

INDIAN DIASPORA IN THAILAND

A Study of Culture and Economy

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled “**Indian Diaspora in Thailand: A Study of Culture and Economy**” submitted by me under the guidance of Dr. G. Srinivas in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

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To my Teachers and Parents

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Abbreviations

ACD	Asian cooperation dialogue
AFTA	Asian Free Trade Area
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	The Association of Southeast Asian Nation
ASSOCHAM	The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India
BIMST-EC	Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand Economic cooperation
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BOT	Board of Trade
CAFTA	China-ASEAN Free Trade Area
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
EAS	East Asian Summit
FEMA	Foreign Exchange Management Act
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FRO	Foreigner's Registration Officers
FRRO	Foreigner Regional Registration Offices
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GRFDT	Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICCR	Indian Council for Cultural Relations
ILO	International Labour Organization
INA	Indian National Army
INO	Indian National Overseas
ITCC	India-Thai Chamber of Commerce
ITEC	India-Thailand Cultural Exchange Program
MGC	Mekong-Ganga Cooperation
MIOA	Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs
NRI	Non-Resident Indians
OCI	Overseas Citizenship of India Scheme
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PIO	Person of Indian Origin
PRI	Person Resident in India
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Indian diaspora came into limelight after 1990s when academia, government and other agencies started focusing on it as a group that consists of well trained, skilled, and prosperous workforce. Indian diaspora's success in various host countries and their continuous association with the homeland were thought to be useful for better cooperation and relations with the respective host countries, which would bring more economic opportunities for India. This phase was also dominated by the liberalization policies by the governments across the globe, which further facilitated the engagement of diaspora entrepreneurship in diverse new areas.

Indian diaspora as a whole is very interesting, vast and diverse phenomenon to study, understand and engage with. After China, India has the largest diasporic population that is scattered in more than hundred and thirty countries. Indian diaspora is unique in each location by having different history, culture, migration patterns, occupations and so on, among which the case of Indian diaspora in Thailand is not only unusual but also less studied.

Literature on diaspora indicates that the historical background, civilizational influence, cultural affiliation of Indian diaspora in Thailand is exceptional and India's economic and cultural relations with the Southeast Asia had started even before the Christian era. Therefore, it is important to explore the cultural and economic affiliations of 'India' with the Southeast Asia in general and Thailand in specific to contextualize the whole scenario. Pre-Christian era to present, one can observe the kind of continuity in the relations between both the countries in cultural and economic realms. The influence of India on Thailand ranges from early civilization, religion (Hinduism and Buddhism), architecture, festivals, rituals, language, culture and in the day-to-day life of common Thais' that reflects 'Indianness'. The whole region of Indo-China came into being due to in-migration, settlement and by borrowing civilizational and cultural traits from early Indian civilization and later on from the Chinese civilization.

Human migration began with the evolution of human society itself and the story of Indian emigration is also an age-old phenomenon. There can be a whole range of arguments that why people have to migrate and settle down elsewhere by abandoning their motherland. Scholars like Van Hear (1998), Robert Cohen (2008), Steven Vertovec (2009) have analyzed patterns of migration, causes of migration and interpreted the idea of migration and diaspora with the help of different theories and approaches.

Transnational spread of diaspora is one of the important features of globalization. Almost every country has a significant size of diasporic population and it is networked for their socio-cultural, political and economic wellbeing. In this context, it is necessary to define the term diaspora for evident understanding.

1.2. Defining Diaspora

Etymologically, the term diaspora is derived from the Greek 'dia' (through) and 'speiro' (to scatter), literally it mean scattering or dispersion. The term "diaspora" according to V.S. Seth (2000: 218) denotes "scattering of people with a common origin, background and beliefs" and with the enhanced interdependence between states for bilateral cooperation, transnational relationship and contacts they became significant tool. "Diaspora is a Greek term for a nation or part of a nation separated from its own state or territory and dispersed among other nation but preserving its national culture."¹ The term "diaspora" is originally used to refer to those Jewish people who were scattered outside Palestine after the Roman Empire took over Palestine in 586 BC². Gradually all other groups of people who are dispersed outside their homeland in more than one host country were also came to be known as diaspora of respective country.

Members of Diasporic communities generally maintain direct or indirect connections with their homeland irrespective of the location or duration of stay in a host society. Whenever direct contact through visits to the homeland is not possible, they would have indirect links with their homeland through telephone, media, TV,

¹ See Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, The MacMillan Company, New York 1935, Vol.5, p.126 and Baumann (1995).

² Ibid.

books, language, religion, culture, etc., in order to feel associated with their country of origin. In this process, they become more conscious about their identity and in some instances it leads them to ethnocentrism³.

In ancient times when there were no state boundaries, rules, regulations and restrictions on migration then also people was migrating but today there are variety of reasons for migration as explained by many scholars (Olanike 2011) such as in ancient times availability of food, good climate, fertile land, water, etc. was central to migrants and at present jobs, better living standards, etc. are important. Migration would be permanent or temporary in nature and may consist many types (OCED 2011). When people move from different parts of the world and settle down elsewhere due to variety of reasons and they form homogeneous minority groups in the host society. Human beings never migrate without cultural baggage and their preconceived notions about culture/civilization travels with them. After settling down in a new society and partly assimilation in the local communities, the emigrants would like to retain certain distinctive characteristics of their identity and culture (Phinney 2001).

Immigrants have a yearning to return to motherland, in some cases, their future generations also try to trace their family origins in order to associate themselves with the 'identity' of distant, deceased ancestors. As it is clear by various definitions of diaspora that, diasporic population have either physical or emotional contacts' with their homeland and they want to transfer their family/community values, traditions, and culture from the present generation to the forthcoming ones'. Gabriel Sheffer (1986: 3) observes that given relationship between diasporic communities and the motherland, a possibility of returning from the country of their adoption exists. Hence diaspora have originated from migration. It is also quite clear that diaspora is ethnic minority residing in host country but maintaining strong emotional, sentimental and material links with their respective country of origin.

As evolved by several theories that migrants are the potential diaspora. There is not a hard and fast rule as to who is and can be considered as diaspora but long stay, settlement in the host country, physical and emotional affinity with homeland, are some of the indicators of diasporic communities. The essence of diaspora lies in the

³ First generation emigrants carry more ethnocentric feeling then further generation. Because second generation onward diasporic people have minor links with 'parents' homeland.

memories of their homeland and the myth of returning. As some scholars (Reitz 2003), suggest that though people know that life expectancy in their homeland was adverse and host society/country is much better but still diasporic communities have notion that their homeland is a fairyland where they would return someday.

In diaspora studies, some new terms are emerging such as ‘transnationalism’. That tries to re-explain the old term ‘diaspora’ as per the requirement of the current and complex migratory patterns. However, here we also would find a dichotomy that under the term diaspora, the population is living in foreign nations without the protection of their government but in the context of transnationalism the situation would be different. Now world is becoming a global village (McLuhan 1962) and we can find people from any country in any part of the world. So now a term like ‘alien’ is not that much significant as it was twenty years ago. Due to better transport and communication technology; diasporic population have some prior information or imagination about their host society.

After going through the process of defining diaspora and identifying its traits to understand the historical and present contexts of immigration patterns in India and around world, it would be essential to know about the Indian diaspora in general. A brief account (chronologically) of overseas Indian communities by analyzing the relevant literature critically will leads us to further discussion on Indian diaspora in Thailand. Hence, an overview of Indian diaspora would be helpful to narrow down on the Indian diaspora in Thailand.

1.3. Indian Diaspora: An Overview

“The story of Indian emigration begins from the time immemorial.”⁴ India has the second largest diaspora population after China. Indian diaspora constitutes 30 million people, spread over hundred and thirty-three countries. Every part of the country contributes to diaspora formation, therefore Indian diaspora is truly heterogeneous,

⁴ Speech by PM Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly on 4th December 1961. Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, September 1946-April 1961* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1983), p.127.

with wide divergence based on language, religion, race, ethnicity, caste and geography (Dubey 2000: 87).

During the colonial period, British planters faced labour shortage due to abolition of slavery in 1833 (The Slavery Abolition Act 1833, UK). “The British colonial administration needed cheap labour; it was readily available in India (Clarke 1990: 8).” And the labourers’ were ready to migrate because of their poor living standard at homeland and dream of betterment; though their religious beliefs were not in favour (Hindus should not cross the oceans, etc.). According to an estimate (Tinker 1993: 15) during the period between 1830 and 1916, one million Indians went abroad. Moreover, it shows that irrespective of their belief system people were moving more frequently centuries ago, and continues to do so even after having number of laws to restrict international migration.

Maximum number of migration during the colonial period took place from various regions of India like Western Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, in South India from the Tamil region, etc. to the British colonies such as Caribbean Islands, Mauritius, Natal, Malaya, Fiji and east Africa as plantation labourers under Kangani (Ooi, 2004) and indentured labour recruitment systems and during the 19th and 20th centuries Indians, started migrating towards industrially developed countries including Britain. Second World War was the turning point for the British Empire, they were losing everywhere. Likewise, in 1947 India got independence from them and due to change in power relations, forms of migration also had been changed.

As Arthur W. Helweg (1993: 369) argued “The Second World War wiped out much of the British Empire's manpower base. As a result, there began the Post-Colonial phase, which is only a few decades old. This period witnessed the large-scale immigration of White-Collar Professionals from India to the developed western world particularly to the countries such as the United States of America (USA), Canada, the United Kingdom (UK), Australia and the European countries in the late 1960s. Students, professionals, skilled and knowledge based workers, scientists, businessmen, IT experts and educated elite classes have formed this migratory process (Helweg 1993: 369).” Just after independence Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) too started migration towards Australia, Europe, U.S.A., etc., and the 1970s oil boom in gulf was

yet another reason that sparked semi-skilled and unskilled labour migration from India to Middle East.

For Indian diaspora in Thailand, two phases are extremely important, for maximum number of Indian immigrants to Thailand during last century. First, the World War II and 1947 partition of India and creation of Pakistan had witnessed a significant number of people migrating to Thailand. Many immigrants those were coming from various regions in Pakistan belongs to Punjabi, Sindhi, Sikhs, etc. have started further migration to various countries including Thailand directly, without settling down in India. Second, 1984 anti Sikh riots was another crucial period, for many Sikh immigrants who were worse affected in those riots immigrated to Thailand by exploring their old familial and community links among the earlier Sikh immigrants in country. However, the history of Indian diaspora in Thailand starts from pre-Christian era. That will be elaborated further in forthcoming chapters.

As Singhvi report (2001) and other scholars described that, by taking 1500 as the minimum figure⁵, Indian diaspora is being found in as many as 71 countries in the world. If we go by the single largest ethnic community then Indians constitute the majority in five countries (Mauritius 74%, Guyana 53%, Fiji 49%, Trinidad and Tobago, and Surinam 37%).⁶ Apart from that in many other countries, Indian diaspora is in influential position due to their political, economic, educational background. In North America, United States (0.6%), United Kingdome (2.11%), Canada (2.8%), Australia (1.02%) they are doing good economically (Jayaram 2004: 18) and are earning more than the national average because In education, their growth is tremendous. They form substantial minority communities in various Asian countries such as Brunei (2.3%), Myanmar (5%) Sri Lanka (4.4%), Malaysia (7.3%), Hong Kong (0.74%), Singapore (9.71%) and Maldives (3.35%), etc. (Singhvi 2001:253).

⁵ Scholars are arguing that there should be minimum number to call a community diaspora in a particular country. 1500 people can form a community, but still it is an imaginary number. Some would argue that 5000 could be better to describe diaspora, See, Jayaram 2004: 16.

⁶ See, Ravindra, K. Jain, *Indian Communities Abroad*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1993, Pp.2-3.

Table: 1. Overview of Indian Diaspora Population as Studied by Singhvi Committee.

Total No. of Countries Studied by Singhvi Committee	134
Total Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs)	8,686,437
Total Indian Citizens	3,909,458
Total Stateless Indian Origin People Living Abroad	468,920
Total Number of Indians Outside Indian Territory	16,943,580

Source: L.M. Singhvi. *High Level Committee Report on Indian Diaspora*. New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 2001, (xlviii).

This report shows data recorded by Indian embassies in various countries or from the census reports respective countries. If further elaborates, then they are living in an alien culture and somehow have to coordinate with the local population but not necessarily achieved total assimilation. As Erving Goffman using dramaturgical approach describes that ‘human actions are dependent upon time, place, and audience (Goffman 1959),’ the same has been reflected in the case of Indian diaspora. They are immensely conscious about preserving their identity, language, and culture to the extent possible, such that in private spaces they behave as Indians and at workplace they exhibit traits of their host society’s culture.

They are practicing endogamy (Weiner 2004: 156-191) with due respect to their religion and culture. They remain Indian in their primary groups but act indigenized in their secondary groups (Saran 1983). We can draw similar examples from Indian diaspora all over the world that, at the economic front or in secondary groups Indian diaspora are assimilating themselves for profit maximization but on cultural front they want to isolate themselves in order to preserve their cultural identity. The sense of ‘cultural identity’ is very strong among Indian diaspora in order to save it sometimes they get into violent ethnic conflicts with the host societies too (viz., Sri Lanka, Fiji, etc.). Host societies are bound to be heterogeneous and multicultural due to the presence of various immigrant groups and in such a multicultural society, sometimes the diasporic population becomes more conscious about their identity and cultural practices.

To settle differences in a truly heterogeneous society, the immigrants have only way to prove themselves worthy to host is hard work and discipline. Sometimes

the environment of host society would be very hostile and inhospitable; to cope up with this situation, diaspora has to abide law of the land. For example, Indians in United States of America are among the most law abiding ethnic minorities (Saran 1983). On the alien land, Indians might not form a pan-Indian community because of their unwillingness to leave their cultural moorings and their behaviour is often marked by the internal distinctions of place of origin, caste, class, region, religion, linguistic affinity, etc. and often they form their respective associations on these parameters.

Sometimes the affinity with motherland is so strong that even among the second and third generations of Indian diaspora it compels them to think of India as their homeland. We have excellent literary works from various diaspora writers such as Amitav Ghosh (*In an Antique Land*, *River of Smoke*, *The Glass Place*, etc.), Rushdie (*The Moore's Last Sigh*, *Midnight's Children*, etc.), Kiran Desai (*The Inheritance of Loss*), Jhumpha Lahiri (*The Namesake*) and Naipaul (*The Wounded Civilization*, etc.), which reveals that they have strong sense of belonging to India and its culture that inspires them to write about the Indian immigrants.

Diaspora studies as a new discipline has been enriched by the interdisciplinary and comparative approaches in social sciences. It has been pointed out in these approaches that the interpretation of data would not tell the real story without fusion of qualitative literature that opens up new horizons of imagination and generalization critically. Indian diaspora writers are drawing their inspiration from India to reconnect their thought process with their motherland. They have been working on very different and interdisciplinary issues that are not directly connected to India but in one way or the other they reflect the influence derived from their place of origin and they chose examples from diverse situations existed 'back home'.

Overseas Indians constitute a significant number and they are successful in economic, social and cultural fronts around the world. The vast and diverse overseas Indian community grew due to variety of factors such as colonialism, free passage to traders; slaves exported by Dutch and the British under *Kangani* and indentured labour systems, etc. Soon after Independence a considerable number of professionals had started migration towards most developed societies in search of better economic

opportunities. In the last few decades globalization, privatization and industrialization are the other major factors for Indian migration overseas. If we consider various historical phases then we can find several waves of migration from last two hundred years. R.K. Jain (1993) classified two main phases of emigration from India; those are 19th century and 20th century migration to industrially developed countries.

Migrants those usually referred to as 'skilled transients', 'sojourners' or denizens, etc. are in privileged conditions due to structural changes in the global economy and polity. They work with multinational companies, in United Nations and/or other government projects and usually return after completion of their work. If we look at the statistics, besides the 20 million⁷ people of Indian origin there are six million 'sojourners' or denizens (Indian citizens) spread all over the world who either can return or become Indian Diaspora over a period of time. Singhvi committee (2001) has done an extensive research on Indian diaspora and despite some limitations tried to gather data from all possible sources. They had carried out an exceptional research work in one hundred and thirty four countries around the globe. Except in one small country (viz., St. Vincent where they did not find any Indian diasporic population) the presence of Indians was recorded in all those countries.

As per the data provided by the Committee, in fifty-seven countries, presence of Indians is remarkable (more than 5000 people in each country). Going by these figures we can observe that when Indian migration had began in 19th and 20th centuries due to the economic compulsions generated by colonialism the main destination for Indian immigrants was South Africa, few Southeast Asian countries, Fiji and Caribbean islands as these were the earlier colonies of Britain. To fulfill the labour requirement British have brought Indians under different systems of recruitments. The 20th century migration of professionals towards the West and other developed countries was a very important phenomenon that has been studied vastly. At the same time the skilled and semi skilled workers' migration to the oil rich countries is equally remarkable though it seems impermanent because the citizenship laws in those countries are very prohibitive. If we focus only on the seven West Asian

⁷ See Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 2001, *A Reference Annual* which describes this fact in detail.

countries, there are more than 3.5 million Indians who are living for longer periods of time in spite of not getting permanent citizenship.

Review of literatures on this theme provides an overview of Indian diaspora around the world. This section explores the lifestyle, cultural persistence, assimilation and the behaviour of diaspora in different socio-economic spaces. Cultural and economic aspects of diasporic communities seem to be contradictory in some countries (Saran 1985). It was argued that the first generation immigrant usually carries more cultural baggage and a sense of ethnocentrism, which hampers their growth in the process of settlement. All these debates, thus point us towards examining Indian diaspora in Thailand which is the primary focus of this research. However, before focusing on Indian communities in Thailand, it is essential to clarify few concepts that help us to understand the terminology used in studies on diaspora.

1.4. Terminology to Define Indian Diaspora

Defining Indian diaspora is difficult due to multiplicity of terms those are being used interchangeably to characterize diaspora. In order to manage and make policies the Indian government has divided diaspora into various categories mainly focusing on their dissimilar features, time of migration and immigration, nationality, current citizenship status, etc. Overseas Indian communities those who are living in different countries are thus classified by government of India as Persons of Indian Origin (PIO), Non Resident Indians (NRI), stateless and Indian diaspora.

Members of Indian Diaspora speak different languages, engaged in various occupations but their origin gives them a common identity. Consciousness of their cultural heritage and their ever-lasting attachment with India makes their linkages stronger with homeland. They are representatives of India in countries of their settlement because they retain many traits of Indian culture tradition and civilization. They help India in many ways by providing technical expertise, advice, philanthropy lobbying for India, etc. that reveals their affiliation to homeland.

In the recent decades periodic investments and remittances to India have become significant for the economic development of the country.⁸ Given its cultural economy, Indian diaspora is searching for better investment options back home and forms social capital for India, especially in providing social networks for the government, individuals or agencies by participating in joint ventures, import and export businesses, bilateral and strategic relations with their respective host countries.

For a better management of Indian diaspora the classification of these terms has become essential. “In India, the term Indian National Overseas (INO) is referred to as the Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). The NRIs are said to have emigrated from India since 1947 to various countries. The word 'NRI' appeared for the first time in 1984 in the parliamentary Debates.”⁹ Though all these are terms interpreting the same phenomenon of migration by taking note of different aspects such as time of migration, nature of migration, documents they are holding or simply about memories of homeland. However, scholars have cautioned about the usage of these terms because ‘technicality and values’ are attached with these terms. By considering some variables one can define and use these terms but sometimes the overlapping of these terms is bound to happen.

Before we move further into discussion on the issues, it is required to clarify various terms that are relevant to this study. There are slight differences in terms like emigration, migration and immigration that are often used interchangeably. If we go by the dictionary meaning then ‘emigration’ is:

... the departure of individuals or groups from their home country to take up residence in another country. ‘Migration’ is a relatively permanent movement of a person or population across a political boundary to a new residential area or community. ‘Immigration’ is the entrance into a country of individuals or groups who have left their native country to establish a new place of permanent residence. Immigration is international MIGRATION with the focus upon the migrant’s country of destination (Scott 1999).

Apart from above mentioned definitions and explanations some terms need to be understood in the context of diaspora.

⁸ See, Ministry of External Affairs, *Annual Report*. New Delhi: Government of India, 2000-2001, p. 135.

⁹ Sahadevan, P. *India and Overseas Indians: The Case of Sri Lanka*, Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1955, p.1.

1.4.1. Non Resident Indians (NRIs)

Scholars are using various terms to refer NRIs by invoking various legalities. “The term NRI is defined under FEMA rules and regulations as ‘A person resident outside India who is either a citizen of India or is a person of Indian origin’ (Ahuja and Gupta 2001: 25)”.

Another definition that mentions categories of NRIs such as “The Indian citizens working abroad with the governmental or international or regional organizations such as United Nations, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or World Bank, etc., the officers of both the Central and state governments and also Public sector enterprises posted abroad on deputation (including various Diplomatic missions) are said to be NRIs. Under this category, those Indian citizens who have taken up jobs on completion of their higher studies abroad are also included (RBI 1988: 174).”

That way, constitution of India and laws enacted from time to time in this regard are relied upon to define the term NRI. However, sometimes there are contradictions in the usage of the term by various agencies and the same is reflected in court verdicts. When a person becomes NRI then s/he also can avail various benefits including tax rebate. As per the recent policies of government of India to attract diaspora persons holding an Indian Passport in her/his lifetime or her/his parents’ lifetime (up to four generations) are considered NRIs and PIOs.

1.4.2. Persons Residents in India (PRI)

If a person resides in India for more than 182 days in a financial year and holds Indian passport, he/she will be called a person resident in India. Indian citizens, who proceed abroad for higher studies, short business visits, training, medical treatment, foreign tours, etc. (for less than 182 days), are regarded as persons resident in India even during their temporary absence from India. Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) happen to become persons resident in India when they come back to the country indicating an uncertain period of stay in India. But they are not-considered as persons resident in India during their short visits to India, for instance, holidays, business, etc. in case they have NRI status and stay in India for less than 182 days (FEMA 2001).

According to the Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA 1999) which came into effect from June 1, 2000, describes that “Non-Resident Indian (NRI) is a person who is resident outside India but keeps his Indian Passport (FEMA 2001).”

1.4.3. Persons of Indian Origin (PIO)

“Person of Indian Origin” means a foreign citizen (not being a citizen of Pakistan, Bangladesh) he/she at any time may have held an Indian passport; or he/she or either of his/her parents or grandparents or great grandparents were citizens of India by virtue of the Constitution of India or the Citizenship Act, 1955 (57 of 1955); or he/she is a spouse of a citizen of India or a person of Indian origin (Chopra 2009).

According to the Foreign Exchange Management Act, a PIO is a person who is deemed to be of Indian origin if he or she held an Indian passport he/she or either of his/her parents or any of his/her grand-parents were citizens of India by virtue of the Constitution of India or the Citizenship Act, 1955 (Act 57 of 1955) or the person who is a spouse of a person of Indian origin (Citizenship Act 1955, Article 57)

As per these definitions if there is not much difference between PIO and NRI and if a NRI/PIO get married with others than Indians then her/his spouse too is entitled to get same status irrespective of her/his ethnic background. “Generally speaking, the term PIO and NRI have been alternately used by the Government of India (GOI) in parliamentary debates and other official literature as well as by the print media. The government's official spokesperson uttered the word PIO for INO (Indian National Overseas) as well as the people of Indian descendants who are the citizens of country of their settlement (Debates 1982).”

If a person born outside the Indian territory on or after the 26th January of 1950, he or she shall be considered as a citizen of India by descent if his father is a citizen of India at the time of his birth; the birth must have been registered in Indian Consulate within one year of its occurrence or the commencement of the citizenship Act.¹⁰

Some legality also varies by countries, those needs to be contextualized as per the historical relations, geography and the present diplomatic affiliation with the respective country.

¹⁰ Legal provisions relating to acquisition and termination of citizenship of India are defined in, the Citizenship Act, 1955.

1.4.4. Citizenship and Laws

The concept of citizenship is composed of three main elements or dimensions. First is citizenship as a legal status, defined by civil, political and social rights. Here, the citizen is the legal person free to act according to the law and having the right to claim the legal protection. The second considers citizens specifically as political agents, actively participating in a society's political institutions. The third refers to citizenship as membership in a political community that furnishes a distinct source of identity (Cohen 1999; Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Carens 2000).

Therefore, as various definitions describe every person who carries an Indian passport is an Indian citizen and “the spouse of a citizen of India is also deemed to be Indian origin (Act 1956).” And a citizen can get all the above benefits including fundamental duties and rights according to the constitution of India. There are several ways to acquire or lose Indian citizenship, these are:

(a) Citizenship by birth (b) Citizenship by descent (c) citizenship by registration (d) Citizenship by naturalization, etc. (e) Citizenship at the commencement of the constitution of India (f) Citizenship by incorporation of territory (g) Renunciation of Indian citizenship (h) Automatic termination of Indian citizenship (i) Overseas citizenship of India (j) Person of Indian origin card, etc. (The Citizenship Act, No. 12: 309.).

The provisions of clause (b) (ii) of Article 8 of the constitution provided that any person living abroad, one of whose parents or grandparents were born in India could be granted Indian citizenship by registration. (The Constitution of India, 1996)

From time to time some amendments took place in the citizenship act to classify and simplify the procedure for the citizenship in India.¹¹

T. K. Oommen described citizenship as a phenomenon of democratic state; he starts with historical and colonial period by arguing:

In a very strict sense of the term, citizenship is a notion, which is associated with the democratic state. During the pre-colonial time, there were kings, emperors and subjects. There were no citizens, as we understand today. Then came the colonial regime, and the British ruler had only subjects in India. Understood thus one can say that idea of equal citizenship is a post-colonial phenomenon, because equality was not an aspect of citizenship in pre-colonial and colonial times. Moreover, the subjects were graded; some were

¹¹ For example see The Citizenship Bill 2011 (Bill No. XLVIII of 2011).

more privileged, and who got more privileges or less privileges was determined by the king, emperor or the colonial ruler. Similarly, the notion of civil citizenship was applicable only to the propertied and political citizenship was confined to the propertied male in United Kingdom, the first democratic nation of the world. Even in contemporary liberal democracies there are fully-fledged citizens, second-class citizens and even denizens (Oommen 2009).

Further he argued that “in a sense, if you think of individual equality and social justice as inevitable ingredients of the idea of citizenship. But when one talks about citizenship it has to be seen in the context of the society. I frequently say that if a society is homogeneous that can be stratified only in terms of classes, gender and age groups; it is easy to induct and internalize the idea of citizenship. But, if a society is also culturally and racially heterogeneous it is much more difficult to institutionalize the idea of citizenship” (Oommen 2009). In the case of diaspora his argument is very important because when immigrants are entering in a society then it could not consider as homogeneous one. Then the institutionalization of citizenship could not be incorporated in a usual way.

1.4.5. British Subject

Before August 15, 1947 India was under the control of Britain and simultaneously Britain had colonies around the world. Prior to first January, 1949 all Indians were considered British subjects (Under British Nationality Law). Between 1st January 1949 and 25 January 1950 (till the constitution of India came into being) Indians remained British subjects without citizenship (unless they acquired citizenship of Britain or other commonwealth countries). Citizens of all the former British colonies then became the commonwealth citizens (British subject).

When British took citizens from one colony to another for work then they were the British state subjects. For example, “The persons of Indian origin (PIOs) in Sri Lanka (Indian Tamils) are a case in hand. Their ancestors had been brought to Sri Lanka to work on tea and rubber plantations; majority of them still work on the plantations. Until Sri Lanka became independent in 1948, these people were said to be the British subjects. Nevertheless, soon under various enactments PIOs were deprived of their citizenship and other related rights. It is very necessary for them to prove that

their parents were born in Sri Lanka or that they and their families had been continuously dwelling in Sri Lanka since 1939 (Charles 1971: 299-321)”.

The modern emigration from India was entirely a British creation; it began in the first half of the 19th century when the British abolished slavery (Jain 1989: 155-156). Moreover, even after the India’s independence out migration from India had continued.

In Europe, the Indian diasporic population is more visibly seen in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The Indian diasporic population constitutes more numbers in the United Kingdom. One of the reasons behind this is that the expulsion of a large number of Indians by Idi Amin in the 1970s who left Uganda for Britain. Most of the Indians in the United Kingdom in the 1960s and in the 1970s were twice migrants (Bhachu 1985: 26).

The Indian immigrants first arrived in East Africa and from there migrated further to the United Kingdom. The recent 20th century migration of professionals makes the Indian diasporic population much larger. With the grant of independence to the colony of Suriname in the Caribbean Islands in the year 1975, many Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands. Another cause for the migration of Indians from Suriname to the Netherlands was that the fear of ethnic problem and the possible economic and political difficulties. Similarly, in the Pacific region of Australia, New ‘the Indian immigrants’ first arrived in East Africa and from there migrated further to the United Kingdom. The recent 20th century migration of professionals makes the Indian diasporic population much larger. With the grant of independence to the colony of Suriname in the Caribbean Islands in the year 1975, many got settled in the country (Lal 1993: 353).

1.4.6. Stateless

Individuals or groups of people those who are not entitled to be citizen of any country in the world and also deprived from all the benefits meant for citizens, considered stateless. People become stateless due to variety of conflicts occurring between two or more nation states and the people in the border areas eventually become ‘unwanted’ or undesirable for both of the countries. Example can be drawn from ‘Biharis’ in Bangladesh who are treated as "stateless". When Bangladesh achieved independence

in 1971, there were several non-Bengalis, were stranded in country. Many of them hailed from Bihar.¹²

Indian High commission/Embassy/Posts/Missions would register those Indians who are qualified for Indian citizenship under Article 8 of the Constitution of India. These categories of stateless persons are not those who are neither said to be citizens of the country of their settlement nor the citizens of the country of their origin. Sometimes the claims of persons in this category of stateless people were outrightly rejected by the High Commission for not meeting the requirement of citizenship. Thus, the PIOs are having only sentimental links with India. Their bondage with India became more of a nostalgic kind attachment (Bose & Manchanda 1997: 56).

Table: 2. Countries with Stateless Indians.

Sr. No.	Name of Countries	Population
1	Myanmar	400,000
2	Malaysia	50,000
3	Philippines	12,000
4	Kenya	2,500
5	Netherlands	2,000
6	Madagascar	1,000
7	Canada	1,000
8	Switzerland	300
9	Brunei	100
10	Venezuela	10
11	Finland	10
	Total	468,920

Source: L.M. Singhvi. *High Level Committee Report on Indian Diaspora*. New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 2001.

¹² That news was published by Batool Zehra on March 25, 2012 in The Express Tribune, Bangladesh. The title was ‘The Lesser-Known Atrocities of the 1971 India-Pakistan-Bangladesh War’.

In Myanmar, the policy of nationalization has affected the Indian diasporic community and citizenship was denied to them (Chakravarthi 1971: 74). In a broader framework being stateless is the situation where people are not liable to claim their citizenship in any country and they have to spend life on the mercy of the host state and society.

1.4.7. Overseas Citizenship of India Scheme (OCI)

Indian diaspora has a much awaited demand for “dual citizenship” from Indian state, but under the constitution of India it is not possible yet. To accommodate this demand the government of India took a step closer to that. The government had come up with the idea of Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI). Due to an ever increasing demand from North American and other developed countries, Government of India introduced this scheme by amending the Citizenship act, 1955 (in August 2005). This scheme was launched during the Pravasi Bhartiya Divas convention of 2006 at Hyderabad. The scheme provides for registration as Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) of all Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) who were citizens of India on 26th January, 1950 or thereafter or were eligible to become citizens of India on 26th January, 1950 except who is or had been a citizen of Pakistan, Bangladesh or such other country as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, specify.¹³

Although, there are limitations in OCI and it should not be misunderstood as ‘dual citizenship’ because OCI does not provide political rights but by OCI registration booklet (multiple entry, multipurpose, lifelong visa) they can get Universal Sticker Visa so they can enter and exit India without any visa formalities. The registered overseas citizens have many benefits as they are exempted from registration with FRRO/FRO, can stay in India as long as they want and they are entitled to get all parity as NRIs.

This scheme has been well received, as data shows 7.99 lakh OCI registration booklets have been issued until 20 April 2011. The OCI scheme has become a success story because of the well defined/required package it entails. However, there are few restrictions such as the OCIs cannot take up government jobs, prohibition from

¹³ See, Ministry of Overseas External Affairs, OCI, www.moia.gov.in.

ownership of agricultural land as well as missionary work, mountaineering, research work, visits to restricted area are not permitted with specific permission.

After learning about contexts and connotations of various technical terms that define and determine the nature of interaction that Indian diaspora maintained with homeland, it would now be easy to locate the Indian diaspora in Thailand. Unlike the general characteristics of Indian diaspora that has been discussed so far the Indian diaspora on Thai soil has many different and unique historical features, the same are introduced in the following sections.

1.5. Approaches to Study Diaspora

There are many approaches to study the diaspora, selection of a suitable approach to study a particular diaspora has to be based on the unique features of particular diasporic community. The researcher can apply one or more approaches or the blend of many approaches in order to maintain objectivity. Some of those approaches are discussed below.

1.5.1. Ethnicity Approach

To study diaspora one can use different approaches. In the case of Indians in Thailand one parameter that seems to be useful is ethnicity. The main reason to apply this approach is that the Thai society is broadly homogeneous. Largely it is a society with one religion that is Buddhism; nearly 95% of Thailand's population belong to similar ethnic backgrounds and follow Buddhism.

Thai people have a strong tendency to identify themselves with their religious (Theravada Buddhism) and ethnic identities. The Siamese/Thais are the main ethnic group apart from this there are Isan, Chinese, Khmer, hill tribes and Malay who also have their own distinctive culture but share the same space with Siamese/Thais. Thailand has four major ethnolinguistic groups these are standard or central Thai, Isan (near Lao boarder), Lanna and southern Thai. Modern Thai¹⁴ has been adopted as an official language to assimilate the differences between different ethnolinguistic and

¹⁴ By removing many dialects Thai government came up with single official language with some modifications. That was implemented throughout the country.

cultural groups. To locate and identify Indian origin population in this broadly homogeneous society would be easy.

John S. Furnivall (1931) applied a particular approach to study the South East Asian societies in the colonial period. He was a British civil servant and writer. His writings on Burma, Indonesia and South Asia, etc. had a focus on pluralism and ethnic diversity. However, he had been criticized due to his more Eurocentric approach. After Furnivall, Chandra Jayawardena tackles the issue of Indians in Guyana and Fiji, by focusing on their ethnicity he wrote:

...in both countries Indian culture has persisted but has developed along contrasting lines....in the case of Indians in Guyana and Fiji, the nature and manifestations of the traditional culture of immigrant people are influenced by historical process that may or may not engender 'ethnicity'. 'Ethnicity' itself to be understood in term of particular political, class and status conflicts. (Jayawardena, 1980: 430-450)

Similar approaches with comparative studies of Indian diaspora also were present in the works of Mahajan (1960), Vertovec (1994), R.K. Jain (1998), and some others.

1.5.2. Cultural Persistence Approach

Another approach is 'cultural persistence'. It is a well-known fact that the immigrants tries to preserve their cultural heritage and possess feelings of ethnocentrism. That feeling force them to stand apart in the host society and sometimes leads to conflict. Klass (1961) studied East Indians in Trinidad using this approach. He studied a village in late 1950s that was dominated by East Indians and this valuable work shows a way to study people in new settings with their contemporary problems and their incorporation within the larger society.

According to Klass (1961) diaspora formation is the process when immigrants have to cope with all adverse situations those may or may not be as real as they pursue. Threat may be generated due to more ethnocentric way of life or by fear of assimilation. Both are considered as threats for their identity. Klass tries to explore all the interrelations, social fabric and structure through the study of various social organizations of the East Indians' village in Trinidad. Because social organizations symbolize the persistence in a way and generalization of their culture and practices would be easy and authentic in this perspective.

1.5.3. Adaptationist Approach

Adaptationist approach is simple to understand and little difficult to practice in the field by the researcher if s/he is not familiar with the characteristics of the universe. It is a method generally used by ethnologists to study evolutionary process or by evolutionary psychologists. In diaspora studies, this approach can help to understand the memory, language, perceptions of immigrants and can examine their adaptation in new environments by studying their traits. On the other hand, it can be understood as the question of adaptation of the immigrants as a social group into the social environment of the host society.

R.K. Jain's work on Indian plantation labour in Malaysia in the typical Malaysian environment and culture can be a good example. He studied their life, work in the present day setup, and correlated them with their origin through the process of adaptation. The main features of this study were to highlight the industrial bureaucracy and its interaction between culture and tradition of south Indians in a new setup where the relations of both are dependent on different ideologies. Another example can be drawn from the work of Adrian C. Mayer (1963) on 'Indians in Fiji'.

Prior to this he had studied three Indian rural communities (1950-51; Peasants in the Pacific 1961) so he had quite a good firsthand experience to study Indian rural communities in the present day in Fijian context. He used adaptationist model to explore patterns of settlements, ritual activities, caste and other cultural traits of Indian immigrants in Fiji. Burton Benedict (1961)¹⁵ also applied the same approach in his study of Indian settlers in Mauritius; he explored the deep attachment of immigrants with their homeland and culture as a whole.

There could be number of approaches, methods or models to study social phenomenon such as diaspora. Apart from the above-mentioned approaches, another very important approach is 'existentialism'. As the word itself describes that, there must be some set of characteristics in everything (culture, race, gender, ethnicity, etc.) which make them what they are. It is way of philosophizing the movement (when diaspora moves to the host society then they carry their culture but they have to be

¹⁵ Burton discribed this idea in his book 'Indians in a Plural Society: a Report on Mauritius.

flexible to accept new situations). Therefore, it is clear that categories of people have intrinsically different dispositions in their character to apply these approaches. Researcher can develop his/her study and pick variables from immigrant society that could be ethnicity, race, culture or language, etc. as per the requirement of study.

1.5.4. Constructionist Approach

Constructionist approach is important because it develops social consciousness about a given social phenomenon that is diaspora in our case. Because immigrants are also constructing their social world in the host society, so to understand their mental model regarding the world around them, one can use the constructionist approach (Marshall 2007). How they are constructing their identity through various movements, institutions, forums, practices, etc. could be one way to understand the diasporic communities.

Various disciplines are using these approaches as per their requirements; in diaspora studies it would be difficult to accommodate different approaches *in toto*. In addition, a single approach might not obtain the required amount information and knowledge of an immigrant community in a new setup, where the perception, culture of the host society and fear of assimilations are at work simultaneously. Therefore, mixing of various methods and approaches shall be the best option to work with.

1.6. Indian Diaspora on Thai Soil

In this research, the focus will be on Indian diasporic communities in Thailand and their cultural and economic aspects. Here the word ‘communities’ refers to different sections of the Indians living in Thailand. Some scholars used the term ‘India’ to refer to Indian subcontinent especially when they discussed the undivided India (in a historical context). To define the early migration (pre Christian era) of Indians to Thailand one cannot use the word ‘India’ or ‘Bharat’ in a strict sense, because the period between pre-Christian and 1947, there were so many demographic and geographical changes took place and the present international boundaries of India stabilized only after India’s independence. Even after independence, minor changes

were observed on international borders (e.g. Goa) and within India; states were reorganized on linguistic and cultural bases.

To keep all these demographic and socio-cultural changes in mind, researcher has to clarify the situation of migrants. Even though at the time of migration, a particular group or a community of migrants were part of a particular empire or territory, which is not part of today's India or merged/separated later. Sikhs and Hindu Punjabi immigrants in Thailand are a good example of this situation; their pre-independence migration was from the united India's Punjab (now that part is in Pakistan) and post-independence migration was from India. Still their place of origin or motherland is in Pakistan; but they associate themselves with India because they identify themselves with their people and communities who had migrated to India permanently.

1.6.1. Indian Communities in Thailand

Diaspora's traits need to be identifying for the study of diasporic communities in new setups, with their place of origin or with the current location of their parent community. The Sikhs and Hindu Punjabis (those came from West Punjab, now in Pakistan) in Thailand quite clearly associates themselves with India rather than Pakistan. On the other hand the Uttar Pradeshes in Thailand are very clear about their place of origin because of stable political and demographic situation of the region.

The Dawoodi Bohra Muslims comes from present day's Gujarat region and one can trace their descendants, path of migration to Thailand easily. They were mainly traders and Sindhis same region and occupations also managed to reach there. On the other hand, Tamilians (both, Hindus and Muslims) in Thailand are among the most vibrant Indian communities. The rate of assimilation among Muslim Tamilians is highest, by interethnic marriages, in comparison to Hindi speaking Uttar Pradeshes and other than Tamilian. Majority of Tamilian adopted the culture of Thailand easily and become one of them by interethnic marriages. Uttar Pradeshes had strong ethnocentric values. Both had high rate of male migration, Tamilian starts the families there and Uttar Pradesh had to return in old age or during illness, so they were not able to assimilate and their migration become temporary in nature.

