INDIAN DIASPORA IN ZIMBABWE, ZAMBIA AND MALAWI:
A Comparative Study

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the Thesis entitled **"INDIAN DIASPORA IN ZIMBABWE, ZAMBIA AND MALAWI: A COMPARATIVE STUDY"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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To My Late Grand Mother Mrs. Taramani Mohanty

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS	:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARVs	:	Antiretroviral Drugs
B.C.A.	:	British Colonial Army
BHC	:	British High Commission
CAF	:	Central African Federation
CII	:	Confederation of Indian Industry
GOPIO	:	Global Organisation of the People of Indian Origin
GNI	:	Gross National Income
HIV	:	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IHCBECA	:	Indian High Commissioner for British East and Central Africa
IOM	:	International Organisation of Migration
ITEC	:	Indian Technological and Engineering Course
LDCs	:	Lusaka Development Councils
LLC	:	Lusaka's Legislative Council
LILA	:	Lusaka Indian Ladies Association
MCP	:	Malawi Congress Party
MDC	:	Movement for Democratic Change Party
MOI	:	Ministry of Overseas Indians
MOIA	:	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
NAC	:	Nyasaland African Congress
NDA	:	National Democratic Alliance
OCI	:	Overseas Citizenship of India Scheme
ODI	:	Organisation for Diaspora Initiatives
PBS	:	Pravasi Bhartiya Samman
PIO	:	People of Indian Origin

SADC	:	Southern African Development Community
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UK	:	United Kingdom
UN	:	United Nations
UNO	:	United Nations Organisation
USA	:	United States of America
USD	:	United States Dollar
VCT	:	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WTO	:	World Trade Organisation
YF	:	Yellow Fever
ZACCI	:	Zambia Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry

