INTRODUCTION:

GENERAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The issue of Diaspora has become an important subject of study for the past three decades. All groups of people from politicians to academicians, from businessmen to journalists, have developed interest in Diaspora. Researchers of almost all major streams of study – economy, psychology, sociology, political science, history – are now focusing on the issue of Diaspora. Why now Diaspora, as an area of study, as an area of policy-making, has become so important? A recent study by World Bank concludes that

"By far the strongest effect of war on the risk of subsequent war works through diasporas. After five years of post-conflict peace, the risk of renewed conflict is around six-times higher in the societies with the largest diasporas in America than in those without American Diasporas. Presumably, this effect works through the financial contributions of diaspora to rebel organizations".¹

This study, thus, very strongly indicates the influence of diaspora on the international scene.

Moreover, recently many media reports and academic studies point to the influence of diasporas on international behaviour in many cases, such as the Armenian, Chinese, Croats, Cubans, Indian, Irish, Jews, Palestinians, Sikhs and Tamils. These diasporas and many others have influenced world affairs in numerous ways, passive and active, constructive and destructive. Before going further with the discussion on the concept of Diaspora let us define very briefly the concepts – Status and Identity

1.1 Concepts Defined: Status and Identity

Status is a scale to measure relative social, political and economic standing in a society. Status has two different types that come along with it: a) achieved: the one that is attained by individuals themselves and b) ascribed is the one that is given by the society.

Now Identity itself seems to be about a question, ‘who am I? Thus, the term ‘identity’ refer to the idea of selfhood in properties based on the uniqueness and individuality, which makes a person distinct from others. It also means qualities of sameness in relation to a person’s connection to others and to a particular group of people.

1.2 Defining Diaspora

Diaspora:- Etymologically, the term diaspora is derived from the Greek composite verb *dia* and *sperein* (infinitive), literally meaning ‘to scatter’, ‘to spread’ or ‘to disperse’. However, this word is a contested and a complex word. According to Prof. Brij V. Lal it could be because of its ‘specific historical association with the dispersion of the Jewish people’. The word carried the connotation of violence, catastrophe, alienation, loss, exile and return. But words and concepts never remain static, they evolve in time to acquire expanded meanings. Therefore, the New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, in its 1993 edition (up till now it defined the term as ‘the dispersion of Jews among the gentile nations’ and ‘as all those Jews who live outside their biblical land of Israel), for the first time in its long history added that the term also refers to ‘the situation of people living outside their traditional homeland’.

So, the meaning of the word has greatly fluctuated depending on the context, and continues to do so. However, if diaspora is a socio-politico-economic reality, we must identify its parameters and processes, and we must review its definitional issues, which are subject to much debate.

If we focus on the most generally accepted definitions of the term diaspora, we can define four broad periods:- antiquity, a time during which it had different meanings; the Middle Ages to the Renaissance; the beginning of the 19th century to the 1970s; and the 1980s to the present.

During antiquity (800-600 BC), the term was used to describe the Greek colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean; it referred to trade expansion and had a positive

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connotation. It was first used by Jewish scholars during third century BC in a Greek translation of Bible, and had a negative connotation: it referred to the Jewish experience of displacement to Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple (586 BC).\(^5\) So, the terms diaspora and Babylon came to mean being cut-off from one’s roots and being forced to live in a foreign place. Diaspora conveyed the notion of loss, of suffering, and of exile from a place of origin, as well as the idea of religious punishment of the Jews.

This definition changed as Jews settled freely outside Palestine and Diaspora came to mean the gathering of all Jews by the will of God. But with the Roman destruction of the Second Temple in CE 70, it became associated once again with exile from a historical and cultural centre, although the meaning waned during the centuries to follow.\(^6\)

With the creation and predominance of Nation-States during the 19\(^{th}\) century, a coalescence of the notions of nation state, culture and territory became the rule and the term diaspora came again to signify exile, suffering and displacement.\(^7\)

This new way of looking at diasporas gave rise to two debates. One was related to the Nationalities Principle adopted in the 1830s by the major powers of the time, which was linked to the debate on the rights of national minorities to a state. It was then commonly believed that it was normal for a human group, be it linguistic or cultural, to have a state. Zionist thinkers, in fact, compared communities in exile to sick creatures suggesting that the Jewish Diaspora was a pathological mode of existence. Others proposed a particular form of federalism, or national – cultural autonomy. Both approaches were meant to protect cultural and religious minorities who lacked territorial continuity and could not claim national independence.\(^8\)

The second debate had to do with the political affiliations of diasporas. Members of a diaspora were suspected of allegiance only to their own community and not to the nation.

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\(^{6}\) Helly, Denise, *op. cit.*, p.3.


and society with which they had settled. The geographic dispersion of the Jewish Diaspora was described as a –national or anti-national.

The ideology of national and cultural homogenization in the 19th century gave negative connotation to the term diaspora. The term contradicted the precepts of national and state ideologies, since ‘nation’ implied the superimposition of an ethnic group, a territory and a political system, as well as the absence of loyalty to any extra-national community, group or institution. The expression ‘internal enemy’, used to designate Diasporas, minorities or political opponents, was adopted in France in the 19th century.9

From the 1960s onwards, during the creation of Communist China and the accentuation of colonial conflicts in Southeast Asia (notably in Indonesia and Malaysia), people started speaking of a Chinese diaspora in the region. The term ‘fifth Column’ was used to refer to persons supposedly without local national allegiances that were linked by powerful economic networks and were developing an allegiance to the new China.10

The definition of a diaspora as a culturally specific population that places little value on the borders of empires, states, nations and majority cultures and religions was hardly questioned until the 1960s. Until this time, the term implied a clear distinction between diaspora and the migratory flux generated by industrial and capitalist development and by creation of new states in Central and Southern Europe in the nineteenth century, and in the Third World in the twentieth century. Examples included large numbers of Polish, Russian, Irish, Scandinavian, German, Italian and migrants, disposed or oppressed and with no sense of internal unity. However, starting in the 1960s, this distinction between diaspora and economic migration tended to be blurred.11

This evolution was a result of a change in relations between minority and majority cultural groups – between Europeans and Non – Europeans. The major facts were a shift in America (1965) and Canadian (1967) immigration policies, whereupon borders were opened to no-Europeans, as well as the adoption of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1971 and a similar policy in Australia in 1977, the social uprising in African-American

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9 Helly, Denise, op. cit., p.4.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., p.4.
ghettos, the African – American elite’s demand for equal rights, the advent of the notion of a black diaspora and protest movements of Native and African-American minorities.¹²

Starting in the 1970s and 1980s, the term diaspora came to mean a population living outside its homeland.¹³ According to this view, minorities of immigrant ancestry who develop strong ties with their country of origin make up modern-day diasporas. The acceptance of this meaning was popularized during the 1980s through the journal Diaspora. However, this definition was questioned by several authors. For example, Khachig Toloyan warned of possible dissolution of the notion of Diaspora¹⁴, a word that had become so common that it spoke for itself. Another author Dennis Helly was also sceptical of this term. According to him,

“When assigned to a migratory movement with strong ties to its centre of origin, the term is indeed denuded of its original content, and its use becomes purely ideological rather than sociological. In view of the globalization of communications, politics and the economy, the majority of emigrant groups can easily ties with their homeland. Rare are those who lose interest in their countries. In these conditions naming a migratory population that maintains contact with its homeland diasporic does not add anything to the sociology of diasporas. Moreover, it overlooks two facts: the violence causing the dispersion of certain populations, and the network linking different centres of settlement.”¹⁵

Another definition of the term diaspora gained acceptance during the 1960s and 1970s. It emphasized the victimization of Africans deported to the Americas and the recreation and invention of hybrid, mixed and plural identities and cultures. African-Americans showed an interest in their roots and in Africa as soon as they were emancipated. An African Civilization Society was founded in the United States in 1858; African States for free black Americans (Liberia) was created at the end of 19th century, and the Universal Association for Negro Improvement and African Communities League was founded in 1914. The notion of returning to the land from which they were wrenched by force took

¹² Ibid.
¹⁴ Ibid., p.8.
¹⁵ Helly, Denise. op.cit., p.5.
on a new form in 1930s along with the notion of a Black Babylon. The Rastafarian Movement was born in Jamaica, its main advocate Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican political activist. Largely derived from the Old Testament, it promoted a return to Africa of African-Americans, leaving behind oppression. Ethiopia was likened to the Promised Land, and Prince (Ras) Tafari to the Messiah after his coronation as Emperor Haile Selassie in November of 1930.16

The independence of European colonies, the civil rights movement in America, and the Rastafarian movement were all factors in the re-emergence of African-West Indians and African-American’s pan-African consciousness in 1960s and 1970s. Terms such as Black Diaspora and Africa Diaspora were used, and a link was made between the Jewish Diaspora and the violent displacement of African slaves to the Americas.

During the 1980s, the term diaspora acquired a new, positive connotation. It was used to designate all forms of migratory movement of different communities, such as the Polish, Japanese, Ukrainian, Sikh and Turkish Diasporas. To be certain, as Wang Gungwu put it, the current resurfacing of the idea of diaspora reminds us how shallow the roots of nationalism are in comparison with the long history of diasporas; but this does not mean that all emigrants are diasporic.17

This new image of the diaspora emphasizes the ties linking local communities originating from a dispersed population rather than underlining exile from a homeland and links with a country of origin. The association of diaspora and transnationalism is a result of globalization of trade, markets and communication. A number of emigrants and their descendants evolve in a space where national borders seem to have lost their meaning. Instead, they create ties with two societies or with a transnational community. Many different studies document the existence of transnational immigrant networks and transnational identities. Authors speak of a trans nation, of a displaced nation, of deterritorialization and of multiple identities.18

16 Cohen. op.cit., p.126.
These three current interpretations of the term diaspora obliterates its potential epistemological value. We have to examine what specific form of migration and settlement distinguishes diaspora. Robert Fossaert refers to diaspora as a chain of colonies without a homeland. He distinguishes diasporas born of enclaves of foreign merchants located at the crossroads of commercial routes from diasporas born of European and Asian industrial reserves created by capitalism, which prompted migration to the Americas. From the definition in which diaspora and ties with a homeland are assimilated, Gabriel Sheffer retains three characteristics: the claim to an ethnic identity; strong ties to a transnational community; and contact with the centre of origin. In a definition closer to the Jewish archetype, William Safran proposes five characteristics: dispersion from a homeland to various regions; collective memory of homeland; ties maintained with the country of origin and a will to return; responsibility for its reproduction; and uneasy relations with the society of residence. Robin Cohen adds two other traits: voluntary dispersion and links between dispersed communities. Finally, Kachig Tololyan proposes the following six characteristics to summarize the definition of historical diasporas: forced dispersion; cultural unity; collective memory (written material, history); strong community boundaries; links between different centres of settlement; and ties with historical centre.

