Indian Diaspora: Ethnicity and Diasporic Identity

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CARIM-India
Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration

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CARIM-India – Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration

This project is co-financed by the European Union and carried out by the EUI in partnership with the Indian Council of Overseas Employment, (ICOE), the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Association, (IIMB), and Maastricht University (Faculty of Law).

The proposed action is aimed at consolidating a constructive dialogue between the EU and India on migration covering all migration-related aspects. The objectives of the proposed action are aimed at:

- Assembling high-level Indian-EU expertise in major disciplines that deal with migration (demography, economics, law, sociology and politics) with a view to building up migration studies in India. This is an inherently international exercise in which experts will use standardised concepts and instruments that allow for aggregation and comparison. These experts will belong to all major disciplines that deal with migration, ranging from demography to law and from economics to sociology and political science.

- Providing the Government of India as well as the European Union, its Member States, the academia and civil society, with:

  1. Reliable, updated and comparative information on migration

  2. In-depth analyses on India-EU highly-skilled and circular migration, but also on low-skilled and irregular migration.

- Making research serve action by connecting experts with both policy-makers and the wider public through respectively policy-oriented research, training courses, and outreach programmes.

These three objectives will be pursued with a view to developing a knowledge base addressed to policy-makers and migration stakeholders in both the EU and India.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/

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1. Introduction

Indians have a long history of migration to many parts of world. During the mid-sixteenth century people from Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat and cities of Delhi, Allahabad and Bombay migrated to Central Asia, the Caucasus and Russia. They were referred as "Multanis", "Shikarpuris" and "Banias". It was an "Indian Merchant Diaspora" (Levy, 2002, 2005: 1-31). During the British rule in India many Indians made short trips to England and European countries. When India got her Independence Indians migrated to European countries mostly either for higher education or learning industrial know-how. They did not stay permanently. Those who stayed always kept regular contacts with their families in India. In Europe they were not considered as "guest-laborer" immigrants as the case was with the South European and North African countries. After World War II the European countries developed into a multi-lingual, multi cultural and multi-religious society. Indians also became a part of the European canvas. At present, Indians number more than 2 million in Europe. Unfortunately, the actual figure about Indians in the European countries is not known.

The paper on Indian Diaspora: Ethnicity and Diasporic identity is divided into four parts. The first part poses certain questions, looking at the emergence of ethnicity and diasporic identity. The second part defines the terms and notions often used by scholars, in discussing the paper. The third part gives a brief account about Indian migration to Europe and studies on the Indian Diaspora. The fourth part analyses case studies of the Netherlands and Germany with reference to similarities and differences. Finally, in conclusion, the issue of ethnicity and identity formation in Europe is evaluated and some proposals are put forward for the way in which India and the Indian Diaspora can work together.

1.2 Objectives

In order to analyze and understand the Indian Diaspora in Europe the paper looks at the following questions:

i. What has been the process of migration and settlement of Indians in European countries? How did they unite as an Indian group and gave up their heterogeneous multi-regional, linguistic, religious and cultural identities?

ii. How did they develop self- maintained organized associations and maintain their Indian identity?

iii. What has been the role of ethnicity in helping them to strengthen their diasporic identity?

iv. Finally, how did they develop their global identity as an Indian Diaspora?

The facts in by analyzing the theme of ethnicity and diasporic identity are based on participant observation based on interviews carried out by the author over the last four decades. His experience is supplemented by the use of primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources include monographs, government reports and articles in scientific journals. Primary information is based on individual and collective interviews with Indians in the European countries. In order to grasp the structure of Indian Diaspora in the Netherlands and Germany historical facts are described. This forms the basis for comparison and analysis.

2. Concepts and Terms

In order to explain the theme of the paper certain conceptual notions and terms are used. There are conceptual issues on migration, assimilation and integration, on organized associations, cultural minority, emergence of diasporic identity and ethnicity and the globalised Indian Diaspora which are defined for the purpose of understanding the working of the Indian group.

2.1. Migration, Emigration and Immigration

The basic question that arises is what has been the purpose of migration? Was it simply the sojourn or conscious settlement? In the European countries, the terms migration, emigration and immigration are considered synonymous, meaning "moving out from one country to another". However, these terms differ and give a different meaning. In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* the term migration is explained as the "movements from one place to another", i.e., from one country to another country (1977:690), whereas the term immigration means, "coming as permanent resident into a foreign country" (op cit. 537). The term emigration expresses, "leaving one country to settle in another" (op cit. 338). In Social Sciences, "in communities which are encapsulated in larger and social units, migration has always been one possible mechanism for coping with internal and external problems" (Kasdan,1970:1). This becomes a reason for the people to move out from their country to another. The driving force for migration is "expulsion" and "attraction", expulsion resulting always from shortage of food and other socio-economic factors. (Haddan: 1912). Since the immigration countries are known for their welfare and social system there is always an attraction to go there. The instinct to migrate can have various reasons. "Migration of people has been transmuted into mobility of individuals" (Park, 1950:349). The individual as the carrier of cultural baggage transports it into new cultural surroundings where he sorts out his experience and adapts himself in a new country. In Europe when there is movement and mobilization of European people, the term migration is employed. It is also used for Indians who migrate within the European countries.

In order to protect the migrants in 1948 , the UN (United Nations) Universal Declaration of the Rights, article 27 mentions that people should be treated equally, irrespective of race, colour, gender, language, religion or life pattern, natural or social origin; ownership, birth and status. All countries were signatories to this Declaration. All member countries started accordingly and allowed migration. Prior to 1 July 1962 all Commonwealth Citizens had an unrestricted right of entry to the United Kingdom as well as to the European countries (Peach, 1968: 11). During the 1960s, migration to the European countries did not require visas. Many Indians migrated to Europe with a hope to go to the English speaking countries of Great Britain and North America. However, when the number of migrants increased, European governments debated the issue and restricted migration. Public opinion and media also played a role in disparaging the image of migrants.

In the Netherlands in a congress held in Amsterdam in 1971, a note in the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) Manpower Division on the "General Social and economic aspects of intra-European manpower movements-trends and policies" expressed that the "Migrant workers are not to be considered simply as a 'work force' but also as human beings. In terms of the economy, they not only produce, but likewise consume and save. On the social and individual level, they behave in a certain way and have particular needs as regards assistance. In demographic terms, they fill up gaps in the labour force of the country of immigration. As citizens (living in Western European countries), leaving their countries to work in another, they are subject to special norms under domestic and international law" (OECD, 1972:1).

2.2 Assimilation and Integration

When an Indian decides to settle down in a European country he becomes aware about the surrounding host culture. In communication with people he adapts the ways of the host culture. In this process he gets socially adjusted satisfying his needs and expectations of other Indian friends. There are two choices; either he assimilates, or he gets integrated into the host culture. When his group is very small he just adopts the customs of the host society. He does not assimilate completely, but is integrated into the canvas of the country's culture. He integrates socially by learning the language and culture of the country.

Assimilation of a group into another group is a process where immigrants lose visibility as they adopt the culture of the new surrounding culture. In a way, it is a sort of acculturation. The idea of "assimilation" started in the plantation colonies of the, British, Dutch and French colonizers (Gordon,

1975; Speckmann, 1979: 606). It was meant to assimilate the Indian emigrants into the country's large majority population under "direct rule" (Ibid, 1979). "In Surinam the policy was directed towards a fusion of all races, including Indians, Javanese, *African,* and *Chinese* into one language and culture" (Ibid, 1979: 604).

"Integration" tries to allow the minority heterogeneous group to retain its culture, language and religious values. Simultaneously, it also demands that the group should feel a part of the host culture and be proud of country's national culture. For the last three decades Indians in the European countries have followed the policy of integration by observing law, using official language, festivals and the educational system.

At present, in European countries, the government policy is not for assimilation but for integration. Integration is defined when a different ethnic group accepts the norms and values of the host society and behaves like them, but can retain its ethnic culture, social system, language and religious beliefs. In a way the integration policy has helped the ethnic groups to strengthen, restore and unite their communities.

The adjustment to new conditions in an unknown country is based on the new choices, often weighed with past experiences. Adjustment and adaptation are the essential choices in coping with attitude and behavior. Internally, Indians retain their traditions and overt symbols of dress, temple building, food habits, use vernacular language in communication (could be Hindi or Tamil or any other language), observe rituals and celebrate religious festivals. Externally, they subscribe consciously to the broad principles of the countries laws, code of conduct, language and public behavior of the colonizing masters. This is akin to "Plural Accommodation", meaning living together for dignity and survival.

2.3 Discrimination

When the group becomes a visible phenomenon it can face some sort of discrimination from the host culture. It could be due to conflict or competition which can show cracks in the social process of cooperation. Whenever there are economic crises, a group of the host community may show non appreciation and discrimination towards the other group. Indians in Europe have also been the victims of such discrimination.

In order to avoid discrimination, in 1969, the General Assembly of United Nations proclaimed 1971 the International Year to combat Racism and Racial discrimination. Article I of the ILO's (International Labor Organization) Discrimination Convention of 1958, (No. III) defines discrimination as," any distinction, exclusion, or preference made on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation" (Houte & Melgert,1972). Since European countries were also signatories to the UN and ILO charters they automatically followed the anti-discriminatory law. There was a difference between theory and practice. In theory, the respective governments of the countries created an anti-discriminatory law, but in practice the picture was different. When the immigrants arrived and settled down they were derogatorily harassed by the local people and media. They were considered, "non-Europeans" or "non-belongers" by some ethnocentric Europeans. In Great Britain the child born in England of parents who came from South Asia was always referred to as an "immigrant" (Tinker, 1972: 66).

In Germany, discrimination is an opposite pole to integration. In reality it means denying the minority group the same status or rights as possessed by the majority, not only at the social level, but also at the economic level. Moreover, the government has always retained the right to refuse to renew the residence permit of foreigners (Nikolinakos, 1972:72). In Berlin and other cities the graffiti scribed on walls was reading, "Auslander raus" (Foreigners go out).

In 1983, the Brixton and Brussels riots did give a new thought to the European leaders. They tried to avoid such happenings in their countries. In European countries when discrimination was confronted by the Indians individually, they talked to each other and established informal 'Indian cultural associations'. During the last three years Europe is facing an economic depression. The ultra rightist (ultra-nationals) and neo-nazi (neo-fascists) political parties in Europe are speaking openly against immigration. The case of France is well known. Jean Marie Le Pen, the leader of Front Nationale (National Front) during the time of President, Francois Mitterand, said openly, "We do not want to allow ourselves to be submerged by foreign immigrants". Such onesided legalized political parties are still working with the name of PPV (Peoples Political Party) in the Netherlands , Flemish Block (Flemish National Party) in Belgium and Neo Nazi party in Germany. They do have influence in the countries from where they operate. Indirectly, it can be witnessed when houses are rented or jobs selected. Perhaps a reason to this discrimination could be the behavior patterns of the settled immigrants, who still keep themselves in their enclaves and do not mix with the host society. Language is another barrier.

2.4 Association

An "association" becomes an institution when individuals with shared ideas and memory come together and form it for retaining their cultural security. When the individuals are confronted with derogatory unpleasant remarks and some sort of unforeseen discrimination, the scattered members of the ethnic group gather, conduct informal meetings and decide to establish associations. The difference becomes bigger when the host society uses terms of "we" and "they". Other than "we", the host society consider the group as different in attitude, behavior and cultural baggage. Beside the adjustment problems and the difficulties in finding jobs and housing, Indians also miss their friends, family members and home (Indian) atmosphere. They do not know what they should do to get the stay permit in the country and what to tell the police and municipal authorities. They discuss the issues with some Indian friends who have been living in these cities for a long time.

