INDIAN DIASPORA

Introduction

When we talk of Diaspora we begin with the Jewish context, where the persecution and expulsion led to the dispersal of Jews away from the homeland carrying with them the fond hope of returning to the motherland one day.

Despite some limitations of specificity of the concept of Diaspora, it is gainfully employed in the analysis of emigration and settlement of people beyond the boundaries of their homeland. Retention of the cultural identity in the host society is another important parameter of the concept Diaspora. There is already considerable literature on various Diasporas such as the Chinese, African and Caribbean besides the Jewish. Similarly, research on overseas Indians is also being carried out today under the premise of Diaspora Studies.

Much of the literature available on the Indian Diaspora pertains to Indian migration, their socioeconomic and cultural experiences, experiences of adaptation and assimilation in the host societies.
As Kingsley Davis (1968) puts it in the Indian context, "...pressure to emigrate has always been great enough to provide a stream of emigrants much larger than the actual given opportunities." And Tinker (1977: 10) puts it, "there is a combination of push and pull: the push of inadequate opportunity in South Asia and the pull of the better prospects in the West."

Overseas emigration of Indians may be examined in terms of three phases:

(a) The ancient and the medieval,

(b) The colonial and

(c) The post-colonial phases.

*The Ancient and the Medieval Phase*

Indians have been migrating to various parts of the world from ages immemorial. The earliest emigration of Indians may be traced to the trade and religious contacts with other civilizations like the Greek and the Mesopotamian. Later on there are also instances of the Buddhist monks spreading the religion and religious gospels across the South and Southeast Asia.

Indians and Indian Kingdoms have spread over across the seas. According to Tinker (1977: 1), "The Palas of Bengal were in contact with the Sailendra kings of Indonesia. Then in the eleventh century the Cholas (Tamil Princes) organized expeditions which vanquished the great Indonesian Empire of SriVijaya." Population
movements in the ancient phase never led to any formation of permanent Indian settlements abroad. Apart from the above, Indians had trade links with the East Africa, by various groups such as the Ismailis, the Bhoras, the Banyas and the Chettiyars under the banner of Nattukottai Chettiyar Association (Tinker, ibid).

Ever before the colonial indentured labor migration, "population mobility was inherent in the social order..." and is observed in the case of the marginal peasants who "...shifted their loyalties from one master to another and hence traveled from one region to another" (Jain 1993).

**The Colonial Phase**

Most of the literature on the Indian Diaspora deals with the Indians who emigrated during the colonial period, especially from 1830s to 1930s. The British rule and its impact on the Indian peasantry, the famines, and the consequent economic backwardness have resulted in mass unemployment. The institution of Slavery was banned by the British in 1830s which created an acute labor shortage in sugar plantations of the British and European colonies. This situation gave birth to the indenture form of labor from India and other parts of Asia. Much of the recruitment of this form of labor was done form Western Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Orissa. The system of indenture labor came up initially to overcome the labor shortage following the ban on slavery. But the life as plantation labor was rigid that the 'indenture form' of labor, according to Tinker (1977) was a "new system of slavery."
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The indenture was a form of contract labor. The contract is fixed for five years of work in a particular plantation and the owner of the plantation paid the laborer as per the contract both in cash and kind. After the five years of a specific contract, the laborer is free to work elsewhere in the colony. The indentured laborer had two options after the stipulated time of indenture contract- either to return back to the motherland with the money earned under a subsidized passage or continue to stay on entering into another contract to work as indenture laborer and subsequently buy a piece of land for cultivation when affordable.

The processes of emigration from India as well as immigration to work as plantation labor was governed by an Immigration Ordinance enacted in the country of destination. The prospective emigrants testified before a Magistrate in India and understand the terms of the contract as required under the British administration (Jain, Ibid). The recruitment process involved emigration agents, sub-agents and depots in the rural areas. The chief features of the indenture system, "...were five years of stereotyped state regulated labor, denial of the right to change the employer or employment, recruitment of labor units and not families, gross dis-proportions of men to women, changes for recruitment by the employer, and the denial of increased wages inspite of increased prices and profits. The employer was under a legal obligation to fixed wages, free housing, medical attendance, and other amenities." (Kondapi 1951).
According to Singh (1987: 4), "The recruiters of indenture laborers were instructed to prefer laborers from 'agricultural caste' in the expectation that these men would work well as plantation laborer." In one or the other way this form of labor met the colonial requirement of the human resources to build the plantation economy.