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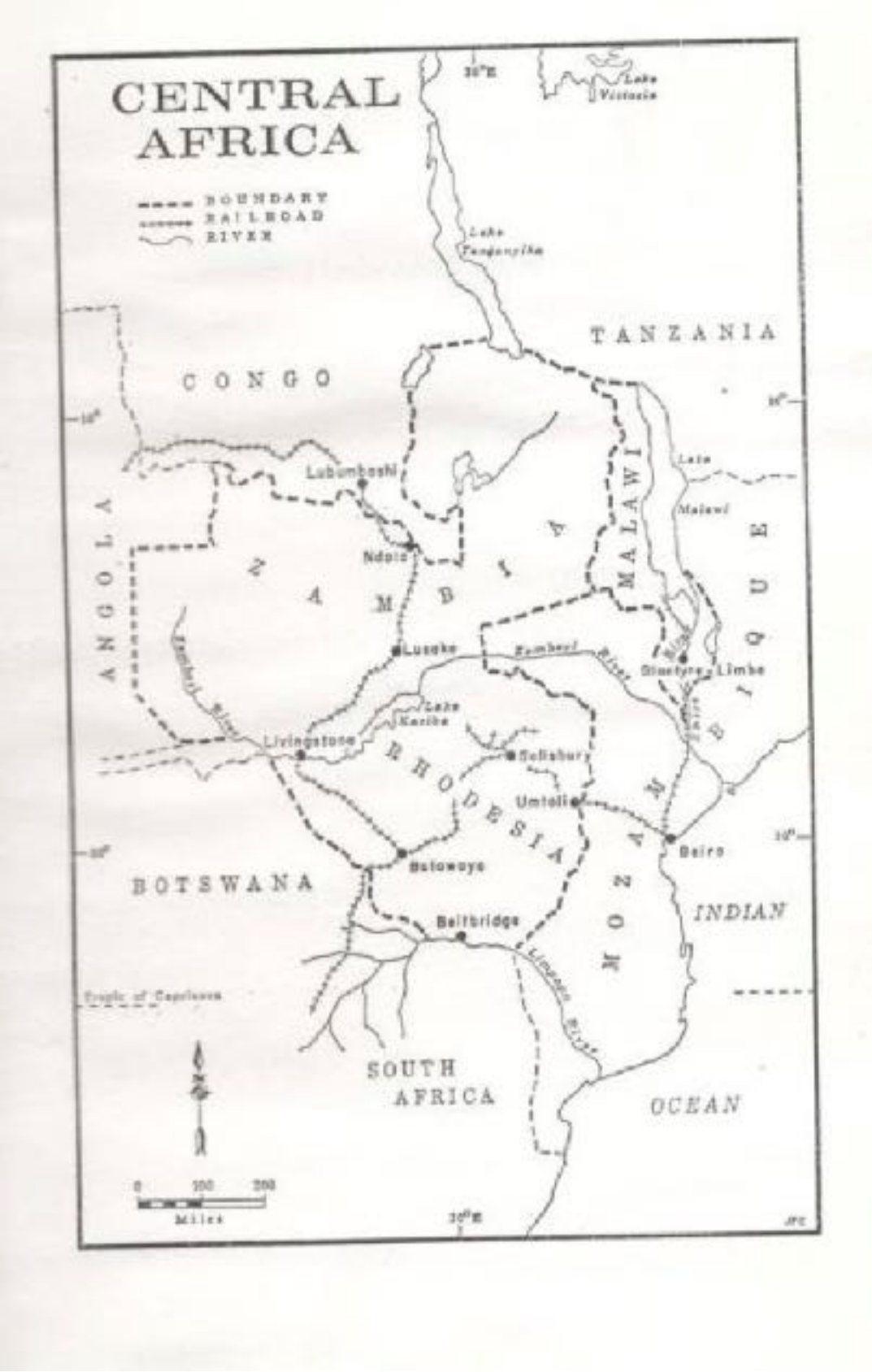
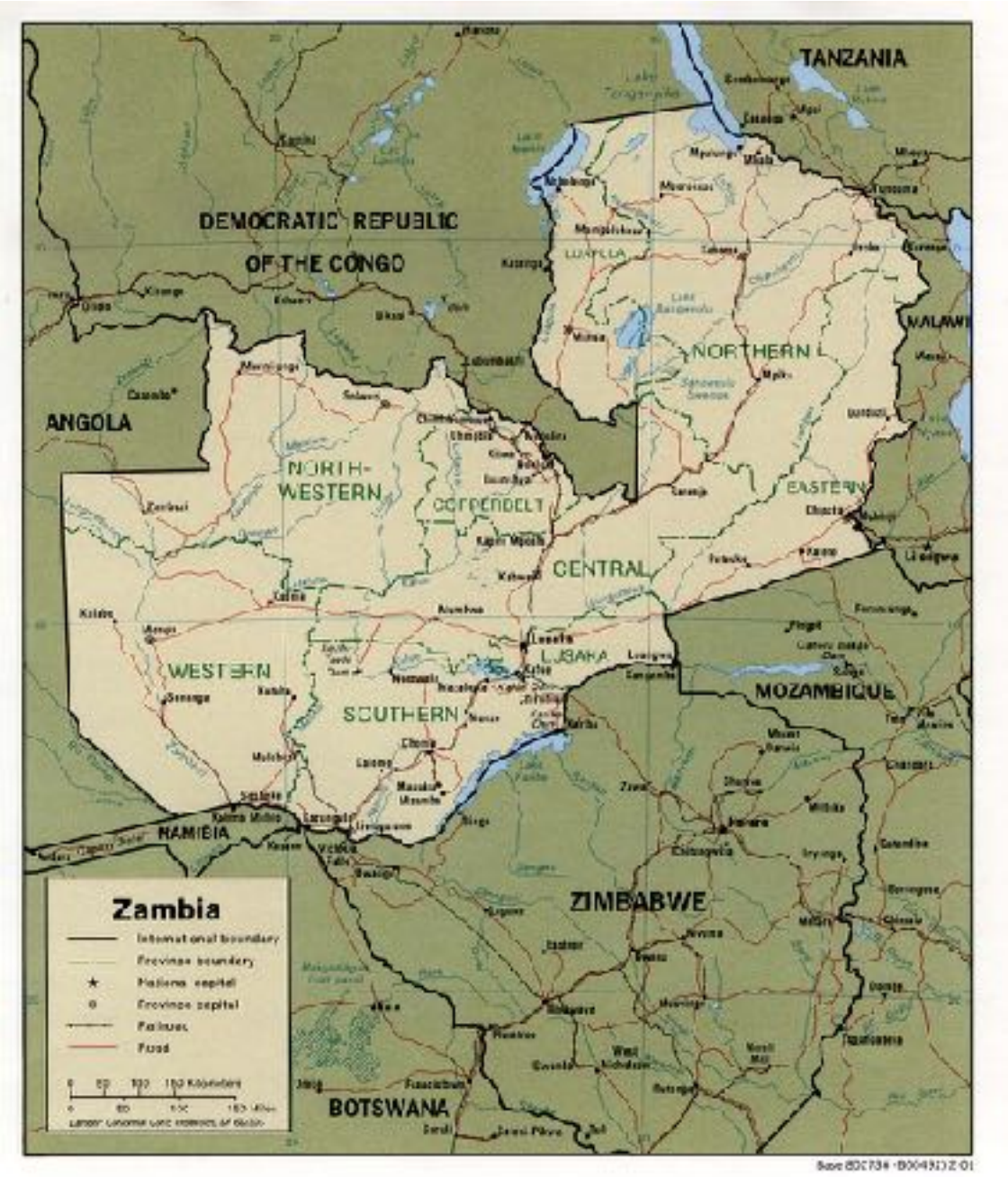


Source: Dotson and Dotson (1968).