In the initial years of immigration some sort of "clique" or "circle of friends" is created which helps the new migrants (Desai, 1963; Kramer, 1979). The new migrant consults the "circle of friends" and discusses the problems he/she faces in the host country. Indians do it by creating a sort of kin relationship. Since the community is distributed across various cities the casual contacts bring Indians closer. If the spoken language is the same, it brings back the memories of India. When help is required, material or moral, it is available. Generally there is no single "circle of friends" but many. When problems cannot be solved, a web of filiations and affiliation is established with another "circle of friends". During the week-ends Indians visit each other and discuss their problems. They try to maintain their identity. This idea has given birth to the formation of Indian associations in the European countries.

When friendly relations and interaction with host society become negligible, then begins the formation of organized ethnic associations. The spoken language of the country is also a barrier to them. Since they are categorized as an ethnic group, the label works as an ethnic ascription, defining the person in terms of his identity. In showing the cultural difference, new forms of overt visible symbols, signs and emblems appear which are used internally and externally. Internal features are traditional dress, house-interiors, life style, customary diet, gestures, rituals and the use of language in the house. External features of the associations are, use of national flag, singing the national anthem, wearing traditional dress, etiquette in behavior towards women, elderly people , children and friends, core norms and values, and respect for dance, drama and music, speeches and narratives, defining past experiences and memory of a shared cultural heritage. The interaction aspect of the association entails the persistence of the organized form. It not only satisfies the identity question often asked by the members, but also imposes the rules which must be observed for the survival of the association. Those who do not follow the rules are prohibited from participating in the programs of association. It is a sort of sanction, imposed by the association. It has been based on the Indian "caste model" which permits a sort of out casting (Barth; 1969, 17-18).

2.5 Pluralism, Cultural -Pluralism and Multi -Culturalism

In the European countries the groups of migrants are called "minority", "cultural minority" "ethnic minority" and are considered as a part of "Pluralism", "Cultural- pluralism", and "Multi-culturalism". When a group is socially marginal in comparison to the majority host culture it is called a "minority" group. The term cultural or ethnic minority is considered synonymous.

The term ethnic has been placed as a prefix before the name of the community, such as, ethnic Indians, ethnic Turks and so on.

The notion of a multi-cultural society is derived from the concept of "Pluralism". During the colonial times, in the colonies, the concept of Pluralism was developed. It implied a colonial inherently unstable society, where the dominant society (alien) minority exercises control over the indigenous majority. J. S. Furnivall, a Dutch administrator analyzed the societies in the Dutch East Indies (at present known as Indonesia) "A plural society exists when a country under colonial rule shows the following broad cultural, economic and political characteristics; a) Culturally, it comprises groups which are institutionally disparate and do not share the same basic values and way of life; b) Economically, these separate social entities have interaction mainly in the market place, in buying-and-selling types of relationship; c) Politically, these disparate but economically interacting segments are held together by a super-ordinate authority-that is, the colonial rulers." (Furnivall, 1948). In other words, in the plural society, a poly-ethnic society is integrated with various ethnic groups in the market place under the control and domination of an administrative authority but allowed to observe the cultural diversity. There are also the contact zones where interdependence creates contacts and vice versa. The contact centres are the meeting places, which could be in market, trade centres, plantation estates, towns, play grounds, religious and festive places, police bureaus and taxation departments of the government (Gluckman; 1958; Leach, 1954, 1961).

In cultural- pluralism there is a common feeling that all ethnic groups belong to the same country. The democratic political parties after the election decide which ethnic group or groups can create the government and become the governing authority. Cultural-pluralism is the principle of many democratic countries, such as, the European countries, India, South Africa, those in Europe and so on. The notions of Pluralism, Cultural- Pluralism and Multi-Culturalism are based on the concept of culture and interactional network between the members of an ethnic group. The important aspect is the concept of culture and interrelationship between its members of the ethnic group. One needs to recognize some of the reasons why social, political and economic relations between dominant and subordinate ethno-cultural groups within the plural societies almost inevitably involve competition and outright conflict (Bullevent, 1984). According to "rational choice theory" group members exchange goods and services, seeking their own advantage (Banton, 1983) but remain integrated with the host society and simultaneously maintain their own ethnic identity. In anthropological and sociological literature ethnic identities are termed as "core values" (Barth, 1969) and "expectations" (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975). Using the situational approach an ethnic group defines its minimum and maximum boundary and the limits of its "social structure" in terms of "we" versus "they" (others) and forms a polarity (Ibid, 1969). Since ethnicity is not limited to the borders of a country, an ethre can easily be affiliated to similar groups in other countries. This develops feelings of togetherness, expressing "Indianness" (as is the case of Indians), which is shared by all Indian communities and which helps form an Indian Diaspora that has transnational affinities.

There emerges a psychological feeling, translated into words such as, "They are like us and belong to the same country from where I come". In social structure, many features can be the same, such as, the vernacular language, kinship nomenclature, ideology of caste, religion and culture. The difference is in endogamous marriage patterns, practices and ritual performances. There is always a tendency to marry within endogamous group. If the rules are broken there is always a danger of social ostracization. The group maintains its distinctiveness which helps keep its uniqueness intact (Gautam, 1986). With integration policy of certain behavioral values of the ethnic group are not in conflict with

broader values, patterns and legal forms common to the entire society preserved (Gordon, 1975). Within the integration process, the group defines its ethnic culture among the members often in an "open space" with dialogues (Habermas, 1982, 1989), conducted around public meetings and socio-cultural and religious events. In speeches, the leaders use convincing and provoking narratives, redefining the identity, "home" and "belongingness" to the place of living or origin. Social life is based on interaction and dialogues. When people talk, their discussions are often on the issue of bringing up children, marriage of daughters, family honor, traditions, identity, family history and the surrounding ethnic groups. They argue among them over questions like, "Who they are"? "What is going to be the future of their children"? The discussions are to seek legitimacy of the demands which their association has voiced officially to the concerned government and the host society.

Culture in terms of their heritage becomes an unforgettable historical fact which is shared in memory though interaction with other members of the community. It becomes a source of their action, voices, selection of material, behavior, self-perception and world view. Culture is used to confirm, reinforce, maintain, change or deny a particular arrangement of states, power and identity (Mintz, 1970).

In the beginning of the initial phase the aim of the association was to communicate the traditional religion by observing the feasts and festivals and reciting the religious scriptures. Indians in Europe created associations with a prefix Hindu or Muslim, such as, "Hindu Sanatan", "Hindu Arya Samaj", "Muslim Sunni", "Muslim Shia", "Muslim Ahmadiya" and "Christian" (Catholic or Protestant). The meetings were held in the houses. Afterwards, meetings shifted to the hired halls of schools. In the beginning of the initial phase the aim of the association was to communicate with the fellow countrymen. When associations were organized Indians visualized their culture through dance, music performances and speeches (dialogue provoking narratives). To feel at home at the end of the function they always had communal Indian food, prepared by them. In this way, the Indian community locally created a cultural and social encapsulated world (Hannez, 1992) and remained a sociologically segmented group. Afterwards, a common name was preferred, such as, "Indian Cultural Association". When a culture is suppressed consciously there is always some sort of simmering beneath the surface of ethnic rivalries. This simmering with a feeling of frustration emerges and expresses through the means of an association.

In many European countries there were also joint cultural associations including the members of the host societies, such as, Netherlands-India–Society (1951) in the Netherlands and Indo-German-Society Association (Deutsch-Indische-Gesellschaft, known as DIG (1953) in Germany. These joint associations were formed with the help of Indian Embassies and pro-Indian well known members of the host society.

The Societies and Associations jointly appoint and include the host scholars and leaders in their Board as President or Secretary. From the points of view of Indians the idea is to show that the Indian group is different. The difference in culture through the associations is exposed to the host society. Gradually, the associations are extended on a countrywide basis and become the salient feature of the beginning phase of the process of ethnicity, with a tangible set of common shared identifications in language, culture, food, music, dances and names while other roles became more abstract and impersonal (Bell, 1975). Since the communities are different in their way of living in cultural programs the members of the host community are invited to see the activities of the Indian associations. In many countries the narratives by the Indian President are in Hindi, covering the issues about the family, parents, religion and cultures. Sometimes in the narration the examples of Hindu mythological incarnations, Ram, Krishna, Sikh Gurus and Sufi saints are also used to remind the audience about the duties of a good Indian in this foreign country. The speech is incorporated with the Indian connection and the reconstruction of India as a developing economy. Only during the late 1990s a confidence emerged that India is doing better and "we all should be proud of it" that was often expressed. If there were severe famine and natural disasters in India, the President of the association often requested for financial help. Hand bills/announcements were printed in English and official

languages of the country and distributed to Indians through restaurants, travel bureaus, video, cloth and grocery shops. In all the meetings of the Indian Association the chief guest was mostly the Ambassador of India. His/her speech always enlightened the diaspora population about the socio-economic progress of India. He/she often disclosed the progressive statistics related to the Five Years Plans of India and the Indian Foreign policy related to the bilateral treaty if there was any between the host country and India. During unforeseen events, such as wars, earthquakes and other natural disasters, the association would collect funds and help the concerned state or region in India. If we go back three to four decades, all Indians coming from India were registered in the Indian Embassy. Some of them were invited twice a year at receptions organized at the residence of the Ambassador of India to celebrate Independence Day and Republic Day of India. Whenever an extra ordinary Indian VIP (Very Important Person, could be the President or Vice President of India or Cabinet Ministers of the Government of India) visited the country, the Indian Embassy would invite some local people. In this way the Embassy provided an opportunity to the visitors to discuss issues at such social events.

2.6 Ethnicity

Activities of the associations create an informal movement for ethnic revival, its preservation and maintenance. The speeches and narratives given by the individual leaders during the meetings are meant to have internal discussions within the group members. These are necessary to invoke and provoke the feelings of the group members. For example, questions are raised, "Should we forget our motherland and ancestors"? "Should we give up our culture and religion and follow the permissive host society's norms and values"? "Shouldn't we care for our centuries old cultural heritage"? "Shouldn't we care for our elderly people, women and children instead of imprisoning them in the western cage of individualism"? Since the ethnic groups were considered a minority group numerically by the host society, it helped them to perceive their image differently. At a certain moment the group expressed the identity in the form of their visible celebrations and narratives. How a group should behave was managed by the government- bureaucrats. They prescribed certain rules of behavior to be followed by the immigrants. When Associations or self-organizations were formed by the ethnic groups, these helped pride and self-assertion with the immigrant identity. The immigrants were educated and tended to be economically successful. In the case of illegal migration, some such migrants were caught by the police, while others, were quietly married to other Indian girls (PIOs, People of Indian Origin). In some cases they married to European women to get the green card and stay in the country. Their migration was a means to escape from unemployment, family problems and political persecution back in India. Many migrants asked for refugee status. Hardly any Indians were given asylum. Most of them were repatriated. During their stay, unless their cases were legally wound up, they were kept in asylum centres. They were given some pocket allowance to cover the necessary needs. Gradually, when they won cases these newly legalized illegal Indians became members of associations and conveyed their harsh experiences. When various associations united and became countrywide associations, the force of ethnicity led to demands for better treatment, housing, jobs, access to the labor market and educational institutions, cultural autonomy and equality in the welfare system as enjoyed by the host society. Their demand was politicized by host members and the media. After becoming united collective organizations, the formation of a diasporic identity was facilitated. In all narratives during the meetings of the associations, the notion of belonging to a different culture was the main issue.

Here emerged the process of ethnicity. It was a new experience for a long suppressed or undermined and disadvantaged person who was now seeking political "redress in society" (Bell, 1975:169). Ethnicity removed their bitter experience of a "suspended identity". Which was the result of the Indian community being treated like a marginal group. Public opinion, rumours and printed media were against the way of Indian living. Since ethnic identity or diasporic identity relies on ancestral ties, kinship relations, common language of communication, historical and imaginary memories and religious beliefs, it became a shield to protect, preserve and maintain the ethnic culture. Ethnicity took this baggage and exposed it to the host culture and the government.