1.3 Diasporas Relations with Host countries and Homelands

Before discussing relations of Diasporas with homelands, it should be emphasised that there is no symmetry in the way homeland societies and host societies, on the one hand, and their governments, on the other, treat their Diasporas. The Irish, Greek, and Israeli societies, for example, frowned on those members who voluntarily migrated to the more economically developed, richer, and freer host countries and have not returned. The primary reasons for this negative attitude were patriotic and nationalistic. These societies

19 Helly, Denise. op.cit., p.9.
20 Ibid.
22 Helly, Denise. op.cit., p.9.
23 Cohen.op.cit., pp.140-1.
24 Tololyan, K. op.cit., pp.16-17.
experienced deep concern about "brain drain", the loss of human capital, and the consequent weakening of national morale, honour, and cohesion. However, recently there is decline in patriotic and nationalistic feelings in most countries, the social pressures intended to discourage emigration have diminished. Probably, the most striking example of such changed attitudes is the case of Israel, where emigrants are no longer regarded as "deserters" who betray the nation and country.\textsuperscript{25}

Societies in less developed countries encourage such emigration. Moreover, poverty in homelands tends to promote chain migration. In turn, that pattern influences the nature of the diasporic entities that such migrants establish, and they tend to be more cohesive and supportive. The Christian Palestinians, Ghanan, Filipino, Moroccon, and Mexican societies provide good examples of that pattern.\textsuperscript{26} Migrants families, friends, and other relevant social groups remaining behind in the homeland expect that their migrants will maintain ongoing contact with them. Moreover, migrants' families firmly expect that their migrants will maintain ongoing contact with them. Moreover, migrants' families firmly expect that as soon as their kinfolk reach a host country and find work there, they will transfer money back home. Indeed remittances from these sources are estimated to exceed $150 billion each year.\textsuperscript{27} During later stages in the development of diaspora - homeland relationships, families and other social groups remaining back in the homelands tend to become more concerned about the personal fate of their relatives abroad, particularly those who never intended to assimilate into their host societies and who always maintained close contact with their homelands. That is, at a later stage, homeland societies lose some interest in those who integrate or assimilate into host societies and do not maintain contact with their kin in the homeland. That, for example, has been the case with the changing societal attitudes toward Israeli migrants who have decided to settle permanently in the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Britain, and, more recently, Germany.\textsuperscript{28}

Homeland government's attitudes toward their diasporas are quite a different matter. Generally, those political actors prefer that their emigrants retain their original citizenship and accept only temporary status in the host countries. They hope that retention of the


\textsuperscript{26} Sheffer, Gabriel. 2003., \textit{op. cit.} p.122.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, p.123.
homeland citizenship will allow them to have some control over emigrants. Usually that is indeed the pattern of development. The principal reason is that during the initial stage of diaspora emergence, the difficult conditions that migrants encounter in most host countries force them to depend on their homelands for substantial amounts of political and support, especially support from their homeland governments. Some homeland governments reveal an attitude of cynicism in dealing with their diasporas. The history of Israeli’s relations with Israeli emigrants and the Romanian and Turkish government’s relationships with their migrants in Europe well illustrate that pattern. The most salient reason for this could be strong possibility of something less than total loyalty among members of diasporas vis-à-vis their homelands.

A second factor contributing to homeland government’s caution is that even in cases in which it is clear that members of diasporas are reasonably loyal to their homelands, there is self-doubt about the ability to closely control the diasporas activities. Furthermore, homelands governments are apprehensive about the possibility of being asked to help emerging diasporas in times of distress.

Despite this home governments cannot totally ignore their emerging diasporas nor their established diasporas. Hence, it is rare to detect total apathy in those relationships. Although the relationships may fluctuate, in the final analysis most governments continue to hope that in the long run they may benefit from those relationships. Rather than ignoring or alienating emerging diasporas, they usually try to cooperate with the more important diaspora associations and their leaders, hoping for at least a reasonable degree of interaction with their diaspora.

Unlike the situation in homeland – diaspora relations, where the main actors are the migrants, the migrants relatives, and the home governments, in the realm of host-country – diaspora relations things become more complicated, and there are additional actors: social and political groups, which are the main sources of opposition and sometimes hatred and violence. Although more host governments are demonstrating greater acceptance of pluralism in general, and greater tolerance toward diasporic entities in particular, social backlashes against migrants, especially against members of emerging

29 Ibid.
diasporas, still occur and are disruptive.\textsuperscript{30} Such backlashes have occurred in countries that in the past often have boasted of their liberal attitudes and policies toward refugees and asylum seekers, such as the United States. Hence, it is not all surprising that in 1990s, California, which long had liberal attitudes towards migrants, was leading an anti-migration and anti-settlement movement.\textsuperscript{31}

However, it is not only members of indigenous minorities and other societal groups who express hostile attitudes. Various host governments are becoming quite apprehensive that the formation of permanent diasporas is increasing the demand for allocation of substantial resources to cater to the welfare needs of the members of those emerging diasporas. In the same vein those governments are aware that divided loyalties usually prevail among diasporans, so that when incipient diasporas are serving the interests of their homelands, their actions may run counter to the interests of their host societies.

Yet, given the current circumstances, some host governments see the emergence of organized diasporas as a lesser danger than what would result from attempts at repression. The main reason is that rather than dealing with numerous individuals or amorphous groups, host governments find it more convenient and efficient to deal with organized diasporas. In some cases host governments have granted diasporas organizations and their leaders the right to establish formal corporations that officially represent their members. That has been done with the Jewish communities in France and Britain and with various Asian diasporas in Britain.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{1.3.1 Problems in integration with Indigenous Societies}

There are many socio-economic and political problems that diasporas face in host countries such as economic hardships, denial of equal political rights, social segregation and the loyalty issue. Economic hardships of diasporas generally arose out of the stringent measures taken by the host governments in the spheres of Land ownership, business and employment. In some cases, it is so severe that they are forced to leave their adopted country. For example: The Burmese Indians who held affluent economic status until the

\textsuperscript{31} Sheffer, Gabriel .2003., \textit{op. cit}, p.126.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, p.127.
fifties were deprived of their wealth when the Burmese Government nationalized their Lands and business.

In several countries, the diasporas are denied equal political rights and privileges. Similarly, they also face the problem of racial segregation. Apart from these problems, diasporas have to continuously prove their loyalty to host countries.

1.3.1.1 The question of loyalty

Dealing with the issue of loyalty is not an easy task. It depends on the perceptions that prevail in host countries regarding sovereignty, the security concerns of host country leaders and the interactions of host countries with the homelands of the diasporans residing within their boundaries.

According to Gabriel Sheffer, generally, "diasporas demonstrate ambiguous, dual or divided loyalties to their host countries and homelands". Dual loyalties consist in a collective state of mind such that diasporans feel they owe allegiance to both host country and homeland. In other words, they do not see a substantial contradiction between their two loyalties. Thus, they accept the general, social and political norms of their hosts and comply with the legal, political and economic regulations of their host countries. At the same time, they feel affinity for and maintain contacts with their families and other groups in their homelands and are willing to promote their homelands interests in host countries and elsewhere. As long as relations between their homelands and host countries are friendly, or at least cordial, most diasporans will not face major difficulties in determining the balance between their loyalties and maintaining the patterns of loyalties they have forged. That will not be the case, however, if disagreements arise between host countries and homelands.

Divided loyalties are one according to which members of diasporas demonstrate loyalty to their host countries in the domestic sphere and loyalty to their homelands in regard to homeland politics and trans-state politics. Under those circumstances, most diasporans will show loyalty to their host countries and comply with the laws and the norms and principals prevailing in those countries. They will comply with regulations in the

\[33 \text{i bid.}, \text{p.225.}\]
economic and financial spheres, and some will participate in the defence of their host countries during wars. On the other hand, in other spheres, such as contributing money to worthy causes, gathering and passing on information, supporting political and diplomatic activities, and engaging in cultural exchanges, those same diasporans will show loyalty to their homelands. In such cases they will direct some of their activities to promoting their homelands interests in host countries and in international organizations and they may transfer substantial resources to their homelands. Clearly, such attitudes and actions offer fertile ground for germination of tension and disputes with their host societies and governments.

Whereas established diasporas usually adopt one of the two patterns of loyalties just discussed, members of emerging diasporas and members of groups that are in the process of reawakening and changing from dormant to active diasporas may have difficulty in clearly defining their identities, in making decisions about their identifications, and therefore also in determining their loyalties. As a way out, they make take a wait-and-see approach, preferring a dash of ambiguity amid their loyalties. Only after making their critical decisions about permanent settlement and integration or assimilation into their host societies, as well as the extent of their contacts with their homelands, will they be ready to clarify their positions on loyalties. Some diasporans will maintain an ambiguous stance for long periods. Such ambiguity can result from dissatisfaction with the cultural, social, and political situations prevailing in their homelands, unfavourable conditions in host countries, or simply confusion and indecision about how much contact they want with homelands and about their willingness to assimilate into host countries.