R.K.Jain talks of the initial emigration under indentured system to three destinations (the years below signify the year of indenture labor initiation in the respective colony):

(a) The Indian Ocean (Mauritius-1834, Uganda, South Africa, Malaysia and Sri Lanka),
(b) The Pacific Ocean (Fiji-1878), and
(c) The Caribbean Sea (Trinidad-1845, Guyana-1838, Surinam-1873).

The system of indenture labor was followed by kangani or maistry form of labor for a brief period from 1890s to countries like Burma, Sri Lanka, Mauritius, and Malaya. This kind of labor was mainly recruited from South India. The kangani is a "... man with capital who lent his followers the expense of travelling to and settling down on a plantation" (Jain, ibid). He is like a respected middleman and is like a mediator between the laborers and the manager of the plantation in the colony. The kangani always selected the prospective laborers form his kin-group or caste group.

The Indian Diaspora in Malaysia mostly consists of the descendents of the kangani form of the labor, overwhelmingly Tamilians from South India. Wiebe and Mariappan (1978: 1) did a comparative study of the Indian Malaysians through a
"...perspective possible from the vantagepoint of people who live within the rubber
estate context."

There are visible differences between the two kinds of labor recruitments
during the colonial period. The laborer in the indenture system was recruited from the
North India and was form various backgrounds. They proceeded to far away colonies
together, with a little hope of returning back. But the laborer in the *kangani* system
was basically from South India and was often belonged to *kangani*’s village, kin or
caste group.

Apart from the indenture and the *kangani* forms of labor in the colonial period,
there were also free or passage migrants, where in the migrants paid their own
expenses. They included students, merchants and politically significant individuals.

*The Post- Colonial Phase*

The migration in the post- colonial period was entirely different when
compared with the earlier forms of migration in the ancient-medieval and the colonial
phases. Here the migrants are from the middle-class, with Instruction in English, and
were skilled. The educational system in the post Independent India was patterned after
the British and American educational systems. The system produced professionals
who outnumbered the availability of jobs that can absorb them. In a situation
dominated by underemployment and unemployment, the prospective migrants were
attracted with the available opportunities abroad. This led to a kind of professional migration, often termed as 'brain drain', facilitated with the rapid transformations in the transportation and communication. The migration was mainly to the developed nations of the West- the U.S., the U.K., and some in the Europe and Australia.

According to Nayyar (1994: 13), the basic characteristics of emigration from India to the industrialized world are:

(a) Such labor outflows are made up almost entirely of permanent migration in so far as the proportion of emigrants, who returned to India, after a finite period, is almost negligible.

(b) A large proportion of the migrants are persons with professional expertise, technical qualifications or other skills perceived to be scarce, or needed in labor- importing countries who would be at the upper-end of the spectrum of incomes in India even before emigration.

(c) For an overwhelming proportion of these migrants, the destinations are the U.S., Canada and the U.K., possibly because of the common ties with English language.

Apart from the above reasons, as said before, the prospective emigrants are educated in a pattern that is set up by the British and the American patterns. Moreover they are familiar with the political and economic ideals of the West and keep in contact with those who are already present in the host or receiving countries.
The period also saw migration to the west Asia, particularly to the Gulf region and the case of the Twice-Migrants-like the Fiji Indians to Australia. Surinam Indians to Netherlands and the Ugandan Indians to the U.K. There is also a possibility of thrice-migrants like the Indians who migrated to Suriname initially, migrated later to the Netherlands after Surinam's Independence in 1975. Later, they again migrated to the United States.

Bhachu (1985) provides us an ethnographic account of the East African Sikh community in Britain and shows "their command over mainstream skills, combined with a lack of 'home' orientation, has catalyzed the settlement process and the formation of a British Asian/Sikh identity." A comparative study between this migrant Ramgarhia community (from East Africa) and the Jat community (direct migrants from India) is done.
Conclusion and Statistics

Jain C. Prakash identified four major periods of fluctuation in the overseas migratory pattern:

(a) The period 1834-1914 was of indenture labor migration, and from 1890s, 'kangani' or maistry form added. (b) 1915-1920 saw difficult years of the First World War and end of indenture system in 1717. (c) 1921-1930 saw kangani or maistry labor migration to Ceylon, Burma and Malaysia. (d) Post Second World War migration to the advanced west, giving rise to the processes like brain drain. However according to Jain, there is no single and evolutionary pattern of Overseas Indian settlements.

