INDIAN DIASPORA IN A MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA: AN ANALYSIS OF EMERGING PROBLEMS OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION

Dissertation Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements Of

The Degree Of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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(Renu Sharma)

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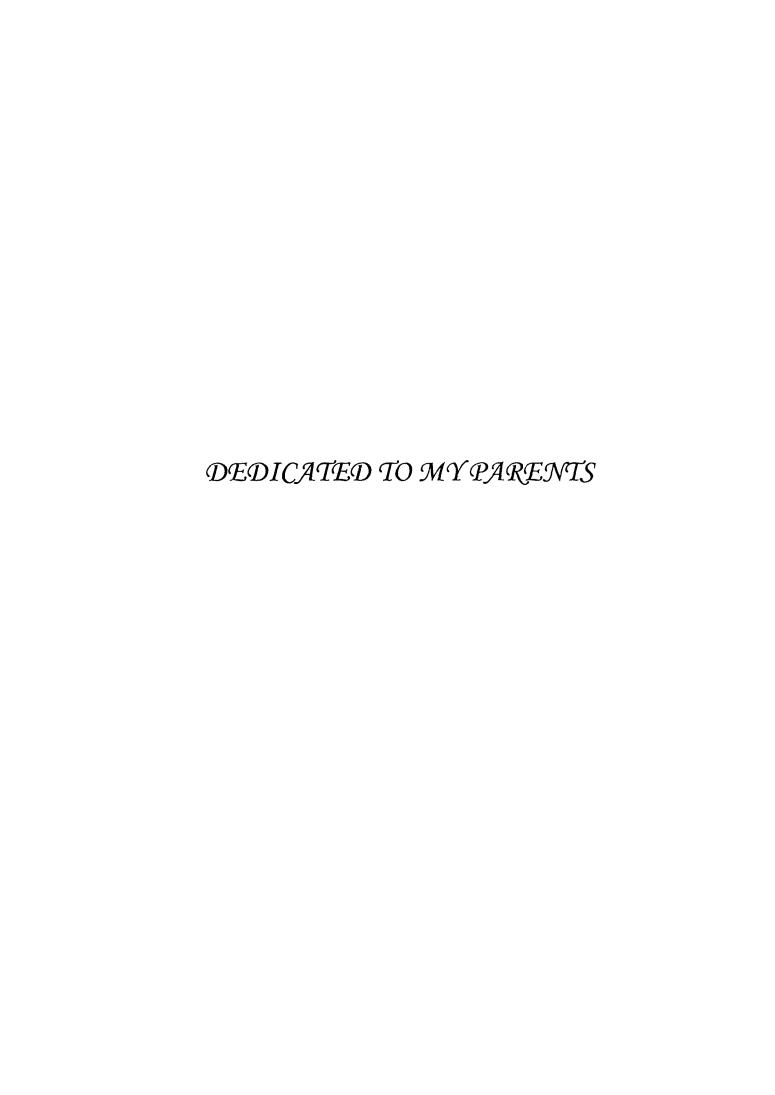
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DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

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THE INDIAN DIASPORA

To study a banyan tree, you not only must know its main stem in its own soil, but also must trace the growth of its greatness in the further soil, for then you can know the true nature of its vitality. The civilization of India, like the banyan tree, has shed its beneficent shade away from its own birthplace...India can live and grow by spreading abroad-not the political India, but the ideal India.

---Rabindranath Tagore (cited in Tinker 1977:iii)

The banyan tree has thrust down roots in soil, which is stony, sandy, marshy— and has somehow drawn sustenance from diverse unpromising conditions. Yet the banyan tree itself has change; its similarity to the original growth is still there, but it has changed in response to its different environment.

------Tinker (1977:19)

India always exists off the turnpikes of America.

-----Agha Shahid Ali(cited in Braziel and Mannur 2003:1)

The great Indian joint family.
Diaspora youth from around the globe come home to the land of their ancestors to connect with others like themselves.

---------Sunday Hindustan Times, (Jaipur),4 January 2004.

A second generation has rooms to succeed.

---------The Hindu, (New Delhi) 4 February 2004

Dual citizenship Bill passed.

----------The Hindu, (New Delhi) 23 December 2003.

The great desi dream.
From journalism to management, these young people have made it big.

----The Sunday Newsline, Indian Express, 10 January2004.

PREFACE

The Indian diaspora constitutes a significant, and in some respects distinctive place in world culture. The origin of the modern Indian diaspora lies mainly in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation into the British empire. Indians were taken over as indentured labour to distant parts of the empire in the nineteenth-century, an event to which the contemporary Indian populations of Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and other places attest in their own characteristic ways. In the post-World War II period, dispersal of Indian labour and professionals has nearly been a worldwide phenomenon. Indians, and other South Asians, provided the labour that helped in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe, particularly the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and in more recent years unskilled labour from South Asia has been the chief force in the transformation of the physical landscape of much of the Middle East. Meanwhile, in countries such as the United States of America, Canada, and Australia, Indians have made their presence visibly felt in the professions unlike their predecessors who went as labourers and workers.

Australia, comparatively a young nation deserves special attention as the continent with multi-ethnic population to be governed as a single political entity. It is considered as a country, which has moved from being a migrant nation to a multicultural nation owing to the way it has managed its internal pluralism, especially in relation to the settlement of ethnically diverse groups in Australia. Australia has a long history of migration and changing immigration policies before it officially adopted multicultural policy in 1973 to address the issues of its diverse population hailing from 160 to 200 different ethnic backgrounds. 'Multiculturalism' is a term that describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. It recognizes that Australia is, and will remain, a culturally diverse country, which seeks to ensure this diversity as a positive force in Australian society. The Australian Government is committed to a policy, which manages the consequences of this diversity in the interests of individuals, and society as a whole.

The focus of this work is to look at the factors that go into evolution of Indian diasporic identity in a multicultural Australia. The study also aims at addressing issues like, who constitutes the migrant population? Why did they come to Australia? How did the immigration policies encourage or discourage these immigrants? How did they fare in a new country? What is the Status of Indian immigrants and their role in Australia's society and economy? What are the difficulties faced by the migrant population? The Indian diaspora has come out of the shadows in recent years, and its largely forgotten history comprised of narratives of displacement, migration, the cross-fertilization of ideas, and the emergence of new cultural forms and practices. It is increasingly being viewed as a significant and an intrinsic part of the story of late modernity and humanity's drift towards globalization, transnational economic and cultural exchanges, and hybrid forms of political, cultural, and social identity.

The present study is divided into six chapters. The introductory chapter will focus on emergence of Australia as a classical country of immigration. Dealing with migration and settlement, it will also conceptualize and define diaspora. The second chapter will give an overview of evolution of Australia's multicultural society and its changing immigration policies. This chapter will examine as to how Australia is managing its ethnically and racially diverse groups letting them maintain and develop their respective cultures, while coexisting and interacting within a framework of a multi-ethnic society. This has been closely related to adoption of multiculturalism, having a direct bearing on different generations of Indian migrants. Chapter three, deals with a historical and a comparative study of Indian diaspora vis-à-vis other immigrants in Australia with special reference to Asian migrants.

Indian migration to Australia is of a very recent origin when compared to Indian migrations to other parts of the world. Though Indian diaspora in Australia constitutes a small percentage of population, nonetheless, it is a growing phenomenon affecting both country of origin and country of destination. The fourth Chapter will study the impact of migration on society, culture and

economy of host nation. Diasporic identity is not just carved out by success stories of the migrants but has also been defined by the struggles and conflicts in the host nation. As one observes, diaspora is not free from victimization of hazards of economic recession, political repression, unemployment or racism within the host nation. Hence, an examination of diasporic difficulties and problem of their victimization would be made in this chapter. Chapter five focuses on role of Indian government in promoting it's diasporic population The concluding chapter will make an analysis of Indian diaspora as an strategic asset to both country of origin and country of destination. Also an assessment of international migration as a force for systemic transformation will be made.

The methodology followed in the study is comparative and analytical. The study will rely more on published literatures, books, magazines, yearbooks, newspaper clippings, web folios, reviews and will draw substantially from such other secondary sources. Nonetheless, efforts have been made to get first hand information from primary sources, establishing contacts with government offices and office of Australian High commission. A study of this type entails extensive fieldwork. However, constraint of time and resources has limited its scope.

and a well wisher rekindling my spirits .To Sonu, I owe a special word of thanks for his concern, encouragement and support. I take this opportunity here to convey my love and gratitude to my parents for their unconditional love, support and faith in me.

SIS/JNU/New Delhi

July 26th 2004

(Renu Sharma.)

Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

The history of human societies-indeed the story of life may be also told as the history of migration. Animals and plant species migrated from oceans to land. The earliest primitive tribes were nomads-migrant by profession. Early human species radiated to all parts of the huge continents they inhabited. Natural barriers were overcome. Mountains, oceans and deserts have been transversed by migrant groups for thousands of years.[1]Thus, migration is a ubiquitous phenomenon having consequences on society. Oxford dictionary defines migration as "movement (of people) from one place of abode to another, especially in a different country."[2] Movement of people within and between nations has occurred at all times and has assumed different forms. Population movements have always accompanied demographic growth, technology change, political conflict and warfare. In fact, immigration has settled both parts of America, Australia and New Zealand. The emergence of international migration as a universal force of social transformation has certainly shaped states and societies. Consequently, it has led to the shaping of diasporic identities in multicultural and ethnically diverse host societies. Let us first, conceptualize diaspora before we proceed to analyze the myriad of factors and consequences of international migration affecting both sending and receiving societies.

CONCEPTUALISING DIASPORA

Diaspora was first used in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures explicitly intended for the Hellenic Jewish communities in Alexandria (Circa 3rd Century BCE) to describe the Jews living

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[1]   Joshua, D. Freilch, Graeme Newman, S. Giora Shoham, Moshi Addad, ed., *Migration: Culture, Conflict and Crime* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), p.3

[2]   H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), revd.edn.,P.751

in exile from the homeland of Palestine, diaspora suggests a dislocation from the nation-state or geographical location of origin and a relocation in one or more nation-states, territories or countries.[3] The word has its origin in Greek word -*diasperien*, in which -*dia* means 'across' and -*Sperien* means to 'Sow or Scatter Seeds'. Literally the term refers to dispersion i.e. "the word embodies a notion of center, a locus, a home from where dispersion occurs".[4] It can be understood as identification of displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movement of migration, immigration or exile. Another historical reference is made to the Black African Diaspora in the sixteenth century, which started with slave trade being transported to 'New World' comprising parts of North America, South America, and Caribbean.

Diaspora in the swiftly changing globalized world refers to diverse groups of displaced persons and communities moving across the globe. Today many factors like decolonisation, increased immigration, global communications, and transport have encouraged multi-locale attachments leading to travelling and dwelling within and across nations. Avtar Brar states that diaspora is not simply the 'Casual Travel' or temporary 'Sojourn' rather it refers essentially to 'settling down' or 'spreading roots elsewhere'. He points out that the diasporic community has no fixed identity, as it is a result of particular economic, political and cultural specifities. The reason he cites for this is that the diaspora is a confluence of multiplicity of journeys.[5] According to him, configuration of power situates diaspora differentially, internally as

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[3] Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, ed., *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, (U.S.Oxford, Melbourne and Berlin: Blackwell, 2003), p.1

[4] Webster Dictionary gives the literal meaning of term and provides reference to dispersal of Jews. Avtar Brar, "Diasporic border and Transnational Identities", In *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, (London: Routledge, 1996), p.181.

[5] ibid, p.183.

well as in relation to others. Steven Vertovec defines diaspora as "practically any population that is considered deterritorialized or transnational... that is which has originated in a land other than in which it currently resides and whose social, economic and political networks across the border of nation-states span the globe".[6]

There are wide variations among the diasporas owing to their unique historical experience, socio-cultural milieu and political-economic situations of homeland and host nations. Nonetheless, some common attributes based on observation can be figured out. For instance, William Safran defines diaspora as: 'expatriate minority communities':

(1) That are dispersed from an original 'center' to at least two 'peripheral' places;

(2) That maintain a 'memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland';

(3) That 'believe they are not and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host country';

(4) That see the ancestral home as place of eventual return, when the time is right;

(5) That are committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland;

(6) Whose consciousness and solidarity as a group are 'importantly defined' by this continuing relationship with the homeland.[7]

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[6] Steven Vertovec. "Three meanings of 'Diaspora', exemplified among South Asian Religions". _Diaspora_, vol. 6.3(1997),p.277.

[7] James Clifford. "Diasporas", In Montserrat Guibernam and John Rex, ed., _The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration._ (London: Polity Press, 1997), p.284.

Hence, diaspora focuses on associations and flows, cultural bonds, ties with homeland, transnational organization and networks linking people together across geographical boundaries and dispersion. James Clifford however, argues that one must be wary of constructing a working definition of a term like diaspora by recourse to an 'ideal type', with the consequences that groups become identified as more or less diasporic having only two, or three, or four of basic six features (as identified by Safran); Also, at different times in their history, societies may wax and wane in diasporism depending on changing possibilities - obstacles, openings, antagonisms and connections in their host countries and transnationally.[8]

Diasporic subjects are marked by hybridity and heterogeneity i.e. cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and are defined by traversal of the boundaries demarcating nation and diaspora. Recent use of the term moves beyond the notion of homeland, national or ethnic identity, and geographical location to conceptualization of diaspora in terms of hybridity and heterogeneity. Thus, diasporic studies have emerged as an important field of study in literature, anthropology, sociology, film studies, queer theory, area studies, ethnic studies etc. Two reasons have been cited for studying and theorizing diaspora. First, diaspora forces to rethink the rubrics of nation and nationalism, while refiguring the relation of citizen and nation-states; second, diaspora offers myriad dislocated sites of contestation to the hegemonic, homogenizing forces of globalization.[9] In all its contexts, nonetheless, the concept of diaspora remains challenging, for it raises multifarious questions about the meanings of a number of correlated terms, such as nationality,

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[8] ibid, p.285.
[9] Braziel and Mannur, n.3, p.7-8.

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ethnicity, and migrancy. It necessitates, therefore, a broad definition such as the one that William Safran offers.

Diasporic discourse articulates what Gilroy describes as alternate public spheres, community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time and space in order to live inside with a difference. Paul Gilroy describes diasporic identity as a: state of 'double consciousness', as a constant negotiation between 'where you are from' and 'where you're at'.[10] But, diasporic culture is not separatist though it may have separatist or irredentist moments. Diasporic networks develop linking areas of origin and destination and help to bring about changes in both societies. Hence, the present study is an endeavor to understand the discourses on diaspora under changing conditions like globalization, developing new means of communication, post and neo-colonialism, and the emergence of international migration as a systemic force shaping states and societies.

The classical countries of immigration such as United States of America, Australia, Canada and New Zealand have experienced large-scale immigration from new sources like Asia lately.[11] These countries have generally seen these migrants as permanent settlers who needed to be assimilated or integrated. Therefore, along with doing away with racist exclusionist policy, certain cultural and political rights have been included in policies of multiculturalism in Canada, Australia and Sweden since 1970s. The demand for further international migration, refugee settlement, and

[10]Paul Gilroy, "It Ain't Where You're From, It's Where You're From, It's Where You're At...The Dialectics of Diasporic Identification', _Third Text_, vol.13 (Winter 1990/91), p.3-16.
[11] Stephen Castles and Mark J.Miller, ed., _The Age of Migration: International Population Movement in the Modern World_ (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1998) revd edn, and p.5-6.

temporary asylum seems likely to grow with people seeking improved living standards and better opportunities. As often argued, a number of reasons have been attributed for the escalation of migration namely, growing inequalities in wealth between the North and South; political, ecological and demographic pressures may force many people to seek refuge outside their own countries; increasing political or ethnic conflict in a number of region could lead to mass flights; and creation of new trade areas will cause movements of labor, whether or not intended by governments concerned.[12] Nevertheless, migrants are not free from prejudices and biases on issues related with race, ethnicity, citizenship, discrimination etc in the destination country. Thus, they have to cope up with the problems of living in two cultures. With more cities becoming sites for investment and capital, more mobile migrants find themselves as the first victims of hazards of economic recession, political repression, unemployment etc. Hence, the present study will attempt to bring an analysis of the diasporic problems in the host nation and also examine the role of the Indian state in promoting its diaspora.

Indian diaspora designates all those people from India who have ever migrated to other areas around the world mostly to United States of America, the United Kingdom and various Commonwealth nations including independent nations of South and West Africa, West Indies, Southeast Asia, Fiji and so on. But, it does not entail that they come from an originally homogeneous group, rather they exhibit immense diversity. They exhibit all the cultural, linguistic and religious diversities of their homeland along with cultural persistence and adaptations abroad. Today, the technology of travel and communication in person or in voice has cut down the barriers for people

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[12]ibid. p.4-5.

to participate in social networks and cultures of past, making existence in multiple communities and multiple homelands a reality. Hence, it has kindled my interest in studying diaspora in a multicultural context. Australia provides a good landscape for this study, being a multicultural nation and also being a classical country of immigration. Before we proceed further to analyze issues in detail let us first contextually situate Indian diaspora against a brief historical background of migrations to Australia, which makes it a classical country of immigration. The study will be an attempt to understand how migrant settlement is bringing about an increased ethnic diversity, conflict, heterogeneity and multiculturalism in many societies and how this is related to broader social, cultural and political developments in both country of origin and country of immigration.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MIGRATIONS TO AUSTRALIA:

Australia like United States of America and Canada, a part of new world is regarded as one of the classical countries of immigration. Being sparsely populated, it was open to settlement from Europe and has been built through the process of colonization and immigration. Australia had been the recipient of British excess population initially as a convict colony. One scholar states "not only in Australia, but in South Africa, in Argentina, Chile, New Zealand and Uruguay, the British naval power and British capital were largely responsible for the emergence of what Denis Denoon has called 'Settler Capitalists' Societies'.[13]

White settlement started in Australia in 1788 with growing number of convicts, free settlers and military persons. Free settlers entered

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[13]Bernard Smith, "Lemontey's Prophecy", In Brian Hocking, ed., *Australia Towards 2000* (Hampshire, London: Macmillan, 1990), p.13.

Australian colonies as a result of gold rushes. Immigration played an eminent role in building population, as between first settlement and 1861 net immigration supplied was approximately 871,000 persons representing three-quarters population.[14] Migration has been a vital force to development and growth of Australia. Over the period of 1788-1971 (excluding the Aborigines), the Australian population grew from nil to 12,64,0000, 35 percent by net migration and 65 percent by natural increase, much of this last being due to new immigrants having children after arrival in Australia.[15] During the recession periods in 1870s, 1890s, 1930s and early 1950s, immigration was reduced on the premise that the immigrants would compete with established settlers for jobs. Thus, one easily witnesses the positive, hospitable and encouraging attitude of Australia for its population growth on the one hand and the refuting, rejecting face excluding the unsuitables or Asians from entering Australia on the other. But the disturbing experiences of world war made Australians conscious of futility of maintaining white race through its "All White Policy of 1901".

Immigration has made Australia a nation of great diversity with people coming from as distant and as diverse as 160 to 200 countries. It is a continent with multi-ethnic population. In its effort to manage its internal pluralism resulting from the settlement of ethnically diverse immigrant groups, Australia has emerged as a model of multicultural society. The subsequent chapter in this study will examine Australia's immigration laws

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[14] R.T. Appleyard, "The Population", In A.F. Davies and S.Encel, ed., _Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction,_ (Melbourne: Cheshire Publications, 1971), p.3.
[15] Charles Price, "Immigration: 1949-1970", In Gordon Greenwood and Norman Harper, ed., _Australia in World Affairs, 1966-1970,_ (Melbourne: Cheshire Publications, 1974). p.171.

and multicultural policy. A special reference to concerns of Aboriginal rights, ethnic minority and Australian identity will be also made.

Asian immigration has been the most debated part of Australian immigration history. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the government became alarmed over Asian immigration in form of boat-lands of Chinese worker and other South Pacific Slave labourers. This precipitated the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, 'The white Australia Policy', blocking entry of Asians and other Non-European migrants. They were required to pass a dictation test in which they usually failed. However, after the Second World War this policy was abandoned. The period of 1960s favored integration of different cultures to form a multicultural society. The White Australia policy was formally abandoned in 1973 in the wake of emerging large scale settler population and ethnic communities. The shift from British domination of the migrant inflows has been accompanied by a realization on Australia's part that its future was better seen with surrounding Asian and Pacific countries. By 1991, there were 687,850 Asian born Australians who comprised 4.3 percent of the total Australian population excluding West Asians; in 1990-91, eight out of top ten source country of Australia's immigrants were from Asia.[16] But many Australian scholars perceived Asians as being against 'Australian way of life'. Indian migration to Australia is of a very recent origin when compared to Indian migrations to other parts of the world. Though Indian Diaspora in Australia constitutes a small percentage of population, nonetheless, it is a growing phenomenon affecting both the country of origin and the country of destination. It is said that the first Indian came to Australia as part of Captain

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[16] Jack Collins, "Asians Migration to Australia", In Robin Cohen, ed., _The Cambridge History of World Migrants._ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.376.

Cooks Ship- the first settlers of Australia. The nineteenth and early twentieth century had witnessed movement of coolies and unskilled laborers of rural origin but the middle 1960s saw movement of urban architect, technically trained educated professionals and skilled managers. Australia now has immigration intake on the basis of social, economic and humanitarian considerations. Besides permanent settlement, temporary migration of skilled personal and students is seen as a phenomenal rise.

Indians along with Asians had suffered under discriminatory policies giving preferential opportunities to those of British and European descent. In 1966 Australia altered her immigration policies giving preference to educated and technically skilled whose training would be beneficial to Australian society.[17] With humanity's drift towards globalization, transitional economic and cultural exchanges, a number of noteworthy transformations have been effected in the form of construction of political, cultural and social identities. Current economic and demographic developments are likely to change migratory patterns and alter diasporic identity further. As one observes, diaspora is also not free from victimization of hazards of economic recession, political repression, unemployment or racism within the host nation.

The diaspora of the north or of developed societies is conducive for migration as well as for source of remittances to sustain family members back home. Today the transnational structures, which sustain the links, are more than just family and community networks. India's interest in its diaspora has two sources. Its interest in older diaspora was largely cultural

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[17]Arthur W. Helweg, "Indians in Australia: Theory and Methodology of the new Immigration," In Jagat K. Motwani, Gosine, ed., *Global Indian Diaspora: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (New Delhi: Shobi offset, 1993), p.369.

and patronizing, while its recent interest in the migrations to the west is largely economic and political intended to attract their capital and skills and to mobilize their political influence. Hence, the 'Pravasi Bharatiya Divas' was held for the first time in New Delhi from 9-11 January 2003,in recognition and appreciation of the constructive economic, political and philanthropic role played by the people of Indian origin all over the world. Indian diaspora does not deplete India of its best and brightest in terms of skills and potentials but also connects with it in many mutually beneficial ways. It links both the country of origin and destination strengthening their bilateral ties. The study will highlight the obligations and role of Indian State in promoting its diaspora in its subsequent chapters. As already stated in the discussion above, diaspora was first used largely in the context of the Jewish experience outside the Jewish homeland and more recently in the context of a variety of transnational ethnic experiences (such as African, Chinese, and Armenian). It literally refers to dispersal--the scattering of people. Diasporas are test cases that defy the nationalist image of one state, one territory, and one history. Diasporic communities have benefited from the communications revolution in the sense that people now are much closer to each other. Diasporas represent one type of transnationaly-interconnected communities. In countries of immigration, ethnic minority communities are shaping identities that transcend the international boundaries. Established cultural networks are being transformed into international economic networks. Diasporas now can maintain their interconnectedness by means of electronic communications. Transfer of capital, information, knowledge, and skills is easier now.

Indian Diaspora is about 20 million in number. They have acquired important political positions as in Fiji, British Columbia and have contributed

to national economy of host nation. They have contributed to the economic prosperity and cultural heritage of their host countries. Regrettably the system of their own country has let them down due to which many prefer to migrate to western countries. The story of their journey demonstrates great courage and character. It is undeniably a matter of great pride for the country that many Indians are now heading large banks, airlines, consultancy firms and information technology companies abroad besides being core professionals like doctors, engineers and architects. They also belong to rich community in many parts of the world who find India as an attractive place for investment and doing business. Though they are geographically located in distant places but the links continue to remain strong with their motherland. In order to tap the vast potential of the Indian diaspora and to address its concerns, aspirations and problems it is important to develop a clearly defined policy and a dedicated organizational structure for them. Today Indian diaspora is an unarguable fact of globalised world, which has occupied a greater place in transnational economic and cultural exchanges. They are considered bright, intelligent, sincere, loyal, hard working and fiercely tenacious. Wherever they go, they have earned a good name for themselves and for their mother country with their hard work, talent and their loyalty to the country that they are citizen of. Indian diaspora has been able to make a mark for themselves by emerging as one of the successful and prominent diasporas in the world.