1.6.2. Brief History and Migration Patterns of Indian to Thailand

After independence of India, there have been two distinct categories of migration: first, the migration that began in the early 1950s, when Indians moved to the United Kingdom, Europe, North America and Australasia. This migration towards western world was permanent in nature and the migrants were mostly educated and well qualified. The second phase was the large outflow of unskilled, semiskilled and skilled workers to the countries in the Gulf region, which began in the mid 1970s. This migration was temporary with a large number of workers returning on completion of their contracts.

Indian diaspora in Thailand is unique in nature and its causes are different from other Indian diaspora around the world. Thailand shares a cultural and deep religious thread with India or in a sense can say that Thailand had imported Indian culture and made it indigenous for their own consumption. Buddhism is the way of life in Thailand and 94.6% (Thai Census, 2000) Thais claims to be Buddhist of Theravada tradition.

If we discuss the social structure and institutions among Indian diaspora in Thailand then there is enough scope to explore the situations that are hidden for a long time. There are 85,000 Indian origin population in Thailand; among them 15000 are NRIs and 70000 PIOs. Both the categories constitute 0.07% of the total population (Singhvi 2001) though one can question the validity of these figures because different sources project different numbers. However, the current data available from the Ministry of External Affairs, India shows that a total 100 thousand to 150 thousand Indians are there in Thailand, some new books estimated 200 thousand too (Sandhu 2008).

Indians were called “Khaek” (slang used for Indians) in Thai language. In comparison to Chinese diaspora (approximately 10% of the total population) in Thailand Indians are fewer in number but the impact of Indians’ on Thai culture, food, religion and life style is immense. Indian movies with Thai subtitles are quite famous and the official religion of Thailand is Buddhism that was imported from India, therefore, for Buddhists Buddha Gaya (Bihar) is a sacred pilgrimage. Though Thais are not considering Chinese as foreigners (largely due to similarity in ethnicity and

look) but Thais' and Chinese have differences in their cultures. Indians are considered foreigners but not equivalent to Europeans or Americans. For both Indians and Pakistanis they use the word "Khaek" and for other they use the word "*Farlang*". Both the words represent not only the place of origin but also the sense of culture.

Various migratory patterns from India are very important to study at length. Given the historical affiliation with Thailand spanned from pre-Christian era to the present and one can locate Indian migration in cultural and economic contexts more distinctively. It started with the early civilization in Southeast Asia as many historical and archaeological evidences show that Indian civilization and culture was influential in whole region. Many artefacts that had been found in various archaeological sites in Thailand show the evidence that Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit languages were present in that region, even before the Christian era. Many kingdoms in the Indo-China had Hinduism as their official religion prior to Buddhism. Kolkata and Pondicherry were main ports of embarkation for sea rout travellers. By 6th 7th centuries, many people were visiting to Thailand through land routes among them adventurers, traders, priests, etc. were reaching Thailand via Pegu (in Myanmar).

Brahmins were invited by Thai kings to perform rituals in the court and they were holding important intellectual positions too. Ayutthaya period was the time when Buddhism flourished in Thailand without any obstacles to Hindu gods, rituals, and festivals. Today the way of life of common Thais' is marked by a mix of Hinduism, Buddhism and Chinese culture. Various migration patterns relating to these are discussed in the next chapters in detail. However, it would be important to describe few main patterns, during various periods especially in the context of new diaspora. These are: (a) British period (mid 19th century to the Second World War), (b) the World War II to 1984 (c) 1984 anti Sikhs riots to recent skilled professional migration. As these migration patterns to Thailand reveal the main factors behind migration to Thailand those were culture, economy, political unrest, etc.

1.6.3. Social and Physical Location

Indians are enjoying a great place in various spheres of life in Thailand. Majority of the Indian diasporic population is living in the capital city Bangkok and they are largely concentrated in areas like Pahurat, Ban-Kaek and Ashoka Road, etc., where they share their cultural life, food and social relations with other Indian origin people. In addition, their lifestyle is driven by their ‘Indianness’ and by their cultural roots that they carried from India. It is interesting to analyze how they are interacting and leading life in a new social structure and institutional setup. Indian Diaspora in Thailand also represents the true diversity of India, which is marked by the variety of institutions, specifically of their places of migration in India.

Tamilians started concentrating around the landmark temple Sri Mariamman temple or Wat Khaek (Indian Temple) also known as Maha Uma Devi temple which was constructed on Silom Street, Bangkok in 1870. Tamil Muslims also were also residing near Silom Road. Dawoodi Bohra Muslims from the princely state of Surat (present day Gujarat, India) had established an import and export company in Bangkok named A.T.E. Maskate. Their company was one of the first foreign non-Chinese company in Bangkok.

Uttar Pradeshes, the Hindi-speaking Hindus were there from long time. Initially they worked in service sector, such as security guards or milkman, etc. Apart from Bangkok they were also living in few southern cities of Thailand. Their migration was single sex (only men) phenomenon, and for a long time they were living without setting up families, therefore their population is on decline. In addition, Punjabis are emerging as a dominant group among Indian diaspora. On Pahurat road, which is also known as “little India”, one can observe the domination of Sikhs and other Indian communities. However, they also had shops and business ventures in China Town, Bangkok.

1.6.4. Cultural and Economic Linkages of Diaspora

Indians in Thailand are segregated broadly on the linguistic and religious basis. Settlement patterns, businesses, places of migration, routes of migration, social institutions, etc. of these Indian emigrants can be classified on the basis of their

linguistic and religious background. Family is one of the most important institution which played a great role in the prosperity and accommodation of Indian communities in Thailand. Indian culture would sustain them only if they maintained family and community connections. Culture, family and economic activities are deeply rooted in each other. They are supplants to the overall prosperity of the community.

Ethnic markets can be good examples that are not only providing sustainable livelihood to the emigrants but also provide them a sense of belonging. Pahurat road's little India and China town in Bangkok are not only representing the ethnic minorities but also reflect their distinct culture and recognises their identity. Ethnic markets (Guion 2012) also provide space to celebrate language, religion, tradition, festivals, multicultural ethos etc. along with the economic security. That is also the space for indigenous people to interact, understand and to get firsthand experience of different cultures.

If we go by the joint ventures between two countries or other joint projects and trade then the picture of diaspora involvement would be clear. Because they know their homeland and it is easy for them to deal with their own ethnic groups or country. Shared language and cultural affinity is also playing a great role in terms of establishments of new commercial and cultural ties.

A sharp and logical question arises here is that, whether Indians in Thailand qualify to be considered diaspora? Moreover, the answer is a strait forward yes for majority of Indian origin peoples. The fact is well taken here, that Tamil Muslims and Hindus are assimilating in the larger Thai society. Both Indian communities had high rate of interethnic marriages. Still if use Cohen's (2008) six-point theory to define diaspora then also they are qualified to be diaspora. As Mani (1993) argued that the second and third generations of both the communities are merging with the indigenous population because they are half Indian ethnic and half Thai. They are still attached to Indian culture that can be observed in their religious practices and in day-to-day affairs (they may be doing it consciously or unconsciously). Various rituals followed by them are very close to Indian rituals, however, one cannot deny the fact that they are highly influenced by the Thai way of life, where Buddhism is central to day-to-day life and Chinese culture seemed to be influential.

Other Indian communities such as Sikhs have strong affiliation with their ancestors' origin places. Many are visiting India for the pilgrimage and to visit their place of origin. However, Sikhs had many problems during migration to India from Pakistan and were living with an identity crisis. In a way, they were forced to accept India as their homeland. Slowly they had accepted it and associated with other people who had migrated to India. Sikhs in Thailand are well accepted and they are also assimilating in the larger society but by carrying their Indian values, beliefs, and contacts.

It would not be easy for all to have same affiliation with their place of origin but the prevalent Hindu culture, influence of Sanskrit, rituals and festivals imported from India are giving them a sense of home. Even after assimilation, interethnic marriage, etc. the elements of Indian culture are dominant in the life of Indian diaspora in Thailand. The next generations, those who are born and brought up in Thailand have very little chance to know India. Plans of Indian government such as diaspora university, 'know India program', students' exchange program, etc. could be instrumental in providing a sense of India to the second and third generation diaspora. The recent migration to Thailand is different from the old, because highly qualified professionals are moving there for skilled jobs and mostly are living in urban centres. Therefore, they have fewer chances to interact with the indigenous population intimately.

In order to promote economic relations with Thailand, many high level visits took place between both the countries to sign MoUs at various levels. HRH Princess Mahachakri Sirindhorn, has been visiting India on a regular basis. Thai Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra was the Chief Guest for India's republic day (January 24-26, 2012) celebrations. Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh also paid a state visit to Thailand to enhance economic cooperation and strategic relations (7th India-ASEAN Summit and 4th EAS Summit held in Hua Hin, Thailand on 24 October 2009). Bilateral trade has multiplied six times since 2000, which crossed US\$ 6.6 billion in 2010 and in 2011 it was about US\$ 8.19 billion (India-Thailand Relations, February 2012).

Scholars like Manjit Singh Sidhu, K.S. Sandhu, Zakir Hussain, A. Mani who are Indian descendents living in different countries, tried to describe Indian diaspora in Thailand as part of a distinctive social and cultural-economic phenomenon. These writing came into being in 1980s and 1990s. Few new studies are also there by Thai scholars, mostly written in Thai language, providing a glimpse of current situation of Indian communities in Thailand. By keeping all the aspects in mind, discussed by various scholars, now we can formulate research questions and objectives.

1.7. Indians' and other diaspora in Thailand

Thailand had long history of “in-migration.” Through various archaeological evidences it has been proved that, human civilization as cultivators in Southeast Asia starts nearly 6,000 years ago (Smith 2005: 4) nevertheless, this area has been populated for more than half a million years (Thailand, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, January 2012, Thailand, 2012). The artefacts and other material that was unearthed from various prehistorical/historical sites in Thailand shows clear indication of various ethnic gropes invasion in Southeast Asia from other parts of the world. People from South China have history of several centuries to enter in Southeast Asia for settlement.

Ethnic groups such as Khmer, Mon, and Tai was dominant among them. Other sources also shows that aboriginal (indigenous Australian) those had dusky-complexion was present in Thailand long time back and slowly they were absorbed and assimilated in other ethnic groups such as Melanesian (islands between Fiji and New Guinea). Those diffused along the coastal area and later survived in the wider tracks of the Malay Peninsula (Bangkok and Siam 1914: 1).

On the eve of earlier Funan kingdom (Mekong Delta), Mon people took the opportunity to establish their kingdom. Funan kingdom was highly influenced by Indian civilizations and Indian immigrants were working in the state administration. Sanskrit was their official and Hinduism was widely accepted in the region.

Apart from Chinese and Southeast Asian people from French, Portugal, Britain, Netherlands, America etc are not only working in Thailand but also doweling their communities and business. From Sukhothai period (1240-1438) Chinese traders

were actively trading in the region. People from Xiamen, Guangdong and Fujian are among the big suppliers of human capital to Thailand, Han's ethnic people was more among emigrants (Cushman 2006). In this way Thai society became plural, multicultural. Hybridity in culture was acceptable without much discrimination (Bun 1998). Indian communities in Thailand understood the scenario that was happened over the long period of time and opted for peaceful coexistence.

1.8. Rationale of the Study

As discussed in introduction that Indian migration to Indo-China and Thailand is not a new phenomenon, it started in pre-Christian era and created a great impact on civilization of the region itself. Early migration to Thailand was tiny in number but it introduced Indian civilization, value system, religion (Hinduism), and language to the whole region. In 19th and 20th centuries, number of Indian immigrants grows but they were not able to contribute much to the local culture, etc. as their descendents did. One reason behind it could be that, they were primarily economic migrants and old emigrants went there for variety of reasons.

The influence of Indian culture continues in Thailand and it has also been indigenized. Therefore, historicity needs to be explored to locate the present Indians communities in Thailand. In order to understand present cultural, socio-economic conditions and connections of Indian diaspora (in Thailand) with history of Thailand, Southeast Asia and India need to be mentioned by demonstrating linkages. Cultural influence, settlement, integration, assimilation are the long and slow processes. These would take generations to accomplish. It would be interesting to study the change and continuity in cultural traits and economic conditions of diaspora in a given political geographical boundary of Thailand. Culture could be studied with the settlement, migration, assimilation and location of diasporic communities with respect to broader host society.

However, economy is intimately associated with whole socio-cultural conditions of the society and it is tough to understand in isolation. Therefore, research has to incorporate social dimension of economy, ethnic market, social networks, cultural economy, etc.

1.9. Objectives

- ❖ To understand the historical background, migration patterns and social aspects of Indian diaspora in Thailand.
- ❖ To explore integration and assimilation patterns among Indian diasporic communities in Thai society.
- ❖ To explore the cultural and economic dimensions of Indian diaspora in Thailand.

1.10. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study strives to understand various dimensions of Indian diaspora in Thailand. The focus of this study is economic and cultural aspects of diaspora that dominate their life, further research could be built on this study. Indian and Thai governments are trying hard to increase trade and bilateral relationships, which could be easily possible through engagement of diasporic population. Since Indian diaspora is aware of Thai culture as well as Indian and that familiarity of culture puts them in an advantageous position to built a better relationship and businesses in both the countries.

This study also explores the deep and long historical relations between India and Thailand. Civilization of Thailand carries the great imprints of Indian culture and religion. That creates a psychological bonding and trust between the people of both countries, this bonding easily could be translated into the bilateral trade and other cooperations. Various indicators would suggest the mistakes made in the past and the way out for future socio-cultural and economic collaborations’.

This research work uses secondary sources. It utilizes both published and unpublished literature and data. The nature of this study is analytical. This study makes use of variety of literature representing a whole range of information and knowledge available on Indian diaspora in Thailand.

Some limitations were there in completing this study like dearth of new literature. Only few scholars have worked on Indians in Thailand and their focus was only on few aspects or communities. In such studies, a holistic approach towards analyzing the social, economic and political setting of Indian diaspora was lacking

and approximately all major studies are more than twenty years old. Thereby this study also uses government reports, other current and relevant material from various sources.

1.11. Chapter Schema

This work contains six chapters, including introduction and conclusion. The chapters are arranged as per the requirement of the study to define the themes chronologically.

Chapter one introduces the theme of study and defines the literary meaning of diaspora. It also introduced the meaning of diaspora and the terminology used by the government of India to understand and formulate policies for diaspora. Different approaches, scope and limitations have been defined in chapter one, along with background of the Indian diasporic community on Thai soil.

Chapter two narrates the theoretical orientation of the study that helps to understand the diaspora as a whole. Noting that the field of diaspora studies does not have specific theories; therefore, a combination of migration theories, different approaches including ethnicity, cultural pluralism, etc. are used to clarify the theoretical stand of diaspora studies.

Chapter three discusses the historical background of Indian diaspora in Thailand. The formulation of diaspora on alien land not only shows the settlement patterns and trends but also clarifies the events and major socio-economic scopes those energized the people to reach and settle over there. In brief this chapter also explores the civilizational relations and internal factors of Thailand those resulted in providing favourable conditions for Indians to become diaspora.

Chapter four “Socio-Cultural Mosaic” introduces the civilizational and cultural contacts with Thailand. Therefore, this chapter locates the Indians in Thailand as diaspora and discusses different Indian communities and their socio-cultural affiliation with the host and home country. Problems, prejudices, assimilations are the sub themes of this chapter, that describe the generational gap and indigenization of Indian communities into the larger Thai society.

Chapter five “Economy of Indian Diaspora in Thailand” contextualizes the economic affiliation of Indian diaspora with Thailand from pre-Christian era. Main

focus of this chapter is on ‘new diaspora’ and their economic activities within Thailand and with India. This chapter also dealt with various events which are very important for Indian diaspora in Thailand in terms of economic integration and opportunities. Throughout the chapter, economic traits and survival patterns of Indians in Thailand have been discussed in great detail.

Chapter six is the last one to conclude the study, which summarizes the socio-cultural understanding of Indian diaspora in Thailand with the help of different approaches those had been discussed in previous chapters. Economy of Indian diaspora was another most important focus of this study that has been discussed in detail and incorporated in the conclusion part and finding of the study also have been incorporated.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF DIASPORA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is dealing in theoretical orientation for the study. That also explains and conceptualizes the term ‘diaspora’, and theorizes migration, ethnicity, cultural pluralism/multiculturalism, transnationalism, etc. these are the central to understand the diaspora research mannerisms. Approaches to ethnicity in broadly homogeneous Thai society are very important to locate Indian diaspora.

Understanding the evolution and formation of diaspora carries the theoretical course for the study. Theories are ‘coherent group of general assumptions, body of principles that belong to a certain subject; speculation, hypotheses’. It is important to define theories for the study to contextualize the whole debate. ‘A formal set of ideas that is intended to explain, why something happens or exists’¹⁶ are considered as theories. According to William P. Scott, generally, a theory can be defined as a set of interrelated principles and definitions that serves conceptuality to organized selected aspects of the empirical world in a systematic way. Keeping above discussed definitions in mind, defining various concepts, terms, theories related to diaspora would be easy.

2.2. Literature Review

In second half of last century only few research works had been generated on Indian diaspora in Thailand and all are focusing on different aspects of diaspora, such as, different communities (Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus), language, religion, etc. but with little focus on economic and cultural dimensions. Some empirical studies had been conducted but with small sample size. A focused study is needed to explore the cultural and economic magnitude of the Indian diaspora in Thailand. The focused approach would emerge with moderately distinctive study. Variables, culture and economy would be very important to look at from historical perspectives and to

¹⁶ Oxford Advanced Learner’s Compass (electronic version, 2008) contains this particular definition of theory.

analyze in the present globalized and interconnected world, where every social institution seems to be deeply rooted in the culture and economy.

Consequently, Indian diaspora in Thailand is important to understand, analyze, and to correlate historical background with present, by keeping these two variables (culture and economy) in mind. Before venturing in the detail, it would be important to contextualize Indian diaspora in Thailand.

Scholars like Manjit Singh Sidhu, K.S. Sandhu, Zakir Hussain, A. Mani, all Indian descendents living in different countries, tried to describe Indian, their culture and part of social and cultural-economy. These writing came into being in 1980s and 1990s. Few new studies also their by Thai scholars written in Thai language, to provide the current account of Indian communities in Thailand.

Srisurang Poolthupya, had written extensively about “The Indian Influence on Thai Culture in the Thai Ramayana,” “Asian Short Stories & Poems,” “Thai Intellectual and Literary World,”. Many of his articles are successfully demonstrating his in-depth knowledge about India and its diaspora in Thailand. In his article on “Indians in Thailand” (Srisurang 2008), a brief introduction to current scenario of Indians in Thailand he successfully raised the questions of assimilation, economic upliftment, integration and other problems.

Robin Cohen’s theoretical framework focuses on the need for typologies in diaspora. For a better understanding of diaspora’s migration patterns, he tries to divide it into five ideal types (victim, labour, imperial, trade, and deterritorialized) by drawing examples from Indian and Jewish diaspora (Cohen 2010: 160).

2.3. Theorizing Diaspora

The meaning and origin of the term diaspora has been defined in chapter one. As Walker Connor (1993) describes that ‘dispersal’ of the people from their native place is called diaspora. But in the current globalized world it is not easy to project the complex trajectory of diaspora by straightforward definitions. The theory of diaspora contains new dimensions such as ‘immigrant’, ‘migration’, ‘refugees’, ‘asylums’, ‘guest workers’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘minority’, ‘expatriate’, etc. because without these connotations the term diaspora cannot be fully inclusive.

Robin Cohen (2008) came up with four imperative phases, these are: (a) the prototypical diaspora, (b) the expanded concept of diaspora, (c) social constructionist critiques of diaspora, and (d) the consolidation phases. After building the base on these phases he also describes the classical, victim and trade and business diaspora. That theoretical trail was built brick by brick for a better understanding. On the other hand, some scholars believe to provide basic traits of diaspora definitions, that incorporates dispersal of population from their motherland to two or more places, memory of homeland and quest of return, socio-cultural and economic exchanges among host and other diaspora' (Nicholas Van 1998: 6).

William Safran (1991) identified six main features of diaspora. In his model he includes centre of origin, two peripheral places, memories and myth of original homeland and eventual return, belief that in host society they would not be fully accepted, group consciousness with home land and committed to restoration. The definitions and relevance of these have to change with time. Because new communication modes and other technologies are providing a chance to diasporic communities to scatter, then communicate, and later on sustain and maintain their socio-economic ties in a new universe.

Cultural baggage of diaspora could generate tensions, by turning into sophisticated coexistence, because of the acceptance of the theories of multiculturalism, transnationalism, etc. Due to diaspora's lifestyle, economic interests and ties undermine the rigid nationalism as defined by modern nation states. To portrait diaspora Vertovec (1999: 1) describes:

Diaspora is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' -- that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe.

Further he describes that people are using the term "Diaspora" loosely to describe the migrants or something replacing or supplementing the minority discourse. He draws the current meaning of 'diaspora' as social form, 'diaspora' as type of consciousness and 'diaspora' as mode of cultural production. Fullilove (2008) takes diaspora in a broadest sense, he says "...taken at its broadest, a diaspora is a self-identified cultural

community which has been dispersed from, but maintains links with, its place of origin”.

Diaspora is the by-product of migration, because migration is the first step in the formation of diaspora. Therefore migration needs to be understood. There are various theories, laws and approaches to understand migration and its traits.

2.4. Theorizing Migration

Disciplines like anthropology, sociology, statistics, geography, political studies, economics, etc. are very much interested in the study of migration and related aspects by applying various methods and models (individualist, structuralist, structuration models, etc.). Famous philosopher Immanuel Kant (1795) argued that all ‘world citizens’ should have a right to free movement, a right which he grounded in human kind’s common ownership of earth. When the concept of nation-state came into being and started practicing its ‘bio-power’ to define geographical and political boundaries, to restrict human mobility by enforcing various laws in the name of creating powerful state for the welfare of the citizens then problems of ‘legal and illegal’ migration has to start. In this sense Kant would argue that the ‘illegalized’ migrants are the unconscious bearer of his message for the right to move fearlessly and freely across borders.

Sociologists have their own concerns in the study of migration. Classical thinkers such as Durkheim was concerned with the break-up of rural solidarity and the consequent migration to the cities, here Durkheim would see unrest in the whole process of migration, because human beings have to migrate with their cultural baggage. However, August Comte describes migration, as a peaceful and evolutionary process though his context was different and in age of highly sophisticated technology, where everyone’s movements are recorded is different. On other hand, Karl Marx’s theories would explain migration as violent process, because he contextualizes the whole process in conflict of two different classes. Marx would argue, “Great masses of men were suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled on to the labour market as free unprotected and right-less proletarians” (Marx, Capital Vol.1, Ch. 26). Marx may be talking it in the process of

displacement of peasants from their soil for the industrial process but it was not only internal migration, but cross border, transnational migration too.

Various scholars studied 'free' and 'un-free' labour migration under various disciplines that explore how modern capitalist is using migrant labour for their profit. One can draw examples from West-African slaves for plantation farms, Indian and Chinese labour migration (indentured, kangani), guest worker (gastarbeiter) model that was implied by Germany in the post world war-II era, etc.

All host countries were trying to avoid immigration in many ways but temporary migration was welcomed, because host society can avoid or deny civic rights, prevent settlement and also can use them as cheap labour. Various theories such as neoclassical theory (Jennissen 2007: 411-436) would describe it as pure economic migration, dual labour market theory would talk about pull factors that developed regions have, the new economics of labour migration theory also take note on wider social entities with economic incentives, relative deprivation theory emphasis on potential migrant, influenced by previous successful migrant. On the other hand, world system theory looks at migration in global context and arguing on the cultural and economic influence of countries on one another.

Without migration diaspora would not materialize or migration itself is providing the base to the people to settle elsewhere. Human being always carries the cultural baggage with him that helps in the formation of diaspora. Ravenstein's laws are suggesting the patterns of migration, affiliation and the causes of migration. These laws are applicable and relevant to study migration patterns of diaspora. Push and pull factors are also closely associated with these laws, therefore its need to understand them in a progression.

2.4.1. Laws and Theory of Migration

Certain laws of social sciences have been proposed to describe human (national and international) migration. Ernst Georg Ravenstein's (1850-1905) proposed some laws to describe the same phenomenon. Which became famous as Ravenstein's Laws of Migration, were described by Olanike (2011). These laws proposed the systematic causes, patterns, and conditions of migration. These laws are also applicable on

international migration patterns and behaviours although Olanike did not specified this aspect.

Lee's Push-Pull theory has divided factors causing migrations into two groups: Push and pull factors. Push factors are things that are unfavourable about the country that one lives in and pull factors are things those attracts ones' to migrates (Olanike 2011). This theory is discussing the rage of factors those are encouraging agency and groups to migrate nationally and transnationally.

Some scholars would critique these laws by arguing that, these laws are just describing about migration not about transnational or international migration but the basic of both migrations are same and the argument provided by these theories are valid even in the case of diaspora.

To understand diaspora and migration co-relation researchers have to identify the numerical strength as well as quality of diaspora on various levels (Singhvi 2001: V). The widespread phenomenon of Indians immigration that became diaspora in the due process of time is unique in itself and the role of British colony was essential to mention (Ramdas 1980: 197). Some other models of migration can provide the better consideration of migration and the formation of diaspora. These models could be helpful in the better understating and evolution of diaspora.

2.4.2. Individualist Model of Migration

This model emphasizes on individual decisions of migration. This model believes that individual would take rational decision to migrate based on some evaluation of utilities those suppose to be acquired by him after migration on certain location. Harries and Todaro (1970: 126-142) are the most influential and important theorist in this category. Structuralist theorists are making their way in contrast to individualist. They see 'the individual as responding to the social structures which they find themselves rather than as the prime agents'. They would argue that migration is a passive response to the economic, social and political environment, which is beyond the control of individual migrant. Main reason of migration believed by structural theory model is socio-economic structure, distribution of resources, skills, etc. in the host society. This model was working behind migration during colonial period.

Burawoy (1976 : 1050-1080) would argue, “The reproduction of migrant labour hinges on the inability of the migrant, as individual or as a group, to influence the institution that subordinates them to the other fractions of the labour force as well as the employer. This system can only be maintain with the support of the state providing legislation and where necessary force to ensure the subordination of migrant labour.” That is why no state would like to provide civic rights to the immigrants otherwise, they cannot ensure their subordination.

Discrimination faced by Gandhi in South Africa can be a good example for this. In Myanmar lakh’ of Indian origin people are still fighting for statehood and citizenship rights. These examples are just the tip of an iceberg. All over the world this situation is observable. If one likes to draw examples from internal labour migration, then conflict between north Indians and the Shiv Sena is well known in Mumbai.

2.4.3. Social System of Migration

Social system of migration as described by Hoffman-Nowotny (1981: 35), considers ‘migration as one process within a larger social system. It is a response to tension originated within a system element (individual or sub-system)’. This theory has two central ideas or concepts, power and prestige, that define the capacity to improve its position and maintained by power within the domain of culture.¹⁷ Some recent models considered ‘migration as a negotiated outcome between individuals and the social structures’ are embedded. As they hold the middle ground in the structure/agency, and the debate can be associated with Giddens’ concept of structuration.¹⁸

Social actors are self-aware and their actions as reproducing the structures, which influences them in many ways. “Self-awareness is not at the level of ‘rationalization’ but rather a process of continual monitoring of the effects both intended and unintended of action and the modification of behaviour accordingly. Social structures are seen not just as constraints on individual actors but also enabling their actions. There are the medium and the outcome of the social practices the

¹⁷ Cited by Oliver Bakewell ‘Refugee Repatriation in Africa: Towards a Theoretical Framework’ from Hoffman 1981 on p. 35.

¹⁸ See ‘Some Reflections on Structure and Agency in Migration Theory’ by Oliver Bakewell p. 9.

recursively organizes (Giddens 1984: 37).” Talcott Parsons is mainly interested to know that how social scientist can analyze a social system and by this point of view can understand the social system of migration. He argued:

Ethnic subdivisions within such a society are not, as such, in harmony with its main structural patterns and hence create strains. They do, however, often exist not only by "historical accident" such as immigration, but they persist in such a way as to suggest that they have functions. On the one hand for the members of a given ethnic group it may be suggested that they constitute a focus of security beyond the family unit which is in some respects less dysfunctional for the society than community solidarity would be; on the other, for the outsider they often seem to perform an important scapegoat function as targets for displaced aggression. Nationalism absorbs many of the motivational forces not only of community but of ethnic solidarity since the national is normally at the same time a territorial community and an ethnic unit (Parsons 1951: 129).

In this debate, the blend of ethnicity, nationalism and migration is clear. Parsons considers the nation as a ‘territorial community and ethnic unit,’ but present day nations would have different character because maximum of them are multicultural and multiethnic. Moreover, migration is not only historical accidents today but also the economic necessity. Therefore, social system approach to understand migration and diaspora would be appropriate.

2.4.4. Structuration Model

Structuration model of migration must deal with interests and actions of individuals as well as social structures, household, community, the state and other groups. May structuralist models and individualist models are coming up with contradictory and incompatible descriptions of migration behaviour, former denying agency on the part of the individual and latter neglecting the role of structure. Nevertheless, the structuration model may be seen as fusion of individualist and structuralist models those have been discussed in this chapter.

Economy, political and social factors are dynamic in the contemporary world. The changing characters of societies are changing the motives of migration. To deals with individual and social factors of migration simultaneously, need a theory. Giddens’ theory of structuration emphasizes on both and that can be appropriate to use to understand the international migration that constitutes the diaspora (Richard 1999).

Migration is a type of phenomenon that could not be understood by one type of model or by looking at a particular theory, etc. Thus, this chapter is discussing some relevant aspects of migration only not all dimensions. Even if a full-fledged discussion is attempted here it would be difficult to come up with a standard migration model to describe each and every set of circumstances.

Climate cycle and migration had very close relation. If one starts exploring the modern field of climate history to understand the correlation between climate and migration then we can reach surprising results.

Successive waves of Eurasian nomadic movement throughout history have had their origin in climate cycles, which have expanded or contracted pastureland in Central Asia, especially Mongolia and the Altai (Deji 2011: 220).

Because, weather in the above described areas is very adverse and living conditions are tough particularly during some months of the year, people from these areas migrate to find the grazing lands for their flocks. This climate system of migration is being practiced throughout the world by various groups/societies/nomadic tribes over a long period of time. In such situations they become familiar with the culture, climate of the host region. Some of them settle down there and some would migrate further and become diaspora. Usually this sort of migration is practiced by nomadic communities with their cattle for a short distance or within the territory of a nation state but secondary migration by these people/groups is for long distances. Formation of diaspora in this way is very different and interesting in many ways. In modern era, we can trace this phenomenon in the case of climate refugees that is taking place due to rise of sea level or by other natural disasters.

Migration occurs because individuals search for basic needs such as food, and security outside their usual habitation (Idyorough, 2008). Idyorough argued that ‘the towns and cities are a creation of the human struggle to obtain food, shelter and security’. Human beings have a strong desire of reproduction and in some instances in order to survive they move out of the usual habitations. They have to develop indispensable social relations, tools, equipments, technology and techniques to enable themselves to produce the food required and security from nature.

During this whole process, the demand for ‘everything’ would rise and simultaneously the push and pull factors would also increase. So in a way, every aspect of life demands something and correlates itself with other aspects of life such as social services, pleasure, etc., for human survival that leads the whole process of local, national and transnational migration.

2.4.5. Patterns of Movements

Various patterns of movements of people all over the world need to be understood in order to identify the Indian diaspora’s movement’s patterns in Thailand. Frank Boven Kerk (cited in Steve 2007: 221) has distinguished six major forms/patterns through which people move from one place to another. Throughout the study of diaspora these definitional clarifications would be important to distinguish the overlapping concepts and areas. Frank assumes these concepts as”

- Emigration: Movement from place of origin to outside areas.
- Return migration: This is when people return after emigration for the first time to their country or region of origin.
- Translucent migration: When people move on to a second destination.
- Re-emigration: When people immigrate once again to the same destination after having return for the first time.
- Second emigration: When people migrate to a new destination after having returned to their place of origin from the first migration.
- Circulation: When people move to and fro between places; usually between place of origin and the destination.

He discusses the effects of migration broadly as negative and positive, they are:

Negative Effects: Migration depletes the agricultural labour in the rural areas. In addition, they create pressure over infrastructure in the host society/community. Migration also can generate initial hostility.

Positive Effects: Migration affords the opportunity for the migrants to acquire new knowledge and skills, so they can broaden their intellectual and social horizon. Both stakeholders can be benefited by stimulation of culture, innovation and technology of each other. Host society can get cheap labour, and migrants pay taxes to local government and contribute in the development of region, and both communities.

Human migration is as old as human society itself. In the recent times the process of migration had acquired a greater significance because now it is in a very advanced stage. The process of globalization accelerates the human movement from one continent to another by providing cheap transport, information, communication,

infrastructure, etc. Because of all these facilitating factors, transnational migration has become easy and is in reach to a large section of population in every society.

Now governments want to use the skills of their transnational migrants and diaspora. Countries like China, India, Netherlands, South Africa, etc. are good examples of this phenomenon. In India, the Government of India had setup a new ministry, Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs (MIOA) for this reason. Government of China is also encouraging its diasporic communities to involve in nation building, economic growth and cross-border businesses, etc. like never before.

2.4.6. Chain Migration

Scholars like, Macdonald defines the chain migration as “the movement in which prospective migrants learns of opportunities are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants,” Kangani migration system could be the best example of it. Litwack (1999) talked about the role or extended family, kinship, because of close ties superior line of communications, migrants can supports the left behind people by providing information about jobs, housing, etc. In return they can get various information local social customs, language, etc. Chain migration is providing the full network support (as discussed in transnational networks) to the new immigrants and old immigrants can accommodate them in no time, e.g. Sikhs in Canada.

Establishment of between migrants and receiving community before he/she moves to that new location is very important as Tilly and Brown (in Klaver 1997: 44) defined it as ‘auspices of migration’. Further, the argued that often new migrants are involved with friendship networks with immigrants, may be kinfolk or doing work in an organization before moving to new location and all these links are became facilitators. Tilly and Brown also raised another point that those migrants have kinfolk in the host society would take more to assimilate and adjust then those are alone, because there social and day-to-day interaction would be focused on their kinfolk. Chain migration is grounded in natural connections and communication between migrants, that is not just socially but also a culturally ordered process (Ballard 2002).

Migrants have to use their mutual understanding and loyalties to sustain with their values, reciprocities of kinship for them are resource that is more valuable.

Migrants often construct the transnational networks consciously or unconsciously. These networks are often global and are accessible to the community; simultaneously they confine to their roots and become parochial in their practices. Some commentators described and concluded this whole process of networking as ‘glocal’ (think globally and act locally). Because there are so many criss-crossed global networks existing and often they are overlapping. Kinship is extremely salient factor in ‘chain transnational migration’.

During the colonial or imperial time transnational network was ‘top to bottom’ because power was cantered in ‘Euro-America’ and their hegemony was in subordinated territories of South and eastern parts of the world with some exceptions. Though after 1950s imperial structure started collapsing and their hegemony had become marginal especially in terms of physical presence. However, when they (the first world) felt acute shortage of manpower in their manufacturing industries then they had only one option but to hire unskilled labour from the third world. That was the context in which millions of migrants reached those countries and provided the required services in order to gain acceptance in those societies.

Jackson, et al, (2002: 68) have argued about the “space in the constitution of various forms of trans-nationality”. This definition leads them at certain doubt on the “usefulness of the common distinction between geographies of transnationalism from above and from below.” They agree with the Michael’s (1974) analysis of transnationalism as a process “where globalization is understood as unfinished product of politically and culturally constructed social practices”. Like Michael Peter Smith (2001), they aim to transcend the binary thinking of ‘above’ and ‘below’ following people, goods, and ideas as the ‘cross and re-cross’ the national. We see transnationalism not as ‘out there’ but as an ‘in here’ phenomenon, involving ‘transformations in the very texture of everyday life’.

Here transnationalism networks, chain migration and all related concepts become very important to understand the whole debate of migration and its supportive factors; these may be ethnicity, kinfolk, chain-network migration or direct or indirect

help by kinship links, etc. Transnationalism is a process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-standard social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Nina Glick S., L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton 1992). They argue about national formation within the migrants and wrote that, “by living their lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with and engaged in the nation building processes of two or more nation states (Schiller and Cristina 1992: 645)”.

2.5. Gendered Human Rights Approach

Jolly and Reeves conversed about gendered human right approach and tries to provide the key elements for that particular approach. They say:

Immigration and emigration policies that enable women as well as men to take up opportunities that safe and regular migration may offer, and which will foster the positive impacts of migration for the social and economic development of migrants, and the receiving and sending countries (Jolly and Reeves 2005: 2).

Having learned that policies of both countries (home and host) policies and opportunities are important to describe the socio-economic development of the diasporic community but still other issues such as women and human rights are important to discuss.

Mobilize around and support for international rights frameworks that offer protection for women migrants to ensure that governments ratify and adhere to such. This includes not only those relating to migrants, trafficked peoples, refugees and displaced peoples, but also women-specific frameworks such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), UN Resolution 1325 and the Beijing Platform for Action.

Support for the acknowledgement and realization of the rights of migrants throughout the migration process, including providing pre-departure information on legal rights, facilitating remittances, ensuring access to basic services such as housing, education and health, and supporting migrant organizing and solidarity between different migrant groups to address issues of exclusion and isolation.

To solve the maximum problems of women migrants host and home country have to adopt holistic approach. They have to take “forced (trafficking) and voluntary” migration into account. Also need to study the gendered patterns of

migration, that why and how women are taking decision of migration and what could be the possible effect of it and there is need to major the risk factors such as health problems (HIV/AIDS), brain drain, misuse of remittances by different stake holders, etc. All these problems should be addressed at the policy level.

Income generation, family reunification, gender discrimination and norms, marriage, to escape social stigma, sexual violence and abuse, trafficking, conflict, disaster and prosecution, to get more freedom, etc. are the very important cause of women migration. There is urgent need to classify them and to implement policies accordingly. By various researches it has been prove that ‘transgendered’ are more mobile than any other category. Because by migration they can accept, their real identity and can escape social stigma and pressure (Sangini 2005).

2.5.1. Women’s Migration

Women migrants as the global labour force or accompanied by husbands is another interest area for sociologist as well as diaspora scholars. ‘Women question’ in the context of ‘family migration’ is very important to address, because of migration, patriarchal relations are changing and rise of independent women migration is another phenomenon. Like economist, sociologist also would be interested in the role of migrants in the labour market of the host as well as in home country for the purpose of comparison. But now scholars are more interested in the phenomenon of ‘ethnic economic’ rather than ‘dual labour market theory’ which was dominated in the study of immigrants’ labour markets study. Sociological theories of migration are trying to avoid the drawbacks of the neoclassical approaches, by focusing on labour market. Now the literature on process of immigrant is increasing that is incorporating empirical work, exploring social networks, looking at social ties, social capital, etc.

There are now 175 million international migrants worldwide or approximately 3.5 per cent of the global population – about half of whom are women, despite the common misconception that men are the migrants. Jolly and Reeves (2005) tries to explore the gender dynamics of both international and internal migration and they tries to saw the interconnection between the two. They study forced and voluntary

migration, covering economic migrants, refugees and internally displaced persons and trafficked people, these migrations would be legal or illegal mean and channels.

Individuals may migrate out of desire for a better life, or to escape poverty, political persecution, or social or family pressures. There are often combination of factors, which may play out differently for man and women. Gender roles, relations and inequalities affect who migrates and why, how the decision is made, the impacts on migrants themselves, on sending areas and on receiving areas. Experience shows that migration can provide new opportunities to improve women's lives and change oppressive gender relations – even displacement as a result of conflict can lead to shifts in gendered roles and responsibilities to women's benefit. However, migration can also entrench traditional roles and inequalities and expose women to new vulnerabilities as the result of precarious legal status, exclusion and isolation (Jolly and Reeves 2005: 1).

Migration can also provide benefit directly to women or to her family. Income is in terms of not only money but also autonomy, self-esteem, confidence and social status. Though it is not easy to women to survive in this patriarchal world, they have to face discrimination at various levels.