1.3.2. State-linked and Stateless Diaspora

The stateless diasporas are those dispersed segments of nations that have been unable to establish their own independent states. The state-linked diasporas are those groups that are in host countries but are connected to societies of their own ethnic origin that constitute a majority in established states.

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34 Ibid., p.226.
36 Sheffer, Gabriel 2003. op.cit, p.74.
Of the two, the stateless diasporas form the smaller category, currently including ethnic
groups or nations such as the Palestinians, Kurds, Tibetans. Those diasporas strive to
establish or re-establish independent states. The larger category, that of the state-linked
diasporas includes all other existing diasporas, regardless of their age, their organization,
or the nature of their relationships with homeland and host country.

There is no direct correlation between a diaspora’s link to an established national state
(nor a diaspora’s statelessness) and the social and economic status and organization of
most members of that diaspora. Members of both stateless diasporas and state-linked
diasporas can be “proletarian” (i.e. from poorer segments of their homeland societies,
such as most Palestinians in the United States and Kuwait and the Latin Americans in the
United States) or “capitalists” (middle-class migrants and richer migrants, such as the
recent emigrants from Hong Kong to Canada and United States, Israeli Jews who
permanently reside in various host countries). In the same vein, some of those groups are
unorganized (as is the case for the white South Africans), some are loosely organized
(such as Palestinians in the United States and Canada), and some are well organized (such
as Colombians in the United States and Israel).37

1.3.2.1 Stateless Diasporas in the New Global Environment

The recent establishment of some new, independent ethnic states, has reduced the number
of stateless diasporas and also led to a clear change in diaspora’s strategies toward their
host countries and their homelands. Thus, the re-establishment of independent Armenia,
Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, which transformed their stateless diasporas into
state-linked diasporas, gradually changed their principle political orientations and spheres
of activity. Instead of focusing most of their efforts on matters related to their homelands,
those diasporas are devoting more attention and resources solving their own problems in
their host countries. For example, the establishment of state of Armenia has transformed
the ‘overseas Armenians’ into a ‘normal’ state-linked diasporas, the Armenian diaspora
has turned its attention to recruitment of political support, lobbying efforts, and some

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38 For detail study on Armenian diaspora see Hovannisian, R. 1997. The Armenian People from Ancient
fund-raising for the homeland and has directed most of its resources to solving diaspora problems.  

Usually, as soon as stateless diasporas achieve their goals of independent national states in their homelands, thus becoming state-linked diasporas, most of them tend to pursue a 'communal strategy' in their host countries. When diasporas shift to that strategy, they place new emphasis on reinforcing their solidarity, preventing population losses, increasing the membership in diasporas organizations, expanding activities of those organizations.

Politically, the more active groups in the stateless diaspora category are the Palestinians, Kurds, Tibetians. In all these cases, internal debates continue over the main orientation that those diasporas should adopt regarding the future of their homelands. The integrationists in each of those diasporas would settle for cultural and economic autonomy of their homeland; more radical elements would argue that a separatist strategy should be followed by that segment of their nation residing in the homeland, with the diaspora providing substantive support for such an effort.

From a security point of view (i.e., regarding the possibility that members of stateless diasporas might support and actually engage in subversive acts and terrorist activities), diasporas that pursue or support secessionist and separatist movements in their homelands have the greatest potential to cause trouble for those in control there. By the same token, they pose real and potential threats to their host societies and governments, to international organizations, and through their occasional participation in terrorist networks. Terrorism is only the visible tip of the much larger iceberg of stateless diasporas activities directed at satisfying their national aspirations.

1.3.2.2. State-linked Diasporas Strategies, Tactics and Organizations

The greater tolerance that democratic host governments show toward all ethnic minorities influences the stance of state-linked ethno-national diasporas in those countries. In

40 Sheffer, Gabriel 2003. op.cit, pp.156-57.
41 Ibid.
Western countries, they are gaining relative freedom, at least to pursue ‘cultural autonomy’, namely, to maintain their own traditions, mores and customs.\(^{42}\) This development makes it easier for diaspora members to maintain their identity. The following subsections describe the main strategies that diaspora groups can pursue. They compose a spectrum, beginning with radical strategies intended to force the granting of independence in homelands.

The Assimilationist Strategy:

Assimilationist strategy is adopted mainly by members of established diasporas who firmly intend to settle and do not intend to cultivate their connections with their homelands. Today an assimilationist strategy is adopted by relatively few international migrants and members of emerging diasporas. Moreover, it is noted that many ‘assimilated’ diasporans are ‘rediscovering’ their old identities, rejoining their diaspora communities, and identifying as such.\(^{43}\)

The Integrationist Strategy:

The integrationist strategy is aimed at substantial degrees of social, economic, and political participation, but not assimilation, in the host society. Its meaning is that diaspora members strive to gain the same personal, social, economic, and political rights as the majority in the host society, and recognition of their equal status. When pursuing that strategy, some diasporans may try to decrease the visibility of their ethno-national traits and characteristics and sever ties with official institutions in their homeland. Nevertheless, they will maintain some of their ethnic cultural features and admit their origin. Members of entities that adopt this strategy may visit their homelands, and some may even return to their homelands.\(^{44}\)

The Communalist and Corporatist strategies:

The communalist strategy aims to achieve a reasonable degree of ‘absorption’ of diasporans into the host society, but not full integration, which might lead to assimilation— all the while maintaining continuous and unwavering relations with the homeland. To a

\(^{43}\) Sheffer, Gabriel. 2003. op.cit, p163
\(^{44}\) Ibid.
great extent, implementation of this strategy depends on the creation of elaborate diaspora organizations and trans-state networks to connect the diaspora to its homeland and to other dispersed segments of the same nation.

Basically, the corporatist strategy is much like the communalist strategy. It also is based on maintaining the ethno-national identity and on nurturing communal organizations and activities that will promote identification with the group and provide services complementary to those supplied by the host country. The main difference between the two subtypes is that the latter is based on formal status for communal organizations vis-à-vis the host country’s legal and political systems. Those organizations officially represent affiliated members in their dealings with host countries authorities. Various diasporas in Britain, France, and Germany enjoy such status.

The choice of either the communalist or corporatist strategy will be influenced by the political conditions prevailing in the host countries. In liberal democracies where there is an inherent tradition of associationalism, such as the United states, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries, the natural choice would seem to be the communalist strategy. In such democracies, where voluntary association is legal and widely practiced, diasporas communal organizations can thrive without having to apply for formal status sanctioned by state authorities. In neo-corporatist democracies, that is, less liberal democracies, such as Germany, France, Spain, and to some extent Britain, diaspora members will tend to opt for the corporatist strategy.

The Autonomist Strategy:
The autonomist strategy is intended to gain special political and cultural rights and freedoms for diasporans within host countries polities. To a great extent the feasibility and efficacy of that strategy will depend on two factors: the extent of the territorial concentration and cultural homogeneity of diaspora groups, and the willingness of host countries to allow some of their powers to be exercised by such ethno-national groups. Both factors can prove to be major obstacles in the way of achieving such rights.

46 Ibid.
The Irrendentist Strategy:

In the context of diaspora politics, the irrendentist strategy seeks to achieve separation of that part of a diaspora's former historical homeland currently under the control of a host country and join it to adjacent segments of that diaspora's nation in order to establish a national state within the boundaries of the diaspora's historical homeland.\(^{47}\) The most obvious example of a group some of whose members in western European diaspora communities have pursued that strategy is the diaspora of the Iraqi and Turkish Kurds.

The Separatist Strategy:

The separatist strategy and the irrendentist strategy are the most radical political strategies followed by diasporas. The separatist strategy is intended to establish an independent state in a diaspora's former historical homeland and facilitate the return of all or most segments of its ethnic nation.\(^{48}\) The latter two strategies are employed either by stateless diasporas or by diasporas whose historical homelands have been taken over by other ethnic groups and host countries.

For practical reasons, state-linked diasporas do not choose either the secessionist or irrendentist strategy. As most leaders of state-linked diasporas are realists and pragmatists, in most cases (even those cases in which the homeland borders on the host country, as is the case with Mexico and the United States) such strategies are not considered feasible options.

Much like the choice of strategy, to a great extent the choice of tactics will depend on self-perceptions of diasporas capabilities. Specific tactics are chosen with an eye to, among other things, the population densities and the numbers of the diasporas members.

Therefore, the most important tactics that those diasporas use are political, economic, and occasionally also social in nature. In the political sphere, diasporas establish and operate promotional, advocacy, and lobbying organizations. In that respect they act like many other interest groups, including indigenous ethnic minorities. In the economic sphere they

\(^{47}\) For further reading on irrendentism, see Chazan, N. ed. 1991. Irrendentism. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

tend to establish and operate fund-raising and investment organizations. Other financial resources are used to assist diasporas protective and promotional endeavours in the political and economic arenas. In the societal sphere, diasporas establish organizations for the promotion and maintenance of bilateral and multilateral inter-communal associations. The function of those organizations is mainly to build relationships with majority groups, but also to achieve and maintain peaceful co-existence and cooperation with other minorities and diasporas within and outside their host countries.49

1.3.2.3 Functions of Diaspora Organizations.

Diaspora communities function on five levels in politics: the domestic level in host countries, the regional level, the trans-state level, the level of the entire diaspora, and the level of homeland politics. On each of those levels, a diaspora’s functions fall into three broad categories: maintenance, defence, and promotion of its communities’ multifaceted interests.