Map 2: Zimbabwe

Source: Department of Peacekeeping Operations Cartographic Sections available at www.mapland.com

Map 3: Zambia



Source: www.maps-zambia.com

Map 4: Malawi

Source: www.infoplease.com

Introduction

Introduction

The study on the various dimensions of diaspora[1]has got a tremendous importance in the contemporary period and with the current state of affairs than the earlier period. Gradually, the study of diaspora phenomenon has caught more and more attention at the research, academic and policy areas especially from the context of the foreign policy perspectives. Diaspora is defined as the scattering or sprinkling of people who are having a common origin, common socio-cultural and historical background, and beliefs. If we will trace the history of the emergence and use of the concept diaspora, the word diaspora was referred to, in the context of the dispersion or spreading of the Jews after the Babylonian exile.

So, the textual interpretation of the word diaspora is very much associated with the dispersion of Jews right after the Babylonian exile and this term used to understand the critical situation of the Jews community during this phase of exile. Here the term *exile* has been categorically associated with the ideas of forced emigration of an individual or a group of people, social and political marginalisation and displacement of an individual or a group of people or a group of refugees from a particular state to another state. It is associated with the various experiences of loneliness, homesickness, foreignness, and a never-ending desire to remigrate to the place of origin or to the home land (Knott and McLoughlin 2011: 18). In such situation, an individual always feels that he or she is far away from his or her near and dear ones. Wherever he or she goes, the emotional attachment towards the place of origin or towards the home country the individual carries with himself or herself. Largely during the first phase of migration which was happened during the colonial period, it refers to the involuntary

[1] The origin and meaning of the term 'Diaspora' is a much contested one like many other concepts in the study of social sciences. The word 'Diaspora' is derived from the Greek verb *speiro* (the meaning of the term 'to sow') and the proposition *dia* (meaning 'over'). The notion of Diaspora is very often used in an un-theorised and under theorised manner. To some, the word 'diaspora' means migration and colonisation and for others, especially, Jews and Africans, it refers to a collective trauma, banishment also, due to a situation of dreaming of one's home but forced to live in exile. Diaspora has now become a form of identity formation and a form of asserting one's own socio-religious and cultural identity. For more on the comprehensive meaning of the term diaspora and the associated contestation of this concept 'diaspora', see Robin Cohen (2004), *Global Diaspora: An Introduction,* Oxon: Routledge. The concepts of Indian diaspora and the concept 'People of Indian Origin' (PIOs) have used interchangeably in this research.

migration of people as slaves, indentured labourers or contract labourers and in the later phase of migration, which happened during the post-colonial phase, migration of professionals, educationists and business class witnessed (Dubey 2011). These professional groups largely migrated in search of better opportunity in terms of education and profession in other countries. With the emergence of the process of globalisation, new business opportunities attracted people to migrate from one country to another.

0.0 Review of Literature

The increasing emigration of people from one particular state to another state for various reasons increased the importance of the study of diaspora. The diaspora study is a new and emerging area of research compared to the other areas of research especially, in post-colonial states of Asia and Africa. The reason behind that is the diaspora community of these countries faced many hardship and diverse and unique experiences they had gone through as compared to the diaspora of the other parts of the world. The earlier areas of research interest in these Asian and the African countries were mainly on the impact of colonial rule on the economies of these countries largely and to some extent on the politics and society. The scholars and researchers working on this particular area argue that the diasporas are more than simply migrants. The major distinction arises between these two concepts ‘diaspora’ and ‘migrants’ are, from this fact that the diasporas have shared commitment to a home place or home country and this shared commitment is missing in the context of the migrants. This shared commitment makes them remain closely connected to the home country and the people of the home country. The diaspora’s commitment to the home place or home country does not refers to their failure to integrate or assimilate in to the society of their host country rather it refers to their commitment to both home and host countries (Knott and McLoughlin 2011: 104). This commitment could be in terms of contributing socially, culturally, politically and economically to the home and host countries having more emotional bonding with the home country.

The study of the migration of diaspora has added a new discourse in the study of identity, conflict, foreign policy, development, impact of globalisation, global justice, citizenship and socio-cultural integration versus isolation, diaspora and home state relations etc. As per as the history of migration is concerned, the migration of people across the globe is an inseparable part of human history. There are various reasons responsible for such migration; to name a few are trade and business, civil war in a particular country, internal crisis, ethnic conflict, poverty, unemployment, forceful migration by the colonial powers etc. In the context of international migration, very interesting study made by Kapur (2010) which discussed about the four waves of international migration and those are; firstly, the forced migration from Africa to European countries during the phase of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Secondly, the transatlantic migration from Europe to American countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thirdly, the migration of the labourers from two South Asian countries India and China to other parts of Asia, Africa and Caribbean and fourthly, the mass level migration of population right after the Second World War (Kapur 2010: 2).

