature of migration in India
  - The use of migration as a livelihood strategy by households
  - The livelihood strategies of migrants, migrant workers and their families

Goal-

- Create a conducive environment for migrants and recognize the contribution of migrants while formulating poverty reduction and employment strategies.
- Suggest evidence based policy prescriptions for protection of the rights of migrants.
SHRAMIC- Key Questions

- What are the legal and structural impediments to migration?
- How effective is migration as a livelihood strategy?
- Given that India is becoming increasingly urban, what is the nature of urban livelihoods and what determines the ability of migrants to access livelihoods?
- What are the various types of migration flows captured by nationally representative data and localised studies in order to trace the source of the apparent disconnect in the estimates of migration rates and number of migrants based on nationally representative data (lower) and localized studies (higher)?

Distinctive Elements of SHRAMIC

- Survey instruments designed through a discursive process in order to build a body of knowledge which would find acceptance among academia and NGOs.
- Academic partners work with NGOs to incorporate their information and guidance to
jointly design survey instruments that seek to address the key questions of interest.

- Academic partners acquire a better understanding of the actual experience of migrants, and NGO partners would be able to better appreciate the role and nature of the research methods of academic practice.

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