On the port of departure, corrupt agents often try to create obstacles for women migrants, they are facing physical and sexual violence, and women are easy target for traffickers too. Apart from all these difficulties, they also are facing legal obstacles, poverty, sex-segregated labour, long working hours and low wages, insecure contracts; broken families on return are the very common problems. After all these obstacles, one also should look at 'gender in the developmental context'. They are not only bringing the economic prosperity to host and home communities but also investing their labour and skill.

Theory, policy and practice that links gender equality concerns with migration from a development perspective are rare. Migration is still primarily seen as the concern of the state and migration as a development issue is only just emerging, with limited attention being paid to gender (Jolly and Reeves 2005: 38).

However, in the global policy level, migration is on margin, and women issues in it are more or less on periphery but still many nongovernmental and governmental organizations are working for the women' related rights and issues.

2.6. Transnational Migration

Transnational migration is not easy to define in one go because its definition may clash with the definition of diaspora. It can be submitted as:

Transnational migration can be described as a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders and settle and establish social relations in a new state, maintain social connections with the polity from which they originated. They live across international borders in trans-national social field (Glick Schiller, 1999: 96).

Here we can get main point from this definition those are - movement across the international borders, in more than one nation state, settlement, their social relation, maintained social connections with polity of both the countries as per the requirements.

Roger Ballard argued that migrants are often misunderstood if one only took their one aspect of life or try to make sense purely based on their individual behavioural basis. Holistic approach would work to understand the whole story of migrant. When people moves from one place to another is because numerous predecessors made that destination well known to the newcomers. Newcomers must have heard the stories from old migrants the path makers, and then only majority of masses would define their destinations.

Transnational word has its own signification in its definition. The usage of 'trans-nation' instead of 'inter-state and inter-national' and 'multilateral' rather than 'bilateral and unilateral', etc. are in fashion today. That is not used only for the sake of usage but it also has a strong connotation attached with these terms. "Trans" signifies networks among transmigrants that transcend the boundaries of nation-states altogether (Jain^a 2010: 125). However, the scholars like Brain Keith Axel (2001) often used the word sending and receiving nation states of migrants and international relation between them. Due to this technicality of definition and words are not able to define 'the characteristics of the diaspora phenomenon sui generis escape their analytical net (Jain^a 2010)'.

Dufoix (2008) and Axel (2001) also tried to define this dichotomy, they argued that 'the political process imbricated in different international and transnational relations of nation-states and their actors are not only volatile constantly changing but often remain hidden because of their extremely sensitive and

contentious character'. Best known examples of 'transnational' migrants are refugees and asylum seekers such as Tamils, Sikhs, Indo-Fijian, Nepalese, Tibetans, Burmese, Muhajirs, Kurds, Afghans, etc. 'their status as diasporic defies a cut-and-dried categorization into "types" or even "ideal types",' so caught up are they in the vicissitudes of their existential dilemmas (Eric Leclerc 2008).

2.6.1. Transnationalism and Globalization

Globalization is a bigger term than transnationalism, in this way transnationalism can be the subset of globalization. Defining globalization would be important before razing the debate, globalization entails global markets, global communication and global networks. Globalization as the very term implies, covers societies, and at all phases of development, viz., in this case the nation-state of India as well as the countries to which Indian diasporic have migrated. The process of globalization is driven by three major imperatives: the market, new technology and transnational networks, which in turn are interconnected (Jain^a 2010: 126).

Institutions like World Bank, WTO, and IMF, etc. are not only playing a big role across the boundaries of nation states but are also manipulating the financial markets of various countries. Given the intervention of the local effects of these forces, there is a conspicuous increment in what has been called "the consumption of modernity" (Brackenridge 1995). Moreover, these market forces in the era of globalization are balancing and determining the demand and supply. If we go by the dictionary definition of globalization then it is clear that one cannot ignore culture after global market.

The fact that different cultures and economic systems around the world are becoming connected and similar to each other because of the influence of large multinational companies and of improved communication (Oxford Dictionary).

Here another point that previously discussed (communication) is also playing very important role. Another important definition of transnationalism comes from Vertovec, he addressed the issues from reconstruction of living space:

Transnationalism as the reconstruction of 'place or locality; as the movement of capital; as a mode of cultural reproduction; as a site for political engagement. Dense and highly active networks spanning vast spaces are

transforming many kinds of social, cultural, economic, and political relationships (Vertovec 1999: 3).

Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson contend that ‘something like transnational public sphere has certainly rendered any strictly bounded sense of community or locality obsolete. Sometime, it has enabled the creation of forms of solidarity and identity that do not rest on an appropriation of space where contiguity and face-to-face contact are paramount (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 6-23)’. If we carry this debate little further and talked about ‘lessening of the bonds between people, wealth, and territory’ which is concomitant with the rise of the complex networks ‘has alerted the basis of many significant global interactions, while simultaneously calling into question the traditional definition of the state’ (Wakeman 1988: 85-87). The bonds of diaspora through cyberspace can be held together; or recreated through the mind, cultural artefacts, and through the shared imagination (Cohen 1996: 507-20).

Technological innovations and the globalization are closely correlated. One is feeding to other, the technological business itself is becoming the big, and on the other hand, technology is the supporting component to globalization. Technological revolution constitutes the second major dimension of the sociocultural impact on globalization in India and also on Indian diaspora. In both its real (locomotion) and virtual (tele-communication) sense, transmigration is about travel (Clifford 1997). And it is travel in various forms –the capability to physically travel very fast and repeatedly and the capacity to travel virtually through “works of imagination (Appadurai 1997),” which has made transmigration a compelling theme today. It started a debate on technology then information technology (IT) as something that is unavoidable due to significant developments and innovation in this particular field.

Migration from India toward countries like USA, Canada, UK, Europe, Australia, etc. as knowledge worker and as IT professional had its own impact on the economy of both, the host and home country. In 1990, the global IT industry suffers a lack of manpower, particularly in the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, first and foremost the United States (Leclerc 2008). To solve that manpower shortage they keep the option of temporary migration for Indian and experts from other countries as well. Indians took the lead because of their familiarity with English language and quality of their work and Indian Institutes

was producing highly skilled graduates as per the market demand. They reach there, settle down, and become entrepreneurs. Ever since the end of quotas for Asians in the USA in 1965 (Nationality Act Amendments), doctors and engineers from the most prestigious Indian institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology (IITs) have joined this country to complete their training (Leclerc 2008). For this kind of migration, networking between academicians, industries, etc. were extremely important.

India has become the centre of global IT industry currently, after a long decade of its central position during the colonial periods as the British colonization took place around the Indian Ocean through the mobilization of Indian Territory. Similar to the role played by Indian diaspora in the integration process during that period, the current Indian diaspora present in the IT industry is also trying to integrate the newer professionals in the global IT sector. The globalization of the information economy started because of the lack of workers in the western companies.

This demand was fulfilled by the activity of “body-shopping”, the process of hiring the “techno-coolies” (L. Eric 2008: 21).¹⁹ So that is clear that. It is not only a pull factor that has given a chance to people to move physically but also virtually. IT has provided the chances for more close interaction and ensured the flow of information pool.

R.K. Jain (2010) argued on the economic system that is acquired by the IT professional, he said Information Technology is leading to a new form of capital accumulation, may that capital be circulated or accumulated on global scale, at an unprecedented speed and, therefore, it is extremely volatile. Further, he argued that ‘an urgent task in the study of globalization and migration is to understand the international labour system of the “new economy”’. Biao Xiang studied Indian IT professional migrating to Australia through spells of fieldwork done in Sydney and Hyderabad. He later theorized this transnational stratum of Indian migrants to Australia as being an “ethnic trans-national middle class formation” (Xiang 2002).

¹⁹ Also referred to as ‘cyber workers’ in some new literature.

This exercise reveals that not only the spatio-temporal discontinuity but also more interestingly, certain ethno-practical continuity between the old and new diaspora of Indian. IT is not only a technology and profession that helps qualified professionals migrate to other countries but it has also become a factor to reunite old and new diaspora. IT opens the new horizons for the Indians and gave them name and fame around the world. Silicon Valley (Northern California, USA), the world's largest technological corporation is highly dominated by Indians. Here one can conclude that IT is working in multi dimensional way. It is helping to provide jobs, brings diaspora together, helping them to become entrepreneur, and off-course eliminating the distances by providing excess to information, communication, etc.

Another major factor that is supplementing to migration and related activities throughout the world for Indian as well as for every diaspora is 'transnational network'; we can call it impact of globalization. Without network it is not easy for anyone to migrate to alien land and culture and settle down there permanently or even temporarily. Because man is a social being and always trying to create a comfort zone to not only survive but also to flourish. Migration always taking place or growing with some sort of networks that can facilitate the process of migration and successors would become role models. S.J. Tambiah tries to differentiate network for analytical purpose (Tambiah, S.J. 2000: 140). These can be:

“Vertical” networks which are formed within “host” societies when “communities” are constituted, either voluntarily or forcefully, in order to devise conscious strategies to fight discrimination as well as to succeed economically.

Another is “lateral” networks are in turns of two types (i) between host society and society of origin/homeland, and (ii) transnational global networks where the transmigrants across the world communicate with each other and maintain transnational links, especially through media and travel.

But there is some lacunas are there in this classification, is the dimension of social stratification, which we may analyze in terms of class, culture and mobility in both the new and old diaspora (Jain^a 2004), Jain further simplifies the above classification by arguing that -‘vertical networks’ are those which have ramifications across classes - these are inter-class, asymmetrical networks - while horizontal and symmetrical networks results on the intra-class solidarity.

When the question of “space” rather than fixed “places” (Certeau 1984) comes (cf. Bhabhav1994 on “location of culture” and “social space” in Henri Lefebvre’s sense) in the process of social life. In concrete terms, then, trans-migration constitutes a space sui-generis .Xiang talked about formation of an “ethnic-transnational middle class”, globalization process enables one to look at it from “below” and “above”; the exhortation, therefore, to “think global and act local” from perspective of underdeveloped societies in not an innocent of a class connotation (Jain^a 2010: 128).

2.7. Correlation Between Migration and Ethnicity

Ethnicity in the modern world is very difficult to understand because of the migration. As discussed in this chapter elsewhere that 175 million are migrants in the current world that is creating heterogeneity in true sense. Again, it is quite difficult and different for the nation states, especially for the more homogeneous ones to accommodate the immigrants; those would love to be diaspora for their homeland. In the modern rational states, there was no room for an ethnic autonomy that conflicted with the requirement for the all citizens to integrate into the new national state.

The new ideologies of political nationalism required all the members of a ‘nation-state’ to be united and homogeneous, and this produced quite new conflicts in most states, which were after all, composed of several ethnic communities (McNeill, 1985, ch.2). Anthony D. Smith and H. John (1996) try to simplify the dichotomy of little culture verses great culture by drawing an example from French revolution. Moreover, if we correlate the same with diasporic communities those are living far from their cultural habitats then it would seems to be clearer even for layman. They said ‘this can be more strikingly illustrated in the attitude of the French revolutionaries to minorities within the borders of the new nation of ‘France’. In their view, France constituted a homogeneous cultural nation, a ‘republic one and invisible’; minorities, therefore, though they might practice their customs and religion in private, had to assimilate as individuals into the French body politic and become equal citizens’. Another example is coming from Germany where German ethnic conception, as Brubaker described that the French embraced a ‘civic’ nationalism; as

Clermont-Tonnerre put it in the French assembly in 1791: 'To the Jews as a nation we give nothing; to the Jews as individuals we give everything'.

Things for the different immigrant are different, way of their migration and the situation of the host country in the contemporary times matter a lot. If the background (religious, linguistic, ethnic, cultural, national, etc.) of immigrants is similar or closer to the host society then the process of assimilation would be accelerate without much conflict and confrontation. Gastarbeiter (guest workers), asylum seekers and ex-colonials has decomposed received narratives of 'national identity' into their 'hybridized' culture components. Multi-culturalism has become a political expression of a more pluralistic approach of nationhood in Western polyethnic states, though such tendencies also have generated nationalist reactions to ethnic minorities (Hammar 1990; Husbands 1991; Rex, 1995).

2.7.1. Approaches to Ethnicity

Ethnicity could be defined as a group of distinct category of population in larger society whose culture is usually different then other. Such groups of people feel themselves to be different from others and bound together with common ties of race or nationality or culture. The term 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek world 'ethnos' mean people or nation. Anthony Smith refers to the notion of 'ethnie', he identifies the six characters those can describe ethnie - collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinct shared culture, an association with specific territory, and a sense of solidarity (Smith 1980: 24).

Some scholars are trying to define ethnicity in other words, 'common heritage, common language, ideology that stresses common ancestry or endogamy, etc. (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 2-3). Some also would like to include 'culture' and with culture they emphasis on religion. Sometime ethnicity is also misunderstood with closely related term 'race'. Though race emphasis more on biological/genetic features.

Max Weber argued that 'race' creates a 'group' only when it is subjectively perceived as a common trait; this happen only when a neighbourhood or the major proximity of racially different persons is the basis of joint (mostly political) action, or conversely, when some experiences of members of same race are linked to some

antagonism against members of an obviously different group (Weber 1968: 385). Though Weber would not accept that ‘an ethnic group’ is based on, the belief shared by its members that, however distantly, they are of common descent.

Main argument of Weber’s definition is that ‘ethnic membership does not constitute a group’. Its only can provide certain degree of help in-group formation of any kin, particularly in the political sphere, and primarily it is a political community, no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity. Weber seems to be arguing that ‘the belief in common ancestry is likely to be a consequence of collective political action rather than its cause, people comes to see themselves as belonging together’. Collective interest thus does not simply reflect or follow from similarities and differences between people. The pursuit of collective interests does, however, encourage ethnic identification (Weber 1968: 389).

There could be various approaches to understand ethnicity, some social scientist would like to study it from the beginning so they are using primordial approach, and there could be further division in it as per the requirement. Essentialist may talk about ‘ethnicity as a priori fact of human existence’. Constructivism would emphasis against the primordialist that ethnic is not the priori fact but it is a by-product of human interaction. In other words one can define ethnic group in terms of objective attributes, with reference to subjective feeling, and in relation to behaviour, it is a sense of ethnic identity that tries to differentiate themselves from ‘others’.

Avtar Brah tries to contextualize ethnicity in terms of the boundary construction with respect to the culture, social political and economic exigencies (Brah 1996). Ethnicity is also a sense of solidarity based on certain ethos, to make the population feel a ‘cultural boundary’ and ‘people hood’ as well. Though within this boundary strict categorization is not possible because one has to take other factors into accounts too, these can be “gender, race, polity, nation, and religion, etc.”

Although, still it is easy and possible to draw an imaginary boundary to define ethnic compassions of a certain area as cartographers would think and do. Formation of an ethnic group is not an isolated task but it starts asserting when there is stronger opposition exists, that threat often comes from a larger group. Creation of ethnic identities have implication in socio-politico-cultural spheres depends on the way in

which ethnic identities being created (-ve or +ve), expressed and maintained. When any crisis comes then, it would not consider the region, politics, religion, ideology or any other boundary. Culture has been viewed as framework within which meanings are shared; that is a social process which results in a social construction of symbolic world. Rituals and other social practices are having shared meaning those held together in symbolic matrix. That in turn works towards the consolidation and reaffirmation of identities and differences. Political ideologies in today's world are not very holistic and inclusive, it would include commonalities but always tries to avoid or neglect differences.

It can be observed that the assertions and consolidation of ethnic identities today are perhaps a protest against the standardization and uniformisation, which is almost inevitable imposition of the identity of most powerful group within the national boundaries leading to the obscuration of regional, local identities (Brah 1996). Languages are the major tool to assert the ethnic identities but if we go by a UN report that says:

Linguistic diversity is being threatened around the world, and this threat is acutely felt by indigenous peoples. According to UNESCO, approximately 600 languages have disappeared in the last century and they continue to disappear at a rate of one language every two weeks. Up to 90 percent of the world's languages are likely to disappear before the end of this century if current trends are allowed to continue. Moreover, fewer and fewer children are learning indigenous languages in the traditional way, from their parents and elders. Even when the parental generation speaks the indigenous language, they do not often pass it on to their children. In an increasing number of cases, indigenous languages are used only by elders.²⁰

That report shows that in the time of globalization dominant culture, their languages and other identities are swallowing other less known identities.

By analyzing all the forms of governance, one can conclude that all kind of system though democracy, capitalism, or communism are tend to homogenize the cultural diversity for the sake of smooth and hazel free rule. However, various governments and the nations are talking about 'multiculturalism' (see P. Saran on US), 'salad bowl' theory or so on but hidden agendas are assimilation in the greater

²⁰ See, Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices, Fact Sheet 2008, UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, UN Headquarters, New York, p.1.

culture. However, today we live in a globalized world where the assertions of the identities can be implemented through transnational networks and linkages.

Paul R. Brass argued to clarify the relation of ethnic identities and the power that “ethnic communities are created and transformed by particular elites in modernization and in post-industrial societies undergoing dramatic social change. This process invariably involves competition and conflict for political power, economic benefits, and social status between the competing elites, class and leadership groups both within and among different ethnic categories.”²¹

He further clarifies that inequality between different ethnic groups or culturally distinct regions does not by itself spur the development of communal and national consciousness. Speaker of native language or dialects in the remote, backward rural region of a modernized country would go on speaking their language and cultivating their fields without becoming concerned that their language is being neglected and without developing any sense of solidarity.²² Sometimes, maybe the community does not care because locally they would have economic, political and cultural power and the political élites of that community would find advantageous to co-operate with external authorities and adopt the language and the culture of the dominant ethnic group in order to maintain or enhance their own power (Brass 1996: 89).

2.7.2. Transcending Ethnicity

In the era of globalization, one community would be living at various geographical locations but still can be united through virtual connections and modern means of communication. Diaspora is the best example of it; hereditary link maintenance is the unique feature of diaspora formation. At the time of high migration and inter-community/country/ethnicity marriages; prospects of ethnicity are uncertain and hybridization of coming generation would not accept both identities. Scholars like Gellner (1983) suggest, ‘the homogenizing tendencies of advanced industrialism and

²¹ See, Brass, R., Paul, “Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Identity Formation”, in Hutchinson, John, Anthony D. Smith (eds.) 1996, *Ethnicity*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 89.

²² See, Paul, David W. (1979) *The Cultural Limits of The Revolutionary Politics: Change and Continuity in Socialist Czechoslovakia*, Boulder, Col.: East European Quarterly, p.195.

nationalism leaves little space for 'sub-national' ethnic identities. Globalization, economic and cultural trends tend to reduce ethnicity to folkloristic margins of society; neither the multinationals nor mass electronic communication has any regards for ethnic or national boundaries (Featherstone, 1990). Loyalties are found wanting, because ethnicity has become a residual category (Giddens 1991). Post-industrial, polyethnic states have parallel argument that particularly in immigrant societies, must forge purely civic identities and symbols if they are to remain democratic and secure the loyal participation of all their members (Miller; 1995; cf. Hutchinson, 1994).

Due to highly developed information technology and electronic communications, 'sub-national' groups with dense cultural networks in post-industrial societies are emerging (Richmond 1984). Easy connection to far homelands, ethno-national conceptions, psychological longingness and economic elites are forces behind connections, networks and sustainable interaction of ethnic ties. Connor (1993) and AD Smith (1995), argued that ethnic differences and ethnic nationalism are unlikely to be eroded both because of the economic and political needs of modern, industrial societies, and because of the constantly renewed impact of ethnic myths of descent and ethnic heritage on modern nations.

Although it would be rash to make prediction about the early transcendence of ethnicity; but world is becoming the place of overlapping identities, at that juncture of time affiliation with host society and loyalty would safeguard the interests of minority, and can avoid further ethnic conflicts. Diaspora communities across the world are using this strategy but still it is not easy for the ethnic minorities to sustain and prosper without confrontation.

Subsequent to the long debate on ethnicity and its implications for ethnic minorities, still there is some gap at theoretical ground to define and clarify ethnicity with some specific connotations or definitions. History of ethnic diversity is something that various anthropologists had enthusiastically debated but it eludes clarity. Some engaged with the origin of word as to how it was defined in oxford dictionary in 1953 (Tonkin 1996: 18). Some explored it historically to understand the origin of human beings and some viewed it from a civilizational prospective. M.G. Smith (1996) argued that systematic institutional diversity is the main feature of a

plural society, though, till now these debates on history of ethnic diversity is not clear but pluralism is a by-product of historical differences among various groups. Smith (1996/2009: 206) observes ‘to analyze the institutional and political conditions of pluralism, it is first necessary to distinguish pluralism from its principal alternatives, and to indicate how its variable range governs its structural significance.’

Love and pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour can symbolize the ethnicity in its hidden form. All the cultural patterns that are transformed into symbols are themselves guided by a common pragmatic imperative: they must be visible and clear in meaning to large numbers of third generation ethnics, and they must be easily expressed and felt, without requiring undue interference in other aspects of life (Gans, 1996: 146-7). After language and culture at large one other specific aspect of life is always there to show more affinity with ethnicity that is religion.

As Cynthia Enloe defines the Indian diaspora ethnic situation with due respect of religion in Malaysia, Trinidad, Guyana, Uganda and in Great Britain; she said they were divided between Hindus and Muslims and in smaller numbers, by Christians. A review on those Indian communities suggests that (a) the existence of religious heterogeneity has not made Indian qua Indian ethnicity less real for its members than ethnicity for religiously homogeneous groups, (b) Religious diversity frequently hinders efforts by Indians to mobilize communally to pursue Indian interest (Enloe 1996: 202). Scholars like John Hutchison take diaspora and migration issue more seriously focusing more on ethnicity and multiculturalism in immigrant societies. Hutchison examined the American fear that ‘due to new and unpredictable changes in demographic and immigration trends in the USA that have provoked fears that by 2017 European American will be minority and there have been prophecies of social and political instability’.

Leo Kuper argued that ‘the plural society provides the structural base for genocide, the presence of diversity of racial, ethnic and/or religious groups being the structural characteristic of a plural society, and genocide a crime committed against these groups (K. Leo, Ethnicity 1996: 263)’. To rescue from this worse situation John McGarry and Brendan O’leary suggested an idea that is “eliminating and managing

ethnicity.” The said partition and/or secession (self-determination) are the situations when breaking up of multi-ethnic states, when communities chose not to live together can lead to mass genocide.

Another set of scholars focused on ‘middlemen minority’ (Walter Zenner, 1996). This term comes from Howard Paul Becker, an American sociologist who was influenced by the German classics. His writings can be seen as an indirect response to Sombart’s association of commercial success of the Jewish race. In this regard, Cohen has focused his attention on the internal organization of the minority. He argued that understanding acculturation, separatism and assimilation is important as they affect intermediary groups. This brings our attention to focus on how groups may be labelled strangers or pariahs rather than merely assuming that any ethnic group specializing in trade or consisting of those who are self-employed is considered to be alien by its neighbours (Zenner 1996: 181).

Some are arguing about the ‘new ethnicity’; in this regard, Stuart Hall observes that “.. the new politics of representation has to do with the question of ethnicity.” He tried to find out the formation of new ethnicity with relation to politics. Denial Bell has taken on ethnicity and social change, he tried to see the whole debate of ethnicity by the specks of little conflict and slow assimilation.

Today, in highly interconnected world narrowing of identities, there has been a parallel broadening of identity as people are interacting with very different cultures, civilizations and ethnicities, etc. by modern means of communications to identify with people ‘geographically distant’ but with similar ‘language, religion or culture’. The emergence of new supernatural identity has been most obvious in the world and its emergence reinforces the simultaneous narrowing of identities. That varies from place-to-place and situation to situation. For example Tamilians in Malaysia think of themselves as Tamilian first and only then Indian, their psychological image of India as home (may be a myth) forcing them to think of it as their rooted identity. Their transnational linkages and networks strengthen their identities. At another level if we take the Thai Indian communities then they identify themselves as Indian first then only come their local identity.

Nation states often emphasize on uniformisation of identity for the common good, but it is not easy to manage the issue of identity in that way. However, there is a need to celebrate the differences and multiculturalism would be the best possible way to live with differences. A 'sense of belonging' is even while living amongst various other communities, without impinging on their traditional 'primordial sense of belonging' that is hard to give up. It is deep rooted in human psychology to keep them 'connected'.

There are so many social boundaries or combination of boundaries such as 'race, gender, caste, class, religion, kinship, and ethnicity'. Ethnicity could be presented with a combination of all or as a single identity. Barth has identified ethnicity as a fundamental means to identify social life, a means that relies on manipulating cultural traits and ideas about origin to communicate differences. Whatever be the reason for the construction of boundaries, people appear to identify most strongly with common institutions, which constitutes the form into which they can infuse or provide meaning context independently (Hans 1994: 44).

2.7.3. Translocalities

Translocalities in the global spaces (Arjun Appadurai) can be maintained by a person (immigrant, diasporic) and also in spite of cultural differences in the host society through transnational networks and linkages. Hence, 'multiculturalism or salad bowl' is the best possible policy for a nation state to acknowledge the 'cultural diversity'. To avoid ethnic violence and other trouble many liberal, democratic countries are trying to accommodate the differences by providing space to communities rather than elimination.

Any kind of suppression can result in violence, genocide, destruction, distress or instability for the state. To inject loyalty and patriotism in the brains of immigrants; there lies the responsibility of the host society to provide enough freedom and comfort zones and that is possible only through 'multiculturalism'.

2.8. Marginalization of Minority Culture

Marginalization of minority culture could turn into frustration and violence. Because marginalization of a minority culture will leave its members bewildered and lost because their identity is bound up with that of their culture (Neera Chandhoke). Making of stereotypes will harm the self-esteem of the individuals incalculably, because to deny recognition to a culture is to deny recognition to the members of that culture. The damage this wreaks on individual and collective psyches is incalculable (Chandhoke 1999). Joseph Raz argued that ‘holding it up for ridicule, denying its value, and so on, hurts me and offends my dignity. It is particularly offensive if the slight bears the imprimatur of my state or of the majority or official culture of my country (Joseph 1994). Though the Canadian model of multiculturalism got success through negotiating the relationship of the state to an ethnic plural society, other states (US with the melting pot) that tried to do the same but could not deliver a fair deal to minorities, only a political course correction would not work in this case.

As multiculturalists and minority theorists describe that minorities (ethnic, cultural, religious, etc.) do not have equal opportunity to continue with their own way of life, if they continue to do so then they have to pay a heavy price for it. Besides, given the inequality of circumstances, minorities have to use all their resources, just to ensure the survival of their culture’s structure (Kymlicka 1991: 189).

Charles Taylor wrote a very influential essay on ‘the politics of recognition,’ in which he extends the concept of recognition from individuals to cultures. By a way of philosophical argument, he tries to prove that all cultures are equally worthy and important for survival of the society. He says that by recognizing the equal value of different cultures, that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their worth (Taylor 1993: 64). As throughout the whole debate on multiculturalism one can easily identify that ‘multiculturalism simply brought about the realization that plural cultures need to be respected and validated through explicitly act of recognition’. The damage that has been done on various cultures and vernaculars should be revalued and revalidated in the public spheres, so they can come out from the trauma of marginalization.

In addition, if minority cultures are either decaying because of what has been termed 'benevolent neglect' or if they are subjected to attacks (Neera Chandhoke 1999), then state apparatus should protect them by enforcing special minority rights. Although, in the case of diaspora different states have different opinions and strategies, sometimes such deliberate acts of negligence could be a state policy to enforce assimilation.

Nathan Glazer, starts with the last point that we had discussed in last paragraph that 'as multiculturalism is a position that rejects assimilation and the 'melting pot' image as imposition of the dominant culture,' and instead prefers such metaphors as the 'salad bowl' or the 'glorious mosaic' in each ethnic and racial element in the population maintains its distinctiveness (Glazer 1997). Further, he argued that multiculturalism is the price American is paying for its inability or unwillingness to incorporate African Americans, into society in the same way and degree it has incorporated so many groups including Asians. Multiculturalism in the new era of globalization and highly interconnected world represent 'a kind of universalism'. However, there are complexities in terms of understanding ties between states, individuals and pluralistic communities. People are included in the nation-state as a member of diverse but equal ethnic groups and the state recognizes that the dignity of individuals is linked to the collective dignity of the community to which they belong.²³

Though some scholars are emphasis on 'homogenization and universal citizenship' that is anti thesis to multiculturalism, because it does not recognize the cultural diversities and advocating same cultural pattern for the whole world. Sarah Joseph has a little different take on the issue, she argued that 'a multicultural state would recognize at least limited rights of self determination for minority groups, as such multicultural policies have been projected as constituting an alternative to assimilation goals pursued for long by liberal states'. Multiculturalism could also be considered as response to the failure of assimilationist policies (Joseph 1999: 30).

Many theorists of multiculturalism question the presumed neutrality of the liberal democratic state; that is true that no state can be entirely neutral in there all

²³ See, Council of Europe 2008, White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, "*Living Together as Equals in Dignity*," Strasbourg.

state affairs and functions. If it is so then states would not come up to present legislations on marriage, divorce, rights to legitimate children, homosexuality, abortion, right to education, right to work/food, rules on children adoption, incest, capital punishment and so on. Because if a state coming up with these universal rules/legislation for the people within the boundary of its 'nation state' for the 'good life' and welfare of the people; then defiantly they have to deny certain degree of diversity and have to impose homogeneity. Therefore, in this sense, it cannot be neutral, morally or culturally. Indeed (a) morally neutral state, making no moral demands on its citizens and equally hospitable for all human choices, is logically impossible (Parekh 1994: 207).

Multiculturalism as a coherent political theory (Parekh 2000), with its distinct conception of democracy and citizenship, has emerged only in recent past. Perhaps the most distinguishing mark of these recent enunciations is that the question the idea of universal citizenship and speaks instead of 'differentiated citizenship with group differentiated rights'. A welfare state has to take affirmative action to compensate the historical injustice done to the certain community/ethnic group in the past. Moreover, it is the responsibility of the state to ensure fair deal to all the communities within its jurisdiction.

Although, the measures taken by the state often lead to promotion of the dominant or assimilation of minor, smaller into the 'mainstream'. Nevertheless, multiculturalism is supposed to be the permanent policy for the welfare state that can promote and enable all groups to be treated equal in every sphere of life. It must ensure equality of cultural circumstances rather than equality of opportunity. As Bhiku Parekh (2000: 206) contextualized the identity issue of European Muslims 'froze religious communities, arrested the growth of common bonds, and could not cope up with the demands of democracy and common citizenship'. So there can be different dilemmas in the ways to deal with the question of multiculturalism, equality, etc.

The debate on multiculturalism was wide covering many themes and issues and yet cannot claim that all thoughts and ideas having been sufficiently accommodated in it. But the forthcoming section on cultural pluralism would extend the knowledge on the issue. In a multi-ethnic/lingual/religious/racial society,

especially in today's highly mobile world; studies on such themes have a lot of importance. Let us try to understand cultural pluralism in the next section.

2.8.1. Cultural Pluralism

If we go by the term 'cultural pluralism' then it is self-explanatory. It suggests accommodation or co-existence of various cultural groups together. This term generally used to define 'smaller groups within a larger society, living, maintaining their unique identity, value and have a chance to practice them with the consent of larger or wider culture'. Though in cultural pluralism all group able to retain their own basic cultural features, such as rituals, marriage customs, religious and value orientations, and life style that tend to be perpetuated over time, but only within the domain of a dominant, shared culture by preserving their uniqueness. At the same time all the groups in a plural society would integrate and take part in the national collective through participation in shared institutions.

Here we need to clarify that cultural pluralism often misunderstood with multiculturalism, though there are lots of similarities in both but there are minor differences too. Multiculturalism has a dominant culture that may oppress the minority cultures to some extent and tries to make the larger culture as widely acceptable as possible; for example the Americans use multiculturalism (Euro-American culture being dominant in it) rather than cultural pluralism.

In a simple definition, cultural pluralism originates when 'two or more culture groups occupy single geographical area, and participates in common activities, borrow elements of culture from each other, but continue to maintain their respective cultural autonomy. It is the co-existence of many dissimilar things or patterns of activity. In other words we can say cultural pluralism is a system where different cultural groups co-exists and share a common cultural platform without losing their respective identity (Cultural Pluralism, 34, Module-V, p.209)'.

A key feature of cultural pluralism is that the groups are not ranked within the society and no groups dominate other, deliberately or they do not have that much power to dominate. Pluralism in the Berlinian sense thus contains elements of moral universality and diversity (Berlin and Williams 1994: 306-9). J.S. Furnivall and A.D.

Tocqueville conceptualize pluralism, based on colonial situation. Furnivall says that each group holds by its own religion, its own culture, its own ideas and way of life. As individuals they meet but only in the market place, so that is the plural society, with different sections of community living side by side, but separately within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour on racial lines (Furnivall 1948: 304-5). In the diasporic context he described that native, Chinese, Indians, Europeans all have different functions, and within each major group subsection have particular occupations.

Other related terms such as cultural relativism, ethnocentrism, and cultural lag, etc. also need to be understood for the further elaborations'. Because the term 'cultural pluralism' is not an isolated one. In today's highly changing, and technologically advancing world no society can be static and cultural pluralism is on stake. The term cultural lag refers to a situation when ideas, values, and norms and beliefs used to regulate social life do not keep pace with changes in the technology of the society (Cultural Pluralism, 34, Module-V, p.214). If we understand same in the context of diaspora than real geographical and political boundaries of the state cannot control every aspect of immigrants because they have access to cyber and telecommunication technology that smashes the boundaries virtually.

2.8.2. Dimensions of Multiculturalism

There can be different aspects of multiculturalism especially when this term is used to define the diaspora and their process of settlement, assimilation and maintenance of identity. Identity is the central argument in this whole debate of multiculturalism, if there was no stress on keeping identity, people were ready to assimilate then question of keeping multiple identity, and multiculturalism would disappear. Multiculturalism is the acknowledgement, acceptance and promotion of cultural pluralism within a diverse society. It is the celebration of cultural diversity within society.

All cultures valued and promoted, ethnocentrism discouraged and all ideological and other differences accommodated. Bhiku Parekh argued that multiculturalist perspective is composed of the creative interplay of these important and complementary insights, namely the cultural embeddedness of human beings the

inescapability and desirability of cultural plurality and the plural and multicultural constitution of each culture (Parekh 1999: 12). Multiculturalism, cultural diversity, pluralism, etc. are not just the facts but these value laden concepts. Multiculturalism, cherishes cultural diversity and envisions a society in which different communities forges a common identity while retaining their provenance (Mahajan 1999: 12).

In other words multiculturalism is an ideology that 'promote and accommodate' the multicultural communities to be institutionalized for peaceful co-existence. Various disciplines are using this terms as per there requirements, in political context it would be used to advocate a policy to maintain cultural diversity, equal respect to every culture in the society, to accommodate and address ethnic religious difference with equality. Multiculturalism is often coming with other contrasted terms those are emphasizing on mixture of all cultural difference, those would be 'salad bows,' 'cultural mosaic', 'melting pot' or assimilationism, etc.

Various countries are adopting these terms, doctrines and approaches of multiculturalism as per their demographic and other requirements; so these can be helpful in formation of government policies and strategies (Colin 1997: 121-22). Here two things are coming in the lime light when one is talking of multiculturalism, one 'interactions and communication between different cultures,' that can give them space to settle down their differences. Second, 'acceptance of diversity and cultural uniqueness,' by providing 'cultural isolation' that can help in protection of 'uniqueness of local culture' and contribute to 'global cultural diversity (Elizabeth 2010: 16)'.

According to H. Andrew, the term 'multiculturalism' could be used in two ways, one is as a descriptive term, that has been refer to 'cultural diversity' and second is as a normative term, that implies a positive endorsement, even celebration, of communal diversity, typically based on the right of different groups to respect and recognition, or to the alleged benefits to the larger society of moral and cultural diversity (Bloor 2010: 272).

Liberal democracies and other modes of governments of the world have not been able to ensure equal citizenship for all their members. While they tried to be inclusive, by granting equal rights to all communities to participate in public and

political life, but still it's true that various communities have not been able to be incorporated in the main stream as equal citizens. Hence, discrimination exists in every sphere of life for these communities, within the boundary of the nation-state. Since the time of Plato, political theorists have assumed that the political community would address every problem by a shared and united culture. As Kymlicka has rightly pointed out about the presence of minority communities, that out-maneuvred and out-bid on issues that really matter to them, has been largely overlooked in the preoccupation with national cultures that would provide homogeneity to the body politic. Further, she describes, 'this entire amounts to what can be called cultural injustice, for if minority cultures are either devaluated or marginalized in the public sphere, they suffer from a denial of self respect'.

Bhikhu Parekh takes note on multiculturalism from 1970, when various developed countries like U.K., USA, Germany, etc. were facing various multicultural movements and started dominating their political agendas. Even the country like France that did not even record these differences in censuses, comes under pressure due to strong protest. He argued that "Multiculturalism is best understood neither as a political doctrine with a programmatic content nor a philosophical school with a distinct theory of man's place in the world but as a perspective on or a way of viewing human life." Three main aspects of multiculturalism need to be taken into account carefully; one, 'human beings are culturally embedded in the sense that they grow up and live within a culturally structured world and organize their lives and social relations in terms of a culturally derived system of meaning and significance'. Second, 'different cultures represent different systems of meaning and visions of the good life.

Since each realizes a limited range of human capacities and emotions and grasps only a part of the totality of human existence, it needs other cultures to help it understand itself better, expand its intellectual and moral horizon, stretch its imagination, save it from narcissism to guard it against the obvious temptation to absolutize itself, and so on'. And third, 'every culture is internally plural and reflects a continuing conversation between its different traditions and strands of thought (Parekh 1999: 473-484)'. He described and elaborated these three points further.

Every culture is plural in itself because human being can't be uniform in every aspect of life; however, 'a culture cannot appreciate the value of others unless it appreciates the plurality within it; the converse is just as true'.

As of now, one draw example from diaspora those lives on dream lands and have another dream of homeland in mind, then often they lives in dilemma of identity. Because, sometime they have to chose or have to acquire the culture and identity in terms of his/her best possible survivals in the host community. Here the 'politics of number' (Alonso et al. 1987) would starts, there could be number of reasons to count refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers, etc. but keep them in minority could be one perspective. As mentioned elsewhere in this study that now USA feels that 'there population' (Euro-America) will be in minority in few years. Here the number game starts, it's up to the governments sometimes to manipulates that which particular caste, class, ethnicity, religion population should be managed.

Countries like Mauritius, dominated by Indian immigrants, they can keep their religious, ethnic and other all sub-identities, and they have indigenised the state apparatus and institutions. And that the biggest region for the host societies, because they would like to lost their identity on their own land. Politics of minority representation²⁴ are also the part whole debate on multiculturalism. It is true that 'a multicultural society cannot be stable and last long without developing a common sense of belonging among its citizens. The sense of belonging cannot be ethnic and based on shared cultural (Parekh 1999:484)'.

2.8.3. Language and Diaspora Identity

Language is not just the medium to communicate but it is much more than that, especially when one has to use it at some alien land. Here the words those are going to come out from the mouth of immigrants would determine the life perspective as well as livelihood for them. Early or late newcomer has to accept the language to host society, unless they multiply there population and become majority as in Mauritius. Jacob Landau would argue that 'the relevance of language factor in determining the

²⁴ See, Thernstrom, Abigail, "Statistics and Politics of Minority Representation: The Evolution of the Voting Rights Act Since 1965 in Alonso", William, Paul Starr, (1987), *The Politics of Numbers*, Russel Sage Foundation, Washington DC, p. 303.

relation of a diaspora with its host country and its home country, respectively, is well illustrated in the case of relatively new diaspora, (Landau 1996: 222)' further he have illustrates that language question through Turks migration towards western and northern Europe. The population of Turkish constitutes 33% in Germany (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14 May, 1982), young educated immigrants picked the German as well as other foreign languages but that was not feasible option for all.

The problem arises with syntax of Turkish language, which is not easy for others to learn and it need particular mentality to express and speak. Similar thing often happen with other diaspora too, where vocabulary, writing style, expression of the immigrants are very different from host.

In the case of Indians in Thailand situation is little favourable because 'Bhasa Thai' has high influence of Sanskrit and Pali, so it's easy to learn for them. Many vocabularies have same meanings as Sanskrit or Hindi, though there are little differences in pronunciation. And languages force people in a way to attach with their home country or community because they feel less attachment with the host's language that is not their mother tongue. Sometimes immigrant communities started organizing special schools to teach their mother tongue and culture to their children and that practice further energize diaspora children, not to assimilate.