The term ethnicity appeared for the first time in 1972 in a Supplement of The Oxford Dictionary (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975). It was used to analyze the socio-political demands of Veluen and Flanders in Belgium. Its meaning was an ethnic pride of the group, having a common belonging, sharing socio-cultural norms, values and institutions.

In 1966, the Edinburgh conference on 'Boundaries and Identities' was organized. It invited anthropologists to discuss the burning issue of migration. It was summed up as follows: "the definition or ascription of a group's identity may be the subject and outcome of a *cross*-boundary struggle for control; That the social identity of a group may also be contested *within* the group itself, on grounds related to the *cross-* boundary interaction; that discourse about identity within the boundary tends to focus on its own *absolute* character" (Cohen, 2000:5). Identity has been explained as a cognitive category of "lived experiences". How do people think and how do they emotionally attach themselves to the place where they live? A social group is created by social bonds that makes it different from other groups. In order to see this difference the identity draws its own socio-cultural boundary. The study of ethnicity "has helped us to understand the signaling effects of cultural idioms whereby membership in contested, ethnic (symbols) are made visible and thereby socially effective" (Barth, 2000:34).

Anthropologists and Ethnologists have often used the term "ethnic", pertaining to ethnography and ethnology. It was used for a biological self-perpetuating group, sharing cultural values, communication and distinctness from other groups (Barth, 1969, 2000; Bennet, 1975; Glazer & Moyhinan, 1975; Naroll, 1964). During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the focus was to understand the "cultural traits" with descriptions and analyses of the isolated peoples and cultures. The present term, ethnicity was implicit in anthropological use of the term "peoples and cultures", as in the case of U.S.S.R. and China. In other words, the nation was meant as an ethnic group. Unlike the discipline of Political Science, where ethnicity is considered as an independent variable in understanding culture, among anthropologists, "as a dependent variable, defined in the field by behavior, and often recognized by the symbols that draw certain people into group action for certain purposes" (Gonzalez, 1988:13). "Ethnicity being a functional process, it provides a Social Bond where ascriptive structures have been eroded, it is less divisive than integrating in many cases, it facilitates a Common Language" (Allardt, 1979; Kinnear, 1990: 9, 18). Ethnicity works as an identity phenomenon, meaning the search for self. It defines the social boundary of the ethnic group and develops a strategy of acquiring the resources one needs to survive. The process of its velocity becomes a forceful power of Ethnicity. Ethnicity as mentioned in the ***INTERCOCTA–GLOSSARY*** is "involving an ascriptive, genetically self-perpetuating mode of social relations treated as an alternative to, or complement of, other forms of social organization, in the context of a larger society" (Riggs: 1985: 4). The diasporic force which emerges from identity formation becomes ethnicity. The Indian community has become an ethnic group, sharing cultural values, communication (language), territorial contiguity and is distinguishable from other groups (Greaves, 1988:7; Naroll, 1964).

2.7 Diaspora

The term "Diaspora" is derived from a Greek word, meaning dispersion. It was used by the Jewish people, denoting their world-wide dispersion outside their homeland, the Land of Israel. In Hebrew it was called ***Golah*** or ***Galut***, meaning "Exile". Since the Jewish people refused to assimilate and were confronted with repression, they moved out of Israel (Comay, 1981:7). Jews survived due to migration, adaptation to the new countries and clung to their faith and traditions. Migration also extended the boundaries of the Jewish Diaspora. The model of Jewish Diaspora was followed by the Armenian, Chinese , African (slavery) and Indian communities. The difference with the Jewish Diaspora is that Indian communities have been dispersed owing to their chosen countries of migration.

The origin of the Indian Diaspora has always been the regional social structures of the emigrants and migrants. On the basis of regional cultures and languages in Europe, Indians create their Bengali,

Punjabi and Telugu Diasporas. However, when there is a question of the Indian Diaspora, they always feel a part of it. It is the shared cultural heritage of Indians which lays the foundation for the Indian Diaspora. Globalization of the Indian diaspora had already started during the emigration period to the plantation colonies. The terms of **Jahaji bhai** (ship brotherhood) and **dipua bhai** (depot brotherhood) were the cementing factors and beyond caste, religion and language created a globalised feeling of being the Indian Diaspora (Gautam, 1999). In Europe it was the 'circle of friends', who brought Indians together and formed associations. These associations jointly created feelings of belonging to the Indian cultural heritage and of keeping relations with India. With the help of telephone, transport and cyber technology, they developed cross-border relations, which in turn helped them to meet other Indian communities. This developed first individually but later as a form of collective trans-nationalism across borders (Portes, 1977). This became a basis for creating a World Indian community, nowadays known as the Indian Diaspora. As Appadurai says, "One positive force that encourages emancipator politics of globalization is the role of imagination in social life" (1996). It means that imagination itself is a social force, running across national borders and producing locality as a spatial fact. "The imagination is no longer a matter of individual genius, escapism from ordinary life, or just a dimension of aesthetics. It is a faculty that informs the daily life of ordinary people in myriad ways: It allows people to consider migration, resist state violence, seek social redress, and design new forms of civic association and collaboration, often across national lines" (Appadurai,2000: 6). Globalization is inextricably connected to the working of free capital. The Indian Diaspora with transnational links helped Indian communities. Economic resources have always been responsible to achieve family prosperity and social welfare of the community. In most of the countries, globalization has meant a world with shared memories of India.

3. Diaspora Studies

During the 1960s and 1970s social scientists studied the Indian community as one of the groups is a Colonial Plural and Multi-Cultural European society. The notion of "ethnicity" and "diaspora" was not even known to them. Indians were studied as a segmented sociological ethnic group with their structural institutions of marriage, rituals and cultural varied forms (Bereton & Dookaran, 1982; Dabydeen & Samaroo, 1987; Klass, 1961; Krausz, 1971; Malik, 1971; Rauf, 1974; Singravellou, 1975, Speckman,1965; Watson 1977). In Europe, there were hardly any studies on Indian groups. In Great Britain social scientists did research to understand Indian and Pakistani communities (Aurora, 1967; Eades, 1987; Kannan, 1978; Peach,1968; Swinerton, 1975; Watson, 1977). There were studies on Plural societies, focusing on the plantation colonies of Mauritius, La Reunion, Fiji, Malaysia and African and Caribbean countries (Bendict, 1961; Gautam, 1986, 2000; Kuper & Smith, 1965; Morris, 1968). Since Indians were part of the Plural society the studies also included them.

From the 1990s onwards, many publications on the Indian Diaspora, Indian identity and Indian groups have appeared in scientific journals and books. Certain scholars have used religion as a base for categorizing the Indian Diaspora. Terms of "Hindu Diaspora" (Desasi, 1993; Jackson & Nesbitt, 1993; Rukmani, 2001; Vertovec, 2000), "Sikh Diaspora" (Agnihotri, 1987; Barrier & Dusenbery,1989; Brack, 1988; Tatla, 1999), "Muslim Diaspora" (Werbner, 2002, Leonard, 2007) and other diasporas have appeared. There has also been a trend to understand the regional identities of India, such as Telugu, Tamil, Malayali, Gujarati and Bhojpuri communities. Sometimes these identities are also known as diaspora.

Some scholars have developed theoretical concepts regarding the Indian Diaspora, such as "Imagined Diaspora" (Anderson, 1983; Werbner 2002 i.e. an imagined cultural and structural boundary of ethnic contestation where the community is seen as transnational homogeneous group. The concept was earlier used in defining the imagined community (Anderson, 1991). It is the social identity which results from social interaction. Social identity in a way is "ethnic identity", an outcome of social interactions (Barth, 1969). The image of India as a country of ascribed home of parents and forefathers is based on shared memories. It is a different image for the new generation of the PIOs. In

the Caribbean countries as well as among the twice migrants India is not the mother land but the country of mother's mother (**nani kamulk**). To them, Indianness is an imagined idea based on the birth of their forefathers. It is not based on the country of their birth place. They are born, brought up and socialized in Europe. The idea of an Indian Diaspora as a transnational social community/group can be compared with that of the Jewish Diaspora. In the Polish diaspora, patriotism to the fatherland (Poland) plays an emotional role. To the second and third generation of Indians in Europe, the image of India is ambiguous. It is not based on the notion of birthplace, citizenship and patriotism. It is based on collective imagination of India. In many European countries, the host culture addresses them as "Dutch Indian", "German Indian" and so on.

The notion of "Exemplary Diaspora" understands its cultural minority status and identifies with its adopted country (Ibid, 2002). The model of transnational Indian communities becomes an illustration in interaction. It becomes difficult to define, "What is Indianness"? Indianness is often defined in term of the socio-religious and cultural practices and observations of their parents which was brought into Europe as their cultural baggage from India. The idea of an Indian Diaspora as a transnational social community/group is based on psychological innate feeling of being Indian and possessing the social values of Indian heritage is the basic requirement.

3.1 Indian Diaspora in Europe

Today the Indian Diaspora has reached the mark more than 25 million, dispersed around the globe in more than 75 countries. It is the third largest diaspora after the British and the Chinese. It has a transnational perspective and differs from International migration. "In transnational migration, persons literally live their lives across international borders" (Glick Schiller, 1999:96). In such a situation they create transnational relations and become a single transnational diaspora. During the 17th and 18th centuries Indians migrated to Central Asia and Russia established their settlements and observed socio-religious customs. They were referred as "Indian Merchant Diaspora". In Astrakhan (in Russia on the north east of Caspian Sea) there was a big Indian community which lived in an enclave. Most of them were bankers and traders. India always remained their home and forefather's home. During the period of 1602 and 1794 about 573 million guilders were remitted to India (Levi, 2002: 2006; Gautam, 2011:3-5).

The Indian diaspora developed gradually during the 19th and 20th century when emigration of indenture and contract laborers, traders, professionals, students took place to the British, French, Dutch, Dane and Portuguese colonies in Asia Africa, Caribbean and Far Eastern countries. Today the emigrant Indians are termed as People of Indian Origin (PIOs) and referred as the "Old Diaspora". During the Post World War II many Indians migrated to the West European and American countries, while some of them went to Australia and New Zealand. They are termed as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and referred as the "New Diaspora" (Bhat, 2009). There was also migration of Indians to the West Asian Gulf countries of Saudi Arabia, The United Arab Emirates, the Gulf countries, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar, It has been a mixture of unskilled (manual workers) semi-skilled and skilled professional Indians. Finally, since the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a wave of migration of software engineers to the European and North American countries.

Historical records show that the first Indian boy, named Peter was brought to Britain in 1614. During the 18th century Indian **ayas** (nannies to look after the children), **naukars** (household servants), **munshis (**tutors) and **laskars**, (seamen) immigrated to Britain. Since the 18th century Indians have been coming to the European countries either as visitors, emissaries or teachers. When India was a colony of Britain, many Indians as a part of British Army have been brought to fight during World War I and World War II. Their number by 1918 was one million soldiers. When in 1939 World War II was declared on behalf of India by 1945 the number of Indian soldiers increased to 2.5 million. Those who stayed in Great Britain became a part of the Indian Diaspora. In 1905 when Shyamji Krishanji Verma founded "India House", it became a centre for Indians to discuss Indian

reforms and long distance nationalism. Despite British government attempts at restriction in 1932, there were 7128 Indians in Great Britain (Visram, 2002: 1512, 254, 341).