The study of Indian diaspora is also very recent just like the study of diaspora itself. Many reasons responsible for the migration of Indians to the far-flung part of the world. The first generation of Indians migrated because of the colonialism and largely forced migration of Indians initiated by the British colonial ruler for railway construction and plantation in various colonies occupied by the Britishers largely in Asia and Africa. The British, French, Spain, Dutch and Portuguese played important role to colonise the Indian state and took Indians as indentured labourers to the other parts of the world; especially Asia and Africa as labourers and engage them in the plantation and railway construction works, to meet their own purpose. Compared to the other colonial masters, the British played major role in this because of their wide spread dominance all over the Indian territory with certain exception. So largely, the first generation of migration happened during the colonial period especially by the Britishers. The second generation of migration has initiated during the post-

colonisation or decolonisation period for education, employment, business and other purposes.

Diaspora is a contested term and there is not a single definition to understand this concept. As far as understanding the concept of diaspora is concerned, there is no universally dominant definition of the term *diaspora*. The definition of this term requires studying the different context, time and place. Diaspora has become a key concept (it has acquired a particular figurative or metaphorical quality) in the social sciences and humanities today. This diaspora study is attracting the attention of the scholars who widely recognised the socio-cultural, political and economic importance of these communities by recognizing their deep connection and contribution to the home country. The launch of the journal on the issue of diaspora i.e., *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies.* This journal was published in 1991 by Khaching Tololyan which testifies and recognises not only to the importance of the concept of diaspora as an instrument of analysis, but also became stimulus to the desire to do away with the sharply defined borders of the nation-state (Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj & Sangha, 2008: 1-2).

In the last few decades, sociologists, anthropologists, cultural critics and historians have put essentialist (a belief that things have a set of characteristics which make them what they are) definitions of culture and nation to the test. Contemporary study on the ethnography of diaspora has rejected or oversimplified the reductive notions of culture in favour of a wider definition of culture as *multi-locale* (existing in various and different localities among various groups or communities). The concept of nation as an unalterable, homogeneous entity has been seriously questioned in this particular study. Although the concept of 'nation' has not or should not be completely cast aside. It is also argued that, nations are still powerful and important political, administrative and cultural units (Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj & Sangha, 2008: 1-2).

In the context of the emerging changes at the global level or in the international level or international system demands that, the nation-states should recognise the limits of

their territoriality. To put it differently, it is argued that the nation states should reconsider and transcend old concept of boundary and frontier so that these become just one site in a new transnational culture and identity formation. Theorising on diaspora as a concept has arguably become one such tool in this boundary transcending analysis of diaspora in the context of newly emerging international trends (Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj & Sangha, 2008: 1-2).

According to the study done by Vertovec (1997: 277) the term 'diaspora' is often used to explain as the group of people who after emigration considered as "de-territorialized" or "transnational". This de-territorialised and transnational identity which has originated in a land other than it currently resides in, and whose social, economic, political and cultural networks across the borders of nation-states or across the globe is established. It is therefore evident that from the demographic point of view, diaspora requires a thorough redefinition of place. From the ancient Greek perspective, the diaspora concept is associated with the concept of migration and colonisation (Cohen, 1997: ix).

However, for Jews, Africans, Palestinians and Armenians, the term diaspora has a more worrying connotation. For them the concept 'diaspora signified a collective trauma, banishment, where one dreams of home but lives in exile'. So, diaspora concept usually used in that particular context but in recent times, other people abroad, who have maintained strong collective identities among the people of the home country in that particular host country, have also started to define themselves as diasporas, though they are neither active agents of colonization or are being forcedly migrated as labourers by the colonial powers nor are they passive victims of persecution (Cohen, 1997: ix).

For others such as Paul Gilroy (1993) and Stuart Hall (1990), diaspora as a concept is defined and redefined not by biographical connectivity across demographic areas or political boundaries, but is created by and through differentiation. They highlight the contradictory emotions and feelings and the ambivalence in the diasporic notions of

belonging, the identification with or against territorial, social and cultural structures, especially as these are shaped through processes of inclusion or exclusion. They root diaspora in an effective dislocation between 'locations of residence and locations of belonging' (Gilroy, 2000: 124) and (Cohen, 1997). For them, migration can be defined as producing a 'diaspora' if four conditions are met, those are; firstly, an ethnic consciousness; secondly, an active associative life; thirdly, contacts with the land of origin in various forms, real or imaginary and fourth one is, there should be relations with other groups of the same ethnic origin spread across the world (Sahoo, 2008: 2).