Robert Bartlett says that language had a particularly important role in defining nationality. Medieval ecclesiastics and scholars, with their biblically based beliefs in the common descent of mankind and their theory of original community of language, found it natural to see the post-Babel differentiation of languages as a first step in the formation of races or peoples. 'Races arose from different languages, not language from different races,' further, he argued that 'those who speak the same language are entwined in tighter bond of love' (Bartlett 1996: 128). There are so many examples where government has to take initiatives and responsibility to uniformize the languages by imposing standard language books such as in China. In addition, in Japan, Angler²⁵ from Tohoku (Northeast Japan) would have had difficulty conversing with the farmers from the southern part of Kyushu; there were regional dialects but no

²⁵ Angler is Japanese word, it means fishermen.

significant linguistic barriers (Lehmann 1996: 118). Therefore, linguistic nationalism could also be a potent force; especially to defend immigrants.

2.8.4. Archetypal Diaspora

As discussed in last section that language always has very significance role to play for diaspora and in forming nationalism. There could be many misunderstanding existing simultaneously where investigation of modern nationalism, in seeking to explain its manifestation in 19th century philological myths, find diaspora nations hard to interpret (Armstrong 1996: 120). If one draws examples from modern verses of Jewish and Armenian nationalism based on ostensibly on linguistic distinctiveness. John argued that through the serious of myths people maintained a sharp identity for centuries and creates the nationalist ideology. Some would maintain this distinctiveness based on language, place of origin, religion or by modern secular myths.

Archetypal diaspora have been survived (including the remnant of Parsees, mainly in India, but retaining sacral centres in Iran) and sustained by high concrete myth that points to their sacral locus of origin as well as by a distinctive alphabet (Nations before nationalism, Chapel Hill: University 1982: 206-13).

Through the examples of Armenians John describes that how the war, displacements, and colonization all other activities have been accommodated to maintained the archetypal. Armenian spent fifteen hundred years with single ethnicity. Given the way, the universal missions of larger religious bodies have occasionally been diverted- not necessarily perverted, for the balance of human values achieved through national identity has not yet been determined- it would be imprudent to reject the peculiar combination of religion and ethnicity that diaspora have achieved (John 1996: 127).

Anthony D. Smith also argued that the role of myths, memories and symbols of ethnic closeness, trauma, and the 'golden age' of saints, sages, and heroes in the rise of modern nationalism among the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks—the archetypal diaspora peoples (Smith 1999: 21). And at some other place he emphasis that the myth of divine election sustains the continuity of cultural identity, and, in that regard,

has enabled certain pre-modern communities such as the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks to survive and persist over centuries and millennia (Smith 1993: 15-20). The all symbols are there to concretize the diaspora. In the context of Indian diaspora in Thailand archetypal qualities are there but still the Thai society is giving them space to practice their own culture, with many similarities they are maintaining their distinctiveness.

2.8.5. Beyond the Melting Pot

In 1960s, half of the New York City's population was foreign born, after all the work that has been done for assimilation by the US government was inadequate. Mass immigration was taking place that time and diffusion of population through all parts of the country and all levels of social order, and because of the consequent close contact and intermarriages (Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, 1996). It would be impossible there to recognize that who is belong to which ethnic group, often confusion between Anglo-Saxon or German, Italian or Jewish, etc. they have lost their languages and altered their culture but still after long assimilation the 'Americanization' was not achieved, and melting pot still is not a proper response to the new immigrants.

It is true that due to influence of American, culture and language of immigrants lost in first or second generation but still there are some identities those could not be assimilate easily and help to identify the different groups as 'different'. American dream of 'cultural-pluralism' seems to be achieved at some point but through their original attributes, they were created something new that could still be identifiable. That could be name by that people would identify their lineage and pear group even beyond third generation.

It is the nature of human society though the nature of Americans that they would not accept immigrant fully. As some level, some degree of difference they would maintain. The original Americans become 'old Americans' or 'old stock' or white Anglo-Saxon Protestants,' or some other identification which indicate they were not immigrants or decedents of recent immigrants (Glazer 1996: 136-7). So that stereotype mindset of early immigrants never let others to feel as important an equal

as they are. Names, ethnicity, friendship, family connection, etc. are creating the tie of interest those can be used at different occasions as per the requirements.

So different stigmas and their occupations, socio-economic conditions, political and cultural activities are able to show that who is who. For example if in new York city if someone says Negroes, mean also understood as unskilled workers, if says Jews or Italians then shopkeepers, homeowners, etc. These differences forces Americans to look beyond the theory of melting pot and now they are coming at multiculturalism, salad bowls and so on (as discussed before in this chapter). Diaspora around the world is facing similar problems. In Thailand, someone talked about European American then have an image in mind that old retired people those come to spend their life here or just to enjoy. Indian have entrepreneur image in resent time, some year ago they were peddlers too.

To wrap up, Indians' migration to Southeast Asia has its own trends and patterns. India's historical affiliation with Indo-China is unique in much sanity which needs to be explored. Thailand is one of the vibrant countries in terms of culture and accommodative manners. As Indian, they also treat the guest as god and that reflects the end product of early Indian civilization in Thailand. This chapter extensively deals theories, patterns, models, approaches, etc. as well to define diaspora. With due respect to all the aspects of diaspora defined in this chapter, makes clear that only multidirectional dimension would help to understand the diaspora.

Chapter 3

INDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THAILAND

Trends and Patterns

3.1. Introduction

Human migration is as old phenomenon as human himself, if one tries to research the migratory trends and patterns of Indians' in Southeast Asia then first of all one has to define that from which time line or period s/he would like to explore the migration and in which direction. Here direction means, from Indian subcontinent to other southeastern countries or vice versa. Besides, defining period is another important thing to do because the India's geography of was never like today, it was keep changing as per the new invaders or kings were coming in and trying to win territories.

From Stone Age to Vedic period (1500 to 500 BC), Persian and Greek (Achaemenid Empire) to great Maurya Empire, Early middle kingdoms that often considered as golden age (Kushan to Cholas) to late middle kingdoms (7th to 13th centuries) then come the era of Islamic imperialism (around 720 CE) to Delhi Sultanate (12th and 13th centuries, Turks and Afghans), the Mughal (1526) era to post Mughal period, colonial period and at last post independence period; one has to divide Indian subcontinent as per the requirement of the study on the basis of timeframe.

Thailand and India has old historic relation as discussed before. Pre-Christian era until present century many changes has been taken placed. Historical relation could be explored with early civilization and new diaspora could be defied from 19th century. Pre-independence and post-independence epoch relations are based on historical relations that provide acceptance to new diaspora.

3.2. Early account of Indian immigrant to Southeast Asia

Widely one can consider eleven countries as Southeast Asian; these are Brunei, East Timor, Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam and Indonesia. The location of each country, there maritime boundaries, own

history, internal and external migration, ethnic migration that took place long back from China, India and so on, assimilation, adaptation, integration, interaction with newcomers by locals, are very essential to comprehend before beginning the whole issue of Indian Migration to Southeast Asia. The negotiations to enter and be the part of them would not be an easy task for an outsider who looks different (ethnicity, race, skin colour, religion), have different habits, cuisine, and culture. Exchange of ideas and culture would take long time and it is a gradual process that needs to build rapport and faith. Here, starts with historical introduction of Southeast Asia and gradually Indian migration to these countries in different eras.

Here as per the focus of this chapter, we start with a little introduction to migration from 2500 BC. The peoples of maritime South East Asia (present day Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines) are thought to have migrated southwards from southern China sometime between 2500 and 1500 BC. They continued to have contacts with the Chinese civilization (well established in the second millennium BC), but the influence of the other long-established civilizations of India gradually became predominant among them, and among the people of the South East Asia mainland. If we take India as a special case here, then one can trace the footprints of Indian traders, adventurers, teachers and priests who were the early migrants to these areas where one could still find their influential role (A Short History of South East Asia 1997).

Even in first and second millennia (CE), Hinduism and Buddhism were widely propagated in the Maritime Southeast Asia. As the medium of religious propagation Sanskrit and Pali languages too flourished. Early Hindu kings like tried to Indianize the whole Southeast Asia by propagating religion, language, rituals, and whole set of culture, that's why scholars would like to call them Indianized kingdoms (Heidhues 2000: 45-63).

If we recount chronologically then the first 'Indianized' states to achieve widespread glory was Funan (in present day Cambodia), concurred in the 1st century AD, according to legend, after the marriage of an Indian Brahman into the family of local chief. They were Khmer (Cambodia) with their own culture and language (Khmer). That the Hindu-Khmer Empire of Funan, flourished, nearly 500 years. That empire played the significant role to create trade relations with India as well as

China. The impact of Indian culture, science, engineering and polity, etc. was clearly visible (A Short History of South East Asia 1997: p.4). That kingdom spread to Southern Vietnam in the east and to Malay Peninsula in the west.

3.3. Path of Migration to Malaya Peninsula and Ahead:

Has received Mongoloid tribes from south-west china, mixed with other tribes, and become the ancestors of the Malays. They reach there in 2000 to 1500 BC. From beginning of the christen era, Indian reach there and the impact of that early Indian migration, one can diagnose through various artefacts and current cultural milieu. Vietnam had more Chinese influence. Though, before 207 BC northern Vietnam was occupied by Indonesians. But after that a Chinese general took it over and created the 'Kingdom of Annam' that has been incorporated with Han Dynasty in 1st century BC and till 10th century it was the part of T'ang dynasty. On the ending eve of T'ang dynasty Indonesian people (The Chams) established the Indianized kingdom of Champa (400 AD). It needs to be clarifying that Mongoloid reached to Malayan peninsula via Thailand and some of them settle down in between.

'Republic of the Union of Myanmar,' was occupied by the Mon people (originally from western China). In lower Burma the Pyu people are practicing Hinduism, and at the same time the Mons had contacts with Indian traders (3rd BC) and their life was influenced by them. Mons people have greater faith on Indian art, literature and Buddhism; and that was the earliest known civilization in Southeast Asia (A Short History of South East Asia 1997). There were Mons Kingdoms spread from lower Burma, in Thailand, and they have also funded the kingdom of Dvaravati.

In 9th century, Tibeto-Burman tribes started moving towards South from the hills of East Tibet into the Irrawaddy plains. They had formed their capital in Pagan in Upper Burma in the 10th century, assimilate with Mons in their cities, and adopted their civilization and Buddhism. Pagan kingdom unites Burma for 200 year (11th to 13th centuries), and the king Anawrath (1044-77), won the Mon kingdom of Thaton and built 13000 temples, 5000 of them still stands.

About Thailand, we have evidences of Buddhist monks' migration before Christian era. Due to invasion on Burma, Thai moved toward their homeland 'the kingdom of Nan Chao' in southern China. They settled in northern Thailand and later (10th and 11th centuries) in Laos. In Cambodia Funan empire ended (6th century) due their internal struggles and succeeded by another Hindu-Khmer empire (till 9th century). The Khmer king Jayaverman II, established capital in Angkor and he also started following the cult to associate himself with Hinduism. He also builds a very famous Angkor Wat temple in 12th century. From 6th century to 14th century a series of great maritime empires based on the Indonesian islands of Sumatra and Java. People from Dravidian kingdom Kalinga Moves to different place and in Indonesia still they are known as "Kalingas."²⁶

Malaya peninsula is important to locate the migration history of Southeast Asia because Indian made their port of disembarkment to Penang (Malaysia) then spread to Thailand and other areas of the Indo-China. Land routs also contributed to the migration but sea route was easy and cheap. Early emigrant made their way by themselves but there were some accelerators to promote migration from last quarter of sixteenth century.

3.4. The British, Dutch and Others as Migration Facilitators:

Dutch were important stakeholder in Southeast Asia that time along British. Between 1595 and 1620, the Dutch set a trading post in Java, the Moluccas, Celebes, Timor, and Sumatra and Borneo (all are islands near Malaysia, Indonesia). Their main settlement was Batavia (Djakarta) in Java. Later they also came to Malacca (1641), and Ceylon (1658). In addition, Portuguese presence reduces to Goa in India, Macao in China, and some of the islands of Timor in East Indies. The main purpose of Dutch was trade. They also had Dutch East India company, later they had war with British East India company for the navel supremacy. During the 18th century it had become weak and corrupts (A Sort history of Southeast Asia, Stanford University 1997).

²⁶ These quotations have drawn largely from "A Sort history of Southeast Asia, Stanford University", Counter checked in Indian Communities in Southeast Asia by K.S. Sandhu, and in A Short History of South East Asia (eds.) by Peter Church, etc.

Dutch rule in Indonesia was favouring movement of Indian workers to Sumatran plantation, British would never like and allow that their source of labour benefit Dutch economy. Thus, beside the voluntary migration between Dutch ruled Sri Lanka and Indonesia, in the pre Anglo-Dutch treaty period (1824), all forms of migration to Indonesia from Indian subcontinent were voluntary and minimal. Very often, the migration to Indonesia was largely a spill over from the Malay Peninsula (Mani 1992). Some French territories in India (Karikal, Pondicherry) come up with the new the new port of migration for Indians specially to Vietnam, Kampuchea (Cambodia) and Laos but these migrants over there were not permanent in nature, that is why the population of Indian origin in these countries is still sizable.

The migration to French Indo-China region was largely a business migration. Moreover, French were busier in business then expansion. Philippines were the far most destination for the Indians, where they reached in large number (now 38,000 as per Singhvi, 2001). The pattern of migration was voluntary and dominated by blue colour workers. However, the Spanish and American legacy was not very attractive for the Indian emigrants.

Before World War 1st Indian were misunderstood as largely a homogeneous entity by the various colonial powers but Indian were more happy to identify themselves along the linguistic, regional, religious, boundaries. The concept of being associated with ne common geographical area was only evident during the Second World War period with the formation of Indian National Army to liberate the Indian subcontinent from British colonial rule (A. Mani, 1992). Still there are strong ties existing between Indian in these countries and chain migration is taking place as the result of it. That is not only the case between mainland India and the Southeast Asian countries but with the Southeast Asian countries, one can observe high rate of mobility among Indian. That can prove their socio-economic links with Indians settled in other countries.

Rural to urban shift have been noted in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, etc. among Indians. Now for permanent residence and work permit Singapore and Australia are the desirable destinations for them (as per the current migration trends). However, social interactions and links among Indian in Southeast Asia still carried

out based on linguistic and religious identities, total assimilation within Indian would not be possible but integration with other ethnic groups seems to be easier.

Brunei, Laos, Indo-China, and Philippines each have smaller population of Indians. Philippines have more number of domicile Indians, and largely they were settled and become integrated. In Thailand and Indonesia provide them enough space to assimilate at their own pace and in these countries, they are enjoying socio-political-cultural rights. However, in Myanmar still they are out of larger picture despite the fact that they form sizable numbers, maximum are stateless and fighting for political rights. Moreover, that can be the biggest cause for their further migration. Till World War two approximately half of Yangon's population was Indian (Charles 2002 and 2011) and they were holding big post in the colonial government and that was the reason for the nationalist Barmiest to discriminate and segregate them (Yegar 1972: 111). Another reason was 'Chatter's' from south India those were big moneylenders during 1930s over there and started to foreclose on the land held by locals (Yegar 1972: 30-37).

In Malaysia and Singapore Indians had earned good reputation and become recognized, socio-politically active groups. 'Little India' a place in Singapore is providing them ethnic and national identity, social and political ideology (Aiyer 2006: 60-65) that plays the significant role to providing them their 'own' space. In all other countries local born Indians become more integrate through uniform education, economic participation and inter marriages. Along with local language of the country Indian still are trying to maintain their mother tongues (such as Tamil, Punjabi, Sindhi, etc.) and for economic participation and upward mobility keeping pace on English.

In that way not only British East India company but also other European powers with the conquest to do business and make colonies such as French, Portuguese, Spanish, American, Dutch, etc. facilitates the cheap labourers from Indian subcontinent under various schemes/laws (kangani, indentured, free passage). That time socio-political situation of India was not able to cope up all the problems of migrants but after independent new policies and laws are coming up to protect their right on foreign lands. Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs is organizing Pravasi

Bharatiya Divas to understand and integrate the emigrants. Remittances sent by Indian diasporas are remarkable (\$53.9, Billion, in 2009-10) (Annual Report 2010-11, GOI). That would be nice to look at the current trends and situation of Indian in Southeast Asia, country wise.

3.5. Brief Account of Indian Diaspora in Southeast Asia

On 9th and 10th May 2012, many newspapers carried a report on poor living conditions of Burmese refugees in Vasant Vihar, New Delhi near the office of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Mainly referring to the UNCHER recommendations that what a government should do for them and what are the rules and regulations for asylum seekers. There were reports by many other organizations also (Sharma 2009: 229)²⁷. JNUSU²⁸ had also come up with a leaflet in their favour on 9th May, 2012, and also trying to help them in many ways.

As we can see this case is just to present the real situation outside the purview of growing economies of Southeast Asia. No matter why but people have to leave their homes to migrate locally or internationally. Political, economic, and social reasons are dominating with the globalization. To understand this matter one has to understand the socio-economic, political and geographical conditions of the respective countries. Let us start with a little introduction of the Southeast Asian countries those are imperative to India in civilizational and cultural connections.

3.6. ‘New’ Indian Immigrant to Southeast Asia

During last two centuries, large-scale migration took place from Indian subcontinent to Southeast Asia sync to western colonization and capitalism. During this period, the phenomenon of new migration became important as it is marked by the ‘arrival and settlement’ of various groups of Indians.²⁹ Unlike the earlier times, in this ‘new migration’, there has been continuity, supplementing of ‘newer’ arrivals as well as continuation of links with their place of origin in the subcontinent (Mani 1992).

²⁷ Sharma, Maina 2009, Refugees in Delhi, Centre for Civil Society, Working paper No 229.

²⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru University Students’ Union, JNU, New Delhi.

²⁹ The term ‘Indians’ used here to refer to the people from Indian subcontinent.

Moreover, whenever they found favorable political and social environment in the host land, they had become domiciles in the respective countries.

If one tries to understand Indians in Southeast Asia by adopting the ‘assimilationist’ approach then things would be clearer. For an immigrant, it is not easy to assimilate himself with host, even after many generation. The sense or myth of origin always seems to be present in their mind. Assimilation and integration with the surrounding communities by Indians with Southeast Asian can be seen as meeting ground of diverse ethnic groups and cultures. Though the ground has been prepared long back by ‘old or classic’ immigrants, they have created an Indianized environment and positive attitude was extremely helpful for the ‘new’ immigrants.

Table: 3. Indian origin Population in Southeast Asia with respect to total population and per capita GDP.

Sr. No	Country	Total Population in 2007	% of Urban Population	Net Migration Rate, (per 1,000)	Per Capita GDP in \$	Indian Origin Population
1	Myanmar	48,798,000	32.0	-0.2 (2005)	153.76	2,902,000
2	Singapore	4,543,000	100	9.3	28,033.54	307,000
3	Malaysia	27,124,000	69.0	1.0	5,239.04	1,665,000
4	Thailand	62,829,000	36.0	0.6	2,930.56	85,000
5	Indonesia	231,627,000	50.0	-0.9	1,369.41	55,000
6	Philippines	88,462	64.0	-2.1	1,123.4	38,000

Source: Situational Report on International Migration in East and Southeast Asia, 2008, Regional Thematic Working Group on International Migration including Human Trafficking, Bangkok and Indian origin population’ data from Singhvi 2001.

Almost all ethnic Indians in Southeast Asia are a product of the development process initiated by western trade and capital expansion during the last two hundred years. They remain the part of the development process in the respective niches that colonialism left them (Sandhu and Mani 1993: XIX). Though in many region of Southeast Asia they prosper, and have experienced upward mobility through their hard work, education and traditional niches among other dominant ethnic groups.

After the British East India Company started massive business and later on started the colonization process, then it was opportunity for the Indians to mobilize. Besides, due to heavy labour migration under various laws (Kangani, indentured labour) they started forming their communities in the respective countries and wherever they formed good numbers, they would find opportunity to practice their culture and preserve identity through endogamy.

In Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore they are influential, they found place in political structure too, though they are nowhere numerically dominant. Still they are playing significant role in Southeast Asian politics and economy. During the British time and later, few traders also went and settled there and new generations are availing better life opportunities. It is also true that majority of them are struggling for the basic rights too. In Myanmar maximum numbers of stateless Indians are living (400,000) (Singhvi 2001). They are struggling for their political rights and after long time of immigration host countries government would not like them to accept and making it as a political issue in elections. Due to these problems, some of them have been migrating towards other destination.

The patterns of Indians towards Southeast Asia were guided by British rule because they had sole authority as master and they were the facilitators. They were facilitating migration from Indian subcontinent to Southeast Asia in their other colonies such as Myanmar, Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia, etc. Majority of them were labourers and few were businesspersons and white-collar workers.

Singhvi report argued that Indian migration to Southeast Asia was unique in many ways. The interaction started even before Christian era and that has been entirely peaceful. Its imprints is visible even today in the language, culture, religion, philosophy, art, architecture, and every other aspect of life, of the whole Indo-China, Myanmar and Southeast Asia. However, after this small but even very impassive settlement the large-scale immigration took place in 19th and 20th centuries to fulfil the colonial needs of British under indenture or kangani system. However, 'free' migration of traders, clerks, bureaucrats, and professionals was also going on simultaneously.

Another very important and significant contribution made by these emigrants was support to Subhas Chandra Bose led Indian National Army (INA). Feeling of nationalism and the pro independence sentiments enforce Indians on alien lands to help for the greater cause of freedom. Bose had successfully mobilized thousands of Indians to fight in the Indian National Army in Malaya and to contribute to the cause of Indian independence. People had come from all over the Southeast Asia to join INA with their financial and men power support.

After independence (1947) the flow of migration was continue towards Southeast Asia along with other parts of the world. However, pace not be would sand the mode of emigration also changed. Because after British rule free passage was the only option though some other facilitators like governments was there in some cases. The Indian communities numbers 7600 in Brunei, 55,000 in Indonesia, 1.67 million in Malaysia, approximately 2.9 million in Myanmar, 38,500 in Philippines, 307,000 in Singapore, 85,000 in Thailand and a very small number in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, totalling 4.2 million (approximately 4253565).³⁰ 1970s was the time when people started moving once again in search of opportunities in these booming economies; they were getting jobs in construction and hospitality industry, Indian companies, international organization (UN), multinational companies, banks, IT, etc. due to lack of democracy, strife, and economic instability have great impact on the Indian migration to the Indo-China countries.

However, it is also true simultaneously that Indian are doing good enough and prospering every single passing day but impact of economic instability on them in Indonesia (as per the new cense 100,000 Indian origin and 9000 NRI are there) (India-Indonesia Relations, 2012) political problems in Myanmar, affect their livelihood badly. In Malaysia, they have not yet overcome the legacy of plantation times while in Singapore they are presented at the highest level of the civil service, judiciary, business, and politics. A common feature however is that, Indian community there is well intergraded with locals as well as with each other and they are keeping their ties alive with India (Singhvi 2001, xxii).

³⁰ See, Singhvi L.M. 2001, High Level Committee report: Ministry of External Affairs. Data were taken from Singhvi report, they have collected them from censuses of respective countries and embassy records.

3.7. Resent Trends of Migration to Southeast Asia

In 2010, total out migration from South Asia was over 24 million. Moreover, the major sender was India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Nepal. India alone sent 11,375,500 migrants abroad and with the flow of out migration, remittances are on rise (World Bank 2011). It follows the migration patterns from the South Asia broadly then this includes,

- Migration for the purpose of permanent settlement in the developed countries,
- Contractual migrants to Middle East and at some extent to Southeast Asia (unskilled, semiskilled blue-collar worker).
- Intraregional short-term, seasonal, and irregular (undocumented) movements within the South Asia region itself (mainly to India) (Chanda 2012: 12).

Here one important trend that must be noticed is ‘feminization’ of migration within this region. There is huge gap in women migration in the global labour market that can be ranging 60% (from Sri Lanka) to 1% (Pakistan). These trends are reflection of the migration policy of respective countries.

Migration from South Asia (especially from India) to Southeast Asia shows the particular trends; receiving countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand comprise an imperative ‘migration corridor in Asia’. In 2005, India sent 106,880 workers (6.9% of total migration) to Malaysia, 157,114 in Singapore, 24,219 to Thailand and surprising numbers to Nepal (832,432) (World Bank, October 7, 2011). These data clearly indicates that Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand to some extent, are the main destination for Indian workers in Southeast Asia. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit of India (2005) forecasts that between 2005 and 2015, Singapore and Thailand would become two major hubs for immigrant workers and current data is also indicating the same.

Table: 1. Estimated Remittances received by India from Southeast Countries, 2010.

Sr. Number	Country	Remittances (in million \$)
1	Malaysia	517
2	Singapore	761
3	Thailand	117
4	Philippines	28
5	Nepal ³¹	4,025

Source: Compiled from Development Indicators Database,
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicators> (Accessed on October 7, 2011).

As per the latest and modern trends instead of unskilled migration, skilled migration is growing significantly from South Asia to Southeast Asian region. From British colonial period to 1970s maximum numbers of unskilled and semiskilled labourers were on the move, and a dominant stereotype about Indian immigrants was all of them were plantation or unskilled workers. Contrarily, data demonstrates that especially in the recent years the immigration of IT professionals, engineers, financial managers, teachers, entrepreneurs, and other skilled workers from India to Southeast Asian countries has grown considerably.

The composition and magnitude to these flows has been determined by the demands of workers with specific professional and technical skills in these countries and also their changing national priorities over time, with a bearing on the employment opportunities and the terms and conditions for residence and citizenship in these countries (Chanda 2012: 16)

If we take an example of Singapore then, skilled workers and professionals accounted for 13.4% (90,000) of the countries non-resident population in 2006. Singapore and Malaysia are also attracting a sizeable number of South Asian students who often stay on to join the labour force in these countries.³² Student migration can further facilitate new immigrants by providing them information and creating chain.

³¹ Nepal is not a Southeast Asian country but it is South Asian, its involvement in remittances is considerable from Asia to India.

³² There was an estimated 30,000 plus Bangladeshi students studying in Malaysia, The New Straits Times, Kuala Lumpur, August 18, 2006. Cit. Chanda, Jan, 2012, Migration between South and Southeast Asia: Overview of Trends and Issues, ISAS Working Paper, NUS, Singapore, p. 16.

3.8. Discrimination and Integration of the Diasporic Community

Discrimination can happen with anyone but the worse victims of it are the unskilled and semiskilled workers, because often they have to work far from cities and their work would not come under the preview of labour laws in that respective country. Language, lack of local authority's support and embassy's support shall be other lacunas. South Asian migrants in Southeast Asia have been subject to ethnic, racial and gender based discrimination. For daily-wage workers and domestic helpers situation is pathetic, in terms of wage they receive, working hours, working condition, hazardous duty, etc. (Chanda 2012).

Various studies also note that not only the work place is the platform for exploitation but recruitment agencies and intermediaries at their home land also exploit them. Amnesty international (2007) records that the net of registered and unregistered agents charge hefty fees, transport and accommodation charges, placement and training fee, even extra money to apply passports. Agents often misinform them about terms and conditions and prepare the further ground to cheat them.

3.8.1. Human Rights Perspectives and Indian Diaspora:

Most Asian migrant workers, especially low skilled workers, do not enjoy basic human rights in the receiving countries, and experience widespread abuse and exploitation (Wickramasekara 2004). Wickramasekara further argued that most of the countries are tightening the cap on immigration to control, but that measure commercialize the recruitment processes and make the situation more vulnerable. The wide gap between policy and practice are unmanageable for many growing economies of Southeast Asia. On migrants workers human rights ILO says, "Each member of whom this convention is in force undertakes to respect the basic human rights of the migrant workers."³³ It had also passed resolutions on right to life (Art.9), protection from inhuman treatment and torture (Art.10), freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Art.12), right to liberty and personal security and protection against arbitrary detention (Art. 16), freedom from slavery and procedural guarantees, etc.

³³ See, Article 1 of the ILO Convention on Migrant Workers, 1975, No. 143.

The most vulnerable groups among migrant workers are temporary labour, unskilled, women and children then trafficked persons those are treated almost as slaves. Women and children are migrating and trafficked across border for commercial sex and other abusive purposes. The Greater Mekong Sub region and the Indian subcontinent represent several transnational routes of trafficking. Thailand has become a major hub in this process of trafficking within the Mekong Sub-Region (Wickramasekara 2004: 5). Despite these rules and laws there are many obstacles in implementation, these can be institutional obstacles, social and economic.

Support were also expected from The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and from the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and they respond to the question of migration by introducing Asian Free Trade Area (AFTA), but there has been little discussion of labour mobility and migrant worker issue in the meeting of labour ministers. The 5th ASEAN Summit in 1995 in Bangkok identified immigration as an area where cooperation could be further strengthened to support ASEAN economic cooperation (Wickramasekara, 2002: 44).

Now time has come to do more than lip service, because now migration and immigration is directly linked to the open market and globalization. Only goods cannot be travel without human being, and human being cannot travel or emigrate without his cultural baggage. That is the demand of global era and responsibility of both (sender and receiver) governments and states to ensure the basic facilities and human rights of migrants. In addition, Asia, especially south and Southeast Asia is observing high rate of displacement due to various reasons that cannot be ignored. Every economy is global and highly interlinked, management of social being (labour) is essential (Migration Report 2008: 385-88) and important to avoid socio-political crass especially in the growing economies of South and Southeast Asia.

3.9. Archetypal Indian Diaspora in Thailand

To understand the typical traits and features of Indian diaspora, it is essential to analyze the past and the present of the community in Thailand. When they venture into the alien space they would have range of motives or they would have migrated due to unpleasant circumstances at homeland. But in the host society they have to integrate, assimilate or acculturate as per the requirement of surrounding. The processes would take long span of time and can form a base for the new immigrant of same 'kind'.

Space would be constant but the time and circumstances of diaspora formation are always different and unmatched from previous. World is changing with new innovation in technology and thought processes; old is missing or merging but new identities have chance to secure themselves in global space. Thailand provides enough space to Indians to flourish and disseminate their culture and civilization. Historical accounts and continuity unfolds many aspects of Indian's indirect domination over Thailand's way of life.

3.9.1. Early Indian Contacts with Thailand

The connection between Thailand and can be traced back from pre-Christian, through Buddhist monks religious migration and even before that. 'During the Asoka's reign (268-232 BC) missionaries were sent to various parts of India, it was at this time that Theravada Buddhism was brought to Sri Lanka by Asoka's son, the monk Mahinda, and to Suvannabhumi (old name of Thailand) in Southeast Asia by the monks Sona and Uttara (Crocco 2004: 8).

"With the growth of Maháyána Buddhism in India, especially during the reign of King Kanishka who ruled over Northern India during the second half of the first century AD, the sect also spread to the neighbouring countries, such as Sumatra, Java, and Kambuja (Cambodia). It is probable that Maháyána Buddhism was introduced to Burma, Pegu (Lower Burma) and Dvárávati (now Nakhon Pathom in Western Thailand) from Magadha (in Bihar, India) at the same time as it went to the Malay Archipelago. But probably it did not have any stronghold there at that time; hence no

spectacular trace was left of it” (Kusalasaya 2005). Further investigation of tracing the artwork could reveal some more footprints of early immigrants.

Buddha’s footprint³⁴ (stone carving) had been discovered in Wat Phra Phuttahachai district of Thailand those had been created in 1st century (Crocco 2004: 31); that shows the migration of Indians and their artwork. Some coins found in Thailand bear inscriptions and have been termed “medals” (Wicks op. cit. 12-13) made in 6th and 7th centuries, these have been found in the Nakhon Pathom area of Thailand. All the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit employing the Pallava script except for one employing the Kharosthi script (Keawglai 1991: 51-68 and Chirawatthana 1991: 69-86). The fact that the inscriptions were written in Sanskrit indicates that the creators were not Buddhist of the Sinhalese Theravada School (Sri Lanka) but more likely Mulasarvastivada (that was early school of Buddhism developed in India in 2nd century AD). In mid 7th to 9th centuries Theravada Buddhism also spread to the Chi River basin in North-eastern Thailand (Krairiksh 1999: 10-11) but here Sinhalese Theravada school was more influential because they had their main centre in Nakhon Pathom (central province of Thailand near Bangkok).

Another account of from late 11th and later part of the 13th century Theravada Buddhism was flourishing in Thailand even when Thailand was under the control of Khmer empire which has Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism as official religion (Crocco 2004: 53). Therefore, the ties between both the countries have been growing since inception and still both countries are doing well by cooperating in various fields.

Simultaneously, it would be important to know the early racial account of the people as well as their coexistence and conflict (800 BC to 1250 AD). As ethnographers would argue, “this county of Siam was, in prehistorical times, inhabited by an aboriginal, dusky-complexioned population consisting, presumably, of two prevailing elements, probably widely separated at first, but which to a considerable extent blended and fused with one another and with subsequent comers as time went on, evidences are also present to trace the Melanesian or Negrito those diffused along the coastal area.

³⁴ Artificially made Buddha’s foot print on rocks or by metals as a symbol of Buddha’s visit.

Other racial stocks vaguely called Indonesia, which left unmistakable traces of itself in Neolithic implements in many parts of Indo-China, and is to this day represented by scattered tribes on the Me-nam-Salwin and Me-Khong-Annamese watersheds. Then from the eighth or tenth century BC if not earlier, began that exodus of tribes from Southern China, which has continued in unbroken sequence to this very day, when it is still, though to a smaller extent, going on (Bangkok and Siam, 1914, Directory, p.1).”

The first of these tribes to flow into Indo-China were those belonging to the Mon-Annam, or, rather more correctly, Mon -Khmer stock, which were very probably in origin closely related to the Indonesians, if not absolutely identical with them. They reached Indo-China between the tenth and the eighth century BC and occupied it almost undisturbed for several centuries, pushing down to the extreme southern limit of the Malay Peninsula, and driving the aboriginals before them and away from the coast towards the hill tracts, but also partly absorbing them into their mass (Bangkok and Siam, 1914, Directory, p.2).” after that the influence of Indian starts that had been discussed in this chapter itself.

Then the Hunan race from central China emerge that represents Hunan province, they were following the Mon-Khmer’s those came to Yunnan (3 or 4 century BC). Later on Mon-Khmers reached to northern Burma and Siam. In addition, they adopted the title of Tai or Thai before their denomination was Lao or Ai-Lao. “They made themselves masters of the whole of Siam, and founded there an empire which gradually extended far into Pegu and Upper Burma, they become known to the neighbouring nations as the Siamese, but they still continue to speak themselves as the Thai Race-Siamese, Lao, Shan, etc.”

Still there roots could be traced by the language dialects that associates them to ‘Kwei-chou, Kwang-si and Yunnan (present day China)’. In 7th, 8th, 9th centuries they had formed a powerful militant kingdom and fought against Emperor of China to subjugate Upper Burma and Northern Siam.

3.9.2. Thailand: A Brief Introduction

As discussed before, Thailand and India have long and strong affiliation. Pre-Christian era to till date, one can found some important influence in Thailand from India. That is the reason behind introducing historical background of Thailand here. Political geography of Indo-China was changing too as per the dominations of different ethnic kingdoms and empires. Associations of Indians with this region can be traced with many small and big kingdoms and on their culture and civilization. Although, their physical presence was negligible throughout history but effect they had made on the culture of the region vast and significant.

Social geography is closely associated with sociology that studies ‘human geography’. Anne Buttimer (1968) says that ‘with some notable exceptions, social geography can be considered a field created and cultivated by a number of individual scholars rather than an academic tradition built up with the particular school (Buttimer 1968: 134)’. It is perhaps the approach to study the human geography. In a simplest possible way, one can understand ‘Social Geography’ with a primary concern with the ways in which a social relations, identities and inequalities are created (Hopkins 2012).

In the context of Thailand to study the formation process of modern Thailand, Social geographical approach would help to understand the society and space. However, any approach cannot work in isolation because they share theories, methods and subject matter with other closely linked disciplines.

If we start with the current socio-political situation then ‘Thailand’ is a constitutional monarchy, with the official name ‘Kingdom of Thailand’ (old name is Siam or Sayam). Geographic location of Thailand is very important in terms of getting trade and strategic benefits. It is located in the centre of Indo-China peninsula in Southeast Asia, on 13° 44’ 0” N, latitude and 100° 30’ 0” E longitude. Currently capital of Thailand is Bangkok and total population is 68.14 million (Thailand: Country Report, 2012). Its neighbours are Malaysia and gulf of Thailand in South, Burma and Laos in North, Andaman in West. Maritime boundaries are shared by Vietnam, Indonesia and by India in the Andaman Sea to the South-western side. That is the current location of Thailand in the world map. In this chapter, we already had

discussed the early account of migration, contact and influence of India to Thailand and rest of the Southeast Asia. However, one can look that whole debate of migration and contact development by civilization approach then one can explore more than just history.

However, various scholars have their own ways and methods to look at the origin of Thai people. Linguist and dialectical studies suggest that they migrated from a region stretching from Southern China to Northern Vietnam. Other theorists argued that migration of Thai people originated from ocean based civilizations of the Western Pacific. This theory is supported by the study of symbols and myths that permeate Thai art and culture (Hoge 2004).

The mysteries of modern day Thailand could be traced by the history of artefacts' that have been discovered by the archaeologist in Ban Chiang (Nong Han district, Udon Thani Province, Thailand, a UNESCO world heritage site, 1992). Digging of this site revealed the "painted pottery, jewellery, bronze and iron tools" (Hofer 1996: 28) and these potteries would be 3600 BC product. Around 3rd century BC, Indian influence reached there, largely due to emperor Ashoka (268-232BC) and its impact can still be seen in deeply rooted in Theravada Buddhist tradition (Hoge 2004). Terweil argued that the T'ai people arrived in Siam (today's Thailand) somewhere around the 12th century, having moved from Central Mongolia to East Yunnan before arriving at the present location (Terweil 1978: 239-259). T'ai historical legends indicate a journey of conquest rather than a peaceful spreading (Terweil 1978: 248). In this era people developed *Meuang*s (social city-states) around Mekong River Valley (Northern area of Thailand), archaeological evidence are supporting that hypothesis.

3.9.3. Medieval History of Thailand and Indian Emigrants

Indian emigration via sea and land reached to Thailand. Dvaravati Kingdom, (700-1100 CE) name derived from Sanskrit (Shri Krishna's Dwaraka, in epic Mahabharata) that describes the collections of Meuang (Social city-states). Its name 'Place of Gates (Cummings et al. 2003: 14) was received from Indians. In this period they produced

various artefact specially Buddha images and that art was influenced to India's Gupta Empire.

Khmer Influence and their Angkor Kingdom, (800-1200 CE), Khmers concurred the Indianized Dvaravati Kingdom and stretched it until Southern areas of Laos, and all over the Cambodia and some parts of Burma. Likewise, Indianization spread in this region; Sanskrit words were integrated into the Mon-Thai vocabulary and used at court (Hoge 2004). Approximately, in the same era (700CE) Tang Dynasty spread Mahayana's Buddhist ideas in South of Thailand.

The Chronology of Name, Siam and Nan-Chao (650-1250 CE) today's Southern China, once inhabited by Thai, gradually they have migrated towards Laos and Northern Thailand, under the leadership of Kublai-Khan. China forced them to run away and made their own land by concurring (1200 CE). As result, many of Thais took up arms with the Khmer armies (Hoge 2004). Cummings argued, "The Khmer's called the Thai's 'Syam,' possibly from the Sanskrit shyama meaning 'golden' or 'swarthy,' and if so possibly in reference to Thai's deeper skin colour. Whatever the meaning, this was how the Thai Kingdom eventually came to be called Syam, or Sayam.

In Myanmar and North-western Thailand, the pronunciation of Syam becomes 'Shan'. The English traders James Lancaster penned the first English translation of the name as 'Siam' in 1592 (Cummings et al. 2003: 15)." On 23 June 1939, government changed the name Siam to Thailand that is derived from Tai meaning 'freedom' in the Thai language. In addition, it represents the ethnicity of Thai people. "Ratcha Anachak Thai" translated as 'Kingdom of Thailand' (Britannica English Dictionary), again derived from Sanskrit and Pali, which shows the unbreakable linkages of India and Thailand.

Sukhothai Kingdom (1200-1300 CE) people from Southern parts of the country and from Mekong River Valley came to form the 'first independent Thai Kingdom' under the King Ramkhamheang (1272-1298), named Sukhothai. Sukha means happiness and propriety or translated in English as "Dawn of Happiness" (Hofer 1996: 30). In this period a Thai writing system was established, Theravada Buddhism was adopted as an official religion, and relations with China established.

After that, Chinese influence starts on Thai medicine system, architectural and artistic traditions that can be observed even today and it is growing. That was one of the most important periods in the Thai history. Because the king played very important role to re-establish the faith of society into the empire and society was in more integrated mode, Thai culture and language was flourishing. There were various sort stories and fictions are still dominates in this society as an inspiration.