During the 19th century European cities, such as Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin and Rome were the centres of Western attraction. Many Indians visited these cities and a few married and stayed there. When there were problems in Great Britain, many Indians migrated to the European cities. For example Krishanji Verma was condemned as 'anti British'. His paper *Indian Sociologist* was labeled as 'extreme' and 'India house' as a 'notorious….centre of sedition'. Krishanji Verma retaliated by moving his paper to Paris and stayed there (ibid, 154). In England, many associations were established, such as, the Sikh society, the ***Khalsa Jatha*** (1908), Hindu Association of Europe (1935), Muslim and Parsee Associations. The idea of diaspora connected to India was reflected in organized lectures on religious, economic and cultural themes. These associations became a network of transnational Indian diasporic identity.

The Missionary activities of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France and Portugal found India as a fertile ground for Christianity. They not only converted Indians but brought them to Europe. In Denmark in 1713 a converted Tamil boy, Timotheus was brought by the Protestant Danish Hallesche Mission from Danish colony of Tranquebar, South India. Since Norway and Denmark have a common language and are related by Royal lines, in order to do missionary activities in India they worked together and established the Santal Mission of Northern Churches (Nyhagen, 1967; Hodne, 1992; Josson, 1921).

There are two types of Indians who migrated to Europe.

a) Indians from India and

b) Indians from European colonies. The latter were called the generations of earlier emigrants whose forefathers were imported on indenture system by the European plantation colonies. They are called "twice migrants".

1. Indians after the formation of the Republic of India (26 January 1950) migrated to the Western Hemisphere including Europe with an aim either to pursue higher education in universities and Institutes or to have technical training in business concerns. They were considered as migrants. However, many Indians after completing their studies and training found jobs and stayed in the respective countries. Their status changed from migrants to immigrants. With this change they found permanent residence either with own business or with satisfactory professional work. However, they did keep contacts with Indian Embassies for the political news about India. Except the United Kingdom, the European countries did not have Indian books, newspapers and Indian fiction/documentary films. They were completely cut off from India, no radio news/songs and no cultural performances. As most of them were from urban cities in India, in the European countries they stayed in the cities. They were scattered in various cities but kept informal links with India by writing letters regularly to their beloved families at home with a hope to get news about family and Indian politics.

2. Emigrant Indians were those who left India as indentured laborers between the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century and the second decade of the twentieth century (1834 to 1916) for the plantation colonies of the Dutch, French and British governments. During the 1970s, when their generations immigrated to the European countries, they were known, as, "Twice Migrants" (Bhachu, 1985) in Britain. They arrived from Kenya and Uganda. Idi Amin, the President of Uganda created an unthinkable chaos when he expelled almost all Indians from the country. During the time of Ted Heath's government, in the UK many Indians from Uganda immigrated to Great Britain and other countries such as, India, Canada and Australia. Prior to this mass exodus, Great Britain had already tightened the migration of

Indians. After Heath when Margaret Thatcher became the Prime Minister, the immigration ban from third World countries remained intact. The idea behind this policy was to combat terrorism, crime, drug trafficking and illicit trading in works of art and antiquities (Thatcher,1993:353,55).

In the Netherlands, the generations of emigrant Indians were not called as "twice migrants" but as the Surinamese "Hindustanis. France never gave independence to her colonies. The emigrated Indians were franchised. They were known as French or French Indians. Since Germany had already lost his colonies in Africa, no migration was from the African countries. Recently when the Taliban in Afghanistan persecuted Indians many Afghani refugees came to the European countries. They are known as "Afghani Indians".

After the post Independence of India many Indians migrated to the European countries and gradually settled there. They came across the other Indians of the old diaspora whose generations migrated as "twice migrants" to the European countries". During the 1960s many unskilled Indian migrants followed a "chain migration". For example, if a migrant came from Punjab he consciously helped village fellows and helped him to bring another village fellow. Britain, Netherlands and Germany are good examples of such networks. Even after restrictions were imposed on migration, the custom of chain migration continued. After the 1970s, many skilled and semi skilled Indians, migrated to Denmark and Norway.

After the Independence of Mozambique (1974), many Indians immigrated to Portugal. When Goa, Daman Diu were occupied by India, many Indians left for Portugal. During the last decade when the Netherlands and Germany imposed drastic restrictions on migration many Indians mostly from Punjab moved to Spain and Portugal. They changed their illegal status and became legal immigrants in the latter countries.

3.2 Indian Diaspora in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands there has always been a long tradition of tolerance and hospitality towards settled foreigners. During the 16th to 18th centuries, the Huguenots from France, the Jewish people from Italy, Portugal, Spain and Brazil came and settled down, when their lives were in danger. Historically, the Dutch have been well known for noting down detailed descriptions of their travelling accounts, of different cultures and people. Before the establishment of the Dutch East India Company on 8.4.1583, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten sailed for Goa from Lisbon. He worked for the Portuguese. He also maintained his diary. His diary is the first account in Dutch and was published as *Itenerario* in 1598. His book inspired the Dutch people who in 1602 founded the Dutch East India Company. As a trading community they opened their factories in Surat, Agra, Lucknow, Patna, Kochin and many other places. By the end of the 18th century, they lost India and moved to Indonesia. During the 17th century, many books on India were published from Amsterdam. The two most important works were by Dapper (1672) and Philippus Baldaeus (1672). Baldaeus has a Tamil pupil, Gerrit Mosopatam, who was the first Indian to arrive in the Netherlands. His arrival year is unknown. On the basis of his death certificate, he died on 6.8.1667 in Holland. Since then India has been known to the Netherlands. Seeing the economic progress of the British plantation colonies of Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Mauritius, on 8 September 1870 the Dutch Government signed a treaty with Britain for the import of Indian laborers to work in Surinam. In 64 ships during the period of 1873 to 1916, 34,002 Indians from North India emigrated to Surinam as indentured contract workers. In 1893, Amsterdam organized a big exhibition and brought the people of Dutch colonies, including Indians, from Surinam.

The real migration to Europe started only after the end of the war. A large number of labourers were required to reconstruct the devastated cities and the Dutch economy. They came from the European Mediterranean countries, North Africa and Turkey. The process of labour migration was euphemistically used as "guest-labour". After the opening of the Indian Embassy in The Hague, Indians from India started migrating to the Netherlands to pursue higher technical education in Dutch

universities. Most of them returned to India. The other Indian migrants were from Surinam, the children of the emigrants came for studies. During the decade of the 1950s the number of both the Indian communities was very small. Surinamese Indians, who call themselves Hindustanis were more in number compared to the other Indians. In the Netherlands, the cultural minorities including Indians are called "allochtonenen" (Verwey-Jonker, 1971). Their settlement process psychologically forced them to maintain an Indian identity. The Indian communities created associations and regulated the Indian diasporic identity. Ethnicity played an umbrella role in protecting them. They established their own self-organized associations.

In the 1980s, there were also Indian asylum seeking immigrant refugees from Uganda. They were given asylum by the Dutch government. In the 1990s there was another exodus of Afghani refugees. They all considered themselves as Indians whenever they met other Indians.

3.3 Emergence and Formation of Associations

Indians from India established three main organizations. They could be grouped in two categories. The first category was initiated by the Indian missions with the help of local host scholars and India sympathizers. The second category was established by Indian themselves.

    i.   Netherlands –India Association

   ii.   Indian Welfare Association and the Foundation of the Critical Choice of India.

  iii.   The role of these associations in preserving the group's identity will be seen in the following analysis.

3.3.1 The Background

After the opening of the Indian Embassy in the Hague, in 1951, Mr. Chaudhry, First Secretary, invited a few well known Dutch with the idea of establishing an Indo- Dutch friendship society. Since the culture of Ceylon was considered to be a part of the Indian civilization, the name Ceylon was also included in the society. Moreover, the Dutch have also ruled Ceylon and the Western parts of South India in colonial times. The name was given "Netherlands –India – Ceylon Friendship Association". This association was an instrument to develop Indo-Dutch economic, cultural and political relations. Interest in India was growing. During the time of Ambassador B. N. Chakravarti in 1954, on behalf of the Netherlands Federation of Journalists, Industries and the K.L.M. airline, the Dutch Government invited a delegation of Indian journalists and editors of media. Dutch radio and newspapers covered many interviews of the delegates. In 1956, Dr. A. L. Constandse, the Editor of the *Algemeen Dagblad* newspaper, visited India and published many articles. Gradually, the Dutch media got interested on India and started publishing articles. During the early 1960s the name was changed into the India–Netherlands Association (NIA). In 1961, on the commemoration of Rabindranath Tagore's century, Dr. S. Radhkrishnan addressed the Dutch audience in Knight's Hall in The Hague. Radio Netherlands Overseas Services and Dutch television services actively broadcast information about India (Gautam, 2011:101-106). Again, during the Gandhi century (1961) UNESCO, NIA, and many Dutch news papers published a lot of information about India. In Amsterdam the Tropical Institute organised a big exhibition on "INDIA NU" (Contemporary India). This aroused interest among the Dutch people and they wanted to know more about India. In order to give a glimpse of Indian culture many museums started exhibitions in Amsterdam, Breda, Rotterdam and Leiden. The Ethnograpical museum in Leiden promoted Indian cultural programs. The museum policy was to involve the Dutch children of Primary schools. The small Indian community was only seen in the NIA functions. During the tenure of Prime Minister Morarji Desai, a delegation of 20 Dutch journalists visited India. The Dutch press gave positive and negative reports.

In 1967, during the severe famine in Bihar, the Dutch host society collected 25 million Guilders (as an aid) under the UNESCO project "Food for India" within one evening. Press, radio and television

covered the program. Unilever-Multinational Corporation produced a film, "Four Sons of India". It was shown almost in all cities. In the 1970s two bilateral treaties were signed on economic relations and scientific/cultural exchanges. Indian journalists were trained for television and radio by RNTC (Radio Netherland Training Centre) under the supervision of a known journalist Drs. Frans van Maastricht. In 1982, Sir Richard Attenbourough´s film got a warm response from the Dutch society including politicians. Dutch politicians became interested in India. In 1989, NIA celebrated the Century of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India in the presence of H.R.H Prince Claus and Mrs. Margaret Alva. During the 1990s, the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht started organising Film festivals with Indian films. The climax was 2008 when the President of the International Indian Film Association (IIFA) organized the Annual Film Awards Function in Amsterdam. This was held in Ajax stadium, attended by thousands of Indians and the Dutch (T. Gautam, 2011: 107-114).

In 1994, Dick Sherpenzeel Foundation analyzed Indian reports in the Dutch media. The conclusion was that "India does not have a totalitarian regime; language is no bar to communication with the elite, the press is free and there are many good English language newspapers and magazine. For a developing country India is a model of openness" (Gautam, 2011). Indian Tata Steel Co. purchased the Dutch Steel plant of Hoogovens (North Holland) and helped to restore industry. Gradually, the media changed the Dutch image of India. India is not only a country of poor beggars, snake charmers, hash smoking nude **sadhus** and roaming cows but a modern democratic economically rising country in Asia. The last decade of the twenty first century has witnessed the highly qualified professionals of Cyber Informatica (IT).

3.3.2 Netherlands – India - Society

The Netherlands-India Society (NIA) together with Indian Embassy helped to propagate the Indian culture and the identity of a few living Indians. Most of the work was done by the Dutch members of the NIA Board. During the period of 1977 and 1980, tht NIA published a News Bulletin and articles were written on Indian culture, spiritualism, Indian Democracy, literature and folk and classical music, dance and drama. Its circulation was 500, limited to the Dutch and Indians members of NIA. Until the 1980s, the Indian Embassy and Dutch scholars of the Board of NIA actively arranged lectures and talks by Indians, Dutch politicians and scholars. Programs were also organized covering Indian dances, music during festivals of Holi and Diwali. In a way NIA became a platform for social and cultural friendly contacts.