In the contemporary period, the term diaspora is used to describe any group of people who migrate from the centre (homeland) to the periphery and the Indian diaspora is not an exception. Thus, the conventional meaning of the concept is not different from its Greek origin. In contemporary context, diaspora also refers to a community of people that have been forced or compelled to move from their traditional homeland to a new place of settlement without completely losing all the characteristics of their original identity which remain essence of their life style and socio-cultural base. There are two aspects to this definition. The first is forced, involuntary or induced migration, of an extraction of people to a new settlement. Historically, various ecological and anthropogenic (human-induced) factors have contributed to forced or induced movement of people. Various ecological factors include drought, flooding, earthquake and so on, while the anthropogenic factors include war, persecution, repression as well as bad governance and corruption which may lead to large-scale impoverishment. These two factors, however, are not mutually exclusive. In other words, there have been times in history where an interplay of ecological and man-made factors had provoked an outflow of people from their traditional homelands to seek refugee or asylum abroad, as manifested in some of the complex political emergency situations that have occurred between the 1980s and the turn of the century in some of the Sahelian countries in Africa (for example in various countries like Ethiopia, Eritrea, Chad, Niger and Mali (Omeje, 2007: 94-107).

The second important aspect of the definition of diaspora is that the diasporas communities usually retain and tend to perpetrate some characteristic(s) of their original identity, which may include aspects of their culture, religion, history, and, perhaps, ethno-racial homogeneity and solidarity. Because identity is a dynamic phenomenon, some of the elements of the regional identity of a diaspora population undergo significant transformation and change over the period of time and over the generations together. The accommodation of the identity characteristics of the diaspora population within the dominant culture or population or their subsequent partial transformation usually depends on the peculiar histories and relational circumstances of the different groups. Apart from the tendency to retain aspects of the original group identity regardless of any practical adaptations, many diasporic communities (but by no means all) maintain ancestral and social linkages with the homeland people or sections of the latter-this trend is stronger among first and early-generation migrants or exiles and, to a lesser extent, among conscripts and deportees (Omeje 2007: 94-107).

0.0.1Why do we Study Indian Diaspora in Africa?

The origin of modern Indian diaspora lays mainly in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation into the British Empire. Many other colonial powers also played significant role in exporting Indian labourers to far off countries of Africa largely for plantation, railway construction and road construction works as mentioned above. Among them, many Gujarati traders left for East-Africa in large numbers in the early parts of the twentieth-century. In the post Second World War period, the dispersal of Indian labourers and professionals has been a global phenomenon.

The study of the Indian diaspora in African countries has become very important due to a variety of reasons. The recent re-engagement of India with Africa is a witness to the increasing significance of People of Indian Origin (PIOs) in various African countries. Though the on-going engagement with African countries is more commercial and ideological because of India's support for Africa's decolonisation and the national aspirations of different African countries. The African continent and India

have many things in common in particular, their colonial experience. India is an emerging power in Asia, and India's relations with the larger African continent is crucial to its success because it possesses huge natural resources-especially energy, oil, gold and gas etc. which India very badly needs in order to meet the growing needs of the country's economy. At the same time, the African countries are also in the need of pharmaceutical in health sector to cure diseases like; AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), yellow fever, malaria, Covid 19 like pandemic etc., cooperation in educational sector, technical and industrial support at the information technology (IT) sector primarily. India has extended its support to the African countries in this regard and played an important role through its engagement in various sectors. At the same time, politically and strategically India has a significant role in Africa. This mutual relation very much required for the prosperity, development and mutual cooperation of both India and Africa.

Taking in to consideration the above factors, the India-Africa Forum Summit held on 8th and 9th April 2008 focused on the rejuvenation of the age-old relationship between India and Africa, a relationship that has been of mutual benefit and is based on mutual trust, equality and solidarity. But it would be wrong to say that India is only involved in commercial relations with African countries. The presence of a large number of Indian diasporas in Africa, witness to this fact that India maintains a very cordial and warm relations with all African countries. This link is strengthened by the fact that the African diaspora could rely on continuous support during the period of decolonisation and the liberal struggle from the Indian government. The African diaspora are also coming to India largely for education and employment purpose and contributing to their native countries. The Indian government could not engage much with the Indian diaspora right after the independence because of the internal challenges and problems which the government committed to resolve at the priority basis. However, the government policies have changed towards the Indian diaspora in the recent time. The Government of India have taken interest to know and understand the problems and difficulties of Indian diaspora.