Lan-Na Kingdom (1300 CE) - Kublai Khan was emerging as a threat for Northern provinces, in order to defuse his power King Ramkhamhaeng supported two Thai leaders and established a coalitions of meuang in the north and come up with the Lan Na Kingdom (Million Thai Rice Fields) in 1296 and also expend itself (Cummings 2003: 15). That empire was strong enough to defend itself from Mongol aggression, Ming Chinese (1400s) and Ayuthaya Kingdom from the South. But in 19th century Chakri Dynasty took control over it.

Ayutthaya (1351-1767 CE) - by suppressing Angkor Kingdom, Ayutthaya (on the name of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh, India, Associated with lord Rama) came into being. However, the influence of Khmer was still there on over all culture. Brahmins from India called upon to perform rituals with Buddhist monks as per the Khmer tradition. They were also responsible for official customs, court traditions and language. Here the Indian Brahminical system not only proves that there were Indian immigrants but also shows there influence in the higher authorities and culture (Hoge 2004).

With the beginning 1500s, Europeans reached and by 16th century set up embassies and started trade, as result of this Christen influence and Churches could be seen in Melaka, Malay. Churches played role to erected local population to convert in Catholicism, interracial marriages took place between Portuguese men, and Thai women, because of this 'Eurasian' population can be seen in this area (Hoge 2004: 6).

Phaulkon's conspiracy - Constantine Phaulkon was a Greek man and high ranking official in Thai government in 1600s. He won the trust of the King and tries to force whole Thailand to covert in Catholicism under a conspiracy, supported by France. People have developed suspicion over him and he was killed, the French soldiers called by him were expelled. To protect the culture and integrity of the land,

king had decided to close the borders for the ensuing 150 years. In 1765 Burmese destroyed the Ayutthaya, a great historical and cultural place for Thai's.

The Chakri Dynasty- (1782-Present) On April 6, 1782, the throne was handed over to General Chakri. He was influential and a great fighter who expels the Burmese from Chiang Mai and the Northern parts of the country. Prior to this date, "the Kingdom sustained an unbroken 400 year of monarchical succession through 34 reigns (Cummings 2003: 16)."

General Chao Phraya Chakri (1782-1809) becomes the first king of Chakri dynasty. He was known for his cultural revival and restoration of Ayuthaya that was destroyed by Burmese; he also focused on tradition medical knowledge and art. The next king was the son (1809-1824) of Rama-I, known for continuation of his father's legacy and he opened the borders for the west those were closed from king Narai period (from last 150years).

Rama III established the strong trade relationship with China and his period (1824-1851) first printing press reach to Thailand from America by missionaries. Rama IV (Mongkut, 1851-1868), established strong relationship with Europe and reform education in Thailand by allowing more European touch. Rama V (Chulalongkorn, 1868-1910) took the throne at the age 16 and become good administration. He abolished slavery and discontinued prostrating before the king. His relationship with America and Europe helped him to construct the railways. He also introduced civil services and with due respects the fact that French and British, the colonizer are living next to his border (Laos and Cambodia by French and Burma and some parts of Malaya by British) he avoided there invasion into Thailand.

1910-1925, Rama VI (Vajiravudh) was the king. He was British educated and introduced compulsory education. He was the founder of first university in Thailand named after his father, Chulalongkorn. Chulalongkorn University also has India Studies Centre to teach Indian culture and legacy of India with Thailand. He was also known for nationalistic tendency and anti Chinese sentiments (Hoge 2004: 9). He tries to implement western style surnames for all citizens to reduce Chinese style names popularity and cultural domination. "Vajiravudh described the Chinese as the 'Jews of the East' and slogan like 'Siam for the Siamese' that struck fear into the non-Thai

population (Barwise and White 2002: 157)” Indian had small population over there; of course they had to feel the threat because they were ethnic minority.

Rama VII Prajadhipok (1925-32) was good enough to bring country out from financial deficits and he also promote Fine Art Department, National Library, Nation Museum and made international airport. In 1932, groups of Thai student living in Paris staged a victorious cup and effectively brought their constitutional ideas to the monarchy, by adopted British model and that gave power to a “mixed military civilian group (Cummings 2003: 19).” Prajadhipok continued to reign but accepted the provisional government. After royalist revolt failure (1934), Prajadhipok’s 10 year old half nephew (Ananda Mahidol) becomes king (Hoge 2004). Because he was not old enough to take the throne’s responsibility, so he was sent to Switzerland for schooling. Phibul Songkhram³⁵ became Prime Minister in the interim government and quickly established a military dictatorship by becoming loyal to Japanese.

During the Second World War, he declared the war against USA and Britain but fortunately Seni Pramoj (Thai Ambassador in Washington) refused to deliver this message. In 1945, Phibul Songkhram was removed from power and supposedly king Ananda Mahidol (Rama VIII) shot him dead.

After long clamour, under the leadership of Prof. Pridi Phanomyong (1946) constitution of the Thai kingdom was established. Then the younger brother of murdered Rama VII, Bhumibol become the king, he was born in USA and schooled in Switzerland and Bangkok. He is a great linguist with the knowledge of many languages. Real democracy was still a distant dream for Thai people. There was unrest in the society that came out in open in a demonstration by 400,000 people at Thammasat University, where 100 students being shot by the contemporary Prime Minister Thanam led army. In 1991, a constitution was passed and tried to establish a parliament. However, it continued to be dominated by military rulers.

³⁵ Note- he was one of the leader of the 1932 coup in Paris, later on become active in Thai politics and become first Prime Minister of the country. That was the beginning of democracy in Thailand, but not in real sense, just symbolically.

In 1997, the people constitution was written, that was first to be declared by a civilian government, under the promise to protect civil rights, voting made compulsory, introduced right to information, created watchdog organizations to petrol courts and government. In January 2001, a Thai billionaire, Thaksin Shinawatra become Prime Minister, and currently his sister Yingluck Shinawatra (Aug 2011) is ruling the country as Prime Minister. The post of Prime Minister has existed since 1932 and she is 28th PM, along Monarchy. Current King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX) is working, as last many kings he is very famous for his works among Thai, and he is the longest serving monarch in Thai History.

Rama or Ram (The Kings of Thailand) and India- Why Thai kings would call themselves “Rama” and do numbering instead of using names? That could be seen in connection to India and its cultural influence. Rama VI Vajiravudh (1910-25) studied in England and become influenced by British education system and introduced compulsory education and opened the first University in Thailand. His nationalistic approach and Chinese sentiments compels him to change Chinese style names and he adopted western style surnames (Hoge 2004: 9). Nevertheless, the influence of Indian Hindu tradition provided the great image of ‘King’ by portraying Ram (Hindu God Rama, a reincarnation of God Vishnu). Vajiravudh started this tradition by calling himself Rama and started numbering them from the beginning of Chakri Dynasty.

Traditionally the name of king is very scared for the Thai people so supposed not to be said normally. So avoid that situation people were using other words such as Nai Luang or Phra Chao Yu Hua (head of the state) King Vajiravudh³⁶ called himself Rama VI in English, to solve the puzzle of people, that could be translated as “The great ruler of heaven Indra,” they also used Ramathibodi (Lord Rama) in Thai, for the king. The name Ayutthaya (one capital of dynasty and king place, founded in 1350 AD) also comes from Rama’s capital Ayodhya (in epic Ramayana). The concept comes to establish Ramarajya a perfect welfare state for Thai only and his this ethnocentric approach become threat for non-Thai population (Barwise and White 2002: 157). There is no doubt that the presence of Brahmin in the court of king

³⁶ Vajiravudh is a Thai word and its literary meaning is Indra (A Hindu God), strong as “Vajra”, lord’s weapon.

influence good enough to mart the impact on the name of king, style of governance (Ramarajya), capital and king place, religion and culture at large.

3.10. Emigration Periods

In order to study Indian diaspora systematically periodization is essential. As per the demand of the study and the broader trends of emigration, researcher defined the period. As discussed at various junctures in this study the relations between India and Thailand are unique in many ways. The patterns of emigration could be based on these patterns. Broadly, that can be classified on the basis of historical events and time periods as:

- Ancient relations (before Christ to Pre-Ayutthaya period, 1350 AD)
- Ayutthaya period to mid 19th century
- Mid 19th century to the present.

However, many sub periods could be included in it. Main reason behind dividing relations with Thailand in three broad periods is to understand not only the patterns of migrations but also the essence of immigration. Because early migration was not the migration or immigration of people but it was the migration of civilization itself. J.C. White (2008) an archaeologist argued that earliest bronze grave goods at Ban Chiang, Thailand, was revised from the forth to the early second millennium BC. Moreover, the artefacts later on found in Ban Chiang (Nong Han district, Udon Thani Province, Thailand, a UNESCO world heritage site, 1992), reach of Buddhism in Ashoka period, Buddha's footprints in 1st century, medals made in 6th and 7th centuries with Sanskrit (Wicks op. cit. 12-13) inscription, etc. clearly indicates the civilizational connection. All are interlinked and showing the continuity to one another and with the Indian civilizations. One can trace as many as indicators of Indian civilization over that or in broader term in Indo-China.

The institutionalization of Buddhism by Mulasarvastivada (that was early school of Buddhism developed in India in 2nd century) that can be traced by inscriptions written in Sanskrit, then Sinhalese Theravada school (Sri Lankan) (Krairiksh 1999: 10-11) become more influential by establishing their main centre in

Nakhon Pathom (central province of Thailand near Bangkok). Trade routes of early 2nd and 3rd centuries and Brahmins' migration of 6th and 7th centuries through Pegu (Myanmar) to Thailand can be traced easily.

11th and later part of the 13th centuries witnessed Theravada Buddhism flourishing in Thailand even when it was under the control of Khmer empire which has Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism as official religions (Crocco 2004: 53). Therefore, the ties between both the countries have been growing since then. In fact, Ayutthaya period started with this phenomenon.

Then Ayutthaya period to mid 19th century could be a very interesting period for historians, in the first phase Buddhism, having been originated in India, flourished and spread widely to become the state's religion. Secondly, Buddhism had also become a way of life for Indo-China region, overwhelmingly dominated by Indian value system as well as Hinduism. In this period religion, art, culture, language, social institutions were taking their shape by adapting to a kind of Indianness (though, there is no pan-Indian Identity).

The third phase (Mid 19th century to present) will be dealt in this chapter extensively as it holds a lot of significance for the contemporary scenario. From mass physical migration, immigration, cultural effects, difficulty in settlements, patterns of emigration and growth, economic ties, relations between modern states, people to people contact, tracing of roots and routes, etc. It is a big challenge to accommodate all the details but a fair deal of discussion on this can be seen throughout the study.

3.10.1. Migration Patterns

The patterns of Indian migration to Thailand were unlike that of Malaysia or many other countries as indentured or Kangani labour under the British rule. Most of the Indians in Thailand came of their own free will, and very few could have come to work in labour-intensive occupations. For instance, between 1933 and 1938, there were 9,067 Indian arrivals and 6,121 departures. Out of the 1,843 arrivals in Thailand in 1936, only 33 were labourers and the great majority was engaged in commerce (Bangkok Times, 10th July 1936).

As per British subject treaty, signed by Thailand and the British, the Siam dynasty had to protect Indian traders in their territory and if they want to settle down then they have to allow them to do so.³⁷ The businesspersons were coming in small groups to Thailand, in the beginning, in this development, a sizable number of Tamilians reached Phuket (Southern Thailand) and then spread over to Penang and Peninsular Malaysia. First, they were engaged in cattle trade and then started with precious stone mining (Mani 1993). Some other groups such as Chettiars had followed them. The present day Tamilians have no idea of this scattered presence of their community.

Mani (1993) had also argued about other Indians those were highly skilled and came to work with the British engineers, bankers, and entrepreneurs as their subordinates in the third quarter of 19th century when King Mongkut (Rama IV, 1851-1868) started modernizing Thailand. They were engaged in various developmental works carried by the British in the field of irrigation, banking, railways, waterworks, etc.

3.11. The ‘New’ Indian Diaspora in Thailand

Majority of Indian reached to Thailand in last century (1900s) itself. However, there are accounts maintained by various authorities regarding Indians in Thailand. People from Punjab, Gujarat and Tamilian reached around 1861. British consular statics shows that in 1912, thirty Indian were registered in Chiang Mai, 41 Indians and Malays in Phuket, and some in Songkhla and Bangkok consular office. However, the real number was more than the registered by consular (517 people, under British subject category) (Bangkok and Siam 1914). If we start with the archive, Bangkok and Siam (1914: 2) directory, than it depicts from historical records as:

Shortly after this (10th and 8th century BC), navigation and traders from southern India took to frequenting the coast of Indo-China, establishing there trading stations; while similar parties reached the northern parts of the peninsula by land from northern India. Brahmanism and later on, Buddhism, with most other achievements of Indian culture, followed in the wake of these pioneers, and thus it is to ancient India that Indo-China owes her early civilization.

³⁷ Agreement between Siam and Britain on registration of British Subject in Siam, signed at Bangkok, November 29, 1899.

The fact supportive of today's situation is that India has historical relations with Thailand and its civilization reflects it adequately. One cannot also deny the influence of Chinese civilization on Thailand. A much deeper understanding is required to know the real blend of Indo-China region's civilization and account its early migration history. Here a problem may arise with regard to applying diaspora to this early migration, because, it would not be easy to find the sense of belongingness among diasporic people, with India. They have adopted the civilization, culture from Indians and made it their own identity. However, it would also seem impossible to understand or to find who are the early Indians there and after centuries of intermarriages, do they have any separate identity or they assimilated adequately? To clarify this question revisit the 'Bangkok and Siam Directory' (1914: 2) that argued:

By the first century of the Christian era we find not only places on the coast but also in the interior of the country designated in many instances by Pali or Sanskrit names, and among these appears that of Cyama or Cyama-rattha for the lower portion of the Me-Nam valley. The term has been handed down in the forms Siem or Syam to this day, out of which we have made Siam. Of these, the hybrid term Shan is but the modern Burmese corruption. The Siamese of that time, however, were, as may be easily inferred from the above, mainly Mon-Khmer by stock, with a considerable admixture of the aboriginal Negrito and Indonesian bloods. The country was split into a number of principalities almost constantly at war with each other and with the still powerful remnants of the aboriginal tribes, which, however, they nearly always managed to keep under subjection. From the sixth century A.D., however, the vigorous growth, under Hindu influence, of a compact empire in Cambodia deeply affected the status of most of these diminutive States, and vassalage was imposed upon them, which continued with rare intervals for some seven centuries.

Here the impact of language, religion and culture is clearly visible. There are clear documented records to show that Brahmanism reached the Southeast Asian peninsula before Buddhism. That reflects the early connection with not only Thailand but surrounding too. It had indicated that in that, early time people had knowledge of land routes and sea routes and they had means of transportation to reach these destinations. Apart from these, this book (Bangkok and Siam, 1914, Directory) also comes up with the new version of theory that from where this word "Siam" came from. However, it shows the same base (Pali and Sanskrit from India) but with slightly different story.

If we continue with the last point about the head count of 517 people, under British subject category in 1912, registered in the consular office in Bangkok, then the next data that is available is from 1921s census, that shows 20,764 Indians were present in Thailand (Bangkok and Siam 1914). The second source is contradictory to the first one, which described that 11,189 Indians were there including 3,338 females on the eve of India's independence (Blanchard 1958). N.J. Namporia estimated 25,000 Indian origin people in 1967 (Namporia 1967). However, it is not easy to get the exact numbers for that period. Especially in the pre-Independence period, since British had a treaty (1899) with Siam for the free and fair movements of British subjects in Thailand and documents of that time are not available. Loose documentation also is one of the reasons for not having exact data.

A. Mani argued that “despite the fact that post-war immigration rates are not as high as pre-war rates, since 1947 the annual immigration quota 200 has been regularly exceeded. Russell maintained that in 1958, the number of Indians in Thailand was 60,000, while Harold Smith estimated them to be 75,000. Thompson gives the highest estimate as 100,000. In 1981 the Indian embassy in Bangkok estimated them to be around 20,000, whereas a 1982 study of Indians in Thailand estimated their number at over 60,000” (Mani 1993:910). As per the very recent data from Ministry of External Affairs, 100,000-150,000 people of Indian origin are living in Thailand (India-Thailand Relations, February 2012). Majority of them are Thai citizens and many are living there from several generations. Sikhs, Punjabis, Gorakhpuries, Tamils and Sindhis are the main groups of Indian communities in Thailand. But again that number has been increased by a well known scholar Srisurang Polthupya. He argued that 200 thousand Indians are living in Thailand (both by nationality and by Indian origin) (Polthupya 2008: 670).

Another record described that during the construction of ‘death railway³⁸’ in Thailand to link with Burma, the Japanese used the war prisoners as labourers in 1943. They also recruited thousands of Malays, Indians; as per the estimate out of total 73,502 labourers of all races drafted in Malaya to work on it, some 85% (approximately 62,476) were South Indians. Moreover, out of total 20,825 believed to

³⁸ Built by Empire of Japan, during the Second World War, thousand of war prisoners from many Asian and western countries have died in this project, that's why it's called death railway.

be died during the construction. After the war, the overseas Indians in Thailand made some efforts to repatriate the workers or rehabilitate them in Thailand (Kondapi 1951: 175). Apart from these accounts, anti-Indian policies in Burma, particularly after independence from Britain in 1948, compelled some Indians to migrate to Thailand.³⁹

All these happening not only show the increasing trends of in-migration of Indians in Thailand but also describe the contemporary situation and agony faced by immigrants. Entrance in a new country and culture was not easy for them; political situation of the contemporary time has been discussed so far. But still the social stigmas, language barrier, assimilation and adjustment were not big hurdles for them to pass; they had no option except wait for the favourable time and do hard work.

Simultaneously, the conditions at home were also not in favour of them and that was the time of complete social and political chaos back home in India. Even they were not in a position to demand any relief from the government of India, which was in the process of emerging as an independent nation during the year 1947. Nehruvian policy of not to interfere in any other country's internal matters was another hurdle for the immigrants, which were left with only option of settling down in their respective host countries and follow the local social and political order.

In 1947, British India was divided into India and Pakistan; two independent countries were created based on religion, the Muslim majority areas into Pakistan and the remaining into India (Hussain 1982). Many ethnic groups, cults, tribes, castes those were supposed to be the followers of Hinduism were forced to leave Pakistan; some of them instead of settling down in India further proceeded to other countries including Thailand. Sikhs, Sindhis, Punjabis, Parsees, Gujarati Sunnis, Dawoodi Bhoras, Tamils, Pathans and Bengalis were dominant in the immigrants. These multi-linguistic groups each have their own migration history.

Some Hindus, those were living in Pakistan, migrated to Thailand. They chose that path to go abroad because both places India and other country were alien to them and they thought to have some better future perspective at new destination country. The fall of Indochinese countries to communists also resulted in an influx of Indian immigrants in Thailand.

³⁹ Christian Science Monitor, August 26, 1966, p.1.

3.11.1. Migrations to Bangkok

Within Thailand, again there were different trends of migration, rural to urban, urban to big cities like Bangkok. When Bangkok was growing as an industrial and commercial hub during 19th century then Tamils also started migrating to Bangkok from Singapore, Penang (peninsular Malaysia, near Southern Thailand) Phuket and other parts of Thailand. Their patterns of movements were closely interlinked with the trade they were engaged with. Here one more important point has been pinned by Mani is that cattle traders and precious stone mining traders reached to Bangkok via Penang and Phuket, these were largely Hindus. Muslim migrants chose Singapore over Thailand and established their business there.

Gurudwara Siri Guru Singh Sabha is another landmark in Bangkok for the Indian on Chakraphet Road (Pra Nakhorn). However, it took many pains to community to build such a magnificent present building. The history of Gurudwara starts from 1911 onwards when Sikh community was organizing weekly prayers in the houses rotationally.

Vaiti Padayatchi (Hindus, South Indian Tamils) and Mu Thamby Saibu Maraikayar (a Muslim) also known as M.T.S. Marican, were among the early settlers in Bangkok. Both have been appeared as prominent leaders of the Tamil community. Vaiti Padayatchi was a cattle trader, whose trade in cattle kept him in the close touch with Kader Sultan Marican (also known as Karikal Marican) in Singapore, then referred as a cattle king of Singapore. Vaiti Padayatchi established the present day Sri Mariamman temple at the Pan Road/Silom Road juncture in Bangkok. Soi-Vaiti, a street named after him (Mani 1993: 912). That account shows the prosperity gained by traders and their influence in the region. That shows the total monopoly of Indian on cattle business. Indian shipped 28,000 cattle's from Bangkok (Graham 1924: 110) in 1897 to Singapore and other parts of the world.

In Chiang Mai (Northern city of Thailand, 700 KM from Bangkok) there were domination of Indian over transnational trade. The location of that city made it more important for trade, Ping River (a tributary of Chao Phraya) provide a nice water route for transport until Bangkok. Borders of Myanmar, Laos and China close Chiang Mai. Kunming (China) the hub to trade with Southeast Asia, not very far. For the early

travellers (especially Sikhs, before 1940s) from Calcutta as port of embarkation to Yangon (port of disembarkation) then to Thailand by train and trucks were reaching to Thailand via Mae Sot. Some of them would reach to Bangkok and other to Chiang Mai (Sidhu 1993:17). In that way Indians also conducted overland trade of Siam with foreign countries. It was routed through Burma to Northern Thailand. Even the currency in use in northern Thailand, and particularly in Chiang Mai, was the Indian rupee. As late as 1974, Indian rupee was the regular currency in Northern Siam (Hussain 1982: 120).

In 1856, the Dawoodi Bohra, from the princely state Surat (in present day Gujarat, India), established an import and export company in Bangkok named A.T.E. Maskate. That was the first non-Chinese company in Bangkok. Basically, Bohras was from Ahmadabad, later on they shifted to Surat and become big, rich traders by setting up companies abroad and their main business was import British goods and export local goods. Until World War 1st (1914), the Bohras and Tamil Muslims were the only traders; those had good business with Thailand (Mani 1993). The Tamil Pondicherry and Karikal were the French subjects, and these places were important ports too for sea route users.

Another important account of similar kind that A. Mani bring at forefront after extensive research about M.T.S. Marican is that he established his earlier in Singapore and had been an active trader in gemstone. When his debtors in Bangkok failed to remit their payments, he established his own firm, M.T.S. Matican Progressives Ltd., in 1880 the company, now managed by his fourth-generation descendent, has account dating to 1884. He also invested in real estate along Silom Road and New Road (Bangkok). Now two streets, Trok Tambisa and Soi Tambisa (near present day General Post Office) are named after him.

A landmark temple Sri Mariamman Temple (Wat Khaek mean Indian Temple) also known as Maha Uma Devi temple, constructed in Bangkok in 1870 by Tamilian residing in that particular area, the contribution of Vaiti Padayatchi was significant. Now that area known as Wat Khaek (Indian area) especially identified with south India. Yet again, this temple is on Silom Street where another three streets are named after Indian.

3.11.2. Indian National Army and Indian Diaspora

In early 20th century Indians were organizing themselves in Thailand too, to eradicate British Raj from India. However, they were sizable in number but were getting support from various countries those were also against British in many ways. These Indian also were encouraged by the Germans to undercut British power in Burma and India. In 1913, Bhalanath and Nani Bose, two Indian revolutionaries, were sent to Thailand by a Yugantar Group to organize a movement among Indian diaspora there (Hussain 1982: 42). Maximum numbers of activities were going on with large groups of Punjabis, those who were working for Thai railways under German engineers. They chose Thailand because it was independent country and there were least possibilities of British influence, and German was there to help them. It was expected that they could work there with considerable freedom and might be used as a base to operationalise the activities and to keep contacts with the outside world.

Despite all the ethnic, religious, linguistic barriers, every Indian group were doing something with par of their capacity to help the revolutionaries. They had contact with Kumud Mukharjee, an Indian diaspora lawyer in Bangkok. But, apart from getting legal and financial helps their focus for recruitments was on Punjabis in Pakon area, and the message also reached to Bandon, in extreme south of Thailand. German section manager (railway) Lueders, (Dubey 1990: 53) helps them to recruit Amar Singh, Balar Singh, Ram Singh, Narain Singh. In Bandon, another German Engineer Doerring was in league with Arya Singh, Indra Singh, and three Indian traders Dewan Chand, Gopinath Rai, and Chattur Lal. A Sikh Gurudwara in Pahurat, become the centre of Indian revolutionary activities under the liaison of German legation in Bangkok (Bose 1971: 268).

British had treaties with Thai Government, they caught the Indian those were indulged, seventeen Indians brought to Burma for trial and found guilty. Some testimonies indicate that, they also were organizing seditious activities in Siam.⁴⁰ Indian Independence League (IIL) was formed in Bangkok; under the leadership of Rash Bihari Bose they were organizing various activities. In 1941, British in Singapore caught him, when he was going to a conference in Bangkok, with the plan

⁴⁰ Bangkok Times, March 25 and 27, April 1914, 13, 15, 19, 20 August 1916.

to organize an army in Southeast Asia to fight the British. In 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose assumed the leadership of Indian independence movements and became the supreme commander of newly formed Indian National Army (INA). He recruited British Indian soldiers who surrendered in Singapore with the help of Japanese.

In the same year, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (independent India) was Proclaimed. Countries like Japan, Nationalist China, Burma, Thailand, Philippines, and Manchuria recognized the government with two headquarters in Rangoon (Yangon) and Singapore (Hussain 1982: 44). In 1945, headquarters was shifted from Rangoon to Bangkok. Sardar Iswar Singh Narula, minister in Provisional government and Chairman of Indian Independence League in Thailand (Singhvi 2001: 245), tries to manage loan from Thai Government to provide supplies to troops but failed. However, he managed to arrange part of required 4 million ticals (Thai Baht) from other sources, and Indian diaspora contributed for the cause generously. Later on Indian National Army got much donation and remaining they had donated to Chulalongkorn University and Hospital and won the emotional support of Thais.

Japanese government was one of the patronages to help IIL against British. Their occupation over Thailand was a favourable condition for Indian, because they were getting considerable support to carry out their activities in Thailand. Indian immigrants from Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, Singapore and other Indo-China countries were coming to join INA. That fact also proved by Manjit Singh Sidhu's ethnographic study in Thailand (Sidhu 1993). Pleak Pibulsongkram (Field Marshal) also accepted Japanese will to support Indian independence movement. Thai radio was covering IIL's every movements but after Khwang Aphaiwong become Prime Minister (1945), support starts declining.

Indian diaspora was under pressure that time, they were victims of World War and many were living in Thailand in poor socio-economic conditions without the psychological support of family. Some of them were unable to contribute for IIL, to escape extortion they become Thai citizen (Thompson and Richard 1955: 126). In August 1945, INA Chief Subhas Chandra Bose left Bangkok for Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City) and when he was flying to Japan, his plane crashed in mysterious circumstances in Formosa (Taiwan). That how, Indian independence movement rooted in Thailand

with the hearty support of Indian diaspora in Thailand, come to a tragic end. Even after the death of their great leader Subhas Chandra Bose, Indian diaspora, especially the Sikhs continued to work for India's independence. Hat Yai (Southern Thailand) was used as the hiding ground. Their activities were supported by communist parties of India and of China.

Starting from 1943, free Thai movement was going on against Japanese occupation of Thailand by the general population. However, Thai government was in favour of Japanese and raised war against United States but Thai ambassador to Washington, M.R. Seni Pramoj, refused to deliver the message of war to American government by considering the consensus of Thai people. Thai student trained in guerrilla warfare sent to India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to be parachuted into Thailand. British also started supporting free Thai movement and also provide training to Thai Volunteers in Poona (Pune), India

“It is worth noting that while the Indian were fighting the British using Thailand as one of their headquarter under Japanese auspices; the Thais on the other hand were fighting the Japanese under the patronage of US and the British, and using India as their centre. It become possible only because the Japanese pressured the Pibulsongkram government to extend help to the overseas Indian, while the British government supported the Thais to resist the Japanese occupation”⁴¹

As A. Mani would argued that, because Japanese supported Indians, and Thai population was fighting against them. In that condition, Indian diaspora was not able to favour Thais. Therefore, Thais had prejudices against Indian.⁴²

3.11.3. Indians Organizations in Thailand

Indian communities in Thailand have many organizations. Maximum of them are representing the different sections of Indian communities. People are forming the groups, organizations, trust, and societies, etc. on the basis of their ethnicity,

⁴¹ Hussain, Zakir 1982, *The Silent Minorities: Indians in Thailand*, Chulalongkorn University, Social Research Institute, Bangkok, p.46.

⁴² Mani, A. 1993, *Indian in Thailand*, in Mani, A., K.S. Sandhu (eds.) 1993, *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia*, ISEA, Times Academic Press, Singapore.

language, place of origin, religion, sects and so on.⁴³ Few organizations among them are representing the pan-Indian identity. These are providing various opportunities to Indians to come together and form the ethnic networks. These ethnic networks turn into the marriage and kinship alliances and into the ethnic market.

India Thai Business Forum (ITBF), Thai Kannada Balaga, Shri Digamber Jain Samaj, Bangkok, Thailand Hindi Parishad, Mohona - A Bangla Association in Thailand, etc. are the prominent organizations those are having various activities on regular basis. Apart from these there are many other organizations are working in small cities. Many Indian restaurants those are representing regional identities of India also there. Gujarati, Marathi, South Indian, Mughal, Tandoor, North Indian, Bengali, and many other Indian cuisines are available in Bangkok and regional areas. Embassy of India (Sukhumvit Road, Bangkok) and Honorary Consulate General of India have office in Chiang Mai (Bumruangrat Road) is also helping Indian community in many ways, organizing various functions.

In concluding remark we can say that the formation of Indian diaspora in Thailand was gradual process, spread over thousands of years. Influence of Hinduism in Southeast Asia even before Christian era clearly indicates the role of early Indians' role and influence despite their undersized numerical strength. Thus, to historicize Indian diaspora only in the context of Thailand would be unjust with the zeal of the theme. The journey from Hindu kingdoms' to Buddhism and its kingdoms is not shows the learning value but also creates the context to understand 'old and new diaspora'. This chapter also pledges the settlement and immigration patterns of diaspora in Thailand and Bangkok in particular.

⁴³ For more information about Indian organizations in Thailand see: Annexure and <http://www.thaindian.com>, approximately all organizations have their own websites and some of them are verified by phone calls.

Chapter 4

SOCIO-CULTURAL MOSAIC

4.1. Introduction

Life of Indian immigrants in Thailand explores the story of suffering and prosperity together. If we started looking at Indian diasporic community from the civilization perspective, that provides the base to 'new' emigrants. Early Indians in Thailand laid the foundation for the coming generations by purposing civilization and culture from to Thais (broadly to Southeast Asia). By integrating in Thai society they acculturate despite being minority. In result of it Thais indigenized the Indian culture and civilization.

Pre-Buddhist period, Hindu religion, Sanskrit language was strong enough to influence whole region. Kingdom of Champa (present day Vietnam) followed Saivism (Hindu cult). Broadly that kingdom came into being in 192 AD and somehow continued until 1832 AD. The names of its capital cities over a period of time (viz. Indrapura, Vijaya, Panduranga) are reflecting the clear and deep association with Indian civilization. Angkor Kingdom (present day Cambodia) also had Hinduism deep rooted in it and the boundaries of that kingdom were covering approximately today's entire Thailand. Srivijaya Empire (present day Malay) was also a Hindu kingdom. In a way, whole of Indo-China welcomed the Indian civilization. Therefore emigrants from India were welcomed and they made their life easy by acculturation, assimilation and integration.

4.2. Prerequisites of a Diasporic Community

Many theorists talked about prerequisites for emigrant communities to be diaspora. It is not easy to prepare or mark a clear boundary line that differentiates the diaspora and non-diaspora emigrants. It is possible within the same community that some qualifies as diaspora and some not, according to a particular definition. Asylum seekers, guest workers, refugees, international agencies workers, etc. are on the boundary line to be called diaspora or not.

After 2000, many Indian reached to Thailand to do short terms jobs, business, holyday trips, etc. among them few settled down they by keeping Indian passport and they are frequently visiting their homes in India. 8,047 Indian got work permit in 2010 (Thailand Migration Report 2011: 10) in Thailand but if one analyzes the data with care then it is clear that they do not have any intention to settle down in the country. Because, migration is highly male dominated (2,787 males, 396 females in 2010 alone) (Thailand Migration Report 2011: 13) and from the old Indian diasporic communities experiences it is clear that this trends has less chance to survive for long. However, the present migrants are highly skilled and educated so they have more chances to marry with indigenous women. And that way the recent immigrant could turn into diaspora.

4.2.1. Locating Indian Diaspora in Thailand

Indians in Thailand are distinguished in many spheres in compare to Indian diaspora elsewhere. However, at theoretical level if one would like to describe Indian diaspora in Thailand, then they have all the features that are needed for a diaspora community. As William Safran (1991: 83) identified there are six main features that constitute the diaspora:

1. Dispersed from an original “centre” to at least two “peripheral” places.
2. Maintain a “memory,” vision or myth about their original homeland.
3. Believe they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by the host country.
4. See the ancestral home as a place of eventual return when the time is right.
5. Committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland.
6. The group’s consciousness and solidarity are “importantly defined” by this continuing relationships with the homeland.

Hence it proves that Indians in Thailand can be considered as diaspora as per the parameters defined above. Although, still there is a need to define and discuss it further. Because every section of Indian diaspora in Thailand having different migration history, pattern, background and in Thailand they are maintaining their own social and cultural sphere. Ethnicity, cultural and linguistic differences need to be talked at length to understand the whole phenomenon of Indian resemblance.

If we briefly dwell upon the early history, the Indians in Thailand did not have a strong sense of ethno-communalism as one would find in Africa or many other parts of the world. The reason behind it is clear, that we have a long historical relationship with Thailand. That started from the 3rd century itself with the spread of Buddhism through Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and by some other routes. People who settled in those days can be considered as ‘classical diaspora’ because the first recorded immigration to Thailand took place in 1850s (in the recent history). One unique feature that makes Indian diaspora in Thailand distinctive from other Indian diasporic communities elsewhere is that ‘it was not facilitated by the British’, like it happened in the case of indentured labourers or Kangani labourers.

In the case of indentured labourers in plantations and farms was that they wanted to be sojourns and make quick bucks there and return back home. But that was not possible in the case of maximum number of people, due to various malpractices, fake and wrong agreements, etc. they had been forced to stay on alien lands, even the traders had difficulties in returning back. In some places like Caribbean, Guyana, South Africa, Mauritius, etc. the socio-political and economic conditions were favourable and somewhat better than home so they stayed over there though they still had to face diasporic discriminations (William Safran 1991). But in the case of Thailand, migration was by and large voluntary; people were not bound to do any work as in the case of indentured labour, they were migrating through personal communication chains rather than government policies, recruitments, etc.

Thailand was governed by liberal monarchs from a long time. Phra Ruang Dynasty (1238–1368 and 1368–1438) onwards the histories of various monarchies are well documented too. Indian pundits (priests) were invited by these monarchs for proper ‘rajyabhishek’ (enthronements), because India and Thailand have a very long historical cultural relationship, and the effect of it we can see on Thai religion, language, life style, rituals and so on. When Subhash Chandra Bose was organizing Indian National Army (INA) then many Indian origin people were helping it through various means. The wave of Indian nationalism was emerged on a foreign land; many Indian diasporic people had volunteered to be INA soldiers and also died for the cause of freedom of motherland ‘India’.

Though there were Indians from various corners of India but the sense of sub-nationalism was not there. All had first priority to Indian on alien land but in recent past it has been observed that many sub-identities are emerging within Indian diaspora and also creating various institutions those can represent their sub identities.

As far as conflicts and harmony are concerned with the host; many times one could find good harmonious relationships between Indians and Thais. One main reason behind this peaceful co-existence was Theravada Buddhism as a state policy and state religion adopted by first ruler of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, king Ramathibodi I (1351-1369). The king tried to differentiate his own kingdom from neighbouring Angkor (Khmer, present day Cambodia) Hindu empire, so he adopted Dharmashastra, (based on Hindu religious texts) and blended it with Thai customs and traditions. That was the model code of conduct until late in the 19th century. Indians were always in advantageous position there because they were treated as people from the land of Buddha. Better socio-economic conditions were the main pull factors for the Indian diaspora over there.

Having a broad idea on various theories, concepts, terms and some historical clarity on diaspora in general and Indian diaspora in Thailand in specific; now we can discuss the phases of Indian migration to Thailand, their historical background, contemporary situation on homeland and host society, various destinations on the way to various migration sites, methods and links, etc. Then we could also discuss the current role acquired by Indian diaspora in Thailand, their institutions, their presence in socio-economic and political spheres, influence of each other's cultures on both host society and immigrants. This exploration starts with a description of the history and background of diaspora. Lack of first hand empirical data and information can be one lacuna. Still there are lots new research materials and information that would enrich the study methodologically.

4.2.2. Cultural Contacts of Indians with Thailand

That is true in every sense that culture and civilization of Thailand is borrowed from India and after lot of intermixing with Chinese and later on European culture, they indigenized it beautifully and that could be called Thai culture. Before Ashoka's

missionaries, Hinduism was prevalent there and later mixed with Buddhism and with the passing time culture emerged as the nice blend of both and provides the continuity from past to present. Buddha's footprints (stone carving) ⁴⁴ and many other old artefacts' (see chapter 3) has been discovered those are showing the continuity with ancient Indian culture.

The inscription are written in Sanskrit found in Thailand indicates that, the creators were not Buddhist of the Sinhalese Theravada school (Sri Lankan) but more likely Mulasarvastivada (that was early school of Buddhism developed in India in 2nd century AD).). In mid 7th to 9th centuries Theravada Buddhism also spread to the Chi River basin in north-eastern Thailand (Krairiksh 1999: 10-11) but here Sinhalese Theravada school was more influential because they had their main centre in Nakhon Pathom (central province of Thailand near Bangkok).

Another wave of Indian traders and adventurers reached to Southern Thailand in 1st and second century AD by sea route and other followed them by land routes. As mentioned above that after beginning of Christian Buddhism was the main tool to connect Thailand. Hinduism was replaced by Buddhism approximately all over the Southeast Asia. Even after replacing religion the domination of Hindu rituals were prevalent. The big example of it can be drawn from various temples, architectures and from king's court where they had appointed Hindu Pundits to perform various rituals along Buddhist monks.

Apart from few racial conflicts the settlement of Indians in Thailand was peaceful but as ethnographers had argued that the pre-historical inhabitants of Thailand, the aboriginals and later day tribes had a long history of conflicts and diffusion. Some scholars have expressed reservations in accepting the facts due to some contradictory evidences. Other set of scholars would like to call cultural affiliation with Indian subcontinent rather than India. Because the political geography of India was kept on changing (especially during the pre-independence period) and the same thing is applicable to Thailand. Association of Indians with Thailand can be traced with many small and big kingdoms and with their cultural and civilizational exchanges. Although, the physical presence of Indians was negligible throughout

⁴⁴ Artificially made Buddha's foot print on rocks or by metals as a symbol of Buddha's visit.

history in Thailand but the effect India had made on the culture of the region is vast and significant.

Social geography (Buttimer 1968: 134) and movements of Indians within Thailand can tell the narratives of their cultural settlement and spaces where they were able to keep identity and integrate with the larger society. Here one thing needs to be noticed that although Thailand borrows cultural traits from India but in due course of time they indigenized them in their own way. On the other hand India also kept changing and especially when 'new' Indian immigrants were reaching there they found only broader similarities and at micro level religious rituals, language and other practices were completely alien to them. In a simplest possible way, one can understand the 'Social Geography' with a primary concern with the ways in which social relations, identities and inequalities are created (Hopkins 2012). Therefore the cultural connections of India and Indians with Thailand need to be researched rigorously as per the macro and micro time frames.

Indian migration to Thailand was not a homogenous one. From beginning of Indian emigration to Thailand, people from diverse backgrounds were reaching there. Right from South India (Tamil Muslims and Hindus, later on Malayalees) then Gujarati, North Indians from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, etc. reached there. Ahom tribal's from Northeast of India had historical relations with Thailand and they share ethnic and cultural traits with Thais too. 'Tai' speaker are living in some parts of Assam (Saikia 2006: 33-60) that shows their direct links with Thailand.

Diversities are not based on only regions but also in culture and economic, because every region within India has different cultural and economic system. Every community or caste groups within that region also have vast differences in culture and economy. There is no surprise if they carry same cultural baggage to their new place of settlement. In Thailand too, their background, language, religion, and other cultural traits are clearly visible. However, the process of assimilation and integration among Indians in Thailand is fast but still vary community to community.