There were also factions within the Indian Board members of the NIA. In one of the NIA elections the Secretary, who was an Indian, issued a circular communicating the election procedure. It was mentioned that a person can only vote when he has been a member of the association at least for the last two years. On the day of voting the Dutch treasurer found that at least 30 new comers with their partners or spouses arrived by giving membership fee to the Secretary and became NIA members. They participated in voting. Dutch candidates were ousted. The newly elected members of Indians were in majority. This was brought to the notice of the Dutch President. The only way to make the election null and void was to collect 100 signatures of the NIA members. A meeting was called to decide the matter. The Secretary was asked to accept the fault. He accepted his fault but was allowed to retain his post to complete his tenure. This faction continued latently and divided the Indian community. Many members gave up their membership.

There were two Dutch persons, Prof. B. Landheer and Mr. J. H. Schuurman who helped NIA in creating a network of Indian academicians and collected funds for India. Prof. Landheer has been the NIA President for almost 20 years. He was not only a Professor at the University of Groningen but also a Librarian of the International Court of Justice, known as Peace Palace, The Hague. He has been a Gandhian, a true believer in non-violence. In his late years he became a follower of Maharishi Mahesh's Trans-Meditation ideology. In 1986, Mr. J. H. Schuurman, treasurer of NIA was made Director of a Project to help India in Cancer Prevention. He managed to get a grant of Dfl. (Dutch

Guilders) 850.000,00 to buy a Linear Accelerator for the Cancer Research Institute in Madras. from the Dutch Development Cooperation Ministry. Mr. Schuurman was impressed by Indian spirituality and culture through the ideology of Theosophical Society. In1929, when Anne Beasant asked Krishnamurti to be the successor of Theosophical Society in Huezen (Netherlands) he rejected the offer and abondoned the title , Order of Star of the East (OSE) (Tollenaere, 1996:88). The ceremony was witnessed by Schuurman, who at that time was a young man.

Indians also organized **melas (c**ultural get together). The money was collected to help the natural disaster regions. It was also an occasion to invite Dutch people to taste Indian culture through cultural shows, food and lectures. Many Indian political, religious and cultural leaders were invited. The lectures always followed the discussions. In a way, the NIA made aware the Dutch society by the joint efforts of Dutch and Indian scholars, businessmen and India sympathizers. Since NIA's Dutch members were interested in promoting Indo-Dutch relations they contacted many institutions, such as, universities, the Royal Tropical Institute, museums and the media. Since the 1960s, Drs. Felix van Laamswerde played an important role in introducing Indian culture to the Dutch host society.

3.3.3 India Welfare Society

During the 1960s when the British government banned migration to Britain, Indians came to the Netherlands with a hope to move either to Canada or Great Britain. These migrants were semi-skilled and low skilled Indians from Punjab. Theirs was a chain migration similar to that of the Pakistani Punjabis to Great Britain (Khan, 1979: 647-652). Their other Indian friends who had already come earlier to the Netherlands helped the new migrants. The majority of them worked in factories, cleaning services and the weekly market stalls. They were not accepted by the Indian members of the NIA, who considered them backward and unsophisticated. In order to stay in the Netherlands, a legal work permit was required. They married Hindustani girls. The "circles of friend" helped them in finding accommodation and employment. They were easily visible with their attire and turban. As they did not know English and the official language, Dutch, they were helped by the Hindustanis. They were also discriminated as they could not speak the language.

During "the depression period of 1967-68, it was constantly said that the foreigners should be sent home and their work should be done by our unemployed people" (Willems,1972:75). The Indian community missed India, Indian kin relations and friends. In order to maintain their Indian identity, they established an association, the India Welfare Society (IWS). Unlike NIA it was open to all Indians, whether they came from India, Surinam, Uganda, Guyana, Mauritius and South Africa. In its Board, the members were Indians and a few Hindustani advisers. They used to have their meeting-cum-functions on Indian festivals and the Independence Day of India. On Independence Day, the IWS has always organized its function. One of such functions was arranged in the compound of a school in The Hague. When all formal and informal invitees gathered, the President congratulated all the visitors. In his Presidential speech he said,

> "Dear friends of the Indian Welfare Society, welcome on this special Day. We all have come not only to celebrate our India´s Independence Day but also to discuss our day to day problems which we are facing in Holland. We all are gathered here to help each other. In 1947 when India gained her freedom, we were very small children. Our parents had the worst time. They had to leave Pakistan and leave behind their property, agricultural fields and homes. In India they revived their cultural identity and gave us everything to become a responsible Indian citizen. We cannot forget their sacrifices. We belong to India. Our home is India. We always think about our families who are in India. Our Gurus have sacrificed their lives for a justified cause in maintaining humanity. We have to maintain our Indian identity. This IWA is your family you can tell your problems to us and we would definitely help you. We are not alone we have our Indian brothers and sisters from Surinam. We all are proud of our Indian identity. Before our Indian national flag we promise to maintain our Indian identity and keep link with India. There has been racial discrimination against some of our friends. We would talk to our Dutch neighbors, friends and colleagues and negotiate our problems."

Such events often provided an opportunity to Indians to discover their friends and discuss each other's problems. During the 1990s, the Dutch government created a policy of "inburging" for those who wanted to be Dutch citizen by neutralization. This policy was to teach migrants the language and culture of the country of the Netherlands. Schooling was subsidized by the government. Many low-skilled Indian migrants became Dutch citizens after schooling.

During that time there were no Sikh Gurudwaras. The IWA started a temporary Gurudwara in Rotterdam. After the death of Bhinderwale (1984), the IWA became non-active. It is still registered and since 2010 has been inviting scholars and Dutch politicians for lectures. This association was meant for the welfare of an ordinary Indian worker. The demands of the IWA were for the protection of their Indian culture, which taken up by the Surinamese Hindustani associations. The IWA has not only maintained the Indian identity but has also secured sites for conducting religious services from the Dutch government. Now there are 7 Sikh Gurudwaras and more than 30 temples in various cities in the Netherlands. There is one Ravidas Gurudwara in the Hague. This new Gurudwara was established by low caste Sikhs who were often humiliated and called Chamars by Jat Sikhs. Religiously, there is a divide between Jat Sikhs and other Sikhs. The Ravidas Sikhs have a close affinity with the Dalit Sikhs of India.

3.3.4 Foundation for the Critical Choices of India

During the 1980s, a total of 22 Indians consisting of various professions established another association, "The Foundation for the Critical Choices of India" (FCCI). Its aim was to mobilize the Indian intellectuals with their know-how and help India and her problems. FCCI worked on a project and asked for help from the government of India for waiving the double taxation system. The imported product of Indian businessmen was taxed in Holland as well as in India. Later on the FCCI also brought many new ideas with a hope that the government of India would give attention to them. The Indian businessmen in 2003 established the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce and Trade (NICCT) to promote economic and trade relations with India.

Unfortunately, right from the inception of FCCI there was a faction between two Indians with their friend's circle for becoming its first President. The election took place in The Hague in the presence of the Indian Ambassador. On the fixed Election Day, the faction who in favor of the person who was not elected as President, created unnecessary problems. For six months FCCI could not work. The elected Secretary gave up his position. In reality, the Foundation for the Critical Choices of India instead of working for India started having conflicts in that small group of 22 Indians. It started showing cracks in the association. There has again been a "circle of friends" which did not allow any new comer in the Board. It has got some recognition from India but in reality it is only working within a group of Indians. Since this group has relations with well- known people, they think that they are the only persons representing the Indian community and can change the face of India. Hindustani associations of Indians of Surinam do not have any close relations with Indians of India except with the IWA. This became evident when Dr. L. Singhvi (2002) with the members of the High Level Committee visited the Netherlands. The PIOs discussed their issues in Hindi in their Ekta cultural centre, The Hague, while the NRIs discussed their issues in English in a Dutch restaurant in Wassenaar. Nowadays, the FCCI is active in arranging seminars and lectures of Indian political leaders from India. However, the selection of speakers is done by the rich businessmen and scholars hardly consulted.

4.4 Old Diaspora as PIOs

During World War II, the majority of Indians of second, third and fourth generations were living in rural areas in Surinam. Due to an intensified exploitation of bauxite, growth in military services and education, the city of Paramaribo attracted young Indians for new jobs. With the formation of political parties, Indians established themselves as honorable citizens. Since the Creoles always followed the Dutch model and religion they were already present in the Netherlands. Compared to the Creoles, the

immigration of Indians was quite overall. Indian youth were sent by their parents for higher studies and technical training to the Netherlands as Surinam did not have a university. Those who came to the Netherlands did follow the structural rules of endogamy. The permissiveness of Dutch society did not affect the immigrants. Before a student left for the Netherlands, the rules of caste (Indian group) were often preached to him, "**tum Hindustani se shadi karna, bakri nahin lana",** meaning, you must marry an Indian girl, not a Dutch girl (Gautam, 1979: 655; Speckman, 1965: 70). The notions of fictive kin affiliation (**bhaichara**) and honour of the family (**izzat aur sharm**) were used for the unification of the community.

4.4.1 The First Association "Manan"

Immigration was not a problem for Surinami Indians and Surinam was a Dutch colony. In the mid 1950s, the Creole leader, Eddy Bruma, a lawyer and play- writer, had already established an association for the Creoles, "**Wie Eegie Sanie** ", meaning, our own things, including language and culture. The aim of the association was to unite Creoles with an idea that Surinam belongs to them and not to other ethnic groups (Dew,1978). Here the indication was for the Hindustanis. The Surinamese Indians (Hindustanis) consciously created a parallel association with the name "Manan", meaning , think rationally about (Indian and Hindustani) ideals. As soon as the name of the association became known, all Hindustanis joined it. They arranged meetings, festivals with Surinamese Indian cultural shows and lectures of Indian and Surinami Hindustani political and religious leaders. Since their forefathers could not visit their birth places in India, the students did visit India. In a way they fulfilled the ambitions of their forefathers. The association transcribed the oral traditions into Dutch and Hindi languages. The association made aware of the Surinamese Indian identity to the Hindustanis. Their main function was the Indian Emigration Day which they celebrated with happiness. After studies, many Hindustanis found jobs and stayed in the Netherlands. They were not invited by the Indian Embassy but by the Embassy of Surinam. Whenever they met, Indian students always talked about Indian culture, religion and social customs but only in Hindi. Many Board members of "Manan" in Surinam later on became well known political leaders.

In 1963 a very special event was the "Emigration day", celebrating the 90 years of the Hindustani emigration. On 5 June 1873, the first ship "Lallarookh" of Indian emigrants arrived in Surinam. A book was released, entitled, **From British Indian to Surinamese Citizen.** This book was distributed to the libraries, institutions and ministries of the Dutch Government. The aim of this celebration was to convince the Dutch Government that Surinam is also a country of Hindustanis. Being the Dutch citizen the Dutch Government accepted most of the demands. This association was given up during the 1960s.

4.4.2 Second Mass Immigration

The second wave of the Hindustani immigrants came to the Netherlands in 1970s. In Surinam, Mr. J. Lutchman, known as, the "Father of Indian Community" and a political Hindustani leader always expected to gain political power. In 1969, when the Creole government lost power, many Creoles immigrated to the Netherlands. A similar situation happened in 1973 when Lutchman´s coalition government collapsed and the Creole NPK, "Nationale Partie Kombinatie" (National Party Alliance) came to power. The Government announced that soon Surinam would be independent. Rumors of Creole domination (black power), as happened in neighboring British Guyana, spread throughout the country (Dew, 1978). In confusion and fear, the Hindustanis started fleeing to the Netherlands with a hope that the Queen would protect their identity and cultural heritage. The Dutch Government opened a "Centre for Resettlement of Dutch Overseas Citizens" to help the immigrants. This immigration was not well planned. But the idea was also to find jobs and give better schooling to children. Immigration continued until 1983. In total 65,000 Hinduatanis immigrated to Holland. The Dutch government provided them with housing and living allowances.

