Chapter 1
Introduction and Theoretical Framework

The issues of identity and assimilation of African diaspora in India opens the dialectics of cross-cultural movement in Indian Ocean and pave way for the trans-Atlantic formulation of African diaspora. The forced cross-cultural movement of Africans in India Ocean started crystallization of social forces in the western Indian Ocean, as evident in various parts of India during medieval period. The medieval and modern politico-economic formulation crafted African diaspora in regional matrix of India social formation. During colonial period in India, the African diaspora was displaced from the politico-administrative structure of Deccan as a result they were forced to move from mainstream society to forest areas such as Gir forest (Gujarat), Western Ghats(Karnataka) etc. The post-colonial period created new social formation in African diaspora due to stripping of forest and landlords. The increasing control of state through joint forest management, corporate sector and landlords had created space for diasporic identity and marginalized assimilation in the 1990's. At the macro level, the African diaspora shares major problems faced by primitive tribal groups of India.

The Karnataka forest department, corporate sector and landlords are providing manufactured trajectory to the African diaspora for identity and assimilation. In Karnataka, the Western Ghats are divided into five zones and the Siddis have been allowed only in the IVth zone. It offers very limited the politico-economic mobility of African diaspora. But, the politico-social mobilization of tribal groups in India resulted in the establishment of ministry of tribal affairs in 1999. It has become the nodal ministry for the tribal affairs and focus on various issues such as tribal welfare and planning, policies, research, training, administration etc. The 21st century marks watershed in the history of African diaspora in Karnataka as the community is officially recognized as Scheduled Tribe. It has entitled the community to get all the benefits of positive affirmation under ST category. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2006 remarkably addresses the fundamental problems of Siddi community in the five chapters. Thus, the issues of identity and assimilation of African diaspora in India in general and Karnataka in particular must be
analyzed from the structural and institutional penetration of society and state respectively in the world of Siddis, and the manufactured socio-cultural space given to African Diaspora.

The term identity refers to individuals' comprehension of themselves as a member of particular social formation viz. ethnic, social class, nation etc. It depends on the geopolitico and social orientation of time and space. It makes the concept of identity a changeable entity. David L Sills says, “In its individual and collective aspects psycho-social identity strives for an ideological unity, but it is also always defined by that past which is to be lived down and by that potential future which is to be a prevented. Identity formation, thus, represents continuous conflicts with powerful negative identity elements. In times of aggravated crises these come to the fore arouse in man a murderous hate of “othernesses, which he judges as evil in strangers and in himself.”

The term assimilation represents an intense process of consistent integration of diasporic community into the socio-cultural matrix of host country. It can be voluntary or forced depending upon the politico-socio-cultural structure of host country. The analysis of Indian history clearly brings out the immigrations of various tribes/communities such as Saka, Kushan, Hun, Turks, Mongols, Mughals, and European etc. Does it not reflect the multicultural aspect of Indian society as all of them have been assimilated into the Indian society? Definitely, the enrichment of Indian civilization represents progressive element.

In the case of African diaspora in India, the cross-cultural movement, colonialism, post-Independence period have configured and reconfigured the elements of identity and assimilation in regional socio-cultural structure. The configuration and re-configuration of various cultural elements has also been witnessed by Indian Diaspora in East Africa. Crispin Bates brings out mutations in Indian diaspora in Mauritius, “Some castes in Mauritius in particular are quite unrecognizable from a sub-continenetal perspective, and may incorporate mutually antagonistic castes from an Indian setting into a single group. A Rajput in Mauritius is of a Sudra Caste, the title having been usurped

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by this group in the 19th century."² It has been argued that the context of terms such as Hindu and Indian have also been organized on various features which have direct correlation to Indians of North India. Further, the Tamil community identifies itself as religious identity; the Telegus and Marathis are dominated by regional identifications. It reflects the multi-hybrid aspect of diaspora within the essentialist aspect of triadic relationship of homeland, hostland and the community.

The term diaspora has assumed global significance in the contemporary world; as a result the international relations are remarkably influenced by various diasporas. Shian and Barth note, “Diaspora, as other transnational actors, thus enjoy a privileged status of exerting influence as an interest groups in both homeland and the hostland, often affecting the homeland because of influence in hostland. In any case, as interests groups, Diasporas may use whatever clouts they can advance their interests. As other interests groups, they use their financial resources, especially because members of diasporas are usually richer than their counterparts at home. Apart from exerting indirect influence through donation to various civil society projects, Diasporas exert more direct influence through political contributions to parties and candidates of their choice.”³

Regarding Indian diaspora in Africa, Prof. Ajay Dubey says, “There are around 2.25 million strong Indian diaspora in Africa: the PIO form a majority in Mauritius. Around one million PIO live in South Africa. A substantial number of PIO are present in East Africa, most of them went as indentured plantation workers during colonial rule in the same way as they were taken to the Caribbean islands.”⁴ Similarly, the African diaspora in Indian Ocean has become focus of academic studies. The globalization has provided various opportunities to the African diaspora for consolidation at universal level. William Safran says, “Diasporic consciousness is influenced not only by the government but also by the treatment of minorities by the hostland society at large. Unfortunately, such influence does not produce uniform results. Holding diasporas responsible for policies pursued by homeland governments — e.g. berating American Jews

for what 'you (or your) people are doing to the poor Palestinians; demonizing German expatriates to the United States and Britain for the crimes of Nazi Germany."5

1.1. Ethnic Profile of Siddis

The cross-cultural movement in Indian Ocean and Central Asia was rooted in spice trade, slavery and pastoral social formation respectively. The history of social formation points out major areas of pastoral-nomadic social formation in medieval world: Scandinavia, Saudi Arabia and Central Asia. The centrality of geo-formation in socio-cultural formation has been pointed out by Ferdinand Braudel, P.K. Hitti etc. P.K. Hitti says, "The nomad, as a type, is today what he was yesterday and what he will be tomorrow. His cultural pattern has always been the same. Variation, progress, evolution are not among the laws he readily obeys. Immune to the invasion of exotic ideas and manners, he still lives, as forbears did, in tents of goats and camels' hair, and grazes his sheep and goats in the same fashion and on the same pastures. Sheep and camel raising, and to a lesser degree horse-breeding, hunting and raiding, form his main occupation and are to his mind the only occupations worthy of man."6 But, the cross-cultural movement rooted in the spice trade mutated the Bedouin tribe in the Hejaz area. They were called Arab traders and paddled the cross-cultural movement in Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean represents a shared culture evolved over a period of time. Thus, the identity and assimilation must be contextualized in the context of Indian Ocean.

1.1.1. Migrations of Siddis

The migration of Siddis is entirely related with the process of state formation in Arabia, Europe and the making of slave trade in Atlantic and Indian Ocean. In the eighth and ninth centuries the demand for slave labour increased due to agricultural development in lower Iraq and with the expansion of international trade in the Indian Ocean. The Bantu speaking peoples, known under the name of the Zanj, were procured either by capture in raids or bought in exchange for shoddy goods from the petty kings of hinterland. They were then shipped from the counting-houses on the coast to the island of Socotra and the emporium of Aden, assembly points from which they reached their final Egyptian and Mesopotamian destinations via Red Sea and the Persian Gulf respectively.

The East African coast had two advantages that is, on the one hand accessibility from the interior, while on the other from the Sea. Further, the history of the Western Indian Ocean until the seventh century was to greater extent the history of interaction along two distinct lines between East Africa and Middle East, and between the latter and India, and also of the intermediary role played by the Middle East between the Indian ocean and the Mediterranean.

M.N. Pearson says, “Indian Ocean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was dominated by Arab traders. These traders slowly converted the coastal people including merchants, with whom they came into contact, a process which seems to be well attested not only in India but also in South East Asia and East Africa. As a sort of Mirror image of this conversion, those who did not convert became less willing to travel by sea. Arabs and Muslims displaced Hindus partly because of a new Brahmanical ruling that Hindus sinned by travelling on the sea.”

K.N. Chaudhuri says, “The expansion and new activities which became faintly evident in the rhythm of both caravan and trans-oceanic trade from the seventh century onwards in northern and southern China received a great deal of their impetus from the domestic aspirations and developments of the T'ang and Sung empires.” The emerging politico-economic tendencies of China were responded by emergence of trading socio-politico formation in Arabian Peninsula and caliphate system expanded the activities of Arab traders in Red sea, Persian Gulf and India Ocean.

1.1.1.1. Slave Trade Migration

Slavery was a marginal part of African trade before colonial slave raider set foot on the African continent. Slaves could be obtained as an outcome of tribal wars or an offence was punished by enslavement or voluntarily to get food and protection. Further, slaves could be employed in cultivation, or in watching cattle and sheep. Thus, the beginnings of slave trade with outside countries can be seen in this context.

The Arabs were the most important outside traders who promoted the slave trade in East Africa before the arrival of European colonial masters. Slaves and ivory were the

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commodities on which the wealth of the Arab settlements in East African was based. Further, the growth of great urban centres, a universal feature of Islam, and the new capital cities gave rise to an expanding demand for commodities of all kinds and for precious objects.

The Roman Empire had provided a fresh stimulus to commercial activity along the East African coast. The East Africa coastal activities got a rude shock due to collapse of Roman Empire in fifth century. Over a period of time, Indian and China emerged as the most important markets for East African ivory. "Ivory was highly prized in India. It was widely used for ornamentation and especially to make bangles for women. The demand was extremely elastic, for Hindu women traditionally broke their bangles on the death of their husbands. As for Africans, gold just like ivory has a very different meaning. It was not valued as it was in India. The object of hunt was to acquire meat. The Swahili port cities functioned as hinges, collecting goods from the interior and bringing them to coast and exchanging them for goods brought from Gujarat and other places." 9

The growing demand for ivory in India had at last permitted the forging of commercial links between the two forest regions, and the Indian market was to serve East African until the nineteenth century. "In return the East Africans probably received a wide range of manufactured goods, including clothes and beads. Comparatively vast quantities of cloths were taken into east Africa from Gujarat clothes was a vital component in the trade all up and down the coast, and for inland too. In this non-monetized world, it along with weights of gold, often served as currency. These imports were vital for east Africa, but in their place of origin, Gujarat, the trade to east Africa was a rather minor one."10 “The export of slaves, though not horrific or in an unbroken stream still meant a drain on East Africa’s human resources”11

Further, during the period from tenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century many important changes took place both in the direction of Indian Ocean trade and in the larger aspects of political, religious and artistic tradition. The decline of the Abbasid

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10 ibid, p.48
Caliphate and the rise of the Fatimids in Egypt shifted the routing of long distance trade away from Baghdad and Damascus to Aden and Fustat. In India, the Turkish sultanate of Delhi conquered Gujarat in 1303-04, and thus, its rich maritime towns were now within the reach of Islamic social and political influence. Further, the Turkish conquest of Gujarat, the most active maritime province of India, coincided with renewed migration of Islamic communities to East Africa and with a vigorous age of town construction on different parts of the coast.

The Black slaves were employed for various purposes in medieval society mainly as menial servants, concubines and eunuchs in harems, craftsmen, business assistants, members of forced collective labour forces in state enterprises and soldiers. Thus, they played important role in building the economic, political and social base of medieval states of Asia and Africa.

1.1.1.2. Migration as Soldier

Ethiopian slaves were coming in large number in India during fourteenth and fifteenth century. They played important role in Bengal as they usurped political power after Ilyas Shahi dynasty. "Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shah (1460-81) began to maintain large numbers of them for military purposes and many of them were raised to high position in the state. Rukn-ud-din is said to have owned as many as eight thousand African Slaves. The last ruler of Ilyas dynasty, Jalal-ud-din Fateh Shah tried to check the growing power of Habhis but they conspired against him under the leadership of Shahzada and usurped the throne on Bengal. Thus, Shahzada (Habshi) ascended to the throne under the title of Sultan Barbak Shan (Shahzada)."12

The commander-in-chief, Malik Andil (or Indil) succeeded in organizing (Habshi) a powerful opposition to the usurper, and one night when the later was half-drunken, Malik Andil entered his room and killed him. Andil offered crown to the infant son, but the Fateh Shah's widow declined this, finally, the nobles raised Malik Andil to the throne. "According to the Riyad, his highhanded and inglorious regime lasted for only six months."13

13 Muhammad Mohar Ali, History of Muslim of Bengal Vol 1A (Riyadh: Department of culture and Publication, Imam Muhammad Ibn Sail Iskemir University, 1985), p.180
Malik Andil ruled from 1486 to 1489 under the title of Saif al-Din Abu al-Muzzafar Firuz Shah (II). The kingship of Malik Andil is very well attested by excavations of numerous coins. Muhammad Mohar Ali says, "His reign and construction of mosques has been recorded in two inscriptions— one from old Malda town and other from Goamalti in Mymensigh district. He was a patron of art and architecture as is evident from the construction of beautiful mosques. 'The ruins of mosques indicated that it has ten domes, in two rows, the length of the building being divided by the row of pillars. The Riyad informs that Firuz Shah II built a mosque and a tower, and also constructed water reservoir, at Gaud'. In the contemporary period, Firuzi Minar attests the shades of Habshi power in Bengal.

Similarly, the Habshis got various opportunities in the political fields as soldiers. The Habshi followed Sunni sect of Islam and due to race and color found alliances with Sunnis of Deccan as they were also opposed to and by the Turks, Arabs, Mughals and Persians, who belonged to different tribes and were light skinned. The independence of Bahmani Kingdom led to break of link with Delhi Sultanate, thus, the interaction was ceased in the arena of domination and subordination. This created space for adventures, as is evident by coming of Abyssinian and other East Africans in large numbers. Originally, they were enslaved, but gradually they fit themselves to attain positions of high ranks in the Bahmani court. It is quite evident as they served on high positions under the sultans of Gujarat, Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar and Adil Shahi of Bijapur in later period.

The Bahamani kingdom disintegrated in five states out of which Ahmadnagar and Bijapur employed Habshis in great numbers and it is very well documented in the historical records. During seventeenth century, Malik Ambar played significant role by holding post of chief Minster of Kingdom of Ahmednagar. He was a slave purchased by Khwaja Bahdadi Mir Qasim in Baghdad and sold at Ahmednagar to Mirak Dabbir. Ambar initially joined Adil Shahi of Bijapur but during the revolt of Abhang Khan Habshi against Ahmednagar. Ambar joined him and served successfully.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14}}\text{ibid, p.179.}\]
Malik Ambar played important role in fight against Mughals and later, married his daughter to Murtaza Nizam Shah II (King of Ahmednagar) and became his Prime Mister. Malik Ambar proved brave and great diplomat by checking both Mughals and keeping the Portuguese under control. After the death of Akbar (1605), Ambar conquered Junnar and declared it as the capital of the kingdom of Nizamshahi. A letter signed by Ambar (18 Sept 1615) was sent and with personal intervention of Adil Shahi, it was agreed to maintain the terms settled earlier between Murtaza Nizamshah and the Portuguese, which also included that the English and Dutch should not be allowed to touch his ports.

The context of Siddi power in medieval Deccan needs to be understood in light of fierce opposition offered by Habshis to Marathas. The Marathas and the Siddis continued to fight; and the Siddi put stiff resistance, thus, maintained control over Janjira by facing bravely the Marathas and utilizing help of Mughals and Bijapur. Shivaji had subdued the whole of the Canara coast belonging to the Adil Shahi by the middle of 1675 but he could not conquer the island of Janjira, which itself speak the power of Siddis. Shivaji invaded Janjira in 1665, in this attack he not only failed, but also lost Danda to Siddis. Further, the Marathas continued from 1673 to 1676 repeatedly to conquer Janjira but would not subjugate the Siddis. S.S. Ali says, “Ambar, with an armed party, frequently roved the Mughal frontiers, punished highwaymen and thieves, raided on every side, so that the robbers were hard pressed. They eventually agreed to follow him and thus nearly two or three thousand Bedar (Maratha) and leading men of the country gathered under is banner.” In 1680, again, the Marathas lost heavily and thus, throughout Shivaji’s life the Siddi remained unchecked.

The post-Shivaji Maratha history shows repeated attempts to rope in Siddis in Maratha power. Sambhaji (s/o Shivaji) also tried to subjugate by all means the Siddis and assured political participation in Maratha state, but Siddis successfully maintained independent political authority. A.R.Kulkarni says, “In Oct 1681, the Maratha fleet fought the Siddis fleet at Bombay, where Siddi Yakut was (under Siddi Misri) leading the Siddis. Yakut Khan attacked Bombay and made himself master of Mazagaon, Sion, and

Mahim in Feb 1689. He was the master of the island outside the fort for a whole year and did not leave till June, 1690.\(^\text{16}\)

1.1.1.3. Migrations as Traders/Sailors

Ibn Battuta also mentioned about the work and repute of Africans in India. While, moving from ‘Dawat Abad’ (Daulatabad), Nadhurbas (Nandurabas), Saghar (Songarh), to Qandahar, he mentioned the name of owner of ship as Ibrahim and the name of ship as Al-Jagir. He says, “We went on Board al-Jagir, which had a complement of fifty rowers and fifty Abyssinian men-at arms. These latter are guarantors of safety on the Indian Ocean; let there be but one of them on a ship and it will be avoided by the Indian pirates and idolaters.”\(^\text{17}\) The Portuguese were first among the European to import slaves from Africa. Columbus’ discovery of the West Indies and America made them the most profitable cargo of all. The labour was needed to mine silver, gold and work in the plantations. The colonies required slaves in large scale as sugar cultivation needs more manual labor. Zanzibar was the centre of the east coast slave trade during the nineteenth century, so Malabar was the chief centre of the slave trade on the west coast of India from 1600 until the nineteenth century.