On the first level, the host-country level, diasporas’ communal organizations deal with issues pertaining both to diasporas internal affairs and to their relations with host countries’ political and economic institutions. On the second level, the regional level, diaspora organizations have mainly been involved in economic matters, but increasingly also in the political arena. On the third level, the global level, the communal organizations’ functions pertain mainly to interactions with global organizations such as the United Nations and its functional agencies. On the fourth level, the entire diaspora, usually the interactions are with very similar or sister organizations. Finally, on the fifth level, diaspora-homeland relations, the interactions are mainly with governmental and public organizations.50

The diaspora organizations’ maintenance functions include fund-raising, carried out through general or special-purpose organizations, routine administration of cultural, economic, and social functions, such as schools and community centres, oversight of religious institutions, such as mosques, churches, synagogues, and theological schools, and supervision of universities and colleges and research institutions. Long-established

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communities, such as the Jewish and Greek diasporas, also support elaborate health and welfare services, such as hospitals, clinics, psychological services, and senior citizens homes.

The communal defence functions are performed mainly through specialized organizations that provide physical protection for diaspora members when that is found to be necessary. Frequently, the defence function also entails political and legal activities to secure personal, social, and political rights, as well as educational, employment, and welfare opportunities for members. Thus, most diasporas now establish organized lobbies that unabashedly act in most democracies to obtain and secure their members right. 51

The promotional and advocacy functions fall mainly into three frequently overlapping subcategories: cultural, political those functions deal with issues such as recruiting new members and persuading them to become activist members ready to contribute intellectual, political, and financial resources to facilitate communal activities. Of even greater importance are the promotional activities that are intended to increase ethnic awareness and a sense of identity among diasporans. Many of those activities are in the cultural sphere. Thus, the organizations coordinate ethnic festivals, exhibitions, and lectures and operate via traditional and new media. All those functions are intended to increase membership, advance diaspora communities visibility and stature, and consolidate diasporas contacts with their homelands. 52

1.3.4 Remittances and Other Exchanges

Remittances by individuals and families play a major role in diaspora-homeland relations. According to Sheffer 53, five aspects of the remittance phenomenon are particularly striking. First, according to various analysts, remittances soon may outstrip the financing provided to homelands by multilateral institutions like the World Bank and the IMF and the aid given by rich countries.

51 The literature on this aspect of diaspora activities is vast, but it focuses mainly on a few diasorases. For some general analyses see Huntington.1997. 'The Erosion of American National Interest'. Foreign Affairs. Vol.76, No.5, pp.28-49.


52 Sheffer, Gabriel 2003. op. cit, p175.

Second, there is no doubt that proletarian migrants and members of emerging diasporas remit substantial sums of money to their homelands, but as there are almost no records of those remittances, it is difficult to compare their remittances and those by established and organized diasporas.

Third, although remittances are only the tip of a tremendous financial and economic iceberg, the estimates that remittances amount to more than $500 billion per year serve as eye-openers about the scope of that aspect of modern diasporism.

Fourth, the fact that Mexico, Portugal, Morocco, Tunisia, China, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sudan, turkey, and Egypt get between 10 and 70 percent of their total income from such remittances indicates the significant dependence of those homelands on those sources.

Fifth, it should be noted that the annual volume of remittances transferred to homelands fluctuates and therefore is unpredictable. Changing circumstances in the diasporas, host countries, and homelands all influence those transfers, and just as remittances can rise rapidly, so they can decline sharply. Such fluctuations can be attributed to worsening economic conditions in host countries, shifts in the global work market, dwindling numbers of diaspora members as a result of assimilation and full integration in their host countries, return movements to homelands, and improving conditions in homelands.

There are two contradictory views about the desirability of the flows of money that result from migration and the consequent emergence of diasporas. The negative view of that phenomenon highlights the following aspects: Continued migration and remittances will increase homelands’ dependence on their diasporas, encourage further chain-migration and consequently brain drain, create instability in homeland economies, stifle economic initiative, feed consumerism, increase inequality, and lead to developmental distortion and economic decline that may even overshadow the advantages for a minority of beneficiaries.

The positive view of remittances seeks to turn each of the negative arguments on its head. Thus, as a result of those trends, so it is argued, homeland economies will have to become responsive to market forces, homelands will get resources for development because those
monies will have multiplier effect, and the remittances will improve income distribution and contribute to a higher standard of living, including better education, sustenance for elderly people, and adequate housing for families in homelands.\textsuperscript{54}

However, neither the negative view nor the positive view is totally correct. It is difficult to argue that income from remittances is responsible for economic crisis or recession in homelands. It is equally difficult to say that remittances have become reliable engines that can sustain economic growth or narrow social and economic gaps in homelands.

Now before going into details of defining Indian Diaspora (which is our next section), how the above mentioned theories and definitions fit into defining Indian Diaspora and tracing the historical roots of Indian Diaspora, a look at the Gabriel Sheffer’s definition of diaspora (which he calls as ethno-national diaspora) will be useful.

"An ethno-national diaspora is a socio-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries. Members of such entities maintain regular or occasional contacts with what they regard as their homelands and with individuals and groups of the same background residing in other host countries. Based on aggregate decisions to settle permanently in host countries, but to maintain a common identity, diasporas identify as such, showing solidarity with their group and their entire nation, and they organize and are active in the cultural, social, economic, and political spheres. Among their various activities, members of such diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships among diasporas, their host countries, their homelands, and international actors."\textsuperscript{55}

1.4 Indian Diaspora

People of the Indian subcontinent have been known to migrate to different countries for various reasons at various periods of history. Among the immigrants of diverse nationalities, overseas Indians constitute a sizable segment. It is estimated that besides

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, p.191.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, pp.9-10.
six million Indian citizens, there are over 20 million people of Indian origin all over the world. Taking 5000 as the minimum figure, overseas Indians are found in as many as 53 countries. The Indian Diaspora today constitutes an important and unique force in the world economy. People of Indian Origin (PIOs) have been extremely successful in their host countries. Today PIOs live in almost every country of the world and they have made their mark in almost all professions and occupations. They represent more than 40% of the population in Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius and Surinam. In these countries, Indian communities have been politically very strong. Indian Diaspora world over is no longer seen as humble migrant but as community holding high posts in politics, universities and industries as elected leaders, politicians, eminent professors and other professionals.

1.4.1 Concepts Used: NRIs, PIOs, Overseas Indians

There is confusion among academicians about the term ‘Indian Diaspora’. It is generally employed to designate both the ‘Indian Nationals Overseas’ (INO) and the ‘People of Indian Origin’ (PIO). There is fundamental distinction between these two categories of migrants. The factors which accentuate the distinction are the distinct political status which the emigrants enjoy in the country of their settlement, and the variation in the period, pattern and purpose of their immigration and their population characteristics.

The widely used substitute in India to the term INO is Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). Primarily, the NRIs are those who had emigrated voluntarily during the post-independence period for an indefinite period of stay in foreign countries. Despite their absence in India, they are considered as Indian citizens as they continue to hold the Indian passport. The Status they enjoy in the country of their settlement thus is that of an alien.

The PIO belong to an altogether different category of the Indian Communities overseas and represent a distinct phase in the history of Indian emigration. Most of them emigrated as indentured labourers during the British colonial period under the assisted emigration scheme. Unlike the NRIs, the PIOs are, save the stateless category, well within the legal fabric of the country of their domicile. As such, their links with India are not political but purely sentimental. India is their cultural home. They keep alive their linkages with India.

through emotional bonds because they are no longer Indians of India but people of Indian
descent who were either Indian citizens before their emigration or who lived in India
during the period prior to 1947, or whose parents or grandparents were born in undivided
India.\textsuperscript{57}

An NRI becomes a person of Indian origin when he acquires the citizenship of another
country because the Indian constitution does not envisage the system of dual citizenry. At
the same time, a person of Indian origin can acquire the Indian citizenship under Article 8
of the Indian Constitution as well as Sections 5(1) and 6(1) of the Citizenship Act of
1955.\textsuperscript{58}

For the purpose of present study the following categories of the Indian émigrés are
included within the definitional purview of the term ‘Indian Diaspora’.

1. All those who acquired citizenship of the country of their domicile
2. All those who did not, or could not have valid proof of their citizenship either of
   the country of residence, or of country of origin.

In other words, the entire Indian communities overseas minus the Non-Resident Indian
nationals are considered as Indian Diaspora.

\textbf{1.5 World Wide Spread of Indian Diaspora}

When we look at the demographic map of the world today there is hardly any country
where there are no people of Indian origin. According to estimates there are over 20
million PIOs and some six million non-resident Indians (NRIs) living in various parts of
the world, particularly in the West, Middle East, Africa, West Indies, South and
Southeast Asia, Australasia and Oceania. From the dawn of recorded history Indians have
been migrating and settling abroad. During the colonial era large numbers of Indians

\textsuperscript{57} The Indian Citizenship Act of 1955 defines the terms PIO in the similar way.
\textsuperscript{58} Article 8 provides citizenship to the PIO who were residing in any country if they are registered as Indian
citizens by the diplomatic representative of India either before or after commencement of the Indian
&Company law publishers, pp. 74-78

Section 5(1) provides citizenship \textit{inter alia} to the PIO who have been resident in India for six months
immediately before applying for registration or who are resident in any country or place outside undivided
India and persons who are citizens of a Commonwealth country listed in the First Schedule of the Act. At
the same time, a person of Indian origin from a non-Commonwealth country can acquire Indian citizenship
by naturalization under section 6(1).
migrated as indentured labourers to far off countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana, Fiji etc. to work on sugar plantations under extremely exploitative conditions. Subsequently, they became part and parcel of the country of their adoption. In the post-independence period migration from India consisted mainly of people of technical competence and skilled workers who went voluntarily in search of better economic prospects.\textsuperscript{59} Table 1.1 shows that there has been a phenomenal increase in the total volume of the population of Indian Diaspora since independence. In 1920s the estimate was 2.4 million, it increased to 7 million in 1960s. From 1980s to 2000 the number of Indian diaspora has doubled from 10 million to almost 20 million. This increase has been due to demand of labourers in West Asia and migration of professionals to west especially in Information Technology sector.