The Indian Diaspora today constitutes an important and in some respects unique, force in world culture. In countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, Indians have made their presence visibly felt in the professions unlike their predecessors who went as labourers and workers. Australia has a long history of migration with changing immigration policies

before it became a multicultural country like it is nowadays. The early Indian migrants were introduced by pastoralists as indentured workers in the 1830s and 1840s and were usually Dhangars from the hill area in Punjab. The free immigrants, coming later, mostly originated in Punjab or elsewhere in the north and northwest of the sub-continent. Before the influx of qualified immigrants since 1966, very few Indians had held prestigious jobs. Earlier they mainly constituted labourers and cane-cutters, the 'Afghan' camel-driver, pedlar or hawker. Today they constitute of professionals, para-professsionals, students and academicians. Their contribution to the host nation's development process cannot be ignored. They have also taken with themselves cultural practices and beliefs that have their origin in Indian social relations. Many of these customs persist but many others have been moulded by the structure of social life in Australia. The routes and patterns of Indian migration have undergone many significant changes leading to the formation of trans-national linkages in the present era of globalised world. Indian migration to Australia today is indeed an incontestable fact, though it still constitutes a small percentage of Australian population. The present study will trace the history of Indian migrations to Australia and will examine the changing factors affecting migratory patterns.

International migration today constitutes a major force of social transformation in the modern world. Migrants develop trans-national identities which question the traditional notions of distinct national belonging. Migration of people across borders has shaped states and societies since the very early days, but today they are distinctive in their global scope with their centrality to domestic and international politics having enormous economic and social consequences. The movements take many forms: people

migrate as manual workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, refugees or as family members of previous migrants. Migratory networks develop, linking areas of origin and destination and can bring changes in demographic, economic and social structures of nations bringing a new cultural diversity. It also gives rise to novel forms of interdependence, transnational society and bilateral and regional co-operation, which transforms lives of millions of people and decides the fates of states and societies.[18] These developments are inextricably linked to the problems of living together in one society for the culturally and socially diverse ethnic groups. Settlers are distinct from the receiving populations as they come from different types of societies with different traditions, religions, language, occupations and may be ethnically or racially distinct. Their status largely depends upon the significance attached to them by the population and state of the receiving countries. Diasporic population, resulting from population movements are subject to the prevalent immigration policies and rules governing citizenship and naturalisation of the host nation owing to their ethnic diversity. The classical countries have generally seen immigrants as permanent settlers who needed to be integrated or assimilated. Where the governments have recognised permanent settlement, there has been granting of minority cultural and political rights as embodied in the policies of multiculturalism introduced in Canada, Australia, and Sweden since 1970s. Multiculturalism as a framework addresses the needs, issues, and problems of culturally distinct settler groups letting them maintain and develop their respective culture, while coexisting and interacting within a framework of a multi-ethnic society. Multiculturalism with its network of consultative bodies, special agencies and

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[18] Stephens and Castles, n. 11, p.1-5.

equal opportunities legislation has come up as a safeguard against discrimination and difficulties faced by diasporic population. The multicultural model of Australia accepts the cultural diversities and social changes brought by immigration and see them as one enriching rather than being a threat to the predominant culture. A multicultural model enhances democratic life as it offers choices. Thus, migration and settlement are closely related to the economic, political and cultural linkages between different countries. Migrations arise from complex links between different societies, and help to create new links. The global character of international migration results in the intermingling and cohabitation of people from increasingly different physical and cultural settings. It is a part of the diasporic condition to develop multiple identities, which are linked to cultures of their homeland and of the country of adoption. The mobility of people and consequent shaping of diasporic identities will thus remain a key issue in an epoch of rapidly growing world culture and globalised nations.

CHAPTER II
MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIA AND ITS
IMMIGRATION POLICIES

The diversity of origins of the Australians has made Australia, a country that has adopted official policy of multiculturalism. The migration to Australia started centuries ago and still continues. Australia has had a long history of migration and changing immigration policies before it became a multicultural nation. The history of this immigration has also been a history of discrimination until Australia adopted the policy of multiculturalism. For over 100 years, the Australian immigration policy was basically "White Australia". The policy was deemed important in the gold rush era when a large influx of people, especially Chinese, swarmed into Australia because of gold. With the coming of these foreigners, conflicts and problems among the immigrants and between the immigrants and the British settlers surfaced because of cultural and language differences. Thus, prejudices against different groups were often the roots of the conflicts between them. In 1972, White Australia policy was officially discarded and Australia adopted multiculturalism. Multiculturalism recognizes the migrants' distinctiveness. The migrants were no longer forced to discard their origin's culture; instead, they are allowed to carry on with their own cultures. In general, multiculturalism reflects important realities of a diverse society in Australia's social and cultural situation. As a multicultural society, Australia can no longer claim its British identity. Most of them are second, third or fourth generation British born in Australia and particularly Australians of non-British descent do not have any affinity to Britain. Moreover, the inter-marriages in the migrants and between the migrants and the aborigines have contributed to making of a new hybrid of Australian people. Let us first examine the diversity as exhibited by different groups of people in Australia.

HISTORY OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AUSTRALIA

Australia, comparatively a young nation has moved from being a migrant nation to a multicultural nation, as the continent with multi-ethnic population to be governed as a single political entity. It wins applause in bringing together people from 160 different ethnic backgrounds. The continent of Australia was first discovered by the Dutch in the early half of the Seventeenth century but was left in the untouched custody of its few widely scattered Paleolithic Aborigines until 1770 when the English navigator, Captain James Cook chartered some of its shores and took control of its eastern half. The British government started transferring the convicts to Australia as it faced a punitive problem due to forced cessation of transportation to the North American colonies that in 1776 had broken away. Developments like fine-wool sheep in 1976 and penetration in 1813 of the forbidding Blue mountains led to broadening of English policy to acknowledge land settlements by emancipists, discharged prison guards and free migrants. The discovery of gold and great number of immigrants enthused the demands for self-government. After the first flush of gold rush period there was an increased demand for land in 1860s, which led to a series of selection acts in New South Wales and Victoria, which opened vast areas for settlement.

As studies reveal, from the very outset the Australian colonies endorsed two basic premises, that the country must be preserved for British settlement only and that the purity of white race must be preserved. The government in 1840s enacted its exclusionist policy of restricting the entry of Chinese cheap coolie labour who were a replacement to convicts and were seen as a threat to wage and employment opportunities of Australians. This resulted in enactment of "White Australia Policy". Thus, their access created a

general social and economic problem, which intensified racial hostility. Though the policy was repealed but the popular feeling in Australia against Asiatic immigration continued to grow and gave rise to alarmist talk of a "Yellow Peril".[1]Nonetheless, Australia by adopting a multicultural policy has managed its pluralism and diversity by giving due recognition to minority ethnic cultures and identities. It has also laid the foundation of shared values for the whole society.

It should be noted here that the use of term 'ethnic' in relation to Australia has different derivation from the way this term is used in Europe in relation to historical and regional cultural minorities, whose strong sense of identity is localized within their larger national identity, such as that of Fries land within Netherlands, Sorbs (= SERBS???) within Germany or Kashubians within Poland.[2] It is observed that groups of Greeks, Poles or Hungarians and such newly scattered groups want to preserve their cultures and build them into Australian multiculturalism. In 1947, at the commencement of the planned post-war migration programmes, Australia had a population of 7.7 million of whom 90.2 percent were of British (Including Irish) origin, while 6.0 percent were of north European origin, 0.9 percent were of east European, and 1.5 percent of South European origin; By 1984, the population had doubled to 15.5 million, of which those of British origin made up 76.0 percent, northern Europe 7.6 percent, Eastern Europe 4.2 per cent, Southern Europe 8.0 percent and Asians 2.8 percent. [3] T.K. Oomen argues that the

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[1] E.J. Japp, "History", in *Fareast and Australasia* (London and New York: Europa Publications, 1981-82) p. 185.

[2] Jerzy. J. Smolicz, "Nation States and Globalization from a Multicultural Perspective:Signposts from Australia", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, (London), Vol. 4 (Winter 1998), pp.5.

[3] A.S. Narang and D. Gopal, "Multiculturalism in Australia: Perspectives and Problems" in D. Gopal ed., *Australia in the Emerging Global Order: Evolving Australia – India Relations*, (New Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2002), p. 40-1.

multicultural settlements were/are qualitatively different from the four multinational situations that exists namely, pre-modern empires, colonial plural societies, post-colonial politics and socialist state. According to him:

> While multinational societies were populated mainly by nationals, the multicultural societies drew their population mainly from territorially dislocated people, the ethnies (cf Smith 1998) that is, the deterritorialised people constituted by immigrants, refugees, exiles, the colonizers and the like. The 'New world' produced the first multicultural situation. There were three main socio-cultural streams in those settlements. First those of European descent, the voluntary migrants who established their hegemony in their new homelands. Second, those of African extract who were imported as slaves. Third, the marginalized natives who have been largely dislocated from their ancestral habitats. That is, if multi-national politics are predominately populated by nationals, multicultural settlements are mainly populated by ethnies.[4]

Thus, as evident from the above argument multicultural citizenship is acquired not only by nationals but ethnies as well.

Table2.1: Changing Ethnic Composition of Australia (in Percentages):

Category	1787	1846	1861	1891	1947	1988
Aboriginal	100	41.5	13.3	3.4	0.8	1.0
Anglo-Celtic	-	57.2	78.1	86.8	89.7	74.6
Other-European	-	1.1	5.4	7.2	8.6	19.3
Asian	-	0.2	3.1	2.3	0.8	4.5
Other	-	-	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: T.K. Oomen, "Multiculturalism in Australia and India", In N.N. Vohra, ed., India And Australasia: History, Culture and Society (Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2004), p. 72.

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[4]   Ethnies here refers to cultural grouping living outside their ancestral homelands interspersed with other cultural groups in distant societies, where they may opt to be or not to be a citizen of host nation. T.K. Oomen, "Multiculturalism in Australia and India", In N.N. Vohra, ed.. India and Australasia: History, Culture and Society (Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2004), p. 68-9.

The table clearly indicates shrinking of aboriginal population over a period of two centuries. Europeans remains the prevailing majority but lately Asians have emerged as a considerable minority. Thus, the Australian population can be categorized into diverse groups by drawing information from a range of sources and texts on its history. They are- the Aborigines (who are the original inhabitants of the continent constituting the indigenous population); -the Settler population who have transplanted their culture, language and life styles in their adopted homeland, for example Anglo-Celts; - Immigrants who have acquired Australian citizenship (Non-Anglo Celtic Europeans); -Ethnic citizens who came in search of better economic prospects, acquired citizenship but did not adopt it as their homeland (Asians); -Immigrants who are not yet Australian citizens either because they did not seek it (e.g. permanent residents)or because they have not been successful in acquiring citizenship (Anglo-Celtic, Europeans, Asians.)[5] . With all these variations and categorization remaining intact, one can figure out three main racial collectivities in Australia i.e. the Aborigines, the Asians and the Europeans. Australia's multicultural society managing its' cultural multiplicity indeed merits admiration though it is not altogether free from criticisms which we shall discuss later in the chapter.

Multiculturalism in Australia addresses the cultural and ethnic diversity of its population. As a public policy, it refers to governmental measures intended to respond to that diversity emerging out from a number of new settlers arriving in Australia. In today's globalised age issues of ethnic conflict, cultural diversity vis-à-vis multiculturalism dominates the domain of

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[5]   ibid, p. 71

debates and discussions of academicians, social scientists and policy makers worldwide. One model that emerges, advocates non-discriminative identity safeguards i.e. identities should be prerogative of individual private sphere and the state shall only ensure indispensable safeguards against discrimination. The second model, which suits Australia, aims at public measures, which protects and promotes ethno-cultural identities. The following section will examine the various debates encircling multiculturalism.

DEBATES ON MULTICULTURALISM:

Issues concerning multiculturalism and minority rights have come to the forefront of debates in political theory from the 1990s because of a number of reasons. The most obvious reason was the collapse of the Communist regime in the Soviet Union and the East European nations and the resultant upsurge of ethnic nationalism in all these countries. The other reasons are linked to the continuing importance of ethnicity in long established western democracies, as is evident in the natives backlash against immigrants and refugees in Britain, the United States, France and Germany; the resurgence and political mobilization of indigenous peoples resulting in the Draft Declaration of the Rights of indigenous People of the United Nations; and ongoing, even growing, threat of Secession within some of the flourishing democracies, from Qubec to Scotland, Flanders, and Catalonia –Will Kymlicka[6]

The above illustration clearly shows that multiculturalism as a phenomenon is widely acknowledged and debated. It is also the official policy in many countries like Australia and Canada owing to protests from some of the ineffaceable or deep-routed immigrant groups to the bilingual or bicultural polices adopted. Multiculturalism deals with a number of interrelated themes like the need to have a stable identity, recognition, difference, cultural affinity, assimilation, integration etc. In other words, multiculturalism simply refers to presence of cultures with differences that are expressed as distant values, ways of life and are cherished, treasured and preserved. Cultural, religious pluralism and pluralism of values and association is an embedded reality in nearly all societies. As a result, more

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[6] Kuhal Deb, "Introduction",In,Kushal, Deb, ed., *Mapping Multiculturalism* (Jaipur: Rawat Diss), p-13.

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and more societies are becoming multicultural in their social and cultural composition enhancing mutual interaction among people, who perceive themselves as different into a cooperative and cohabiting life.

Multiculturalism in simple terms is defined as the acknowledgement and promotion of cultural pluralism.[7] Bhikhu Parekh enlists a variety of contributing factors resulting in multiculturalism. According to him, human being are culturally embedded in the sense that they grow up and live within a culturally diverse system of meaning and significance. Also, different cultures represent different system of meaning and vision of good life.[8] This understandably leads us to infer that people have understanding of one's own culture aided by consciousness of other cultures. Parekh, further argues that every culture is internally plural and reflects a continuing conversation between its different traditions and strands of thought. He views this has an indicator of plurality, fluidity and openness of identity.[9]Thus, to Parekh multiculturalism means the creative interplay of three important and complementary insights namely the cultural embeddings of human beings, the inescapability and desirability of cultural plurality, and the plural and multicultural institution of each culture. Furthermore, it is argued that multiculturalism cherishes cultural diversity and envisions a society in which different communities forge a common identity while retaining their cultural provenance.[10] But, multiculturalism should not be confused with plurality. "Plurality suggests the presence of many but doesn't stipulate anything about nature of many. The concept of multiculturalism

[7] David Jary and Julia Jary, _Collins Dictionary of Sociology_ (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1995).
[8] Bhikhu Parekh, "What is Multiculturalism?" _Seminar, (_New Delhi) ,Vol. 484, (December 1999), p. 14.
[9] ibid. p. 15
[10]Gurpreet Mahajan, "The Problem", _Seminar_, Monthly Symposium (December 1999), p. 12

endorses the idea of difference and heterogeneity that is embodied in the concept of diversity"[11]. Thus, as is evident from above discussion, multiculturalism does not simply refer to presence of many communities but their equal participation and treatment in a society.

Multiculturalism is not just about managing or preserving cultural diversity but is seen as a balancing act between equal rights, equal identities, and equal values to different cultural heritage. In this regard Charles Taylor's argument is relevant.

> The demands of multiculturalism is build on the already established principles of the politics of equal respect. If withholding the presumption is tantamount to a denial of equality, and if, important consequences flow for people's identity from the absence of recognition, then a case can be made for insisting on the universalisation of the presumption as a logical extension of the politics of dignity. Just as all must have equal civil rights, and equal voting rights, regardless of race and culture, so all should enjoy the presumption that their traditional culture has value.[12]

Kushal Deb, while putting forth Will Kymilicka's arguments states that Kymilicka who differentiates between the rights accruing to the national minorities and that of immigrant ethnic groups also defends the restrictions placed on the cultural demands of immigrants groups. As per kymlicka's vision, ethnic groups are not nations but have migrated voluntarily and typically wish to integrate into the larger society to be accepted as full members of it. He argues that immigrants do not have a 'Societal Culture' and thus there is no need for government to help them in recreating it. Critics argue that by doing so, Kymlicka undermines the principled case for policies designed to take the cultural concerns of the immigrants and their descendents into accounts. According to Deb, the main aim is of accommodating some of the innocuous cultural demands of immigrant groups

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[11]Gurpreet Mahajan, "Rethinking Multiculturalism", *Seminar*, Monthly Symposium (1999), p. 56-58.

[12] Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition", In Amy Gutman, ed., *Multiculturalism and The Politics of Recognition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). P. 68

till their assimilation into mainstream culture is done[13]. Here, he refers to the views of Stuart Hall:

> "The migrant communities bear the imprint of Diaspora, hybridization and difference in their very constitution. Their vertical integration into their traditions of origin exist side-by-side with their lateral linkages to other 'communities' of interest practice and aspiration, real and symbolic".[14]

This debate gives us an insight to the fact that multiculturalism advocates rights of individuals and groups to self-identification and promotion of their own culture regardless of cultural variances. Rajeev Bhargav pointing to this cultural difference feels that it is recovered and invented half way up the path of cultural interaction between unequal groups.[15] He cites example of a lot of sameness at one level between the French and English speaking Canadians and the various people of Bosnia – Serb Croat or Muslim being fairly homogenous. Bhargav further points that no matter how small objectively speaking cultural differences may be, they become significant in minds of cultural groups that are in conflicting situations. This "narcissism of minor difference" implies that it is precisely when external markers point towards the absence of any major difference that people act as if they are deeply divided.[16] Bhargav also highlights problems arising out of politics of multiculturalism. First, it tends to essentialise and harden identities resulting in radical exclusion of people. Second, by its encouragement of cultural particularity it appears to deepen divisions and undermine the common foundation of society. Third, it supports aggregative community power over individual freedom and by according equal rights to

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[13] Kushal, Deb, ed., *Mapping Multiculturalism,* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2002) p.33-5.
[14] ibid, 33-55.
[15] Rajeev Bhargav, "The Multicultural Framework", In Kushal Deb, ed., *Mapping Multiculturalism,* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2002), p. 91.
[16] ibid. P.92.

oppressive cultures it corrodes values of liberal democracy.[17] Thus, after reviewing the discussions and debates, we can conclude that multiculturalism is time-honored with both appreciation as mechanism to deal with pluralism, as well as faces severe criticism by being blamed as the one undermining social cohesion and threatening national identity. Australia having adopted the guiding principle of multiculturalism since 1970s has faced both approval and rejection on one hand and new challenges on the other. Against the backdrop of the specifities stated above and discussions and debates encircling multiculturalism, this study will be an effort towards examining the multicultural policy of 1973 and its impact on the constituent population of Australia. Let us now examine the policies of immigration in Australia since its foundation days.

THE IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN AUSTRALIA

There has been an escalating international population movement since 1945 and especially since 1970s involving every geographical area. As one observes, it is clearly manifested that in contrast to United States of America where multicultural policy programmers have been advanced by one-time excluded ethnic minority such as Blacks, Hispanics and Asian Americans, in Australia multiculturalism as an official government policy advocates inclusion of ethnic minorities within the mainstream culture. Multiculturalism as an official policy in Australia has always enjoyed bi-partisan support. Virtually, all new comers who get there on resident visas, having no criminal record and wishing to be naturalized are accepted into Australian citizenship. In addition, citizenship has automatically been given to Australian-born children of foreign born residents irrespective of fact whether

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[17] ibid. p. 94.

the parents have been actually naturalized or not. The initial five-year waiting period for naturalization was reduced to three and then to two years. This has triggered the measures towards achieving political democracy in Australia. Australia's success at the political level means that it has managed to create multi-ethnic state with no ethnic political parties, with very little real political friction between the various communities and with political equality for all citizens whatever be their ethno cultural background; the current fission among some of the ethnic communities are relatively minor in comparison with the deep rift that existed between the Anglo and Irish-Australian communities at the time of first world war - now virtually a forgotten part of country's history. [18]

It is seen that the Australian government does not confer any legal status or specific constitutional recognition to any ethnic group, with the only exception being the Aboriginal people who have been accorded specific land rights. The Aborigines can also claim certain legal and other provisions acknowledged as due to them being the original occupants of the land. The issue of their identity vis-à-vis the multicultural state is debated later in the chapter. Citizenship is not guaranteed against ethnicity in Australia. In comparison, there are countries like Malaysia, Israel and Switzerland where differentiation is related to race, religion and language respectively. Experts like Smolicz argues that the referring of ethnics only to minorities is misleading as it can also be related to Anglo- Celtic majority with numerous sub groups such as English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish etc. According to him, past designations such as 'New Australians' or 'migrant' tended to single out the

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[18] J.J. Smolicz, "Australia: From Migrant Country to Multicultural Nation", *International Migration Review*,(New York), Vol. 31, (Nov. 1, Spring 1997), p. 172.

new arrivals from non-English speaking backgrounds as somewhat less than 'real Australians' who were deemed to have descended from the dominant group.[19] In the years after the establishment of Australian Federation in 1901, Australia was widely seen as a branch of British national family. But the arrival of people from Europe after 1949, Asians since 1972 and the acceptance of Aboriginal people with recognized land rights has diluted the articulation of assumption of it being only a white Australia. The Australian experience shows that if a multi-ethnic state needs to survive and develop along multicultural lines, it must evolve beyond just having a common political machinery of the state .It must also cultivate a set of shared, overarching cultural values that extend beyond political structures and include other aspects of culture that reflect the dominant group's core values, but which also takes account of the minority / subordinate group's aspirations and needs by practicing both cultural and political democracy.[20]

According to Sarah Joseph, the concept of multiculturalism reflects experiences of Western Capitalist Societies like the United States, Canada or Germany that are trying to accommodate a diverse collection of groups within a nation state. She points that the concept of nation state is held together not only by sovereignty and institutions but also by shared national political culture, which reflects the identity and values of dominant groups in society. A multicultural state should recognize at least limited rights of self-determination for minorities within a state. She argues that multicultural policies have been projected as an alternative to assimilationist

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[19] ibid, p. 173

[20] Jerzy. J. Smolicz, "Nation-States and Globalization from a Multicultural Perspective; Signposts from Australia ", _Nationalism and Ethnic politics_,(UK), Vol. 4, (Winter 1998) p.7.

policies, which have been pursued for long by many liberal states.[21] She

further observes that in a multiculturalist discourse cultural communities are

often described as bounded and held together by shared values and practices,

perhaps a common language, religion or ethnicity or some other

characteristics. However, multiculturalism does not only entail academic

debates and discussion, it has also been the official policy of Australia and

Canada. Valerian Rodrigues argues that these policies have been accused of

being ways of co-option and homogenisation and that they have confined

people into ghettoes attributing them a fixed identity and letting cultural

majoritarianism to occupy the political space; also, the sanitized version of

culture and identity have not left any real option before communities except to

fall in line with the cultural and political mainstream.[22] Consequently,

multiculturalism is accused of promoting new racism by shielding cultural

differences. Let us now examine the immigration policies in detail. The work

will focus on examining the Australian White Policy and its gradual

liberalization to manage the internal pluralism.

THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY AND THE CHANGING DIMENSIONS:

Australia-a new nation built through colonization and

immigration over last two centuries has emerged as a classical country

exhibiting multiculturalism. Since 1947, there has been an incessant policy of

planned immigration intended to both build population and bring about

economic growth. Immigration has mainly been a permanent family

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[21] Sarah Joseph, 'Do multicultural Individuals Require A Multicultural State?" in Kushal Deb, ed., Mapping Multiculturalism, (Jaipur: Rawat Publication, 2002), p. 159-60.