In present scenario, cultural relations, links and contracts are derived by the economic relations between two countries. Trade is growing between both countries and that symbolizes more close and intimate relations not only between the

governments but also people to people contact. Historical links those have been starts with civilizations and religious exchanges grows and strengthened with growing economic ties and trade. Indians Look East policy and Thailand's look West policy are feeding to each other (Ministry of External Affairs, February 2012: 1) and both are enjoying win-win positions. In result of close cultural ties total number of Indians in Thailand reached up 200,000 (Poolthupya 2008) and growing day by day. It will be better to talk about them community wise for better clarification.

4.3. Indian Communities in Thailand and New Diaspora

Srisurang Poolthupya argued that approximately one lakh Indian origin and same number of NRIs and Indian citizens, etc. are living in Thailand. Having come from backgrounds they are forming different diasporic communities in Thailand. The 'new' diaspora that started coming to Thailand in 20th century constitutes a sizable number and by now made their way into Thai society through acculturation and semi-assimilation. Indeed A. Mani (1993) argued that "Despite the fact that post-war immigration rates are not as high as pre-war rates, since 1947 the annual immigration quota of 200 has been regularly exceeded". Every source has a different opinion about migration patterns and numbers of Indians in Thailand. Srisurang says two lakhs and Ministry of External Affairs says, 100,000-150,000 Indian origin is living in Thailand (India-Thailand Relations, February 2012). The Ministry also emphasizes that majority of them are Thai citizens and many are living there from several generations. Sikhs, Punjabis, Gorakhpuries, Tamils and Sindhis are the main groups of Indian communities in Thailand.

Another record described that, during the construction of 'death railway'⁴⁵ in Thailand to link with Burma, Japanese used the war prisoners as labourers in 1943. They also recruited thousands of Malays, Indians; as per one estimate out of total 73,502 labourers of all races drafted in Malaya to work on it, some 85% (approximately 62,476) were South Indians. Moreover, it is believed that a total of 20,825 died during the construction. After the war, the overseas Indians in Thailand

⁴⁵ Built by Empire of Japan, during the Second World War, thousand of war prisoners from many Asian and western countries have died in this project, that's why it's called death railway.

made some efforts to repatriate the workers or rehabilitate them in Thailand (Kondapi 1951: 175). Apart from these accounts, anti-Indian policies in Burma, particularly after independence from Britain in 1948, compelled some Indians to migrate to Thailand.⁴⁶

Apart from all other events the Second World War and Indian independence were two very important and significant occasions when maximum number of Indian reached to Thailand, reason was political and social unrest in India. Another juncture for Sikhs occurs in 1984; due to anti Sikh riot, many migrated to various countries in the world and those had any links to Thailand through their kith and kin made way to settled there. In this way chain migration had started that continues till date. If we see them community wise then it would be easy to describe ‘new diaspora’

4.3.1. Sikhs in Thailand

At the beginning of 20th century, Punjab region started facing economic downpour due drought, unemployment, famine⁴⁷ and they left with only option that was migration. First, many were attracted to Myanmar by chain of their kinsman, then to Thailand. The pattern of Sikhs migration and their settlement would be very important to understand before going into further details.

Kirparam Madan, a Sehajdhari⁴⁸ Sikh was the first one from the community who reached to Thailand in 1984 (Mani 1993: 915). He presented a magnificent Arabian horse to Thai King and in return, he got an elephant. He presented that elephant to Maharaja of Kashmir, and from both places, he got the favours to start business. Then he brought his wife’s nephews (who were proper Sikhs), and they brought their own families and relatives and chain migration among Sikhs began. Maximum Sikhs immigrants to Thailand at that time were from west Punjab’s Gujranwala and Sheikhpura (now in Pakistan).

⁴⁶ Christian Science Monitor, August 26, 1966, p.1.

⁴⁷ Imperial Gazetteer of India 1907, Vol. III, p.491.

⁴⁸ The term Sehajdhari normally refers to a person who has accepted the Sikhism as his religion but has not formally taken Amrit (Nectar, a ritual in Sikhism). They are exempted from wearing turban.

Among the early 20th century immigrants to Thailand, 90 percent were Arora Sikhs⁴⁹ whereas the bulk of migrants to neighbouring Malaysia and Myanmar were generally Jats.⁵⁰ Later on some Jat Sikhs migrated again to Thailand from other parts of Southeast Asia. Aroras had become prominent as shrewd businesspersons as per their traditional caste profession and some of the Jats had also joined the Thai police force during King Chulalongkorn reign.

Early Punjabi migration to Bangkok may be said to have centred around four textile companies. Gian Singh, Nam Singh, L.S. Bagwan Singh, Bhool S. Inder Singh, and Akbal Singh Narula were premium-trading companies with which most Sikhs were associated. Almost all early Punjabi firms appear to have been Narulas, a caste-like endogamous group (A. Mani 1993: 915). They are spread all over Thailand, Chiang Mai, Khorat, Mai Sot, Phuket are the main centres. When European and Australian companies started tin mining in Southern Thailand (e.g. Phuket), they hired Sikhs to work over there. Even before the Second World War started, there were over a hundred Sikhs, mainly Jats in Phuket.⁵¹ Manjit Singh Sidhu would argue through findings of his research that during 1990s there were barely 300 male Sikhs in Thailand who were born in Pakistan or India, majority of them are men (and old).

After the partition of India, Hindus and Sikhs uprooted from their ancestral homes in western half of Punjab. Hundreds of thousands Sikhs were forced to migrate to the east Punjab and other areas of India. Those who had relatives in Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, made their way to these places, because prior to the Second World War, passports and other travel documents were not required to visit between Indian and Southeast Asia.

Reasons to migrate may be better life chances, forces migration (due to famine, partition), wanderlust or something else, but in starting (maximum number of Sikhs reach to Thailand in 1947 and 1948) maximum of them were sponsored by their relatives of some of them have few hundred rupees. Their journey from Punjab to the port of embarkation (Kolkata in maximum cases) was accomplished with the help of

⁴⁹ Aroras and Khatris are generally traders or shopkeepers by profession.

⁵⁰ Jats are normally cultivators or farmers by profession; they also form the bulk of the soldiers in the Indian army, there is also Sikh regiment in Indian army.

⁵¹ Personal communication with S. Harchet Shingh Khaira who migrated to Phuket in 1939, and was working as a welder in tin mines, by a researcher M.S. Sindhu (cited in his book *Sikhs in Thailand*).

their experienced relatives or fellow passengers of same routes. Maximum of them were travelled by sea routes and few were in position to afford airplane fares. However, early emigrants had explored various routes such as via Pegu, Penang, etc.

Role of Gurudwara were remarkable to supports the journeys of Sikhs throughout Southeast Asia. Gurudawaras were arranging food, shelters for the migrants on port of embarkation and disembarkations, even when they were searching for the jobs and had no money in pockets. Gurudwara in Kolkata and in Penang (Bricklin Road Gurudwara, then they were taking train to Thailand), Yangon extended great hospitability to the emigrants and that could be a reason of survival to immigrants. Gurudwara Siri Singh Sabha Bangkok established in 1913, and later due to some hurdles, they have to shift to another location, present Gurudwara completed in 1981, on Chakraphet Road (Pra Nakhorn).

They also opened the branches in Chiang Mai and in Khonkaen with the same name; there are total 17 Gurudwaras in Thailand. These days one can find Sikh temple in every big city and they are the centre of various cultural happenings, festivals, ceremonies and grievances, not only for Sikhs but also attracts others. Even today, Indian travelers, irrespective of caste and religion (especially Hindus and Sikhs) are staying in Gurudawaras in Thailand.⁵²

As we traced the roots and routes of Sikhs, from that of west Punjab's Gujranwala and Sheikhpura (now in Pakistan), apart from having their homeland (imagined) in Pakistan, they feel strong resemblance with India rather than Pakistan. Besides, Indian Muslims are feeling same with Thai Muslims and Pakistanis. For Muslims that can be called brotherhood or comfort zones but in the case of Sikhs situation is diminutively complicated. Their birthplace is in Pakistan, their guru was born in Pakistan (Guru Nanak, Talwandi, Pakistan) but the hardest time they had faced during independence of India when Punjab was divided into two pieces, Sikhs had to choose 'Hindu' India to migrate, because they were minority at both the places and had better appreciation from Hindus. That was the time when maximum number of Sikhs reached Thailand while their kith and kin settled in India. Now the dilemma

⁵² Researcher explored these insights through talks with Sikh travellers in Bangkok and Delhi airports, they express that even though they can afford hotel but due to religious values they prefer Gurudawaras to stay and can donate money or labour too in spite of not getting room in a Gurudwara due to intense advance bookings.

of diaspora was to choose between their two loves, “Homeland (Motherland) and their people (community).” In the impasse they chose second (their people) and made it first (made India as their homeland because their people are there). Even today Sikhs are exploiting their links and migrating to Thailand by chain migration and their various institutions are supporting them until they settle down properly.

4.3.2. Hindu Communities in Thailand

The Uttar Pradesh Hindi-speaking Hindus generally followed the establishment of western trading firms in Bangkok. As each trading firm set up its warehouses and expended its economic activities, more Uttar Pradeshes came to work as security guards (A. Mani, 1993). If we examine their settlement patterns then as other Indian they are also located in the urban centres, more than seventy five percent population concentrated in Bangkok alone, some other centres of their settlements are Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Lampang (Northern Thailand). One of the reasons behind their numerical strength of Indian in northern Thailand is American involvement, because they need non-communist, non-indigenous to supply goods in Indo-China region to American forces and Indian were the most appropriate for that matter.

There were approximately 2,000 Punjabi Hindu in 1992 (Punjabis can be divided on the basis of Hinduism and Sikhism), in Bangkok and they were sharing good kinship relations with Sikhs. Another important observation by Mani provides the information about 5000 Hindi-speaking people from Uttar Pradesh were there with overwhelmingly majority of Hindus and a few Muslims during 1990s. The numbers of women were negligible among them.

In the beginning of 20th century ‘Babus’ of Uttar Pradesh were working in Myanmar in various firms, however, there numerical strength was little. Later on they moved to Thailand and started working as watchmen and dairy farmer. Mainly they were from Azamgarh and Gorakhpur (Uttar Pradesh), if further classify them by their castes then main Brahmins, Rajput and Madavis, some of them reach there to work in Dawoodi Bohras and British firms. Their growth or decline were depends on the foreign firms, where they were employed (Mani 1993: 915).

If we try to classify Indians in Thailand as linguistic community, then during the same period Bengalis, numbering around 200 were there. They started migration in post-war era maximum among them were traders and businesspersons. Indeed there are Bengali-speaking people from Bangladesh too. Some current estimates suggests that total nearly 35,000 Bengalis are living in Thailand, Bengali Muslims from Bangladesh and Hindus from India (Southeast Asia Mission Team 2010). Pashto speakers from Indian subcontinent (Peshwar, Pakistan), comprise both Hindus and Muslims are settled mainly in northern Thailand. Many of them also living in rural areas adjoining Ching Mai, in 1990s as per an estimate 1,000 Muslims and 50 Hindus were there (Mani 1993).

Sindhi migrants into Thailand were part of their economic involvement in French Indo-China. Shevak-Methani's Karachi store appears to have been one of the premier firms to be set up in Bangkok. Many present days Sindhis came to work with early shopkeepers. In 1933, there were 20-25 unmarried Sindhis residing in Bangkok and their families came after war to join them. Further Mani would argue that prior to the Second World War, Sikhs and Hindus were minority among Indian diaspora in Bangkok. Babus or Hindi-speakers from Uttar Pradesh were in majority. However, after the partition of Indian and Pakistan, those Punjabis who had connections with Thailand had started pouring in with their families. That was the first time in the history of Indian migration to Thailand that rate of female and children accelerates. In the response of it, birth rate increased and Punjabis started making stable families over there. In this way the population of Punjabis increased and Babus did not have families and started returning home in old age so their population decreased.

In 1949, the Thai authorities required Indian immigrants to have a guarantor in Thailand. The government of India protested to the Thai authorities on this requirement, which ultimately could not be implemented. As a result, Indian immigration becomes easier, and the annual immigration quota of 200 was always exceeded. In 1950, the Indian legation in Bangkok notified its nationals of the need to conform to the Thai law requiring them to obtain an alien registration card. Failure to do so, it was pointed out, would result in deportation (Hussain 1982: 49). That time it was not easy to trace the diverse Indian community in Thailand. Still Babus, Sindhis,

Bengalis, Punjabis, Pashto were living there with less integration and inter community interactions. The population of Uttar Pradeshes decreased over the time.

Resent revival among Hindus in Thailand is clearly visible. After 1990s they started forming new organizations and renewed the old. In 2011 many organizations were working, those were dealing with mainstream Hindus or related cults. The Vishnu Mandir, Arya Samaj, Hindu Samaj, Gujarati Marwari Society, Geeta Ashram, Hindu Dharm Sabha, etc. are main Hindu organizations in Thailand located in Bangkok. Shree Swaminarayan Satsang Mandal, Radha Soami Satsang Beas, etc. are cults of Hindus and Sri Mariamman Temple, Tamil Cultural Association of Thailand are dealing with religious, psychological and socio-cultural needs of South Indian Hindus, especially Tamils. The question of Tamil community is described under various sections in this study.

4.3.3. Jains in Thailand

Jains, Namdharis, and some other small groups also their and despite of their small numerical strength they are influential in business and other spheres of life. Main stream Sikhs are not closely incorporated with Namdharies. And Indian caste system works here in different ways. Jains have their own way of life. They are total vegetarian; therefore some special vegetarian restaurants are catering their needs in Bangkok, they have Jain tours companies that provide them religious treatment throughout the trip. They have two temples for both the cult of Jainism. One is located at Off Mana Set Road, Suriwong, Bangkok, named Shri 1008 Mahabir Digambar Jain Mandir. Where they are organizing various activities and maintaining the web links to spread the words for their fellow community members. Maximum of them are involved in business as they do in India.

Jains had prioritizes integration over assimilation. However, the documented history of Jains in Thailand is not clear but a particular source described that Jains are living in Bangkok from past several decades. Among them 500 families are Shwetambers and 100 families are Digambar's followers.⁵³ Jains at present are

⁵³ “Here now for you, Next Level Consciousness” is the online Magazine that containing extensive information on Jains around the world. Sri Digamber Jain Samaj, Bangkok Thailand posted a small article on 12 April 2011, that article contains that information.

making their space by doing various charitable works in Thailand these activities would be important to enhance their social capital. A detailed study on Jains in Thailand is yet to come.

4.3.4. Tai-Ahom Community of Northeast India and Thailand

Tai-Ahom is based in Assam and northern parts of Thailand but that particular tribal community is not clearly defined in government records, nor their history is clearly delineated (Saikia, 2006: 34). The people belong to that community living in Assam is trying to establish historical and psychological connections with Southeast Asia, particularly with Thailand. Approx 6 lakh people of Assam claims to be Tai-Ahom (Bose 1998). The term “Tai” also denotes the linguistic community of Thailand and “Thai” is the term that used to describe people of Thailand. Linguistic and historical relations clearly indicate that people of Thailand and Assam’s Tai-Ahom are sharing same lineage.

Ahom in Assam are following Hinduism and their historical achievements are quite big, they ruled over Assam for 600 years (1228-1826). To maintain links with Thailand they are frequently visiting Thailand. On December 2, 1994, on the occasion of flag hoisting ceremony of a newly created Ahom flag in Guwahati one of the speakers appealed to the Ahom people to become Tai-like, by using their traditional dress, speech, religion, food habits, etc. They were suggested to travel to Thailand to learn Thai customs, establish marriage relationships with Thai people, and learn the Thai language (cited in Saikia, 2006: 45).

An ambitious movement that has been started in Thailand in Late 1930s, to include many groups living outside Thailand and those shares “Thai-ness” (Keyes, 2002). That was the high time when Thai and Tai-Ahom revives their ethnic and cultural links. But the theory of common homeland of Thai people and Pan-Thai could not become reality due to the Second World War. But even after long history of acculturation and assimilation both the communities across borders are maintaining and retaining psychological and physical links.

4.4. Life of Indian Diaspora in Bangkok

In the early 1980, Indians were scattered over most of Bangkok. But some areas were dominated by Indians. Here Indian means Indian communities because the pan-India identity was still missing. The pattern of Indian communities' settlement in Thailand as whole and Bangkok in particular is really representing the diversity and multicultural ethos of India. Indian diaspora also was coming to Bangkok from other small cities and towns of Thailand. Residential patterns also follow the ethnic and linguistic line.

Phahurat is Sikhs dominated locality, in same way area near Orient hotel is inhabited by Muslims, Tamils in particular. Orient hotel area is self-sufficient for Muslims in a way that can cater to all their daily needs. This area has a mosque, a graveyard, a religious school, and a number of Muslim restaurants in and around the area. Hussain (1982) suggested that the historical settlement around this hotel started with Maricar an early (19th century) South Indian traveler and a precious stone merchant.

Upon arriving in Bangkok, he (Maricar) opened a shop on Ratchawong Road and later had a road named after him. After his settlement, others from same religious and ethnic affiliation joined him and that way community started growing. Still his family is holding business in this area and Maricar family is well respected in the community. One of his nephews was the President of Tamil Muslim community. On Friday prayer in mosque, it really takes multicultural and translational colours when Indian, Pakistani, Thai and other national Muslim conglomerates. That is also the platform for interaction where young people from the same background can meet, and chose their spouses.

In the late 19th century, the Dawoodi Bohra Muslims and other trading communities lived mainly on the eastern side of the Menam Chao-Phraya until the administrative site of the Thai kings were moved to western side. Most of the large-trading groups followed the change and moved directly across the river to Ratchawong Road, where other Muslims were living.⁵⁴ The Tamilian Hindus were

⁵⁴ Mani, A. 1993, Indian in Thailand, in Mani, A., K.S. Sandhu (eds.) 1993, Indian Communities in Southeast Asia, ISEA, Times Academic Press, Singapore, p.916.

settled near Sri Mariamman Temple near Wat Khaek Bus stop in Silom Road, Tamil Muslims also joined them on same locality. Some of them opened the precious stone stores and textile shops in Wat Ko area, where some shops still exists (A. Mani).

Phahurat is the centre for the Sikh community in Bangkok; most probably, that is also the area of maximum happening for the Indians in Thailand. That's why it's called little India. Its famous for textile goods from India, Thailand and other parts of the world. Sikhs are in dominant position in this area and some Hindus also living over there. Apart from daily business, it is also residential area for the Sikhs at large. When they had started Gurudwara in 1913, they were living in other places as well but after building the permanent Gurudwara building, they got concentrated in the adjoined area and started growing in number and wealth as well. In Gurudwara, they have started different Sikh associations, a dispensary clinic, library, school, etc., and on every Sunday Sikhs from every part of the city congregate for their weekly prayers, followed by langar (a feast for all devotees).

Apart from these ghettoized localities, there inter-mixing with other communities such as Chinese is growing quite fast. In China-Town, one can observe the Indian diaspora's business setups (especially Sikhs and the South Indians). To show their positive attitude, Indian communities are also organizing the blood donation camps, philanthropic work and are also donating handsome amounts for charity purposes.

Though, the wealthy Sikhs and other Indians are moving out from these localities and buying houses in prime locations. Maximum numbers of them are holding higher positions in government and private organizations, but the condition of the poor is pathetic. They are living in Indian localities on rent basis, and sharing rooms with relatives or people of their village/language, etc., in order to save rent. They are small vendors; some are selling Indian foods, *Pan* or working in shops owned by others. One can find maximum numbers of Indian stuff in this narrow street market. Now Thai people are also opening their outlets and Indians are moving out for better prospects. The concept of ethnic market is breaking due to specialization in products and globalization. But some adaptation traits developed by the Indian

diasporic community over a long period of time are sustaining them for the time being.

4.5. Sustainable Features of the Indian Diasporic Community

Over the time Indians in Thailand learned to sustain and grow steadily. They had various experiences that shape their thinking and cultural traits. However, Indian and Thai culture shares many features but after they import Indian culture and religion, they mixed it up with some other cultures and indigenized it in order to integrate and harmonize the Thai society. When the number of Indians started increasing in Thailand in the 20th century that time onward they faced various cultural setbacks. By getting experiences from these setbacks they molded themselves. Indian communities opt for assimilation and integration to avoid further hurdles. They arrange their life according to the requirements of the host society with the intention of better sustainability and they also preserve their cultural traits somehow.

4.5.1. The Politics of ‘Name’ and the Sense of Belonging

Among stable groups like Punjabis, more than nineteen percent are Thai citizens by birth or naturalization. Among other communities, that ratio would be little less. On the other hand, to establish closer relationships in order to avoid any conflict and to have a peaceful co-existence within the host society, Indian diaspora acquired three main features. However, two of them can be observed among any diaspora, but one is very important and distinguishes them from others. These three main sustainable features are (A. Mani, 1993: 944):

- Acquiring Thai citizenship by birth or naturalization.
- Participation in Thailand’s civic and social activities.
- Changing one’s name to a Thai name or Thai sounding name.

As discussed in the beginning of the section that people are desperate to get Thai citizenship if they would like to settle down there permanently. Even the Uttar Pradeshes, previously those who were considered as non-permanent people, are trying to do the same, because citizenship is the only means that can provide access to all facilities and security in the country. After getting citizenship, they also try for wealth accumulation, investment, etc.

Participation in civic and social activities is one among the important avenues through which the Indian community interacts with the wider Thai society. Fast track help in the case of accidents, blood donation camps organized by Gurudwaras or Indian temples, donation for some important causes, yoga classes in Thai-Bharat Cultural lodges, and other philanthropic works are something that gives the feeling of belonging to Indians and Thais as well. For instance a multi-millionaire Indian origin Thai businessman (Shivanath Rai Bajaj) awarded by the king many times with the prominent prize and honour (White Elephant Honour).

Name is something that represents the people; sir-name, title, etc. are representing the identity of the person even when he/she is not present physically. Within a small-homogenized group, “sir-names” or particular titles would not be important, because all belong to the same group/sub-group. Yet, if that group or community is located in the midst of alien culture then in order to survive, they have to assimilate, if not fully, then at least they have to behave in indigenized way at workstation (Bose 1998). Name is something that introduces the person to the world with his/her identity, and if name itself is indigenized then further inquiry regarding one’s identity would not take place.

Chinese in Thailand understand that social psychology and politics of names in order to find their place among the natives. Then Indian community also realized that Chinese are taking advantage by changing names and their appearance being similar to Thais is another plus point. ‘For most Punjabis in the trading sector, the names are still Punjabi, though the younger children are given Thai-sounding Sanskrit names, while distinct Punjabi names are used at home. However, many Tamil Muslims have changed their names into Thai ones upon assuming Thai citizenship’ (Mani 1993: 944).

That is a clear indicator of integration rather than assimilation. They are using different names and languages differently at workstation and home. But younger generation is studying in Thai schools and becoming more assimilated (rather integrated) than the previous generation. Here one point worthy to mention is, name changing is a gradual process among Indians than other communities in Thailand; that is not government sponsored or enforced by the Thai authorities.

4.5.2. Gender, Marriage and Kinship

Historically Indian immigration to Thailand was single gendered phenomenon, which is clearly observed that in the beginning only men were coming, by promising to their families that they will re-unite once they have enough savings. But they were having regular contact with their wives and families at home, since there were no traveling restrictions, Indians always availed themselves of opportunities to visit their home.

Family and marriage is most important boundary maintenance tool for ethnic Indians. A. Mani (1993: 930-32) explores that in Thailand majority of families are joint and have on an average three children during 1990s. Prior to 90s there were less inter-conjugal relations but post 90s, almost all inter-linguistic marriages were arranged through intermediaries.

Among Sikhs the Namdharis and Akalis behave as distinctive endogamous groups though kinship ties among them are missing, but in contemporary times marriages continue to take place between Akalis, Punjabi Hindus and to some extent with the Namdharis. In recent times, while forming conjugal relations, economic conditions of both the families matter along with ethnicity, language, caste, religion, etc. then come other qualities like beauty, education and demeanour.

In most cases of intralinguistic marriages between Hindus and Sikhs, often religious conversions take place. Thus a Sikh youth removes his religious symbols like his turban on marrying a Punjabi Hindu girl. In case of Peshawari Hindus marrying Punjabi Sikhs or Hindus they also follow the bridegroom's religious affinity (Mani: 1993).

Among Hindi speaking, Uttar Pradeshes, setting up of families in Thailand is a recent phenomenon. To a large extent kinship group ties among them are missing in Thailand because prior to the Second World War, they had no intention to stay in Thailand permanently. Therefore, until today they prefer to bring brides from India with similar caste affinity.

Dowry is not asked but expected as per the status of girl's family, they can pay as much as they like to their daughter and most probably, that is the reason for

searching wealthy families for marriage alliances and girl's side feel safe by providing a certain amount of money to the groom's family at the time of marriage.

Further, Hussain (1982) describes that marrying with natives among Indian diaspora was not common and same fact have been rectified in Manjit Singh Sidhu's (1993) ethnographic studies. When time of marriage comes then the Muslims, due to their religion feel strong affinity and brotherhood with the existing Muslim population in Thailand and as a result they easily get married to the locals. In addition, their religious rules to get married with up to four women are quite helpful, even though they had a wife (in the case of new immigrants) back home, they could marry another locally. But in the case of Hindus and Sikhs that was not easy, Manjit Singh Sidhu's ethnographic study shows that in one case a Sikh got married to a local Thai woman and when his wife and son from India reached Thailand, there was a fight between them, later on both wives left him. He also shows the successful and failed inter ethnic marriages; and how some of them did so to get money or permanent residence.

Most of Tamil Hindus, Tamil Muslims, and Gujarati Bohra Muslims appear to have assimilated into the Thai community by intermarriage. The female population among these groups was negligible to the extent that the men of those groups had left with no option except marrying native Thai women (Mani 1993: 918). All the early marriages of Indian men to indigenous women appear to have been with Mon⁵⁵ Women. The reason behind these marriages is similarities in both the situations. Mons was economically depressed and refugees until slavery were abolished. Many of Mons was individual bonded labourers. There were less reported cases of marriages between indigenous women and Indian men in early phase of migration, but the case of Muslims was opposite. In that way marriage and kinship ties gave sustainability to Indians in Thailand.

4.5.3. Indigenization

One way that leads diasporic community towards total assimilation is interethnic marriages. Such process would not take place in a decade or two. Even after centuries

⁵⁵ The Mons were one of the earliest races those settle in Thailand. They originally are from Southwest China, and then settled in all around Indo-China regions. Maximum of them are living Chao Phraya Basin in Central Thailand.

of interethnic marriages, indigenization, acculturation, and cultural adaptation, total eradication of cultural identity is impossible. But indigenization of institution would take place through various steady processes. For any diasporic community assimilation become inevitable if they are living in a broadly homogenized society and if that host society is multicultural heterogeneous in nature then immigrants has to adopt something from all in order to be part of 'national culture'.

Tinker says that the old diaspora were, "The people who had migrated in the ancient period are said to be acculturate and assimilated groups and they cannot be any more considered as Indian diaspora. It is very difficult to differentiate between these acculturated people with that of the indigenous population. There were marriage relationships developed between Indian priests and officials with that of the local women, and within a few generations they were inseparable from local people" (Tinker 1977: 2).

In the case of old diaspora (pre Ayutthaya) in Thailand, Tinker's argument is true but from Ayutthaya period to mid 19th century's diaspora one can find the substance of Indian culture, but they would like them to identify themselves with Thailand rather than India. During 1850 to 1945, the process of assimilation of immigrants was better than the post independence period (broadly the Second World War to the present). The reason is both simple and logical, at that time migration (not immigration) was single gender (male centric) phenomenon, and single men have limited options to be in contact with their families in India. So if they have to change their status, migrants to immigrants (leading to permanent settlement) then they have to establish a family by marrying local women that would fetch better opportunities for them and can help in assimilation and integration as it happened in the case of Indian men's marriages with Mon women.

If we take the case of early and mid 19th century diaspora, those who had a greater degree of assimilation through interethnic marriages in Indo-China region, then Tinker had rightly pointed out that:

The descendants of those who set out for far off lands as cultural and spiritual messengers in the distant past, have merged with the indigenous people in South-East and East Asia and cannot any more be identified as Indians (Tinker 1977: 2).

In the process of assimilation of Indian diaspora in Thailand, some other factors need to be considered that facilitated the assimilation between dominant majority ethnic group and the minority ethnic group. When the two are similar, culturally and physically then assimilation is easy but Thais and Indians are remarkably different in appearance. Malaysia and Singapore governments adapted integration of different ethnic groups as a state policy but as some scholars argued that Thailand is not a plural society. If Thailand was homogeneous under one king, one culture and one belief system, so assimilative ethnic policy is preferable. However, Thailand is not homogeneous, and after the unrest in southern provinces, government of Thailand started taking serious factual notes over ethnic issues. Now government cannot afford to over look or compelled to see certain basic cultural differences among the minority ethnic groups (Dubey 1990: 91).

It would be contrary to basic human rights to deny the recognition of one's cultural and ethnic identity in the name of total assimilation and integration. Indian diasporic communities and other minority ethnic groups are proud on the ancestral and cultural heritage. Some may demand assimilation but in today's world settlement patterns vary as response to migration and immigration patterns, here integration and 'multiculturalism or salad bowl' could be the solution than 'melting pot' theory.

The Dawoodi Bohra Muslims and Tamil Hindus are the best examples among early immigrants, for interethnic marriages. They indigenize social institutions but it means not the total eradication of Indian culture. The Dawoodi Bohra Muslim mosques in Thailand are midway to assimilation and indigenization into the Thai society.

While the Sri Maha Marimman temple (Wat Khaek in Thai) represents the extreme form of assimilation. In addition, that assimilation has one more important feature, Indo-Sino-Thai cultural representation. It means assimilation of Indian is not a minority verses majority ethnic phenomenon but also indicates the inclusion of other minorities. Sri Maha Mariamman temple is administered by a trust of twenty families, who are scattered all Bangkok, they are descendents of 19th century's immigrants and interethnic marriages among them was common. In 1953, a huge statue of Lord Buddha was incorporated into the temple Pantheon (Mani 1993: 946). For prayer

burning Chinese candles and using Chinese style boxes for predicting personal future is common. In festivals everyone from Thai society including minority groups are enjoying. Wat Khaek can be considered as an integral part of Thai culture and Hindu-Thai-Sino syncretism of religion is highly evident in the daily administration of temple.

New generation that comes from the interethnic marriages between Indian and Thais or to some extent between Indian and other minority groups in Thailand are highly indigenized with each passing generation. Though, the memory of remote ancestors as an Indian persists. In the era of globalization and highly mobile world this persistence also would assimilate, however some scholars also carrying the idea that in globalized world, local identities would be recognized and become strapping. Rituals and festivals are proving these arguments when valentine day is being celebrated by Indian and Diwali around the globe including Thailand.

4.5.4. Rituals and Festivals

Rituals are the parts of our daily life. May we are living in modern highly industrialized society or in a traditional one. Nobody can escape the rituals, by escaping one kind of rituals one has to accept other. For example, the new generation, instead of touching elders' feet, started saying good morning or evening. These are greetings but also the rituals. As often referred to Indian diaspora that, wherever they go they carry three "C", that is curry, customs and culture.

While we had discussed a lot, about Indian influence on Thai civilization, culture, and economy, right from the pre-Christian era until present. Buddhism reached Thailand with many the packages of rituals. Influence of Hinduism was there and blend of both become way of life in Thailand. Indian diasporic community in Thailand acculturates their rituals and festivals and at same time they have adopted Thai rituals and festivals. Even they are participating with great enthusiasm in Chinese festivals those are widely celebrated by Thais. That way they are getting more acceptability in broader Thai society.

Starting from the birth rituals, Thais believe that *Khawan* (Soul) flies in the womb of a woman at the time of intercourse and becomes baby inside (Hanks 1963). If conceived, she would develop a desire to eat sour foods and tells her husband first followed by in-laws. Coconut products are preferable for health and a beautiful baby. Wearing brooch, attending funeral, early preparation for baby, etc. are prohibited for a pregnant woman, Indian families also believe in the same. After birth of a first child, she has to go for a ritual called *Juffaj*, laying down near fire for a certain number of days to get her body in shape by absorbing heat of holy fire. They believe that evil spirits would not come near her due to this ritual. Then shaving ceremony for the baby, naming, etc. ceremonies would be followed.

Many rituals in marriage and death ceremonies are quite similar to Hindus in India. *Pind Dan* ceremonies of Hindus and Buddhists in Thailand are some what similar. In a way, many rituals and ceremonies are matching but Thais Indianized them in their way.

Festivals are the reflexion of the society, if one starts searching for evidences then the origin of many Thai festivals could be traced with Indian festivals. In some festivals, Brahmanism is prevalent. Some examples of festivals that can be seen or compared with popular Indian festivals are:

The Sadh festival: “This festival is the occasion of merit making at the half-year. It originated in a Brahmin festival in honor of Siva, but when Buddhism prevailed, the gifts were given to Buddhist monks instead of to Brahmins. Chinese and Hindus keep the same festival, but in different ways. It falls at the end of the 10th month and beginning of the eleventh (Directory of Siam 1914:.21).”

The Thip C’hing Cha (Swinging) festival and Holiday, also known as Lo Ching Cha: This festival is occurs invariably during the 2nd Siamese lunation, on the 7th and 9th of the waxing, but this, of course, is according to the old Luni-solar Calendar, which has now been done away with in all official business, and thus according to the solar Calendar the dates of these are variable. Ching Cha is a swing; Loh means to pull, and Thib is to push (with the foot). The official name of this festival is *Phithi Tri yamphawai*. On each of the days fixed a large procession is made, formerly for the Minister of Agriculture, now for the Phya who has received

the golden bowl, a high insignia of rank, during the year, and he is carried in great pomp to the place called Sau C'hing Cha (Swing Pillars).

A temporary pavilion, carpeted with white muslin and taste-fully curtained, having been prepared for him, he enters it, and sits on a bamboo railing with one foot placed on his knee, the other on the ground, attended by four Brahmin priests, two on his right hand and two on his left, until three games of the swinging have ended, which occupies usually two hours. If he ventures to touch the floor with his raised foot before the games are ended, the Brahmins were formerly allowed to strip him of his property and otherwise plunder him. The swingers are dressed in white, with tall conical hats, and their object is to reach a pole fixed in the direction of the Palace, to which a bag of ticals is tied. This they must secure with their teeth as they swing. The first set of swingers who succeed get twelve ticals among them, the second eight, and the third four. When the games are over, the swingers (members of the body of Brahmins charged with the performance of religious rites connected with official ceremonies) dip up with bullock's horns water consecrated by Brahmanic formula, and sprinkle it all about them. This is a Brahminic mode of calling down blessings upon the people of the land (Directory of Siam 1914: 22).”

Pra Phattha Yodfa Chulaloke (Rama-I) ordered to instal the swing in the centre of Krung Ratthanakosin in Ayutthaya in 1972. By this pillar, they also established the link with Indic linga cult associated with Lord Shiva. Swing and pillar installed by king was a symbol that these are the centre of universe (as in Hindu mythology believed that Lord Indra is centre of universe). A Brahmin to the Thai king Phrachao Ramathibodi also gifted a swing (11th king of Siam, 1491-1529) later that Swing becomes the annual festival to honour the Hindu gods. This also has been used as symbol of fertility, religious rites, cosmology, etc. (Bogart 2011). These names Tiruvempavai and Tiruppavai show their origin in Tamil hymns composed by saint Andal. Teej in north India is also observed in similar use of swing. Radha Krishana also believed to have had a great time on a swing together and their posters on swing are quite famous. In the history of India many evidences can be found of swing at Vittahala temple in Hampi. Hindola and Rajo swing festivals of Orissa are also quite famous.

Ek Naha Holidays: Starts with rice plantation, it has Brahminic customs that Indian follows in north India 'Ploughing Festival'. Official name of this festival in Thailand is '*Phra Racha Phithee Charot Plira Nang Khal* (Directory of Siam 1914: 25). In Pali, it means making the plough reach the ground. As in Onam in South India, Baisakhi in North.

Songkran: This festival (Agarwal 2009-2010: 7-18) is very close to Holi, Indian play with water and colors but Thai play songkran with water only. Songkran originated from Sanskrit word '*samkranti*,' celebrated as traditional New Year of Thailand from 13 to 15 April. Inthakin (Tam Boon Khan Dok) festival in Ching Mai also has a Brahminic origin. In this festival offering are made to city pillar, followed by dance, food festival, music, carnival, games, etc.

Many festivals are associated with the full moon like in India. One of them is Thord Gathin or Thod Kathin or Kathina. It is celebrated after the full moon of 11th lunar month; its origins are to be found in the teachings of Lord Buddha in India. Loi Krathong festival is observed on the full moon day in 12th month of lunar calendar (i.e. November). The celebration is similar to Diwali festival in India. Magha Puja is also celebrated on a full moon day in the 3rd lunar month; it has also originated from the North India (Smith, et al. 2005: 60).

Monkey buffet festival is celebrated like in India, as monkeys are associated with god Hanuman. Similarly, many other celebrations are found in Thailand which are modified versions of Indian festivals. Over the time, Thais developed them as per the local conditions, customs and culture and indigenized them in a way that they had eventually become an integral part of Thai society. Blend of very old Thai and Indian festivals represent the remarkable influence of Buddhism and the diversity and inter-ethnicity of Thai society. Chinese New Year, Holi, Diwali, Eid, Guru Parvas, Indian national festivals are also popular in Thailand. However, not every festival is accepted all over Thailand uniformly due to the prevalence of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversities.

By festivals, rituals, assimilation, cultural ties, kinship and marriage ties, name changing, etc., Indians had made their life easy and sustainable and thereby avoid conflicts with the local culture. Even after a long history of peaceful co-existence and

assimilation, Indians have to face prejudices in Thai society. But one significant point needs to be noticed here is that the prejudices are not uniform for all Indians in Thailand. It depends on their social status, religion, language, etc. and at the same time they face discrimination within their own communities also.

4.6. Prejudices

It is one of the main characteristic of a diasporic community that, they will never be fully accepted in the host society. The rejection would not be direct; it is often indirect in nature. Discrimination is one form of rejection which is harsh and may be an offence as per the law of respective countries. Therefore, local people might not discriminate diaspora communities in public spheres. Prejudices are hidden and just cannot be felt. It is also not easy to prove prejudices and they often do not come under the purview of law. Some such prejudices are discussed below.

4.6.1. Intra-Community Prejudices

Indian community in Thailand at large and specifically in Bangkok is very diverse in terms of cultural, religious, caste and linguistic differences. It would be rigid to consider the Indian diasporic population as a homogenous Indian community when they are diverse 'Indian sub-communities' or groups of Indian communities. Of which, Uttar Pradeshes, the Hindi speakers from north India and Punjabi Sikhs are the two biggest communities along with South Indian (Tamils), Gujarati (Dawoodi Bohra Muslims and Hindus), Bengalis, etc. are in considerable numbers (Hussain 1982: 88). Occupational and settlement patterns/differences among Indian are profound and motivated by their ethnic, linguistic and religious basis. Indian diasporic communities are still living in homogenous groups and inter-mixing either with other Indian communities or the local population is rare.

There is virtually no communication among different Indian communities. A letter published in a local daily articulated the problem of local vendors proves this point. The letter states '...the wealthy Indian businessmen in Bangkok are much too busy with their own affairs and they least interested in the problems of the vendors'.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Bangkok Post, 16 April 1982. Cited by Hussain, 1982.

Even today in the age of internet, Indian communities are scattered based on language, religion and now the new phenomenon is wealth. One can find numerous websites, organizations, temples, federations, groups and activities based on the above said distinctions. Hardly any organization accommodates the multiculturalism of India and can present a pan-Indian identity or for instance Indianness.

Among the many differences that mark the Indian diaspora in Thailand, religious and regional (place of origin in India) differences are worth mentioning in this regard. The larger Indian communities like Hindus and Sikhs are further divided in their religious practices (Hussain 1982). Because South Indian Hindus prefer to have a deity to worship that is strange to North Indian Hindus, marking the diversity in the place of origin. South Indians are the followers of Saivism (Saivite sect of Hindu), while north Indians are Vaishnavite. Similarly, Muslims are divided into Shiya and Sunnies, and Sikhs have segregation in terms of Namdhari and Akali.

Indian Muslims have closer ties with Thai Muslims and Pakistanis rather than other Indian communities in Thailand. Indian Muslims in Thailand refer to Buddhist majority as 'Thais,' while the designation used to identify the Thai Muslims is 'Muslims' in keeping with the psychological closeness experienced among the Muslims.