At present PIOs are in majority in Mauritius (almost 70 percent) and Guyana (51 percent); the single largest ethnic group in Fiji (Less than 50 percent) and Surinam (37 percent). In Trinidad and Tobago, Indians are the second largest group (40 percent). In several other countries the Indians' position is third or fourth in the population ranking – Malaysia (9 percent), Singapore (6.4 percent), Sri Lanka (5.5 percent).\textsuperscript{60}

1.6 Causes, Pattern and Phases of Migration

Migration of people from India to different parts of the world is not a new phenomenon. Table 1.2 provides a clear picture of different phases, patterns and modes of Indian migration to several countries. There are broadly three phases: Ancient period, Colonial period and Post Colonial Period.

In the case of the ancient Indian migrants, there is some difference among the authors. According to them, they are perceptibly different from the Indian emigrants of above two periods. The difference could be explained along the following lines.

During the time of ancient Indian migration, According to P.Sahadevan, the concept of India (as it is generally understood in contemporary times) had not existed. Indeed, it was only during the colonial period (and later) that the people of this newly categorized socio-

cultural and political complex called India had started perceiving themselves as Indians. It is of course debatable as to how accurate had the colonial categorization been, and also to what extent Indians had perceived themselves (and still do so today) as Indians. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that it had been the colonial process which developed the category of India, as distinct from other possible categories, for the same socio-cultural, political, and geographical complex in the past. Given the fact, it may be assumed that the people who had emigrated or moved out of the boundaries of ancient India had not perceived themselves as Indians or had not been grouped as originally Indians. Therefore, on account of the absence of more perceptive link between the categories of India and Indians, it stands to reason that the ancient Indian emigrants cannot be treated as Overseas Indians.

Like wise, Prakash C. Jain has talked about five patterns: 1) Indentured Labour 2) Kangani/Maistry 3) Free/passage 4) Brain/drain/voluntary and 5) Labour emigration to West Asia (Middle East).

However, for the present study we will discuss all the periods comprehensively.

Phases of Indian Migration

An attempt to understand the movement of people from India since ancient times to contemporary period is a fascinating story of cultural exchanges that the people of India have with the rest of the world.

1.6.1 First Phase: Pre-colonial Period

The Indian classical texts describe about long journeys that saints and monks undertook for the spread of knowledge, peace and love. The archaeological evidences establish the fact that Indians during ancient period did travel to other countries for trade.

Indians have a long history of emigration to other parts of the world. India’s links with Europe date back to the tenth century B.C. with ships moving between the mouth of the

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61 Ibid, p.4.
62 Ibid.
river Indus and Persian Gulf. The Old Testament records of ivory, apes and peacocks used for the decoration of the palaces and temple of King Solomon. Even the Queen of Sheba brought spices as gifts to King Solomon and the pepper of the Malabar Coast was known to ancient Traders.\(^64\)

Fifty years after Buddha’s death (483 B.C.) his disciples went to the neighbouring countries to spread Buddhism and settled there. The Maurayan Empire was spread up to the Hindukush Mountains. King Ashoka (268-239 B.C.) embraced Buddhism and sent monks to central and eastern Asia to spread the gospel of Buddha. For the first time, the whole of south Asia, and beyond, was brought under the influence of one unified political and religious system.\(^65\) King Kanishka (1st cent. A.D.) was another champion of Buddhism. During his rule Buddhism spread to southern India, eastern Iran, central Asia, China, Greece, Kandahar (now in Afghanistan), south East Asia and Indonesia.\(^66\)

Indian settlement was in existence in the north-eastern Africa at the time of Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.). Alexander was advised by Aristotle to establish a colony of Greeks in Sokotra island off Northeastern Africa. The army of Alexander conquered the island in which Indians were living.\(^67\) The famous work *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (a first century Greek guide for sailors) mentions that the Indian ships were arriving along the east African coast. Several Indian gold coins found at Dabra Damma, dating from the third century, have established the trade relations between Ethiopia and India.

India had long-standing mercantile connections with this part of the world as a part of the ancient networks of the Indian Ocean. Geographical proximity facilitated by the monsoon winds made India for over two thousand years a very important market for gold, Ivory, and slaves and the most important source for cotton, cloth, beads and sundry manufactured articles.\(^68\) The Greek work also mentions India’s trade relations with Rome. Malay and China. Arikanedu in Tamil Nadu was a Roman settlement where muslin was made for exporting to Rome. It was also an entry port for the ships to Malay and China and carrying Indian goods to Rome. Romila Thapar attributes Roman use of this port

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\(^{65}\) *Ibid.*


\(^{67}\) *Ibid.*

from the first century B.C. to the early second century A.D. The imports from India were luxury items like spices, jewels, textiles, parrots, peacocks and apes. Originally trade with South East Asia was caused by demands for spices which sent Indian merchants as middlemen to Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and Borneo which were a treasure-trove of various spices. Bigger trade developed with Indians settling in South-East Asia with South Indian Traders dominating the trade together with prominent merchants from Kalinga and Magadha. During this period trade with China also increased with the use of Chinese cloth and bamboo in India. The routing of China silk through the northwestern towns, Taxila and Broach added to the prosperity of northwestern part of India. Thaper traces the colonization of Irrawady Delta in Burma and various parts of Java to the Kalingans; and the introduction of Indian culture to Cambodia.\(^{69}\) There were permanent settlements of Indian Traders along the coast of East Africa. The other dominant trading community was of Arabs. Arabs developed Mogadishu and Mombasa as great trading centres. Indian traders, manufacturers and clove cultivators were concentrated in Zanzibar Island. They were both Hindus (mainly Vaishyas) and Muslims (Ismailies and Bohras).

The migration from India to the states of Southeast Asia involved the limited but important movement of priests and traders. These people were not part of any massive wave of population movement. Instead, by their command of specialist knowledge, they came to fill vitally important roles in the emerging Southeast Asian states and so to implant the Indian cultural contribution to Southeast Asia’s historical development. In general, however, the Southeast Asian classical world does not seem to have been one marked by large-scale voluntary migration. A limited but highly important number of Indians settled in the area and made their mark.\(^{70}\)

1.6.2 Second Phase: Colonial Period

From the point of view of the permanent settlement of a distinctive Indian population overseas, the massive movement of Indians to British, French and Dutch colonies was the legacy of the long span of European colonialism. Incorporating the working class as the predominant component of the immigrant population, the migration under the colonial impetus was started in the early 19th century and continued up to the 1940s. Three inter-

\(^{69}\) Ibid.

\(^{70}\) Ibid.
connected developments in the Europe, which contributed to the Indian Labour migration on a large scale, can be identified here.

First, during the nineteenth century, the Imperial government needed a large, inexpensive manpower to advance its strategic and economic interests by enhancing the overseas wealth of Britain. This could be done through economic exploitation of the raw materials of the colonies. India had provided a fertile source of a large and inexpensive labour force. This labour force had been inducted in the migratory processes in order to extract the untapped wealth of the colonies in the Indian sub-continent as well as in other continents.

Second, an organized system of the Indian Labour migration on a large scale began after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. The absolute exigency for the Indian Labour force arose on account of three inter-related reasons: (1) the manumitted slaves, being afraid of losing their newly gained freedom, refused to work as plantation labour; (2) in the Caribbean the emancipated Blacks, once they regressed to their nomadic stage, became definitely restive and uneconomic from the view point of the new European planters; (3) the abolition of slavery in the British Empire coincided with a period of intense economic activity in the colonies of Britain. This, along with the vacancies created by the departure of the Blacks, made the demand for labour increasingly high in the plantation sector. But the supply was not keeping pace with the rapidly multiplying wants of the landed proprietors. To ensure a constant supply of labour, the Imperial administration frantically tried to introduce Asiatic, Chinese and even the newly manumitted slaves into several colonies, but in vain. Finally, the Colonial Office in London found India as ideal reservoir of cheap and discipline manpower. It is thus a cruel irony of history that Black slavery in the Caribbean and Mascarenes became "a legacy for a new system of slavery of Indians"\textsuperscript{71}.

The third development was the economic exigency which was the most important determining force underlying the Indian labour migration\textsuperscript{72}. For the great majority of Indians, migration was not an easy process; nor did it take place out of the emigrant's free choice. Indeed it was their impoverished condition that forced their recruitment.

\textsuperscript{71} The argument is made by Hugh tinker P. Sahadevan, op.cit., pp. 7-8.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
In addition to the economic factor forming an incentive for migration, there were people whose migration took place under pressure from certain local circumstances. Migration was an escape route for people who were in trouble in their village or wanted by the police. Another category consisted of people who had left home in search of temporary employment. Some of them were misled about the distances they had to travel and the nature of employment.73

Thus, the migration process had largely relied on both ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors: the need of the people to obtain relief from a situation which was no longer tolerable as well as the demands of colonialism. To the negative ‘push’ of land scarcity, there was the ‘pull’ of better life.

During the colonial period, the growth of Indian diaspora population was largely facilitated by three distinct patterns of migration: (See Table 1.2)

- Organized or Assisted Migration
- Unassisted Migration
- Involuntary migration

The differences between these patterns are assessed more on the basis of the degree and nature of the involvement of significant organizational structures and processes (e.g. religious bodies, financial associations, and people’s forums) in the migration pattern, than on the basis of the mere role of the government. The government is taken to be one form of the organizational structure and process.