[22] Valerian Rodrigues, "Is There A Case for Multiculturalisms?" In Kushal Deb, ed., Mapping Multiculralism, (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2002), p. 108

movement of prospective citizens and has made it a country of great ethnic diversity with official policies of multiculturalism. It became the recipient of British excess population initially as a convict colony and then as a desirable place for adventurous Britons living there. By late 1800s, immigration from European countries became significant. By the beginning of twentieth century, the government became anxious at the size of Asian immigration in the form of boat lands of Chinese workers and other South Pacific slave labour. This irrational hatred or fear of strangers, xenophobia, became an epidemic that inflicted the whole country. Thus, an anti-Chinese immigration restriction act was introduced. This precipitated the immigration Restriction act of 1901, which required non-European and Asian migrants to pass a dictation test in any European language in which they usually failed. This came to be known as "The White Australia Policy". The Kanakas, black labour from the Pacific Islands, were expelled from sugar plantations and the Chinese were kept out. Australia needed immigrants as labourers, but only whites were welcomed.

"White Australia is journalese," commented Mr. Arthur Calwell, former minister for Immigration.[23] While Mr. Downer argued, white Australia as one where"...in general persons not of European descent are not eligible to enter Australia for permanent residence"[24] H.I. London opines that white Australia was the manifestation of a movement uniquely appropriate to her geographic position and fortuitous historical experience influenced by Social Darwinism which justified subjugation of non-whites. White men regarded themselves as fittest species. Not only was the white man requested to civilize

[23] H.I. London, *Non White Immigration and the White Australia Policy* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970), p.3.
[24] ibid, p.3.

" the half-naked, half wild child", he was also obliged to maintain the homogenity of his own race and avoid at all cost "racial contamination".[25] Certain acts like discriminatory taxes against Chinese miners in 1850 and capitation taxes on their entry further deepened issues of non-white exclusion. Fear and antagonism engendered by differences and direct competition from Asians produced the notion of preservation of a white Australia. Asians were feared for utilizing wealthy Australia for its poor conditions and were seen as a threat to wage and employment opportunities of Australians. In 1896, delegates from five colonies resolved that the parliaments they represented should amend their anti-Chinese laws and apply them to all colored races. Australia followed the example of Natal's Immigration Restriction Act of 1897, which required literacy in any European language. The non-European nationality was at a disadvantage, and thus all undesirables were excluded by taking the dictation test in any European language he did not understand. However, as a result of Japanese pressure dictation test was amended to be taken in any of the prescribed language. J.Wilkinson, a noted parliamentarian said, "Preserve Australia for all future time to the best races of the world and not to the servile race of Asia."[26] Thus, on the occasion of inauguration of commonwealth of Australia on January 1,1901, the immigration Restriction Bill based on the dictation test was accepted as an order. Endorsement of white Australia had a broad national base.

The Australian immigration programs can be seen as settlement policies initiated by successive governments of the country. The first was 'assimilation' which dominated from 1880s to 1940s and coincided with the

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[25] ibid, p. 5.
[26] ibid, p. 12

implementation of White Australia Policy. This phase aimed at constructing Australian identity for achieving higher social, political goals and values. This identity comprised of three parts –"Whiteness", "Britishness" and"Australianness". The white identity was asserted against all coloured race that might by sheer force of their number wrest them in their settled land. The 'Britishness' reinforced white identity. 'Australianness' indicated that the British character had been modified by colonial leveling and toughening (whether towards improvement or degeneration was sometimes a matter of debate) and could be asserted against the whole world, including, if necessary, Britain itself.[27] Thus, the enactment of legislations like dictation test enacted by new commonwealth for safeguarding these identities came to be popularly known as "White Australia Policy". This was also a guiding line to the kind of polity and society that the new nation would adopt like unified, democratic, egalitarian, secular British Society, aiming at higher and growing standards of living for all its members. Hence, Australia guided by the racist white Australia policy became an advocate of monoculture though not exclusively. White Australians of British and Irish origin guided by numerous exclusionists policies dominated and marginalized ethnic minorities like Aborigines, Chinese, Germans etc. These minority groups resisted against such assimilation by maintaining their own socio-political clubs and cultural heritage. But the founding people of Australia in an effort to preserve their identity continued mono-culturalism.

Asia and Asians were regarded as belonging to an inferior race as they were considered to be cruel and barbarous. But Australia forced by

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[27] Narang and Gopal, n.3, p. 43.

historical realities of post war world, economic and military considerations and public opinion tried to establish more friendly relations with newly emerging Asian powers. During World War II, there was a forced migration of Asians fleeing the Japanese invasion. These migrants later either married or found life in Australia congenial enough to go back. Many exchange programs and postwar participation in Colombo plan made it possible for large number of Asian students to attend Australian colleges and universities for the first time. Their collaborations led to a renewed inquiry into the rational of maintaining a White Australia Policy. A number of other factors also contributed like protests (Students Action and Association for immigration Reform), mass media, diplomatic pressures from outside Australia, down sizing of British military and naval forces in Asia and South Pacific, newly independent states of Asia and Africa became critical of any policy based on racism, increasing realization of Asian sensitivities etc. Thus, the immigration reforms groups in 1959 redirected treatment of Asian applicants.

Until 1949, Australian governments had assisted immigrants from United Kingdom but after having suffered during Second World War it could no longer fulfill immigrant requirement of Australia. Australia needed annual arrival of immigrants equal to one percent of its population .It felt that it was vulnerable to attacks as it had faced during Second World War and a large population would help it raise an army to defend itself. Also the years of Great Depression and the Second World War made the state and capitalists feel the necessity of increased labour supply. The British monopoly ended when Arthur Calwell decided to accept 12,000 Baltic refugees on humanitarian grounds. However, later the humanitarian consideration shifted to migrants' ability to contribute to the economy. Till the beginning of 1970s,

however, the policy shifted only from British to non-British European though some non-European came as spouses, students and refugees. The period of 1960s favored integration of different cultures to from a multicultural society. In March 1966, Mr. Hubert opperman, minister for immigration while announcing modification in Australia's policy described them as "Changes not departing from the fundamental principles of our immigration policy" but at the same time to "enable more non-European capable of becoming Australians and of joining in our national progress to come here to live".[28]

Australia had large permanent settler population and emerging ethnic communities by mid 1970s. The white Australian policy was formally abandoned in 1973 and large scale Asian immigration began in late 1970s. The shift in policy was due to a number of reasons. First, within Australia both due to ideological and economic reasons it was becoming apparent that simplifying strategy of homogeneity could not, given demographic and geographic realities be maintained forever. Second, with the end of Vietnam War the refugee problem came at the doors of Australia pleaded by United States of America and other western countries to be given a humanitarian consideration. The Period of 1970s also witnessed rise of many economically developing countries like Japan. Also many Afro-Asian nations becoming independent became critical of colonial, neo-colonial, apartheid and racist policies of western countries. Finally, Australia's increasing trade with countries provoked a reappraisal of its cultural, economic and political identities. Also the recommendations of the Review of Post-Arrival Services and programmes, the Galbally Report (1978) indicated a paradigm shift from

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[28]   ibid. p. xi

mono-cultural to recognition of cultural pluralism and ethnic identities to constitute a multi-cultural society. By mid 80s, Asia was main source of immigrants. Economic and political crisis of 1990s brought new inflows from Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, Middle East, and South Africa.

The immigrants of 1980s and 1990s were more diverse groups-economically and socially. Australia still maintains a regular immigration intake designed by the government on the basis of economic, social and humanitarian consideration. Besides permanent settlement, temporary migration of highly skilled personnel and students is rising notably. Although Settlement was planned, it has had unanticipated consequences like change in the ethnic composition of population, modifications in recruitment policies, transformation of migratory patterns etc. Australia is an immigrant country with nearly 23.6 percent of its population being foreign born. It should be noted that Refugees who also make up for this population were processed offshore. Between 1999 and November 2001, some 10,343 'boat people' mostly from Afghanistan (42.5%) and Iraq (39.6%) arrived seeking asylum.[29] The Australian government's refusal on entry of rescued 438 asylum seekers from a sinking Indonesian vessel (by Norwegian freighter M.U. Tampa) was attacked internationally. But the 'pacific Solution' of transferring or processing their claims there won public support. After September 11 incidents, government hard lined its policy on asylum seekers further citing following reasons: [30]

[29]Graeme Hugo, "Australian Immigration Policy: The Significance of the Events of September 11 ", _International Migration Review_, Spring 2002, p. 37.
    [30] ibid, p.39.

- The bulk of boat people in 1999-2001 were of Islamic background and hailed from countries (Afghanistan and Iraq) that were implicated in the events of September 11.

- Some members of the government inferred (without evidence) that there were possibilities that some terrorists could be seeking to infiltrate Australia through portraying themselves as asylum seekers.

- The attacks on New York and Washington increased feelings of insecurity in Australia, as elsewhere, So that the government's pre-existing hard line on boat people and maintaining the security and integrating of Australia's borders gained in attractiveness to the voting public.

Finally, let us briefly assess the significant changes in immigration policy over last half-century especially with reference to abandonment of preference of traditional source country resulting in ethnic diversification. In 1966, an application for migration was accepted from well-qualified people on the basis of their suitability as settlers and on their ability to integrate readily. Also non-Europeans admitted, as 'temporary' residents could become residents after 5 years instead of a stay of 15 years previously required. This was strengthened further by the multicultural policy adopted in 1973, which triggered a period of expansion of non-European migration. Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia were important sources of immigration in 1950s and 1960s.

The table that follows clearly indicates change in migratory patterns. In 1995, larger numbers of immigrants were from Middle East, North Africa, South and Central America. Australia has diverse source pool of countries for immigration. In 1950s and 1960s, Australia took economic

immigration as an instrument of labor market policy to be applied to alleviate skill shortages in particular sectors rather than aiming to broaden economic growth. The entry was thus controlled on the basis of occupational priority list. In 1990s, Australia diluted its policy by maintaining certain clauses like migration occupation in Demand list or Employer Nomination Scheme for skilled persons. Australia advertises its multicultural society for both productive human capital and broad based skills. The economic programs are implemented as a point system in which points are allocated for employability, age and settlement factor and an adjustable passing mark is set to meet a target number of successful applicants. Let us now examine its widely celebrated multicultural policy.

Table 2.2 : Foreign-born population by region of Birth, 1995/96.

Oceania	9.24
U.K. and Ireland	28.70
Other Europe	27.74
Middle East and North Africa	5.25
Asia	21.92
North America	2.2
South and Central America	2.05
Africa	2.90
Total	100.00

Source: Rainer winkelmann, "Immigration Policies and their Impact: The case of New Zealand and Australia" In Slobodon Djajic, ed., International Migration: Trends, Policies and Economic Impact, (London: Routledge, 2001). P. 7

AUSTRALIA'S POLICY OF MULTICULTURALISM:

Australia's cultural and ethnic diversity on account of migrant arrival resulted in it adopting "Multiculturalism" as a governmental measure to respond to that diversity. Though it does not play any role in selection of immigrants, it has come about because of large number of new settlers. It has always enjoyed bi-partisan support and has become indispensable principle of

policies for managing ethnic diversity at both federal and state levels. Multiculturalism is relatively a new concept. It was first announced as a government policy in Canada in 1971 and was introduced in Australia by the Whitlam Labor government in 1973.It has received both polemical critiques as well as strong support. The Howard government in 1996 marked a low point for multiculturalism. Opinion polls however showed strong support for multiculturalism at that time. In fact, both houses of federal parliament in 1996, unanimously passed a parliamentary statement denouncing racial intolerance that reaffirmed the principles of equal rights regardless of race, colour, creed or origin and reaffirmed a commitment toward redressing social and economic disadvantages of indigenous people. By 1999, National Multicultural Advisory Council sought to redefine it as 'Australian multiculturalism' in order to emphasize 'its unique Australian character'. Thus, multiculturalism is an intangible model setting out doctrine for public policy and national identity in societies affected by immigration and growing ethno-cultural diversity. Its evolution has undergone three main phases:

a)   Assimilation (1901 to mid 1960s)

It implies total amalgamation into another linguistic and cultural group. As discussed earlier, this coincided with the enactment of "White Australia   Policy". The natural preference at the time was for British migrants, the others were accepted on the assumption that they would shed their cultures and languages and be assimilated in to the host population to become indistinguishable part of it. On the other hand, the policy excluded non-European intake. Thus, inevitably the natural superiority of dominant cultural practices of Anglo-Australian society was assumed.

b) Integration (mid 1960 to 1972)

The Liberal Country Party ended the "White Australia Policy" in 1966 by allowing migration of distinguished non-Europeans .The new integration policy recognized the hardships faced by large number of immigrants in settling especially by those whose first language was not English. They were given assistance and the government also recognized the importance of ethnic organizations in assisting the process of resettlement.

c) Multiculturalism (Since 1972)

By 1972, the term 'multiculturalism' had been introduced and minority groups were forming state and national associations to promote the survival of their language and heritage within mainstream institutions. This brought about a radical view with regard to place of migrants in Australian society. It offered many substantive changes in government provisions for migrants and ethnic minorities. Multiculturalism refers to the public acceptance of immigrants and minority groups as distinct communities, who are distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture and social behaviour, and who have their own associations and social infrastructure. Multiculturalism requires that members of such groups be granted equal rights in all spheres of society without being expected to give up their diversity, although requiring at times to conform to certain key values.

In 1975, the Australian Government established 'Ethnic Radio' for the entertainment of migrants from different countries. For raising awareness of cultural identity and promoting social cohesion, understanding and tolerance, the coalition government initiative resulted in passing of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Acts, which established the

Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs in 1979. In 1986, the labour government replaced the Act and created the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) in the department of Prime Minister and the cabinet. In 1989, the Labour government following community consultations and advice of Advisory Council for Multicultural Affairs produced the National Agenda for a multicultural Australia. This national agenda consisted of three dimensions of multicultural policy:

- **Cultural Identity:** The right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion.

- **Social Justice:** The right of all Australian to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, gender, or place or birth. And,

- **Economic Efficiency:** The need to maintain, develop and utilize effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.[31]

The dimensions are sound to apply to Australians whether aboriginal, Anglo-Celtic or Non-English Speaking background people regardless of the fact that they are born in Australia or overseas. The national Agenda developed by Prime Minister Bob Hawke in 1989 appointed groups of Australians from diverse background forming an Advisory council on Multicultural Affairs. The Agenda also accepted limits to multiculturalism to dispel the doubts of some Australian who were wary of what it really meant. These polices were based on the premise that all Australians should have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, it's interest and future first

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[31]Hanifa Deen, "Ethnic Minority Groups and Public Policy in Australia: New Challenges in a culturally Diverse Society", in *India- Australia: Public Policy Conference* , (Perth, 1996), p. 114.

and foremost; secondly, all Australians were expected to accept Australian values and basic structures of Australian society, the constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of sexes; and thirdly, an acceptance of the principle that the right to express one's own culture and beliefs involved a reciprocal obligation to accept the right of others to express their views and values. [32] In March 1996, the office of multicultural Affairs was taken over by Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. Government of Australia announced a new statement in the form of "United in Diversity" to reaffirm its commitment to the 1999 New Agenda for multicultural Australia.[33]

It has been argued that multiculturalism has been successful in redressing the disadvantages that the immigrants faced while accessing services designed for Anglo-Celtic Australians. A number of multicultural policies in education, health, art, media, law etc. have come into existence. However, these have not been free from critics like anti-immigration lobbies on the pretext that too much expenditure is spent on programmes for people of Non-English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB) along with fear of dominant culture being in danger from ethnic minority groups. Australian national identity has been debated widely since 1947 on two issues: first being preservation of the identity already established; and secondly, its replacement by multicultural identity though not necessarily aiming at homogeneity but doing away with institutional racialism.- In 1973, concluding irrelevance of white Australia policy, government declared Australia a multicultural society.

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[32]ibid, p. 114-15.

[33]http://www.immi.gov.au./multicultural/_inc/publications/agenda/ index.htm

Let, us now attempt to evaluate relevance of 'multiculturalism' as it is rooted in a culturally diverse society of Australia. The following section will attempt to analyze successes and failures of this widely acclaimed policy.

CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIA:

The discussion so far undoubtedly illustrates that multiculturalism was the provision of the state to accept and deal with pluralist society in its policies in response to emerging demands from non-English speaking background people. In the early 1970s, it was based on notion of social reform to redress to migrant disadvantages and difficulties. But with the coming of liberal coalition in 1975, the migrants were given freedom to maintain their cultural and linguistic traditions along with the understanding that the culture of the established society and its political and administrative institutions would retain primacy. As already mentioned elsewhere, multicultural policy was counter-posed to previously dominant assimilationist ideology. The Galbally review of migrant programs and services in 1978 reinforced the rights of people to maintain his or her culture along with understanding of others. The policy attempted to make people aware that their requirements were not overlooked. However, many Anglo-Australians complained of disadvantages done to them by adopting multicultural policy. They were also against excess expenditure spent on migrant programs. In light of such reactions, Prime Minister of Australia, Malcolm Fraser in 1988 stated that: " multiculturalism is the (his emphasis) only intelligent and appropriate response to our cultural diversity... and that threats to social cohesion come from Australians who feel threatened socially

and economically by both people and technology when they seem to challenge their life style".[34]

The National Agenda launched in 1989 stressing on social justice and economic efficiency aimed at increasing equality of educational and occupational opportunities through skills and training rather than concentrating only on cultural pluralism as was done in the past. It had also set limits on multiculturalism as we have already seen in the three dimensions projected by it. Multiculturalism in Australia has been subject to debate, applause and criticism. The criticism comes from diverse political and intellectual perspectives. Geoffrey Blainey argued that Australia's immigration polices were threatening the social homogeneity of Australians which he considered was integral for maintaining a stable social and political order. He considered it to be a threat to national fragmentation. Historian John Hirst criticized multicultural policies on the ground that they deny any superior legitimacy to host culture and also deploy public funds at maintaining migrant culture. He repudiates government's efforts to promote ethnic diversity, as it would be a threat to liberal, egalitarian society, promoting favoritism and inequalities. Similarly, Jackubowicz argues that Multiculturalism has become an ideology that maintains divisions within working class, either consciously or not."[35]Critics argue that though the public rhetoric of multiculturalism celebrates diversity, social cohesion and toleration, but in reality it often works paradoxically. This becomes evident from the fact that most migrants remain a lower paid under-class, performing menial labor at lesser rates of

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[34]ibid, p. 115
[35]Narang and Gopal, n. 3, p. 50-1

wages than the rest of Australian Society. Thus, debate over multiculturalism became public, populist and polarized.

A number of critics also perceive multiculturalism as one propagating global capitalism i.e. it is seen as inverted, self-referential form of racism respecting others' identity, conceiving the other as a self-enclosed authentic community towards which he, the multiculturalist, maintains a distance rendered possible by his privileged universal position. Multiculturalism is a racism which empties its own position of all positive content (the multiculturalist is not a direct racist, he does not oppose the other- the particular values of his own culture), but nonetheless, retains this position as a privileged empty point of universality from which one is able to appreciate (and depreciate) properly other particular cultures-the multiculturalist respect for the others specificity is the very form of asserting one's own superiority.[36] It has also been criticized as the policy introduced in haste to win over the support of ethnic communities by the ruling government. Though first generation migrants do not take complete adoption of Australian way of life, but nevertheless it has emerged as more diverse and complex society over the years.

Another predicament that can be figured out is that although the concept of ethnicity embraced everyone, but it began to make many sections of Australian society feel neglected. This inevitably gave way to their suspicion that whether the programs designed by policy makers, for Example, NESB – meaning non-English speaking background or ESB meaning English speaking Background criteria really helps the social cohesion propagated by

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[36]ibid ,p. 51

multiculturalism, for NESBS are denied promotions for being ethnically and racially different. Those discontented with Australia's cultural diversity argue that Anglo/Europeans have never been able to live in sustained peace and harmony with Asians or Arabic background people. Some environmentalists argue that the increasing intake is disturbing Australia's fragile equilibrium of resources by giving rise to problems like water scarcity. However, in 1979 more national selection procedure for other immigrants developed like the (NUMAS) Numerical Assessment System that rated applicants on the basis of desired characteristics like skills, education, age, English language proficiency etc. As a result, more Asian gained entry. In addition, issues of Aboriginal identity and rights have been widely debated in Australian polity and society. Let us examine what this Aboriginal identity refers to.

THE ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY

The aborigines are a minority race of blacks who have been troubled, subjugated and are sharing the continent with the white skinned people in Australia- first known as 'terra australis incongnita' and later as 'New Holland'. According to 1996 Census, persons with 50 percent or more Aboriginal blood numbered 80,000; less-than-half bloods estimated were 130,000 Aborigines; in 1788 as estimated by Professor A.R.Radcliffe Brown, Aborigines were 300,000 with some 500 tribes ranging in size form 100 to 1,500 members.[37] They are mostly inhabitants of thinly populated North Australia.

Indigenous people were not homogenous either in a customary or organizational way and also lacked communications and other political

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[37]John Gunther, *Inside Australia and New Zealand,* (London: Hamish Hamilton Limited, 1972), p. 66.

organizations to prevent Captain Cook or others from landing where they pleased in Australia. During the early settlement days, the Aborigines were reduced to paupers who did odd jobs, caught diseases and died out. The whites for grabbing more lands started euphemism for massacre by acts like shooting 'abos' for fun (Abos is the word used for Aborigines by the Australians which has offensive and disparaging connotation). The Aborigines were hunted down and slaughtered reducing their population. Finally, Australians started the protectionist policies in the 1870s, which was dominated till 1939 by the assumption that the Aborigines were a self-solving problem – that is, they would die out. However, realization of the fact that the Aborigines were not dying out forced the shift in policy from protection to assimilation and granting them citizenship. In 1951, Paul Hasluck, the then Minister of Territories, set up a Department of Native welfare, to prepare assimilation by training Aborigines in western ways and educating their children.

But, it was only in 1964 that they were put under social welfare act that applied to all citizens. Further, in 1967, a referendum completed the legal process of equality for Aborigines- census takers were ordered to count them along with the rest of members of Australian society. From the memorable first comment by a white man on the Aborigines, made by explorer William Dampier in 1688 that "The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world... they are long-visaged and are of very unpleasing aspect, having no one, graceful feature in their faces'[38], to Gough whitlam's remarks in late 1960s that he considered the Aborigines as 'Our true

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[38] ibid, p. 67

link with our own region' and that 'treating them properly is the best

contribution to racial peace in Asia that Australia can make'[39], there has been

commendable progress in Australia's treatment of its Aborigines together

with immigration issues and the nation's growing integration with Asia. Since

whitlam era there has been incredible effort at redressing Aboriginal issues

especially led by factors such as impinging on Australia of third world issues,

whitlam's age of reform, the effect of greater Asian presence on Australian

racial attitudes, the appreciation by environmentalists of black's reverence

attitudes etc.

It is argued that the Aborigines joined Australia in 1788 as racial

ethnic grouping created out of the social, economic and political intervention

between indigenous peoples, Europeans and to a lesser extent Asians. The

involvement of Aborigines in the labour forces, along with church and

government policies has cleared beyond doubt that Aborigines are an integral

part of Australian tradition. Scholars have further pointed that Aborigines

have played a positive part in creating Australian modern identity after phases

characterized by the failure of convict labor, the practice of protectionism, the

almost complete disappearance of a 'pure' Aboriginal race and lastly, the rise

of modern Aboriginal Australian, a 'type' defined as much by economic as by

social, political, cultural, ethnic and social criteria and it is a dynamic process

that continues.[40] Following Table sets out the periods of development in the

transition of British colonies into the new states of federal Australia.

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[39] ibid, p. 67

[40]Gordon Briscoe, "Aboriginal Australian Identity: The historiography of relations between indigenous ethnic groups and other Australians, 1788 to 1988", _History Workshop_,(Routledge:London) Issue 36,1993,p.134.

Table2. 3: Periods of Development in the Transition of British colonies

Period when colonial oppression began	Year in which Aboriginal resistance to European Settlement was subdued	Name of British colony or Australian federal state
1788	1840	New south Wales
1802	1832	Tasmania
1824	1895	Queens land
1826	1920	Western Australia
1835	1850	Victoria
1836	1895	South Australia
1864	1935	Northern territory

Source: Gordon Briscose "Aboriginal Australian Identity: the historiography of relation between indigenous ethnic groups and other Australians, 1788 to 1988." History workshop Journal, Issue 36, 1993, p. 139

The bicentennial celebrations in 1988 brought the fact to light that the Aborigines had arrived some 30,000 years ago, which further strengthened their quest and ascription for identity and rights in Australia. The policy of protectionism was adopted which recognized the distinct but inferior identity of the indigenous population. In 1930s policy of their assimilation was advocated based on the assumption that the full bloods was a dying race and the half-castes should be assimilated with the white population without any distinct identity. The official policy of assimilation was articulated in 1961 but the aborigines were passionate on reinventing their exclusive identity and demanded equality. Aboriginal people did not surrender their land to British colonizers and their successors and asserted sovereignty over tribal lands and reserves that they claimed sacred and significant. They demanded that Australian government should include principles of restoring all their claims over land to them legally and this could not be resolved without a referendum. Thus, on June 3 1992, the high court of Australia in

Mabo vs. Queensland held that the common law of Australia recognizes native title to land. This was a milestone judgment in laying foundation for equality of citizen before law and insuring their collective identity but these assurances still needs to be realized in reality.