4.6.2. Inter Community Prejudices

On various fronts, Indians are doing really nice. Some are famous film star, politician, businesspersons, executive, IT, academicians and what not. Historically they also important to Thais, before Ayutthaya period Indian intellectuals and Brahmins were holding important posts. This trend is continuing somehow. India is origin of the Thai civilization and culture. During Ayutthaya period, Indian intelligentsia was prominently responsible for the revival of the Thai language. Historically the origin of Thai language is Pali and Sanskrit and both are rooted in India. As William J. Gedney would argue that 'words of Indic origin are about as common in spoken Thai as are words of Greek and Latin in spoken English'⁵⁷. Thais also respecting Indian because

⁵⁷ Cited in Sanskrit Studies in Thailand by Satya Vrat Shastri 1997: 86.

they are from the land of Buddha and they are who introduced that great religion to them and Buddha Gaya is their pilgrimage.

Despite having brawny cultural, religious, linguistic affinity, Thai too have similar prejudices adjacent to Indians. There is a saying among Thais that “on the way, if you come across a snake and an Indian, kill the Indian first (Hussain 1982: 89).” These saying show the attitude of Thais towards Indian. Some scholars would feel that Indians are the least-esteemed ethnic groups. Nevertheless, there are also similar sayings for Vietnamese and Chinese. There can be many reasons but scholars’ observation was that, prejudices were everywhere and when people entered into an alien culture then they had to face discrimination and that is the sign of ethnocentrism that occupies the minds of hosts. They were forcing the immigrants to assimilate with them soon enough and if not then the consequences would be dangerous. Some times that used as a protest mechanism to stop assimilation of immigrants in the host society in order to keep blood purity.

Hussain (1982) would describe this situation in a way that can force us to keep note on the issue. During 1980’s prejudices and over discrimination against Indians were common in Thailand. Because that time majority of Indians were poor, employed as peddlers, small vendors, security guards, etc. they are mostly uneducated, and cling to their culture and way of life for protection of their life and inherent values in the extraterrestrial setup. They came to Thailand from most backward regions of the country to earn living and they were saving their maximum earning in order to support their families back home. Maximum Indian immigrants were men, leading a lonely life and were ready to marry Thai women, which was another reason for their unacceptability. They were unassimilable, and were trying to capture limelight by creating landmarks (temples, streets, etc.), if we tried to summarize all these incidents and scenes with the help of constructionist approach that create an unacceptable image of Indians in Thai psychic.

To understand the prejudices more naturally and technically, researcher would apply two approaches simultaneously to comprehend the scattered phenomenon and to put them together for better clarity. One could be cultural persistence that already been applied partly in Hussain’s descriptions to understand the un-assimilability of

recent immigrants and their resistance in broader culture. Another approach was “adaptationist” that was employed by the Thai king. If we take a step back into early 1900s when “Khaek” was the word used to refer “Indian” by Thais, were derogatory and offensive in a sense. Although the literary meaning of Khaek is, ‘guest’ but in the way that word is used for them was different from the literary meaning.

Indian registered the protest and fortunately, new King Vajiravudh, Rama VI (1910-1925), successor of King Chulalongkorn, had intention to assimilate minorities into the Thai society, to that reason he applied adaptationist approach. Indeed he was educated in Britain and observed multiculturalism and coexistence of different races, ethnicities, languages in England; that inspired him to make inclusive policy for minorities. Though he was a nationalist and there were rumours that he had Anti-Chinese sentiments (Hoge 2004: 9). He starts visiting minorities such as Indian and Chinese at their own places and tries to integrate them; passed an order in 1917 to prohibit the use of term “Khaek” in the government records before the personal names of Indians (Hussain 1982: 41), and Chinese also get rid of similar terms by this order. Record of this order can be obtained from the ‘National Archives, 204/15, 15 February 1917, Bangkok’.

There can be many other historical factors also exist that need to explore to complete the story of unfavourable attitude of Thais towards Indian. Because, a prejudice is not a thing of one day, it would take a long historical route to be shaped. These would be:

1. The role of Indian moneylenders has led them to be seen as ruthless and unsympathetic towards Thais.
2. Wartime collaboration of Indians with the Japanese occupation army was resented by the Thais.
3. Indian troops were stationed in the country by British after the Second World War, and they are said to have mistreated the Thais (Thompson 1967: 70).

Indian traders believed to have acquired wealth, but to have done little to promote the welfare and advancement of local population. Unlike Chinese traders, the Indian did not put their profit into trade, or invest in industry, but repatriated them to India (Hussain 1982: 90). During the Second World War, families of Indians (especially Sikhs) went back to India. In the stressful time of war Indians started getting married with indigenous Thai women. Though, the interethnic marriages were not new

phenomenon; these had happened in early 20th century too. But these sorts of unions were coming to the forefront and the rate of interethnic marriages was high. Reasons for these marriages were many but when their families returned them many of them gave up and did not show enough courage to stand with their Thai wives. Kushwant Singh also wrote in a newspaper column that “many Sardarjis in Thailand had fallen for the charm of Thai women (Sidhu 1993: 141).” Due to the influence of wider Thai society, some most successful men also had minor wives or mistresses. Because of Indian men lost their reliability, did frauds with their legitimately married wives, and lost the morality in the eyes of larger Thai society.

Apart from all these arguments and debates some scholars rightly pointed out that due to lack of language skills Indian communities were ghettoized within and even they had less interactions with Indians of different caste creed, language, religion, etc., those were living in different localities or cities. As a British subject, they were getting various favours in Thailand and were not coming in the preview of Thai jurisdiction, were not paying any taxes to Thai government. Some of them caught red handed while smuggled opium⁵⁸ and escaped by the help of British officials.

Thais are very soft spoken and nature loving people and were living in the self-sufficient villages, Indian peddlers (especially Sikhs) were selling goods and often they were overcharged. There were also general sentiments that Indians are working only for money, in colonial period, they linked themselves with their British masters, then with Japanese in Southeast Asia (INA’s collaboration), during Vietnam War and later with American army (Indians are army suppliers in Ching Mai, Mai Sot, etc. Northern Thailand to American) and they are not behaving as per the Thai culture. Currently they are taking their jobs away in approximately every sector by acquiring good education.

⁵⁸ Cited by Hussain, from Foreign office file, 69/90, latter, 3rd September 1884, from Stow to Earl of Granville, P.R.O. London. Quoted by M.L. Manich Jumsai 1970, History of Englo-Thai Relation, Chalermnit, Bangkok.

4.6.3. Prejudices Against Others

Chinese, Vietnamese, Burmese, Cambodian, etc. were also face similar prejudices in Thailand as Indian did. At a time, that was the state policy to discourage Chinese hegemony in trade and government offices (during Rama VI period, he gave a slogan Siam for Siamese; he described Chinese as the ‘Jews of the East’). However, the Vietnamese were not a threat to Thais from a long time and they were coming as farm and factory labourers. Another important fact is that, Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai broadly belong to the Mongoloid race and they feel that similarity. But in the case of Indians, they look much different from them and are not as open to accept Thai culture as Chinese and Vietnamese did. Only the very old Indian diaspora (before 1850s), would not like be called ‘Indians,’ though they maintain some sort of Indian affinity in their life but assimilate in the larger society and had no direct links with India.

4.6.4. Indigenized Generation and Discrimination:

Various studies show that the new generation is getting more acceptances in the larger Thai society and culture than the older one. There are clear signs and indicators that the new generation is getting education in co-ed schools, colleges alongside the Thais, having more interactions with them, making friends and the interethnic marriages between Indians and Thais are becoming a common phenomenon. They are doing businesses and jobs alongside the Thais and are fluent in Thai language and familiar with the local culture. Everything that is happening in their life is providing them an opportunity to become part of the Thai world beyond their own ethnic enclaves. Such opportunities were virtually absent for the older generations and because of that, their psychological makeup remained India-oriented.

New Indian diasporic business class is investing in Thailand itself and people who settled down in Thailand are no more bothered to send their savings back home, they are living with their families rather than single households style. This change of attitude over the generation is promising in terms of assimilation and integration for the future generation but still for the younger generation, it is difficult to manage prejudices outside their ethnic enclave. Legally they are entitled to do any job or

business, since they are Thai citizens, but their physical appearance bars them from occupational choices. Even those who are in government services feel the need to conceal their ethnic identity. They have become truly Thai in their outlook and thinking, partly because of this feeling of Insecurity (Hussain 1982). John Blofeld describes by his own personal experience that, “I have met Sikh boys who are as proud of being Thai as any other teenagers in Bangkok, yet their features and incipient beards are so strictly alien that it is difficult to think of them as local people (Blofeld 1979: 146).”

Arora Sikhs are traders and have strong desire to control their forth coming generation, in order to fulfil the need of business and to keep blood purity (Sidhu 1993). So they prefer arrange marriage for their children in early age to control their sexuality and promiscuity at the other hand Thais are more liberal and prefer love marriages. But in current era of globalization things are changing fast and intermixing is bound to happen, no society can afford to be homogeneous in true sense. However, for the new generation Indian remains a source of inspiration, but not a homeland. They are mature enough to accept the reality of present day Thailand where they born and brought up and earning their livelihood.

This chapter not only focused on socio-cultural mosaic of Indian diaspora in Thailand but also focused on range of traits, start with locating diaspora and its prerequisites. Indians in Thailand are not proficient to form ‘pan-Indian’ identity despite have variety of chances and the cultural diversity of ‘home’ is stopping them on alien land to come together. Varied range of Indian communities and their socio-cultural institutions clearly designates the differences. Tai-Ahom community constitutes distinctive nature among Indian diaspora by having origin in India and Thailand. Inter and intra community prejudices are worth mention here and this aspect need further exploration.

Chapter 5

ECONOMY OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN THAILAND

*"No gold did they find,
Underneath any stone
They touched and turned,
Yet, every stone they touched,
Into solid gold they turned."
Vishwamitra Ganga Ashutosh⁵⁹*

5.1. Introduction

Poverty and human deprivation are the major challenges before human society since inception of civilization itself. Early human being had different reasons to migrate but if we talked about modern history of migration then wealth is among the major causes. Migration patterns throughout the world show that people moves from their homeland toward some better place. Causes push and pull factors, patterns of migration, etc. have been dealt in chapter II. It is difficult to define that, which place/country would be better and worse for migrants. Socio-political condition, and economic opportunities are the main indicators for individuals to migrates but for communities or mass migrants factors would be many more.

Indian diaspora especially the new one is wholly a British creation (Jain, 1989: 155-6) that began with abolition of slavery system. That is also true in case of Indians in Thailand to some extent but apart from the British there were many other factors equally responsible for this migration. Present day Indian community in Thailand is flourishing and they had realized this dream long back. Economy and livelihood of Indian diaspora in Thailand is an imperative issue to study. How diasporic communities survive at a particular location is certainly a matter of concern.

Economy and survival traits of Indian diaspora in Thailand on Individual level, community level, national and international levels need comprehension. This chapter would emphasize on variety of issues and topics including the cultural

⁵⁹ Vishwamitra Ganga Ashutosh, a poet from Mauritius wrote this poem and the Indian President Pratibha Patil recited the same in her speech on 8th Pravasi Bhartiya Divas in New Delhi on 9th January, 2010.

economy, political economy, ethnic markets, etc. that shape the Indian diaspora's economic life in Thailand. Economic wellbeing is the important tool for the diaspora to make the space in the respective society. Indians had migrated to Thailand with the hope of better life opportunities and they are dedicating maximum part of their life to earn their livelihood and to become prosperous. Therefore, that less untouched aspect of their life deserves to be explored by touching various aspect of their personal and professional life.

5.2. Economic Affiliations of Indian Diaspora

Economic affiliation of Indian diaspora could be assessed at various levels. Individual's affiliation to various social and economic institutions shows that how he/she is sustaining in the new alien setup. Here social institutions also important to looked into because social links leads to stronger economic juncture. Ethnic market, business networks, and all other supportive infrastructure/institutions are helping individual to success at economic front.

When a community engages in the similar kind of trade or job then it becomes there community business. For next generation it's becomes easy to associates themselves with community business and they could find readymade job or business. Punjabi in textile, Sindhis in wholesale business, Dawoodi Bohra Muslims in precious stone trade and Tamilian in cattle business are the best example of intra-community business setup (Srisurang 2008: 673-5). They have their own community links established by their ancestors. This community level engagement could reduce psychological to being failed in their respective community business. In a way they homogenize that particular business and spaces for their coming generation and creating an ethnic market.⁶⁰

On national and international level, Indian diasporic communities are forming layers of social, cultural, and economic institutions. These institutions are engaging both, individuals and communities to enhance their social and political links, therefore they can grow and sustain in host society. These institutions are not just giving space

⁶⁰ Pahurat, Little India in Bangkok could be best example of community level engagement in particular business.

to Indian community to grow but also opening new horizons where they integrate with Thai society and at the same time can enjoy their socio-culture affinity with fellow diaspora.

Politics open up better opportunities for Indian diaspora to engage in bilateral trade and India-Thai Chamber of commerce conceived the faith in both parties (India-Thai). After diplomatic relations starts⁶¹ India and Thailand achieved new heights every year. Both countries have signed many MoU, treaties, joint ventures, multilateral agreements and strengthened them by high level meetings and visits. Indian diaspora people such as Lek Nana entered in politics become House of representative and minister in M. R. Seni Pramoj's cabinet. They influenced the Thai government to have better ties with govt. of India.

International Institutions like SAARC, AFTA, ASEAN, CAFTA, etc. are not only shaping the strategic and economic relations with the region but also helping diaspora people to work for the betterment of both the countries and region at large. Diaspora people are activity participating in many of international organizations and in the mean times also getting benefits from the developments work done by these organizations. In a way whole scenario is creating the cultural and political economy.

5.3. Politico-Cultural Economy and Socio-Cultural Organizations

For diaspora, on an alien land, it is very difficult to feel like 'at home'. In case of first generation, feeling and memories of their "own land" are always strong. They also want to transform same feeling in their coming generation those are growing in newly adopted environment, where they defiantly will learn the culture and life style of the host society. In order to maintain the intra-ethnic and cultural boundaries religious, social and cultural organization are highly appreciable among diaspora.

Sociologists started taking political economy perspectives from Karl Marx's Das Kapital⁶² where he talked about relations determined by production. It is used to analyze Indian diaspora in Thailand on similar lines by tracking various inter and intra

⁶¹ India's diplomatic relations starts in 1947 and in 2012, both countries celebrated 65 anniversary. Cited in Indian-Thailand Relations, Ministry of External affairs, February 2012, p.1.

⁶² In Volume 1, fourth Edition (1890: xxvi), he describes Political-Economy and its relations with social institutions.

community production linkages to explore their political economy. Indian diaspora in Thailand were concerned about maintaining “blood purity” (first generation) and for that reason they were coming to India to get married, that symbolizes their consciousness about social production. But, over time they had realized that the community is growing and they are having better socio-economic conditions, future prospects and now there is sufficient time to organize themselves (Srisurang 2008: 674). As discussed before, Indian community in Thailand is evolving on religious, ethnic and linguistic procession. And when one focuses on linguistic differences or community organizations on the basis of language then region; regionalism will emerge involuntarily. Therefore, in Thailand, Indian diaspora is behaving like it does in any other country, by having socio-cultural and economic organizations based on ethnicity and religion.

Indian cultural and civilization effect could be traced in Thailand even before Buddhism. That has been proved by various archaeological studies, artefact evidence, architecture; tools and technology, language, in early civilization of Thailand and Indo-China. Then Buddhism reached and various organizations started coming to the forefront. In 6th and 7th centuries Brahmin reached their and influence the indigenous ritual system. During Ayutthaya, period and later Brahmins were appointed as advisor and priest to perform rituals for royal family. From that time onward Hindu Temples started getting spaces within the premises of Buddhist temples and monasteries and one cannot deny the influence of Hinduism on the life of Thai society that is broadly Buddhist.

After the mid 19th century Tamil merchants those were doing trade by sea routes historically, setup the Sri Mariamman Temple (Wat Khaek) also known as Maha Uma Devi Temple, Bangkok in 1870 (Mani 1993: 913). In 1875, king Chulalongkorn presented a set glass lamp to the temple after his visit to India. The idols of deities that were installed in 1911 were brought from India and a boundary wall was also constructed. Temple was officially registered with the concerned Thai government agency in 1915 by adding the name Sri Maha Uma Devi.

That could be called first Tamilian organization, which was capable to hold various cultural events and to cater community’s religious and psychological needs.

Similar ethnic and linguistic background people begin settling around it and other organizations such as Tamil Cultural Association of Thailand (Charoen Krung Road), Thai-Bharat Cultural Lounge, etc. came into being.

In 1913, Gurudwara was established by the Sikh community in Thailand and during 1979 to 1981 it acquired a permanent building called Gurudwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha (Chakraphet Road) in Bangkok. Later on another seventeen Gurudwaras and several Sikh organizations came into being; and are supposedly active even today working for the community and the nation.

Near Silom Road and adjoining New Road, opposite General Post office, several Tamil Muslims were settling. Because Tamil Hindus were also living on Silom Road, near Sri Mariamman Temple, and mosque was also not far from this area. Hence, their linguistic affinity could be taken care of by each other. Slowly Muslims felt closer to Pakistani and Thai Muslims and have close brotherhood with them, result of it comes as more interethnic marriages. Due to this affinity many social and commercial organizations were formed.

Sindhis and other Indian groups were busy with organizing themselves under several social, religious and commercial organizations. At the same time (1924), Hindi-speaking Uttar Pradeshes come up with Arya Samaj, due to strong influence of neo-Hindu revivalism movement in India (Mani 1993: 925). The Vishnu Mandir was constructed, that becomes the symbol for the Uttar Pradeshis in Thailand. In the same year, Hindu Sabha also has been formed by Punjabi Hindus. In 1945, its name has been changed to Hindu Samaj at Thanon Burapha, near Sao Ching Cha (the giant swing) Bangkok. In 1934, a school named 'Bharat Vidyalaya' was founded by Punjabis both Hindus and Sikhs, which was recognized by Ministry of Education, Thailand in 1939.

Separate 'Sikh Vidyalaya' was started in prior 1941 and shifted to permanent building in 1951, to cater the social and linguistic need of Sikh children. Aforementioned, Bangkok Sikhs were also actively participating in Ghadar Party of Canada in 1912, against British rule in India. Due to involvement in revolutionary activities, Sardar Budha Singh arrested and exiled to Andaman Islands in 1916. In 1928, Indian association in Bangkok was formed, because its function was mainly

economic, so later on its name was changed as 'Indian Chamber of commerce' as per the demand of various other organizations and governments, such as Japan, which was thriving for new business agents in Thailand and Indo-China.

Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore visited Thailand in 1927, to formulate the plans to established cultural exchange programs between India and Thailand. Swami Satyanand Puri, a revolutionary monk and linguist, who had written fourteen books in Thai language about Indian culture, was there till his death in 1942. Due to their involvements many organizations such as Sanskrit centre, India study centre, etc. were opened in Thai universities. Countless revolutionaries those were willing to contribute for the greater cause of India's independence were highly active in many organizations. Ghadar Party, Indian National Army were main among them, many Indian diasporic people were closely collaborated with Rash Bihari Bose in Japan and they were active members at the Bharat Cultural Lodge (Mani 1993: 926). A Balak Sena (Childre's Army) was also formed by children of Indian origin to propagate the British cruelties against Indian during independence movement.

Many educational institutes and organizations also run and supported by Indians in Thailand. Some of them are Chulalongkorn Medical School, Mahatma Gandhi Memorial School in Sukothai, Nehru Memorial School in Chiang Mai, Hindu Samaj School in Bangkok (Kumar 2008), Sikh Vidyalaya in Bangkok, etc. there are also Indian study centre in Chulalongkorn University, Sanskrit Study Centre in Silpakorn University, India study centre in Thammasat University, Mahidon University also started Master of Arts in Indian Studies (India-Thailand Relations 2012: 4).

So many activities by revolutionaries, Indian National Army for the cause of India's independence were highly supported by all Indian groups in Thailand. Everybody was trying to contribute in different ways for the greater cause, to see India a self-dependant, independent country. During 1940s under the leadership of Mr. Subhas Chander Bose, Indian community collected good money to support Indian National Army and, also establish the 'Chulalongkorn Medical School'. At the time of Second World War and independence movement Indian groups was forming an

identifiable 'pan-Indian identity,' but soon after 1950s they started to dissipate again in their own ethnic, religious and linguistic shells.

These socio-cultural organizations seem to have broadly four main purposes that also could be judged by their names. (1) To bring different groups of Indian communities together and enhance inter-group communication and activity. (2) To provide platform for intra-group activities within respective communities (as closed groups). (3) To have better interaction, co-ordination with indigenous people for long-term harmonious relationships. (4) To keep their regional, linguistic, ethnic and religious identity alive on an alien land. In addition, some organizations are based on economic interests, it does not mean they have no concern for socio-cultural activities; indeed they are creating 'Pan-Indian' identity for the diaspora by playing a great part in economic activities as Indians. They are also celebrating Indian national days and Indian festivals on Thai soil.

The politico-cultural economy clearly indicates that when economic aspects of diasporic community are put at the centre of the study, various hidden survival traits started emerging. Therefore, economic profile of diaspora is vital to discuss.

5.4. Economic Traits and Inclusive Economic Events

Indian diaspora in Thailand is enjoying good economic opportunities today. But that was not case for majority of diaspora few decades ago. They were working as peddlers (Sidhu 1993: 77), tin miners, security Guards, etc. on minimum wages. They also were dying in death railway⁶³ slowly they started heading towards economic growth, that leads them towards social integration. Some events occurred in the history of Indian diaspora's settlement in Thailand; those became the milestones for the economic growth of diaspora community. Timely actions in response of these events made rich trading community richer and other find better survival opportunities along them. These events need to be discussed here.

⁶³ Built by Empire of Japan, during the Second World War, thousand of war prisoners from many Asian and western countries have died in this project, that's why it's called death railway, cited in Hussain , 1982: 42.

5.4.1. Abolition of Slavery in Thailand

Slavery abolition⁶⁴ creates labour shortage in the Kingdom, Thai people were living in self-sufficient villages and were not ready for division of labour as per the demand of new industrial and trade setup. British try to ask people from their colonies including Chinese, Indian and Burmese to work in Thailand. Many Indian took the advantage of being British subject and flocked to Thailand. Some started small businesses and other took the gain benefit of growth in agriculture, teen mining, etc. Due to unavailability of Thai labour, King Mongkut favoured the hiring of immigrant labour from China and India.

If we look at the whole scene with the conflict and adaptationist approach then India had few options there in starting; co-existence was the only way to avoid conflict with other immigrants, especially with Chinese. Though Indian had extraterritorial privileges, and these privileges were not creating the problem for Thai's because they had little interaction with locals. They were also not ready to respond to the labour needs of plantation economy, and not being socially/psychologically prepared to work under it strictly regulated conditions. Therefore, massive Indian and Chinese immigration provided the work force for the plantations; most Indian going to work in the rubber plantations in southern Thailand (Hussain 1982: 38).

In this way, they had few chances of conflicts with Thai; they were there to serve their economic interest and often were living outside the native society. Later, when they started shifting to villages then they had to adopt Thai language and culture, as Manjit Singh Sidhu would argue that Indian especially Sikhs were easy to adjust in Thailand because they were coming by chain migration and were supported by their host person in starting when they picked the language then become paddler. Even many of them (Sikhs) cutting their hairs and marrying Thai women for better assimilations and economic prosperity, in second phase Indians in Thailand started migration from villages to cities and then to Bangkok. Even though, Chinese were

⁶⁴ The 1874 Royal Decree moves to permanently free all persons born into slavery after October 1, 1968, and to limit or eliminate further enslavement, cited in Hussain , 1982: 37.

their competitors at various fronts but still both sides tries to maintain peace on the alien land.

5.5.2. Royal Emperor's Visits to India and Socio-Economic Cooperation

On first October 1868, the late king Chulalongkorn, succeeded to the throne. To ensure the survival of the country against various obstacles he started making bilateral relations. In 1871, the king visited Java, and in the same year, he left for a tour of India. From 7th to 12th of January 1872, he was entertained by the Viceroy at Calcutta. After learning various lessons from India, he went back and introduced political reforms and declared the political constitution by 8th May, 1874 (Namporia 1967: 11). Although that was not new for Thai kings to have treaties or bilateral relations with other countries, in 1664, King Mongkut also signed treaty with Dutch East India Company.

In 1913, Thai king, Rama VI (Vajiravudh, 1910-1925) had taken up the problems of irrigation and food seriously. Siamese administration and Government of India, experts in irrigation have signed an agreement to construct the irrigation system for Lower Menam (Mea Nam) valley.⁶⁵ That was one of the accounts that shows India had co-operation with Thailand in the early 1900s. Such historical relations are still continued, although there were some breakdowns in between due to laws enacted banning labour from other countries. This law has created a massive shortage of labour in the kindom.

5.5.3. Labour Recruitment from India

With the establishment of Chakri dynasty (1782) in 18th century in Thailand, British started their influence by convincing the king (General Chao Phraya Chakri, 1782-1809) along with other Europeans. From 19th century, onwards the British had a strong hold over Asia and succeeded in inducing the king that trade and cultural associations with Thailand is in favour of both the countries.

⁶⁵ Menam or Mea-Nam valley located along the Chao Phraya River, Mea signifies Mother in Thai and Nam translates as water. It is one of the most important rivers of Thailand.

So during the reign of Rama II, John Crawfurd (a Scottish, Colonial diplomat, and writer on Asian subjects) was sent to Thailand by the British East Asia Company to conclude a treaty to facilitate British trade in Thailand. The negotiation were in the hands of Phra Khlang (the Minister of Finance), who was shortly to become King Rama III. The British mission was most keenly opposed by the long established Muslim Indian merchants (Bohras, Tamils) in Bangkok, which held a dominating position in the country's export trade (Hussain 1982: 35).

Due to the strong position of Indians in royal court, ultimately Crawfurd mission failed to persuade the contemporary finance minister over Indians (Tate 1971: 521).

The 18th or 19th century Tamil inscriptions describe the life of Indians in Siam that began before the Sukhothai period. Some of the early immigrants Brahmin Priests those reached to Pegu (present day Bago, Myanmar) then fled to Siam in the fifth and sixth centuries are believed to be the ancestors of present day Brahmins living in Wat Bot Phram.⁶⁶ Because of their presence, one can trace the strong Indian influence during Autthaya period. King Uthong (Ramathibodi) appointed Brahmins to serve in his capital; indeed, he is reported to have acquired such Brahmin directly from India (Hussain 1982). These Brahmins were responsible in arranging all genuine Brahminic coronation rites to celebrate King's accession to the throne.⁶⁷ Eight Brahmins were present for that particular event from Benaras (Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, North India). During Crawfurd's visit to Thailand, he said to have met a court Brahmin, who claimed to be the fifth descendant of his first ancestor to settle in Thailand. He had come from the island of Ramiserm (Rameswaram) in south India (Crawfurd 1967: 119). Later on due to the same influence with the blend of merchants' pressure, Crawfurd's mission to sign treaty with Siam in favour of British East India Company had failed.

One more important turning point that accelerates the immigration of North Indians to Thailand was the attitude of King Mongkut (Rama IV) who allowed Europeans to trade in Thailand. Sir John Bowring came to Thailand in 1855 to negotiate a new Anglo-Thai Treaty that was probably a renovation of 1826th Burney

⁶⁶ Wat Bot Phram is a scared place of worship, by the wish of King Rama-I, to build a new holy city as Hindu God Brahma did, with the consent of Brahmins. He built halls for deity Shiva, Vishnu, Brahma and Ganesh.

⁶⁷ 'The testimony of the people of the old capital written in 1767 and compiled by order of Burmese court as a source of information on Siam'. Prince Damrong translated it into Thai in 1912. Quoted by Kaset Siri, Charnvit 1976, *The Rise of Ayutthaya*, Oxford University Press, p.100.

treaty on trade that was successfully signed and implemented (Hussain 1982, and Directory of Siam Bangkok, 1914). After these treaties the influence of Indian merchants and Court personnel started declining.

Due to Bowring, treaty British subjects granted extraterritorial privileges to the British subject and removal of them from the jurisdiction of Thai authority. Under Article IV, they are permitted to trade throughout Thailand freely. The abolition of slavery in Thailand was in three stages – “the 1874 Royal Decree moved to permanently free all persons born into slavery after October 1, 1868, and to limit or eliminate further enslavement. In 1879, King Chulalongkorn restated that no further slaves into slavery were permitted. In 1905, he completely abolished slavery” (Cruikshank 1975).

5.5.4. Indian Diaspora in Government Agencies

King Chulalongkorn changed attitudes for foreigners; governments started employing foreigners and British subjects in various agencies. “The Chief Superintendent of the Siam police had proposed a scheme to organize the police services of Bangkok into a force composed of 1,000 Siamese, 200 British-Indians and five English officers to be borrowed from Indian government” (Jesurum 1967: 283). De Busen, the British consul in Siam, confirm that some Sikhs had been enrolled into the Siamese police force, explaining that the police forces of Hong Kong, Singapore and other British colonies had, not surprisingly, urged the Siamese government to make use of their experience by drawing on the considerable British-Indian population of Bangkok (Jesurum 1967: 284).

Nonetheless, the French were the competitors to British at that time in Siam and one of their officer named Hamataux suggested to the king that employing British and Indian Sikhs (British subjects) in Siamese police force would be ‘an evil augury for the future of the kingdom (Hussain 1982: 39). Later on to avoid conflict between Siam, French and British, that system was discouraged. Historically Indian got space in Govt. jobs due to British help and policy level influence. That provides them cover to move ahead. Today, due to good educational opportunities they are reaching out to every public and private space. Some other events those occurred outside to the

geographical and political boundary of Thailand also shaped their economic opportunities. Today, Indians are visible in every sphere of life due to high rate of education. They become lawyers, doctors, engineers, diplomats, judges, politicians, film stars, etc. (Srisurang 2008: 675-9).

5.5.5. 1932 Sino-Japanese War

In 1930s, China and Japan had tensions that turned into war in 1932. Chinese diaspora in Thailand starts supporting their homeland in order to weaken the Japanese power. Because they were Thailand's citizens therefore direct support to China was impossible. Chinese diaspora was influential in wholesale and textile business in Thailand by importing goods from Japan. Due to war they started strikes against Japanese and boycott the Japanese goods. Indian diaspora took the opportunity and became agents for Japanese in Thailand to sell their goods.

Gradually Punjabi firms picked up the business by getting credits from Japanese (Mani 1993: 919). Prior to the Second World War, these firms were spread across Thailand and textile business had become one of the most important businesses for Indian diaspora in Thailand; big firms were supporting small vendors. In this way Sino-Japanese war, which happened outside the border of India and Thailand became prominent event for the economic well being of Indian diaspora. Steadily, some organizations came into being and lead diasporic community for better trade and inclusive business opportunities.

5.5.6. India-Thai Chamber of Commerce (ITCC)

Trade between Indian and Thailand has been started centuries ago but that was more or less unorganized. To cater the needs of import-export business community, an organization called "India Society of Trade" had been initiated in Bangkok in 1944; officially it has been registered in 15 January 1969. The name "India-Thai Chamber of Commerce" came into being in 1974. As an organization to support business, it is one of the oldest Chamber of Commerce in Thailand.

India-Thai Chamber of Commerce gives immense opportunities to Indian diaspora in Thailand to enhance business relations and cooperation with India. Many

MoUs and other bilateral documents have been signed by the help of this organization between both countries. The nature of ITCC is very inclusive; with commercial duties it also they are also performing social and cultural interests of the Diasporic and other people. The elected president of ITCC became ex-officio member of 'Board of Trade (BOT)' of Thailand with the responsibility to solve the conflictive issues with government policies.⁶⁸

Right from philanthropic to range of events are organized by ITCC is bringing diasporic community and other interest groups closer in the well being of all. ITCC pioneering works are not only facilitating the business to grow many folds but also conceiving faith in the Thai society for India and Indian diaspora. In mean time India got independence and right from the first year of free India, both countries have started diplomatic relations.

5.5.7. Diplomatic Relations and Economic Cooperation

India and Thailand are celebrating 65th year of diplomatic relation and 20 years of engagement with ASEAN (India-Thailand Relations 2012: 1). Both the countries in the last century have been able to develop strong and mutual cooperation at bilateral and regional level. India's diplomatic relations with Thailand have been initiated just after the independence of India that leads to social and economic development and contributed to peace and harmony in the region.

H.E. Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra, Prime Minister of Thailand, paid a stated visit to India and she was the chief Guest for India's Republic Day celebration (January 24-26, 2012). During her visit she had meetings with Dr. Manmohan Singh Prime Minister of India, President, vice president and External Minister of India. She also attended luncheon hosted by chambers of commerce (CII/FICCI/ASSOCHAM)⁶⁹. Ministers of both sides followed the developments and have signed many MoUs and bilateral agreements on security and defence, science and technology, culture, education and people to people contact, regional cooperation and connectivity, multilateral cooperation, etc.

⁶⁸ Information regarding ITCC has been drawn from its official website: www.itcc.or.th.

⁶⁹ Embassy of India, Bangkok, published this information in their official websites.

Indo-Thai Joint ventures: Thailand is one of the leading countries in the world economy. As discussed before, India had and Thailand has historical cultural and business affiliations. In recent time, various treaties and joint ventures are playing great role to cater the trade needs of the both countries. India is also getting expansion in bilateral and multilateral trade and industrialization process that could be enhanced by diaspora. To start new engagements with other developing countries, government and private joint ventures are most important approach to Indian capital (liquid and human capital) and technology to reach beyond her borders.

After India's independence, overseas Indian population started returning but millions of them choose to stay back. They had tremendous effect in Southeast Asia; they took lead in business in post-war economic boom (Hussain 1982: 63). In the late 50s and 60s, many Indian diasporic people tried their luck in business with the help of local Thai social, political and economic elites. One such Indo-Thai joint venture was Sura Chansri Chawala, originally known as Thai Textile Co. Ltd, which was popular among Indian diaspora in Thailand; those were engaged in textile business.

There were 92 Indian joint ventures were operational abroad in October 1979 and over hundred were in line. 58, out of them were in Southeast Asia and many were in Malaysia, those were producing simple consumer goods to technology intensive goods (Singh 1978). Through various mechanisms, Indian government was supporting overseas Indians to start business and investment through joint ventures that could help India and overseas Indian (Reserve Bank of India 1981). India's strong insurance and banking was very helpful to help businessmen. After the formal launch of Look-East Policy, Indian influence is growing in Southeast Asia and in Thailand.

With Birla Group between 1969 and 1980s, there were seven joint ventures those were producing textile, tools, chemicals, etc. Thapar Groups had two and Sacha Groups, Hada Groups, Usha Martin Ltd. were single hold companies dealing in variety of trades (Mehta Undated: 2). H.E. Mr. Chirasak Thanasant (Ambassador of Thailand to India) wrote in his message that even after completing 60 years of Indo-Thai relations, lot has to be done. Further, he recognizes the increasing role of India in the world. His words on bilateral relations were 'India's Look East Policy and Thailand's Look West Policy is feeding to each other' (India-Thailand Relations

2012: 1); in the result of it FDI in both countries are increasing steadily. Usha Siam Steel Industries, Aditya Birla Group, Thai Baroda Industries, Ranbaxy Laboratories, Indo-Rama Group, Tata Steel and Tata Motors have made considerable investment in Thailand and during 2006. The total value of investment made by Indian companies was \$70.46 Million.⁷⁰ Thailand has invested US\$ 90.55 million in India (April 2000-September 2011, See India-Thailand Relations 2012: 2). Regular high-level visits from both the sides are indicating better future perspectives that will help diasporas of both the countries and also people at large.

5.5.8. High Level Delegations' Meetings

High-level delegation and state heads are visits to each other countries, which help in many ways to carry out further economic co-operations and activities. HRH Princess Mahachakri Srinthorn, (Indira Gandhi Peace Prize Recipient, 2004) is visiting India regularly. Crown Prince HRH Mahavajiralongkorn, also piloted a special Thai air flight to Buddha Gaya and other pilgrimage sites that shows the close cultural affiliation of Thailand toward India. There were six Prime Ministerial visits from Thailand to India (during 2001 to 2011) and four Prime Ministerial visits from India to Thailand. Recent visit by Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra as Chief Guest for republic day of India (January 24-26, 2012) was very important in many ways.

Organizations and agreements like FTA, BIMSTEC, ASEAN, EAS, ACD, etc. are playing great role to improve the economic, strategic relations and to increase people to people contact. Two influential Indian origin businessmen from Thailand has been awarded with Pravasi Bharatiya Samman named, Shri Shivnath Rai Bajaj (2006), and Shri Deepak Mittal (2010), for their great contribution in philanthropy and upliftment of Indian diaspora in Thailand.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's recent visit to Myanmar (27-29 May 2012) in shows the growing influence of India's Look East Policy in Southeast Asia, where China had strong influence. India also set deadline, 2016, for trilateral road connectivity, which will make it possible to drive to Thailand via Myanmar from

⁷⁰ H.E. Mr. Chirasak Thanasant (Ambassador of Thailand to India) 2007, 60 Years of Friendship, Thailand-India, Newsletter.

India (Parashar 2012). Icon of democracy, Suu Kyi's historic trip to Thailand also confirms the trilateral relations and she addressed her diaspora in Thailand. "Burma's ongoing democratic and economic transition has created an unprecedented opportunity for India and Thailand to cooperate and strengthen economic link between Southeast Asia (Chingchit 2012)." These visits are turning into the MoUs and other bilateral agreements.

5.5.9. Bilateral Agreements & MoUs Between India and Thailand

Many bilateral agreements have been signed between India Thailand since 1958.

These include the following (Thailand-India, 60 Years of Friendship 2007):

- Agreement on Trade (1968).
- Agreement on Cultural Cooperation (1977).
- Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (1985).
- Joint Trade Committee (1989).
- Bilateral Investment Promotion & Protection Agreement (2000).
- MoU on Cooperation in Information Technology (2001).
- Framework Agreement on Thai-Indian FTA (2003).
- Agreement on Tourism Cooperation (2003).
- MoU on Thai-Indian Educational Cooperation (2005).
- MoU on Friendship and Cooperation between Phuket and Port Blair (2005).
- MoU on Air Services between India and Thailand (2006).
- Thailand-India Joint Working Group on Security.
- Executive Program of Cultural Exchange between the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Government of the Republic of India for the years 2006-08.
- MoU between the Ministry of Energy, Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Government of the Republic of India on Enhanced Cooperation in the field of Renewable Energy(2007).

Some agreements have been signed in 2012.

- Memorandum of Understanding on Defence Cooperation
- Treaty on Transfer of Sentenced Persons
- The 2nd Protocol to amend the Framework Agreement for Establishing Free Trade Area between Thailand and India
- Program of Cooperation in Science & Technology for 2012-14
- Cultural Exchange Program for 2012-14
- MOU between Chulalongkorn University and ICCR for setting up a Chair at the India Studies Centre of the University.

Apart from all these many other issues are on the line to discuss or the meeting are going on, these could be joint working group on security, Extradition Treaty, defence cooperation, Cooperation in science and technology, Cooperation in agriculture, information technology, various scholarships and exchange program, regional

cooperation, India-Thailand-Myanmar trilateral cooperation in roads sectors, Asian cooperation dialogue (ACD), people to people contact, tourism (in 2011, 917,832 Indian Travelled to Thailand, TAT 2012), etc. Due to all these efforts bilateral trade has multiplied six times since 2000 to cross US\$ 6.6 billion in 2010 and in 2011 is about US\$ 8.19 billion (India-Thailand Relations 2012: 1).

5.5.10. International Treaties and Organizations

Approx every country is interdependent on other for goods and services. In the era of globalization and liberalization, it is difficult for any nation to survive in isolation. India's diplomatic relations and various economic cooperations with Thailand proved the fact that both countries should exploit their historical relation. Since 1958, many important bilateral agreements have been signed, and both countries understood the need for the regional and international cooperations. Rising Indian economy placed India as a superpower in Asia and whole Southeast Asia is expecting a big role from India. India's Look East Policy and Thailand's Look West polices are not only feeding to each other's interests but also helps both the countries to play important role in the Southeast Asian region. Indian diaspora is engaged in many of these international treaties and agreements.

Some very important agreements related to trade signed between both countries, have supported and initiated by ASSOCHAM, CII, FICCI, and different chamber of commerce. On international level both countries are supporting each other on various platforms. Regional cooperations in Southeast Asia are extremely important for India and Thailand is one the biggest player in the region. Thailand is also a founder member of ASEAN, and supported proposal for upgrading India's interaction with ASEAN to the Summit level during the 34th PMC/8th ARF meeting in Hanoi and Brunei in 2001 (60 Years of Friendship, Thailand-India 2007: 26).