The mass exodus of Hindustanis had mixed reactions. Many people did not like this immigration and discrimination became visible in grafiti on the walls (Bovenkerk, 1975 ; Gautam , 1979: 658), reading, "Holland Blank" (Keep Holland White original). According to

the NIPO (Netherlandse Instituut voor Publiek Onderzoek, "Dutch Institute for Public Survey and statistics, Netherlands") the discrimination against the immigrants in the same locality in a city was high, i.e., 33% (1967) and 50% (1970). In 1975, it was a little down to 41%. Ethnic groups, especially, Indians from Surinam, were not treated equally (Bovenkerk, 1975, 1979). The results have been the ongoing debates in Parliament, the media and the local public. In 2000, in the Netherlands, Mr. Paul Sacheffer, Publicist wrote an article on "The Multicultural Drama" in the national newspaper the NRC Handelsblad , suggesting that multiculturalism has failed completely (NRC of 29.1.2000:3-5) and that the very idea of integration has remained only on paper. It has not worked. The debate on his ideas continued in the media. Many writers wrote that equality in a multi-cultural society is only an illusion and myth. In their view, the only solution is the assimilation, saying boldly, "When in Rome, do as the Romans" (Schnabel, 2000. 5-7).

4.4.3 Self Help Organisation in the Netherlands

In order to help Hindustanis the Dutch government started "self help" projects and gave subsidies. Hindustanis did not know how to use this project. A few experienced Hindustanis discussed the matter among friends and accepted the proposal. The idea of "self help" was to create the Hindustani associations, discuss the matter among friends and live as desired by the community. In the mean time Hindustanis have already created their infra-structure. These associations became active in protecting and maintaining the Indian identity. This became a situational force for collective Hindustani ethnicity. In The Hague, about 30 associations were established. In other cities, the associations were welcomed. One of the Associations was SRS (Suriname Regional Foundation), established in 1969, consisting of 15 local associations. Others associations were Ekta, Mathura, and so on. They published their annual reports and monthly or quarterly magazines in Dutch. In Amsterdam, "Trideva" (Trinity, meaning Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh) and "Lallarookh" (the first ship landed with indentured labourers in Surinam) in Utrecht were pioneers in covering other small cities. In Rotterdam, Shanti Dal was another association. There is another association to promote Hindi. Unfortunately, due to personal rivalries it is divided into three associations. Through the associations Hindustanis demanded places for the associations, for worship, play grounds and schools, cultural shows, depicting the Indian identity. The concerned municipalities provided the places and gave subsidies (Gautam, 2005).

In the Netherlands, there was a policy of "verzuiling", meaning, blocks or compartmentalization on religious and political lines. Under this policy social, cultural and political blocks were formed between 1920 and 1970 on religious and philosophical grounds (Stuurman, 1983). The policy was meant to give a place to the ethnic groups with respect to the media, broadcasting, religion and politics. The Hindustani community, through its various associations, was helped by the policy of compartmentalization. In 1993, they were given a place in the broadcasting media. It became known as OHM (Hindu Broadcasting Corporation) and NMO (Muslim Broadcasting Corporation) consisting of radio, television, magazines and cyber technology. Unfortunately, due to factions in Board members NMO is closed down and OHM is on the verge of being disintegrated. Suddenly in the 1980s, Hindustanis started countrywide associations, such as FASNED. (Federation of the Arya Samaj Associations), SHPN (Santan Hindu Parishad Nederlands), WHFN (World Hindu Federation Netherlands), Hindu Council (Hindoe Raad, Nederland) and many Kabirpanthi and Muslim associations. Their names suggest that they are religious associations, but in reality, importance is given to Indian cultural heritage. Through the associations there has also been political participation.

There are many Hindustani members elected in various municipalities and in the Dutch Parliament. Hindustanis have their 6 schools. Special attention is given to teach Indian culture, religious values and history. Hindi with the curriculum of Wardha, religious thoughts, Ramlila, the political background of India and Surinam are taught. These schools are on the same lines as the Dutch schools.

Hindustanis are properly integrated in Dutch society. The problems are with the second generation born children in the Netherlands. They are told that they are Surinamese because of the birth of their parents. They are also Indian because their forefathers came from India. Surinam is their home but India is the home of their roots. They are also Dutch because they are born in Holland. Surinam and India are imaginary countries for them the narratives are given in schools, temples and meeting places by priests, teachers, and elderly people. During the programs of the associations, Indians were made constantly aware of their Indian and Surinamese Hindustanis identity. India with her cultural heritage has become the source of their identity. The associations consider them as a part of the Global universalized Indian Diaspora. Hindustanis have promoted a close link with India and have revived their Indian identity. They have organized several cultural shows and invited Bollywood stars and artists. Their annual Bollywood Film Festival, Milan Festival, Hindustani Youth Organization and many religious conferences have become well known events. These institutions, together with local radio and television stations have provided an open space for interaction with the host society. The Dutch government through municipalities has subsidized these get together. These programs have become the basis for integration.

They have to work together and feel that they need each other. When the first PBD was held in India their participation was in numbers. Together with their leader, Mr. J. Lutchman, they were the part of Indian Diaspora from Surinam and Netherlands. Their settlement process has psychologically forced them to maintain Indian identity. The Indian communities have created associations and regulated the Indian diasporic identity. Ethnicity has played an umbrella role in protecting them.

Having seen the historical formation of Indian Diaspora it becomes clear that in the multi-cultural society of the Netherlands, they were classified as one of the cultural ethnic minorities. The process and the force of ethnicity have given them the possibility of political participation. By joining political parties, the Hindustani Indians have become equal partners and have influenced the Dutch government's policies towards Surinam and India. Unfortunately, the NRIs have not been active in Dutch politics. There is a divide with the Indian diaspora. NRIs and PIOs do not mix. Each community lives in its own world. Perhaps the Government of India through the Indian Embassy can be a bridge to unite them.

The Indian Diaspora has been helped by the Indian Embassy and the Dutch Government due to various reasons. Firstly, the economy of India is a rising factor for Asian countries. Economic growth is around 8% in the Netherlands, due to the economic crisis growth is not even 2%. Netherlands sees India as a market for its economy for investment. There have been bilateral forms of collaboration. There is an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) for Indo-Dutch collaboration, signed in 2008, covering in Science and Technology including life sciences, social sciences, agriculture and horticulture, green and water energy (through wind mills), food, transport, cyber technology and communication. In 2009, the Dutch Embassy signed an Indo-Dutch program to facilitate Indo-Dutch Cooperation. In 2011, the Indian Embassy, with the help of ICCR, opened a new cultural centre, known as, the Gandhi Centre in the Hague. The idea is to bring both groups together.

In 2009, when the Mini Pravasi Divas Celebration was held in The Hague, the theme of "The Rising India and the role of the Indian Diaspora" was discussed. It was an initiative of the Government of India's Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in cooperation with the municipality of The Hague and the Dutch Government. Many Dutch Cabinet Ministers and representatives from many European countries participated. This event worked as a bridge between PIOs, NRIs and the Dutch host society. Indians developed a new logistic. In 2011, the new Indian Diaspora Association, namely, the Foundation of the Indian Diaspora in Europe was established by NRIs. They have organized two annual conferences in The Hague (2011) and Amsterdam (2012). On paper it has become the European platform for the Indian Diaspora. It is participated by Dutch politicians and Indian Embassy. Unfortunately, since it is dominated by the NRIs, it involves the PIOs at the periphery. It has not developed a united force of ethnicity to influence the European Common Market in Brussels.

5.1 Indian Diaspora in Germany

The case of Germany in understanding the Indian community is a unique example in analysing the process of diasporic identity formation and the vital role of ethnicity in seeking the resources from the German Government.

There is a long history of indian migration to Germany. During the end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century Germany attracted many Indians, second only to Great Britain. Almost all Indians who visited London also visited Paris, Amsterdam, Rome and Berlin. There have been well known German scholars who have done wonderful work on Indian languages. The first grammar text on Hindi was written by Johan Josua Ketelaar (1659-1718), a native of Elbing on the Baltic Sea. He was a Dutch Ambassador , representing the Dutch East India Company in Agra. It was copied by his assistant Isaaq van der Hoek, a Dutch from Amsterdam in 1698 in Lucknow. He became a neutralised Dutch citizen before leaving for Indonesia and India. Another Hindi grammar text was written by B. Schulz, a German missionary who was attached to the Danish mission in Madras in 1745 (Gautam & Schokker, 2005). At that time Hindi was known as Hindustani. Since 1845 the Gossener Evangilical-Lutheren Mission worked in Chota Nagpur (Jharkhand State) and Assam and many German missionaries visited India. Max Muller was a great scholar who wrote many volumes on Indian languages, philosophies and culture. When he was in Oxford he met Swami Vivekananda. In September 1896 Swami ji visited the city of Kiel, the home town of Sanskritist scholar Paul Deussen. In the 1920s Rabindranath Tagore visited Berlin thrice. The Nehru family visited Berlin in 1909, 1912, 1926.

In 1913, Lala Har Dayal (1884-1939) and Bhai Parmanand (1874-1947) founded a revolutionary party in the name of the Hindi Pacific Association at Astoria (Oregon) which was against the English regime in India. A *Gaddar* (mutiny) journal was also published. The British government requested US authorities to arrest Lala Har Dayal. He ran away to Germany and stayed in Berlin until 1918. With the financial and moral help of the German Government, an organisation was established to coordinate the activities of the freedom fighters (Mehra,1985: 262-266,288-290).

During the Second World War there were also Indians of the Azad Hind Fauz (Free Indian Army) to help the German regime against the British forces. They were sent by their leader Subhash Chandra Bose (It is an unbelievable fact that Sikh soldiers from both sides were fighting each other). In 1941, Bose left India and came to Germany. He also created the "Azad Hind Brigade" consisting of mostly of Indian Sikh soldiers, who were trained in Dresden and stationed in the North Sea Coast of Holland . Afterwards, the brigade moved to France. An "Indian Legion" within the German SS was also created. Bose got help from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in establishing an organization, "Azad Hind" (Free India, in German "Freies Indien") The Association published a magazine and founded a radio station which used to broadcast in three languages (Gottschlish, 2008:8;). (Subhash Chandra Bose's daughter Anita Bose Pfaff, is an economist and still lives in Germany).

The Indian associations developed locally within the cities. Indians mostly lived in urban areas. The first organisation was the Hindustani Association of Central Europe whose first President was Zakir Hussain. In 1925 its name was changed to Bharat Majllis. The meetings of the association were organised when an Indian leader visited Berlin . Gradually, Indians also started celebrating their festivals. Following the unification of East and West Germany, the capital moved to Berlin. In Berlin there are many Indian Associations, such as the Indian Culture Centrum (Indisches Kulturzentrum, 1974), the Indian Unity Centre (1978), the Tamil Culture Centrum (1979); the Berlin Kerala Samajam (1980), the Sikh Association Berlin (1986), the Indian Solidarity Action (1991) and Tamil Mandaram (1992). For the last few the number of local associations has grown considerably. During the 1960s, Indians started arriving in Germany. After their training and studies they stayed and worked in Germany. During the decades of 1960s and 1970s many Malayali nurses came to work as nurses and assistants in German hospitals. They were recruited by the German Catholic Mission in Kerala. Afterwards they formed a Malayali Association for the welfare of the Indian Malayali community. In 1970 Germany got hit by an economic recession. Many German federal states did not extend the work permit. Those nurses who were married to Germans could stay in Germany while others returned to

India. A few of them moved to the Dusseldorf-Koln area. It developed as a settlement centre for the Malayali people. They spoke Malayalam and retained their Indian culture. In 1984 they also started publishing a magazine, "My World" (In German "Meine Welt"). All the scattered Malayalis afterwards created a countrywide Union of German Malayali Associations. Again in the 1990s, the German policy was changed and allowed the Malayalee nurses to come back to Germany. During the late 1990s, two Indian Malayali Parliamentarians (Sebastian Edathy, from the Social Democratic Party and Joseph Winkler, from Green Party) become members of the German Parliament (Bundestag in Berlin). Today, there are four Indian members in the German Parliament. The other two are Gujjula Ravindra Reddy from Brandenburg, a former Mayor of Altlandsberg and Raju Sharma from the De Links (The Left) Political Party. When in 2007 eight Indians were attacked by racists in Germany, the Indian Parliamentarians condemned it openly. This was the force of ethnicity.