Compared with indigenous Australian population, the migrants faced lesser disadvantages. The Aboriginal population got the right to vote for the first time since 1962; in 1966 they got entitlement for Pension; in 1967 they were considered for census counting; in1969 equal wages legislation empowered them further. Despite Australian's support to Americans in Vietnam War, multicultural society in Australia evolved as was evident with opening of first Asian restaurant in Perth in 1960s. Today, many cities like Melbourne inhabits people from various backgrounds like Chinese migrant of gold rush period, Italians, Turkish, Vietnamese, Fijians, Indians, Russians etc. Multicultural society today gives preference to people on merit regardless of their ethnic origin. Asian food, travel to Asia, increasing Asian student population in Australia, Asian studies in various departments of Australian universities and colleges illustrates the achievements of multiculturalism. Indians also make for the growing migrant population in the form of students meeting easily Australian immigration rules like proficiency in English language, having professional qualification etc.

In a survey done majority of respondents agreed that: so long a person is committed to Australia it does not matter what ethnic background he is from. They also felt that Asian migrants had contributed to the Australian 'way of life'.[41] The new generations coming from diverse social,

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[41]Marika Vicziany, " White Australia is No more" In N.N. Vohra, ed., India And Austral Asia, (New Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2004), p. 186.

religious and cultural backgrounds unite with each other in the area of studies, business, entertainment etc. Some of them are intermarrying. Racial prejudice and discrimination are not tolerated anywhere be it public arena or mass media or education system. Generally, it is argued that by encouraging preservation of ethnic legacy multiculturalism reinforces patriarchy in family and community -keeping women at lower end of socio-economic scale and exercising sexist social and cultural practices.

But the enormous social changes introduced by this multicultural society cannot be understated by the criticism it faces. These polices have been implemented in relative peace and harmony without violence. Australia is no longer Anglo-Australian outpost of British Empire but an independent nation in Asia pacific region whose citizens come from as diverse as 160 different backgrounds. The rate of taking up Australian citizenship from NESB is much higher than their English-speaking counterparts. Being an Australian demands a commitment to Australia from all its citizens. Certain innovative programmes like Australian NESB policies and programs; special broadcasting services (SBS – is national multicultural TV and radio broadcaster airing in approximately 160 languages); Adult migration education program etc. have strengthened the cohesiveness of Australia's multicultural policy. Nevertheless, it still has to take up many challenges like: departments have to cater more to a diversity of needs based on gender, ethnicity, disability, age; managing more immigrants owing to mass global migration; unemployment due to recession; role of bureaucratic structure involved in policy formulations, managing ethnic diversity etc.

Thus, the coexistence of a number of ethnic groups, with their different cultural and racial characteristics in a multicultural society assures

certain fundamental values of retaining distinct language, family tradition or religion of the inhabiting population. This multicultural policy has found international favors over past three decades largely as a result of the official policies of countries such as Australia and Canada. Malcolm Fraser former Prime minister remarked in 1981,

> "Multiculturalism is about diversity, not divisions-it is about interaction not isolation. It is about cultural and ethnic differences set within a framework of shared fundamental values which enables them to co-exist on a complementary rather than competitive basis."[42]

Hence, it aims at maintaining equilibrium between the overarching or shared values of the country on one hand and some specific ethnic values on the other. The shared values are not majority's own private domain but is accessed and possessed by all. Multiculturalism has inspired much discussions and debates, confusions and heat over last three decades. The Whitlam government's minister for immigration, Al Grassby, invoked multiculturalism in 1973, as both a descriptor of Australian ethnic diversity, and a valued social ideal to break persistent identification with an Anglo-Australian monoculture. However, the transformation of a culturally diverse migrant country into a multicultural nation was slowed down due to more subdued policies of the Howard government. Nevertheless, emergence of Australia as a culturally diverse state is based on the creative force of cultural interaction within a framework of belief that Australians of all backgrounds share. The dynamic concept of multiculturalism thus requires that individuals from all backgrounds participate in cultural interaction in a variety of contexts, even though in certain aspects of life they may exhibit assimilation or separatism. One can easily observe that despite all official rhetoric

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[42]James Jupp, ed.,*The Australian people: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, It's People and their Origin*,(Cambridge: Cambridge university Press,2001),p.768.

multiculturalism could not change the dominant identity and institutional structures, which are still based on Anglo-Australian values and traditions.

As we have already observed, multiculturalism has always been viewed mainly as a strategy concerned with immigrants and their descendents and was seldom associated with the needs of indigenous Australians. Multicultural is a term that describes the cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society. It recognizes that Australia is, and will remain, a culturally diverse country. It also refers specifically to the strategies, policies and programs that are designed to: make administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of the culturally diverse population; promote social harmony among the different cultural groups in their society; and optimise the benefits of their cultural diversity for all Australians. There are few countries in the world in which migrants have achieved the economic, political, social and cultural participation that they have in Australia. Cultural and linguistic diversity was a feature of Australian life before European settlement. It remains a feature of modern Australian society, and continues to give Australia distinct social, cultural and business advantages. Over 200 languages are spoken in Australia. The migration program of Australia has been global in scope basically aiming to attract new migrants who have education or work skills that will contribute to Australia's economic growth. Successive governments have affirmed the value of building a tolerant, inclusive and culturally diverse society through policy, legislation and public programs. All Australians share the right to express and share their cultural heritages and beliefs, to receive equality of treatment and opportunity, and to develop and to use their skills and talents.

They also share the obligations of commitment to Australia and it's democratic institutions and values, and respect for the right of others to express their cultures and beliefs.

The Indian diasporic community has taken considerable advantages of Australia's multicultural policy and has retained and reproduced its cultural distinctiveness. For instance, in early 1960s the first *gurudwara* was established in Woolgoolga. There are many such other places of worship and prayer in many cities of Australia. The surge in religious and cultural activities of Indians is just a smaller manifestation of the success of Australia's multicultural policy. These manifold activities have greatly contributed to forging a commonality among the Indians giving them a sense of ethnic identity. Indians with its diverse religious, regional and linguistic variants has been able to evolve a cohesive and a distinct identity for itself. Multiculturalism implies both the willingness of the majority group to accept cultural difference, and the state action to secure equal rights for the minorities. Exclusionary models of immigrant rights and nationhood are questionable as they lead to divided societies. Assimilationist model does not take into account the cultural and social situation of settlers. The multicultural model on the other hand, is a combination of a set of social policies to respond to the needs of settlers, and a statement about openness of the nation to cultural diversity. Thus, it appears as the best way of rapidly incorporating large groups of culturally diverse immigrants and diasporic population into society.

CHAPTER III
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN
DIASPORA VIS-A-VIS OTHER MIGRANTS IN
AUSTRALIA

> The rare spectacle of tiny Venus passing through the face of the sun on June 8, 2004 had special significance for Australians-this country's east coast was discovered by British explorer James Cook on his way home from viewing the 1769 transit in Tahiti.[1]

The Indian Diaspora is a generic term used to describe the people who have migrated from territories that are currently within the borders of Republic of India. Recent anthropological and historical investigations have negated the perception that migration whether inside India or overseas was a rare phenomenon in pre-British period. The discoveries during the colonial period of deserted villages and of villages found by groups and later abandoned indicate a high mobility rate among the Indian villages; the existence of land which was cleared by one group and was later controlled by a new incoming group further confirms the openness and plurality of the rural order.[2] According to R. K. Jain, the emigration from India began in 1830s to the colonies of Mauritius and Caribbean where they coexisted with other ethnic groups under one political state. But they maintained a sense of being a diaspora from India. He talks of three broad patterns of this migration in terms of history and political economy: (a) Emigration of nineteenth century (b) Twentieth century migration to industrially developed countries (c) Recent migrations to West Asia. [3] In some countries like Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana and Suriname Indians constitute nearly 40 percent of population while in other countries like Malaysia, Australia, they are in small minorities. Many scholars have opined that the European

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[1] The Times of India, (New Delhi), 9June2004.
[2] R.K.Jain, _Indian Communities Abroad: Themes and Literature_, (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1993), p.1.

[3] ibid,p.2-3

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imperialist expansion in nineteenth century created the milieu for large emigration through both pull and push factors. New industrial and commercial ventures especially plantations created the need for large supplies of labour. Jain points out that the progressive prohibition of African slavery in the first half of the nineteenth century made India and China the obvious alternate source of labour. This was the main 'pull' factor. On the other hand, the European influence and domination had created severe economic and social disturbances among the peasantries of these two countries. This accounted for the 'push' factor. By and large two streams of Indian and Chinese emigrants to the colonies were unskilled laborers and small-scale entrepreneurs.

Indian migrants comprises of PIOs and NRIs. According to Motwani, People of Indian origin (PIOs) are the ones whose forefathers migrated from India in the nineteenth century. Non-resident Indians (NRIs) refers to people who migrated in twentieth century and still holds passport. All NRIs are PIOs but all PIOs are not NRIs. NRIs in India are potential source of foreign exchange for the country. They remit funds to sustain families in India. Diaspora is very often defined in terms of region, religion, language, and caste owing to the diversity of population of host nations. Thus, as opined by many scholars like Jain, Indian overseas communities have experienced a degree of cultural homogenization and an emergence of class composition, which determines framework of ethnic pluralism. Like all migrants, Indian overseas have also been treated as outsiders owing to their peculiar habits and beliefs. The phenomenon of Indian diaspora has usually been analyzed in the framework of cultural

persistence or in the context of socio-cultural pluralism in the host nations: but the need arises in today's globalized world to conceive of society of emigration as an ongoing and developing civilization and also to see the pluralism of hosts societies as differentiated into it's juxtaposed politico economy and cultural dimension.[4] International migration and the consequent formation of diasporic identity have served as a strategic asset for the country of origin instead of just depleting its best and brightest. Hence, this study is an endeavor to understand formation of Indian diasporic identity in a multicultural Australia using a comparative framework.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIA:

Australia had 7.5 million people in 1947 and it has grown to more than 17 millions in 1994. Australia's "All White Policy" obstructed the population growth barring non-white immigration. The all white policy was relaxed in 1966 and finally abandoned in 1973 in favour of multiculturalism. The growth of population accelerated after adoption of the policy of multiculturalism in 1973. In 1991, 25 per cent of its population had been overseas. 60 per cent of overseas population came from non-English speaking countries. The composition of Australian population in 1986 was 75 per cent "Anglo", 20 per cent "other European, 4.5 per cent "Asian" and 1 per cent Aborigines and Torres Straight Islander. The current growth rate in immigration and inter-marriages, about 43.2

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[4] R k. Jain,"A Civilizational Theory of Indian Diaspora And It's Global Implications", In Ajay Dubey, ed., Indian Diaspora, (New Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 2003), p.1

per cent of immigrants were from Asia. Thus, the composition of Australian Society continues to change based on the pattern of immigration.[5]

PAST HISTORY AND EMERGENCE OF AUSTRALIA

Since the times of ancient Greek and Rome, Australia was known as "terra australis incognita" The continent of Australia was first discovered by the Dutch in the early half of the seventeenth century. The Dutch left the continent in the hands of few Aborigines, which was discovered by Captain James Cook, the English Navigator who sailed to some of the Australian shores and took possession of the eastern half. The annexation was timely, as the British Government needed territory to relieve congestion of convict population. British Government, therefore, sent the felons to the newly acquired territory of New South Wales. Thus the first penal settlement was established at Sydney in 1787.[6]The major events usually associated with Australian history were (i) convict origin (ii) Colonization (iii) advantage and disadvantages of being situated from World power centers (iv) Australia's present living standard and (v) multiculturalism.

British Identity: Australia receives migrants from as diverse as 160 to 200 countries but Britain still remains the chief source of immigrants. The share of

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[5] Australia In The World: Profile Of Australia,(Government Publication:Canberra,National Capital Printing,n.a.),p.6-7.

[6] Americans freed themselves in 1776.In view of American freedom it was not possible for British to dump convicts and criminals in America. Europeans arrived in Australia in 1788.Prior to the European arrival there were between 600 and 700 distinct groups in Australia. Each group had it's own territory, it's own political system and it's own language. E.J.Japp, History", In *Fareast And Austral Asia.* (London and New York : Europa Publications, 1981-82), p.16.

British settlers in the Australian population is three-forth. Geographically, Australia is situated near South-east Asia and the exotic South-Pacific Islands of Tahiti and Samoa, but it has maintained its British identity through its institutions and immigration policy, which gave preference to settlers from U.K. The emotional bond was also strengthened because the British and Australia together fought side by side in two world wars

EUROPEAN SETTLERS IN AUSTRALIA:

Immigration has been integral part of Australian life and development due to influx of capital and enterprise. Historically, the United Kingdom was Australia's major and preferred source of immigrants. The celebration of 200 years of European settlement in 1988 coincided with the thousandth anniversary of the Greek city of Thessaloniki. In 1988 the city of Melbourne had a larger Greek born population than any Greek city other than Athens and Thessaloniki-an indication of the magnitude of Greek emigration to Australia within one generation.[7] British colonization started in 1788. The Australian colonies were integrated into the British Empire as suppliers of raw materials such as wool, wheat and gold. The imperial state took an active role in providing workers for expansion through convict transportation and the encouragement of free settlement. Initially there were only male colonizers. Later on female convicts were also transported but they were taken as single women, domestic servants and as wives of settlers. By mid nineteenth century, the supply

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[7] Gillian Bottomley, "Southern European Migration to Australia: Diasporic Networks and Cultural Transformations", In, Robin Cohen, ed., _The Cambridge Survey of World Migrants_,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1995),p.386.

of settlers from Britain became inadequate for labour needs. Britain permitted Australian employers to recruit cheap labourers from elsewhere, especially from China, India and South Pacific islands. The economic interest of Britain came in conflict with the demands of the nascent Australian labour movement. Hostility towards Chinese and other Asian workers became violent. The exclusionary boundaries of the emerging Australian nation were drawn on racial lines and one of the first acts of the new federal parliament in 1901 was introduction of White Australia Policy.[8]

Immigration After World War II: Colonization of Australia had been taking place since 1788 but the momentum picked up after II World war. Australian government established a department of immigration in 1947 to oversee the comprehensive program for planned immigration. In 1950, less than ten percent of the predominantly Anglo Celtic population of 7,666,358 were born overseas and 60 percent of these came from Britain; the population had grown to 15,602,156 within forty years out of which twenty two percent were overseas born and less than one third of immigrants were British; fourteen percent of the population spoke a language other than English and five percent of the population were of non-European descent in 1986; In 1991 settlers from Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain and Portugal accounted for more than half a million; if one includes second and third generation descents of immigrants, the population of this category rises to one and a half million.[9]

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[8] Stephen Castles And Mark J.Miller, refer chapter-1,n.11,p.57.
[9] Bottomley, n.7, p.386.

Table 3.1: Settlers in Australia from Southern Europe (1891-1947)

Name of the Country	Year		
	1891	1921	1947
1. Italians	3900	7250	33700
2.Greeks	600	4600	12500
3. Maltese	-	10	1400
4.Spanish, Portuguese, Southern French	1000	1700	1500

Source: Robin Cohen, The Cambridge survey of world migrants, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p.387

A glimpse of the above table indicates that Italians migrated in large numbers since the beginning of colonization. In general South European migration was minimal as indicated by the above table.

Settlement After 1945: Australia was sparsely populated country built through immigration and colonization. It was open to settlement from Europe and recently from other continents as well. Planned movement of immigration of future citizens has made Australia a country of great ethnic diversity resulting in official recognition of multiculturalism. A perusal of the following table shows about 22 percent of the total population was overseas born in 1996. Besides 20 percent of those born in Australia had at least one immigrant parent; 7.5 million people out of 17.9 million people living in Australia in 1996 were either born overseas or had one or both parents born overseas. There were 3, 53,000 Aboriginal people and Torres straight islanders (2.1 percent of the total population).

Table 3.2: Australia: Immigrant Population by birth place (Thousands)

Country of Birth	YEAR			
	1971	1981	1991	1996
1.Europe	2197	2234	2299	2217
2.UK and Ireland	1088	1133	1175	1124
3.Italy	290	276	255	238
4.Former Yugoslavia	130	149	161	n.a.
5.Greece	160	147	136	127
6.Germany	111	111	115	110
7.Other Europe	418	418	457	618
8.Asia (Including Middle East)	167	372	822	1007
9.New Zealand	81	177	276	291
10.Africa	62	90	132	147
11.America	56	96	147	151
12.Other are not stated	18	36	75	95
TOTAL	2581	3005	3751	3908

Source: Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration :International Population Movements in the Modern World*,(Hampshire, London: Macmillan,1998) p. 186.

Australia's immigration intake is global in scope taking people from as diverse as 160 countries. After the adoption of multicultural policy, Australian immigration source shifted from United Kingdom and Ireland to Asia, Latin America and Africa. Nevertheless, United Kingdom occupies nearly three-fourth space of migrants in Australia's population. Though the proportion of Asians is increasing but its British identity is still intact with official policy of multiculturalism

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN DIASPORA

Migration of people across the globe is an inseparable part of human history. Indian emigration has been taking place since times immemorial. Indian diaspora constitute the third largest group next only to British and the Chinese. Let us examine the evolutionary processes involved in human migration in Indian history

(a)   **Diaspora in Ancient India:** In times immemorial, Indian saints, seers and messengers of peace traveled to near and far off countries to spread the message of Indian philosophy and tenents of rich Indian culture. Besides, they spread the gospels of Buddhism. The "Angkor vat" in Cambodia, the seven horse driven chariot of Arjuna and Lord Krishna in front of the President's palace in Jakarta in Indonesia and the Hindu temples in Bali province (though majority of the population had embraced Islam) of Indonesia are symbol of the rich Indian cultural heritage still dominating these countries.

(b)   **The Silk Route:** The silk route is well known in Indian Diaspora. The traders from Bengal used this route for trade in the neighbouring countries. Similarly, the South Indian traders dealing in spices not only crossed the borders to neighbourhood but travelled as far as Italy and France. The traders returned to their motherland after disposing off their commodities. They had no imperial motives to colonize.

(c) Migration during Colonial Rule or Indentured Labour Contract System

Diasporic migration during British Colonial rule was witnessed under a system known as 'Indentured Labour Contract System'. Black slaves were the main source of labour force for plantation in colonies. As slavery was abolished by British parliament in 1830, the white colonial masters wanted alternate arrangement for cheap labour force in place of Black slave contingent to work in their colonies. They first tried to recruit labour from China and Indonesia but the experiment failed. The white masters evolved a new system of labour contract known as indenture system. Under the system, the labour was contracted for 5 to 10 years on a meager salary and false promise of nearness of destination and availability of gold was made. Against a promise of one week, it took "Girmitea" three months to reach Mauritius shores–the nearest country.[10] These indentured labourers were treated like animals on arrival at" Coolie Ghats". These labourers were auctioned for allotment to the work place. They lived in over crowded slums and were not allowed any leave. For a day's absence, two days wages were deducted even if the labourer was ill. The first batch went to Mauritius in 1934 and ever since continued till 1917 when it was abolished under political pressure from India.The indentured labour system lasted for about 90 years in India. This system was a product of abolition of slavery and colonialism. British wanted cheap labour to replace Black slave contingent to work in sugar

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[10]Girmitia was the ship carrying coolies.Baleshwar Agarwal, " Indian Diaspora", *World Focus,* vol.22,(March 2001), p..3.

plantations in their colonies and economically beleaguered labour was available in India. There were basically two reasons behind migration under this system.

(a)   Poor economic conditions in rural India because of destruction of village and cottage industry resulting in extreme poverty and unemployment and

(b)   Colonial masters found Indians skillful, hardworking and useful.

(d) Indian Migration To Countries Under Indentured System

Migration of Indian labourers under indenture system first started in 1834 to Mauritius, Uganda and Nigeria. The following table gives the name of the country and the year in which migration took place in later years. About 1.50 million people migrated under the indentured system. Most of the migrants under the system did not return home after its abolition in 1917.[11]

(d)   **Migration Under 'kangani' System:** This system presents a marked contrast to the recruitment of labourers under other systems. Migration took place under this system to Sri Lanka, Malaya and Burma. All the emigrants to Sri Lanka and Malaya were from South India. They were recruited by headmen known as the 'Kangani' and the system came to be known as Kangani. The following table gives the recruitment figures for the period 1852-1937. The system was abolished in 1938.The table shows the number of migrants to Srilanka, Malaya and Burma during 1852 – 1937.

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[11]The Indian Diaspora-Some Facts, *World Focus*, vol 22 (March 2001), p.22.

Table 3.3: Indian Migration to Countries Under Indenture System:

S.No.	Nature of the Country of immigration	Year of receiving labourers under Indentured systems
1.	Mauritius	1834
2.	Uganda	1834
3.	Nigeria	1834
4.	Guyana	1838
5.	New Zealand	1840
6.	Hong Kong	1841
7.	Trinidad and Tobago	1845
8.	Malay	1845
9.	Martinique and Guadeloupe	1854
10.	Grenada	1856
11.	St. Lucia	1856
12.	St. Vincent	1856
13.	Natal	1860
14.	St. Kitts	1861
15.	Japan	1872
16.	Surinam	1872
17.	Jamaica	1873
18.	Fiji	1879
19.	Burma	1885
20.	Canada	1904
21.	Thailand	1910

Source — The Indian Diaspora: Some facts, *World* Focus, vol. 22(March 2001) p.22.

Table3.4: Migration Under Kangani System

S.No.	Period of Migrants	Name of immigrant Country	No. of persons migrated
1.	1852-1937	Sri Lanka	1.5 million
2.	1852-1937	Malaya	2.00 million
3.	1852-1937	Burma (Myanmar)	2.50 million
	Total	3	6.00 million

Source — The Indian Diaspora: Some facts, *World Focus*, vol 22(March 2001), p. 22

(e) FREE EMIGRATION: Under this system the flow of migration took place to East Africa, Natal, Mauritius, Burma, Malaya and Fiji in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. This pattern of migration includes traders, skilled artisans, bankers, petty contractors, clerks, professionals and entrepreneurs. Most of the present Indian population of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania migrated under this category. These migrants stimulated opportunities for trade and industry. "There is a basic similarity between free emigration and the Kangani system is that the emigrants were not unrelated individuals, as in the indenture system, but constituted self regulating groups recruited on the basis of Kinship, caste and village of origin".[12]

(f) Emigration to Gulf Countries: Millions of people of Indian origin are working in gulf countries today. This became possible after the discovery of petroleum products in the Asian deserts. The discovery of petroleum products brought riches to this part of the world. The boom attracted both skilled and

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[12] R.K.Jain, n.2, p.10.

unskilled workers from India. The maximum Indian labour force, skilled and unskilled workers, professionals and other educated persons are concentrated in Saudi Arabia. Kerela has sent the maximum number of people to the gulf countries. Maltreatment and discrimination on account of religion are meted out to the gulf based Indians but the earnings earned by them overshadowed such maltreatment.[13] There were only 14000 Indians in Gulf in 1948 and 40,000 in 1971. Following the oil boom in mid 70s, the Middle East has experienced a massive induction of the South Asian workers. The population of Indian workers was 1,54,418 in 1975, which subsequently rose to 5,99,500 in 1981, and to 1,15,000 in 1992.[14] There are more than two million Indians in West Asia. Oil exporting countries of Gulf and North Africa such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, The United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Libya are having increasing demands for Indian Labour Force since 1973.