“The Portuguese had hundreds of slaves each, who were used for porterage, as militia, and often as concubines. One of the five companies of troops that Borreto took with him to chastise Mutapa for having let father Silveira be killed was composed of 60 Canarins and 80 Africans. Around 1600, the Portuguese of Sena and Tete raised a force of 75 Portuguese and 2,000 Africans to help the Mutapa defeat a rebel. A priest noted that African troops were quite splendid, because they needed to be paid only one-fifteenth or one-twentieth of what a European required. His sort of dependence was also evident in relation with African rulers. Many examples confirm the truism that as small country like Portugal must find labour and soldiers where it could.”\(^\text{18}\) Definitely, the forced cross-cultural movements entered new phase with the arrival of European trading diaspora in Atlantic and Indian Ocean during fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively.


\(^{18}\) Pearson, n. 9p. 148.
The European trading diaspora reflected an entity formulated in capitalist mode of production. The new mode of production restructured the politico-economic framework of Europe. It led to the emergence of Joint Stock and Nation-States. These components were gradually entwined with technological development paving way for the requirements of human labour. The mercantilist pattern required the trading companies to prefer maritime trade. As a result, the Portuguese, British, French, trading Diasporas preferred oceanic routes in order to avoid the monopoly of Arabs in Red Sea and Persian Gulf. As the Portuguese trading diaspora was created in backdrop of state policy to drive out ex-soldiers away from state, it adopted policies outside the framework of trade. These policies were primarily reflected in cartaza system.

The non-trading tendencies were rooted down in the formulation of Portuguese trading diaspora. As a result, it employed maximum number of slaves from east Africa to expand and maintain trading Diaspora. Mozambique emerged as one the most comfortable rest house for the Portuguese. It was primarily located near Sofala and river Cuama. The Portuguese monarchy also got permission from the Pope to honour itself by the title of the lord of navigation and over a period of time, the Portuguese sailors conducted conquests and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India in sixteenth century. The European trading Diaspora, further, relocated the position of Africans in Indian Ocean. The forced cross cultural movement continued till 19th century.

It is very difficult to conceptualize an umbrella type ethnic profile of Siddis in India. The plantations of Africans in various parts of medieval India started dialectics in the ethnic structure of Siddis. The majority of Siddi community in India is settled in Karnataka and Gujarat only. The socio-cultural milieu and trajectory of regional formation have created in the Siddis various lines of categorization, but, in the contemporary period the forces of globalization has forced the Siddis to consolidate in the continentalisation of homeland in Africa.

Further, the Siddis of India reflect emergence of ethnicization in the post colonial India. The process of ethnicization constructs ethnoyms so as to mark ethnic boundaries, and pre-existing culture so as to fall within those boundaries and to offer distinctive boundary markers. The cultivated sense of shared history makes sense of experiences of powerlessness, deprivation and estrangement and kindles hope of improvement through
self-representation. The process of ethnicization restructures Siddis perception of time and space. It creates social meaning by offering to the members of African diaspora a folk theory which enables them to impose a sense of spatial localization and temporal continuity on the otherwise bewildering fragmentation and heterogeneity of their post-colonial experience. The Siddis not only frame selected items of their culture within the boundaries of their ethnic group and within their image of continentalised homeland of Africa, but also project these onto a glorified past.

1.1.2. Absorption of Siddi

1.1.2.1. Religion Based Absorption

The religion based assimilation created framework in Siddi community for horizontal segmentation. The Siddis were segmented into Hindu-Muslim and Christian identities. This process provided limited spaces for politico-economic assimilation as a result; the post-1990 period witnessed the emergence of Diasporic identity.

The religious structure of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity did not succeed completely to incorporate the values and norms of Siddi on the mainstream culture. The poverty and black colour made them vulnerable to various hegemonistic forces. The Siddi community could not get the threshold energy to start accumulating material resources. As a result, the Siddi were grouped into the Scheduled Tribe category. The caste based occupations, further, brought new form of socio-psychological discriminations against the Siddis. The most oppressive system of discrimination faced by Siddi community was caste and class discrimination of the three religious structures.

The Hindu, Muslim and Christian Siddi pattern of consolidation did not provide socio-cultural assimilation. The Siddi community was given low caste status in religious structure. It led to negative categorization of their socio-cultural capital. Further, the status of low caste limited the mobilizing capacity of diasporic elements. The 1980s created new waves of awareness among the Siddi community due to increasing religious assimilation of Siddi community as a low caste and simultaneous fragmentation of community on religious lines. The failure of caste based-religious assimilation did not provide new lines of alignment in the respective religious structures. Henry John says, “Being dark, the Siddis visually fall into those groups associated with lower castes.
Along with color, their physical features mark them as inferior according to the dominant Indian aesthetic ideal of long straight hair, thin nose and lips.\(^\text{19}\)

The Rosary Church has also established Sneha Sadan to educate Siddi boys regarding vocational courses. The institution teaches the following courses such as education, health progress, house building, and Catholic Relief service Food programmes, education for family living. The institution has eighty Siddi boys and the mission has trained nurses who treat the ill people in rural areas. The institution has realized the indebtedness as the biggest hurdle in the development of Siddis; therefore, it provides loans for the construction of houses.

The Christian Siddis have been successful in acquiring modern education. It is very well reflected in the Hunsheety Koppa church at Amadnoor Gram Panchayat. The church was inaugurated in 2005 and it is located 14 Km away from the Yellapur. In the left of side of Church, one finds residence of priest known for providing all kinds of help to people. Similarly, Holy Cross Charity Trust at Mynalli has remarkable enlightening work in Siddi community.

Vanvasi Kalyan Ashrama is non-profitable tribal welfare organization aims to provide all the opportunities required for the development of marginalized section. It is an offshoot of R.S.S. The first Vanvasi Kalyan Ashrama was established in Chipagai village in Uttara Kannada district. Later, R.S.S established branches in Ankola and Yellapur area of North Kannara. It had started hostel construction for upliftment of Siddis and other tribes in education sector. To ensure gender justice, it started schools for girls by establishing Rukmini Balika Nilayaat Bandel.

1.1.2.2. Political Based Absorption

The Siddi community has also witnessed political absorption at the grass root level. The village forest committee reflects assimilatory approach adopted by the central and state government of India. The committee makes it mandatory for the forest department to involve the tribals in the forest management and incorporate the perspective of the tribal people. The institution has become a new arena of political contestation for various sections of local society. It has intensified the political awareness

in the Siddi community. The community wants maximum participation in the village forest committees, so that, the economic aspect of community can be addressed. The committee can be formed in a village or group of villages. The adult residents of a village constitute the general body of village forest committee. The village forest committee is registered as Associations under the Karnataka forest Act. The Range Forest Officer and Deputy Conservators of Forests play crucial in registration of village forest committee.

The village forest committee elects a Managing Committee for a period of 5 years to institutionalize the functioning of the forest management. The Joint Forest Planning and Management project functions on the principles of positive affirmation by ensuring social democracy. Further, the representatives of Gram panchayat, Forest Department and NGO constitute the ex-officio members of Managing Committee. The inclusion of Gram panchayat and NGO reflect the increasing democratic approach and willingness to create social contradictions emerged due to forest planning. Along with the representation of various state and non-state actors, the positive affirmation acts as a check and balance instrument. But, the most landmark innovation of JFPM is 50% positive affirmation given to women in the elected membership of Managing Committee. As a result, the women have been given 5 seats in the elected body.

The new policy under JFPM provides space to the tribals through Management Plan to place forest conservation strategy to the State. The village forest committee prepares a draft called Management Plan. The village signs a memorandum of understanding with the Karnataka Forest Department under JFPM and the time period of implementation is 10 years. The village committee reviews the plan in five years period to incorporate constructive developments. This institution has become an important tool for Siddi community to get incorporated their views in the conservation of forest. Further, it has created political consciousness for active engagement with Government policies. The local forces are also transforming the institution into a platform to understand the socio-economic problems of each-other. Apart from the gram panchayat, the village forest committee is the only local institution which provides new space for socio-economic integration in the rural society.
1.1.2.3. Defamation of Siddis

The Karnataka forest department has created new wings of the department to enhance and specialize in forest related activities. It includes Karnataka Forest Development Corporation (KFDC-1971), Karnataka Forest State Industries Corporation. The forest Development Corporation primarily focuses on the overall development activities of ecosystem. It aims to find new ways for sustaining good ecosystem and removing roadblocks. The activities cover various dimensions such as to raise multicultural plants, to ensure non-timber forest products, reclaim waste lands and develop new technology. It has primarily focused in Dharwad, Belgaum, South Kannada, Kolar, Tumkur etc., by planting bamboo, eucalyptus, teak, tamarind, casuarinas and rubber. This pattern ensures a collective participation of local groups. Further, the state Industries Corporation has been evolved to marketise the forest products and provide added advantage to the cultivators and non-cultivators. It reduces the space of middleman and the method ensures maximum profit of local cultivator and non-cultivators by reducing inflation. Similarly, Karnataka Cashew Development Corporation focuses on the cashew plantation for intensive cultivation.

The colonial and post-colonial state started various policies, hitherto unknown, to regulate the forest areas. The state started industrialization process and led to investment of public and private capital in forest based industries. In Karnataka, Forest Department was established in nineteenth century. The forest department was gradually organized by the colonial state to get raw material at the cheapest rate. The Deputy Commissioner was made over all in charge of Forest and a task force consisting of rangers, foresters and watchers formulated. It helped the colonial state to exploit the trade of sandalwood in the Western Ghats.

The Indian state has continuously started various programmes to improve the condition of tribals in India. The inclusion of Siddis of Karnataka in the ST category provides all the basic facilities covered in the 10th five year plan since 1951. The second five year plan provided space for the creation of 43 special multipurpose tribal blocks (later called Tribal Development Blocks). The fourth five year plan led to setting up of six pilot projects and a separate tribal development agency for each project. The fifth five year plan witnessed the launching the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) for the direct benefit of the
development of tribals. The sixth plan set two important institutions for the development of tribes viz. Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED) and National Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC).

Similarly, the post colonial state evolved various policies to regulate forest in India. As a result, the central and state governments have implemented till date two types of projects from within and without-Joint Forest Management, Joint Forest Planning and Management is product of these policies. The first project analyses the involvement of tribal people as law and order problem and the policy backfired due intense resistance by tribal and other marginal groups residing in the nearby areas of forest. The Central and State government were forced to reformulate new policy regarding deforestation and categorization of forest areas. The local people in various parts of India such as West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka etc., demanded that the entire forest cannot be banned for the marginal section. The 1980s witnessed formulation of new policy of categorization of forest areas and ensuring the participation of tribal people in conservation of forest areas. The new policy has been called Joint Forest Planning and Management. Thus, it makes Siddi community as a criminal element.

1.1.3. Geographical Spread of Siddis

The Geographical distribution of Siddis in India during contemporary period has witnessed the pattern created by the medieval period. The forced cross-cultural movement had planted Siddis in various parts of medieval India. They were planted in Bengal, Delhi, Jaipur, Gujarat, Bijapur, Ahmednagar etc. The Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire employed the Habshis as slaves and guards on boats. It has been testified by various writers of medieval India such as Amir Khusro, Zia-ud-din Barani and Ibn Battuta. Though, the assertion in the politico-administrative structure also placed the Habshis in the mainland of Deccan. It constituted a very insignificant number with reference to slaves.

Ruknu-din Barbak Shah employed Habshis in Bengal during thirteenth century. The period of Mughal Empire mainly refer them as warrior on behalf of splinter states of Bahmani state. Over a period of time, the Habshis had to adjust according various local factors. The transition of India from medieval to modern period had different
repercussions on the various segments of society. The colonial period displaced the Habshis in the forest areas. The colonial state destroyed various princely states which used to employ Habshis as guards, warriors and slaves. As a result, Gujarat, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have many Siddi whereas Maharashtra and Goa have isolated cases of Siddi residences.

1.1.3.1. Regions of Absorption

The Siddis are found in Saurashtra, Kutch, Broach, Surat and Ahmedabad. Basically, the Siddis prefer to live in towns. In the Rajkot division (Saurashtra region), the Siddis are included in Scheduled Tribe category. The maximum population of Siddis resides in Junagarh. In Junagarh, maximum population of Siddis resides in rural areas. The Talala Taluku of Junagarh has comparatively higher population of Siddis both in its rural and urban areas as compared to other settlements of Siddis. On the whole, in Junagarh, 77.4% population of Siddis resides in rural area and only 22.6% in urban areas.

The Siddis are found in many numbers at Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. Historically, the Arab merchants sold African slaves to the Raja of Wanaparthy, a noble of Hyderabad. The Africans were employed as bodyguards and watchmen. Siddi Rasala (Siddi Battalion) was organized by Sir Salar Jung the Minster of the Nizam of Hyderabad. It was disbanded during integration of Hyderabad into Union of India. Many Siddis are still found in nearby Hyderabad, although, these later communities are quite different, marked by the regional culture in which it is embedded.

Over a period of time, some Siddis became Christians. The lady of Church was constructed in the vicinity of the A.C. Lines for their use in 1904. These Siddis performs jobs like domestic servants, cooks, porters, watchmen or rickshaw drivers and a few of them are employed as policemen. As the Nizam established a trust fund for their maintenance, some of them maintained are relatively in good position. Their dance is called Zubu, which has transformed from ferocious to non-violent. Sometimes, a song of Swahili accompanies the dance. The greatest dancers of the community was Bital bin Mabrook, who died in the 1970s. Apart from this, the Siddis like wrestling and hockey. Mohammad Bin Farullah, a Siddi, represented Hyderabad in the national hockey tournament in 1970s. Adoni was also under the Siddis and the Nawab of Adoni was known for benevolent and tolerant attitude. He is said to have paid respect to
Raghavendra Swammiji, a Saint Philosopher. He granted a village named ‘Manchala’ on the bank of Tungbhadra to the Swami.

“Nowadays, the Siddis of Karnataka are found in the Ghat areas of Uttara Kannada, Dharward and Belgaum districts. In Uttara Kannada district they are concentrated in Ankola, Mundgod, Sirsi, Supa, Haliyal and Yellapur Talukas. In Dharward and Belgaum they are found in one taluka each – Khalghatgi and Khanapur respectively. At present their population is about 10,000.”

The Siddis are also found nowadays in Yellapur and Mundgod talukas, especially in Bilki, Kuchagaon, Kirwati and Haliyal. The Siddis of Yellapur district are fighting for land rights. The remarkable feature of their movement is alliances with other marginalized forces (lower caste) including the local Gowlis (herders) and the Dalits. They organize rallies, demonstrations and street plays to pressurize the government to include their issues of marginalization.

“The Siddis continued to maintain their hold at Janjira during late Mughal period. Even Shivaji failed to dislodge them from Janjira. During British period, the Siddis played diplomacy and were able to play with both Marathas and the British. In 1838, the Siddi of Janjira presented a pair of Shawls to a civil officer Davies. In 1848, the Siddi renounced the authority for his son Siddi Ibrahim Khan and for several years nothing was heard about Janjira in Bombay. In fact, the region under Janjira had attained notoriety for the crimes.”

The Revolt of 1857 also had uprising in Karnataka at Karwar, Supa and Bidi, where Siddi Bastian and his brother took part in it. He had derived inspiration and support from Dipaji of Sattari, Goa. The opposition of Dipaji Rane to the Portuguese as well as English was serious. Further, Sawant Desai headed by Hanumant Sawant were supported and protected and finally the movement was led by Dipaji, surrendered to the Portuguese in October 1858. It was followed by fresh inroads by the Siddi Bastian. The British Governor of Madras, C. R. Trevelyan revealed to the Portuguese Governor-General that the ring leader in these forays was Siddi Bastian for whose arrest a reward had been announced earlier. Siddi Bastian’s gang, in the meanwhile, launched two more attacks as several other fugitive gang members of earlier Bund had joined him. Thus, the

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20 Ali, n. 15 p. 223.
Siddis carried on their opposition steadfastly and totally baffled Portuguese. On their way to Goa they even raided Yellapur Munsifs.

Siddi Bastian was finally killed in 1859 and other Siddi leader named, Siddi Antu was also killed. Thus, the powerful armed movement against the Portuguese came to end after a long struggle. After 1868, the British interfered in the affairs of Janjira, on the charges of mishandling matters pertaining to police and criminal justice. A resident British officer with limited judicial authority was appointed at Janjira, thus, the nawab was left with only civil and revenue jurisdiction. Gradually, the British interfered step by step in all the matters of administration in Janjira. The monopoly on the sale of tobacco was given up, custom duties on persons going out of Nawab's state by sea was cancelled. Further, a steamer service was introduced between Bombay and Janjira. The British appointed a Karbhari in 1878 with civil and magisterial powers. Finally, Britishers recognized Siddi Ahmad Khan and in 1878 after the death of Nawab Siddi Ibrahim became Nawab.