Thailand took the initiative to setup a one more important sub-regional cooperation called "Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand Economic cooperation (BIMST-EC)" in which India has important role to play. This organization has to work as a bridge between ASEAN and SAARC to facilitate the interactions and to create better environment for economic activities in both the

regions. In 2003, full membership was granted to Nepal, therefore name of the organization became BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation). BIMSTEC is working on all the 13 priority sectors those have been decided in the preamble of the organization (BIMSTEC 2011).

India-Thailand-Myanmar Trilateral Cooperation in Roads sector is another major agreement to built trust and confidence in the region. Indian diasporas spread over Myanmar and Thailand are eagerly waiting for this project to come into existence. Under this project a highway from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand through Bagan in Myanmar will be constructed. That will enhance the people to people contact and also bring opportunity to Indian diaspora those are living across the border.

Asian Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) was initiated by India to enhance interactions in various sectors. Apart from these initiatives many organizations and agreements are helping both the countries, such as Free Trade Agreement (FTA), SAFTA, BIMSAC, EAS, CAFTA, SAARC, AFTA, etc. These agreements may not help every people of Indian diaspora directly but they would create some positive impact n their life.

Thai government had generously adopted the policy of mutual understanding and co-existence with differences. Thai society is becoming multicultural by accommodating Chinese, Indian, Burmese, Vietnamese, westerns and millions of tourists. Tourism in Thailand is giving sense of understanding to Thai society regarding other cultures and on the other hand the above said agreements and organizations are getting faith and support from Thai government and the people.

5.6. Sustainable Economic Growth and Survival Traits

Historically, social and economic developments of Indian diasporic communities were never uniform. There were many factors those were playing extremely important role in determining the future perspective of the community. Every linguistic group has their own demographic size, economic activities, division of labour and professions

(Mani 1993: 917). Every aspect of life is contributing towards the prosperity and sustainability of the community.

Sex ratio was a crucial for the overall development of Indian diasporic communities. Since, marriage means the stable household, family and livelihood. as per the evidence, throughout the study on Indians in Thailand were collected, Hindi speaking Uttar Pradeshes were more in numbers than Punjabi speaking Hindus and Sikhs in post independence era. Uttar Pradeshes immigration was men centric phenomenon and because of single member households, they were not interested in permanent residence in the host country, many were holding Indian passports even though they had opportunities to acquire Thai citizenship. That approach makes them non-assimilative, identity conscious and culturally cumulative and ethnocentric group. Many of them were engaged in low paid jobs such as security guards, night duty watchmen, newspaper vendors, petty traders, milkmen, etc. (Prime Minister's Office, Royal Thai Government 1980). Subsequent to collecting money they were returning, and were not interested in further engagement as Sikhs and other communities. Slowly their numerical strength was lowering and due to tight visa rules by Thai government, new immigration was not taking place.

On the other hand Punjabis, present day's most influential community among Indians, started bringing their women; though in the post the Second World War era they started emigration to Thailand with families (young children and women). These early family setups provides emotional and psychological support, as a result of that, they started enjoying permanent residences. With due respect of time they had less interactions with back home's extended families. They had more interaction with Thais to expend business and social horizons. To understand their social interaction and assimilation Tung Nath Dubey (1990) ethnographic study shows that 89% of Indian descendant respondents were considering themselves as Thai (Dubey 1990: 88).

Urban Location: Sikh community starts residing in the prime location of Bangkok, which is Pahurat (also known as little India). During the Second World War, approximately half of them were living in North-eastern provinces of Thailand but, when Japanese army entered in Indo-China, as a precaution Thai government

asked foreigners to leave the region. Sikhs were among them; they sold their properties and came to Bangkok. However, some of them return to old places after War and resumed their trading activities (Sidhu 1993: 69). As a study suggests that, Sikhs population in Thailand during 1990s rose up to 75% of Indian population (Sachdeva 1992) and were concentrated mainly in Bangkok.

That location in a big metropolis city itself becomes a favour for the economic prosperity of the community. Slowly they started getting momentum in business, setup homes and shops on Pahurat Road. Rich Indians also started setting up offices on Ashoka Road, where Indian embassy is also situated (Sukhumvit, Soi 23). Early Sikh immigrants landed up by doing jobs as salespersons, peddler (selling piece cloth and other goods in villages), cook, teachers, etc. Experience gained in the city centres provide them opportunity to save much money and social relation with customers that they utilized in opening their own businesses.

Historically they also had opportunity to join government services (Jesurum 1967: 283) and links they had formed with government officials provide them legal support in order to setup businesses. Their association with India and Indian diaspora in other countries (Singapore and Malaysia) provide them options to start import and export trade (Sidhu's empirical study shows that among 1st generation immigrants 96% were visiting India). Few Sikhs also paid visit to Burma, New Zealand, Japan, Hong Kong, Australia, Korea, Taiwan, Pakistan, etc. Most of their visits to their countries were for business purposes and they went to Pakistan as pilgrims at birthplace of Guru Nanak Dev, which lies in Nankana Sahib, Shekupura district, Pakistan.

Manjit Singh Sidhu described in his study that traders were making one lakh to several million per month (Mani 1993: 34). Though, they were reluctant to provide correct information of their earning. Even the salesmen, Gurudwara granthi, etc. were making good enough livelihoods. Network of seventeen Gurudwaras across Thailand, are very important institution for the community to cater the social needs and also providing the readymade infrastructure to the Sikhs where they can stay during their visits, save money and can interact with wider Sikh community in Thailand.

Bangkok as port of embarkation for most of the tourist and business activities is crucial for the trading community; it provides the connectivity to the world. As a capital of Thailand, it is also a centre for most of the financial, manufactural, political and commercial activities. After long process of in-migration to Bangkok, some of them also made their ways to other tourist destinations in order to find better business opportunities. Though, Arora Sikhs are engaged in textile and other business in Pahurat (little India), Chakraphet Rad and Jat Sikhs moves to resorts towns such as Phuket and Pattya.

Socio-economic Hardship: Caste is not playing very important role in Thailand as it is in India. Jat Sikhs and Arora both were engaged in similar business apart from negligible differences between Arora, Khatri and Jat. Among Sikhs one can hardly find regionalism too, because maximum of them are from West Punjab, now in Pakistan. However, sect differences are there, among mainstream Sikhism (believe in ten masters) followers and Namdharis or Kukus (believing in living guru). Kukus tie white turbans with the edges pointed above the ears and have Sabha (Sukhumvit Road, Bangkok). Whereas main stream Sikhs tie their turban with the edges pointed above the forehead and has regular congregations in Gurudwara, Sri Guru Singh Sabha. Kukus are more adventurous and richer than main stream Sikhs (Sidhu 1993: 122, 137).

At a distance Sidhu, also explores some harsh socio-economic realities of Thai Sikhs. Many of them started following well off Sikhs, to live luxury life; may they had less money but just to show off they started organizing various functions and parties. Against their religious values many of them also started drinking and serving wine in parties. Due to this habit they have to resign from Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (temple management committee). At the time of a daughter's marriage, they have to spend much money on dinner party and dowry, sometimes they have to take loans or borrow from some on high interest rates, which bring great hardship in their lives. Dr. Rajinder Singh Dalgir (a Indian diasporic person from Norway)⁷¹ noticed during his visit in Thailand in early 1992, there are between four to five hundred girls aged 25 to 30 who are still single, because their parents are unable to

⁷¹ Cited in Manjit Singh Sidhu, 1993.

arrange enough dowry and they are also feeling uneasy if they marry to local Thais. It seems most of these poor women would end up being spinsters (Sidhu 1993: 142).

Tamilian (both Hindus and Muslims) and Bohra Muslims are the examples of remarkable progress on the economic front; often their community group is of big size but identifiable. They also enjoy the higher assimilation benefits due to high rates of interethnic marriages. Oriental Hotel area (one of the prime location) is dominated by Muslims, particularly by Tamils (Hussain 1982: 53). That area is self-sufficient to cater the needs of Indian diasporic Muslim population. It has a mosque, a graveyard, a Madarsa (religious school), number of Muslim restaurants and shops where they can buy Halal meat, and other daily goods. Because of Orient hotel (Charoenkrung Soi 40), many tourists are coming to visit this area and the Chao Phraya River where so many other hotels, restaurants, and business houses are located.

When the first Indian named Maricar (a Tamil Muslim) reached Bangkok in the late 19th century, he decided to settle down there because of its magnificent location. He was doing precious stone trading in India and East Indies. He invested in Thailand to carry forward his trade and become one of the most successful businessmen in precious stone trading by opening his shop on Ratchawong Road.

He becomes a milestone for other Tamilians who reached Thailand later on to settle down. Gradually several others joined him, especially those with similar religious and ethnic affiliation. Even today his descendants are holding businesses in that area and are enjoying a great deal of respect.

On every Friday, Sabbath takes places in a local mosque (Hussain 1982: 53). In addition, this congregation becomes very important in the development of socio-economic conditions of the community. Not only Indian origin but Pakistani, Thai Muslims are also joining these prayer ceremonies and creating space for social interactions that helps them to convert their social capital into business deals with one another. They are from different cultures and countries so these transnational ties could provide them a good platform in Thailand where they are sharing the common culture.

Early Tamilian Hindus were engaged in cattle rearing and export trade and Tamil Muslims were into precious-stone trading, cut-piece cloth trade, etc. The

Dawoodi Bohra Muslims and other Gujarati traders such as Sindhis were specialized in the import and export business between the British Empire and Thailand; thereby the textile wholesale business was in their hands. Later on poor Punjabis joined the textile business by selling cut-piece cloth in villages on foot (as peddlers), supported by Sindhis and Punjabi firms. By saving money from earnings, gradually they opened their own shops in Pahurat area.

One very important observation that could be made by going through different literature is that Tamilians (both, Hindus and Muslims) and Dawoodi Bohra Muslims appear to have been assimilated into the Thai community to a great extent (Mani 1993: 918). Maximum numbers of them were getting married to local Mon women; those were coming from lower strata of the Thai society and were considered very dedicated to their husbands. In these interethnic marriages, indigenous women usually embrace the religion of their husbands. That gives more comfort to the Indian immigrants to start businesses and other economic activities on Thai soil. As discussed earlier the Tamil Hindus were engaged in cattle trade, as their Thai wives were helpful to them in order to communicate and bargain with other Thais.

Gujarati communities in Thailand were very active in trade and business. They are among the richest strata of Indian diaspora. They got higher education and engaged in business and various services as well. Two Gujarati communities, Dawoodi Bohra Muslims and Sindhis are noticeable from the British era. They were engaged in wholesale textile business with British Empire in Thailand. They had monopoly over textile business, because they were Indian so they helped Sikhs and other Punjabi communities by providing credits to start textile business. Sindhi and some foreign firms were the main credit providers to Punjabis, who later on emerged as successful textile traders.

However, they had to face competition in later stages with Chinese business communities those were dealing in Japanese made textile goods. In 1932, because of Sino-Japanese war, Chinese textile merchants began a boycott of Japanese goods. The *hartal* (strike), often backed by gangland violence was enforced throughout the Chinese business community (Mani 1993: 919). That was the golden time for Indian diasporic textile merchants to cash the opportunity and to wipe-out other competitors.

Indian communities in Bangkok were very much aware about the demand of cheap Japanese goods in Thailand by indigenous population. They took the opportunity when Chinese diaspora in Thailand was busy in the politics of boycott and protest in order to support their homeland against Japan. By 1930s, many of Indian traders had good rapport with Japanese and were getting good enough credits to settle their businesses in Thailand. Japanese were eager to find new marketing agents in the absence of Chinese, and in that way many Punjabi firms comes at forefront. Many of Punjabi firms extended their trade links to Japan and established offices in Tokyo.

Family support was important factors for the Punjabis to establish the business. Because they were asking their brothers and other kinsmen to join business with them in order to expand. Their relatives were sponsored by them and they were coming with their own families and in that way they expend their business setups throughout Thailand and to other countries. TAMILIAN and other Indian diasporic communities those high on assimilation in larger Thai society, had more business links with Thais rather than with their kinsmen in India. So both have different business networks but they know that they have to perform more on Thai soil to get acceptance in larger Thai society, so they did.

The onset of the Second World War was important for Indian textile traders those were earning high profit on their stored cloth because cloth became scared commodity during that period. With the high profit that they had earned, they were able to buy more shops in the adjoining traditional Chinese business area- the SAMPENG District.

Command over English language provides great opportunity to trade with American firms in textile and other goods in 1950s. All the leading textile firms in Bangkok started their branches in New York to get more market share. Simultaneously they also get hold on Japanese cheap and better quality textile products. Some of Indian diasporic business communities change their businesses or locations. Tamil Muslims excels in precious stone business and Bohra Muslims reduced in numbers; rest of them starts trading in high-value technology goods.

Babus (Hindi speaking Uttar Pradeshes) lose their jobs due to restriction on employing non-Thai citizen in public sectors. Some of them joined the new Punjabi textile firms as unskilled labour. Because maximum among them single men had no family in Thailand, so they had to return on the eve of their old age. Number of this Indian diasporic community declined fast and lost their significance due to not having stable family and Thai citizenship. Thai government made citizen rules more stiff, and Punjabi could emerge as a permanent group by having third generation children those born in Thailand and citizen by birth they resister new businesses and properties on their names.

From 1950s to 1990s, there were many ups and down in business; different linguistic communities among Indian diaspora were doing rage of businesses during that period. Some of big firms survived from pre-World War period to present. Some individuals such as Shivnath Rai Bajaj, Amarnath Sachdev earned good name in business. However, Shivnath Bajaj was Indian citizen so he starts many companies on his children's names those were Thai citizens. He had joint ventured with Japanese firms. In 1970s his capital investment was 35 million bhat.⁷² In 1978, he starts more joint ventures with 3000 million bhat investment. Later he also starts joint ventures with Indian companies. About fifteen Indian ventured into sitting up factories (Mani 1993: 921) Until 1980s; there were about twenty-five factories, run by Indian diaspora, each employing 200 to 1,000 workers. Dildar Chanrai, Birla groups, Sindhis and Punjabi tailor shops in Phuket and other tourist towns, had earned good enough money.

Overall economic and social status of Indian diaspora is satisfactory, approximately one third of them are rich enough to send their children abroad to study, and they are enjoying luxury life style. If one tries to understand the Indian diaspora in Thailand by classifying the juncture they have passed then chronologically, they had passed the trajectory period of Indianness, where they were bothered much about their cultural baggage, value system. Conversely, an often individual within groups seems to be ignorant regarding other Indian groups and their activities. As Mani (1993) described the consciousness among Indian as single group

⁷² Bhat is the name of Thai currency; recently it is stronger then Indian Rupee.

conception of Indianness is juxtaposed as different from all others, which can be include Thais, Indians and others. The mechanisms by which each group continues to be separate entities are: linguistic affinities, religious affinities, marriage and kinship, specific group oriented social organizations, etc. (Mani 1993: 928).

Some organization are working to bring all Indian groups under single umbrella to create pan-India identity in Thailand but the integrative mechanism that used to bring Indian communities seems to have two mottos broadly: one, preserve themselves as 'Indian' communalities in the larger context, second, to manage economic compulsions by lobbying to get extra benefits. Therefore, they can manage the boundary and sub-ethnic identity as an 'Indian'.

Here some interesting accounts needs to be mention that, in Punjab, all Punjabi speaking people have strong caste line but when these same caste groups immigrated to Thailand they seems to be assimilated at certain degree. For example Hindus and Sikhs, both are claiming themselves Aroras, Jats, Khattris, etc. and having intermarriages within each subgroup of both religions. Reason behind these trends may be lack of choices for bride and groom, more social and economic integration. Within Sikhs Akali feels themselves superior because they are in mainstream and believer of Gurugranth sahib followed by all rituals. Namdharis, Nildharis, and breakaway group are behaving differently, having clean shaves and believing in living gurus. Almost all the members of the nonmainstream Sikhs are highly educated, rich and less traditional then others.

5.6.1. Diaspora Networks and Ethnic Market

Diasporic networks among Indian diaspora in Thailand are needs to be understood in the context of their ethnicity. Their origin helps them to relate with each other. Over the time they have developed strong network and affiliation. Networking starts with immigration itself (Sidhu 1993: 11), which can be observed in most of the cases where people are immigrating through chains of networks. Particular groups in Thailand are extending their helps to immigrants from similar ethnicity people from India.

Networks of Gurudwaras throughout India, Thailand, Pegu (Myanmar), Penang (Malaysia), etc. helped not only Sikhs but also other Indian communities to immigrate. Even today religious institutions like mosques, Gurudwaras, temples and social organizations are facilitating the new comers by providing them initial support and information (Sidhu 1993: 93-121). Gradually these networks turns into trade relations that leads to ethnic market. China Town, little India in Bangkok are the classic examples of these relations and network.

By exploring the history of immigrants' occupations, it is clear that majority of them had started with very low profile jobs in unorganized sector and by exploring ethnic networks, reached to Bangkok and other cities. Urban locations provide them better opportunities and they became trades. Some rich trader's starts business in Thailand even before the First World War and number of Indian textile and other firms increased rapidly after the Second World War (Mani 1993: 911-21). Petty traders were getting credits from them and earning their livelihood. Gradually they are prospering, earning millions and also donating generously (Sidhu 1993: 106-8) but not want to show off their wealth to avoid taxations.

As discussed before, majority of Indian diaspora in Thailand are Thai citizen and more than 85% are living in Bangkok alone. They are getting good education and joining service sector (both, government and private), that state of affairs again helps indirectly to their kith and kin to prosper in business. Recent immigrants are highly educated and directly joining service sector (Thailand Migration Report 2011: 10) but majority of them are reaching over there due to their qualification, not by ethnic and kinship networks only.

Every Indian community among Indian diaspora in Thailand has their own way of life, and the level of assimilation, integration, etc. even it varies from family to family too. Dawoodi Bohra Muslims, Tamilians (Hindu and Muslim), Kukas Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindu Marwaris, Jains, etc. are big traders among Indian diaspora and owning properties in Thailand. Many of them ventured out in setting up factories and heavy industries (Mani 1993: 921), opened shops near tourist destinations, engaged in tourism and import export business. And everywhere ethnic networks are supplementing them. In MoUs and bilateral agreements between India and Thailand,

Indian ethnic people are actively participating and in that way they can't form a typical ethnic market like 'Pahurat' but forming a psychosomatic ethnic role on bigger business canvas.

Different socio-cultural organizations⁷³ are providing the space to create new ethnic networks through cultural activities, marriages, religious and other gatherings. And these networks are turning into entrepreneurship. Throughout the study it has been observed that trader castes from India were exploiting these relations and some agrarian castes (Jat Sikhs) also learn the entrepreneur traits by using their regional, religious and ethnic networks despite having weak ties in Thailand (Granovetter 1973: 1360).

These networks could be understood broadly at four main levels: Individual, community, national, and international level. As discussed above⁷⁴ that ethnic networks are providing various socio-economic opportunities to diasporic people and apart from it, these networks are creating social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) for them. Some are able to deal with individual and community level and elite of the community would be engaged in national and international level ethnic marketing and networking. That is clearly visible in the economic status and relations that who is engaged with whom and at which level. These topics also will be discussed in international treaties and MoUs.

These networks have been institutionalized by British in Thailand by signing treaties and as British subject Indians in Thailand started enjoying them. In the due course of time population of Indians increased and they developed their own inter and intra community social and cultural capital which helped them to survive and to prosper.

5.6.2. Cooperation in Education

In Thailand there were many good Indian schools managed and run by various Indian origin organizations. Bharat Vidyalaya and Thai Sikh International School are catering the need of Indian diasporic community in Thailand by teaching Hindi,

⁷³ See annexure for the list of socio-cultural and economic organizations formed by Indian diaspora in Thailand.

⁷⁴ See under sub heading "Economic Traits and Inclusive Economic Events" of this chapter.

Punjabi, English and Thai to their children. Because these schools are located in Thailand and the influence of Thai language, and culture would be normal phenomenon over children (Faizal and Kaur 2011: 187). To deal with this problem many affluent parents are sending their children to Indian cities like, Darjeeling, Dehradun, Chandigarh, Delhi and other area as per the pre migration social location of their parents in India.

Various linguistic groups are choosing the place for their children's education in India that can socialize them as 'Indian' and they learn the culture and language of their ancestors besides quality education. Students are coming to India from Thailand since 1950s. But due to better education and transport services, number is on rise. Many parents feel that education and experience of India would prevent their children's total assimilation in Thai culture (Mani 1993: 921). They feels that by staying in India their children would picked up English, Hindi and element of Indian culture that would be highly relevant to the family and knowledge of languages would excel them in business. Similar views were observed from the ethnographic study done by Netnapis (Netnapis 1993: 921)

Approximately around 2,000 Thai students get admitted to Indian schools (boarding and international in North and South India), and 7,000 in Indian universities (Pattaya Mail, 16 July 2011) every year. Many of them are pursuing higher education in humanities and engineering.⁷⁵ Indian origin students are in majority in schools but not necessarily in higher education. Thai Student Associations in major universities of India can indicate their presence in sufficient numbers; these are DU, JNU, JMI, PU, KUK, Aligarh Muslim University, BHU, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University, Uttar Pradesh, etc. Some associations are also formed in India under the jurisdiction of Royal Thai Consulate, these are: Wat Thai Nalanda, Wat Thai Buddhagaya, and Buddhist Thai Bharat Society (Wat Pa Buddhagaya). All are in Bihar. These associations show the Thais' affiliations with India and Buddhagaya as their pilgrimage.

⁷⁵ The Financial Express, 8 June 2008, India Attracting Thai, Nepalese Students.

To promote further incorporation India opens the new horizons for the Thai students by giving away ten scholarships by ICCR for PhD. India-Thailand Cultural Exchange Program (ITEC) under ICCR also provides fur slots to Thai students. ICCR also holds Ayush Scholarships for BIMSTEC countries and five scholarships among them are exclusively for Thai students. Ten scholarships under the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) were also formalized by ICSSR. In 2006-07, the Ministry of External Affairs allocated 60 slots under the ITEC program. Central Institute of Hindi, Agra (under MHRD) also providing foul slots for Thai students to learn Hindi (60 Years of Friendship (2007), Thailand-India, Newsletter: 25).

These efforts show the positive intentions of government to leads relations between both countries for better socio-economic and cultural cooperation. The Embassy of India in Bangkok also initiated to establish India Studies centre at Thammasat University and Sanskrit Centre at Silpakorn University in 2003. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok agreed on a program of bilateral cooperation with CSIR, in the field of science and technology and also opened India Studies Centre. These all long term cooperations programs would bring bother countries close and people to people contacts will increase gradually.

It is enormously difficult to define economy and livelihood of Indian diaspora in Thailand in nutshell. Diverse Indian communities form multicultural relations within and with larger Thai society. They are living in cross-cultural setup and also getting influenced in day to day life. Apart from all the cultural favours and setbacks their economy and livelihoods progressed positively due to various national, international incidents and policies, many of them have been discussed comprehensively in the chapter. Recent bilateral/multilateral MoUs and cooperation also get enough space in the study. Historical relations and development helped Indians in Thailand to constitute ethnic markets, which leads them on new heights in both political and economic sphere.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The interrelationship between the culture and economy is a complex phenomenon to describe in the context of diaspora, because their location, ethnic interpersonal relations at various level, ethnic and transnational networks, etc. constitutes a complex whole. In this dissertation range of interrelated factors, those helps in construction or deconstruction of diaspora identity, culture and economy have been analyzed. Thailand's geographical proximity and deep rooted historical affiliation is an added advantage for strong social network within Indian diaspora in the host land as well as with the home land. However, along with the sense of 'Indianness' not only the 'sub-Indian' identity exist but also functions at cultural and economic level. Therefore this dissertation is an attempt to fill the gap in the academic studies on Indian diaspora in Thailand as there are not much contemporary studies on the issues of the culture and economy.

The introduction chapter broadly discusses definitions and evolution of the term 'diaspora' in general and also on its applicability in the context of Thailand. The government of India came up with various legal terms to understand, authorize and regularize Indian diasporas' movements and to ensure their positive engagement to the nation.

The ethnic eminence of diasporic population at a given place could catch negative or positive attention of the host society with due respect of incidents took place in the region, which also happened in Thailand. At some historical junctures, Indians enjoyed great opportunities due to their ethnicity, background and on the other hand, they had undergone hardships too, although protracted cultural affiliation came to rescue sometimes. The presence of Indians in Indo-China is continued from the pre Christian era that has been explored throughout the study but technically it would not be easy to consider them as 'diaspora'. Due to many inter ethnic marriages over the span of centuries, they had fully assimilated in the larger Thai society and they had lost contacts with homeland.

Still, the 'old diaspora' is important to recognize because they had led the path for newer ones'. It would not be possible to explain Indian diaspora in Thailand without continuing from 'old to new'. The civilizational and cultural diffusion that have been carried out by early Indian immigrants in the region are still present and in a sense, it has become a part of dominant culture in the region. The presence of various Hindu kingdoms/empires from pre to post Christian era in Southeast Asia including Thailand enforced the cultural domination of the Indian subcontinent in the region. The regressive archaeological observation of Thai architecture, engineering, pottery, coins, seals, etc. shows that apart from material culture, the non-material culture was also playing exclusive role in Thailand.

By tracing migratory patterns of Indians in Thailand, we can conclude that in post Christian era, trade via sea routes was accelerating. Due to technological advancement and interactions between early traders from South India and Thailand became cordial. The adventurers were exploring various sea routes and islands in the way to Thailand and Malaysia; traders were following them. On the other hand, the people from North India were exploring the land routes via Myanmar (Pegu) and some were also keenly interested in sea routes from Kolkata and some other parts of the country.

The Tai-Ahom community of Northeast India demonstrates reverse trends. They came to Assam (and some other parts of Northeast, India) from Thailand and still keen to maintain relations with 'imagined homeland'. Historically their place of origin is Thailand but this doctrine demonstrates debunk too. In Assam they were the rulers for 600 years (1228-1826), some of them again went to Thailand and became Indian diaspora. This particular community shares strong affiliation with both the countries; in a sense, Ahom diaspora is unique in Thailand, because, they would be identified as 'local or indigenous' and at the same time as 'Indian diaspora'. Through their culture, religion and language, they could be easily acknowledged in Assam and when they move from Assam to Thailand then too they carries Indian values which again stop them from assimilation in the larger Thai society.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Because majority of Thai follows Buddhism and Ahom follows Hinduism, that belief difference create un-assimilative environment for them despite have similarities in origin.

Theoretical understanding of diaspora suggests that one theory or approach would not be appropriate to define the whole trajectory of diasporic communities, those are living in highly interconnected, globalized world where ‘glocal’ identities have space to survive. Therefore, laws of migration, push and pull factors, cultural pluralism/multiculturalism, translocalities, preservation of minority culture and spaces, etc. become central for the diasporic communities. Though there is some degree of applicability of theories cannot be denied, such as assimilation and melting pot theories are practiced by some countries. Canada is the best example of multicultural society where peoples/groups from different background feels themselves integrated with larger society and at the same time they are keeping their own cultural identities.

In the context of Thailand multiculturalism was the state policy in a way barring a few adverse incidents. The policy of multiculturalism is highly regarded by the state and the people of Thailand.⁷⁷ The Thai culture accommodates the cultural traits from different cultures and civilizations. The accommodation starts with Indian culture, followed by Chinese and the western influence now. The accommodation of the cultural traits from externally means not for the assimilation, but, it is indigenization of other culture’s traits within their ‘original cultural frame’. Therefore, the external material culture could seem to be highly influenced Thai’s way of life, but, Buddhism remains prevalent religion to guide the life of Thais.

The Indian immigrants those reached to Thailand prior to eighteenth century could not be considered as ‘Indian diaspora’ technically, because they had been assimilated in the larger Thai society and lost connections and affiliation with India. The eighteenth century onwards Indian adventurers and traders revived the old connections with Thailand and the economic activities became central to new diasporic interpersonal relation.

Due to economic activities by people, nations and colonizers in the region trends and volume of migration had increased extensively. The colonizers in Asia played the effective role to accelerate the migration process. As some scholars argued

⁷⁷ Effect of this policy can be observed in growing number of tourist and revenue which constitutes more than seven percent of the Thai economy. Foreigners from different parts of the globe are also settling down there due to accommodative behaviour of Thais’.

that Indian diaspora is wholly a British created phenomenon. Kangani and indentured labour systems were well documented in the history of transnational migration, funded and accelerated by the British and other colonizers. The French and the Dutch were active in Indo-China. In seventeenth and eighteenth century onwards, the Dutch had facilitated Indian immigrants by employing them in Thailand and nearby regions. Therefore, the economic interests of the British and the Dutch collided because the Indians were the British subject in the region and they were generating wealth for the Dutch who were their competitor. Despite having some setbacks, generated by colonial master labour migration was continued for long span of time along with traders and free passenger.

Here, the story of pure economic interest began between immigrants, traders, and many interest groups; and the economic interests were backed by culture affiliation between both nations indirectly. The Indian priests those who were employed by the kings in Thai court from Ayutthaya period were influential in several sphere of life including economy. They were backing the Indian merchants indirectly to pursue trade in the region. That was the time when Indian emigrates from every parts of the country was getting momentum. In first half of twentieth century, the Punjab region of United India faced drought and food scarcity therefore to save life people had to migrate elsewhere, many of them chose Thailand. Tamilians were already there, Dawoodi Bohra Muslims and Sindhis became influential traders, people from Uttar Pradeshes and other parts of India also settled down and start forming the communities in twentieth century onward in Thailand.

Some other events (local/transnational) were also significant for the economic developments of the Indians in Thailand. The Royal Emperor paid state visit (1872) to India which was entertained by Viceroy in Calcutta and led to various treaties. Being British subject, the Indians got special advantage in Thailand which opened the new horizons for the Indian merchants and the people in Thailand. The slavery abolition law increased the demand of Labour recruitment for plantation and other works which became one of the major causes for the mass immigration.

In 1932, the Sino-Japanese war had destroyed the relation between Japan and Chinese diaspora in Thailand. Therefore, the Indians took the opportunity to fill the gap by establishing good relations with Japanese. In the absence of their main competitor (Chinese) in the market, the Indian merchants had started business with Japanese and they had been providing credit to the small merchants as well as to the vendors in order to enhance the business in Thailand. Slowly, many firms owned by Indian origin people had started business all over the Thailand and also opened branches in other countries. The power, domination and wealth generated by these firms can easily be understood through their balance sheets and list of joint ventures.

The period between World War II and independence of India experienced high political and social turmoil in India that further added immigrants in to existing Indian diaspora in Thailand. Apart from this factor, some other incidents such as brain drain, khalsa movement, anti-Sikh riots, socio-economic and political distress in various parts of India also added more number into Indian diaspora in Thailand. The increased number of Indian diaspora in Thailand has many positive economic implications as well. It led to crystallization of Indian cultural practice and the Indian diaspora in Thailand became more organized.

The recent collaborations on economic fronts by the Government of India and Royal Government of Thailand are escalating year by year. Just after the independence, Thailand was one of the most favoured nations for India; therefore, India established diplomatic relations with Thailand in 1947. India-Thai Chamber of Commerce (ITCC) was working even before establishment of diplomatic relations. Later on, the same organization played very significant role in terms of bringing Indian diaspora together and ITCC also tried to maintain 'pan-Indian' identity. However, this organization is economic centric in nature but it still try to bring the majority of Indian under one umbrella. ITCC is also organizing various cultural, educational and other programs to bring Indian diaspora and locals together.

As discussed before, the cultural influence to Thailand reached long ago but the economy interests were not central for the early immigrants, in contrary for the new immigrants' economic interests were elementary. The cultural foundation led by old immigrants was soundly adopted and was used by new Indian diaspora in

Thailand to pursue their cultural identity and economic well being. The mental image of Indian for Thais' starts with Hinduism and then Buddhism, because India was a place of origin of their beloved religions. In the contrary, the majority of Indians follow other than Buddhism and the diversity within the Indian communities was not easily understood by Thais.

In the consequence of above described phenomena, we can explain the uniqueness of Indian diaspora in Thailand in terms of culture. The Indian diaspora in Thailand is exceptionally different from Indian diaspora elsewhere. Due to early affiliation of Indians with the region, Indian culture and civilization imprints had the great impact on them. That impact gave extra mileage to 'new diaspora' but they had yet long journey of joy and suffering.

Throughout the study some cultural and economy traits were running parallel, those could be considered as findings. There are least possibilities to discuss culture and economy of Indian diaspora separately because both are greatly inter connected and change in one would affect another extensively. Before 1950s majority of Indian in Thailand were underprivileged and their participation in the economy and politics were negligible. After establishment of diplomatic relations both the countries became serious to sign MoUs for further economic cooperations in 1960s. That was the period when Thailand was leading towards prosperity and India was struggling to establish itself in the world map as fully independent and sovereign nation. The Indians in Thailand were well informed and aware of this fact, therefore, they had left with only option to prosper.

Bottomless information and knowledge have been explored through wide range of literature that revealed numerous unseen fact regarding Indians in Thailand such as Growing business, MoUs, bilateral and multilateral agreements, international treaties and organizations, high level delegates' visits, etc. clearly designate the interest of both sides. The use of Indian rupee as regular currency in northern Thailand (particularly in Chiang Mai) until 1974 (Hussain 1982: 120) also demonstrates the close economic knot between both the countries.

To enhance people to people contact India opens the door for Buddhist pilgrims to visit holy land in Buddha Gaya. As result, the numbers of Thai visitors are growing. At the same time, Thailand's tourist attractions are attracting more Indians there as well. Educational collaborations, scholarships and cultural study centres are not only accommodating Indian diaspora but also helping to built mutual trust and understanding for the better future perspectives between both the nations. Inter ethnic marriages are providing more acceptance to the Indian diasporic communities in Thailand and at the same time, it also opens new horizons for economic prosperity for them. However, the least women migration and their marginalization is still a matter of concern within the Indian diasporic communities. Despite their urban setting, the work participation of women is low. Hence, the chances of Indian diasporic women's assimilation and integration are also less.

Caste among Indian diaspora is not very prevalent issue. On the other hand, inter and intra community prejudices were recorded at many levels. The prejudices within Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims communities are common on the basis of language, region and religion, sub communities etc. The organizations formed on these bases are playing crucial role for the economic and cultural wellbeing of diaspora. These are also helpful for reconstruction of identity in the extraterrestrial space but Muslims among Indian diaspora are feeling closer to their brotherhood and least bothered about assimilation.

This study concludes that diasporic consciousness is emerging through transnational ethnic networks and transnational ethnic market and the contacts with the help of communication technology which provides more chances to mobilize unite and progress together helps. The Transnational networks are effectively helping them to keep up their identity and to fight back discriminations. By dismantling prejudices and discrimination, the Indians are trying to negotiate with their diasporic consciousness and at the same time exploring sustainable economic traits for the survival and growth. Despite being ethnic minority in Thailand, the Indian diasporic communities explore all the possible ways for the sustainable economic and cultural security including ethnic market, socio-cultural and economic organizations.

Their role is growing in current decade because of India's 'Look East Policy' and Thailand's 'Look West Policies' which are feeding to each other, recent Prime Ministerial level visits further contributed to bilateral and multilateral economic, political and cultural relations. In result of it bilateral trade between Indo-Thai multiplied by six times since 2000, which crossed US\$ 6.6 billion in 2010 and in 2011 it was about US\$ 8.19 billion. The Indian diaspora is expected to play important role in the region by building transnational 'ethnic' networks within diaspora, locals and with several government/nongovernmental agencies of both the countries. Governments and peoples of both countries are demonstrating positive attitude for future relations that would definitely revolves in to stronger cultural and economic relations.

APPENDIX

Annexure: 1

Photo: 1. A Blood Donation Camp, Organized by the Small but Influential Digambar Jain Community in Bangkok.



Source: Anju Jain, www.djfmandir.blogspot.com. Accessed on December 13, 2009.

Photo: 2. Sri Maha Mariamman Temple (Left) and Gurdwara Siri Guru Singh Sabha Bangkok, Thailand (Right)



Source: <http://www.thaisikh.org> and www.vagabondaway.wordpress.com.

Annexure: 2

Table-1 Number of Countries and Population of Indians in them

Sr. No.	Description	Figures
1	Number of countries where less than 1500 Indian citizen	61
2	Number of countries where less than 1500 PIOs	86
3	Number of countries with Indian's Stateless people	11
4	Number of countries with only PIOs (No Indian citizen)	19
5	Number of countries with Indian citizen only (No PIOs)	31
	*Some countries with no separate data on PIOs and Indian Citizens are UK, USA and South Africa.	

Source: L. M. Singhvi (2001), High Level Committee report on Indian Diaspora; Ministry of External Affairs.

Table-2 Population of Indians in Different Countries

Sr. No.	Description	Figures
1	Number of countries where total Indians (including PIOs, NRIs, PIOs Indian Citizens etc.) are less than 1500	64
2	Number of countries where total Indians (including PIOs, NRIs, PIOs Indian Citizens etc.) are between 1501 to 5000	12
3	Number of countries where total Indians (including PIOs, NRIs, PIOs Indian Citizens etc.) are between 5001 to 100,000	34
4	Number of countries where total Indians (including PIOs, NRIs, PIOs Indian Citizens etc.) are above 100,000	23
5	Total	133
	*In St. Vincent there was no Indian including PIOs, NRIs, PIOs Indian Citizens etc.	

Source: L. M. Singhvi (2001), High Level Committee report on Indian Diaspora; Ministry of External Affairs.

Table-3 Countries with More Than 100,000 Indians Population (including PIOs, NRIs, PIOs, Indian Citizens, etc.)

S. No.	Name of Countries	Stateless	PIO's	Indian Citizens	Population
1	USA				1,678,765
2	UK				1,200,000
3	Canada	1000	700,000	150,000	851,000
4	Netherlands	2,000	200,000	15,000	217,000
5	Australia		160,000	30,000	190,000
6	*Kuwait		1,000	294,000	295,000
7	*Oman		1,000	311,000	312,000
8	*Bahrain			130,000	130,000
9	*UAE		50,000	900,000	950,000
10	*Yemen		100,000	900	100,900
11	*Qatar		1,000	130,000	131,000
12	*Saudi Arabia			1,500,000	1,500,000
13	Trinidad & Tobago		500,000	600	500,600
14	Suriname		150,306	150	150,456
15	Singapore		217,000	90,000	307,000
16	Malaysia	50,000	1,600,000	15,000	1,665,000
17	Mauritius		704,640	11,116	715,756
18	Myanmar	400,000	2,500,000	2,000	2,902,000
19	Reunion Island		220,000	55	220,055
20	Fiji		336,579	250	336,829
21	Guyana		395,250	100	395,350
22	Kenya	2500	85,000	15,000	102,500
23	South Africa				1,000,000
	Total	455,500	7,921,775	3,595,171	15,851,211

* Oil rich countries where more Indian citizens and few PIOs except Yemen.

Source: L. M. Singhvi (2001), High Level Committee report on Indian Diaspora; Ministry of External Affairs.

Annexure: 3

List of Indian Organizations in Thailand (in Bangkok city).⁷⁸ Some organizations are located in other regions of Thailand also but due to lack of information, organizations located in Bangkok city are mentioned here.

1. Arya Samaj
2. Geeta Ashram Thailand
3. Gujarati Marwari Society
4. Hindu Dharm Sabha
5. Hindu Dharm Sabha (Vishnu Mandir)
6. Hindu Samaj
7. IIT Alumni Association of Thailand⁷⁹
8. Indian Diamond & Colorstone Club
9. Indian Women Club
10. Indo-Thai Chamber of Commerce
11. Maharashtra Mandal
12. Namdhari Sangat of Thailand
13. Radha Soami Satsang Beas
14. Shree Swaminarayan Satsang Mandal
15. Shri Digambar Jain Samaj
16. Shri Guru Sabha
17. Siam Sindhi Association
18. Siri Guru Singh Sabha
19. Sri Mariamman Temple
20. Tamil Cultural Association of Thailand
21. Thai Bharat Cultural Lodge
22. Thai-Indian Culture and Economic Cooperation Association (TICECA)
23. Thai-Indian Internal Security Council (TIISC)
24. The World Punjabi Organization

⁷⁸ <http://www.thaindian.com>, approx all organizations have their own websites and some of them verified by phone calls.

⁷⁹ <http://www.iitalumnithailand.com>

Annexure: 4

Political Map of Thailand:



Source: <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic>.

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