As for the recent statistics of the Indian Diaspora, according to Ramesh (Indian Today, Nov 9, 1998: 62), "The true overseas Indian (TOI) community- the Diaspora- is probably around 15million strong. These 15million fall into five broad categories: roughly five million in Nepal and Sri Lanka, three million in Mauritius, Fiji, South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam, three million in the US, UK, Canada and the Netherlands, 2.5 million in the middle east and 15 million in east Asia."
The map (see next page) and the table below (Table 1.1) show the migratory patterns of the Indians during the colonial and postcolonial periods:

### Table 2.1

**Years of Migration and Percentage of Indian Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinique</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadeloupe</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St.Lucia</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Guadeloupe</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St.Vincent</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Parekh, Bhikhu (1994:8) Table 1 and table 2 are combined

Commenting on the heterogeneous nature of Indian Diaspora, Lakshman says, "There is much diversity in numbers, economic levels, relations with other coexisting ethnic and social groups, cosmopolitanism, religious perceptions and above
all in political participation." If at all, some uniformities may be observed among the overseas Indians in the following contexts:

(a) Indian majority or Indians as the largest group.

(b) Dominant Indian presence (Indians as an influential minority group).

(c) Countries with recognizable Indian population.

(d) Middle East.

(e) Other countries with small Indian population.

**LIST OF DESTINATIONS**

(For the Map on the previous page)

1. WEST INDIES  11. BURMA  21. CANADA
2. GUYANA      12. THAILAND  22. UNITED STATES
3. SURINAME     13. MALAYSIA  23. AUSTRALIA
4. SOUTH AFRICA 14. SINGAPORE  24. NEWZEALAND
5. KENYA        15. SUMATRA   25. FAR EAST
6. UGANDA       16. JAVA      
7. SUDAN         17. PHILIPPINES
8. ETHIOPIA      18. HONGKONG
9. MADAGASCAR    19. FUI      
10. MAURITIUS    20. GREAT BRITAIN.

*Theoretical Perspectives*

The dispersal of various populations and their settlement in the receiving countries has attracted the attention of scholars from different disciplines in social
There is a serious need to study Diaspora analytically for valid reasons. We see a major shift in the overall scenario of the societies when a comparison is done between societies of the remote past and of the contemporary ones. The shift can be seen from changes in socio-cultural patterns, ways of life, value systems to the rapid changes in the transport, scientific developments, and invention of the press and media advancements. The shift has an obvious impact on any kind of movement of population and formation of a Diaspora community. We should always note that not all migrations lead to the formation of the Diaspora communities.

The interest in the study of these communities strengthen, as we see great movements of populations across the national borders in this free-market economy, finally resulting in the formation of a multiethnic transnational society which is culturally pluralistic. A review of literature on the Indian Diaspora reveals that most of the analytical perspectives have their roots in the concepts of 'migration', 'culture', 'ethnicity' and 'nationalism'.

Tinker (1977) in his work looks at the Overseas Indians in two different approaches- Overseas Indians as recreating India in the land of adoption and seeing
Indians as always victims of circumstance in the lands where they settle- and provides empirical proof for both to substantiate his study.

Kurian and Srivastava (1983) did a comparative study on the adaptive and adjustment patterns of the Indian immigrants, and show how differences arise and vary with places of destination, in adjustment patterns, lifestyles and attitudes.

Singh's works (1982, 1984, and 1987) on the Indians in South East Asia, South Asia, and the Caribbean are explorative and provide us with empirical information. Singh (1984: 2) was interested in the historical migration, and settlement of Indians, and as a diplomat on the developments and 'effects on South Asia cooperation, bilateral relations etc.' And in the case of the Caribbean, Singh stresses the understanding of the East Indians as a major ethnic group in the Caribbean.

Chandan (1986) analyses how capitalism leads to the formation of immigrant workers in the receiving countries, and their resultant marginalisation. The immigrant is entangled between the two cultures and suffers from double consciousness, finally finding detached away from his or her own culture, language, and roots.

Mearns (1995: 14) carried out an ethnographic study on the Melaka Chitties, Indian immigrants in Melaka, Malaysia. The author focuses on the 'wider link between identity thus developed out of various sociocultural processes and wider global or macro social processes in a plural society like Malaysia.
A brief note on the concepts like 'ethnicity', 'ethnic group' and forms of assimilation would allow us to comprehend better on the theoretical approaches towards Indian Diaspora. Almost all the immigrant groups evolve into ethnic groups in the receiving countries to facilitate cultural conformity and survival in the host societies. They develop a distinctive cultural and social life, which is entirely different, from that of the dominant host. According to Greeley, "... for all practical purposes, we can equate ethnic group with immigrant group" (Greeley 1976: 21).

Jary and Jary (1995) in the Collins Dictionary of Sociology define an ethnic group as "a group of people sharing an identity which arises from a collective sense of a distinctive history." Infact every ethnic group has its own distinctive culture that includes norms, traditions, value- systems, and a defined language for communication with and among the members of the group.