1.1.3.2. Gujarat

The history of Siddis in Gujarat goes back to 15th and 16th century. The conquest of Gujarat in 1303 A.D by Alau-ud-din Khalji provided smooth administration for the functioning of trade. R. R. S. Chauhan says, “In the beginning of 16th century (1514), Barbosa noticed that the Moors valued much the Abyssinian slaves, who were Christians and were used in the wars. These Christian slaves were sharp built and faithful and when they turned Muslims, they proved better in the calibre than the original moors. Thus, much before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, a significant number of African slaves had already occupied the seats of power not only in the armies and naval forces of various rulers but also in the civil administration.”

The Siddis of Gujarat have carved out remarkable geo-social space. They are primarily located in the areas of Kutch, Broach, Surat, Ahmedabad, Jamnagar, Rajkot, Surendranagar, Bhavnagar, Amerli, Junagårh and their total rural and urban population is 2595 and 1327 respectively. Jambur and Shirvan are exclusive settlement of Siddis whereas Hadamatia, Javantri and Sasan are primarily dominated by Siddis.

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22 Ibid, p.23.
Jayanti K. Patel says, "The total population of these Africans in Gujarat is nearly five thousand. Nearly 3,000 of them stay in Saurashtra. In the Junagarh district Saurashtra small hamlet Jambur, located on the fringe of Gir forest between the rivers, Saraswati and Karakan, is entirely inhabited by Africans. Otherwise, the Africans are settled in mixed areas of Broach, Kutch, and Ahmedabad in Gujarat." 23

The Gir forest and agate bead industry is the main forces which determined the settlements of Siddis. Kenoyer and Bhan say, "At present Siddi communities are spread throughout the regions of Gujarat, Sindh and Makran, but only those living in the Gir Pir Khambat areas are involved in the agate trade. When Gori Pir set up first workshop in Rajpipala he undoubtedly had important contacts with mining communities in the area around the Gori Pir Hill and that is probably when Siddi community first became established in its vicinity. At present there is a village of Siddis along with a community of Bhils who are involved in the actual mining of agates." 24 Almost all the Siddis scattered around the Gir forest have settled in the Jambur village. It provides two advantages; first, the area is safe and very near to the forest region, second, the region has the tomb of famous Siddis Saint Nagarsha Pir.

1.1.3.3. Andhra Pradesh

In Andhra Pradesh, the Siddi settlements are located in Hyderabad. It was created by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah as an independent state in eighteenth century. The eighteenth century is marked by disintegration of centralized Mughal state and emergence of regional state with vibrant energy. The presence of Siddis in Hyderabad goes back to eighteenth and nineteenth century. Shanti Sadiq Ali says regarding Siddis in Hyderabad in 1886, "The Arabs (Siddis) seized some police thanas and murdered eleven men. According to the police, a procession of Sultan Nawaz Jung's children arrived at the old bridge accompanied by several Aabs, Siddis and Rohillas when a procession of a Goshamahal Regiment Tabu was passing through the same place. A dispute arose between the two parties, and one of the regimental set - up was wounded by a Siddi accompanying the Sultan Nawaz Jung's children...Similarly, recognizing the possibility of African cooperation in an Arab attempt to seize political control, the Government of

India in 1882 began to restrict the movements of Africans in Hyderabad.” 25 Similarly, R. R. S. Chauhan says, “Many Siddis are still found in Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh. There is a popular place called ‘Habshi Guda’ and a mosque known as the Habshi Masjid. A few of them live there and in the vicinity of the capital where there is an area called ‘Siddi Ganj’.” 26

These developments could not stop the Rajas and nawabs to purchase or hire services of Africans from India or East Africa. As a result, Hyderabad has various places with denominations of Siddis such as Siddipet (Siddi market), Habshi Guda, Siddi ka Risala. Deccan Herald reports regarding Siddis, “In India, Karnataka has the largest concentration of Siddis. Some 18,000 Siddis live in the hilly area of Uttar Kannada, 10,000 in Gujarat and 12,000 in Hyderabad. A few hundreds are also in Lucknow, Delhi and Calcutta. Pakistan has some 30,000 “Shidis” and fewer than 1,000 “Ceylon Kapris” live in Sri Lanka.” 27

1.1.3.4. Karnataka

The Geographical distribution of Siddis in Karnataka is primarily restricted to three districts: Uttara Kannada, Dharwad and Belgaum districts. These regions lie in the Western Ghats which are known for dense forest and wild life. The Siddis are primarily settled in the Yellapur, Ankola, Mundgod, Sirsi, Supa, Haliyal, Khannpur and Khalghatgi taluks. Yellapur is located in the Uttara Kannada district and covers the forests region of the Sahyadri. It consists of rich flora, fauna and teakwood trees are found in large number. The main crops of the region are rice and arecanut. Ankola is famous for the ishaad breed of mango and surrounded by many temples. The infrastructure of Ankola includes three schools, one college and four hospitals. Mundgod is the melting pot of various cultures. The Tibetan diaspora is very well settled and it interacts with the African diaspora as well as local cultures. The field survey shows that the pattern of settlement is unorganized. These settlements have evolved over period of time reflecting unorganized migration of Habshis in the outskirts of forest areas. It shows that crisis felt by the Siddis society due to formulation of modern politico-economic system in Karnataka forest areas without taking into account extroception of Siddis.

26 Chauhan, n. 21 p. 245.
27 Deccan Herald (Bangalore), 20 March 2005.
The cross-cultural movement of Siddis had paved way for restructuring of Siddis from above and below. In the absence of social and cultural capital, the Habshis were forced to follow again tribal method of living. T.C. Palakshappa says, “Most of North Kanara is hilly and thickly wooded. A somewhat broken and irregular range of central hills divides the district into two parts, the uplands of Balaghats with an area of nearly 3,000 square miles, and the lowland of or Payanghat covering about 1,300 square miles. Except for the shallow karivar and Belikeri bays in the north, the seventy six miles of the Kanara coast stretch in a long, narrow, straight line to the south-east. Though unbroken by deep bays or wide mouthed estuaries, the coast is varied and picturesque with rocky islands and rocky capes, stretches of palm-fringed sand beach low narrow river-mouths and rough bluffs and headlands. Always behind the changing coastline stretch, rich winding valleys, waving woody hills, and a wild background of high peaks. The cultivation of area is mainly paddy, but pepper betel and palm are grown in small quantities. There are many forest reserves and eucalyptus trees are grown abundantly.”

The Khalaghatgi and Khanapur talukas are situated between the thick woody and undulated western Ghat region.

The field survey shows that the total number of settlements of Siddis, in Karnataka is approximately 174. In Uttara Kannada the Siddi settlements are located in Haliyal, Yellapur, Ankola, Mundgod, Sirsi and Supa. These areas also have settlements of Tibetan Diaspora. The outer side of Mundgod has settlements of both African and Tibetan diaspora. Dharward and Belgaum district have Kalghatgi and Khannpur talukas as Siddi settlement respectively. The Siddi settlements are located in the interior areas of forest, except Dandeli (town area). The field survey shows that there are 174 African diasporic settlements in Karnataka as given below:

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Table 2: Districtwise settlements of Siddis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of Settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yellapur</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Haliyal</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sirsi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Supa</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ankola</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mundgod</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khalghatagi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Khanapur</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

The unorganized geographical distribution of Siddis in Karnataka put unlimited challenges for identity and assimilation. The state and society did not recognize these settlements as legal till the passage of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes orders (Amendment) Act, 2002. It recognized the Siddis as tribal groups. The passage of scheduled tribes and Others Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) bill, 2006 has provided legal sanctity to the settlements of Siddis. As a result, the unlimited challenges of unorganized and unrecognized geographical distribution have been done away. Both the above mentioned Acts have paved the way for the positive assimilation of Siddis in the politico-economic and social structure. It has provided a chance to these tribal groups to attain the status of primitive tribal community. This status will directly provide the benefit of National Plan of Action (NPA) covered for Survival, Protection and Development of primitive tribal groups under the tenth plan of Planning Commission.

1.1.4. Ethnographic Profile of Siddis

The term ethnic is derived from Greek word ethos, meaning people. An ethnic group is cultural community as the binding factors are culture, behavioral, linguistics, or religious practices. The dominance of ethnic elements in the social formation is determined by the geographic and politico-economic formation of a region. The nomadic-
pastoral based African society created space for primordial elements for articulation of identity. This process has transformed ethnicity of Africans into a multidimensional system and the multidimensional elements operate social stratification, social inequality and network of redistribution, sources of folk theories etc.

The term ethnic profile is product of ethnogenesis. The ethnogenesis represents a process which leads to construction of an ionic bonding in social groups. The ethnogenesis of Africans in medieval period was primarily a passive phenomenon. On the macro level, it was a product of slave trade which emerged in Red sea, Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean. The cross-cultural movement of Africans in Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean was primarily a forced movement. The requirements of human labor for domestic and agrarian related activities required the ruling establishment of Europe, Asia and Africa to legitimize slavery system. Slavery is an institutional and structuralized system aimed to exploit a section of human society to unknown limits without providing politico-economic and social rights.

R. S. Sharma says, "That there were various types of forced labor is clear from the use of terms sarvavisti in many land grants, particularly in Vakataka grants. It is obvious that these many types may have included the use of labour in the fields. The evidence from Skanda Purana produced by B. N. S. Yadava leaves little doubts that hundreds of people were compelled to do forced labor, and this was evidently meant for production. Hence, Serfdom cannot be dismissed as an incidental feature. If serfdom is understood as a compulsory attachment of peasants to the soil, it prevailed in good parts of Madhya Pradesh, Eastern India, Chamba and Rajasthan. In many cases charters clearly transfers the peasants, artisans and traders to the beneficiaries. In most charters they ask the villagers, the peasants and other inhabitants of villages to stay in the villages and to carry out the orders of the beneficiaries." 29

The earliest reference of slavery is located in code of Hammurabi, from Babylon in the eighteenth century B.C. It describes different rewards and penalties for surgeons operating on men or slaves. But the Greek civilization and Roman civilization

used slaves for economic structure on a large scale. The Mediterranean Sea provided geographical and economic environment for the continuation of slavery system.

The Arab or Middle Eastern slave trade was located with trans-Saharan slavery, though it soon became centred on settlements and ports in East Africa. It is one of the oldest slave trades, predating the European transatlantic slave trade by hundreds of years. Male servants were employed as servants, soldiers or labourers, by their owners, while female slaves, mostly from Africa were long traded to Middle Eastern countries and kingdoms of Arab, Indian or Oriental traders, some as female servants, others as sexual slaves. The Arab, Indian and Oriental traders were involved in the capture and transport of slaves northward across the Sahara desert and Indian Ocean region into Arabia and the Middle East, Persia and the Indian Subcontinent. The European or transatlantic slave trade originated around 1500 A.D., during the early period of European discovery and settlement in West Africa and Atlantic.

Regarding slave trade in Indian Ocean, Y. Talib says, “Slave markets, referred to in some countries as places of display were found in every important town throughout the Muslim empire. Some of these in the ninth century were situated at the opening of major international commercial routes and thereby played the role of distributing centres. The markets of Bukhara, Samarkand, Nishapur, Rayy, Balk, and the Marw served as terminal stations for the columns of slave or Turkish slaves. Zabid, Aden in the Yemen and Basra in the lower Mesopotamia were centres through which black slaves were forwarded.” But, the socio-cultural patterns of African slaves oscillated in the new solution creating Brownian movements paving way to cross-cultural movement.

Similarly K.N. Chaudhari says, “The Indian ocean was an area of social and cultural diversity rooted in the four different civilization: the Iran-Arabic, Hindu, the Indonesian and the Chinese seaborne trade supplemented by the Central Asian caravan routes, created a strong sense of unity. The idea of a common geographical space defined by the exchange of ideas and material objects were quite strong, not only in the minds of merchants but also in those of political rulers and ordinary people. The writings of Arab geographers make it clear that, from the ninth and tenth centuries onwards Islam

constituted more than an area of spiritual unification in which Muhammad was the prophet of God. The political and religious frontiers of Islam ran across trade routes, kingdoms of non-believing princes, and natural boundaries made by deserts, mountains and seas.”

The oxidation and reduction reactions as a result of cross-cultural movement have been located in trading Diaspora of Asia.

The slave trade created a Habshi profile of Africans in India. Satish Chandra says, “Slave raiding was widely practiced in West and Central Asia, the ghazis being especially used to capture and then convert slaves from Central Asia. The early Turkish rulers, such as Qutbuddin Aibak, continued this practice in India. Thus, when he invaded Gujarat in 1195, he captured and enslaved 20,000 persons and another 50,000 during the raid of Kalinjar.”

The rulers of medieval world used to keep a number of women in harem. Harbans Mukhia says, “Estimates of the number of women in the harem vary from one information to another, often depending upon the dimensions of one’s fantasy. With Babur and Humayun the figure were modest, nowhere running into hundreds and thousands, both the emperors and their chroniclers seem to have been content with less than a dozen wives all told and a couple of concubines. Come Akbar and the number of women in the imperial harem turns mind-boggling. Fr. Monserrate gives Akbar 300 wives in temporary marriages for making political alliances. Abul Fazl, however, arrives at the astounding figure of 5,000 women in Akbar’s harem.”

The medieval rulers maintained kharkhanas on the large scale to ensure luxury items required by the royal house. Michael and Gleen inform, “The imperial workshops and storerooms were administered as a part of the emperor’s extensive household. In 1595 alone 7,729,669 rupees were spent on the expenses of this administrative unit, which included one hundred offices and workshops each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom.” The ancient and medieval world relied heavily on the human labor for various works such craft, agrarian and trade. Firuz Tughlaq started the commercialization of agriculture by emphasizing on the fruit marketing in the Red seas areas. Satish

31 Chaudhuri, n. 8 p.102.
Chandra says, "He instructed the bigger nobles to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send best among them for the service of sultan. Even various subordinate chiefs were asked to follow this practice. In this way, 18,000 slaves were collected. While some of them were trained for religious studies, 12,000 among them were trained as artisans, and dispersed into various pargans. This suggests an acute shortage of trained artisans in the towns." 35

The emergence of European trading diaspora created new lines of alignment in the cross-cultural arena of Indian Ocean. Abner Cohen defined the concept of Trading Diaspora as an interrelated commercial network of nation or socially interdependent, but spatially dispersed communities. Phillip D. Curtin says, "The actual mode of organization of trading diaspora may vary widely, from the informal ties of merely a shared culture, religious solidarity, language or kinship to formal and relatively centralized arrangements (as if the Estado India or Dutch East India) underpinned with monopoly rights and military force and empowered to govern as well as trade. The Arabian trading Diaspora not only played crucial role as leaders but also became one of the most powerful agent of socio-cultural transformation." 36

The Bedouin tribe of Arab was gradually accommodated in trading economic structure of Red Sea and Persian Gulf from Seventh century in the form of Caliphate. The nomadic based social formation of Bedouin got into reformulated monarchial political entity. The Islam served as ideological apparatus for the construction of a state around caliph. The new state represented new socio-economic tendencies in Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. K. N. Chaudhari says, "The dispersion and absorption of the desert Arabs throughout the near East and Southern shores of the Mediterranean and their early movement into east Africa and Sind, were accompanied by an overwhelming social, cultural and political ascendancy of Arabic as a language of universal use. The unity and homogeneity of the Arab world under the Umayyad and Abbasids caliphates lasted for a long time." 37

35 Chandra, n. 32 p.173.
37 Chaudhuri, n. 8 p. 103.
The formation and expansion of caliphate in Arabia had been unfolding in the backdrop of disintegration of Roman Empire in Europe. It shifted the centrality of market forces from West Africa to East Africa. The process was accelerated due to demand of laborers in North West Indian Ocean. As a result, East Africa witnessed emergence of new trading centers such as Mogadishu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Kilwa and Sofala etc. It led to emergence of two processes: Africanization of Islam and Islamization of Africa.

The legitimizing role of Islam for new patterns of life based on trading patterns had created universal appeal in Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. The gravity of Islam as a way of life was located in Umma. The Umma was a politico-religious entity constructed to consolidate trans-religious segments of society for the cause of caliphate. The dual aspect of Umma provided space for accommodation of powerful African tribes either on political or religious or both grounds.

David Robinson describes, “The first Muslims on the East African were followed in the wake of lot of other maritime travelers into the Middle East and South Asia. They used an old, well tested technology of sailing in dhows close to Persian Gulf, and along the Indian Ocean primarily Arabs; they were interested in acquiring ivory gold other metals, leather, goods and some slaves. They interacted with the local fishing and agricultural peoples who spoke the language we call Swahili. Over time the Swahili language started to include the considerable Arabic vocabulary in addition to some Malay and other infusions within a basic Bantu language structure.”\(^{38}\) Regarding the presence of Arab merchants in India Andre Wink says, “Masudi writes that the largest settlement was that of 10,000 Muslims in the district of Samyur, these were permanently established group by the tenth century with ancestors who had come from Siraf, Oman, Basra, Baghdad and other cities of Middle East.”\(^{39}\)

The grafting and localization of Arabian trading Diaspora was primarily rooted within the matrix of Delhi Sultanate. The establishment of Delhi Sultanate had marked the institutionalization of Turko-Persian colored culture within the framework of Islam.

The integration of various kingdoms under sultanate in Indian subcontinent was smoothened by the maritime trade in Indian Ocean.