(g)   Emigration to Developed Destinations:

Brain-Drain Migration: Emigration to the developed destinations like U.S.A., U.K., Australia and New Zealand is a post world war II phenomenon. Emigration to Britain started during British rule in India. However, a major influx took place after independence in 1947. People of Indian origin settled in Africa and Caribbean countries also migrated to England and Netherlands. As opposed to ex-indentured population, the Indian migrants to the industrially developed countries maintained extensive ties with their ancestral lands because they were relatively more affluent people. People who migrated to

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[13] Baleshwar Agarwal, n.10, p.3-4.
[14] World Focus, n.11, p.22-3.

these countries were highly educated and professionally trained persons and their life style and aspirations were similar to the native Americans. Large-scale migration to U.S.A. took place after the repeal of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965. Such migrations were also known as Brain-Drain migration. The phenomenon of Brain Drain was accelerated due to globalization, privatization and liberalization of world economy.

Before proceeding to analyse trends and shifting paradigms of Indian migration to Australia, let us first trace the history of Asian immigration in Australia, which had consequently accelerated after abolition of White Australia Policy.

ASIAN DIASPORA IN AUSTRALIA:

Australian immigration remains closely linked to the vision of a multicultural Australian society. To build up the population, Australia embraced government-sponsored programs to accelerate the pace of immigration after World War II. The Australian population grew from 8.2 million in 1850 to 18.0 million in 1995, which indicate an average annual growth rate of 1.76.[15] Thus, immigration played a vital role in post war population growth in Australia. Though Asians were the first to touch the shores of Australia in the seventeenth century, yet their immigration has always remained a thorny issue in Australian politics and society. As a result, Australia enacted its 'White Australia Policy' to prevent Chinese and other Asian immigrants from entering Australia. The real

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[15] Jacques Poot,"The Impact Of Immigration on Labour Markets And Urban Infrastructure in Australia And NewZealand", In Slobodon Djajic, ed.,*International Migration :Trends, Policies And Economic Impact*,(London:Routledge,2001),p.130.

door to Asians or the coloured people as they were referred to, opened in 1973 with the adoption of multicultural policy. The end of Vietnam War in 1975 opened floodgates for migration of these people. The following table indicates the Asian arrival between 1975 and1991.

Table 3.5: Asian Migration to Australia

S.No.	Period or Year of Migration	Birth Place of Settlers	Number
1.	1975-80	Vietnamese	1,50,000
2	1990-91	Asians	Found in 8 out of 10 Source Countries
3	1991	Asia	6,87,850

Source: Jack Collins, "Asian Migration to Australia" in Robin Cohen, ed., _The Cambridge Survey of World migrants_ (Cambridge University Press, 1995), P.376.

In 1991, as per the above illustration the figure of 6, 87,850 Asians (excluding West Asia) amounted to 4.3 percent of its total population. Out of this 2.2 percent (3,77,751) came from South East Asian Countries. About 1.2 percent (1, 99,288) came from China, Hong Kong, North and South Korea, Mongolia under skilled professional and business category. Remaining 0.7 percent (1, 10,811) were South Asian born who came as family migrants. Hong Kong was Asia's largest source of immigrants in 1992-93 followed by Vietnam, Philippines, India, China, Srilanka, Malaysia, Taiwan and Indonesia. In 1982-83 European migrants numbered 47,000and those from Asia 24,486:in first five months of 1983-84 European figure was 12,400 that of Asia was 9,800 indicating Asia was

providing an increasing percent of migrant arrivals. [16]Asian arrivals amounted to less than ten percent of arrivals in 1996. In 1991 more than half of Australia's long term overseas visitors were from Asia whereas 38 percent of short term visitors or tourist arrivals were of Asian origin: Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore are the main source of Australia's full fee paying overseas tertiary students who generates an income of $ 500 million per year.[17]

As against assimilationist policy preceding multiculturalism in 1973, all migrants are now welcomed from their ethnic diversity rather than being expected to confirm to the British moulds. Asian experiences in the host nations came from a variety of influences like ethnicity, social class, socio-economic position, time of arrival and their category of entry. Asians were defined as those born in an Asian country according to the way the Australian census categorizes the population. Using this definition, an estimated 4.9 per cent of the total population was categorized as Asian in1991, which was eight times more than in 1966. By 1996, the estimated proportion of the Australian population born in Asia was reported to be 6.2 per cent. What these figures clearly indicate is a strong and steady rise in the number of Asians in Australia in the past thirty years. It is this very increase in population that has intensified the politicisation of 'Asians in Australia' and has occupied centrality in issues of public debate. The issue of 'Asians in Australia' continues to be one that is historically complex, ideologically loaded, and politically and culturally sensitive. The following discussion focuses

[16]Richard Yallop ,"Australian Immigration" In _Asia And Pacific Review_,1985,p.30

[17]Jack Collins," Asian Migration To Australia", In Robin Cohen, ed., _The Cambridge Survey of World Migrants_,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1995)p.376.

on themes, which have preoccupied Australian governments and public commentators alike in the past few decades.

Role Of Asians in Australia

Australia is multicultural nation comprising of white settlers, Aborigines and migrants from diverse races, colours, religions, and languages with varying habits, customs, and standard of living. The average density of population of Australia was two persons per square kilometer. Hence, the pertinent problem of population growth featured Australian society and polity for long. Australia had debarred 'colored people' or the 'others' as they call Asians through its All White Policy. On the other hand, Asian countries were over populated and faced the rampant problem of unemployment and poverty. They were full of skilled and unskilled work force, trained information technology professionals, scientists, engineers, doctors who were eager for voluntary migration to Australia. In such a situation, Australia abandoned its rigid immigration laws leading to manifold influx of Asians. Australian government aimed at ethno-cultural adjustment of such influx into Australia's mainstream culture.

Constructive engagement with Asia became a thorny issue in the domestic affairs of Australia. Asian immigration and economic restructuring of Australia became the causes of backlash in 1990s. The policies of structural adjustment, regional cooperation and security scenario were mixed up with the policy of immigration for ruling out Asians entry. Recent surveys conducted on racialism indicated that racial violence based on ethnicity is not as evident in Australia as it exists in many other countries. However, racial violence against

Asian migrants exists at a level, which may increase in intensity and extent unless firmly curbed by iron hands by the state. Prominent Melbourne historian Geoffrey Blainey opposed the influx of Asians proclaiming that Asian immigration was against the interest and wishes of Australian people and had destroyed Australian way of life. He argued that Asian immigration caused unemployment and social tensions. On the other hand, economists rejected his contentions. Studies conducted reveal that the place of highest concentration of Asians enjoys greater tolerance from Australians.[18] Still, nearly a quarter century after the announcement of a multicultural and a non-discriminatory immigration policy no more than five person or so can be categorized as of 'Asian' origin; even if the Asian migration continues at a high rate of 1990s, then the proportion of Asian born people in Australia by 2030 will not exceed 10 to 15 percent.[19] The engagement with Asia and claims of Asian identity not withstanding the country remains essentially British at its core. Nevertheless, constructive engagement with Asia, geographical location of Australia and the technological ascendance of Japan, China, South Korea, and Taiwan will certainly determine the future socio-economic growth and prosperity of Australia. The above discussion clearly demonstrates that Australia is an immigrant multicultural nation with its British identity intact. Nonetheless, the increasing proportion of Asians in Australian population clearly indicates the shift in source of migration from western countries to Asia and Africa and an increased Australian inclination toward more

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[18] ibid,p. 378.

[19] VishnuPriya, "Immigration, Multiculturalism and Regional Relations of Australia", In D.Gopal, ed.. *Australia In The Emerging Global Order*, (New Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2002), p.68

Asian immigration. Let us now examine the occupational composition of Asian migrants in Australian economy.

Ocupational Composition of Asian Migrants

Asians were mostly represented in the refugee and special humanitarian or family categories in 1970s & 1980s which changed to employment based immigration in 1990s.The following table indicates settler arrivals by occupations from Asia in 1996-97. Overall 25,513 managers, administrators, professionals, para-professionals and traders belong to permanent migrant category. Asians comprised 37.4 percent of total intake in 1996-97 but they amounted for 50.5 percent of the occupational group and 43.3 percent of the professional group. They were under represented in other groups. The following table clearly indicates the above stated facts.

A perusal of the following table indicates that persons coming from North East Asia and South Asia as migrants have high proportion of workers in the managers, administrators, professionals, Para-professional occupations as compared to those from Indo-China; persons born in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Korea feature mostly in finance and business sectors of economy; Chinese, Japanese and Thai born are inclined to work more in personal and recreational services including the restaurant and tourist industries; Indo-Chinese men and women work in manufacturing industry whereas Vietnamese women work in the rather declining industries; Australian's share in the category of managers and administrators is about 16 percent whereas people born in Japan and Taiwan occupy 30 percent employment in these two occupations.20Thus, Asians have made their presence felt in a big way in

Australian economy and society. They exhibit diversity and cultural heterogeneity along with cohabiting and coexisting with the natives of host nation strengthening the foundations of multicultural framework. They have benefited from Australia's liberal policies and in turn have contributed to the development process of host nation. Let us now proceed to study the evolution of Indian diaspoic identity in Australia and how this is related to broader social, economic, demographic, environmental or political factors of both the country of origin and country of destination.

Table 3.6: Australia's Settler Arrival by occupation from select countries in 1996-97.

Source Country	Managers& Administrators	Professionals	Para Professionals	Others	Not in Labour Force	Total
Hong Kong	616	885	106	468	1819	3894
India	145	745	67	533	1191	2681
Indonesia	355	93	14	256	1032	1750
China	370	1785	319	1704	3183	7761
Philippines	67	270	151	750	1570	2808
Taiwan	582	197	10	135	1253	2180
Total from these sources	2535	3975	667	3846	10,048	2,11,674
Total from Asia	3089	5397	865	7153	15,580	32,084
Percentage from Asia	50.5	43.3	30.4	30.3	37.3	37.0
New Zealand	1079	1039	451	3987	6516	3072
Total from Oceania	1233	1367	556	5204	8408	16761
Total from all sources	6113	12455	2841	23593	40756	851752

Source: Robyn Iredale, "Skilled Migration in the Asia Pacific Region", *International Migration Review* (Fall, 2000) P.891-892.

BIRTH AND GROWTH OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN AUSTRALIA:

Indian migration to Australia is a recent phenomenon as compared to Indian migration to U.S.A., U.K. Africa etc. It is said that the first Indian had come to Australia as part of captain Cook's ship- the first settlers in Australia in 1787. The history of migration from India to Australia dates back to the 19th century. It was in the 1850s when Australia was a British colony that it decided to import camels and their handlers or drivers from North-west India (which then include Baluchistan and parts of North-Western Pakistan). These immigrants were usually employed on three-year contract and returned after completion of contract. Those who stayed on worked as labourers. The following section categorizes history of Indian migration in different phases and examines the factors contributing to such migrations.

(a) **Early Migrants:** More number of Indians came to Australia when both Australia and India were British colonies. The enterprising Sikhs went to work on the Banana Plantations in southern Queensland. Today a large number of them live in the town named Woolgoolga (roughly halfway between Sydney and Brisbane on the highway). These people have their own Banana Farms and are quite rich. There are two Sikh temples in Woolgoolga- one of them even has museum on Sikhism.[21]

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[21] http://www.sikh.com.au/inaus/p.1.

(b) **Post Independence Migration:** A large number of British and Anglo-Indians decided to make Australia their home and migrated to the continent after India attained independence.

(b) **All White Australia:** Enactment of Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 effectively ended the migration of Indians to Australia till 1966 when the restrictions were some what released to allow entry of some educated migrants. These restrictions remained in force for 72 years. Migration restarted in large number in 1975.

(c) **Migration After Abolition of Immigration_Restriction Act, 1901:** Another influx of migrants started in the post war years especially of Anglo-Indians and British subjects. Migration in the real sense picked up after Australia abolished "All white" policy in 1966. Besides India, they started coming from such diasporic locations such as Mauritius, Malaysia, Singapore and particularly Fiji. Indian born residents in Australia had grown to 15,754 in 1966.[22] Migrants from countries like Malaysia, Fiji etc. were referred to as secondary migrants or as twice migrant.

(d) **Indian Migration between 1970 and 2001:** Both primary and secondary migration of people of Indian origin to Australia continues to take place with increasing numbers year after years. Though the number of Indians in Australia in 1970 was much smaller than those from Southern Europe. There were 41,657 India-born people in Australia in 1981 and they constituted the

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[22]John Connell," Neither Indian nor Australian: Contemporary Indian Migration to Sydney", in N.N.Vohra, ed., *India And AustralAsia: History, Culture and Society,*(Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2004) p.193.

largest Asia-born population in Australia, though three quarters of these were Anglo-Indians. They constituted the skilled component of the Australian population. Shortly after 1980, the influx of Anglo-Indians ended and subsequent migration was of those whose ethnicity distinguished them from the majority of the Australian population. Complexities were apparent in the Indian born population in Australia. By the end of 1990, the largest number of Hindi speaking people had come from Fiji. In 199, 31 per cent of Hindus constituting Australian population were born in India. The other major birthplaces included Fiji (23 percent), Australia (18 percent) – as a second generation began to emerge and Sri Lanka (12 percent).[23] India also lost primacy as the largest group from Asia to China and Vietnam. The following table gives the figures of Indian born people who migrated to Australia.

Table 3.7:India-Born Population Of Australia

S.No.	Year	Population
1.	1901	7,637
2.	1911	6,664
3.	1921	6918
4.	1933	6774
5.	1947	8160
6.	1961	14166
7.	1971	29211
8.	1976	37586
9.	1981	41657
10.	1986	47816
11.	1991	60958
12.	1996	77689
13.	2001	95449

Source – John Connell, "Neither Indian Nor Australian: Contemporary Indian Migration to Sidney ", In N.N. Vohra, ed., _India and Australasia: History, Culture and Society_, (Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2004) P.193-194.

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[23]ibid, p. 193.

(f) Immigrants From Fiji:

Immigration of Indians from Fiji was insignificant until 1980 when it slowly began to increase. Fiji had two military coups as a result of which the migration of Indo-Fijian diaspora to Australia accelerated dramatically after 1987. This was due to the opposition of the indigenous people in Fiji to India-born citizens of Fiji. By 1996, there were 37,100 Fiji born people in Australia, out of which about two-third were of Indian stock. Fiji again witnessed a third quasi-coup in 2000, which accelerated the pace of migration of Fiji born people to Australia. There were 44,261 Fiji born people in Australia in 2001. The dramatic increase of Fiji born people in Australia was due to the migration of Indo-Fijian due to the reasons stated above. It was assumed that Indo-Fijian people were around 30,000 in Australia in 2001.[24]Migration of Fiji-Indians was due to their persecution by Fiji's indigenous population. These Fiji-Indians have changed the face of Indians in Australia. While most early migration was that of educated professionals, these new Fiji-Indians were more dynamic and were interested in business and commerce. Their arrival has augmented the services enjoyed by Indians in Australia. Now sarees, gold jewellery, Indian cinemas are easily accessible.

(g) Current Indian Migration to Australia:

The current wave of migration is that of engineers, toolmakers, Gujrati business families from Africa and second level relatives of settled Indians.

24.ibid, p.194-95.

Most Gujrati families go for trading and business purpose. Engineers and toolmakers usually find dead end in the job markets, therefore, they either go back to college and study programming or venture in their own business to secure a stable job and lead a decent life.

(h) New Wave of Emigration to Australia:

A new wave of immigration of Indian students has marked Australian society. Starved of government funding, Australian education institutes are desperately recruiting full fee paying overseas students. Many universities have permanent representative stationed in India. Their efforts have been awarded and a new influx of Indian students is entering Australia. Many of these students have paid large sums of fees and look for work to support them. These young, bright and attentive Indians are seen working and replacing Whites in many lucrative jobs. These young people have the vision and enterprise in them to emerge successful and future millionaire in Australia. Many of them, who took degrees from Australia, have gone back to Australia and are holding positions in Australia. The Indian community has achieved significant positions in so far its level of education is concerned.

Thus as evident from the above discussion, Indian immigration in Australia can be broadly classified into three periods[25] which is examined in the following section:

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[25]D.Gopal,"Negotiating Identities In A Multicultural Society: A Case Study of Indian Diaspora in Australia", In N.N.Vohra, ed., *India And AustralAsia: History, Culture and Society*, (Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2004), p.321.

(i) **Up to 1850:** The number of Indians migrations to Australia during this period was insignificant. Hindu labourers were preferred to Muslims as they were not addicted to opium, wine and spirit. However, the recruitment of Indian laboures was discouraged because the abundance of cheap Indian labour might pose a threat to the imported British labour. To avoid recruiting, the recruiting agents used to send ships loaded with labourers, as domestic servants.

(ii) Between 1850 and 1947: Second wave of emigration started with the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria in the 1850.The Indian immigration picked up between 1880 and 1890 despite the anti-Asian feelings prevalent in Australia especially against the Chinese and the enactment of Indian immigration Act, 1859 which prohibited Australian employers to recruit Indian labourers. Immigrants of this period were mainly Sikhs, Punjabis, Muslims and Afghans. They were recruited for pastoral work, camel rearing and driving. "Actual number of Indians settled in Australia, rose from 300 in 1857 to 2000 in 1871 and reached 3000 by the end of 1880. This number rose to 4500 by the turn of the country".[26] With the passing of Immigration Restrictions Act, 1901, migration to Australia was almost negligible till 1966, when the restrictions were relaxed to some extent. The introduction of European language proficiency, dictation tests and related educational requirements hindered the growth of Indian migration to Australia. An average of 5 visitors a year came to Australia from South Asia between 1905 and 1925. There was one exception. Nearly 400

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[26]ibid, p.320-3.

Punjabi Sikhs from Jalandhar district came to woolgoolga in New South Wales to work as labourers in the Sugar Plantation.[27]

(ii) World War II till Date: Phase III: Dictation Test was abolished in 1958 and restrictions were lessened in Immigration Restrictions Act, 1901 in 1966. Significant number of Anglo-Indians was given permanent settlement in 1958. A new category of extended residence for highly qualified Asians was also introduced offering lucrative opportunities. Australian state declared the policy of Multiculturalism in 1973 followed by the Racial Discrimination Act, 1975 which had important implication for Asian Indian immigration to Australia. Increasing numbers of professional people from many parts of India entered Australia from a total of about 7000 in 1947, which increased to 11995 in 1954. The Indian migration increased manifold following the proclamation of the policy of multiculturalism in 1973. Available figures show that there were 43700 Indians in 1981, 66,200 in 1991 and 1, 90,000 in 2001.[28]

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN AUSTRALIA:

The Indian population of Australia has become increasingly concentrated both in New South Wales and in the Sydney metropolitan area. The following table shows the distribution of Indian born people in Australia.

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[27]ibid, p.321-3.
[28]ibid ,p.322.

Table 3.8:Indian-Born and Hindi Speaking People In Australia In 2001

S.No.	Name of State or City	India-Born	Hindi Speaking People
1.	New South Wales	37887	28160
2.	Victoria	30628	10723
3.	Queens land	7307	5613
4.	South Australia	3668	951
5.	Western Australia	3085	1094
6.	Tasmania	517	216
7.	Northern Territory	523	138
8.	ACT	1814	922
	Total	95449	47817

Source John Connell, "Neither Indian nor Australian". N.N. Vohra, ed, *India and Australasia: History, Culture and Society*, (New Delhi: Shipra Publication, 2004), P. 196

The following table will clearly illustrate that the distribution of recent Indian immigrants to Australia by eligibility criterion, skilled migration has outnumbered family migration indicating fresh arrivals of professional class.

Table3. 9:Distribution of Number of India-born Settler Arrivals in Australia by Eligibility Category, 1988-93

Eligibility Category	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93
Family	1,898	1,7752	2,044	2,180	1,326
Migration Preferential	859	818	787	782	863
Concessional	1,039	957	1,257	1,398	463
Skilled	1,119	1,178	2,969	3,361	2,155
Migration	466	208	171	111	56

ENS					
Business Skill	84	57	46	47	32
Independent	569	913	2,752	3,203	2,067
Humanitarian	92	63	68	67	57
Total	3,109	3,016	5,081	5,608	3,538

Source: D Gopal, "Negotiating Identities in a Multicultural Society", N.N. Vohra, ed, *India and Australasia: History, Culture and Society*, (New Delhi: Shipra Publication, 2004), P. 324.

The above discussion clearly reveals that Indian migration to Australia is of a very recent phenomenon when compared with migrations to the other parts of the world. Though Australia has rarely been the first choice of migrants from India especially most skilled ones, nevertheless it has acquired importance in the recent past, as it is better known now for providing opportunities in high tech companies, industries, business and education. Earlier migrants entered either on an industrial or agricultural based economic condition. But the new Indian overseas society is divided between educated urban oriented professionals and managers on one hand and the unskilled of rural orientations on the other. The new diaspora is now in private enterprise, university education, large corporation and white collared jobs. Since professionals and qualified persons are given preference under the rules, the majority of Indians today constitutes of professionals. The 1990s saw a sharp rise in immigration when a number of professionals, like computer and software experts, engineers, doctors etc almost doubled in comparison to the earlier decades. The growing recognition of India in the IT field attracted more IT professionals from India to Australia. Also, the number of students has increased in number in the last few years. Indians are also engaged in professions like medicine, restaurant business and small and medium scale business. Along with

living in multicultural societies and being characterized by an ethnic identity, the Indian communities abroad have also invariably made their presence felt in active economic and cultural competitions. The Indian community notwithstanding its diverse religious, regional and linguistic variants has evolved a cohesive and vibrant identity for itself. After the proclamation of the multicultural policy in Australia, there has been a surge in religious and cultural activities, which seems to indicate the renaissance of Indian culture in the Asia-Pacific region. Indian migration to Australia is thus, an incontestable fact and will largely depend upon future course of actions taken by the governments of both the country of origin and country of adoption.

CHAPTER IV
INDIANS IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY AND ECONOMY
AND THEIR EMERGING PROBLEMS

The history of Indian migration to Australia can be broadly classified in three periods, as we have already discussed in the preceding chapters of this study. Between 1800 and 1860s, Indians went mainly as hired labourers as servants and workers. Between 1860s and 1901, Indians in Australia worked as agricultural labourers, hawkers and peddlers mainly arriving from Punjabi Sikh and Punjabi Muslim community. They were referred to as 'Hindoos' (Hindus) by the Australian government. As early as 1890, one observes objections being raised in the New South Wales Parliament against permitting the influx of Asiatics other than Chinese. Those who migrated to Australia prior to enactment of immigration restrictions act were allowed to stay as cane cutters and labourers in Queensland and New South Wales (NSW). As already stated elsewhere, the largest single rural community of Indians in Australia most of them being descendants of early migrants, live in woolgoolga, a coastal town in northeastern NSW and is engaged in rural industry, particularly for growing bananas. Since 1950, which marks the second phase, the number of Indians migrating to Australia increased as a result of acceptance of those Indian-born British citizens and Anglo-Indians who had left India after independence. The change in immigration policy in 1966 and adoption of multicultural policy in 1970s facilitated migration of professional Indians, such as doctors, engineers, university teachers, computer programmers and increased the non-European proportion of Indian-born from 19 per cent in 1966 to an estimated 32 per cent in 1981.[1] There are an estimated 110,000 Indian-born persons in Australia; some 60,000-second generation Indians, some 40,000 Indo-Fijians

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[1]   James Jupp, refer chapter 2,n. 42, p. 428.

and about 15,000 Indians born in other countries including their Australian-born offspring; the proportion of Indians in overall population in Australia stands at just above 1 per cent.[2] Let us now examine the cultural diversity as exhibited by Indian society migrating to Australia.

Indians and Cultural Diversity:

Indian immigrants in Australia came from diverse parts of India and belonged to various religious, linguistic and cultural groups. But, they were better educated, more urbanized and had better command over English language. Linguistic and religious diversity of Indians is well demonstrated in Australia. In 1981, over three-quarters of the Indian-born were Christians but this had dropped to 52 per cent by 1996; a majority (56 per cent) speak English at home, frequently as a mother tongue; the largest number of (54.8 per cent) Hindi speakers came from Fiji and the largest number of Tamil Speakers came from Sri Lanka. In 1996, only 31 per cent of Australian Hindus were born in India, rest came from Fiji (23 per cent), Australia (18 per cent) and Sri Lanka (12 per cent); Moreover, only 27 per cent of Indian-born were Hindus, compared with 41 percent of the Fiji born.[3] Bengalis came equally from India and Bangladesh and Punjabis were predominantly from India.