Assisted migration had been conducted under three systems: refer Table 1.2

- Indenture (1839-1916)
- Kangani (1833-1939)
- Maistry (1876-1941)

1.6.2.1 The Indenture System

Indenture was a form of social contract in which the labourer remained under the personal jurisdiction of the master. The prerogative of the master, in practice, far exceeded his contractual rights. In the event of the original contract of indenture expiring, the labourer

73 Ibid.
was usually re-indentured\textsuperscript{74}. A vast proportion of Indian diaspora population had been built up under the close grip of the Indentured System. Although it began to operate in the 1830s, the system attained an operational peak in the 1880s and 1890s (refer to table 1.2). Thereafter, it was operated only on a limited scale throughout the remainder of the indentured period, i.e. up to 1916 (Legally, the indenture system was finally abolished in 1920 when the British Indian Government implemented the Abolition of Indenture Act, 1916).\textsuperscript{75}

The first indenture: On 18 January 1826, the Government of the French Indian Ocean island of Reunion, laid down terms for the introduction on Indian labourers to the colony. Each man was required to appear before a magistrate and declare that he was going voluntarily. The contract was for five years with pay of eight rupees per month and rations provided. By 1830, 3,012 Indian labourers had been transported from Pondicherry and Karikal. The first attempt at importing Indian labour into Mauritius, in 1829, ended in failure, but in 1834, with the end of slavery, transportation of Indian labour to the island gained peace and by 1838, 25,000 Indian labourers had been shipped to Mauritius.\textsuperscript{76}

In the 1840s and 1850s, labour was supplied under the indenture System to Mauritius and British Guyana from Chota Nagpur Plateau. In following decades a large proportion of Labourers were exported from rural districts of Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh to various colonies including several Caribbean countries; and the South Indian Labourers continued to respond to demands from South Africa and Fiji. Among more than a dozen countries to which indentured emigrants were sent, a good number of them went to Mauritius, Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica\textsuperscript{77} (as shown in the Table 1.2). By the time Indentured emigration ceased, over 1 million indentured labourers from India had been transported to distant colonies across the globe\textsuperscript{78}

In addition to the indenture, labour recruitment also took place under the Kangani and Maistry Systems. The Kangani System prevailed in the case of Malaya and Ceylon, while the Maistry system was employed in Burma.

\textsuperscript{75} Sahdevan, P. \textit{op.cit.}, p.9.
\textsuperscript{76} www.wikipedia.org, \textit{Indian Indentured System}, accessed on May 5\textsuperscript{th} 2007.
\textsuperscript{77} Sahadevan, P. \textit{op. cit.}, p.9.
\textsuperscript{78} Lal, Brij V. et.al. \textit{op.cit.}, p.47.
1.6.2.2 The Kangani System

The word Kangani is derived from the Tamil Language: meaning ‘headmen’, ‘foreman’ or ‘oversear’. The Kangani System began in the coffee and tea plantations of Ceylon, before its introduction into Malaya in 1890. It involved the employment of an Indian immigrant as the Kangani, to supervise the work of a gang of 25 to 30 persons on the plantation. In most plantations there was a chief or head Kangani who was the principal link between management and the workforce. Under him were minor kanganis who were in charge of the gangs and reported directly to the head kangani. The subsidiary kanganis were known as cinna Kanganis in Malaya and silara kanganis in Ceylon (silara and cinna are derived from Tamil, meaning ‘minor’ or ‘deputy’). 79

The operation of Assisted migration led to the inauguration of ‘free’ or ‘passage’ migration of Indians in response to enormous jobs and commercial opportunities in several parts of the British Empire, including those of colonies where the indenture labour population flourished with unabated vigour. The emigrants under this pattern “paid their own passage and were free in all respects”. 80 Most of the Indians went to East Africa under this system of migration.

1.6.3 Third Phase: Post-Colonial Period

Emigration to the developed countries like Britain, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand is a post-colonial phenomenon. The first trickle of Indians to Britain occurred during the period of British Raj. However, a major influx of Indians took place only after India’s independence in 1947. The number of Indians in UK in 1987 was 12,60,000. There was also migration to England and Netherlands of people of Indian origin from Africa and the Caribbean. In contrast to the ex-indentured population, Indian emigrants in the industrially developed countries have been able to maintain extensive ties with India because of their comparative affluence. 81 Marriage arrangements, kinship networks, property and religious affiliations keep many migrants well linked to their place of origin, since a large number of Indians are still first generation migrants. Another factor, which

79 Ibid.
enabled overseas Indians in Britain to maintain ties with their homeland, is the flow of their remittances and investments.

Large-scale migration of Indians to the United States of America started only after the repeal of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965. By 1987, there about 5,00,000 Indians in the USA\textsuperscript{82}. The Indians who migrated to the USA belonged to the class of educated and professional elite such as engineers, scientists and college teachers as well as accountants and business men. Their life style and aspirations are similar to those of general American population. We notice the absence of ethnic concentration or ethnic neighbourhood development of Asian Indians in American cities.

Recent migration of Indians to the West Asian countries is basically oriented to labour and servicing occupations on a contract basis. Here, the need for skilled South Asian workers during the 1960s and early 1970s has been eclipsed by the requirement for skilled labour since the 1980s. There are more than two million Indians in West Asia. The Year 1973 experienced the beginning of the rapidly increasing demand for expatriate labour in oil-exporting countries of the Gulf and North Africa such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Libya\textsuperscript{83}. These countries adopted a development strategy centring around the building up of infrastructure and in turn, creating a demand for labour in unskilled manual work, especially in construction sector. Majority of the unskilled and semi-skilled migrants from India in the Gulf are without families and live in communal accommodation.

1.7 Indian Diaspora in Anglophone Region

Anglophone region consists of Britain and her ex-colonies. The region, basically, includes all those countries that have joined the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth of Nations is voluntary associations of 54 independent sovereign states (one of whose membership is currently suspended), most of them are former British colonies, or dependencies of these colonies. No one government in the Commonwealth exercises power over the others, as in a political union. Rather, the relationship is one of an international organisation through which countries with diverse social, political, and economic backgrounds are

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Pant, G. 2001. 'Gulf NRIS; From Expatriates to Entrepreneurs'. World Focus. Vol.22, No. 3 March, p.9.
regarded as equal in status, and co-operate within a framework of common values and goals.

The Commonwealth was first officially formed in 1931 when the Statute of Westminster gave legal recognition to the independence of dominions. Known as the "British Commonwealth", the first members were the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and Dominion of Newfoundland. Presently, there are 54 states that are members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Three members are in Europe, twelve in North America, one in South America, nineteen in Africa, eight in Asia, and eleven in Oceania (including one suspended member, Fiji). There are six former members, four of which no longer exist as independent entities (but form part of current member states). The members have a combined population of 2.1 billion people, almost a third of the world population, of which 1.17 billion live in India and 94% live in Asia and Africa. Table 1.5 gives estimated size of Indian community in Anglophone.

In North America, the Indian community has maximum presence in Canada. The Indian community enjoys the distinction of being one of the highest earning, best educated and fastest growing ethnic group. They are found in high profile occupation and sectors such as medicine, engineering, law, information technology, higher education etc. Some of them are politically well connected. In Canada, the average annual income of immigrant from India is higher than the national average.

In the Caribbean countries of Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Surinam, the Indian Diaspora constitutes over 40%, 51% and 35% of the total population respectively. They have retained significant elements of their cultural heritage and have attained both economic status and political eminence. However, their social exclusivity and aloofness has set them apart from the indigenous populations, except in Jamaica where inter-racial marriages have taken place.

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In South America, except Guyana, no other country has significant proportion of people of Indian descent. About 90% of PIOs are from UP and Bihar. They have been able to retain their Indian heritage and culture to a significant extent. The Indo-Guyanese control most of Guyana's trade. Some of these possess large farms and are very wealthy.\(^\text{86}\)

In Europe, Indian community has highest presence in United Kingdom. Within Britain, PIOs constitute the single largest ethnic minority. Indians have achieved eminence in business, information technology, the health sector, and the media and entertainment industries. The Indian community has made its presence felt in the political arena as well. The PIOs have strong affinity and links with India and community leaders have displayed considerable interest in promoting bilateral relations and investment and supporting philanthropic projects in India.

In South East Asia, large scale Indian emigration took place in 19\(^{th}\) and 20\(^{th}\) centuries as a result of colonialism through the indenture or Kangani system, and also by 'free' emigration of traders, clerks, bureaucrats and professionals. Indian community in Brunei maintains low profile despite its relatively significant size. It is well regarded for its hard work and professionalism. In Malaysia they have not yet overcome the legacy of plantation while in Singapore they are represented at the highest levels of the civil services, judiciary, business and politics. A common feature is that the community, on the whole, has integrated well with the local population, it is culturally very active, has preserved its traditions and maintained links with India.

In Oceania, Fiji is an important country. Indian community is very strong economically and politically. They have made enormous contribution to the economy of Fiji in terms of its agriculture, trade and industry. In Australia, majority of Indians are professionals. A number of Indian migrants are engaged in the restaurant business and Indian restaurants can be seen in all major cities of Australia. In New Zealand, Indian immigrants are found in domestic retail trade and in the medical, hospitality, engineering, and Information Technology sector. One common feature of this region is that the Indian community has mostly adapted itself well to the local conditions and is regarded as a law abiding, educated and responsible community.

\(^{86}\) Ibid
Out of Anglophone countries in Africa Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa are important. Indians occupied the middle position in the racial structure between British and Africans. In East Africa, most of the Indians are traders and quite prosperous community, which led to frequent clashes between native African population and people of Indian descent. At the social level, Indians are largely from conservative background. They rarely mix with Africans. There are about 1.2 million People of Indian Origin in South Africa. Around 80% of them live in Kwa Zulu Natal and Durban.

Thus, Indians in Anglophone region have tried to preserve their identity of being Indian, especially with regard to their religion, rituals, festivals, customs, and food habits. Economically, they have integrated well in most of the countries. Though multiple levels of diversity exist, this is result of the different socio-historical and political conditions they have been situated in. The Indian community in Anglophone region occupies a unique position. Indians are considered as disciplined and model community. Their high and commendable levels of educational attainment and their distinct profile as compared to other less successful and less industrious ethnic communities have guaranteed that old stereotypes about India have faded to be replaced a new image of India as a dynamic nation.