The cultural patterns of Turks accelerated the trading Diaspora in Western India. Ala-ud-din Khalji conquered Gujarat and incorporated into the economic structure of sultanate in 1303 A.D. Gujarat had carved out a unique space in the medieval trading world due to inability of Arab or European merchants to reach Canton or Malacca in single monsoon. Gujarat had been a staple trading area in contact with Malacca. This link was cut with the Portuguese conquest of Malacca (1511). Thus, Gujarati Hindus established links with other Malayan and Archipelago ports such as Achen, John, Kedah, Janabi Bantam etc.

The East Africa and North West Indian Ocean had created new network of trading. This network covered various items such as borax, ginger, vermillion, horses, gold, silk, slaves etc. The slave trade constituted one of the important segments of marketing in East Africa. The slave markets used to open in the afternoon. The sellers used to put the slaves as a commodity by making the slaves to get washed, oiled, and painted their faces. There was great demand of younger slave girls and boys in the market. The buyers used to check the physical health of slaves by checking their all the body parts; the male slaves were supposed to prove strength by undergoing various physical test.

1.1.4.1. Gujarat:

It has a long history of cross-cultural movements. The various ports of Gujarat such as Broach, Surat, and Cambay etc. have witnessed plantation and hybridization of various cultural communities. The term Gujarat means, land protected or ruled by the Gurjar. The post-Gupta period in early medieval India witnessed emergence of local social forces to formulate a political system. Gujarat has been divided into four eco-cultural zones on the basis of dialects: North Gujarat, South Gujarat, Saurashtra Zone, and Kutch. The Siddis of Gujarat primarily comes in Saurashtra zone and speak Kathiawadi. The history of Siddis of Gujarat can be traced with the Arabian trading Diaspora and slave market in Delhi Sultanate. They were primarily known as Habshi, a person from Ehasban (Ethiopia). Indian historian locates the first reference of Habshi in the band of
Mohammad Ghazni. Further, the first clear cut and politico-economic reference of Habshi is linked with Malik Yakut.

Satish Chandra says, "The Turkish zealosity of not allowing non-Turks to acquire high office was displayed in their hostility towards the Abyssinian, Malik Yakut, who had been appointed Amir Akhur (Superintendent of the Royal Stables) by Razia Sultana. However, the Turkish nobles did not hesitate to use an Indian Muslim, Imadudin Raihan, to displace the Chihiagani slave officers, and to try and establish their own domination over the Sultan." Further, the recruitments of Habshi's in army, boats etc. have been testified by scholars like Ibn Battuta, but, the majority of Africans in India were products of forced movements. Satish Chandra depicts, "Slave markets for men and women existed in West Asia as well as in India. The Turkish, Caucasian, Greek and Indian slaves were valued and were sought after. A small number of slaves were also imported from Africa, mainly Abyssinian."

The Habshis in Gujarat were able to carve out politico-economic space within the framework of Delhi sultanate. The dominance of tribal tendencies forced the Habshis to consolidate on historical legacy. Due to this reason, the Habshis maintained African Sufi religious and socio-cultural practices. Since, the Habshis had adopted Islam within the matrix of Africa. Therefore, the elements of African identity were continuously preserved. The establishment of modernity put toughest challenge to the survival of Habshis of Gujarat. The challenge of modernity and post-modernity has witnessed the ethnic consolidation on the shrines of African Sufi saints.

1.1.4.1.1. Islam makes Siddis a Religious Minority

The formulation of community under monolithic and differentiated religious paradigms structure reflects distinction between Siddis of Gujarat and Karnataka respectively. Islam and Sufism are the most important elements for the construction of cultural formation in Siddis. The Siddis of Gujarat are overwhelmingly Muslims by religion. The pre-colonial and colonial period provided various opportunities to get articulated in the Islamic practices. R.R.S Chauhan says, "The last nawab of Junagarh had many Negroes as kennel keepers and hunting assistants while Negro females were..."
employed as maids in the harem. All of them retain their distinctive features. They are Muslims and speak Gujarati. They, like their counterparts elsewhere in the country, live in the abject poverty, though they have long been accepted as equal to any other tribal community.⁴²

The crafting of Islamic framework needs to be excavated in the establishment. On the other hand, the emergence of European diaspora opened the so called new chapter in the Indian Ocean. It got reflected in the layering of Habshis in Karnataka. As religion played very important role of legitimization in medieval world, the Siddis of Gujarat accepted Islam as religion. The post-colonial period provided enough socio-cultural space within Islam in the rural landscape of Gujarati Siddis; therefore, they were primarily recognized as Muslims. The five time prayers and festivals constituted an important marker in the Siddi community. The pattern of life continued according to the cultural norms of Islam. The loss of African language in the hybridization, further, removed minor lines of distinction in the Siddi community. The Sidi community has also adopted the local mode of dressing and food habits as well as the local trends have also been carved in the regional flavors. The African roots of cultural distinction continued to produce and reproduce within the framework of Islam.

1.1.4.1.2. Siddi Sufi Shrine construct Diasporic Features

The infrastructure of micro religious formulation also differentiates the Siddis of Gujarat and Karnataka. The ionization of African traditional ancestral worship got articulated in the Sufi shrines. The Siddi Sufi shrines provided autonomous space within the framework of Islam. The lines of group consolidation were constructed around the elements of shrines. Helene Basu observes, "The shrine had provided dispersed African slaves with a material base for subsistence which helped to form a Siddi fakir organization referred to as a Sufi path (tariqa). The dargah of Gori Pir began to attract Siddi from all over the region, often individuals, slaves or servants who had fled from their masters. Through Siddi agency, the shrine was turned into a place of freedom for formerly enslaved Siddi and those who were tied to a master as servant. Many individual Africans, free or formerly enslaved, are remembered by older Sidi to have found their

⁴²Chauhan, n. 21 p. 243.
way to the shrine where they joined the existing fakir order of the Sidi.”\textsuperscript{43} The Siddi Sufi saints provided outlet to the community for the construction of participatory social institutions. It reflected the celebration of African norms and values.

Naik and Pandya say, “The Siddis are known as Bilals by other Muslims. The Bilals are their ancestors. There are folk songs and stories about him among the Siddis; Hazarat Bilal was the follower of the Hazarat Muhammad, the Prophet. It is said that Hazrat Bilal was stammer and people took objection to his reciting Azans and consequently Rakhash was appointed in his place. When this happened there was a miracle. There was no sun-rise on that day and people were very much disturbed and they started praying to Khuda. Then there was a clear command that Hazrat Bilal should recite the Azans. When he did so there was sun-rise.”\textsuperscript{44}

Over a period of time, the shrines of various Siddis Sufi saints have evolved in Gujarat. The dargah of Nagarsha Pir, located on the banks of Karkari river, has created large scale followers in Gujarat. “There chief object of worship is Baba Ghor and Abyssinian saint whose tombs stands on a hill near Ratnapur village of the famous Rajpipla state. It is said that Baba Ghor, who was a negro merchant- turned mendicant and a pioneer of agate industry in Gujarat, settled at Gujarat.”\textsuperscript{45}

The shrines of Baba Ghor provide space to accommodate the African religious belief structure due to the compact space. On the contrary, the Siddis of Karnataka are being constantly deprived of African spiritual infrastructure. John S. Mish describes, “Banyoro divinities are departmentalized according to people’s activities, experiences and social political structure. They include the divinities of war, of small pox, of harvest, of health and healing, of the weather, of the lake, of cattle, and minor ones of different clans. The same pattern of divinities is reported among Basog, Edo and others.”\textsuperscript{46}

Naik and Pandya say, “The Muslim Siddis of Jambur are called Sidis ,those living in other towns like Rajkot, Jamnagar , Bhavnagar, Gondal, Junagarh and Dhoraji are known as Tais. Those living in ten villages surrounding Jambur are Shimali, who are

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Helene Basu, “Redefining Boundaries: Twenty Years at the Shrine of Gori Pir”, In Alpers and 
Jairazbhoy, n. 19 p. 63.
\item Naik and Pandya, The Siddis of Gujarat: A Socio-Economic Study and a Development Plan
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the inhabitants of North Africa. The people, who were brought from Africa to Div are called ‘Swahilis’. Swahilis have come from those parts, where Swahili language is spoken. There are many similarities between Swahili language spoken by the Siddis here and Swahili language spoken in Africa. Contrary to this, the Tais and Shimali have accepted the local languages. Tai dialect is admixture of Gujarati and Hindi. Shimalis speaks pure Gujarati. 

The phenotypical features of Siddis of Gujarat reflect continuity than change. The exogamous clans of Siddis are called Atak. In Junagarh districts, fifteen Ataks have been identified: Chaurat, Bhaliya, Melan, Bhaliya, Majgul, and Melan. The Siddis of Gujarat follow patriarchal pattern of family. The authority is decided on the lines elder and male number. As most of them are still rooted in village, household equipments, the dress of Siddis typically reflects the dominance of regional flavor. The male members wear bandi/chomi whereas the female members wear choli, odhani lehnga.

The Sufi shrines helped Siddis to carve out a space in local structure. Though, the Siddis of Gujarat had accepted Islam as a religion due to influence of trading Diaspora. The Siddis were able to assert within the framework of Scheduled Tribes. Though, the Siddis tried to raise the various hardships faced by the community. The umma and Sufi shrines served as conduit for the social networking which helped in mobilization the community.

In the contemporary period, Siddis of Karnataka are articulating compact space for collectivization of African spirituality, whereas, the post-1990 period posed new trajectories which need Siddis of Gujarat to reinvent new lines of ethnic consolidation, apart from the construction of ethnic profile on Sufi shrines. The globalization has provided a new space to various people such as Siddis in Indian states to carve out new patterns of developments and challenges. The configuration of channels of assertion, practiced by the Gujarati Siddis, is very much similar to the Siddis of Karnataka. The State and civil society has started various programmes, but in the light of new phase of finance capitalism, these programmes have failed to pave way for structural change.

As a result, the Siddis are looking into the discourse constructed by the intellectuals. Though, the African diaspora have maintained the diasporic resources, yet

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47 Naiś and Pandya, n. 44 p. 6.
the contemporary period has taught them to understand the dimensions of diasporic identity. The organization of Siddis at the millennium: History, Culture and Development 2000, reflects the urge of Siddi of Gujarat to get consolidated by the elements of modernity. Thus, the Siddis of Gujarat have started re-alignment from dependent Islamic entity to Independent Africači diasporic identity in the de-territorialized Africa.

1.1.4.1.3. Adoption of Dominant Festival

The arena of similarity between Siddis of Gujarat and Karnataka can be located in the graph of dominant festivals. The appropriation of dominant festivals is very common in the case of Karnataka, but the Siddis of Gujarat are intensively integrated due to organized entity. The Siddis of Gujarat have adopted local festivals such as roza, urs, Holi and kite festival. The observation of roza plays very important in the kinship and networking of the community. Roza is the third most important pillar of Islam and it compulsory for every mature Muslim to keep fasts. The term roza means restraining oneself not to eat during a fixed period and it is exclusively followed in the whole world in the month of Ramadan. The urs of Siddi Sufi saints plays a very important role in the life of community. The shrines of Siddi Sufi saints have become cosmopolitan and the followers are found in various parts of India.

Village survey monograph of Jambur reports, “Visitors from far off places like Bombay, Agra, etc. participate in this function. The programmes of music and qawwalis in the praise of Pir are sung whole day and night. The females and children participate in the festivity dressed in the new clothes. Other amusements, games, dance and garbas follow incessantly. The guests and outside visitors are provided with lodging and meals by the organizing committee of local leaders, the expenses being defrayed from the contributions of the local people, presents are offered by the visitors, and by the income from the cultivable land donated in the past from the former ruler of Junagarh for the maintenance of the dargah." [48]

Although, the ancestral infrastructure operates through Sufism, but the popular celebrations intersect the fabric of community. Unlike Karnataka, the historicisation of trading diaspora in Gujarat limits the internal free flow of dynamics. Eid-ul-Fitr is celebrated with full spirit in the first day of the month of Shawwal. It starts after the

month of fasting, Roza. It is an occasion of joy and happiness. The special foods serve an important marking stone on the day. Further, Sadaqat-ul-Fitr builds special bond in the community as it helps the poor section to get material requirements.

Eid-ul-Adhia is celebrated on the 10th of Dhul Hijja and marks the close of the Hajj ceremony. The animals are sacrificed on this occasion and it depends on the economic condition and size of the family. The Muslims assemble in the Eid-gah and prayers are offered collectively. Eid Milad-un-Nabi reproduces the cultural capital around the life prophet Muhammad. The Muslims assemble in the mosque and religious leaders and scholars make speeches on the various dimensions of Prophet Muhammad. The birth, childhood, youth and adult life, his character, teachings and sufferings educates all sections of community. The Siddis of Gujarat are very poor; therefore, the visit Ka'aba remains a distant dream. The Siddis also participate in the Holi festivals by performing on the drums. The Siddis have retained the art of drum beating and it is very well performed on the occasion. Further, the children also participate in the kite flying. It is a very local festival and carves out a common space among the children.

1.1.4.1.4. Acculturation of Local Traditional Customs

The Siddis of Karnataka have also maintained African customs as evident in the case of Gujarat. The Siddis of Gujarat have adopted various local traditional customs making an integral aspect of daily life. Naik and Pandya say, “On a close look to the kinship terminologies, it becomes apparent that even though Siddis are Muslims and their pattern of life is of rural Saurashtra, their kinship terminologies are similar to as found among other communities living in the same area. Among those who are residing in the urban area and have come in close contact with Muslims, their certain kinship terminologies are similar to what is found in Muslim kinship terms. While in the bedi area as there is impact of Kutchi language, several Kutchi words are also used in case of certain kinship terms.49

Unlike Gujarat, the kinship patterns of Karnataka represent continuity than change. The hibernation in the colonial period intensified the reproduction ancestral tools of kinship. The kinship network of Siddis is also evolved on the local customs viz. blood relations and marriage relations. The marriage relations have evolved in close

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49Naik and Pandya, n. 44 p. 58.
confirmation with Muslim leading to acceptance of marriage relations in the same clan. The Siddi settlements are being governed on the lines of jati Panchayat. The Siddis settlement in the regional area organized a jamat; this institution plays a significant role in the socio-cultural governance of the settlement. The participation of Siddis in the local Panchayat system have made them part of larger system. Even then, they have maintained the inner circle of jamat panchayat.

1.1.4.2. Karnataka:

Karnataka is the homeland of some of the most primitive tribal group. The dense forest of Karnataka has provided shelter to tribal groups from ancient and medieval period. It is located in the geo-history of Karnataka. The ethnic profile of African diaspora in Karnataka represents unique entity undergoing various processes such as adaptation, mutation, hybridization yet; maintaining the DNA of diasporic identity. Further, the adaptability of a diaspora becomes more relevant in the contextualization of independent regional culture of Karnataka. Unlike the African diaspora of Gujarat, the African diaspora of Karnataka have evolved into multifaceted entity regenerating in different times by adopting all the available channels of survival such as getting incorporated in the macro religion of India, yet coming out with original elements to construct Diaspora. The different phases of transcription of Siddis in solution of different periods are: Pre-Colonial period, Colonial period, Post-Colonial Period a) Pre-Globalization period b) Period of Globalization. In the pre-colonial period, the Siddis were consolidated and employed by two factors: first, the Portuguese trading Diaspora, second the Bahamani and post-Bahamani politico-economic structure. During medieval period, the area was known as Bijapur. It was a splintered group of Bahmani kingdom. The politic economic structure of Bijapur and Ahmednagar accommodated a number of Habshis. In this context, the first and foremost place is given to Malik Ambar. He was initially a slave purchased by Khwajah Baghadadi Mir Qasim, but later the joined the army of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The Habshis under the leadership of various Habshi leaders played crucial role in figuring among Bahmani splinter groups and also uniting regional politics of Deccan against Mughal domination.

Shanti Sadiq Ali described the diplomacy of Malik Ambar, “In 1619, while Prince Khurram was busy reducing the fort of Kangra in Punjab, and the emperor was in
Kashmir, Malik Ambar resumed the offensive. He appealed to Bijapur, Golconda and compelled their rulers to give him assistance in recovering his losses.\textsuperscript{50} Regarding the consequence of battle Bhatvadi (1624 A.D.), Jadunath Sarkar says, “Malik Ambar, swollen to greatness by this victory, from an ant, and enriched with wealth exceeding the treasures of Corah, and troops numerous beyond imagination laid to Sholapur.”\textsuperscript{51} The Habshis collaborated with the Portuguese to fight against Mughal dominance. The Portuguese had maintained continuous supply of Habshi from East coast of Africa. The removal of Portuguese power in seventeenth and eighteenth century from Goa led to migration of Habshis in southern part of Goa and Bijapur.

The establishment of colonial state reversed the prospect of the Side community element in dominating politico-economic structure. The modernized politico-economic could not incorporate the medievalian identity as it also happened with many landlords. As a result, the practices of Siddis of survival become unmarketable, forcing to adopt coercive means of survival. These means were termed negative in the colonial legal system. The overall impact of colonial state was creating retreating movement in the Habshis. The Habshis found shelter in the forests in order to hide from a society where mainstream discourse did not recognize the community as human beings. Therefore, the Forest symbolizes everything to the African diaspora.