Majority of Indians were well educated belonging to urban and professional backgrounds. Caste did not play a predominant role in Australia's Indian society. As such marriage patterns were influenced by communal factors other than caste, like religion or languages. Punjabi speaking Sikhs usually look for brides in India who can be religiously and linguistically an

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[2] Carmen Voigt-Graf, "Indians at home in the Antipode: Migrating with Ph.D. S, bytes or Kava in their bags", in Bhikhu Parekh, Gurharpal Singh and Steven Vertovec, ed., _Culture and Economy in the Indian Diaspora_ (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 147.

[3] ibid, p. 428-29.

acceptable choice in the country of adoption. Anglo-Indians prefer a Christian non-Indians spouse. A preference for Indian food, an Indian dress, and Indian friend continues in Australia. Australian Indian social life takes places in English language around activities like cricket or church. There are many small language-based orientations, especially for Kannarese, Malayallis, Gujratis, Bengalis. The Indians as immigrants expects to do well in host country, but are not committed to wholly accepting Australian attitudes to marriage, sex role or for that matter readily surrendering their Indian heritage. The purpose of the present study is to extend research into the lives of people living in Australia and how these migrants are responding to two different cultures, one of native land and another of host nation. With exposure to less traditional values at college or at work, it is possible that young immigrants of Indian descent are developing attitudes towards marriage, sex role and the maintenance of traditions which are not only different from the attitudes of previous generations, but also which reflect some degree of dual identification with Indian and Australian cultures.[4]Researches reveal that Indian immigrants are still committed to their religious customs and observances. Though they do not want to maintain all traditions and religious observances, yet they are not fully prepared to accept entirely Australian customs. Their prominent commitment to themselves and their children was better living standard with suitable opportunities in jobs. They do not develop segregationalistic attitudes and are better-educated and highly skilled people.

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[4]Victor J. Callan, "The Attitudes of Indian Immigrants in Australia to Marriage, Sex roles andTraditions", in George Kurian, Ram P. Srivastava ed., *Overseas Indians: A Study 1 in Adaptations*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1983), p. 295-296.

A majority of Indian born migrants in Australia are Christians due to emigration of Anglo-Indians soon after India's independence. They have not formed separate churches or even congregation. In 1996, there were 67,278 Hindus, 12017 Sikhs, 1724 Indian-born Muslims and 1522 Zoroastrian (Parsis); Many of these were not India-born but there were also groups of Jains unrecorded in the Census, Indian Jews, Indian Buddhists and many Indian Christians who were members of specifically Indian denominations such as the church of South India or the Syrian Jacobites.[5] There is no Hindu religious authority in Australia as such and each temple is the responsibility of its adherents. The first traditional Hindu temple in Australia was formally opened with rituals (Mahakumbhabhishekam) in Sydney on 30 June 1985. Another regular place for worship is the Sri Mandir Society: a large house for congregational worship. There are many other places of worship and prayer including specifically, designed temples. Hindus celebrate many social and religious festivals like Festival of Light (Deepavali). Similarly, in woolgoolga and elsewhere, although the Khalsa Sikh tradition is the basis of Sikh values and norms, its practice has undergone considerable change. Although some second-generation wear western-style dress, older women adhere to traditional Punjabi dress. Indian Muslims though in small minority have taken to important roles in Islamic Federation and in some other community activities. Jains and Parsis mainly come from prosperous business community of India.

Thus, most of the cultural and religious beliefs and practices of Indians in Australia have root in various Indian regional and religious

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[5] James Jupp, refer chapter 2,n. 42, p. 429.

backgrounds. Indians in Australia can be categorized linguistically as Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Konkani, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi, Tamil and Telugu, but Hindi-speaking people from Northern India constitutes a majority section in Australia. Also Punjabi speaking Sikhs adhering to Sikh religious faiths are also prominent. Although a substantial number of Indians can speak two or more Indian languages, nearly 97 per cent of India-born in Australia can speak English. Every language group has at least one regional and cultural association in each of major cities in Australia. Some groups are formally registered associations like the Tamils and the Punjabi Sikhs, while some have informal grouping such as Kannarese, the Malayalis, Gujaratis, Goans etc. It is estimated that the number of small and large, formal and informal, regional and cultural associations for Indians in Australia is close to 100 (excluding organization exclusively devoted by promoting Indian religion or religious movements like Siddha or Hare Krishna controlled by non-Indian groups in Australia).[6] There are also though fewer in number, non-regional and non-sectarian associations like the Indian society of Western Australia and Indo-Australian cultural society of Sydney. These associations provide a forum for people to meet regularly to share views on regional, political issues and celebrate festivals etc. together besides providing the second generation some understanding and knowledge of regional cultures. The high profile honorary consul for India in Melbourne is a platform for articulation of community problems, welfare services etc. Also there are cultural societies, student societies, a few caste based societies and a number of religious organizations. Fiji Indians and Anglo-Indians maintain separate societies as

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[6]ibid,p. 430.

well. Many Indian migrants also feature in multicultural organizations such as Australian Doctors Trained Overseas Association.

Thus, Indian immigrants in Australia form a small, heterogeneous, and a relatively dispersed community. They settle mostly in new suburbs and differ according to occupation, language, religion and race. They have made adjustments in their traditional ways of life without necessarily losing their cultural and religions identities. Nevertheless, they actively participate in Australia's Ethnic Communies' council, professional associations and make significant contributions in the economic field. They exhibit keen interest in Australian politics and sports. Indian print media in Australia is in English, along with videos of Indian language movies and occasional televisions films. Also, major cities have several video outlets specializing in Indian films and music as well as range of Indian restaurants. There are several ethnic newspapers, prominent among them being *The Indian Down under, The Indian Post, Indian Voice, Indian Link etc.* Similarly, there are several radio and TV channels, which broadcasts popular programs including Bollywood music for Indian community. One of the primary ways in which diasporic Indian community connects with India and each other is through global flow of Indian popular cultural via Bollywood. [7]

Indians in Australian Society:

Indians in Australia display outstandingly high levels of educational achievements with concentration in professional, business and academic sectors. The second or third generation Indians go to universities, but do not opt to become doctors, surgeons, academicians and engineers as

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[7] Bollywood is the most popular of India's regional film industries both in India and Overseas.

their parents did. Unemployment is relatively low and they tend to be employed in more demanding professions and managerial areas. But, since 1986 owing to increase in migration of Indian people from different regions and with lesser skills or with farming or trading experience, even professionals and highly qualified Indians have during the recession period sought employment as tradesmen, machinists etc. Almost one-third in eastern Australia is professional or a paraprofessional. The higher bracket earnings render the Indians among the more affluent group of all immigrants who either invest in business ventures or contribute to community development programs. Indians in Australia are also a part of global Indian diaspora resulting in maintaining national networks with family, culture, economic and politics. New communications, technologies and social networks help them in maintaining links with original home and their counterparts in other countries. The economic and technology market as well as matrimonial prospects help maintaining links with original home and their counterparts in other countries, while the Indian government is also keen in luring capital and material investments back to the country of origin from its NRIS and PIOs which we shall discuss later.

Earlier migration was conceived of as a bipolar relation between the sending and receiving countries and the post migration situations was perceived as being localized in the new country of residence. However, the formation of transnational identities implies that after the initial movement, transnational spaces are created between migrants and their kin that transcend the boundaries of nation states.[8]Let us now briefly examine the

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[8] Carmen Voigt-Graft,"Towards a Geography of Transnational spaces: Indian Transitional Communities in Australia", *Global Networks*. (Blackwell, London), vol. 4 (2004), p.43.

history of transnational identities created by the migrant population as studied by Carmen Voigt Graft. In the nineteenth century, as pointed out earlier, Punjabis entered as agricultural labourers and as hawkers and peddlers in Australia. Many families kept their links with Australia for two or three generations before the first family member permanently settled there. Punjabis from Southeast Asia and United Kingdom have started migrating to Australia recently i.e. chain migration has led to sojourning of relatives. Many twice migrants have arrived from Southeast Asia because of regular flow of people, goods and information, link people living in Australia with occupants of other countries. Many a times, marriages are used strategically to open an immigration door to a more attractive country. Immigration of urban professionally qualified kannadigas looking for better work and economic opportunities is basically on temporary Schemes. Many return back or move to United States and other countries. A noteworthy feature of composition of the Indian community in Australia is that a significant component is made up of Indians who emigrated from Fiji to Australia owing to the climate of political uncertainty arising in the wake of first coup in Fiji in 1987 and thereafter in 2000. Australia hosts the largest overseas community of Indo-Fijians. They look forward to relocate their community to safer place close to Fiji. India becomes irrelevant to them due to absence of Kinship ties. Relations between Indians and Indo-Fijians in Australia is stated not as one being very harmonious, despite their joint attendance at celebration of various kinds, with direct migrants tending to claim a cultural superiority that reflects the recentness of migration, perceived retention of tradition and caste status.[9]

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[9] John Connell, refer chapter 3,n.22,p.208-9.

Thus, Carmen Voigt-Graf in his analytical case studies of Punjabis, Kannadigas and Indo-Fijians migrants to Australia clearly demonstrates the complexity of Indian migration routes to Australia and the enormous diversity of migration flows. According to Graf's analytical research, the recent migration of Indians to Australia was to improve the educational opportunities of their children as well as to look for their own job opportunities. Also, for quiet a number of Indians Australia was not the primary choice of a settlement country but an easier choice to get visa than United States of America. Moreover, prior contacts, clean country, healthy environment and a safer place with low crime rate also triggered Indian immigrations in Australia. Some had taken Australian citizenship in order to facilitate their immigration into the United States. The complexity of immigration flow is indicated by the occurrence of multiple immigrations in the Punjabi families as it became evident from the variety of birthplaces of these migrant groups. Graf further points that:

> The increasing blending of temporary and permanent forms of migration enhances the complexity of migration. Many migrants from Karnataka who enter on skill migration visas and are permanent residents in Australia are not planning to stay for good. On the other hand, many of those entering on temporary visas end up staying permanently. Student immigration is one allegedly temporary form of immigration, which often becomes permanent. The number of Indian students in Australia has skyrocketed from 378 in 1990 to almost 10,000 in 1999. Australia has a 26 percent share of Indian market and has surpassed the United Kingdom to become the second most preferred destination for Indian overseas students after the United States.[10]

Australian educational institutions have attracted Indian middle class for the costs, course fees and living in Australia are substantially lower than other western countries. Moreover, international students are allowed to work for twenty hours a week during semester and full time during vacation.

[10]Carmen Voigt Graft, n.2, p. 152-3.

Also, a legislative change in 1999 has made it possible for student visa holders to apply for residency in Australia at the completion of their studies. Student migration is an example, which is used as an agent to foster multiple migrations. Also, people entering Australia on student visas but entering the work force on arrival are a good example of migrants using regulation on their own terms. Migrants from India are usually highly qualified and are over represented in professional occupations. In 1996, 38.6 percent of Indian born migrants aged 15 and over were professionals or associate professionals compared to 29.2 percent of host population. The proportion of India-born population with higher qualification was 42.9 percent in 1996, compared to 16.7 percent for the total Australian population.[11] Unqualified people face immigration barriers in Australia and are granted residency on being sponsored as family migrants. After the end of White Australia policy in the early 1970s, migrant from a wide range of backgrounds and regional origins have settled in Australia. In the past Indian migrations were basically under family or skilled migration schemes in Australia. Others came on temporary visas without intending to stay in Australia. For many Indians today, it is only one of the numbers of migrations undertaken during their working life. Greater ease and lower costs of travel facilities and information flows has facilitated subsequent migrations. Some Indian migrations of professional urban middle class background migrate by virtue of declining standards in India, competition in the labour market, over-population and pollution.

Punjabis are the oldest group of Indian migrants in terms of

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[11] ibid, p. 156.

labour market integration and success and have settled along east coast of Australia and were engaged in farming in the past. Today many professional migrants from Punjab find difficulty in getting appropriate jobs or are forced to do unqualified work. The Indian population in Australia is dispersed but are connected migrant communities. For instance, Fiji Indians still rely on film products from "Bollywood' (Bombay), to sustain their cultural identity as Indians and also constitute the largest consumer of Hindi films, though they have never visited India. Thus Indians have displayed great diversity in Australia and have distinctively maintained their unique identity. They have also contributed to the economic advancement of their country of adoption. The next section would illustrate these contributions at length.

ROLE OF INDIANS IN AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY:

In any classical immigration country, a distinction can be made between economic and social migrants. The social stream has two components; one being family reunion and the other is humanitarian consideration. The family reunification is a major factor influencing immigration to Australia. Economic migrants provide the immediate possibility of selecting migrants based on personal characteristics and thus exert a direct influence on "quality" aspect of migration.[12]

The policy changes in Australia for immigration are influenced by various criteria: firstly by the abolition of ethnic background considerations and secondly by a shift from an 'occupational needs principle' to a general skills principle', reflecting a change in the perception of the economic benefits of the types of skills that are involved. In 1990s and 1960s, the mechanism to

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[12]Rainer winkelmann, "Immigration Policies and their Impact", in slobodon Djajic,ed.,*International Migration: Trends, Policies and Economic Impact* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.5.

control entry of economic migrants was on 'occupational priority list'. Though Australia diluted its policy but kept various direct and indirect instruments of occupational selections in place. The current Australian economic policy aims at an intake that "has broad based skills with the capacity to contribute to Australia's economy". Economic migration is deepened to bring into the country "productive human capital" or "broad based skills".[13]

Economic program is implemented as a point system in which points are allocated for employability, age and settlement factors and an adjustable pass marks is set in order to meet a target of successful applicants. Points are awarded to select most productive applicant. The criterion of traditional source country was abolished to give preference to ethnic diversification. The Australian government prefers younger migrants with specific occupational skills. Australia has a higher average rate of economic growth leading to higher real earning and employment growth. The outcome of extensive Australian post war immigration program was that in the mid 1990s, just less than one in four of the Australian population was an immigrant, the majority from non-English speaking countries.

Labour market and urban infrastructure dominated the debates encircling desirability of the immigration policy. Critics perceive immigration as one being detrimental to employment conditions of natives (like affecting wages and giving rise to unemployment), and also having unfavorable impact on urban areas due to greater congestion, social unrest and lower housing affordability due to sharply rising prices.[14]

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[13] ibid, 6-8.
[14] Jacques Poot, refer chapter 3,n.15, p.131-6.

According to 1966 census, Asian born male workers in Australia were relatively low: 26,468 of the total 881,676 overseas-born; even so, the incidence of professional workers among the Asian-born was very high: Malaysia, 27.04% Singapore, 17.33% and India 10.21%.[15] Immigration has been an integral part of Australia's economic policy and annual targets have been calculated according to prevailing demands for labour. Usually non-British immigrants have been given a lower priority on the pretext that they would experience problems of adjustment in Australian Society and also their skills would not be readily acceptable by Australian trade and professional organizations. But the past two decades have seen an unprecedented Australian selection of skilled migrants, in particular professionals from non-English Speaking background (NESB) source countries; By 1991, the overseas-born constituted 43 to 45 percent of Australia's engineers, 43 percent of computer professionals, 40 percent of doctors, 26 percent of nurses and rising proportions in other key professions; Also, within one to five years of arrival, just 30 percent of degree-qualified migrants were employed, but, a few diploma holders and select NESB groups also had to face acute labour market disadvantage.[16]

[15]R.T. Appleyard, "The Contributions of Professionally Trained Immigrants to Australia's Recent Economic Growth," In. _The International Migration of High-Level Manpower: Its Impact on the Development Process_, (New York and London: Praeger, 1970), p. 656.

[16]Lesleyanne Hawthorne, "Qualifications Recognition Reform for skilled Migrants in Australia: Applying Competency based Assessment to Overseas-Qualified Nurses". _International Migration_, vol 40, (2002), p.55.

Table 4. 1 LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES FOR DEGREE-QUALIFIED MIGRANTS ARRIVING 1991-1993, BY BIRTHPLACE CATEGORIES (1996 CENSUS)

Origin	Own Profession	Other Profession	Admin. / Manage-ment	Sub-Professi onal	Un-employed	Not in labour force	Numbe r
UK/Ireland	30.4	25.2	10.7	19.4	2.7	11.4	4,636
South Africa	39.5	17.3	10.0	16.9	2.5	13.7	830
Hong Kong	25.8	18.4	4.0	23.1	6.0	22.3	2,201
Malaysia	22.0	13.8	4.5	24.9	6.3	28.3	1,312
India	17.2	17.5	4.3	38.4	7.5	14.5	4,922
S. Europe	22.0	15.3	3.7	29.1	15.5	14.4	1,039
Philippines	6.5	5.7	0.9	60.5	4.9	21.0	4,344
Vietnam	10.9	8.1	1.8	29.7	21.5	27.9	827
China	10.0	15.3	3.0	33.7	10.1	27.7	3,394
USSR/Baltic	15.5	17.2	2.4	24.7	16.3	23.6	2,169
Lebanon	12.8	9.9	1.2	31.4	18.2	24.0	242

Source : Lesleyanne Hawthrone, "Qualifications Recognition Reform for skilled Migrants in Australia: Applying Competency based Assessment to Overseas-Qualified Nurses". *International Migration,* vol.40,(2002),p.55.

The twenty first century of globalized world has seen a remarkable trend of migrations from India to developed countries. The trend indicates a shift away from professionals in specific occupations like doctors, engineers, scientists, architects and bankers to information technology professionals embodying in way more generic skills. The exodus also comprises of movement of students pursuing higher education in onshore as well as offshore universities of the developed countries. Australia believes strongly in internationalization of education through trade for better international relations, cultural understanding between countries and for its own education and training sector. In June 1999, The Australian Vice Chancellors Committee signed a memorandum of Agreement with its counterparts in India, The Association of Indian Universities (AIU). The

Agreement provided a framework for student and teacher exchange programs, information sharing, joint programs and research collaborations. Australian Universities charge full fees from Indian Students. These very from A $ 6,000 to A $ 7,000 for a six-month graduate certificate course to over A $ 30,000 per year for a medical degree – most post-graduate courses cost A $ 10,000 to A $ 20,000 per year – laboratory and computer related courses cost even more. The number of Indian Students in Australia, according to Australian Education International (AEI) sources in the Australian High Commission at New Delhi, has increased from about 8,000 in 1998 to 9,362 in 1999, of 1998 enrolments, 60 percent of vocational education streams and the training sectors, rising to about 65 percent in 1999. The remainder of enrolments was in higher education. Fewer Students have pursued School education i.e. 72 in 1999 with higher education; approximately 70 percent of students were at the postgraduate level. However, Australia has tightened the issuing of student visas to Indians because some are reported to be entering the labour market in Australia without completing their courses, sometimes immediately after arrival here.[17]

In 1999, Australia projected that around 31,500 additional information technology and telecommunication employees were reported to be required during 1999-2000; 89, 300 would be required over the next three years and over 180,200 by 2004. The Industry and government in Australia identified India as potential source country for IT professionals. These professionals enter on long-term visas and from 471 visas in 1996-97, there has been an increase up to 3,335 in 1999-2000. This inflow of IT professionals

[17]Binod Khadrai, "Shifting Paradigms of Globalization: The twenty- First Century Transition towards Generics in Skilled Migration from India", *International migration,* vol. 39, (January 2001). p. 55.

to Australia became such a conspicuous phenomenon that early 2000 was dubbed as "Indian summer" in the IT community.[18] The migration of skilled labour clearly illustrates how the IT professionals struggle to join the global system at their own cost and at their country's loss to facilitate brain gain of the host nation. Contradictory to the views held by critics of immigration policy, research and facts have shown that net migration since World War II has been responsible for about half of Australia's growth directly and an even greater proportion indirectly, when children of migrants are taken into account. The immigrants had higher work force participation rates than the residents imply that they have contributed even more to Australia's work force than to population growth.[19]

According to Alexander Downer, Minister for External Affairs, Adelaide, India is Australia's twelfth largest trading partner and second largest source of migrants to Australia. Also, number of Indian tourists visiting Australia has increased. Migration to Australia continues to be an issue of intense debate, particularly in the times of economic hardships. But such debates cannot ignore the dynamic elements of immigration affecting Australian society and economy. Immigration has indeed contributed more to Australian Society and economy than just being an element of settling the continent which forms a part of the new world. Nevertheless, like all other euro centric countries, Australia also maintains a preferred criterion for the type of immigrants entering the continent though in a diluted shape. This inevitably throws light on the discrimination incurred on many migrants on

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[18] Biao xiang, "Structuration of Indian Informaiton Technology Professionals Migration to Australia: An Ethnographic Study", *International Migration*, Vol. 38, (1/2001), p. 74.

[19] David Pope and Glenn Withers, "Do Migrants Rob Jobs? Lessons of Australian History, 1861-1991", *The Journal of Economic History*,(New York) Vol. 53(December 1993), p. 720-72.

account of their country of origin, occupation, language proficiency etc. The following section will deal with an analytical assessment of the diasporic problems of Indian migrants in their country of adoption.

DIASPORIC DIFFICULTIES IN AUSTRALIA:

Australia is an attractive destination for prospective migrants, largely because of Australia's relative economic and political stability. It is also popular as a destination because of attractiveness of Australian lifestyle. However, migrants are not free from hazards of discrimination in the host country. Marginalisation of migrant group is a common argument that emerges from research literatures. The problems and prospects faced by them in the country of their adoption differ from country to country. Their problems are linked to the nature of their migration, their social and economic status, their educational attainments and the majority–minority syndrome in the countries of their settlement.

In 1950s the Australian Minister for immigration established the committee to probe the demeanor of migrants. The committee collected a large amount of data on migrant types, the nature of problems they encountered, their involvement in crime, and issued three reports. The reports concluded that the incidence of serious crime was lower amongst migrant than in the Australian population in general. The committee also indicated that, while crime by migrants received unwarranted publicity, little publicity was given to offences against migrants. One of the many observations made by committee concerned the attitude of many Australians and the media, which says:

> If an Australian commits a misdemeanor responsibility for it is attributed to him
> individually. If a migrant commits a similar misdemeanors it is usually reported
> in such a way that the fact that he is migrant, rather than the crime itself is

featured and responsibility for the offence is thus shared by the whole migrant population.[20]

The Committee also noted that although the migrants suffered disadvantages such as the lack of proper balance of the sexes, considerable psychological strain like loneliness and unfamiliar environment, lack of the knowledge of the local language, and lack of support of one's family, their lower involvement in crime was commendable.[21]

Many migrants arriving lack both formal qualifications and knowledge of English. The unemployment rate of those arriving in 1990s was high, for many in labour force-were unemployed and were employed in low paid occupation. The following table illustrates the above stated facts.

For those born in South Asia, the rate of unemployment in 1992 was 9.4 percent which was lower than the Australia's national unemployment rate; current labor statistics indicate particularly high unemployment rates for some groups but low unemployment rates for Japan, India and Thai born; overall there has been a reduced labour force participation rate for many groups which can be attributed to the fundamental structural changes occurring within various sectors of the Australian economy.[22] Thus, promotion opportunities, recognition of overseas qualifications and work experience are the major concerns of the many educated migrants.

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[20] Satyanshu Mukherjee, "Crime and Victimization of Migrants in Australia: A Socio-Demographic View", in Joshua Frelich, Grame Newman, ed., _Migration Culture, Conflict and Crime_ (Dartmouth: Ashgate, 2002), p. 190.

[21] ibid. p. 190.

[22] Hanifa Deen, refer chapter 2, n.31, p.120.

Table 4.2: Unemployment Rates of Population Aged 15 Years and Over and Period of Arrival by Country of Birth

Country of Birth	Arrival Period	
	Pre 1991	1991-96
Australia	N/A	N/A
Cambodia	24.36	54.47
Chile	12.65	20.32
China	10.23	22.72
Fiji	9.28	19.76
Germany	8.80	13.32
Greece	9.76	16.71
Hungary	10.56	19.12
India	6.46	17.64
Ireland	6.59	6.75
Italy	7.01	17.16
Lebanon	21.66	39.75
Malaysia	6.01	20.62
Malta	8.76	17.65
Netherlands	7.12	10.99
New Zealand	8.87	13.17
Philippines	7.61	13.92
Poland	11.16	22.74
Romania	19.48	27.92
Russian Federation	9.97	25.12
Sri Lanka	6.82	25.28
Turkey	21.61	38.65
United Kingdom	7.65	8.89
United States of America	7.13	7.97
Vietnam	20.72	47.42
Former Yugoslavia NFD	11.27	32.79
Remainder	9.71	25.44

Source: Satyanshu Mukherjee, Crime and Victimization of Migrants in Australia: A socio-demographic view" in, Joshua D. Frelich, Graeme Newman and others, ed., _Migration, Culture Conflict and Crime_ (Dartmouth: Ashgate, 2002), p. 194.