1.8 Indian Diaspora in Francophone region

Francophone as a region consists of French speaking countries. It includes France, French West Indies: Guadeloupe and Martinique and almost twenty five countries of Africa which includes Indian Ocean territories (refer to Table no. 1.4). Overall the Francophone Indian Diaspora constitutes over 5% of the total Indian Diaspora. There are around sixty-five thousand of them in France, around fifty thousand in French West Indies territory of Guadeloupe and Martinique and around a million in Francophone Africa. Indians have contributed significantly to the economy, society, politics and culture of these countries. Indian labourers have been main force in transforming physical landscape of many Francophone countries like Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles, Guadeloupe and Martinique. The Indian diaspora constitute an important and unique force in these

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Dubey, Ajay. 2005. 'Identity Issues of Indian diasporas in the Francophone: A study from the Third World Regions in Africa and the Caribbean'. Paper presented in the International conference on Indian Diaspora: Trends, Issues and Challenges organised by the Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, University of Hyderabad. 24th to 26th February.p.1
countries with a significant presence in various business and high-skill profession. PIOs are extremely successful in knowledge based sectors particularly in Information Technology. They have also done extremely well in owning and running small business like in Madagascar.

1.8.1 France

Most of the Indians in France migrated from former French colonies in India; Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandranagore. Later, they arrived in France from other francophone areas including Mauritius, Seychelles and Madagascar. The Indian community in France is estimated at 65000 or 0.11% of the total population of 59 million. Indian community has made their place in France. During the First World War, over 130000 Indian soldiers served in France. In the post Second World War period, Indians provided the labour that helped rebuild France. At present, about 6000 members are estimated to have taken up jobs in army and police forces. About 12000 members are in the French government service. Approximately, 9000 Indians are working in a managerial capacity in French private company. A large majority of Indian community are mainly engaged in private small businesses. Some are running restaurants. Indian cuisine is quite famous. Most of the People of Indian origins residing in France belong to the middle class. The businessmen also market handicrafts, home furnishings, fabric and garments, gems and jewellers, rice, spices, ethnic groceries, fruits and vegetables etc. from India. Gope Hathiramani, a Sindhi businessman, is the richest Indian in France. 88

The success of People of Indian Origin is most notable in the Information Technology sector. Realising importance of Indian workforce, France is working hard at increasing the number of Indian student studying there. Besides, certain reforms such as making work permits easier for Indian students who finish courses in France are also being introduced. “Annually there are about 250000 foreign coming to study in France. Out of this, only 1700 are from India. With India playing an important role amidst growing globalisation, we are keen on many more young people from here going to France to study and being exposed to the French culture and way of life. Besides, French multinational companies are also keen on hiring larger numbers of highly skilled Indian workers for their global operations. We are making big efforts towards a three-fold

increase in the number of Indian students going to study in France annually. We hope to reach the level of Germany which attracts 4000 Indian students yearly”, 89 says Jerome Bonnafont, the Ambassador of France in India. He adds that the French government is making some immigration policy reforms that will allow foreign students to remain in France for some months after they finish their studies to look for jobs. Recently, work permit rules have been eased to allow Indian students, who finish a course in France, to stay back for 6 months to look for a job on their existing student’s visas.

Thus, Indian Diaspora in France has become prominent with a significant presence in various businesses and high-skill professions, such as information technology and medicine.

1.8.2 French West Indies: Guadeloupe and Martinique

Guadeloupe, an island in the Atlantic Ocean and a French Department, had traditionally been a bone of contention between the French and the British. The British occupied it from 1759 to 1763. In 1763, it was restored to France in exchange for all French rights to Canada. It was finally designated as territory of France through ‘The Treaty of Paris’ in 1815. It was represented in the French parliament for the first time in 1871. It became a French Department on 19th March 1946. Martinique is an island in the eastern Caribbean Sea. Like Guadeloupe, Martinique is also an overseas department of France. 90

Indians played an important role turning the physical landscape of the two islands. When cash crops developed on the islands need for labourers grew. The French government adopted the policy to bring Indian indentured workers to work on sugar plantation in Guadeloupe and Martinique. Indian immigration to Martinique continued until 1883 and to Guadeloupe until 1889. 91

Whereas in non-French Caribbean region Indian migrants were primarily from North India, in the French Caribbean, the picture was different. Sixty percent of the Indian

89 ‘France gets ready to woo Indian Students’ http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/1536110.cms
91 Ibid
population in Guadeloupe and up to hundred percent in Martinique were from South India.

They came from wide range of districts in Madras Presidency, and from the French colonies of Yanam, Karaikkal and Pondicherry. French brought labourers on contract basis. However, many chose to stay back. They bought land and settled on the islands.

Nearly 68000 indentured Indian labourers were brought to the French Caribbean between mid 1850s and late 1880s. Descendants of those indentured workers now constitute a significant part of island's population. The Indian community in Guadeloupe is estimated to be around 55000 in a population of about 400000. The economy of the islands is much dependent on PIOs. The PIOs are well represented in all economic sectors of French Caribbean – transport and construction, vegetable trade, higher education and professional positions. The Indian community is completely integrated culturally with the rest of the population. Some of them have reached to important posts in the public and private sectors. Dr. Henri Bangaou held the post of Senator from Guadeloupe in the French Senate. Ernest Moutoussamy has been the Depute of Guadeloupe in the National Assembly of France.\(^92\)

There are several associations to promote Indian culture in Guadeloupe. These associations, run by mostly People of Indian Origin are fairly active in organising cultural activities in all principal towns, namely, Pointe-a-Pitre, Le Moule, Port Luis, Capesterre-Belle-Eau and Sain-Claude. One such prominent group is Association Culturelle Guadeloupeeenne des Armis de L’Inde, which has over three hundred members and two hundred associates. Indian community is so prominent on the island that recently 150\(^{th}\) birthday of the arrival of Hindus Tamil in Guadeloupe was celebrated with much pomp and show. In memory and homage to the contribution of those from India who founded the multicultural Guadeloupe of yesterday and today, the Regional Council, the General Council, erected the First Day monument, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the first Indians in Guadeloupe. The more than 600-kilogram bronze monument by Indrajeet Sahadev, an Indian-born sculptor residing in France, is a combination of symbolic representations of the long Kalapani journey, a boat with Lord Ganesha's

\(^92\) Government of India. 2001. Report of High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. www.indiandiaspora.nic.in
figure at the prow, masts with Lord Siva's trident and *damaru* engraved in gold obliquely sectioned at the top to form a golden *Om*. The art piece stands on a circular lotus *mandala* base, the whole monument resting on a marble *yantra*. On the four sides of the rectangular base block are figures of a conch, a golden sun with the date 1854 in the middle, and sugar cane shoots - the bitter reason that brought the Indians to the island. Dr. Henry Bangou said on the occasion that the contribution of the Indians to the evolution of Guadeloupe and its population is incalculable. Today Indians in Guadeloupe are to be found in all sectors of society, from agriculture to politics. Their painful integration, in spite of all the hardships and persecutions, is considered today a success. This is due to their non-violent attitudes and determination in the work place, since the time of the sugarcane fields.93

1.8.3 Francophone Africa

1.8.3.1 Mauritius

During the French rule (1721-1810), Indians (as slaves, servants, workers) played an important role in the development of Mauritius. With the help of Indian labourers, French developed Mauritius as a key sugar exporter. When British took over the colony Indians were the dominant ethnic group. It is till today the most significant group that dominates the socio-political life in Mauritius. It is the only country in the world where PIO are in a majority (68% of population).94

Free artisans, slaves and soldiers were brought from India by the colonial rulers. Some were awarded land grants and became employers of slaves and respected members of the coloured elite. Indians took every opportunity that came in their way. They became quite successful as contractors, traders and sometimes as colonial administrators too. They were also employed in the service of French East India Company. Skilled workers from India also played a key role in development of infrastructure – the harbour, homes, storehouses, administrative buildings, defence works, roads to transport goods and canals. Thus, masons, carpenters, dockers and sailors were recruited from India. They were known as ‘Malabar’ workers’

94 Lal brij. V. 2006. _op.cit._p.263
Many Indians, under the British rose on the economic and social ladder. One such Indian was Veliavel Annasamy, who was part-owner of a sugar estate in 1822. Rama Tiroumoudy was another name in this regard. He became a part-owner of the estate Bon Espoir. Indians also rose up to important positions in the British administration. 95

Gradually Indians started rising economically. In 1845 the Sinnatambous controlled the Mauricia estate, and by 1852 Tiroumoudy took over Bon espoir plantation. Arlanda family owned the estate of Lemencia. The economic advancement of these Indians was noticed by gujarati traders. Merchants from Gujarat, especially Surat started opening shops. Memane Bazaar developed around Reine and Royale streets and a Surtee bazaar began on Rue de la Corderie. 96

Indians also got their hands in money lending and real estate. Merchants from Gujarat also started investing in Sugar cane cultivation. The rise in the economic status brought prestige and social status for Indians and wealthy individuals played important role in raising the status of the community as a whole. Dookhee Gunga, who made millions in construction business, donated large sums of money for the construction of Hindu temples and cremation grounds throughout the country. He also founded the Gita Mandal, in association with other wealthy Indians, which was set up to administer a number of hindi schools in Mauritius. He also financed the first Hindi publications to be printed. A government school was also named in his honour.

Similarly, Muslim community also established many organizations and places of worship. A Kutchi Memon society was set up in 1850 and ran the Jummah mosque, built in 1852. In 1863, two mosques were built at Rose Hill and Rose Belle. In 1892, the Sonee Surtee Mussalman Society was founded Bohra Muslims too constructed their own mosque and established a cemetery. 97

PIOs in Mauritius not only contributed in economic field bit also in political field. By the mid -19th century some important members of Indian community such as Sinnatambou Chettiar and Moonisamy Mudaliar were appointed to District Committees. By 1850,

95 Ibid.
96 www.indiandiaspora.nic.in
97 Ibid
Pitchen, Pragassa, Rayapa and Sandapa families were on the electoral lists. Gyanadicrayen arlanda was nominated to the Council of Government in 1886. Dr. Haseen Sakir, a Muslim from the lascar community was successfully elected as a municipal councillor in Port Louis in 1900.