In the case of Karnataka, the Western Ghats have provided the safest place for more than 200 years. T.C. Palakshappa says, “The Siddhis and others in the local area have the history of Siddhi Muslims to the Bijapuri kingdom in the 16\textsuperscript{th}. In order to substantiate this fact they quote the Siddhi Musalman’s surnames. Their surnames are ‘Naik, Havaldar, ‘Patel’, etc. The Siddhis claim these names are given by the Bijapuri king. The Siddhi Christian traces the origin to Goa. They say they were brought from Africa to Goa and from there these people moved over to North and adjoining district. The Siddhis Hindus are behind to have been brought by the Arab Merchants and sold to Havig Brahmins in exchange for local products.”\textsuperscript{52} It not only saved the community from the ‘modernized’ politico-economic system but also gave all the means of survival with

\textsuperscript{50}Ali, n. 15 p. 78.
\textsuperscript{52}Palakshappa, n. 28 p. 11.
dignity. The forest reflects the God on earth to the Siddis community. The flora and fauna have cultivated relationships stronger than the blood relationship.

The post-colonial period have opportunity to the African diaspora to work on the tribal, religious and diasporic elements of ethnicity. During the pre-globalization period, the Siddis had remained in the forest areas till 1960's. The entry of Forest department as a police system and merchants, companies, started the gradual withering of Forests in the Western Ghats along with increasing reserved areas, limiting the mobility in the forest areas. As a result, they started coming back to ‘mainstream’ society whereas the society provided help on the shoulder of religious structure. The Siddi community internalized another component –Hinduism, Islam and Christianity in the identity and demanded the status of Scheduled Tribe.

During with interaction with Christian in a church located in Yellapur taluka, I witnessed the multiple lines of demarcations in identity of Siddis. Francis Lawerence leader of Christian Siddis (he won local Pradhan Seat from ticket of Congress). As I was talking with Sunanda (School teacher in Church) and Francis Lawerence, Khan Sahib was passing through the route. Francis called him and introduced him to me. The pattern of interaction between Christian and Muslim Siddi reflected dominance of diasporic elements. Later on, I visited to a village Ugginker settlement of Muslim Siddi and Muslims. Karim Siddi told that he was learning Urdu as a compulsory element of madarsa education. Anthony, who works in a local Non Government Organization, was learning English as a part syllabus taught in school by church. The vertical acculturation in religious structure of local forces has created rift in the horizontal alliances among the Siddis in pre-globalization period. Though, the religious structure has partially accommodated the tribal African socio-cultural practices. Anthony told that the father of church has assured that the role of performing Hiriyaru worship would be done in Church.

The period of globalization has brought twin contradictory fibres: Reduction of geo-economic space in the forest due to State and Corporate sector; second, foreign and national funds for research and socio-economic opportunity. These twin processes have made the Siddi community to re-brush the neglected resources of diasporic identity. The community is tracking the path of getting help from Indian state and global agencies.
Though, the re-construction of Diasporic identity has been done in the contextualized homeland image of Africa. It has reduced the utility of religious denominations by articulating space for Dhammal dance, Hiriyaru worship and phenotypical features lines.

The field survey shows that multiple lines of socio-cultural demarcations fail to overcome the emerging Diasporic identity. It becomes quite evident from the comparative study of nomenclature pattern followed by Siddis.

Table 3 - Nomenclature Pattern of Siddis in Karnataka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindu Siddi</th>
<th>Muslim Siddi</th>
<th>Christian Siddi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siddi Ramappa</td>
<td>SiddiDaudsabDatagirsab</td>
<td>SiddiStain Kastus Siddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddi Nagappa</td>
<td>SideMohamadsab Fakirsab</td>
<td>SiddiFrancis Siddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiddiSomappa</td>
<td>SiddiModinsab Fatisabi</td>
<td>SiddiAnthoni Kastus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiddiGanapati</td>
<td></td>
<td>SiddiMichel Francis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiddiKrishna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiddiGanapa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

The Siddis of Karnataka have evolved new elements of phenotypical features similar to local elements. The crafting of African diaspora within regional religious features led to creation new lines vertical homogenization in local social structure. The Siddi development society of Yellapur says that, the total population of Siddis is 14000 (approximately). There is not a single well organized data regarding Siddis of Karnataka. The analysis of Siddis in Karnataka have followed two patterns among scholars, on the one hand, the Siddis are recognized as an entity of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, on the other, the Siddis maintain that the religious divisions can’t annihilate the diasporic socio-cultural capital produced and reproduced over a period of time.

The identity and assimilation of Siddis in Karnataka was rooted within the politico-economic domination of local forces in the pre-globalization period in India. The Siddis were required to work within the economic structure offered by landlord and over a period of time, they also adopted religio-cultural practice of landlords. The material and
spiritual cosmology of landlord community has been crafted within the Siddis’s cosmological structure. T.C. Palakshappa describes, “Every Siddhi household is linked in one manner or another to a Havig Brahmin household. They are linked as tenants or simply as household servants. Even to this day the relationship between such households is fairly strong. By means of this servant role of the Siddis gain money or get food left over at the end of the day—a very useful addition to their standard of living. Over and above all this, they get the goodwill of the Havig Brahmins, which is essential for their security.”

The social structure of Siddis overlaps with the local forces of Karnataka. They have been totally become part of India. But, the globalization has forced the government to regulate the forest areas, thereby; the Siddis have been forced to migrate in urban areas. In the absence of skill and capital, they are further being marginalized paving way for the construction of diasporic identity to get addressed politico-economic issues.

Socially, the Siddis have been categorized in the so called lower caste. The other social forces present in Karnataka are Havig Brahmins, Lingayats, Marathas, Vokkalas, Kunbis, Bandhis, Adharmis, Mahars and Kotegars etc. The Havig Brahmins, Lingayats, Marathas, Namadharis have categorized into so called higher caste. This rigid social structure, along with various endogamous socio-cultural organizations such as Havig Brahmin Association, Lingayat Education Society etc., has totally forced the Siddis to get accommodated in the ‘lower caste’/lower class structure.

The African diaspora has adopted all the available means for construction of diasporic identity and assimilation. The pre-colonial period had provided space for identity and assimilation in the States of Deccan such as Bahmani kingdom. The colonial state established a trajectory which characterized the Asian civilization as Orientalist. The Occidentalism displaced the Africans into the forest areas. They formulated tribal identity and were assimilated in the forest areas. The post—colonial India in pre-global period provided the African an identity of ‘low caste,’ religious denomination and assimilated as Scheduled Tribe. In the contemporary period, the era of globalization has projected the diasporic identity in Africans and, they are being assimilated as a diasporic group of Africa.

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53ibid, p. 21.
1.1.4.2.1. Conversion to Hinduism, Islam and Christianity

The most distinguished feature of Siddis of Karnataka is conversion to the three most dominant religions of the region. Unlike the Siddi community of Gujarat, the Siddis of Karnataka reflects more heterogeneity in religious organization. The retreating movement from the forests forced the tribal community to accept the norms and values of mainstream society. As a result, the Siddis settled in the North Kanara, Belgaum and Dharwad districts of Karnataka. The conversion to the respective religion was primarily in relation to the social dominance of the local areas. The maximum number of Hindu, Christian and Muslim Siddis are settled in the Ankola and Haliyal respectively. In the 1970's T. C. Palakshappa noted, "The structure of Siddhi ritual conforms closely both to the dominant culture area in which Siddhis happen to live and to distinct the major religion (Hindu, Muslim or Christian) to which they belong. In this respect, the Siddhis have not only adjusted themselves to the region but also to the locals. It is very hard to tell when and how this happened, except to conjecture that the contact with local people has resulted in the acceptance of various practices."

The Hiriyaru worship plays most important role in the networking of kinship and clan system. The three dominant religions have provided space to the Hiriyaru worship with little variations. The Hindu Siddhis have very elaborate construction of rituals unlike the Christian and Muslims. The Hindu Siddi keeps a coconut and glass of water always filled to serve the dead spirits. The dead spirits helps to solve various day to day problems of the Siddis. The Kartha is a pious person and the dead spirits visits to the Kartha on the auspicious day. The Siddis assemble at the house of Kartha and the presentation of problems and solutions follow the welcoming of dead spirits. Every year the coconut is replaced to mark the New Year and pay regards to the Hiriyaru.

The Christian and Muslim Siddis also follow the worship of Hiriyaru. Though, the Christianity and Islam do not allow polytheistic practices, but the Siddis have been allowed to regard the ritualistic practices of community. The Muslim Siddis have been allowed to pay regard to the dead spirits by worshipping the symbolic tree outside the mosque whereas the father of the Church performs the Hiriyaru worship on behalf of the Christian Siddis.

ibid, p. 72.
1.1.4.2.2. Localization of Rituals

The Siddis have adopted the elaborate ritual structure of marriage, for example, the engagement is known as Dud Bhat-Jevnk Vechem in Catholic Siddis and meeti bhat kahne ka din Muslim Siddis from local peoples. The outer formulation of these rituals shows elements of localization as the process marriage starts as soon as the boy’s parents and some elders go to the girl’s house to ask for her hand in marriage. The most significant aspect comes when the distribution of sugar takes place which signifies the willingness shown by the family of male and it indicates the settlement of that relation. A date for wedding is fixed and the kind and number of clothes and article given to the bride by the boy’s party are also fixed. These primarily include in the form of clothes or ornaments such as saree, a blouse, one patto (waist band) and a pair of todes (anklets). The boy’s parents, along with Qazi, go to the girl’s parents along with five sarees and seven blouses; this is the prominent feature of the Muslim Siddi community. The date of wedding is usually four month after the engagement. Similarly, the Hindu Siddis also distribute areca nuts, betel leaves and sugar after the finalization of marriage.

The blessing of nuptials usually takes place in the bride’s parish church/mosque/temple and it shows penetration of local religious institutions in essential rituals of Siddis. After the nuptials, all go to the bride’s house. On an evening, five or eight or even thirty days after the nuptials in the church, the people of the settlement gather in the groom’s house and construct a pandal. The female relatives apply turmeric paste on the groom’s body. Only the coconut juice is applied on the best man forehead in the form of a cross. Both are then given a bath by the women folk and meal is served to everyone present.

The groom party brings some portion of turmeric paste and the coconut juice that were previously applied to the body of the groom. The bride’s people then prepared some coconut juice and turmeric paste and mix them with the juice and paste brought by the groom’s party. After the female relatives have finished applying the paste and juice on the bride, she is given a bath. It is followed by taking cloths to the bride and welcoming grooms party, games, green leaves and playing with areca nuts.

In the case of Muslim Siddis, the ancestors are remembered on the previous day of marriage. An offering of wheat cakes and jaggery is made to them. The turmeric paste
and coconut are applied to the grooms. The groom's cloths are given by the bride party and the brides cloths are given by the groom's party. The marriage takes place according to the rituals followed by other Muslims in the region. The grooms and the girl's father clasp their right hands with thumbs held one against the other straight. Some grains of sugar are held between the thumbs. Five men from each side ask the other side if they are willing and reply, 'yes', to the others. The Molvi reads verses from Quran. After the reading is over, some grain of rice are thrown on the couple by the all the people after the marriage rituals are over, Mahar is decided upon. Mahar is amount of money to be given by the boys when he divorces his wife. The amount may be anything between Rs.600-1000. The Molvi writes the decision in a book.

On the lines of local Hindus, the Hindus Siddis also follow the smearing of turmeric, coconut, bath and give-take of clothes from both the sides. The groom bear marriage for coronet called bashinga. He is also given a stick and line wrapped in a new white cloth called khanjari, to be held in one hand and a coconut in the other. The family conducts a ceremony of going to Kashi. Five stools are kept in a line in the pandal. The groom, after new clothes, is made to cross the stools to symbolize going to Kashi in search of a girl for marriage.

A white curtain is held between the bride and groom. The bride garlands the grooms first and groom garlands afterwards. The groom then ties the bridal necklace called Karimari around the neck of the bride. Then, they are made to sit on a low platform decorated by four plantain trees at the four corners. Before sitting, the couple has to go around it five times. The bride's father leads the groom by his hands and the groom leads the bride by his hand. After a while, the bride gets up and washes the feet of the groom. The five muttaides apply turmeric paste to the bride and the groom. After this they are given bath dressed and taken inside the house. On the same day or the next, the marriage party proceeds to the groom's house. Bagilu Mutta is made on their arrival at the groom's house.

The rings worn by the grooms and the bride, five by the grooms and four by the bride, are dropped in a vessel field with water. They then search for the rings and sprinkles the water on each other. When the vessel is empty, the groom places the vessel on the head of the bride upside down. Then, the vessel is taken out and fills again with
water and both are given a bath from that water. When the groom has entered the room where the house deity is worshiped, he removes the basinga and ties it to the Kolkamba i.e. the main pole supporting the room. It is taken out during the following Deepawali festival and left floating in a stream.

1.1.4.2.3. Diasporic lines Dominates the Religious Identity

The dialectics of diasporism in continentalisation of homeland and religious identity lays down another element of differentiation. The paradigms of Gujarat reflect foggy visualizations whereas the post 1990 period demystifies the real image by digging up virtual reflection. The Siddis of Karnataka have reflected remarkable shift in the pre and post 1990 period with reference to ethnic profile. The pre-1990 period served as the period of rearticulation in the Hindu, Christian and Muslim structure. The Siddi settlements were also categorized on the lines of religion. The Buddhivanta and the residents of the settlement were primarily of the same religion. It helped the governance of the settlement and its relation with the local social forces. Further, the settlements were used to perform worship to the deities of the regions irrespective of any religion. T.C. Palakshappa says, “The Siddhi as local group participates with other castes in the activities of the local areas. Although the family religion provides a basic security and hence an orientation to their life in the midst of other groups, it has its limitations. Thus the Siddhis in the face of limited meaning provided by the family religion identify themselves also with the cosmology of the local areas.”

The monopolization of forest resources by state, corporate and dominant sections left no options for Sides of Karnataka but to get delinked from mainstream society. Unlike Gujarat, the matrix of signs and symbols imposed by organized entity was never fixed in Karnataka and the re-alignment was only way out. The regularization of the forest areas in the post -1980 periods along with the implementation of the JFPM created new lines of ethnic formulation. The Siddis realized the limitation of the religious based incorporation as a result; they resharpened the diasporic tools within the religious structure.

The awakening in the Siddi community for the politico-economic rights forced the respective religious structure to get assimilated in the diasporic matrix. Pashington

\[\text{\textsuperscript{55}ibid, p. 82.}\]
says regarding the centenary feast of the canonization of St. Rita, "The form of catholic feast provided a context for the African Indians to mediate and negotiate their private and collective selves to express their culture and identity, thereby reframing the discourse of Catholic ceremonial. The feast was divided into two parts: the cultural celebration which took place on Saturday, 21 May and the prescribed ritual worship called the liturgical celebration on 22 May. African Indians involvement in both the cultural and liturgical celebrations will be shown as highlighting their agency and its implications for diasporic Africans on a global level." 56

The constitutional recognition and flow of positive affirmation creates a new vintage point for the community. Unlike Gujarat, the collectivization is sharp and intensified in the case of Karnataka. The inclusion of Siddis in the Scheduled Tribe has, further, added a new feather in the ethnic formulation. Although, the Siddis had demanded the status of Scheduled Tribe and the human rights entitled under the category as early as 1950, but they were allowed only support from the society through religious incorporation. The establishment of Siddi development Society and LAMP societies has provided new space for creation of shared consciousness within the umbrella covering of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity.

1.1.5. Theoretical Framework

The theorization of Diaspora in the academics emerged in the late twentieth century. On the basis of Jewish experience, the grafting of concept had been entirely linear and monolithic. It had been structured on the three basic elements—homeland, hostland and community. The process was primarily constructed as essentialist and homogenous which always result in the creation of a stereotype entity. Robin Cohen, James Clifford, W. Safran and other scholars had accepted the social form of diaspora as a result of victimization or forceful migration. These scholars had also accepted the disjuncture and ruptures in the construction of diasporic entity. On the macro level, the methodology was essentialist and homogenous. Over a period of time, the diasporic studies witnessed expansion in both horizontal and vertical directions. It led to the investigation of not only existing voluntary or forced migrated communities but also, it

opened unexplored new gates of cases which enriched the horizons of diasporic studies. The new areas were examined with tools which provided under carpet analysis of the three basic elements of diaspora.

These more recent approaches display a tendency to insert and promote a less essentialist vocabulary with reference to race, ethnicity, nationality and national groups than the classical notion of diaspora, as a result the focus on the construction of new identities which cross national and ethnic borders and boundaries. The theorizations on the lines of dissection based analysis of three pillars of diaspora is called contemporary theorization of diaspora, whereas, the essentialist pattern of analysis is termed as traditional theorizations of Diaspora.

The contemporary theories offer a critical investigation, in a methodological sense, of the relevance of pure homeland, ethnic community and assimilatory or discriminatory host land in the arena of international migration. William Safran says, "Diaspora is a concept that is being used so widely that it has become an academic growth industry – not only in the political science, but also in anthropology, sociology, psychology, religious studies, history, and even literature. At a recent conference in the University of California at Berkeley, one of the papers read was by a professor of History of Consciousness. James Clifford, a historian dear to anthropologists, argues, in a somewhat exaggerated fashion, that a diasporic language appears to be replacing, or at least supplementing minority discourse."

First of all, the contemporary theories question the context of place in the Diasporic studies and international migration. As the meaning of diaspora was different for various communities-Greeks as colonization, Jews, Africans, Tibetans as victimization, Indians in East Africa as labor and Indians in contemporary America as progressive, therefore, the articulation of the place of origin will be entirely in the state of disjuncture and fluid. Further, the era of globalization has provided a positive chance to the marginalized or hitherto unknown entities get addressed issues in the diasporic fabric.