Structural barriers in the labour market and exclusionary practices by local interest groups, for example the Australian Medical Association do not readily accept overseas qualifications, which has forced many Asian professionals to turn to alternative areas of employment. Discrimination in hiring and promotion, non-recognition of skills and regulations explicitly designed to limit migrant workers' right to equal treatment in the labour market can be seen as forms of institutional

racism.[23]Local workers and their unions supported such discrimination, at least initially. Many Australians were highly suspicious of foreigners and there was mistrust of foreign groups and resentment towards foreign children at school. Some Asian-born Australians such as the Indians and Chinese have become reluctant entrepreneurs in trading, services, food and retail industries. Accents continue to be cited as a major barrier to promotion of NESB staff.[24] Moreover, they are also denied promotions because they are ethnically or racially different. There has been a substantial skill loss of Indians as is evident in health sector. Indians, particularly Punjabis work as taxi-drivers or on railways. They have tertiary or other qualifications that are rarely used. Also, in a number of professional areas, including tertiary education, the recognition of overseas qualification has been difficult, while racial discrimination against migrants whose spoken English is accented is not uncommon.

Nevertheless, there are services to address such problems like Human Rights and Equal opportunity Commission or Tribunal under the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975. The number of compliant received by the human rights and Equal opportunity Commission in 1994-1995 was 154, increasing to 197 in 1996 and 375 in 1996-1997; of the 375 complaints the ethnicity / country of birth could be ascertained for only 148 complainants.[25] Also, Police services rendered to ethnic communities was slow. Since 1995, racial discrimination is made unlawful. Differences between British Australians and other Europeans have also crystallized in expressions like

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[23]Stephen and Castles, refer chapter 1,n.11, p.206-8
[24]ibid, p. 120
[25]See satyashnu Mukherjee, n.1, p. 205.

Dago, Wog, Wop and Balt. Pejorative racial and ethnic labels have commonly applied to lower status groups, a cultural evaluation associated historically with the introduction of immigrant labor.[26] A look at the following table depicts the distribution of complaints by region.

Table 4.3: Complainants by Country of Birth, 1996-1997

Country of Birth	Number of complainants
Australia	62
Asia (including India and China)	23
Europe	37
Africa	10
South/Central America	3
North America	2
New Zealand	2
Middle East	4
South Pacific Islands	2

Source: Satyanshu Mukherjee "Crime and victimization of Migrants in Australia: A Socio-democratic view:" in Joshu D. Freilich, Graeme Newman and others ed., *Migration, Culture, Conflict and Crime,* (Dartmouth: Ashgate, 2002), p. 205

Research literature on victimization claims that ethnic minority or migrant groups are stereotyped and are used as scapegoats. All immigrants suffer alienation and loneliness induced by the distance from the familiar context of their homeland and is exposed to prejudice and discrimination, trying to sustain rigors of life in a foreign country. But women who migrate because of familial ties, due to marriage, trafficking, or in an attempt to improve their life chances through education or better employment often suffer many more hardships related to their immigrant status. Migrants were often treated in the beginning as conscripted cheap labour, as pointed by G.W. Ford (1977); they were sent to jobs, which native-born Australians

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[26]Marie M dc Lepervanche,Indians In A White Australia:An account of race,class and Indian immigration to eastern Australia,(NSW:Allen and Unwin,1984),p.32.

regarded as unattractive and underpaid. Hence, they provided for the bulk of the labour force on isolated construction projects, in mass productions and heavy industries and in unpleasant industries such as tanning.[27]Ford further argues that the kind of work that migrants were typically confined to were dull, repetitive and often physically taxing. He says:

> Migrants significantly are concentrated in those sectors of manufacturing with the worst physical working conditions, the worst pay and the jobs, which are physically hard, and contain the most menial tasks. The capital-intensive sectors we studied in which conditions were reasonable or good had a very low migrant population.[28]

Initially migrant children suffered difficulties with English language. In its publication, *migrant services and programs* (1978), the commonwealth committee highlighted the change from migrant education to multicultural education. Also, non- utilization of skills of migrant teachers still occurs and represents an unwarranted waste of resources that could be used in migrant education. Usually, teachers trained in non-English speaking countries have found difficulty in getting registration in Australia. Housing also poses problems for migrant for nearly 50 per cent of their income is spent in order to obtain accommodation of a reasonable standard. The legislation also makes discrimination against migrants solely on the basis of their status as migrants. Services provided for Australian born are different from those provided for migrants for instance, age pension or invalid pension can be availed by a migrant only after a residency of ten years in Australia. Unemployment benefit is also not available until twelve months residency is established. In New South Wales, one finds that non-British subjects are excluded from voting in local government elections and also from holding civic offices.

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[27] John S. Western, *Social Inequality in Australian Society* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1983), p.258.
[28] ibid. p. 259.

In addition, the Australian government through Public Service provides that no person shall be admitted as permanent staff to the Australian public service unless he/she is a natural born or a naturalised British subject. Only in Victoria, there are no such provisions limiting employment of non-naturalized persons in the state public service. The legislation of Australia provides for more severe punishment for non-naturalized residents compared to Australian citizen for the same offences. In fact cultural differences, lack of language, skills and differing legal expectations adds to their plight. Studies and various literatures also reveal that there is only a minimal political participation by migrants from almost all immigrant groups.

Although the migrants have been given special health care need, but both morbidity and mortality rate reflects the disadvantaged position in which they find themselves. The migrants always suffer a sense of loss or grief involved in departure and anxiety or fear about future and some degree of conflict when confronted by people with different attitudes and values. Though Australia is culturally diverse, still it maintains its euro centricity. More than four decades of sustained immigration programs is not enough to produce total acceptance of ethnically diverse by the native population. In a major study carried out in the western Australia in the late 1950s, Taft reported that while 86 percent of Australian born residents were in favor of British immigrants, the proportion dropped to 59 percent for foreigners, and to 35 percent for Jews and Southern Europeans. Other studies also suggested that a population of bout 10 percent of them was extremely prejudiced against

non British immigrants.[29] Thus, inspite of maintaining a well planned immigration programs and intake Australia doesn't offer its' migrant population a totally unbiased, egalitarian and peaceful residency. Yet, it is relatively less than the prejudices and difficulties faced by migrants in other euro centric counties making it still a preferred destination over many others.

The new generation of Indian migrants create a kind of hybrid of 'third space' where that space 'displaces the identities that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom', that is somewhere between notion of assimilation and ethnic 'authenticity' even though neither such polar positions could be possible within the diaspora. These spaces can be seen manifested in the form of get-togethers, partying or Indian clubs, which enables similar combination of nostalgia, difference and distance.[30]

Australian Indians came at quite different times, as once, twice or even thrice migrants, from very different places. Choices that were rarely possible in past have enabled continuity by stimulating change as migrants choose to live in transnational communities. The 1960s and 1970s were years of growing acceptance of difference and a decline in open racism, no doubt due to the recognized contribution of immigration to economic growth and prosperity. This initiated the abolition of the White Australia Policy, the first large-scale Asian entries and the introduction of multicultural policies. Members of ethnic communities were accepted as members of wider society who may have special needs or interests. Easy access to Indian food, music, language, Internet, technology advancement have helped in replenishing and

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29 bid, p.295.
30 John Connell, refer chapter 3,n.22, p.213-14.

restructuring cultural tradition thereby giving them a sense of belonging in the host nation. These Indian migrants are visible in the form of different -looking people, speaking their own language, distinctively using urban space, developing ethnic neighborhoods and establishing their own ethnic associations and institutions. In Australia where racism is relatively less, immigrants often move to urban areas for better living conditions and improved economic opportunities. Also in countries like USA, Canada and Australia immigrant political participation and representation is less of a problem, partly because of preponderance of family-based legal immigration. Immigration politics keeps changing because of rapid changes in migratory flows as well as broader transformations in political patterns. Indians have created mini India in Australia by transplanting the cultures and traditions of their homeland. Consequently, despite facing all discrimination and limitations, Indians have emerged as a successful diasporic population to a large extent and have created a distinct identity for themselves in the country of immigrants.

CHAPTER V
INDIAN DIASPORA VIS-À-VIS THE INDIAN STATE

The story of Indian diaspora is one, full of achievements in the field of educational advancement and economic progress despite impediments it has faced over the years. The overseas Indians not only progressed educationally and economically but also succeeded in attaining political success at times crushed by cruel coups as in Fiji. The descendants of overseas Indians have produced work of literature, which indicates the past and legacy of the land of their ancestors. They have probed and explored their own Indian-ness and also the forces and factors that have changed the face of India in the years following the departure of their ancestors. An Indian connection of the descendants of Indian diaspora with the land of their ancestors consciously or unconsciously colors their vision. Consequently, some disown their connections with India, some grudgingly and reluctantly accept, whereas others proudly uphold and applaud their Indian identity. The story of Indian diaspora started in the nineteenth century and can be categorized in three parts:

(a)   Economically beleaguered labor force seeking livelihood in distant lands in colonies under British rule.

(b)   The second wave of migrants consisting of professionals, artisans, traders and factory workers in search of opportunities and commerce in the neighbouring countries.

(c)   The third category comprises of professionals and the educated elite of India who sought economic betterment in the more advanced countries of the world. They have done so well particularly in U.S.A. that they are referred to as the model minority.

India became a major global player after liberalization in 1990s and has attained a significant place in the comity of nations.[1] This situation coincided with the wave of Indian diaspora in the First world Countries. The host countries recognized these people as endowed with qualities of their industry, enterprise, knowledge, economic strength, educational standards and professional skills. Indian diaspora became a key source of knowledge for these countries. The education and knowledge based Indian emigration has made Indian diaspora one of the most powerful diasporas in the world. With one of the largest pools of relatively low wage semi-skilled and skilled labour, India is potentially poised as a critical center of global sourcing of labour. Though increased levels of immigration are resisted by a variety of groups in industrialized countries for cultural, security and economic reasons, they will be strongly supported by firms, since this lowers their labour costs and provides them complementary skills.

Indian diaspora has a population of about 20 million, which is spread over one hundred and thirty eight countries.[2] They speak different languages and are engaged in different vocations and professions. Indian origin and cultural heritage consciously imparts them Indian identity. They are known for their resilience and hard work. Despite deprivation and racial, political and economic discrimination they have done well economically and politically. Some critics argue that they are unable to assimilate themselves into the mainstream of

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[1] J. C. Sharma, "Indian Diaspora: Responsibilities and Relationships, Weaknesses and Contribution", In, Adesh Pal, ed., *Theorising and Critiquing: Indian Diaspora*,(New Delhi: Creative Books,2004)p.21.

[2] "Introduction", In, Adesh Pal, ed., *Theorising and Critiquing: Indian Diaspora*,(New Delhi: Creative Books,2004)p.xii.

their country of adoption and still adhere to the religious and cultural practices of their country of origin. This has proved to be a stumbling block in their complete assimilation into the society of their country of adoption. Nonetheless, this has contributed to their strength because the cherished values of their origin strengthen them morally and politically to participate in the economic, political and cultural lives of the host countries, for instance, some of the diasporic people had fought in the freedom movements of their countries of adoption. One of the reasons, which attracted the attention of the general public in India, was concerned with the investment capacity of the NRIs in the wake of liberalization and the structural changes in the Indian economy ushered in 1991.It has been pointed out that, compared to the overseas Chinese investments in mainland China, the overseas Indians are five times behind in their investments in India. Observations such as these have led to economists interest in migration, remittances and capital flows.[3]The effects of overseas networks as sources and facilitator of trade and investment and remittances are substantial. Let us examine their role in connecting with their country of origin.

POTENTIALS Of INDIAN DIASPORA:

Indian diaspora has contributed economically, politically and culturally in the advancement of large numbers of host countries by their hard work and sincerity. Today, the Indian diaspora's contribution in annual income globally is 300 billion US dollars. India's gross domestic product is approximately 480 billion US dollars. And the annual income of Indian disapora is more than

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[3] R.K.Jain, "Indian diaspora, globalistion and multiculturalism", _Contributions To Indian Sociology_ ,(New Delhi), vol 32, (1998)

half of India's gross domestic product.[4] L.M.Singhvi, Member of Parliament, commented rightly in this context: *It is economies, which took people away, it is economics that will now join them to India and it's future.* [5]

Private remittances in recent years have risen to a new record, which forms part of the 'Invisibles' in the current account. The inflows under private transfers amounted to $ 18 billion in 2003, which is 30 percent higher than the previous year. A comparison with the software sector will bring its true significance to light. RBI's (Reserve bank of India) figures show that the earnings from software were $ 8.63 billion during the last financial year. Private remittances during the same period were $ 14.8 billion. In terms of percentage, the software earnings were 20.37 per cent of the total inflow under "invisibles" whereas private remittances accounted for 34.4 per cent.[6]Private remittances are of great importance in economic development of the country. Remittances have financed the entire merchandise trade deficit for India and has kept accounts deficit in check in many previous years. A study reveals that workers remittances have also benefited Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Foreign Remittances in India

The exact information regarding the extent of remittances sent by overseas Indians is not available. However, the remittances had been of great importance to India because of scarce foreign exchange resources in the 1980s. According to the available data, it is estimated that the remittances amounted to$ 3000 million in 1973-74 and rose to 535 million dollars in 1975 and almost

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[4]S.D. Singh, "The Indian Diaspora", In Adesh Pal, ed., Theorishing and Critiquing, Indian Diaspora (New Delhi,: Creative Book, 2004) p. 45
[5] http//www.indiaabroaddaily.com
[6] *The Hindu,* (New Delhi), 24 April 2004.

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doubled to above1, 000 million dollars in 1977.While inaugurating the second Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas, the Prime Minister said that Rs. 55,000 cores remittances had come from NRIs.[7]However, more than fifty percent of this was basically remitted to families from Malayalis in the Gulf.

A more comprehensive policy framework is required to aid the current account flows besides enhancing its effectiveness. There is always a shift in the sources of remittances coming in India. The remittances from Gulf countries are scaling down due to decrease in numbers of skilled and semi-skilled laborers. However, the higher inflows to India from U.S.A. and Europe have off set this loss. The Government is also scaling down the level of incentives to NRk. This became possible because of over flow in foreign exchange reserves in India. In April 2004, the interest rate on NRI bank deposits in India was aligned with yields offered elsewhere. However, this is not affecting the fund flows into India. Unlike private capital flows, private remittance does not seem to be unduly influenced by interest rate differentials. Private remittances account for almost three per cent of the country's GDP. India was not successful in wooing direct foreign investment but it has been largely successful in attracting and retaining private remittances. Stability of remittances is a virtue, which a dynamic policy framework should take into account. India has thus attained the position of highest remittance receiving country in the world during the last three decades of the twentieth century.

The early migration of Indian diaspora was due to extreme poverty and unemployment on the one hand and forced migration for development of

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[7]*Sunday Times of India* (New Delhi), 11 January,2004.

plantations and agricultural economies of the colonies under western control on the other hand. Recent migration to the First world has made tremendous achievements in the field of medicine, engineering, Information Technology, teaching, commerce and industries. The spread of Indian diaspora all over the world was not only peaceful but also considerably influenced and enriched by the local people socially, politically, culturally. Indian millionaires are found in all parts of globe. Indian academicians are serving in various faculties of major universities of the world. The success story of India diaspora will remain incomplete if mention is not made of noble laureates such as Hargovind Khurana and Chandrashekar in Science, V.S. Naipul, and Vikram Chandra for literature and Amartya Sen for economics. The Indian diaspora has contributed vastly to the development of the land of their ancestors in the following ways:

(i)   Improvement in bilateral relations between host countries and the country of their origin.

(ii)   Improved linkage for bilateral economic cooperation and trade and commerce between host countries and the country of their origin.

(iii)   Favorable climate for investment in India because of liberalization of Indian economy since 1991.

(iv)   Pool of scientists, technologists and knowledgeable persons in other fields belonging to Indian diaspora can accelerate the pace of economic development in India.

(v)   Overseas Indian, can help in secondary and tertiary health care in India because of their advancement in medicines and health care services in the countries of their settlement.

(vi)   Education, tourism and culture are areas in which Indian diaspora can help. Philanthropy by Indian diaspora may usher in an era of worthy development in India. [8].

The global presence of Indian diaspora is a matter of great pride for India. This spread all over the globe helps in having linkages in the fields of culture, education, civilization and other areas. Overseas Indians are returning to Indian to seek their roots. Besides they are eager from making investment to transferring of skills and technology and for financing philanthropic and charitable works. This change became noticeable especially during the last decade. The Government of India should explore the opportunities offered by Indian diaspora for mutual benefits. This is two-way role in which there is a need for greater interaction and collaboration between members of the Indian diaspora and the government of India.

Demand and Expectations Of The Diaspora In Australia

The High Level Committee on the Indian disaspora constituted by Indian government under chairmanship of L. M. Singhvi brought about the following demands and expectations of the Indian communities as expressed by its representatives during committee's visit to Australia (July, 2001). They are as follows:

a) Removal of difficulties faced by them at immigration and customs counters of the Indian airports and with the banks in encashment of travelers cheques, etc.,

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[8] J.C. Sharma, n.1, p. 24

b) Abolition of current dual tariff structure, under which PIOs are asked to pay more for hotel accommodation, airfare, visits to monuments and registration fees for conferences etc. and are required to make payments in US dollars only.

c) Removal of difficulties in remitting funds to charities in India.

d) Assistance in the obtaining of visa for the spouse of PIOs or a tourist visa for the immediate family members.[9]

INDIAN DIASPORA VIS-À-VIS THE INDIAN STATE

Indian diaspora roughly numbers nearly 20 million people. They are spread in more than 135 countries. Cultural, linguistic and religious diversities of India starting from Kashmir to Kanyakumari are the hallmark of its diaspora. The problems and prospects faced by them in the country of their adoption differ from country to country. Their problems are linked to the nature of their migration, their social and economic status, their educational attainments and the majority –minority syndrome in the countries of their settlement. The Indian diaspora is the third largest diaspora in the world after China and United Kingdom. There are approximately 53 countries where Indian Communities number 9000 or more. There are 10 countries having a population of half a million or more of overseas Indians.[10] The Indians in Gulf countries remain an important source of remittances as well as investment in India: the first private airport at Cochin is a shining example of investment by Indians in the Gulf countries.

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[9] *Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora*, (New Delhi: Indian Council of World affairs, December 2001), p. 280.
[10] L.M. Singhvi, " Sun Never Sets on India Diaspora" *World Focus*,vol.22(March 2001),p.18.

Overseas Indians were mostly concentrated in developed countries and countries of Eastern and Western Africa. New classes of people on deputations on international assignments numbering about 10,000 have emerged.[11] India has also been added to the list of overseas Indians in Asia and Africa. They are doctors, engineers, accountants, financial experts, teachers, etc. Some of them want to return to their country and undertake some business activities or set up their own industrial ventures. Some, of course want to stay back but they are desirous of making investment in profitable ventures in India.

Early in 2002, the Bharatiya Janata Party government in India announced that it had finally decided that Indians abroad would be granted dual citizenship.[12]Indian state has shown policy shifts and attitudinal changes in dealing with its diaspora. At the time of independence, India maintained that those Indians who leave or have left their country of origin should forfeit their rights as Indians and should integrate into their host societies. This was exemplified by the Ugandan crisis in 1972,the crisis in Fiji in the mid 1980s and many other incidents. It is argued that whilst the government of India wanted India's economic development to be independent from all outside influence, the more recent governments have wanted to cash in on the resources of NRIs. India wanted liberalization but within limits in order not to 'sell out' to foreign investors but overseas Indians demanded full economic liberalization along with dual citizenship. Way back in 1947,the Nehruvian doctrine had excluded the issue of expatriate Indians totally from Indian foreign and domestic policy. Jawaharlal

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[11]M.C.Bhatt,"Incentives to Non-Resident of Indian Origin for Investment in India.", In J.J. Singh, e.d.,*Indian in South East Asia,* (New Delhi.: Sterling Publishing, 1982) p. 164.
[12]*India Today*,(New Delhi)21 January 2002.

Nehru, the first prime minister of India stated in a speech in Lok Sabha (the Indian House of Commons) said:

> Now these Indians abroad, what are they? Indian citizens? Are they going to be citizens of India or not? If they are not, then our interest in them become cultural and humanitarian, not political. That interest of course remains. For instance, take the Indians of Fiji or Mauritius: are they going to retain their nationality or will they become Fiji nationals or Mauritians? The same question arises in regard to Burma and Ceylon. It is a difficult question. This house gets mixed up. It wants to treat them as Indians, and with the same breath it wants a complete franchise as nationals of the other country, or treat them as Indians minus the franchise and ask for the most favorable treatment given to an alien[13].

The Nehruvian policy was maintained for 45 years following independence and the diaspora was marginalized economically and politically and any ties that remained were based on family relationships.

The Indian 'brain drain' of scientists, lawyers and professionals to US, Canada or Australia was in search of better life, huge salaries, good education and health care for families. All these expatriates made substantial money and maintained informal family ties with India. But with the economic crisis at it's doorstep, India realized that it had to change its economic strategy, along with reviewing its relationship with the NRIs to get the foreign currency flowing into country again. Special concessions were given to the NRIs to invest their wealth in the Indian industry, initiate new industrial ventures or simply deposit foreign currency in Indian bank accounts. However, the procedures were not really smoothened though the government's initiatives were in the right direction. Throughout the post-independence years, the Indian government failed to develop a relationship with its diaspora and to use this asset in assisting the

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[13]Marie Lall, "Mother India's Forgotten Children", in Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen, *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies and Transnational Relations*,(Houndmils,New York and Hampshire:Palgrave Macmillan,2003),p.126.

Indian economic development. The actual dialogue between the central government and the diaspora was marked by the old ideals of non-interference and suspicion for long. However, since 1991 with liberalization of Indian system, Indian government has offered incentives for investment in general for NRIs but with certain restrictions Let us now examine the advantages and incentives given to the diasporic population.

Incentives To NRIS For Attracting Investments

NRIs have tremendous financial resources as well as are a store house of technical skills and entrepreneurship. 1

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encouraging the NRIs to contribute to the economic and industrial growth of India. The various facilities made available to NRIs are listed below. We may begin with the type of account, which can be opened by NRIs and the facilities available therein.

(A)   FOR SAVINGS:

(1)   Non-Resident (External) Accounts Designated in Indian Rupees (NRE).

Persons of Indian nationality or origin, resident abroad, may open with the authorized dealers in India. The advantages of opening non-resident (external) accounts are: -

(i)   The income accruing on the balances in the accounts is free of Indian income tax.

(ii)   Balance held in the accounts is exempt from wealth tax.

(iii)   The account holders have the freedom to repatriate the balances along with interest accrued thereon, outside India at any time without reference to the RBI.

(iv)   The authorized dealers may credit interest accruing on the accounts to the accounts freely.

(v)   Debits to the accounts for local disbursements are freely permissible.

(vi)   Purchase of units of the UTI, Government securities (including securities issued by any state government and National Plan/National certificate) from balance in these accounts may be made freely.

(vii)   Dividend/interest and sale /maturity, proceeds / response price of the units, securities, certificates originally purchased out of funds in the accounts are allowed to be credited freely to the external accounts by authorized dealers.

(2)   Non-Resident (external) Accounts Designated in Foreign Currencies (FC NR).

The designated currencies under these accounts are Pound Sterling and US Dollar. This has been in operation from Ist November 1975.

(3)   Ordinary Non-Resident Accounts

(B)   Investment in Institutional Saving Schemes

NRI can purchase units of Unit Trust of India, Indian Government securities and National Plan Saving Certificate. There is no separation of interest and sale/maturity proceeds of these investments.

(C)   Investment in Industry

These investments are made in public / private limited company or in partnership concerns in accordance with the government policies being in force at the time of investment.

(D)   Investment in priority/export oriented Industries

(E)   Investment in Free Trade Zone.

Investments in above D and E enumerated sectors are permitted as per condition and policies laid down by Government of India from time to time

(F)   Repatriation of Profits

Repatriation of profit is permitted from industrial units set up under the scheme of incentives.

(G)   Exemption from Wealth Tax

NRIs are allowed exemption of wealth tax in the following type of industries.