By 20th century, many Indian intellectuals started making their voices heard. Ramkelawon Boodhun, the son of an immigrant railway worker, and a barrister educated in Britain, stood in the general elections of 1921. He failed in winning the seat but was nominated by the governor to represent Indo-Mauritians along with Dr. Haseen Sakir. Indians actively played political role. They campaigned against the retrocessionist movement, which sought to achieve a renewed attachment to France. Rajcoomar Gujadhar and Lollah were elected in 1926 general election under the banner of l'Union Mauricienne.98

During economic depression of 1930s, Indians were the first one in Mauritius to unite working classes. Dr. Maurice Curi founded a labour party in 1936 Trade unions were also formed. Another important name in this regard that mobilised Indian community to raise the number of voters was Basdeo Bissoondoyal. Due to his efforts, the number of electors rose from 10000 to more than 70000.

One cannot forget the name of Seewosagur Ramgoolam, medical doctor by profession, was the son of a sirdar from Bihar. Ramgoolam, with respect called ‘chacha’ (uncle) and revered as the father of the nation, held this position for a number of years. He introduced free education at all levels and various social aid provisions. His son, Navin Ramgooolam also served as prime minister himself and as leader of the opposition. The two main political formations – the Militant Socialist Movement (MSM) of Sir Aneerood Jaugnauth and Labour Party (LP) of Navin Ramgoolam – have been alternately forming governments in Mauritius since the exit of Sir Seewosagur Ramgoolam.

Thus, Indian community in Mauritius is politically active. Indians comprise the largest group of voters and therefore, the community is able to dominate politically.

PIOs are in every profession. Vikash Dhorasoo, an Indo-Mauritian football player, made his international debut in 2006 FIFA World Cup, becoming the first PIO to be in the World cup. Many Indians work in Mauritian civil service, an increasing number are business managers are in the thriving Mauritian industry. Thus, Indians have been contributing significantly to Mauritius economy and society.

1.8.3.2 Reunion

Reunion Island is an overseas French Department. It is not an independent country but like other French overseas possessions, it is headed by French 'Prefect'. It has elected representatives in central and regional councils. It is not considered as a colony. All of its inhabitants are citizens of France. However, a French visa would not enable a foreigner to visit Reunion, one needs special permission from France to do so.

Reunion has substantial population of 220,000 PIOs in the island. PIOs form over 30% of the island’s population. Most of the Indian settlers came as indentures labourers. The first contingent of Indians landed in Reunion around 1670. Gradually cash crop cultivation developed in Reunion and thus need for slaves grew. In 1709, around one-fourth of the slave population was of Indian origin. During the 19th century, new waves of Indian migration took place, coinciding with the development of the sugar industry on the island. In the aftermath of abolition of slavery the French government signed an agreement with the British government (1860) to import Indian indentured workers to work on plantation. Indian labourers played a crucial role in the continued economic growth of the island. Most of the indentured labourers were from the region which is now known as Tamil Nadu.

Free immigrants arrived from Pondicherry, chiefly masons and carpenters. As the economy of the island started growing, Gujarati merchants started taking notice of it. They established themselves in wholesale and retail trade from mid-19th century onwards, including some families who moved to the island from Mauritius. Gujaratis dominates some of the key sectors of the economy. Some immigrants have had a significant impact.

99 Ibid.
100 Lal brij. V. 2006. op.cit.,p.274.
on the economy of reunion. One such Gujarati was Moussa locate, who arrived on Reunion around 1870 from Surat suburb with his eight sons. He set up a successful business in Saint-Paul. Today his descendants head a group of companies with important interests in the fields of medicine, consumer goods and appliances.

Similarly, Ismail Mamodjee Omarjee, arrived in Reunion in 1875 and set up a shop Rue des Bons Enfants at Saint-Pierre, where the huge family business is still headquartered. Remembered for his charitable work, including distributing food and drinks to families during Spanish flu epidemic of 1919.101

Another well-established Muslim business family is the Ravites. The founder’s son expanded the family business until the store became well known for its huge range of household goods.

Among the Indian community, Tamils constitute the largest group. Their main occupation is agriculture. In 1920, Indians were granted French nationality. This meant equal opportunities for Indians in all fields, i.e., business, education, participation in administration, etc. With these rights PIOs became active on political front. Mr. Jean Paul Viapoulle became the mayor of Saint Andre and the first Vice president of General Council of Reunion. Second and third Vice presidents of the same general council were also Indians – Mr. Saminandan Axel Kichenin and Mrs. Nadia Ramasammy. Another example of this kind was Mrs. Denise Nilameyon who became Deputy Mayor of Tampon. Indians have utilised well the available educational opportunities at all levels primary, secondary and higher. In some schools Tamil is taught as an optional language. Thus, PIO in Reunion are well established in all fields: business, agriculture, academics, politics and civil services.102

1.8.3.3 Madagascar and Seychelles

Indian community in Madagascar controls more than 50% of economy and therefore it is a very strong, rich and influential community. Besides this, Indian community has been able to maintain its identity and also maintains close contacts with Indians in India.

102 Ibid.
In Seychelles too Indian community is economically well placed and also assimilated with the Seychellois society and culture. The present thesis is a comparative study on status and identity of Indian Diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles. The next chapter is on Indians in Madagascar.
TABLE 1.1
OVERSEAS INDIANS’ POPULATION ESTIMATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Estimates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920s</td>
<td>2.4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930s</td>
<td>3.51 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940s</td>
<td>4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>4.34 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>7.9 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>10.64 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>20 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1.2
PHASES OF INDIAN MIGRATION
(CIRCA. SECOND CENTURY TO THE PRESENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Pattern of Emigration</th>
<th>Mode/ system of Immigration</th>
<th>Nature of emigrants</th>
<th>Region/country to which Emigrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Ancient period (About second century A.D. eighteenth century)</td>
<td>Assisted and Unassisted Migration</td>
<td>Voluntary and encouraged migration</td>
<td>Missionaries and Buddhist Pilgrims Traders</td>
<td>Southeast Asia etc. East Africa, Southeast Asia etc. India's Neighborhood. Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>General Population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers, priests, scholar-officials, and princes to establish law and government.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Colonial period (1830-1947)</td>
<td>Organized or Assisted Migration (1838-1941)</td>
<td>Indenture System (1839-1916)</td>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>South Africa, Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Surinam,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kangani System (1833-1939)</td>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maistry System (1876-1941)</td>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>Sri Lanka and Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Free or Passage Migration or Voluntary Migration</td>
<td>Petty Contractors, Merchants, Bankers, labourers, Shopkeepers, Pedlars, teachers, artisans, clerks, professionals, skilled and Semiskilled workers, Political refugees.</td>
<td>Burm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Involuntary Migration (1810s-1890s)</td>
<td>Cross-sea or trans-border movements Kidnapping and forceful deportation</td>
<td>Workers and Businessmen</td>
<td>Sri Lanka, Burma, Nepal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forced banishment of convicts</td>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>West Indies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Post-Colonial period (since 1947)</td>
<td>Unassisted migration (since 1947) Unassisted but regulated migration (since 1947)</td>
<td>Voluntary migration</td>
<td>Professionals and technicians</td>
<td>US, Canada, UK, New Zealand, Australia, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contract Labour migration</td>
<td>Skilled and semi-skilled Labourers</td>
<td>West Asia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLONIES</th>
<th>PERIOD OF MIGRATION</th>
<th>NO. OF EMIGRANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>1834-1900</td>
<td>453,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Guyana</td>
<td>1838-1916</td>
<td>238,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>1844-1910</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>1845-1916</td>
<td>143,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1845-1913</td>
<td>36,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>1856-85</td>
<td>3200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucia</td>
<td>1858-95</td>
<td>4350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>1860-1911</td>
<td>152,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>1860-61</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>1860-80</td>
<td>2472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>1861-83</td>
<td>26,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>1873-1916</td>
<td>34,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>1879-1916</td>
<td>60,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>1896-1921</td>
<td>39,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>1904-16</td>
<td>6315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Lal, Brij V. (et. Al) (2006), *The Encyclopedia of Indian Diaspora*, Singapore: Editions Didier Millet\(^{103}\)

TABLE 1.4
ESTIMATED SIZE OF OVERSEAS INDIANS IN FRANCOPHONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>PIOs</th>
<th>Indian Citizens</th>
<th>Stateless</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d’ Ivoire</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>55000</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td></td>
<td>65000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadeloupe</td>
<td>40000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>25000</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>29000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>704640</td>
<td>11116</td>
<td></td>
<td>715756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reunion Island</td>
<td>220000</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>220055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Government of India. 2001. Report of High level Committee on Indian Diaspora. www.indiandiaspora.nic.in
### TABLE 1.5
ESTIMATED SIZE OF OVERSEAS INDIANS IN ANGLOPHONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>People of Indian origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua and Barbuda</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>88,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>22,073,000</td>
<td>190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>342,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>162,221,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>279,000</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belize</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>322,130</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,950,000</td>
<td>9000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>7,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>19,522,000</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>33,860,000</td>
<td>851,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Europe/Asia</td>
<td>794,200</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,171,000</td>
<td>135</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Africa</td>
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<td>3,800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>103,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>South America</td>
<td>761,000</td>
<td>395,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>2,721,000</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Africa</td>
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<td>102,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>99,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
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<td>Malawi</td>
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<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>22,892,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Population under 100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2,131,000</td>
<td>110</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Africa</td>
<td>154,796,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Lucia</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>171,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Vincent and Grenadines</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>119,000</td>
<td>160</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>185,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2,695,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>4,986,000</td>
<td>307,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>913,000</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>Africa</td>
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<td>Africa</td>
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<td>90,000</td>
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<td>Oceania</td>
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<td>North America</td>
<td>1,335,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Africa</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Europe</td>
<td>61,609,500</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>12,935,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** List of commonwealth members
www.indiandiaspora.nic.in