Gayatri Gopinath says, "The impossibility of imagining such a subject within dominant diasporic and nationalist logics has been made all too apparent by the ongoing

battle in New York City between the South Asian Lesbian and Gay Association (SALGA) and a group of Indian immigrant businessman known as the Federation of Indian Association (FIA) over SALGA's inclusion in the FIA sponsored annual India Day parade. The parade, which ostensibly celebrates India's Independence Day, makes explicit the ways in which an Indian immigrant male bourgeoisie (embodied by FIA) reconstitutes anti-colonial and contemporary nationalistic discourses of communal belonging by positioning India as Hindu, patriarchal, middle class, and free of homosexuals. In 1995 the FIA denied both Sakhi for South Asian Women (an anti-domestic violence women's group) the right to march in the parade on the grounds that both groups were in essence, anti-nationals.\(^{58}\)

Secondly, the construction of community has also been analyzed with mutation theory. The homogenizing of populations in diaspora create fabricated image which does not correlate with socio-politic formation in the diasporic community. During the field survey, I also analyzed the change and continuity in the Tibetan diaspora in Mundgod (North Kanara) and Delhi. Though, the Tibetan Diaspora is recognized globally as refugee and the mainstream discourse constructs the integrity with the return to Tibet. Yet, the socio-cultural formation of the community in the both mentioned not only differ but also, the younger generational gaps widely evident in the case of Tibetans in Delhi. There is sharp transformation in the attitude of the new generation for the professional courses. It also become evident in the transformation of the nature of business from wool and garment to newly mobile and net driven technology.

R. Radhakrishanan says, "What does Indian mean in the United States? How can one be and live Indian without losing clout and leverage as Americans? How can one transform the so called mainstream American identity into the image of the many ethnicities that constitutes it? We should not pretend we are living in some idealized "little India" and not in the United States. As Maxine Hong Kingstone demonstrates painfully in The Women Warrior, both the home country and country of residence could become more "ghostly" locations and the results can only be a double of depoliticization. For example, the anguish in her book is a relational; it is not exclusively about China or

the United States. The home country is not real in its own terms and yet it is real enough to feel authentic. It reflects that the different groups within the same overall category, for instance different generations, classes, genders and between people who live in different places of settlement, might have varying political projects and configurations. As a result, the communities can be treated as ethnic community along with the formulations as imagined community with a number of channels for autonomous formulations.

1.1.5.1. Siddis as Diaspora

The study of Siddi community as a diaspora in Indian Ocean makes new beginning in the diasporic studies. It opens new unknown trajectories to operationalise the diasporic formulation in Indian Ocean after Tibetans. The limited success of anthropologist and sociologist provide conceptual and theoretical facts for Siddis and the African identity have been located by the scholars to all the local formulation of respective areas of settlement. The matrix of entity entails so many unknown attachments which cannot be decoded in the absence of diasporic formulation. Definitely, the contemporary scholars raised the foundation of triadic relationship and the case of Siddi is now entrenched in the non-essentialising triadic paradigms. The use of definite homeland is raised time and again. It is also a fact that the forced movement or voluntary of Africans had multipointed emergence leading to heterogeneity in the patterns of dispersal and identity formulation. But, this is the vintage point to understand uniqueness in the formulation of diaspora as African continent gets organized as homeland for the African community.

The abovementioned conceptualization is also very well established from the fact that the Africans in India have primarily migrated from East Africa, but they have shared problems with Nelson Mandela as he represents the mega icon and pathfinder for African continent against the euro domination. The field trip clearly reflected the rhythm of diaspora is flavored in the shades of Africa. Well, the Eurocentric perspective very definitely denies the triadic intricacies in the case of Africa, but the socio-cultural infrastructure of Siddi community in India definitely show the homeland in Africa.

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The arrival of Siddis in India goes back to 12th century and the role of Ruknud-din Shah is very well documented. The heroic contribution is documented even during Mughal hegemony. Govind Sakharni says, "As with the Nizam so with the Siddis of Janjira, the Marathas had to carry on perpetual warfare ever since the days of Shivaji. The Siddis were Muslims of Abyssinian descent and had planted a small colony in the west coast of India in the days of Malik Ambar. From their inseparable island fort known as Janjira, situated above 50 mils south of Bombay, they ruled a small independent principality which was existent in 1940's through strange vicissitudes. Aurangzeb took them under his protection against Shivaji and entrusted them the task of convoying pilgrims from Surat to Mecca and back."\(^{60}\)

Similarly, the medieval documents always reflect them in the context of Africa. As a result, the shadow of Abyssinian or Ehabshn is predominant over other known geography of African locations. They were always collectively clubbed as Habshis. It always provided a point for the maintenance of resource for a scattered community. Further, the medieval sources clearly refer the determined marginalization of Africans as much as possible from politico-economic system by Delhi Sultanate and Mughals. Jamal-ud-din Yaqut always used to maintain separate bands of African for administration and military purposes.

The alignment of Africans under a leader organized as a scattered community accepted in the politics of Deccan. Malik Ambar and Fateh khan were successful enough to carve out space inspite of heavyweights such as Marathas, Mughals, Rajputs, Pathans etc. The colonial and postcolonial period laid to hibernation and retreatment leading to unfolding key elements of diaspora.

In the contemporary, the Africans in India have clearly witnessed the hydra growth of social formulation, consciousness and cultural production. P. C. Jain has highlighted the hydra headed points of socio-cultural infrastructure in the case of Indian diaspora. The pattern of African settlement, Buddhivanta, Kinship, Ancestral worship, signs and symbols, music and dance clearly represent the bag and baggage of diaspora. In the case of Gujarat, it continentalised homeland in the form of canvas within which the

socio-cultural roots of diaspora such as music, dance, kinship, Sufi shrines etc. being maintained and retained. The Siddis of Karnataka witnessed head on collision in the pre-1990 period, which almost threatened the horizontal alliances. The open and hidden space continuously provided the Siddi to carve out space within the space of macro entity. They emerged as a formulation within theories of victim diaspora and sustained themselves with the cry of cultural diaspora and multi-hybrid diaspora.

1.1.5.2. Key Elements of Diaspora Theorization

1.1.5.2.1. Social Formation

The diaspora community always builds up new patterns and links of social formation on the structure of society of homeland. As human being is a social animal, the diaspora immediately needs the raw materials of kinship to articulate the social fabric in the place of migration. The important instrument of ionic or covalent bonding among the diaspora starts with the social networks such as as values, morals, religion, visions, idea, financial exchange, friends, kinship, trade, sexual relations, and day to day activities. Prof. Ajay Dubey says, “Discriminatory treatment in racially structured society of South Africa had drawn Mahatma Gandhi into active politics when he went to South Africa in the late 19th century. Later Indian nationalists of all shades had demanded improvement in working and living conditions of Indians abroad. Indian settlers protest began to be articulated in East Africa also. East African Indian National Congress, based on the model of Indian National Congress was founded in 1914. A. M. Jeevanjee had started voicing the grievances of Indian settlers in East Africa. He had gone to the extent of advocating ‘the annexation of African territory’ (Tanganyika) to the Indian borders arguing that it had been an Asiatic Kingdom in ancient times. Indians in Africa formed the middle section of the three tier society, whites at the top and blacks at the bottom.”

The context of raw material of homeland social structure depended upon the nature of diaspora and the host country. Unlike the Indentured Indian diaspora in African country, the Indian diaspora in the post-colonial India in Europe and America have witnessed warm welcome as an entrepreneurial Indian diaspora. As a result, the socio-economic conditions have provided enough fuel to the diaspora to get articulated at the

religious level rather than Nation states. Although, the nation states remain always the covering sheet of the diaspora, the regional element of Indian culture got micro level articulation, thereby, leading to differentiated variety and enriching the diasporic entity.

Patricia Uberoi examines the diasporic element in the films Hum Aap Ke Hein Kon (HAHK) and Dilwale Dulhaneian Le Gayengey (DDLG), “It is obvious that both films endorse a glamorous life styles and effortless and guiltless consumption. Unlike Hum Aap Ke Hein Kon (HAHK), where lord Krishna himself joins the action at the crucial moments and where religiosity is very much in the air, religion per se does not play much of a role in Dilwale Dulhaneian Le Gayengey (DDLG). But, in terms of its communal caste, the superficially more secular and cosmopolitan Dilwale Dulhaneian Le Gayengey (DDLG) may appear more sinister. For here we have Punjab fervently eulogised (mera desh; mera Punjab!) and soundly caricatured (the golden fields of mustard flowers, makki de roti and sarson da sag, a lot of eating, drinking, camaraderie and jollity, machismo and male bonding, horsing and hunting), with no mention of undeclared civil war that had driven a wedge between Hindus and Sikhs in the region, in the nation and in the diasporic community as well.”

1.1.5.2.2. Consciousness

The consciousness of a diaspora is dependent on the nature of treatment available in the host country. The forced movement of Africans in the Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean has altogether created different types of consciousness. In the former case, the diaspora has been internalized socio-religiously and the nation-states are continuously making efforts to provide politico-economic positive affirmations. On the other hand, the later case has created a reactionary formulation in American and European continent, although, the Black community has been internalized politico-economically but, it still needs, concrete steps in the arena of socio-cultural integration. Similarly, the consciousness of belonging to Sikh religion was aggravated in the Sikh community of France. As the French government had passed the regulation against wearing of turbans

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by various religious communities, specifically Sikhs and Muslims, the communities reacted sharply.

Vaiju Naravan recently reports, "Recently, three Sikh students attending the Louise Michel School in the Paris suburb of Bobigny took their school authorities to court. Since classes re-convened last September, the three boys, guilty of contravening the new law banning the wearing of conspicuous or 'sostensible' religious symbols in state-run schools, had been confined to the dining hall and kept out of the classrooms and the playground. One of the boys, Bikramjit, in his final year of the science stream, said they had made concessions to the school's demands by dropping their seven-metre-long turban for the much lighter and more discreet keski or 1.5-metre-long under-turban. They said the law gave head teachers enough flexibility to make exceptions within their establishments and that some head teachers had permitted Sikh children to wear the keski, so why not them? In any case, their lawyers said, the school should either reintegrate them or expel them so that they could look at alternatives, instead of keeping them in limbo. The court gave the school two weeks to hold a disciplinary hearing, where the students would be asked to explain themselves and the educational authorities would decide upon their fate."63

The position of Africans has been a product of continuous struggle against the imperial constructions in the socio-cultural-politico-economic and psycho elements of west. The Africans are continuously making point for equality and problems faced by in everyday life of Europe, but, the issue has not addressed. Paul Gilroy says, 'One recent fragment from it, the struggle over Salman Rushdie's book 'The Satanic verses,' is sufficient to demonstrate that racialized conflict over the meaning of English culture is still very much alive and to show that these antagonisms have become enmeshed in a second series of struggles in which enlightenment assumptions about culture, cultural value and aesthetic go on being tested by those who do not accept them as universal moral standards. These conflicts are, in a sense, the outcome of distinct historical period in which a new, ethnically absolute and culturalist racism was produced. It would explain

the burning of books on English streets as manifestations of irreducible cultural differences that signposted the path to domestic racial catastrophe.”64

These developments always provide unstopped movements to the cells of memories related the elements of homeland. The issue of homeland gets centre stage in the articulation of diaspora and the community uses the various elements of religion, myth, region, language etc. to organize the community to assert to the marginal process of the host country. It results in the sharpening of the two other elements viz diaspora community and hostland.

1.1.5.2.3. Cultural Production

It is also another important by product of diaspora formation. The context of cultural production is again dependent on the nature of policy followed by the host country and it ranges from exclusive, inclusive to mixed patterns. The cultural production is very crucial to the very existence of a diaspora. In the case of total assimilation of a diasporic community, the continuous production of culture always provides the community a helping hand in the time of any crisis. This was very well reflected in the crisis for the political participation in Fiji.

Subha Singh says, “The armed gangsters had claimed that Mahendra Chaudhry was not protecting the rights of the ethnic Fijians, but once the hostages were released the Fijian chiefs of the western provinces come out in opposition to them. The western province is the heartland of the sugarcane growing area which is the mainstay of Fiji’s economy crisis … Fiji seemed to be sliding into a state of civil strife after the hostages were released. While Mahendra Chaudhry was held captive, the crisis was labeled an Indian versus Fijian problem. After his release, a new interim Cabinet was to be appointed under the agreement reached with the hostage takers. By that time the tussle within the Fijian ranks came out into the open, with different tribal groups suggesting different candidates for the Cabinet. The Fijian community has traditionally remained a cohesive group, where their chiefs govern the tribes. But inter-tribal differences began to crop up, as anyone with a grievance began looking for redressal.”65

The Indian diaspora in America and Europe has been able to make participation in the competent economic-politico structure due to the well-established network provided by the homeland and religion. Hinduism Today reports regarding long-awaited demand of Hindus for Durga Pooja, "Navaratri--the famed nine-night festival honoring Goddess Durga--brings to mind piety, joy and visual vibrance. Devotees gather in blissful worshipfulness--stringing garlands and fashioning Deities of the Divine Mother from clay while priests sprinkle sanctified Ganges waters and lovingly offer arati. It is a memorable time of year for Durga devotees and a beautiful gem on the crown of Hindu festivals. For the Bengali Hindus of London, this past October presented a never-before opportunity. After 40 years of denied requests from the community, London's port authorities granted permission to the London Durga Puja Dusserah Committee to fully immerse a series of Deities in the Thames at the conclusion of Navaratri."

1.1.5.3. Traditional Theories of Diaspora

1.1.5.3.1. Theory of Victim Diaspora

The theory of victim diaspora is one of the oldest and first theories in the arena of Diaspora. Robin Cohen had provided archetypal status to the Jewish diaspora, though, over a period of time, he also classified the theoretical formulation on various lines. The Atlantic slave trade forcefully transplanted Africans on the philosophy of racism. Racial slavery did not happen all at once. It was a gradual process which laid the foundation on the functioning of Greeks and Roman Empire. The need of free labor intensified the enlightened and renaissance-oriented mainstream society started the creation of society on black and Dravidian formula was misinterpreted leading to survival of fittest in entirely in mistaken context. The outcome was the biggest stigma on the modern society. It opened the floodgates of pain, torture, killings and various atrocities in the name of civilizing process. Well, it led to the theorization of White man's burden.

There are two parts to the formation of racial slavery. The first involves concentrating involuntary servitude on only black Africans and the invention of the concept of race to explain this concentration. He second involves the development of indentured servitude into full-out slavery. P. C. Jain says, "Indian migration overseas
began with export of indentured, contract or coolie labor in the 1830's when, following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, labor was needed to work on sugar plantation in various British colonies. Until the second world war, Indians emigrated mainly as indentured labor or contract laborers to British Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, South Africa, Fiji, Mauritius, and Reunion; as kangani or maistry labourer to Burma, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka.  

The condition of both the groups remain as exploited groups, although, the indentured diaspora was able to carve out space due to freedom of politico-economic mobility. But, the slave was totally deprived of these basic issues of development and thus always remained marginalized from cultural capital. The passage of such status from generation to generation of passage of such status could not provide any means to oppose but, over a period of time they were able to preserve their socio-cultural heritage which got sharpened in the modernity.

The retrogressive aspect of victimization can also be understood from the fact that the indentured laborer could also be forced to get permanently transformed into full fledged slave. This policy sharply reflected in Maryland and Virginia, both of which passed laws for totally prohibiting the black indentured laborer to socio-culturally related to Euro-Americans. It can also be called the emergence of Apartheid which try best to segregate the blacks from the mainstream and to misguide the masses about the blacks so that they could be hated very easily and do not get any legitimacy for any kind of protest whatsoever. It was definitely an effort to give final and legal sanctity to the theorization of racism. The divinization of color gap leading to superiority of white over a black person led to emergence of brutal victimization of Africans. The negative social engineering had negative repercussions and led to intensified social friction. The colonial masters did not bother at all about the impact of social friction on the development of humanity.

The medieval world had various parameters for social hierarchy, but the early modern had presented very bloody picture of humanity whereby the religious or regional issues were left away and the issue of color became one of the dominant issue of

hierarchy. How could the enlightenment be justified in such world? The indefinite hunger for the accumulation of capital had made the human beings to victimize the Blacks and Asians on the basis of newly acquired arms of warfare. The important dimension of racism was that, unlike Islam, the Christians could enslave a Christians from Africa. The outcome was that the Africans can never get an equal footage even after getting converted to Christianity. The blacks were described as undesired and therefore, it would not be any crime for a White man to exploit a black because the black color reflected the crimes committed in previous births and complete exploitation was only way out for penance.

Jo Marie says, "Venezuela had received only a small portion of the total number of African slaves brought to the new world. Although, miscegenation was rapid and fairly widespread, there remains an identifiable group of Afro-Venezuelans and an identifiable population of people with some amount of African heritage nearly 200 years after the end of slavery there." Additionally, as part of the contractual aspect of white servitude, any European who had served out their contract initially would be given a plot of land and a weapon. Increasing numbers of armed, lower-class whites on the frontier, who had no sympathy for those plantation owners who had kept them enslaved in an oppressive system for years, eventually became a problem. After Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676, when these unruly masses burned Jamestown, under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, plantation elites desperately sought a way to ease this situation. This leads to the great paradox of racial slavery. By focusing on the difference in skin color, Virginia aristocrats were able to present the perception of a leveling of colonial society that clubbed all whites into a single master class? Then too, simple economics dictated that Africans were easier to keep in servitude. Thus, the victimization of innocent peoples was justified and legitimized on the basis of race and victim was left to sustain the feeling of homeland and community.