The study of Indian diaspora in Africa is very much essential and interesting due to large presence of population of Indian origin in this region. It is also interesting because they have retained the Indian culture for generations and do respect the diverse cultures of the native people of that particular country as well where they settle in. This study is also important in the context of understanding and to have a critical engagement with the Indian diaspora studies in the developing and underdeveloped countries of Africa which caught less attention of the academicians and researchers as compared to the study of Indian diaspora in the developed countries. Therefore, it is a strong case to study on the Indian diaspora settled in Africa. How the colonial policies could not change the Indian or could not change the cultural values of the Indians out there is an interesting area to explore through this research work. The assimilation of Indians in the African society is less than what generally expected. The present study on the Indian diaspora in three Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi will throw some light on these issues. This will also study the experiences, achievements and challenges to Indian diaspora community in these Anglophone countries both in colonial and post-colonial phases.

0.0.2 Purpose of Studying Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

No research has been done on the socio-economic and political situation of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi from Indian perspective especially in the post-colonial period. These are one of the neglected areas which need to be given special attention to understand the situation and experiences of Indian diaspora in Central African region both at the colonial and post-colonial period. The foundation to the study especially the social and economic situation of Indians as minority community during the colonial period in these three countries from the ethnographic and sociological perspective made by Dotson and Dotson (1968) and the role of Indian trading class and their political situation during the colonial period in Zambia covered by Mufuzi in his study (Dotson and Dotson 1968, Mufuzi 2011 and Mufuzi 2013). Both the studies reflect on this aspect that the Indian diaspora were belong to the middle strata of the society and the Europeans were at the top and the native Africans were at the bottom of the hierarchy during the colonial period (Dotson and

Dotson 1968 and Mufuzi 2013). Both these studies confined to only the colonial period. It is also important to explore the current socio-economic and the political situation of the Indian diaspora. The major challenges the Indian diaspora community is facing is the attack by the local goons especially in Zimbabwe. In that context, it is essential to study the various factors responsible for the conflict between the Indians and the natives in these three countries (Muzondidya 2004 and Mohanty 2020).

The study of Indian diaspora in these African countries is also interesting because the movement of Indian people to these countries started even before colonization started in Africa. They moved to Africa for trade and not with the intention of settling there permanently. However, the opposite happened. The Indian traders settled in many parts of Africa because the business opportunities offered by the host countries was very profitable to them. It is not to put that they did not face any challenge. The challenges were much mainly because the whole of Africa was covered with dense forest and there were lack of communications then.

0.0.3 Diaspora and Politics, Society and Economy

The diaspora also plays an important role in shaping and transforming the foreign policy of a particular country. It plays a significant role in raising donations for transferring remittances to, and making investments in their homelands using highly intricate relay systems, usually involving many actors who often have divergent interests. At the core of each of these systems is a triangular relationship-among the diaspora communities, in their homeland and in host countries. Recently, these actors and interests have grown in number that these deserve special attention. It is also very important to understand the enormous complexity of the diaspora phenomenon and the precarious position of the diaspora communities' positions in relation to their host societies and countries, their own homelands, and other societal and political actors and agencies. (Sheffer, 2003).

That is why, it is well said by Rabindranath Tagore that "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 people and the culture and civilisation of India, like the banyan tree, has shed its beneficent shade away from its own birth place. India can live and grow by spreading abroad-not the political India, but the ideal India (quoted in Jayaram, 2008: 1).

0.1 Rationale of the Study

A brief review of literature provides a comprehensive scope why I should undertake the study of Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The rational of the study lies in the fact that the Indian diaspora has been subjected to the process of change with the change of political and economic process in the era of globalization and liberalization. In this broad domain of political and economic change, there is the growing necessity to understand and locate the present social, economic and political status of Indian diaspora. What has happened to their identity over time? Since their identity is very dear to them how they have managed to keep that intact. What kind of confrontation it faces from the hosting countries so far as cultural identity is concerned? There is a need to study their integration and accommodation in the society of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. How does the onset of manifold changes overtime influence their cultural practices?

In economic field, the Indian diaspora in all these three countries has relatively done than the other native or indigenous populace. How do they achieve economic wellbeing and what role they play in shaping or influencing Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi Economy? Their contribution to the development of these three countries is also an important area which needs special heed in the course of research.

In the political field, their representation is relatively less than others especially in the case of Zimbabwe and Malawi. Why they have not been able to achieve success commensurate with their economic success? Though they have achieved economic success, they have not been able to influence the policies and decision making of both the countries. Why they have not been able to bridge with the native populace leading often rift and violence.