Ethnicity is defined as a 'shared racial linguistic or national identity of a social group', and we should note that 'racial attributes are not necessarily or even usually the defining features of ethnic groups.'(Jary and Jary, Ibid)

According to Gandhi (1974), ethnic communities form when, (a) members of members accustomed to a different way of life find themselves as guests of a complex community, (b) only if receiving community is open to outsiders, and (c) only if there
are reasons why the guests find it possible, necessary and advantageous to band together into a sub-community of their own.

Every ethnic group in the receiving country becomes a part, partially or completely, of the host culture through various mechanisms like assimilation, adaptation, and absorption. The process depends on how both cultures mutually respond towards each other and at micro and macro level situations. Eisenstadt and Gordon (1965: 24) bring out the following two hypotheses to understand such processes observed among the ethnic groups:

(a) Cultural assimilation or acculturation and
(b) Structural assimilation or assimilation.

According to them, the former involves the process where in the immigrant ethnic group tries to learn the 'manners and style of the new society.' The latter arises in a situation 'in which members of the immigrant group relate to members of other groups, particularly on the intimate levels of friendship and family formation, without regard to ethnic differences.'

Park (1950) defines assimilation "as a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and, by shaping their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 289) write about the melting pot concept where in the entire immigrant cultures in the United States would
turn American finally. But as immigrant populations increase in the United States, writers on ethnicity and culture began to search for new perspectives to explain the emerging processes.

Malik (1996) writes on various kinds of possible societal formations that may result out of the processes like assimilation, adjustment, and adaptation of the immigrant groups in the host societies. He mentions various options like Multiculturalism, Plural Society and Cultural Pluralism (coined by Horace Kallen). Malik mentions Horace Kallen who describes cultural pluralism in the context of how different immigrant groups maintain their 'particularistic identity' even when they have integrated into the American society. Furnivall talks of the Plural Society in the context of Indonesia and Burma.

Apart from the above two concepts, the idea of Multicultural society is gaining popularity today in the context of multiethnic societies like the United States. It is a situation where in every group, including the dominant, will accept the differences in the cultures, meanings, and value systems of the other groups. In other words, 'differences are welcomed as expressions of cultural diversity' (Malik ibid: 170).

Still another kind of option is the Anglo-conformity in which various immigrant groups confirm with the mores and value systems of the dominant group. It is like institutionalizing role expectations of the dominant group (Eisenstadt ibid).
When we think of the theoretical aspects for the Indian context, many sociologists have talked about different types of approaches to study Indian Diaspora. Sharma finds most of the existing literature on the Indian Diaspora falling under three broad kinds- historical, diplomatic and anthropological, and identifies two main perspectives underlying these studies (Sharma 1989):

(a) The sociocultural perspective and
(b) The political economy perspective.

The sociocultural perspective revolves around the issues like place of origin, destination, the resultant identity, "cultural continuity and change", "cultural identity and integration". This approach examines the phenomenon and the process from the following angles:
(a) that overseas Indians tend to recreate Indian social structure wherever they go,
(b) they tend to hold fast to their native culture in their lands of adoption,
(c) their mode of adaptation is marked by a clear preference for economic integration more than cultural assimilation.

When they carve out a niche for themselves, Indians find the necessity of constructing and continuing certain traditional institutions of their motherland. Sharma (1989) also talks of three modes of adaptation in the host nation- (a) assimilation (b) cultural preservation with economic integration, (c) ethnic polarization for power cultivation,
He considers the following factors to control this adaptation- (a) Background conditions and characteristics of immigrants, (b) Their demographic, generational and organizational status in the country of immigration, (c) Their economic preference and power position in the host country, (d) Response of host community, culture and religion, (e) Level of development and manpower needs of the host country and (0 State policy in respect of immigrants.

On the other hand the political economy perspective stresses more on objective conditions and the consequent development of the subjective consciousness, taking in to consideration history, economy, class and power as its central explanatory categories. This perspective can be better used in understanding the differences in the phases of Indian migration.

The above two approaches provide us with a broad understanding of the Indian Diaspora. However, much of the research studies on the Indian Diaspora have been independent of the other disciplines of social sciences. And they mainly concentrated on the migratory aspects, the processes of integration and adjustment, in a specific context. These studies also stressed more on the aspects of culture, identity formation and retention. But the approaches to the study of the Indian Diaspora "should go beyond the barriers of the disciplinary boundaries (Bhat 1997).