(a)   Equity shares of companies engaged in the manufacture of article in metallurgical, boiler, and steam generation plants, prime movers, equipment for transmission and electricity, industrial machinery, machine tools, agricultural machinery, scientific instruments, drugs and pharmaceuticals, paper and pulp, paper products, automobile tyres and tubes, plate glass, ceramics, cement products, industries etc.

(b)   Equity shares of companies fulfilling 60 per cent export achievement targets.

(c)- Equity shares issued by existing companies after 31st March 1976, for the purpose of expansion and diversification.

(H) Infrastructural Facilities:

For a fast and effective development of Kandla Free Trade Zone and Santa Cruz Electronics Export Processing Zone, Government provided a number of infrastructural facilities at concessional rates for the entrepreneurs. The facilities provided are land and factory sheds at concessional rates, water and electricity supply, adequate transport arrangement etc. Arrangements for finances from various financial institutions were also made.

Some Special Facilities:

Those who remitted foreign exchange in favour of relatives in India were allowed priority allotment for purchase of motorcars, scooters, agricultural land, tractors, cement etc. However, because of abundance of these commodities such facilities are of no consequence in the present day circumstances.

Scaling Down of Incentives:

A host of incentives were sanctioned to NRIs to attract deposits and investment in India in 1980s. Because of liberalization and upsurge in Indian economy, these incentives and sops are being scaled down. On July 17,2003 the Reserve Bank of India imposed a ceiling on the interest rates offered by Indian banks on deposits from overseas Indian customers, pegging them to certain international bench mark rates. [14] The message given by the RBI is that the country does not need relatively high cost funds at this juncture of time. NRIs also want handsome incentives to deposit money in Indian banks. To attract NRI deposits, schemes such as Resurgent India Bonds (1998) and the Millennium Indian Deposit scheme (2000) were floated with exaggerated interest rates. NRIs

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[14] *The Hindu* (New Delhi), 7 August 2003.

willingly invested in these bonds after borrowing at much lower rates from their own banks. The latest RBI directive addresses both issues viz (1) bringing down yields on NRI deposits and (ii) blocking attempts by NRIs to arbitrage interest rates.

ROLE OF INDIAN STATE IN HARNESSING THE POTENTIALS OF INDIAN DIASPORA

Indian diaspora is a vast treasure of unskilled and skilled people having expertise in all aspects of human endeavor and it is spread all over globe. In a major initiative, the Government of India had set up a High level committee on Indian diaspora, in september 2000 under the chairmanship of Dr. L.M. Singhvi, Member of Parliament, to prepare a comprehensive report on the Indian diaspora, informing the Indian public of the achievements of the Indian diaspora, sensitizing it to their problems and their expectations from their mother country, proposing a new policy framework for creating a conducive environment in India to leverage these invaluable human resources and thus forging stronger ties between the Indian Diaspora and India. [15] After working for fifteen months and traveling to twenty countries the report was prepared and presented to the then Hon'ble Prime Minister on January 08, 2002. It represented the findings of all initiatives and inputs resulting from extensive first hand talk with overseas Indians, use of case studies and empirical data.

The terms of reference of the committee were of wide amplitude. The mandate was a comprehensive study of the diaspora. The appointment of the high level committee represented a historic first step since our independence.

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[15] J.C. Sharma. n.1, p. 24.

The observation and conclusions of the committee would no doubt assist in laying the foundations for a second framework of policy and approach and for a mutually beneficial and incremental interaction between India and her diaspora. The report is structured in five parts:

Part –I contains the letter of transmission of the Report to Government by the Committee Chairman, terms of reference, forward, the Executive Summary and the acknowledgements.

Part - II deals with the examination of the genesis and particular circumstances of the Indian diaspora in selected countries and region. This section concludes with a global perspective of other diaspora and the nature and extent of their interaction with the countries of the origin.

Part-III Contains the three interim Reports that were submitted by the committee to Government. These were fees reduction in the PIOs Card Scheme, celebration of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas on January 9 each year and the institution of 10 Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards.

Part-IV Contains detailed examination and recommendation in the field of consular and related matters, culture, economic development, Investment, International Trade, Industry, Tourism, Education, Health, Media, Science and Technology and Philanthropy. The report also deals with dual citizenship and the creation of a single window dedicated organization to interact with the diaspora. The committee also recommended the setting up of a Pravasi Bharatiya Bhavan, which may also house the proposed new organization of single window to interact with the diaspora.

Part –V Contains the detailed conclusions and recommendations on expertise need, and requirements of our agenda for the Indian Diaspora.

Other issues covered by the report are:

(1) Improvement of Airports (2) Regulatory requirement of the Government (3) Welfare of Indian Women Married to NRIs/ PIOs (4) Problems of Overseas Indian Resources (5) Culture (6) Economic Development and Tourism (7) Tourism (8) Education (9) Heath (10) Media (11) Science and Technology (12) Philanthropy (13) Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (14) Standing Committee of Parliament.[16]

Implementations of Recommendation of the High Level Committee

The following recommendations have been accepted and are being implemented by the Government of India.

(1)   Dual citizenship to select to overseas Indian.

(2)   Celebration of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas on 9th January every year.

(3)   Institution of Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards.

(4)   Creation of Separate Ministry for NRI affairs to act as single window to deal with overseas Indians.

(5)   Creation of Bharat Shiksha Kosh.

(6)   Reservation of seats in academic Institutions for Children of expatriates.

(7)   The Pravasi Bima Yojna.

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[16] *Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora*, n.7, p.350-55.

Let us now examine the implementation of some important recommendations:

(1)   Dual Citizenship

Australia, which prides itself on being the most successful example of multiculturalism in the world, believes that dual citizenship is a way of recognition of diversity and acceptance of people of all races, creeds and backgrounds.[17] Therefore,the decision of India to grant dual citizenship needs to be seen in the growing demands of its diasporic population across globe. It involves issue of an Indian passport to a person holding another country's passport, provided that person's application to Indian government satisfies certain qualifications that will be prescribed in the proposed legislation to amend the citizenship act. The Dual citizenship Bill 2003 has been passed by Indian parliament. The citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2003 provides for citizenship of India to the PIOs in 16 countries who have acquired citizenship in those countries. Among the 16 countries, United States of America tops the list with a total estimated PIO population of 16.78 lakhs, the United Kingdom comes next with 12 lakhs and Canada is third with 8.51 lakhs PIOs; other countries are Australia (1.9 lakh) Finland (1170). Ire land (1000), Italy (71,500), Netherlands (2,17,000) Ireland (45,300), New Zealand (55,000) Cyprus (300), Sweden (11,000), Switzerland (13,500), France, (65,000), Greece (7000) and Portugal (70,000).[18] It is estimated that about 10 to 25 percent of total PIOs population of about 45 lakhs in these sixteen countries could apply for citizership. The

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[17]*Frontline*,(Chennai),31 january,2003.
[18]*The Hindu*, (New Delhi), 28 December 2003.

amendment bill imposes two restrictions –first, only citizens of 16 developed and most of them belonging to Western block are eligible for dual citizenship. This is discriminatory by nature. The second restriction conferred section 7B of the amended act making it clear that overseas citizens cannot vote, be elected to legislature, hold sensitive Government jobs or occupy constitutional office. What is on offer here is not full-blooded citizenship but a limited version of the real thing.[19]

Celebration of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas

One of the most important recommendations of the High level Committee was to celebrate Pravasi Bharatiya Divas on 9th January each year. Government of India held the first Pravasi Bharatiya Divas from January 9 to January 11, 2003 in New Delhi in recognition of these recommendations. This was seen as a day to unite the great Indian Joint family i.e. the Indian diaspora.

The achievements and highlights of the *First Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* were:

(a)   It created a consciousness of global Indian Family.

(b)   The conference attracted over 2000 foreign delegates from 61 countries and an equally encouraging domestic participation of 1200.

(c)   134 Diaspora speakers from 25 countries shared the dais with an almost equal number of Indian speakers and enriched at this 20-session conference.

(d)   A rich mix of conference, food fest, exhibitions and entertainment evenings.

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[19] *The Hindu,*(New Delhi),3 January 2004.

(e)   Conferment of Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards to 10 eminent NRIs / PIOs.[20]

Second Pravasi Bharatiya Divas was celebrated in New Delhi from 9-11 January 2002.

Objective of Second Pravasi Bharatiya Divas

(a) Understanding the sentiments of NRIs and PIOs about India and creating a policy framework for a sustained and productive interaction.

(b) Acquainting Indians with the achievements of the diaspora and their expectations from India.

(c) Creating a network of the Indian diasporas across 110 countries of the world.

(d) Recognizing the contributions made by the Indian diaspora towards improving India's relationship with the host countries.

(e) Understanding the issues affecting Indian workers and professionals abroad.[21]

The Indian Diaspora is about 20 million[22] strong and spread across more than 110 countries. Major concentration of Persons of Indian origin (PIOs) and Indian citizens are tabulated here:

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[20] http://www.hciottawa.ca/news/misc/030827.html
[21] *The Hindu*,(New Delhi), 9 January 2004.
[22] ibid.

Table 5.1: Number Of PIOS And Indian Citizens

Name of Country	Number of PIOs and Indian citizens
U.S.A	16,78,765
U.K.	12,00,000
Canada	8,51,000
Guinea	3,95,350
Surinam	4,50,456
Kenya	1,02,500
South Africa	10,00,000
Trinidad and Tobago	5,00,600
Reunion Islands	2,20,055
Mauritius	7,15,756
Yemen	1,00,000
Saudi Arabia	15,00,000
Netherlands	2,17,000
Kuwait	2,95,000
Oman	3,12,000
Bahrain	1,30,000
Qatar	1,31,000
U.A.E.	9,50,000
Myanmar	39,02,000
Australia	1,90,000
New Zealand	56,000
Malaysia	16,05,000
Singapore	3,07,000
Fiji	3,36,829

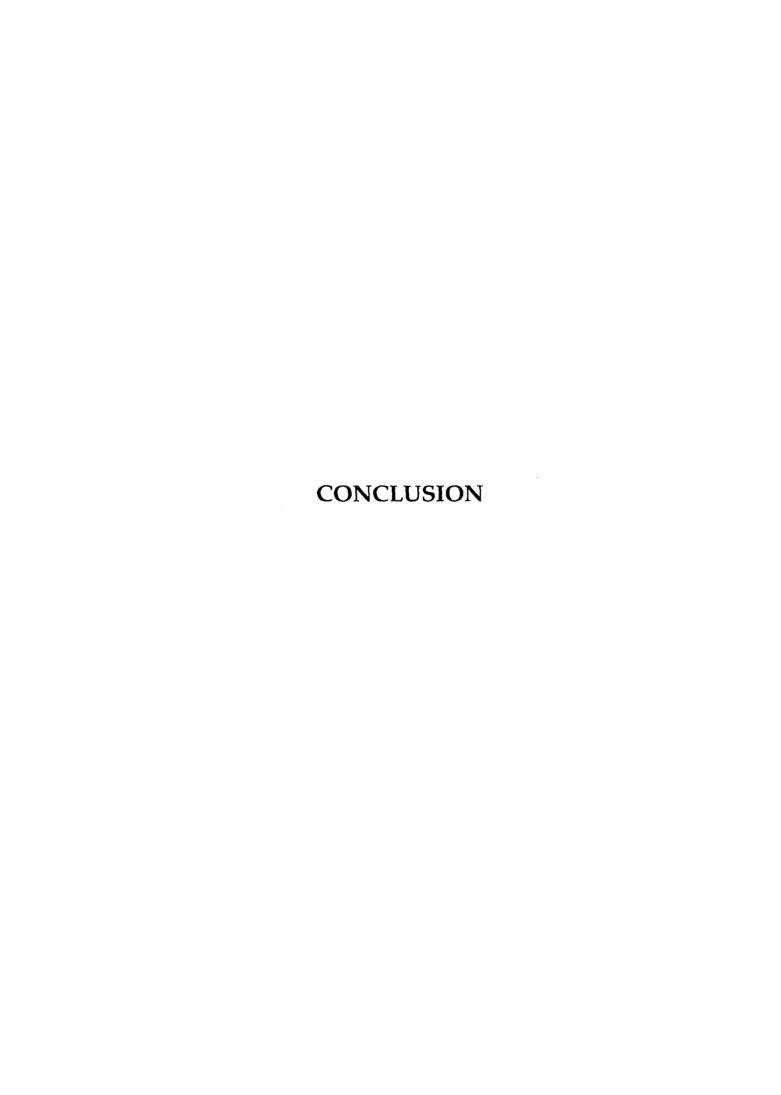*SOURCE:* The Hindu, (New Delhi) 9 January 2004.

An analysis of the above table reveals that the majority of Indian migrants out of this 20 million people are basically concentrated in 24 countries only. Moreover, the euphoria and enthusiasm witnessed in the first Pravasi Bharatiya Divas was conspicuously absent during second Pravasi Bharatiya Divas. This is illustrated by the following events.

(i)   Two out of the 12 being honored the Pravasi Bharatiya Samman were not present.

(ii)   Last year over 200 delegates from foreign countries participated. This year number was 120.

(iii)   5 of the 10 awardees of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas of 2003 did not attend 2004 function.

(iv)   There are no takers for reservation in academic institutions.

(v)   The Bharatiya Shiksha Kosh instituted last year has virtually no takers.

(vi)   Foreign direct investment by NRIs and PIOs despite promises of partnership and collaboration is a great disappointment. [23]

Thus, the question that arises after reviewing the events that marked the diasporic meet is, whether the Pravasi meet was really successful in addressing the issues, problems and matters related to the diasporic population or was it merely a cultural conglomeration of expatriate Indians. This inevitable question that follows from the above discussion, can only be answered by the future course of actions and measures taken by the Government in promoting its diaspora. The people of Indian origin are slowly, but surely emerging as distant communities, linked with certain cultural affinities with the land of their

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[23] Sunday Times of India,(New Delhi),11 January 2004.

forefathers but also in many ways different from these societies. Cultural persistence and adaptation are living facets of these dynamic groupings. Contributions of Indian diaspora, being one of the important diaspora in the world cannot be overlooked and dismissed. India and its citizens are indeed proud of its diasporic population, which has carved out a name and a distinct identity for itself across the globe. Indian government needs to formulate a more comprehensive policy in terms of their economic, social and political rights. Thus, policy makers should frame such policies which not only strengthens diasporic ties with motherland but which also helps in fostering improved and better bilateral relations with their country of settlement.

CONCLUSION

Migration has been an integral part of human history. In the present time political, economic and technological developments have facilitated migration in response to demands for skills, services or labour or as a consequence of natural or man-made calamities or due to advancement in science and technology. Information and communication technologies in the twentieth century have reduced geographical distances and have enabled migrant population to maintain easy contacts with their homeland and among themselves. The contemporary processes of global economic, social and cultural integration have received a stimulus from the presence of global trans-national communities formed by international migration, as we have discussed elsewhere in the study.

The role of diaspora has acquired an enhanced significance in view of their adaptable dynamic nature. Almost all diasporas act as a strategic asset for both the country of origin and country of adoption. We have also witnessed an upward mobility of labour diasporas acquiring important political and economic positions in many countries of their adoption. Diasporas have made contributions in politics, trade, commerce, professions, culture and sports. Indian disaspora has played a significant role in supporting independence movement and in retaining deep affection with the motherland. Earlier Indian diaspora was composed of mainly indentured labourers but today they actively participate in trade, business, profession, etc. It is more rampant than any other diaspora and more diverse with about half-a-dozen religions and sub-ethnic identities. It reflects multiplicity of occupational and income patterns from the highest to lower in the world. It has also suffered like many other diasporas in

their host country. It was segregated for many decades until 1950s, with very little contacts with India and the developments within India. Nonetheless, they have been successful in evolving different paths of development and diverse identities wherever they go. The focus of this work was to look at the factors that go into making of Indian diasporic identity in a multicultural Australia. Multiculturalism as opposed to assimilation advocates equality of opportunity, shared public culture and cultural diversity. Australia's much celebrated multicultural policy has affected the migration patterns to a great extent.

Indians are one of the oldest non-European migrant groups in Australia. Since the early days of Punjabi migrants working in agriculture, the Indian disapora in Australia has undergone enormous changes- growing in numbers and diversity as the present study clearly illustrates. Today, more than 200,000 Indians of various cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds live in Australia, contributing in many sectors of the country successfully. As we have observed in the study migrant routes from India to Australia, both directly and via a third country such as Fiji are quite complex. Much of recent migrations from India belong to highly skilled background and many work as professionals in Australia's mainstream labour market. Indian migrations today consist of both temporary and permanent forms of migration. For some, as we have observed, Australia has become a stepping stone on a route eventually reaching the United States of America, a country which continues to be the ultimate desired destination for many Indians. Australia is geographically closer to India and activities like cricket contributes to cultural links between Indian Australians and Anglo-Australians in the host country.

Manu Madan in "Bollywood Down Under" argues that the diasporic Indian identity is imagined within a vortex of local, national and transnational spaces and neighbourhoods, many of which are defined through their relation to the homeland. Australian diasporic Indian identity is imagined and articulated within the contexts of, among other things, the relationship between India and Australia and the specific ways in which India connects with Australia's Indian communities. Further, he points out that the colonial and postcolonial connections between India and Australia have been largely forgotten in the popular history of both countries and this has had significant repercussions for the ways in which Australia's Indian communities have imagined their ethnic identity in Australia and diasporic relationship with India.Australia's neglect of India at an institutional level complicates attempts by Australia's diasporic Indians to reconcile their dual identities and allegiances because they often have to straddle between two separate worlds. Nevertheless, with developing and improving bilateral relations in the recent decades, the Indian diasporic community finds itself better placed because of growing mutuality of interests between the two nations.

Australian diasporic Indian identity has also been defined by the ways in which Australia is positioned within India's global networks. Except for media coverage of international cricket, Australia has had little public exposure in India, and as a result it has not figured prominently in the Indian immigration of an Indian popular culture. Thus, Australia's diasporic Indian population has been on the periphery of an Indian global neighborhood dominated by large diasporic communities in England, the USA and Canada (countries with which

India had established strong political, historical and commercial links). But, now Australia is witnessing more Indian migrations growing in number and exhibiting more diversity as never before in today's world of globalization and transnationalism. As we have observed in the present study, the old disapora of Australia's disaporic Indian community was a product of imperial / colonial forces and the indentured labour transformed the physical and cultural landscapes of the host country and created mini India in these colonies due to their unlikelihood of returning home. The new disapora is mostly the migration of middle-class professionals to urban centers of developed nations. Their connections and vested interests in India is maintained and sustained through travel and communication technology. Indian government is also promoting its disapora for financial investment and property ownership.

Another area of concern is the tremendous influence, which the diaspora exerts on the politics in their homeland. The Nehruvian doctrine adopted in 1947 not only excluded the issue of expatriate Indians totally from Indian foreign and domestic policy formulation, but also encouraged the diaspora to integrate into their host societies. This policy was facilitated by India's independent and closed model of economic development, which actively discriminated against outside involvement. The first time this doctrine was seriously put into question was in 1991 when India went through a major economic crisis, which required economic and political reforms. The last decade of twentieth century witnessed emergence of Indian diaspora as a distinct global identity with a growing self-consciousness that has been further strengthened by the development of new communication technologies and rapid globalization.

Indian government is duly recognizing the economic potential of overseas Indians by ways of foreign direct investment and as a result they are being granted special economic and legal concessions by the government. Thus, there is a need of designing a comprehensive policy on the diaspora that looks beyond mere economic considerations. Political mobilization of previously quiescent overseas communities of India abroad has reached new heights as is evident in Trinidad, Fiji or British Columbia. New patters of cultural consumption based on films, music, arts, fashion, food and media have spearheaded the niche arrival of Indian diaspora in the world of western consumerism, with a heightened sense of consciousness of Indianness fostered by growing transnational networks and deliberate efforts to construct overarching identities. This situation contrasts remarkably with the fortunes of those who emigrated from India during the colonial era and faced isolation, disenfranchisement and racial discrimination.

Repeated or temporary migration is increasing, perhaps presaging a more rootless Indian diaspora which is constantly on the move forever in search of more promising opportunities. Nevertheless, aid and support is provided by host nations in the form of educational programmes and various social services (e.g. securing or providing housing) for migrants and also by trying to alter the ways in which society and government policies treats the immigrants. Yet many issues needs to be articulated clearly like role of immigrants in host nation's economy, society and polity; designing of special programmes to address to prejudicial treatment of immigrants; effective and unbiased implementation of —- policies and programmes for immigrants; and to what degree should the

immigrants give up customs of their native land and take on the ways of country of adoption.

The study of overseas Indian communities is comparatively a newly emergent field, which has yielded only a few detailed monographs and comparative essays. There has been search for a theoretical framework to integrate this area of study. Some of the frameworks are namely the ones dealing with cultural persistence, adaptationist ability of social groups as immigrants, Furnivall's perspective of plural society etc. Also, there are vast lacunae in knowledge of Indian migration to Australia, with little studies taken up by academicians, research scholars and students. Nevertheless, Asian migration and settlement of Indians in Australia is becoming a growing phenomenon like never before. This has also helped in further strengthening the bilateral ties between the two nations.

Thus, diasporas are powerful entities. They may or may not totally integrate in host countries. Indians prefer to maintain relations with their home country, be it through family ties and marriage, through business and commerce relations with their hometown or region, or simply by maintaining local or religious traditions. Consequently, Indian migrants link both country of adoption and country of origin. Hence, it goes without saying that India must find her own solutions and policies to suit her requirements and goals in the establishment of her bonds with its diaspora. India is proud of its diasporic achievements and their contributions in developing globalised and transnational societies keeping their independent and unique identity intact. Immigration has indeed contributed more to Australian society and economy than just settling the continent. Thus,

International migration in all its forms is likely to grow in volume in the years ahead owing to contemporary world developments shaping states and societies.

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TOP 10 COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, 1901 CENSUS

S.No.	Birthplace	No	Percent
1	United Kingdom	495074	13.1
2	Ireland	184085	4.9
3	Germany	38352	1.0
4	China	29907	0.8
5	New Zealand	25788	0.7
6	Sweden and Norway	9863	0.3
7	India	7637	0.2
8	USA	7448	0.2
9	Denmark	6281	0.2
10	Italy	5678	0.2
	Top 10 total	810113	21.5
	Other	47463	1.3
	Total overseas born	857576	22.7
	Total Australian population	3773801	100.0

Source: Australia in brief, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2003.

ANNEXURE- II

TOP 10 COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, 2001 CENSUS

S.No.	Birthplace	No.	Percent
1	United Kingdom	1036437	5.5
2	New Zealand	355684	1.9
3	Italy	218754	1.2
4	Vietnam	154831	0.8
5	China	142717	0.8
6	Greece	116531	0.6
7	Germany	108238	0.6
8	Philippines	103989	0.6
9	India	95456	0.5
10	Netherlands	83249	0.4
	Top Ten Total	2415886	12.9
	Other	1690301	9.0
	Total overseas born	4106187	21.9
	Total Australian Population	18769791	100.0

Source: Australia in brief, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2003

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TORRES STRAIT

TIMOR SEA

Darwin

GULF
OF
CARPENTARIA

CORAL SEA

SOUTH
PACIFIC
OCEAN

Kakadu
National
Park

Broome

NORTHERN

TERRITORY

Australian Fossil
Mammal Sites
(Riversleigh)

Cairns

Great

Barrier

Reef

Wet Tropics of
Queensland

QUEENSLAND

Tropic of Capricorn

Alice Springs

Uluru–Kata Tjuta
National Park

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Tropic of Capric

Shark Bay

Fraser Island

INDIAN OCEAN

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Brisbane

Central Eastern
Rainforest Reserves

NEW SOUTH WALES

Perth
Fremantle

GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT

Willandra
Lakes Region

Greater Blue
Mountains Area

Lord Howe
Island Group

Adelaide

Australian Fossil
Mammal Sites
(Naracoorte)

ACT

Canberra

Newcastle
Sydney
Wollongong

SOUTH

PACIFIC

Mt Kosciuszko
2228m

VICTORIA

OCEAN

0   400
Kilometres

Melbourne

SOUTHERN OCEAN

Australia's World Heritage Properties
(Heard, McDonald and Macquarie Islands
not shown on map)

BASS
STRAIT

TASMAN SEA

TASMANIA

SINCLAIR KNIGHT MERZ

NL10414.18

**Tasmanian
Wilderness**

Hobart