1.1.5.3.2 Theory of Labor Diaspora

The intensified use of slaves had to have negative impact on the retrogressive system with reference to the availability of slave and the longevity of slave. The colonial

masters were forced to recognize the protest of slaves below the carpet; therefore, the new element of labor diaspora from the colonies with assurances of various benefits was launched. Theoretically, it limited issues for the limited development of indentured labor, infact, the definition of slave and indenture labor was always handy for the colonial masters. The demand of labor at cheap or free of cost led to large scale forceful migration of Indians and Africans across Indian and Atlantic Ocean. The discovery of American Continent had made the imperial powers to utilize the labor of Africans and Indians for the work of plantation.

The Indian diaspora today constitutes an important, and in some respects unique, force in world culture. The origins of the modern Indian diaspora lie mainly in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation into the British Empire. Indians were taken over as indentured labor to far-flung parts of the empire in the nineteenth-century, a circumstance to which the modern Indian populations of Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and other places attest in their own peculiar ways. Over two million Indian men fought on behalf of the empire in numerous wars, including the Boer War and the two World Wars, and some remained behind to claim the land on which they had fought as their own. As if in emulation of their ancestors, many Gujarati traders once again left for East Africa in large numbers in the early part of the twentieth century.

Prof. Ajay Dubey says, “The Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean came from India in the second phase of Indian migration. Following the abolition of slavery by Great Britain in 1937, indentured workers from India started arriving in this part of world also. They were mostly the part of British colonies from Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados. They were also imported in the French colonies in Guadeloupe and Martinique. The Indian indentured workers had basically gone to French and British colonies.” Finally, in the post-World War II period, the dispersal of Indian labor and professionals has been a nearly world-wide phenomenon. Indians, and other South Asians, provided the labor that helped in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe, particularly the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and in more recent years unskilled labor.

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labor from South Asia has been the main force in the transformation of the physical landscape of much of the Middle East. Meanwhile, in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, Indians have made their presence visibly felt in the professions.

Ravi K. Thiara says, “Unlike the Indians in East and Central Africa, the majority of Indians in South Africa traveled as indentured workers though there was an independent movement of small trader class. The former were confined to the bottom of class hierarchy while the independent passenger Indians, who traveled to South Africa to exploit the opportunities for trade presented by indenture, constituted the middle class. The class tapestry of Indians became more complex as indentured workers became free and began to diversify into a range of occupations.”

Similarly, the Tamil diaspora is also product of indentured labor.

The dispersal of Tamils around the globe is not of recent origin and at the moment there are seventy million of them spread in over fifty countries of the world. The Tamil diaspora is a growing togetherness of more than seventy million people living in many lands and across distant seas, many thousands as refugees and asylum seekers. It is a togetherness rooted in an ancient heritage, a rich language and literature, and a vibrant culture. But, it is a togetherness which is not simply a function of the past. It is a growing togetherness consolidated by struggle and suffering and, given purpose and direction by the aspirations of a people for the future - a future where they and their children and their children's' children may live in equality and freedom in an emerging one world.

Their passion for and the love of their language and culture which has a cherished heritage is the one that binds the Tamil diaspora world wide and their coherence and unity is fast growing to be recognized as an international force. Tamil, one of the powerful Dravidian languages is perhaps the only example of an ancient language which has survived as a spoken language for more than 2500 years with its basic structure almost unchanged. The name Tamil is itself unique meaning ‘sweetness’ and ‘coolness’. Language and culture are two facets of the same identity, and language is a major cultural element. Culture is everything which is socially learned and shared by

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members of a society; it is an organized system of behaviour and said to be normative because it defines standards of conduct.

Isolated diaspora communities often preserve their cultural heritage much more than their brethren in their homeland. Each Tamil diaspora community has had to wage its own unique struggle over generations to achieve economic prosperity while yet preserving its Tamil identity and ancestral traditions. Each has its own stories of how they overcame obstacles peculiar to its adopted homeland. Despite their relative isolation from their homeland they have preserved and nurtured Hindu religious traditions such as Kavadi and other cultural elements to posterity.

Today, the digital revolution is not only accelerating the process of globalization but also strengthening the bonds of the diaspora forging a new cultural, economic and political togetherness of a people and deep rooted kinship ties and finding fresh avenues for expression. The dual orientation towards both the country of origin and the country of resettlement is not as contradictory and paradoxical as it seems some people with homes in two countries are showing an amazing capacity to maintain dual identities-with strong cultural ties and contributions to both places.

It is also estimated that there are more than 250,000 Tamils from Sri Lanka which comprises voluntary migrants and refugees/asylum seekers. Their sense of belonging and togetherness has resulted in the flowering of multi-faceted cultural, religious and media growth to such an extent to excel these activities in the lands of their origin. It is estimated that as base habitation India has almost 61,000,000 and Sri Lanka has 5,000,000 Tamils.

In South East Asia, Indonesia had 50,000 Tamils at a point of time and they were taken there by the Dutch colonial masters in the 1830s to build up their plantations. They were used as hard labour and as the conditions were not conducive many returned in the 1940s. About 2,000 to 10,000 remained in Northern Sumatra and there was a concentration of Tamils in that region. Most of them were Hindus but there were Christians and Muslims too. Singapore has about 200,000 Tamils and constitute third main cultural group. Tamil as a mother tongue for Tamil children is taught from primary to the pre-University level and 18,000 learn Tamil from the kindergarten to the Junior college level. Numerous temples are spread over in this small and diverse immigrant city.
state and Tamil cultural activities take place with deep involvement on an international spread. The Tamil electronic and the print media are vibrant with a global presence and audience. The Tamil community is fortunate, as it is resource rich in terms of knowledge, technology, culture and creativity which are critical success factors in the web world.

1.1.5.3.3. Theory of Imperial Diaspora

The theory of imperial diaspora refers to the formulation of diasporic entity due to imperialism. The eighteenth and twentieth century witnessed unprecedented colonization of Asian and African countries. The issue of imperial must focus on the cotton textile industry because this field was a challenge for the Indian entrepreneurship at the first stage of the country’s industrialization. Overcoming heavy odds—an indifferent and sometimes even hostile government, deficient labor supply, and practically no experience in setting up or managing modern industrial ventures—the Indians developed an industry that was almost an exclusive preserve of Manchester which never looked kindly at the prospects of rising competition from a colony. While the management structure and ownership pattern of the Indian mills bore no resemblance whatsoever with those of the British textile companies, the manufacturing system was an exact replica of Manchester’s. Not only the technology—spinning and weaving machinery—was of the same type, but also the physical layout of the premises and arrangement of the facilities were similar. During the early years of the industry, when no alternative had yet been developed, this was understandable. But even subsequently when mechanical devices, more compatible with the Indian conditions, were available, the Indians, by and large, continued to patronize the technology the British manufacturers favored.

As most Indian mills were then concentrating on the production of coarse goods and as the supply of skilled labor was always scarce, the Indian manufacturers should have found the ring system more attractive than the mule. Though slightly more expensive than the mule, the ring frame was capable of spinning more yarn at lower running cost and was cheaper in the long run. The price difference thus could not have been a major impediment to its introduction in India.

J. N. Tata was the first Indian industrialist to appreciate the merit of the American technology and he applied it in his Empress mill at Nagpur, replacing the old mules in
1888. Tata was not yet the towering personality in Indian business that he would become later; he was still seen more as a maverick than innovator by most of his contemporaries. He could not inspire by even his successful policy of adopting ring in the business. The single handed example to follow his adventurous policy was a company named the Connaught Mills (a British Firm). It clearly shows the temperament of the entrepreneurs for the risk oriented or capital intensive project. It's due to this reason that the majority rural magnates preferred to stay as rentier class. Although the number increased subsequently, the share of rings in the total Indian spindlage was still limited to barely 28%.

The basic reason for the continuous degradation of textiles must be analysed in the background of the East India Company. The company had all means for not only stopping the sale of Indian textile product in the markets, but also, the import duty were adjusted against to the convenience of Indian merchants whereas, according to the convenience of British merchants. As a result, the diffusion of technology very low, those who were close to the British or the areas where the Company could supply the items due internal dynamics in Britain or external factors such as world wars etc. As a result, long after the Tatas had introduced the Spindles, the maximum use in the industry only around 50%.

The real spurt in the use of the ring occurred only after 1920, and it was not until the mid-1930s that India used about 90 per cent rings in the total number of spindles in its cotton factories. Even then, the mule did not disappear altogether and continued to be in use in larger or smaller numbers in about one-fourth of the Indian companies. The pace of change had been slow throughout these years not only in the older centers of textile production like Bombay and Ahmedabad, where replacement cost could have been a possible deterrent, but also in the Punjab and the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) which witnessed the rise of this industry much later.

The fact that a national monarchy promoted this process by providing necessary infrastructure and environment in no way minimizes the importance of the dynamism that characterized the industrial entrepreneurship in Japan from the very inception of modern industries. The Indian approach, at least in matter of technology, remained rather static.
This analysis is important on the behavior of Indian textile manufacturers for three reasons. First, modern industry started in India with the textile industry. Second, cotton manufacturing developed into and remained the largest, the most organized, and the most impressive expression of Indian entrepreneurship throughout the colonial period. And lastly, India had had a rich tradition of textile production, and the industry had held a major position in the Indian economic life for centuries before modern manufacturing devices were introduced in the country. Both the past history of the industry and the power and size it acquired by the end of the nineteenth century should have reduced the possible risk involved in, and thus induced, technological experimentation. That it did not happen makes the Indian failure all the more striking. Therefore, the imperial diaspora created negative economic growth in India. Similarly, the colonial powers focused on the extraction of natural and human resource by all means. It totally laid the path of underdevelopment of Africa and the development of European and America.

1.1.5.3.4. Theory of Trade Diaspora

The theory of trade Diaspora is constructed around the networking of trading structure on the basis which traders operate in host country. The context of trading diaspora can be understood with reference to the creation various local communities such as Illapis, Mappilas, and Mestizo etc., hybrid communities. Also, the trading diaspora had contextual impact on the areas of networking depending on the nature of construction. The Arab trading had created a flexible social fabric in the four corners of India whereas, the ex-army retired based state sponsored Portuguese created cartaza system in Indian Ocean.

The history of the Portuguese in Goa is some what similar to that of the British in India. Many sailors from different countries of Europe set sail to discover a new sea route to India during the last decade of the fifteenth century. In 1492, Columbus, an Italian sailor, set sail with the intention of reaching India, but discovered America instead. Finally, Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese sailor, succeeded in reaching India by getting around South Africa, via the Cape of Good Hope and finally touching down in India at the port of Calicut on May 17, 1498. He was welcomed by the ruler of Calicut—the
Zamorin. Vasco da Gama made heavy profits from the spices that he carried back from India to Portugal. So the Portuguese made more expeditions to India, establishing trade centres at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. The Cape of Good Hope in South Africa later came to be called the ‘Cape Route’ to India.

The first conquest of the Portuguese in Goa was made by Alfonso-de-Albuquerque. He laid the foundations of Portuguese rule in India and maintained supreme power of the Portuguese on the sea. He first came to India in 1503 as the commander of a squadron and in 1509 was appointed as the Governor of Portuguese affairs in India. In 1510 a siege was laid upon Goa. Goa was then under Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur. On February 17th Alfonso-de-Albuquerque entered the city of Goa for the first time. The Sultan’s forces were engaged elsewhere, so the resistance put up was weak. Sultan Adil Shah soon came after him causing Alfonso de Albuquerque to flee the city of Goa on May 23rd 1510. Determined to be the final victor, Alfonso de Albuquerque made another attempt a few months later with the help of a Hindu Chieftain called Timoja. This time he won over, as the Sultan had just passed away and the heir to the throne was the infant Ismail Adil Shah. (The city of Goa) was under Rasul Khan, one of the generals of Ismail Adil Shah.

The conquest of Portuguese had opened so called new chapter in the Indian Ocean and they remained the dominating force for the next two centuries. The policy of dominating the sea rather than doing the business had tremendous impact on the business class. Although, the pirates had always influenced the trade in the Ocean, but the arrival of Portuguese had not only intensified the violence as the means of successful but also forced the other Europeans to follow the same path. As a result, the specialized business groups such as Chetties or Bohras also planned to shift the trading zones. The medieval Indian merchants preferred to shift the trading posts to Bengal and Coromondal. Although, the majority of local dalals and merchants continued to operates under the cartaza system of Portuguese.

The trading diaspora started building various forts not only to keep resource but also to stay regularly to ensure regular supply of spice, indigo, textile raw materials etc. This policy also led to marriages across the cultures. The need for interpreter and the need of human emotions led to the creation of mestizo community. The emergence of
Mestizo has been very well documented in the various parts of Asia and South East Asia. It follows the same line which had earlier led to the emergence of Mappilas, Illapis etc. Gradually, the French and the English trading diaspora continuously struggled to capture the markets in and around the Indian Ocean. Finally, the British East India trading diaspora was successful to dominate the Indian Ocean till Independence of India. On the lines of politico-economic field, they definitely exploited as much as possible. But, in the field of socio-cultural arena, the internal colonialism was also challenged along with the external colonialism. The accidental by product of colonialism also helped but the Indian society not only learnt to organise and democratise itself, but also realise the negative impact of patriarchy and caste system. The twentieth century itself witnessed the withdrawal of colonial masters but, it also left a number of social groups who were very happy to stay in the colonies rather than to go back.

1.1.5.3.5. Theory of Cultural Diaspora

The theory of cultural diaspora essentially articulates diaspora as an entity involved in the creation of home based replica of cultural tools and expanding the networking on the basis of these instruments. In this sense, the diaspora is essentially linked as a product and child of homeland. Analysing the cultural tools of Jewish diaspora, D. Boyarin and J. Boyarin notes, “Male Jewish circumcision provides a particularly sharp disruption of Michael’s statement that no mark of identity ... transcends one’s cultural practices and (at least remembered) experiences, yet it is a mark that can reassert itself, and often enough does, as a demand (almost a compulsion) to reconnect, realarm, reabsorb, and reinvent the doing of Jewish diaspora. Indeed one could understand circumcision precisely as the cultural construction of genealogical differentiation, as a diacritic that symbolizes the biological status of Jewishness- not in the sense of biological connection that filiations provides.”

The importance of cultural production can also be understood as the most important element of identity available to diaspora is culture. The arrival of African diaspora and Tibetan diaspora offers most significant understanding of cultural diaspora.

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71 D. Boyarin, J. Boyarin, “The Jewish Diaspora” In Braziel and Mannur, n. 58 p. 95.
The Tibetan diaspora has totally preserved the cultural tools and also continuously tried for commercialization of various tools to capitalize and sensitize the local people. In the case of African diaspora in India, the language has been totally lost whereas the community has preserved the African socio-cultural practices. The bonding and replication of cultural elements is sharply visible in the Punjabi diaspora.

The customs and traditions of Punjabi kinship play a significant role in the articulation of diaspora and the success of Punjabi diaspora all over the world lies in the power of social networking on various lines of kinship. Its pattern varies considerably from group to group but the general mode of behaviour and attitude is more or less the same. Each relation has certain duties and responsibilities towards others in his group, in the day-to-day life, birth and marriage ceremonies, funerals and other social occasions. Different sets of terms are used for-addressing the paternal and maternal kinsfolk. The father's elder brother is addressed as 'taya', the father's younger brother as 'chacha', the father's sister is addressed as 'bhua', while the mother's brother is 'mama', and the mother's sister is called 'massi'.

The members of the kinsmen of a person reside in the same village, or in the adjoining villages. Due to the joint family system, the real brothers, even married ones, often live in the same household. The history of pre-partition India is full of Sanjah Chullahas. It was a great experience whereby the joint family shared not only resource but also the food of every day. There are some other agnates who generally reside in the same locality or Patti, participate in all social functions, and exchange gifts. Some of the cognates reside in the adjoining villages and very often they participate in social or festive occasions, like the initiation and marriage ceremonies, as also on other occasions like funerals, etc.

The kinship plays a very vital role in the social and cultural life of the people in diaspora because most of the kin have to perform certain specified and obligatory functions on social occasions. Thus, for instance, the choora (red ivory bangles) which a bride wears at her wedding has necessarily to come as a gift from her maternal uncle. The maternal uncle has to put the bangles on her forearms while going through certain rituals. Similarly, the maternal grandparents must send their khat (bridal gift) to the girl on the occasion of marriage. This gift generally comprises a set of clothes, some jewelry and
other household objects for the bride. At an initiation ceremony, like the first hair cutting, or wedding, each relative gives something in cash or kind according to his social standing or nearness of relation. The exchange of gifts is a prominent custom and keeps the kin, in a way, well-knit in the social fabric. The presence of all the relatives at social functions is considered very essential and special efforts are made to patch up differences with all those with whom relations have been strained for some reason or other.