In 1953, the Indio-German Society ("Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft e.V." known as DIG) was established by some former German officers of the "Indian Legion". The Board members are German intellectuals. The DIG is also supported by the Indian Embassy. Similar to GOPIO (Global People of Indian Origin), the society has opened more chapters in various German cities. At present there are 33 chapters scattered in most German cities. DIG publishes a Newsletter quarterly in German and provides information about Indian cultural heritage to its German counterpart. In 1956, the Indian business community created its own centre, Indian Chamber of Commerce (Deutsch-Indische Handelskammer").

During the 1990s, Germany became aware of the expertise of Indians in Information Technology (IT). In 2001, the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder realized the urgent need of Indian engineers and IT professionals. He ordered the issuance of the German Work Permit to Indian highly qualified professionals to come to Germany and enable their stay without problems. More than 20,000 Indians migrated to Germany. Initially, the contract was for five years. In 2005, Germany substituted the German Work Permit system by creating an Immigrants law which allowed Indians to extend their stay further, although many Indians have since left for other countries.

The Indian ethnicity in Germany has helped the German government to forge economic relations with India. It has also helped provide confidence to the Indians based in Germany to contribute to the German and Indian economies. Thanks to the formation of the Indian Diaspora, with Indo-German relations have been widely focused on India covering the fields of Technology and Sciences. Indian students from India are not only funded but facilitated to conduct research and apply their finding to help develop the economy. Between 1999 and 2007, about 7,250 Indian students were given the opportunity to study in Germany.

Compared to other European universities, Germany has played the foremost role in teaching Indian subjects (languages, cultures, religions and philosophies) at the universities. Germany has many universities where Indian subjects are taught. They also employ Indian scholars, in Berlin, Munich, Munster, Hamburg, Gottingen, Heidelberg, Koln and many other universities. There was also an institution created jointly by the European South Asian scholars. It was known as the European South Asian Conference which used to take place in one of the European universities every two years. During the conferences, almost 80% of the participants present papers and discuss about India. Similarly, another institution on Medieval Bhakti period also holds its conferences regularly. Through these institutions, Germany has been able to assist new scholars in conducting their research on India in the fields of Social Sciences and Linguistics. The role of Indian associations has been to create an awareness among the Indians that they are a united community And that they belong to India. In the narratives during the meetings of the associations, the belongingness to India has always been advocated. The follow up discussions minimize their regional differences and create a feeling of Indian Identity. The association's meeting becomes a space of belongingness. Earlier, the migration policy of the German government was different. There was always a strict scrutiny of the migrants. Nowadays this has changed. It is easier to get the German visa in the European Union compared to other European countries.

Individually, Indians at their homes and collectively in hired halls observe **satsangh** (religious get together), **bhajans** (religious lyrics) and **kirtans** (religious songs praising gods and goddesses) , expressing the emotional will of their Indian identity (Desai, 1993). During the 1980s, new religious movements appeared in Germany, such as, ISKCON (Internatonal Society for Krishna Consciousness), Satya Sri Sai Baba, Krishnamurti, Trans Meditation of Mahrishi Mahesh, Bhagwan Rajnish, etc. Since religion is an important aspect of the cultural heritage the Hindu community has been morally supported by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) of India.

In 1992, the 5th European Hindu Conference was held in Frankfurt (28 – 30 August) and sponsored by the rich Indian entrepreneurs of Germany. It received messages from the former President, Mr Zail Singh, Dr. Karan Singh, Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Dalai Lama. Prof. Edmund Weber of the University of Frankfurt am Main was one of the speakers (Chopra, 1992). They stressed the need to accept responsibility towards fellow members, irrespective of nationality, political leaning and religion. The conference lasted for three days. Since Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Kabirpanthis and Christians were the participants, automatically. They all advocated a collective Indian diasporic identity. One of the proposals was to live in coexistence in Germany and to maintain the Indian identity. Since the conference was peacefully organized, it became a part of the Indian ethnicity. During the 1990s, many preachers visited Germany and other European countries. Their speeches were discussed. The conclusion of such discussions was that Indians, in whichever countries they live, all belong to India. They have to preserve, maintain and live with their "living Indian identity". India is the land of then ancestral civilization. The link with India has to be kept always. In Europe, there were two headquartes of the VHP in London and Frankfurt. These headquarters organised many small conferences and invited Hindu representatives from European countries. Of course, there were also fundamentalist preachers of all religions, who tried to convince their concerned members of faiths with non-secular ideas, such is "India is a Hindu India", "Kashmir is a Muslim nation" and "Khalistan is only for Sikhs". Unfortunately, in such onesided speeches, the Indian community got divided and factions started appearing.

5.2 Afghani Indians

There are also Afghani Indians (PIOs) who have immigrated to Germany as asylum seeking refugees. On 4.8.1994, the foundation of the first Hindu (Indian) Association (Foundation), Hamburg was laid by the settled Afghani Hindu Refugees in Germany. There was another association which was working in the region of Koln and Dusseldorf. They had full support from Indian associations. Before the planned meeting of establishing the association, the information was conveyed on telephone to Indians living in Germany and the Netherlands.

After welcoming the guests, the President of the Association gave the following speech. His speech was distributed to the guests which was hand- written in Urdu, Hindi, German and English.

> "This newly born association HAH requests you to protect our (Indian) religious and traditional cultural values in Germany. As we (The Afghani Indians) have gone through the destruction of our homes, religious places and our Indian identity in Afghanistan, it is a living wound which neither can be healed nor can be forgotton. In Afghanistan we used to have our Hindu and Sikh temples in many cities. Taliban destroyed our cultural traditions. They destroyed our property, cultural traditions, respect and disparaged honour of the families. They kidnapped our daughters and sisters.

> According to our estimate there are 250 families living in Hamburg alone. In Germany there are about 1500 Afghani Indian families. We want to live in peace and friendship with German host society. Hindu and Sikh Indians believe in mutual respect, tolerance, non-violence and peaceful coexistence. Mother Goddess and Mother India have to be requested to protect our Indian socio-cultural and religious heritage in this country".…. "We are searching a place in Germany (in Hamburg) where we could observe our religious norms, values and listen to the speeches with discussions of our invited Indian leaders. We request to the German government and German friends to help us so that our displaced people can live in peace. We request you all to contact us

on telephone (please) on every Friday between 9.00 AM to 9.00 PM. This would help us to find out the addresses of our other Indian Afghani people, living in Hamburg. In our next meeting we could invite them and discuss their problems. Those who have bank account, please contribute to our association. Those who do not have bank accounts please contact us".

This speech was in an unknown place outside Hamburg. It expressed the need to work out a plan to develop an Indian Afghani identity with the support of the existing Indian associations. Afterwards, some time was devoted to having discussions dealing with the preservation of the emerging diasporic identity. The group appealed for help to their German friends and indirectly to the German government. This example shows that whenever an Indian association made speeches it tried to provoke the emotional psychological feelings of Indians and made them consciously aware of their Indian identity and facilited links with India.

Unlike other Turkish ethnic groups, who do not want to integrate with the host society, Indians are not only integrated but contribute to the German economy. Of course, the religious identity of Indians has always been a base line to develop the Indian diasporic identity. The World Hindu and Christian Conferences have brought all Indians together. During the conferences and meetings an atmosphere of living in India is created, which is necessary for the second and third generations. Unfortunately, the Indian Muslim organizations after the Twin Tower episode of New York and the growing terrorism in Europe are looked upon with suspicion by the host society. They are considered as the kith and kin of other ethnic Muslim groups. Unfortunately, both terms, Turks and Muslims are used synonymously.

5.3 Open Space Dialogue and the Indernet

Since 2000 the *Indernet (www.theinder.net),* also known as, Indian online community, a German language cyber network has been working to clarify issues about India to the new generations in the internet space. India has been defined in two ways. a) Political, geographical and the present status of India in South Asia. b) Cultural, including religions, cultures, philosophies, languages and traditions, showing Indian cultural continuation from past to present time. The first part is meant to define the country by putting out a factual report of India, "the discovery of India" on the *theinder.net.* The second part is based on interviews, questions posed by young viewers and answers by the editor. The image of India by Germans and the Indian young generation has often been questioned for its authenticity. The explanation to the Indian identity is given by family members, friends, religious preachers and narratives by the association leaders. The online discussion forum reveals facts and images of India and its cultural heritage. (Goel, 2008). The website serves the youth of Indian origin who are born and brought up in Germany. India is still an imaginary country to most of them. *theinder.net* tries to erase misunderstandings and rationally explain facts about India. In this way, an independent invisible space is created which keeps privacy of users. *theinder.net* has been trying to reconstruct " Indianness" among the second generation of Indians. The youngsters often ask questions, as a negotiating strategy, to their parents, priests, friends and people in markets about their social identity. Indians have established a solid infra-structure consisting of shops, weekly markets, religious centres, sport clubs, cultural program shows, film shows, Hindu temples, Sikh Gurudwaras, mosques, and meeting centres. In Indian associations they have often heard the narratives of speakers that they are Indians and belong to India. In reality, they encounter problems when they are accepted by their German age mates but not by their parents. They always question their identity. Are they Indian or German? What is the status of their identity when one of their parents is Indian? Should they be considered half and half, indirectly, neither fish nor fowl? Since they are born in Germany they have adapted the German way of living. They have even forgotten their Indian mother tongue. In the process of socialisation they identify with Germans. One of the questions that always lingers in their mind is, "who are they, Indian or German?" They do not deny the fact that their parents have immigrated from India and that India is their ancestral home. The image of identity and India is reconstructed and imagined (Anderson, 1991). Such questions are tackled by *theinder.net.* Editors clarify the image of the Indian identity and India is made more accessible to the younger Indians in Germany.

5.4 Emergence of the Transnational Indian Diaspora

During the early 1980s, the diasporic identity formation through the federation of organised associations took off. Contacts were established with other Indian communities and friends who had already settled in other countries. In the United States of America (USA), the NFIA (National Federation of Indians in America) was already working as a countrywide association. It was a federation of many local Indian organisations. Its Board members felt an urgent need to contact other associations in Canada, Great Britain and Europe. Prior to this, another Indian Association the South Asian Overseas Association (SAOA) was established in Moka, Mautritius during the 150th anniversary of Indian Emigration to Mauritius. Its Board Members were elected from Mauritius, La Reunion, East and South Africa, Malaysia, Australia, Europe, USA and Trinidad. A well known historian Prof. Arsaratnam (Australia) was its secretary. He has done pioneering work on Indians in Malaysia. Together with the author (President), he contacted Indian scholars in German universities and tried to bring them together. (His sudden demise was a big loss to the association) In the mean time, two German Indians contacted the NFIA in the USA for help in organising the associations. In the US, another organisation was created as GOPIO (Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin). During its first International convention in New York (1989) it became a platform of the Indians living in various countries. In London, at the regional conference of GOPIO, three German delegates represented Germany. In the mean time GOPIO has opened its chapters in Berlin, Paris and Amsterdam. In 2007 when 8 Indians were attacked in a fair in Muglen near the city of Leipzig, Indians in Leipzig and Berlin organised peaceful demonstrations. Once again the hidden discrimination became visible when slogans "Foreigners leave Germany" were heard. The Indian Parliamentarians in Germany and the GOPIO chapter in Berlin demanded a full inquiry. The four German culprits were arrested and imprisoned for a long term.