They have implications for India and it is very important to study the engagement of India with the Indian diaspora of these countries. In what manner they can contribute to make India a great economic and global power. The above points make this study a strong case for the need of a comprehensive research on the proposed topic. These are the areas needs independent case study which has many implications to India's success as a world power or developed country.

0.2 Research Problem

This research makes a comprehensive study of Indian Diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. This study not only uncover the similarities and differences among the Indian diaspora of these three countries and their colonial experience under the same colonial power, the Britishers, but it also analyzes success and difficulties, and failure and their prospects in various walks of their life. In this context, it also takes up the issue of their social inclusion, identity and status as well as their participation in economic and political spheres.

In the context of the new policies of the Indian government, it analyzes their social, economic and political role in the hosting countries. It also analyzes Indian diaspora in the changing light of Indian policies on it. How both the Indian government and diaspora contribute to the success of each other?

0.3 Objectives

The present study has the following objectives:

- It compares social, economic and political role of Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.
- It analyses the impact of colonial policies on the identity formation of Indian diaspora and conflicts, integration and their consequence as well as their impact on the status of Indian diaspora in these three countries.
- It explores the factors responsible for conflicts between the Indian diaspora and the native people of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

- It studies the role of the Indian government towards the PIOs in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

0.4 Research Questions

- Except trade, why the Indians have not been welcomed in other sectors of the economy?
- Why the Indians in Zimbabwe are more insecure than the Zambia and Malawi Indians?
- Why a good number of Malawi Indians remained stateless?
- Why the political participation of Indians low as compared to their economic participation.

0.5 Hypotheses

The present study examines the following hypotheses:

- The economic possession and identity formation of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi were the outcome of the influence and policy of the British colonial power.
- The economic prosperity of Indian diaspora is the important reason of rift between Indian diaspora and native people than the conflict over identity.
- In the larger context, Indian diaspora in Zambia and Malawi are socially more secure than in Zimbabwe.
- Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe and Zambia are comparatively in better position than in Malawi as far as their political status is concerned.

0.6 Research Methodology

The study starts with a historical approach tracing the history of the migration of Indians to these three countries, which today in course of time form a sizeable population of the Indian diaspora. An attempt has been made to trace the place of origin of the migrants, the reasons for migration and the problem faced by them in these three alien Anglophone countries. Given the complex nature of the study, it made use of comparative analytical method to assess and analyze the socio-economic and

political conditions of the Indian diaspora in all these three countries. It has also employed comparative approach to compare the change and continuity of Government of India's policy towards the People of Indian Origin (PIOs). It has made causal descriptive inferences by making use of different sources concerning identity differentials in economic and political status of Indian diaspora. Historical accounts have been employed to locate the impact of colonial policies on the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

The secondary and primary sources have been made use of in providing a thorough explanation of those who migrated from India to these three countries. Government documents has been used which provided information on their socio-economic and political status and the cultural root of their identity formation. Beside that, it made use of memories, journals, yearbooks, newspaper clippings, web folios and other secondary sources, which includes books and articles. Nevertheless, effort has been made to get firsthand information from primary sources and by establishing contacts with government offices, Diplomats and the British High Commission etc. Primary data has been collected and interviews of few Indians has been taken as a part of the field study conducted in the one of these three countries in Zambia in March 2011. Interview of various political leaders, businessmen, priests and professionals has been conducted to get various information about the Indian diaspora of this country and other two countries. Various political, economic, cultural and religious institutions visited wherever Indians are associated with or participating in various ways. This involves the structured interviewed technique carried out through field study to Zambia and through electronic mail to Malawi and Zimbabwe. The nature and scope of rift with the indigenous population has been analyzed by using available data and reports.

0.6.1 Usability of Comparative Method

Louise Tillin (2013) says, comparative methods should be seen as useful methods of study. She suggests some overarching reasons why comparison is important. Those are- (*a*) it helps to challenge 'false' exceptionalism; (*b*) it helps to challenge 'false' universalism. (*c*) it can contribute to theory development better than single case

studies. This is precisely the reason why the present study emphasised on the comparative study of the Indian diaspora of these three countries from the historical perspective.

Fieldwork has been undertaken to collect data and hold interviews with the different research institutes, cultural associations, religious institutions, community centres, Indians and the native people, Indian businessmen and doctors, Journalists, academicians and leaders in Zambia and in India. An attempt has been made to make contact with the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe and Malawi through electronic means.

0.7 Chapterisation

Introduction:

Introduction sets the context of the study. It deals with the research questions, objectives, rationale of the study areas, review of literature and methodology employed to conduct this study.