The joint family system of Havig Brahmins is being in vogue for ages, the entire responsibility for the maintenance of the household and of social relations falls upon the father. No one in the family can question his authority. Even in such personal matters as contracting a marriage, the father, as the head of the family, has the ultimate say. After his death the powers pass on to the eldest son who becomes the head of the family and its chief representative on all social occasions. At home the head of the family inspires awe among the members. Younger members of the family dare not joke in his presence, nor is it considered befitting for them to smoke or drink when he is around. All conversation in his presence is conducted in subdued voices. Daughters-in-law observe purdah when the father-in-law is present, and it is generally understood that when he comes into the house, he would either cough aloud, or indicate in some other way that he is around, so that they may cover their faces and tone down their voices. As a general rule, there is no direct conversation between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law, but if a situation and an occasion necessitate it, it is brief to the extent of being mono-syllabic, and the daughter-in-law is barely audible.

The Purdah system is observed before the husband's elder brother also. The same customary respect shown to the father-in-law is also shown to him. But the younger brother of the husband, the devar, enjoys a privileged position. He is free to talk, laugh and joke with the bhabhi (brother's wife). Among some clans, there is a custom that when the bride is brought home, the husband's younger brother is the first person who lifts her veil and peeps at her face. The equation between devar and bhabhi is very informal. But in certain clans the eldest bhabhi is given a status equal to that of the mother and she is treated with great respect. In Malwa, where the devar generally marries the widow of the elder brother, the relationship is very free. Practical jokes and broad jests are resorted to
very liberally. In the folk songs of the Punjab, there are many references to this type of relationship between devar and bhabhi.

The relations between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law are not very cordial in many families. It is primarily the male domination in the property and the dying desire of every mother or woman to ensure economic stability by molding the male members, therefore, the relations is always full of social friction. A lot of friction is caused over the domestic chores and sometimes even small mistakes on the part of the daughter-in-law are made much of by the mother-in-law. The offended mother-in-law in her outburst does not spare even the parental family of the daughter-in-law. The sisters of the husband very sadistically add fuel to the fire. But, the negative heat produced due to the social friction inherent in the property or rentier society is meant to be overcome by various occasions of celebrations.

The celebrations of rituals and festivals reduce the frictions in the social bondings and every chance to work together. Jim Karygiannis says, “One issue that had a large impact on the immigration from India was Kamagata Maru situation. Baba Gurdit Singh chartered a Japanese ship, the Kamagata Maru, in 1914, to sail to Canada. The ship, renamed the Guru Nanak Jahaj, carried 372 passengers, of whom 351 were Sikhs and 21 were Punjabi Muslims. The ship sailed from Hong Kong to Vancouver, British Columbia, on 3 April 1914. The obstructions put up by alien authorities and hardships faced by the passengers turned them into staunch nationalists.”

The relationship between a brother and a sister or among brothers is defined in the most pious terms and all of them are supposed to perform their duties even in the most difficult times. The folk songs of Punjab are full of praise for the relatives, especially the brother, uncles, cousins, parents, grandparents etc. When she plays the folk games kikli and thaal with her friends, she sings praises of her brother. The agnates who live in a separate house though in the same village are generally the brothers or first cousins of the head of the family. Relations with them are generally kept pleasant and they in their turn join in all sorts of festive as well as sad occasions. Regular dealings of exchange of cash and gifts are maintained with them on all festive occasions. Relatives from the maternal side generally reside in the adjacent villages. Children are, as

a matter of course, more attached to their maternal relatives. There is a ditty prevalent among the children regarding their maternal grandfather's house.

Among many clans, eating or even drinking water in the house of a married daughter is taboo. It is believed that one who eats in the house of one's married daughter goes to hell. Among some, even elder brothers are not supposed to accept the hospitality of their married sisters, nor accept any gifts from her. However, there is no restriction on children accepting such gifts or hospitality. Some decades ago, this custom was rigidly followed but with the change of times people's views have changed and the rule has been relaxed.

Sometimes close friends and associates enter into a ritualistic relationship. They often exchange their turbans, and are known as Pag-wat brothers. They go to a temple or a gurudwara, exchange turbans, and eat from the same plate. It is quite an occasion and many near relatives are invited. This sort of ritualistic relationship is frequent. Sometimes even a girl ties rakhi on the wrist of a boy outside her kin and makes him her dharam bhai (brother in faith). The approach to these ritual relationships is very serious and all obligations are as earnestly observed as in the case of real kin ties. These resources of culture have made the Punjabi diaspora a successful diaspora in west.

1.1.5.4. Contemporary Theories of Diaspora

1.1.5.4.1. Theory of Multi-Hybrid Diaspora

The paradigm of contemporary diasporic theories starts by rejecting the essentialist and homogenization tendency of traditional theories. It does not take the three pillars of diaspora theory as unchangeable, therefore, three pillars are very much part of contemporary theories but, it has been conceptualized as a dynamic and fluid entity. These identities result in hybrid subjectivities that articulate the interstices of race, gender, sexuality, nationhood, and class, as well as the histories that are implicated by their postcolonial condition. Yet, it is precisely at this intersection that a politics of coalition encounters obstacles; the multiplicity of hybrid identities becomes invisible to members of isolated communities who uphold a monolithic view of identity, and thus deny differences within community.

The term homeland not only implies geography with geometric representations but also, social structure and socio-cultural capital. The social geography focuses on
spatial divisions of labour, local urban culture, ethnic relations etc., all of which are time and place specific. It articulates place for a constructive sense of place which means that places are not static, but represent continual processes. A paradigm which configures places without boundaries that does not enclose them from an outside. A place comprises social relations which connect people from different places. Further, there will always be internal differences and conflicts in a place, and therefore places do not have one uniform and single identity. Therefore, place is constituted by its social relations and one needs to treat place as part of the social and cultural processes that are internal and external to space and place.

There is a gradual difference between concepts that are ontological abstractions—beliefs about how the world is pre-fixed notions about the empirical world. This spatial dimension or representations are not fixed, but are created, reproduced and are changed by social agents through practice and discourse. The place is therefore also a question of methodology in terms to grasp these empirical typifications – that might be a central part in spatial representations and then make new typifications out of them.

Simultaneously, it is the object (place as materiality) charged with meaning (through discourse and social practices), one can replace interpreter with agent who uses and interpret signs. These signs include categories and prototypes, and as actors and social agents one makes interpretations about the signs and objects. A place is therefore not only a matter of fact as an object in external reality, but is endowed with meaning, experience, social practices and discourses, and is therefore also internal to sociality and to the human consciousness and body. It means that the analysis of place as a category and as a prototype leads to the inclusion of internal and the external, materiality and immateriality in the interpretation process. The case of Jews and Palestinians also refer to the same formulation of a place to the social relationships. It again situates the importance of space in the life of human beings and the possible efforts may be done by another society to define and interpret in different perspective.

Another example is the conflict about Jerusalem that might be understood as a struggle about categorisation over prototypes. By using the concepts categories and prototypes it is possible to get a contextual understanding about place because these concepts are linked to experience, discourse and social practices. It may expand then to
investigate how migrants relate themselves to the prototypes and categories which for some might have spatial referents. It becomes important in the case of different categories and different prototypes are related, for example, Jerusalem as a category is connected to the category Israel for the Israeli people and to Palestine for the Palestinian people. Further, it can imagine the Al-Aqsa Mosque as a prototype of Jerusalem and the Palestinian nation for the Palestinian people etc.

The need to delink the essentialising perspective becomes urgent as in the case of Palestinians and Jews. Similarly, the Indian diaspora in Europe and America should not be assumed as undiluted entity as the rhythms of many have already been set in the new modulations. As a result, the final product is not just the hybrid object but a multihybrid entity having very complex regulations. The categories and prototypes are embodied and connected to experience; it is difficult to grasp the whole reality, only parts of it. The observations are located like objects, persons, events and places in categories and prototypes to give meaning to the phenomena observed.

These categories and prototypes are further placed in different contexts. These contexts are connected to social practices, experiences and discourses, and the methodological task is to analyse the meaning and the social relations of these practices and discourses. This is not an attempt to grasp the whole reality of example particular places. It will always be a continuous interpretation process, and the meaning of contexts is not closed a universe. Thus, the essentialist and homogenous framework must be given way to constant Brownian movement within the three pillars of diaspora and the construction of web due to these interactions. Definitely, the resultant community is not only hybrid but rather multi-hybrid.

1.1.5.4.2. Theory of Queer Diaspora

The formulation of Queer diaspora is a recent theorization and it has been clearly accepted in many diasporic entities, though, the homelands are still quite away from thinking on such issues. The diasporic configurations of away from home provide raw materials to assert the natural rights of Queer diaspora. M. M. Manalansan says regarding Filipino Gays, “The narratives of these diasporic Filipino gay men demonstrate that the closer is not a monolithic space, and that coming out or becoming publicly visible is not a uniform process that can be generalized across different national cultures. Filipino gay
men in the diaspora has to use their own rhetoric, a different drama, that is particularly performance of coming out and identity articulation, that is emblematic of both their experiences of the gay community in the United States and bakla culture.³ In order to see the continuum of Filipino cultural production as resistance to hegemonic rule, it is useful to provide an account of performance practices throughout the century as analysed by cultural studies and theatre practitioners. It is particularly important to point out the performances that occurred around the time of U. S. conquest of the Philippines shortly after it gained independence from Spain.

The analysis of diaspora within a queer context helps to explore the differences between concepts of gender and sexuality as experienced by queer subjects in various global locations. Diasporic identity provides space for the practice of activism and performance that allows these queer communities to cross borders in both a concrete and imagined sense. Queer racialized subjects perform multiple forms of citizenship that are falsely perceived to simultaneously contradict each other. They reflect a necessary, subversive hybridity in an era of neocolonialism and globalization in that they simultaneously challenge heteronormativity and the process of racial assimilation. In the emergence of queer diasporas world wide, the reproduction of hierarchies causes internal displacement of its own subjects. One such displacement occurs for lesbian subjects who disrupt the notion of a queer diaspora due to gender differences in relation to their queer male counterparts.

It can be argued that there is a Filipino/ American gay male who desires to be like the other. While bakla identities are maintained in the U.S. as a strategy for resisting monolithic gay white culture, more men in the Philippines are identifying as gay, and by doing so are disrupting rigid gender ideologies. Given that machismo and rigid gender ideologies in general, oppress both women and men who transgress gender boundaries, it would be logical to draw parallels between the experiences of ‘Oriental’ gay men and straight women. Sexual commodification affects the feminised Asian male body as it does Asian women. Hence, Orientalist gender ideologies can potentially create barriers between queer Asian women and men, where the latter find more in common with

³ M.M. Manalasan, “In the Shadows of Stonewall” In Brzezil and Mannur, n. 58 p. 222.
heterosexual Asian women. Keeping in mind the potential for transnational consciousness and Asian women's solidarity, all three are implicated by the same system. Thus, the issues of queer are realigning the elements of diasporic formation on the same tri-pillar structure but, in a different direction leading to the formation a new diasporic formulation.

1.1.5.5. Theories Relevant to African diaspora in Karnataka

The role of Africa as a contextualized home land, African cultural tools and context of forced movement create relevance of various theories cutting across traditional and contemporary framework. The lines of demarcation were also visible in the transformation of Habshi slaves to powerful Siddi military in medieval Indian history. The inability of the mighty Mughals to contain the daredevil Malik Ambar reflects the power of African community to replace the issue of victimization by the issue of state builders as reflected in the formation of powerful Songhay and Mandinka Empire.

1.1.5.5.1. Forced Movement as Victim Theorization

The traditional and contemporary theories are very relevant to African diaspora in Karnataka. The emergence and expansion of diaspora was primarily a product of victimization. The victimization of Africans in the migrated place provided an accidental identity of Habshis. The Portuguese trading diaspora used a number of African slaves in the Indian Ocean for various labor intensive activities. The medieval period did provide the socio-cultural capital of diaspora, the host country also welcomed the Habshis within the religious framework of Islam. The conquest of Gujarat by Delhi Sultanate had tremendously expanded the activities of Arabian Trading diaspora. As a result, the Africans were forcefully migrated in large scale.

African slaves ultimately formed the basis for most commerce between Europe and Africa. Europe's conquest and colonization of North and South America and the Caribbean islands from the fifteenth century onward created an insatiable demand for African laborers, who were deemed fit to work in the tropical conditions of the New World. Evolving political circumstances and trade alliances in Africa led to shifts in the geographic origins of slaves throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Slaves were generally the unfortunate victims of territorial expansion by imperialist African states or of raids led by predatory local strongmen, and various populations found
themselves captured and sold as different regional powers came to prominence. Firearms, which were often exchanged for slaves, generally increased the level of fighting by lending military strength to previously marginal polities.

The traditional theorization provides a clue to the understanding of peculiar practices and the desire of the African to carry on those practices through oral traditional and cultural practices. The location of triadic relationship needs to be understood from the Afrocentric perspective as the imagination of the homeland in the case of Africans is very different. The impact of forced movement in the stage of tribal status did not provide the basic location of homeland as evident in the case of settled societies. Does this deprive the Africans in India from becoming a diaspora? It really opens a new arena to conceptualize the space for homeland and the factors behind the formulation of negritude leading to political unification, even in the absence of resource required for such a grand plan. The emergence of new phenomenon known as contextualization of homeland must be understood in this context.

1.1.5.5.2. African Rubrics as Cultural Theorization

The Siddis of Karnataka share a common horizon for identification and consolidation as a community. It is very true that the diasporic community has undergone radical transformative processes, even then, the preservation and reproduction of diasporic tools has been a continuous process for the last 500 years. The community has been passed from Habshis (the term ‘Habshi’ in the Arabic-Persian dictionary signifies people ‘belongs to Abyssinia or Ethiopia’) to Siddi means lordly or an appellation of Africans. It was a continuous struggle on the part of Habshis to carve out a space in the mainstream medieval politic-economic system. Further, it also complicated due worldwide recognition of them as slave. But, the Habshis were successful to reach the highest stage of monarchy (below monarch) during the leadership of Jamal-ud-din Yaqut, Malik Kafur, Malik Ambar and Fateh Kahan. Apart from organized leadership, the scattered groups also played important role in the kingship of Marathas and splintered states of Bahmani Kingdom.

The Habshis achieved high office in court, but that did not mean that they were free. The Siddis one encounters in Gujarat are sometimes seen as somewhat degraded descendants of these medieval Habshis who had power and wealth. This is a mistake.
Africans came in different historical contexts, in different periods. Though, the Siddis of Karnataka are product of Portuguese trading diaspora. Not all of them were slaves; many came on ships. Since Sea voyages relied on the monsoons, it happened that they were here for a couple of months, so they left the coast for the hinterland.

In the post-colonial period, the Siddi identity has been not only rearticulated but also, it has been provided an altogether new dimension. On the one hand, the medieval period categorized on the macro level the Siddis as Habshis; On the other hand, the colonial period transformed them into a tribe or criminal tribal identity. The Siddis of Karnataka were primarily forced to take shelter in the dense forest areas of Ghats. The forest areas provided again the feelings of being in African forest as tribal community. It also helped them to retain the African tools of cultural and social production. The post-colonial period again redefined the meaning and context of forests in the lights of JMP and JFPM. These new approaches to analyse forest provided a chance to commercialize the forest product. The increasing penetration of the industries in the forest regions, on the one hand, the stigmatization of tribals in the forest areas led to construction of law and order issues. Therefore, the Siddis were once again forced to adjust in the mainstream society. Gradually, the Siddi community witnessed religion based incorporation paving way for vertical alliance at the cost of horizontal alliances.

The African diaspora is also structured on the three main pillars of diaspora with a little variation. The African diaspora is based on the triadic relationship of continentalisation of homeland in Africa, hostland and diasporic community in India in general and Karnataka in particular. The politico-economic marginalization and continuous stigmatization of forest areas with reference to use by tribals have led to awakening of the triadic relationship among the Siddi community. The academic initiatives in the arena of African diaspora, availability of cultural tools, phenotypical features and African social practices along with the new channels of worldwide communication have provided immense space to the community to formulate on the socio-cultural lines.

It is due to this reason that the Hindu, Muslim and Christian Siddi communities unanimously decided to use the suffix of Siddi as surname to get a common identification from society. Further, the inclusion of Siddis in the Scheduled Tribe status have again
added an Indian social element of categorization to the Siddi community. Yet, the formulation of large scale Adivasi’s multipurpose Societies have provide much needed autonomous and recognized platform to the Siddi community to learn the modern method of organization and resistance. Therefore, the Siddi community forms a common socio-cultural pool.

The conceptualization of the homeland need to be articulated in the context of unified and monolithic reference in the medieval period to all the Africans. The document of medieval Indian history clearly reflect the imposition of monolithic identity by the ruling establishment of Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals. It clearly provides the framework of homeland which has been kept alive in music and dance, Sufi shrines and theses elements always renew the relations. The African diaspora is not only searching the identity Africa in the continentalisation of homeland in Africa. Though, the mechanism to operate is still very much in continuation of African identity.

The contemporary theorizations with reference to the multi-hybridity represent the multi-focal point which essentially differentiates the African diaspora. Unlike the Tibetan diaspora entwined in the essentialising triadic relationship, the African diaspora rejects partially the traditional theorizations and builds up an inclusive entity with contemporary theorizations in the non-essentialist triadic formulation along with unique socio-cultural practices having reference point in the concept of homeland. Thus, the Siddi community represents African diasporic profile and it is very well located in various states of India in general and Belgaum, Dharwad, North Kanara regions of Karnataka in particular.