Unfortunately, within the Indian diaspora in Germany, the Indian representation in the GOPIO meetings and regional conferences has often been selected from a circle of friends. These could be considered as "cliques" or "groupings", based on social networks of the people concerned (Kramer, 1979: 664). Many local associations are not even consulted. The positions of Board members are always distributed through lobby among the friends circle.

6. Analysis of the case studies

The case studies of the multi-cultural societies of the Netherlands and Germany clearly show that in both countries the diasporic Indian identity has gone though similar processes. Migration of Indians to European countries started in the 1960s. During the 1970s, Indians encountered discrimination from a group of the host society. The Indian associations, localized or countrywide, have united the heterogeneous Indian communities. The programs of associations through their of cultural shows, celebration of feasts and lectures awakening about India have helped the Indian community in maintaining their Indian diasporic identity, internally as well externally. Internally they have helped reconstruct their imagined festivals and observed rituals. Externally, they have introduced the host society to Indian culture. Nationwide, associations have helped to develop the force of ethnicity and have led to demands to retain identity in political terms as well. Political participation has in turn facilitated the development of bilateral cultural and economical relations with India.

The host culture has shown appreciation and supported the communities. The integration process has been a bridge between the Indian and host communities and has helped them to adopt the cultural climate of the host society. It has encouraged Indians to learn the official languages, Dutch and German. Learning the local language in educational institutions has been subsidized. Psychologically, the Indian communities feel they are Indian and want to keep relations with India. However, the concept of "home" has become ambiguous to the second and third generations of Indians. In Germany, *theinder.net* has been working to assert the feeling of Indianness among the youth, whereas in the Netherlands the OHM broadcasting system, Milan and many local radios and television stations are

reminding the new generation that they are Indians. Ethnicity has helped the Indian communities of both countries not only to strengthen their Indian identity but to regularly ask their governments to help protect their inentity and cultural heritage. In both countries there is active political participation by Indians in local and national elections. This has helped the Indian communities to safeguard their culture. Indians have realized that ethnicity can only be used properly when there is political participation in the decision making system of the government. Political participation such as by membersip in political parties has become an ongoing process. To promote business activities with India and other countries, Indians have established the Chamber of Commerce on both sides. For the last decade there has also been an enormous exchange of scientists and engineers between India and the European countries.

There are differences in the composition of the Indian communities. In the Netherlands, there are more than 230.000 Indians where as in Germany there are about 115,000 Indians. Unfortunately, the figures of Ugandan and Afghani Indians are not known. In both countries there are two categories of Indians, the NRIs and PIOs. The NRIs as they have their families in India are directly connected to India. India has always been their "home". They have a feeling that they also belong to India. They remit money to India and help finance business activities. For the new generation of youth, India is an imagined country. The PIOs do not consider India as their "home". To them it was a home of their emigrated forefathers. They are not interested in having voting rights in India. For Hindustanis and Afghani Indians, India is an imagined land of their forefathers. In the Netherlands, Hindustanis always think about Surinam and remit money to their families. Afghani Indians being refugees neither have a home in Afghanistan nor in India. The same situation is with the refugees of Uganda. Since they have got refuge in the European countries, their home is the Netherlands or Germany. They are helped by the respective governments.

The NRIs or Indians of India have been helped by the Indian Embassies and host scholars. Their associations are joint associations, such as NIA and DIG. Indian Missions do not give any help and support to the PIOs, the Afghani, Ugandan Indians and Hindustanis. The financial help for bare necessities if required is provided in the form of subsidies by the Dutch and German governments. Subsidies are for housing, social welfare and education. Hindustanis often visit the Surinamse Embassy in The Hague while Afghani and Ugandan Indians have no place to go. The Ugandan and Afghani Indians are not received by the Embassies of Uganda and Afghanistan. Since 2000, Indian Embassies have shown interest in engaging with the PIOs due to the involvement of the Ministry of Overseas Indians Affairs (MOIA) of the Government of India. In the Netherlands, the Indian Embassy sometimes invites the PIOs, especially when there are programs at the Mahatma Gandhi Cultural Centre. This Centre was created by the ICCR (International Council of Cultural Affairs) of the Ministry of External Affairs) in 2011. In the Netherlands and Germany, Afghani and Ugandan Indians are not invited by the Indian Embassy. In both countries, on paper it seems very sound that there is one Indian Diaspora, but in reality there is a divide between NRIs and PIOs which can be seen in the programs of the communities. In Surinami and Afghani programs, Indians do not participate. Similarly in the NRI programs, PIOs are not invited. Whenever there is a question about India especially for help in natural disasters and wars, both communities collect funds and help India. PIOs are more objective as they look at India from outside and compare its social conditions with those of the European countries. When there is a train disaster or fire in some factory in India they feel sad and want to help in whatever possible capacity. NRIs on the other hand do feel sad but accept it. They often say, "Such things often happen in India so why bother"? Both categories of Indians see themselves as a part of the Indian Diaspora and want to have direct relations with India. Since India is a fast growing economy, NRIs and PIOs are also proud to be associated with Indians and are interested in helping India with trade and business.

Conclusion

Having examined the cases of the Netherlands and Germany, it can be concluded that to become a part of the Indian diaspora in their respective countries, Indians have gone through the process of migration, settlement, and formation of organised associations to guard their identity and to fight against discrimination and using the force of diasporic identity and ethnicity to realize their demands. Having achieved their goals to protect and maintain their identity they are integrated into the system of the European host societies. With the help of the Government of India and the global Indian Association of the GOPIO, they have become a part of the Indian Diaspora and have extended their cultural boundaries. Having lived in the European countries in the ethnic multi- cultural society and given their direct interaction with the host society, their awareness of identity has become distinct and visible. In Germany they are not accepted as Germans but as "other" group, suggesting the "Indian community", living in Germany. In the Netherlands they are not only integrated but considered officially the Dutch citizens. The process of integration has been used by their leaders in their speeches that they are Indians but born in Europe. They will always live in Europe. Since their identity is never rejected or accepted by the host society, the interaction has been possible by using the force of ethnicity.

Indians in European countries, including the Netherlands and Germany, can be divided into two broad categories, Indians or NRIs from India and PIOs from European colonies or Indian refugees. Again NRIs are distributed into two groups, Intellectuals or businessmen and skilled or semi-skilled workers. The businessmen and intellectuals have been closely connected to Indian Missions. The workers have been ignored by both groups. They have received moral support from the PIOs. For PIOs, India is their cultural, religious and spiritual home and has a seminal influence in sustaining their identity (Parekh, 1993). The Ugandan and Afghani Indians have lost their home. They want to have a link with India, but are not invited by the Indian Missions. Patriotism, loyalty and belongingness have become fluid emotional notions. The emotional terms of "**apan log**" (our people),"**apan sanskriti**" (our cultural heritage) and "**apan mulk**" (our country) in reality express "Indianness". These notions are often used by the PIO communities in the Netherlands. For second and third generations, India has become a mixture of oral tales, heard from parents and their own imagination. Like the Indian Diaspora, India has become a land of imagination. The identity has been advocated by the associations, religious centres and friends. It is an imaginary identity but has become visible with the use of the force of ethnicity.

In some cases, the factions within the associations, based on the hierarchy of the "caste model" have shattered the image of "Indianness" and created a split among Indians. For example, Sikh Gurudvaras in the Netherlands are divided on the basis of the hierarchy of the caste system. The low caste Sikhs have created their own Ravidas Gurudvara and have joined the Dalit category of India. There are some leaders, who for the sake of their vested interests exploit other Indians. At present, from the host society, ethnic conflicts or prejudices in the form of discrimination against Indians are minimized. Indians have accepted the policy of integration. The force of ethnicity has been a functional process, facilitating diasporic identity and cultural heritage. It has become a decisive force of ethnicity in political mobilization. It has defined the socio-cultural boundary across the country either through interactions over the telephone or via cyber technology. However for the Indian youth, their identity remains ambiguous. In the European countries, the politicisation of ethnicity within the political climate has helped the Indians to redefine their loyalties and belongingness. However, the concept of "home" among the new Indian generation has changed. They do not consider Surinam , Afghanistan or India as their home, Although they do draw upon their Indian community and cultural heritage . Ethnicity is used with the help of political participation to obtain resources and recognition from the European governments and the host societies. However many Indians still remain in encapsulated in their own community and are not well integrated with their host society. Kiplings expresses these sentiments in following lines:

"The Stranger within my gate.
He may be true or kind
But he does not talk my talk-
I cannot feel his mind
I see the face and the eyes and the mouth,
But not the soul behind
The men of my own stock
They may do ill or well,
But they tell me lies I wonted to,
They are used to the lies I tell;
And we do not need interpreters
When we go to buy or sell".

Considering the European Indian Diaspora, certain facts become clear. There are striking parallels between the settlement patterns and the diasporic identity formations. The Indian ethnic network has been a base to use ethnicity in forming an Indian Diaspora. The concept of culture as a baggage of cultural heritage is used to unite the community. Once the community is united, it is extended to the dimension of inter-diaspora relations. The problems arise when youths born and brought up within European surroundings cannot imagine India. On the basis of oral traditions, observation of festivals and rituals and cultural forms the parents of the first generation tell the second and third generations that they are Indians. India and the Indian community become an imagination to them. They become confused and cannot place their identity. Their cultural heritage as told by parents remains imaginative. The reality is the place where they are born and has European friends. They do know through the media that like China, India is rising economically. Since Europe's economic crisis have created many problems, India is alternative to them. They try to research their Indianness. In the European universities, India and her cultures are taught. Many Indian students go to India for studies. Indirectly, they are proud of the country of their forefathers and its modern, rising economy. They are also given extra information about India through internet, cyber technology and media. India provides them with professional opportunities as well. Their own respective European governments also have an interest in developing business relations with India. The imagined Indian Diaspora and India have thus become a living reality.

The Indian Diaspora and India

In order to contribute to the European countries and India, the role of the Indian Diaspora can be very important in shaping the future policy. In the cases of Germany and the Netherlands, it is evident that Indians wants to help India. There are two ways to facilitate this process.

1. Firstly, the Indian Mission of the Government of India should have regular meetings not only with the businessmen but also with countrywide associations. It should include both PIOs and NRIs. In meetings priority areas can be discussed and areas of potential economic and cultural engagement can be identified. There are people who would like to do business with India and they can be selected. There should be bilateral treaties and exchange of experts between India and the European countries.

2. The second alternative would be that like, China, India should send delegations of experts regularly to their host country. On many issues there can be face to face dialogues in meetings with the Indian diaspora youth. The young generation has to be given more opportunity. They are leaders of future European politics. This would give new ideas for new projects.

India should focus on the younger generation. One inititive would be to increase scholarships. When the youth stay in India and learn various professions, automatically, they will develop an emotional attachment to India. It would help them to feel "Indian" and develop a sense of belonging to India.

Indian Missions in Germany and the Netherlands should appoint those government officers who are open minded to both communities, NRIs and PIOs. Unfortunately, the Mission officers do know a lot about the country but have no idea about the Indian communities. Perhaps MOIA can play a role by trainning the officers about the various Indian communities present in the host societies. In this way the Indian Mission could serve as a bridge to both Indian communities. The NRI and PIO divide can be cemented under the banner of the Indian diaspora.

In business dealings, bureaucracy becomes a hurdle in getting permits from the government. India should be efficient and facilitate business dealings. There is confidence that in future India would be a reality in doing business. Since the Indian diaspora is formed on the force of ethnicity and the Indian diasporic identity, the same pattern can be used to have emotional- cum- practical renewal of relations with India. As European citizens, the Indian Diaspora is strengthening the force of ethnicity in demanding recognition of their feelings towards India. They are not to be seen as the forgotten children of India but as an objective lobby which wishes to see the prosperity of India and of their respective countries.

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