The research studies, instead of merely looking from only historical, anthropological, or political point of view, should be more interdisciplinary and
comparative in nature and analysis (Jayaram 1997). The Indian Diaspora community under study should be clearly specified under time and space contexts. This is required so because, Indians abroad are treated under different categories in various 'receiving societies' though they are from the same geographical entity (Kalam 1997). They are called Asian Indians, Indian Americans, and South Asians, Asians and so on. This results in giving various identities to a population from the same origin. So, for an analytical understanding of the category Indian Diaspora, a prior definition of the category under study is a pre-requisite.

As said earlier, much of the research done on the Indian Diaspora revolves around the statistical importance and the cultural processes involved. Coming to the cultural context, the Indian Diaspora has always been viewed in terms of either maintaining its culture of the home or integrating in due course with the host society in the long run. Jain (1997) brings out a synthetic *civilizational Perspective* where in he brings together the two views of cultural persistence (maintenance) and the sociocultural plurality of the host society (integration), which he terms *settlement societies*. He is more interested to see the ongoing emigrant group as a *developing civilization*.

Jain (1993) observes that there are two kinds in the processes of cultural interactions which the Overseas Indians face- the *cultural relationist* and the *cultural adoptionist*. The former holds the view that the customs and traditions persist in spite of the fact that the Diasporic Indians are 'outside' their historical homeland. In the
latter, the question of the adaptation of the social group or an immigrant society in to
the social environment of the host society is an important one. The Indian Diasporic
community can also be understood from the point view of Jain's (1997) \textit{settlement
societies}, as post-colonial identities.

The approach by Nadarajah (1994) is of more analytical in nature. He talks of a
semiotic theory of the Indian Diaspora, which is based on the context, and discourse-as
depending on who is speaking the discourse changes. This is clearly seen when he
speaks on the naming of Trans-national community of Indians:

"...the meaning of a category is neither objective nor scientific that it can be
taken as unproblematic. This is more so in the social world. Such acts are not merely
cultural but also political. From the perspective of (social) semiotics, this can be
understood as signs that are produced within particular discourses. Different agencies
and point of view are involved in the production names..."

From "...a careful examination of the various works on the transnational
community of Indians, a list of names can be identified: Coolie Beast, Indian Coolie,
Indian Immigrant, Indian Community Abroad, Indian Abroad, People of Indian
Origin, Sucked Oranges, Indian Minorities, Indian Settlers, Indian Indenture Labor,
East Indian, Indian Overseas, and Diaspora Indians."

Jain, Prakash (1990: preface) looks at the Indian Overseas from a class
approach in dealing with race relations that develop between the immigrant groups
and the host society and the resultant transformations in both the groups in the context.

"... to show that a class approach can better explain the race relations situations of overseas Indians than other theoretical approaches. It is suggested that a class analysis of race relations must take into account the ideologies as well as material bases of class formation and class conflict, and the interventionist role of the state."

Presently, many social theorists view the contemporary societies as multicultural ethnic societies or multicultural communities, which have resulted mainly due to large-scale transnational migrations. Indian Diaspora can be seen as one such constituent ethnic community in any of the receiving nation(s), which are multiethnic or multicultural. According to Yinger (1997: 5) one can find four major types of societies in the contemporary multiethnic societies-

(a) A society can be built out of formally equal ethnic groups. (b) A society can be characterized by a major national cultural group, separated from one or more ethnic groups, by a highly permeable boundary. (c) One or more ethnic groups can be strongly oriented toward an outside society. (d) One or more ethnic groups can be "imprisoned" as disprivileged minorities within the larger society.

Indian Diasporic community can be understood as a component in any one of the above kinds of contemporary societies. However, a multicultural society should find "ways of developing a strong sense of mutual commitment and common belonging without insisting upon a shared comprehensive national culture and the
concomitant uniformity of values, ideals and ways of organizing significant social relations” (Parekh at http://kvc.minbuza.nl).

Overall we see great transformations in the cultures of the migrating populations. Though their physical or geographical position is de-localized, their social and cultural position is still attached to the old memories of the culture from which their living patterns have emerged. This would be seen in the fourth chapter dealing with the case of Telugus rebuilding their culture through various mechanisms.

We thus observe that the Indian Diaspora, as a large and distinctive group which has its origin in the British colonial subjugation of the rural Indian population. It not only disturbed the traditional social structure but also created the indenture and kangani forms of labor that led to large-scale migration of the Indian laborers to the plantations in the British colonies, starting from early eighteenth to the early twentieth century. The phenomenon of the migration took a new turn with the migration of the professionals to the developed nations, one such is the migration to the United States in the post 1960s period.