Chapter-1: Indian Diaspora: Concepts, Theoretical Framework and Historical Background

This Chapter looks at some of the existing literature to explore the theoretical scholarship on Diaspora in a broader perspective. It also gives an overview of the Indian Diaspora in the global arena. The chapter traces the history of PIOs in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, the policy pursued by the Anglophone countries in general and in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi in particular and the responses of the Indian Diaspora. It also looks at the historical foundation of the Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe Zambia and Malawi. It studies the colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora and demonstrate the factors that are responsible for the migration of Indians to the above-mentioned countries.

Chapter-2: Diaspora and Society: Social Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

This chapter analyzes the social status and cultural identity of PIOs in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. In that context, it also explores the historical foundation of the Indian Diaspora and demonstrates the factors that are responsible for the migration of Indians to the above-mentioned countries. This chapter focuses more specifically on the social situation of the Indians in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It analyses the social role of the Indian Diaspora in these three countries i.e., the basic colonial experiences, assimilation and their contested social identity. It compares and contrasts the social situation, participation and status of the Indian Diaspora in these three countries in the colonial, post-colonial and contemporary period.

Chapter-3: Diaspora and Economy: Economic situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

It analyzes the economic role of the Indian Diaspora in these three countries i.e., the basic colonial experiences, their economic integration and competition with the native people and their economic status. It compares and contrasts the economic participation and status of the Indian Diaspora in these three countries in the colonial, post-colonial and contemporary period. It looks at the different factors leading to their greater participation in economic sphere and how their economic prosperity is the main reason of rift between them and the native people. This chapter makes the critical comparison of Indian Diaspora in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi as far their economic situation is concerned.

Chapter-4: Diaspora Politics: Reading Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

This chapter more specifically focuses on the political situation of Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It makes the critical comparison of Indian Diaspora as far their political participation is concerned in the above three countries. It compares and contrasts the political situation of Indian Diaspora in both the colonial and post-colonial period. It analyzes the political role of the Indian Diaspora in these three

countries i.e., the basic colonial experiences, their representation and participation. It explores different reasons of their marginal participation in politics, especially in Zimbabwe and Malawi and factors of not getting local citizenship right till now in Malawi. To put it differently, why PIOs have failed to participate effectively in the political sphere? It looks at the role of the state and its response towards the Indian community in the context of polity of these three countries.

Chapter-5: India and Indian Diaspora: Comparing Connectivity of the Indian Diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi with India

Chapter deals with the nature and dynamics of government of India's policy towards its diaspora. It explores the active engagements of India with the Indian diaspora. The connectivity and response of the Indian diaspora towards India and vice versa. While dealing with this issue, this chapter also focuses on the identity issues, especially, how the Indian diaspora has been able to keep their identity intact.

Conclusion

Conclusion attempts to compare all aspects of PIOs in Zambia, Zimbabwe as well as Malawi. It tries to explore the similarities and differences of PIOs in all these three countries in different aspects. At the end, this part also provides some practical suggestions.

Chapter One

Indian Diaspora: Concepts, Theoretical Framework and Historical Background

Chapter One
INDIAN DIASPORA:
Concepts, Theoretical Framework and Historical Background

1.0 Introduction

Migration, diaspora and state institutions have become the major themes of contemporary international studies. The relationship between these three has become more prominent in the contemporary period due to the establishment of formalised academic centres dedicated to teaching and researching issues of diaspora communities. The relationship between migration and diaspora is defined and redefined in the context of historical specificity. The population movement intertwined with human history has led to the emergence of the category 'diaspora'. Hence, population movement has significant implications on the nomenclature. Since movement took place at various points, state institutions have played an essential role in integrating them into or excluding them from the receiving countries' socio-economic, cultural, and political setup. Therefore, the relationship between the diaspora and host states requires understanding in the context of historical specificity. In addition, there is also a need to understand the involvement of the colonial state in enabling the migration of people from one part of the world to another.

Against this backdrop, chapter one explores the theoretical scholarship on diaspora from a broader perspective. It deals with various dimensions of diaspora. It also provides an overview of the Indian diaspora in the global context. It, furthermore, traces the history of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, compelling factors for their migration, the policies that the British administration pursued toward the Indian diaspora in the colonies of Southern Rhodesia and the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the responses of the Indian diaspora towards these countries.

1.1 Why do we study Diaspora?

The study of diaspora has become one of the intriguing and challenging areas in contemporary academia. It has added a new dimension to migration studies. The suffering, challenges, expectations, and connection to the diaspora's homeland make

diaspora study more interesting and exciting to ponder upon. People move from one country to another for various reasons. The reasons for the movement of people from their home country to different parts of the world could be to earn a livelihood or pursue education abroad, or for occupational and professional purposes. This exciting journey from *Janam bhumi* (place of birth) to *Karm bhumi* (place of work) and the relationship that the diaspora established with the states is critical and exciting to study. Such a relationship also gets twisted when the diaspora remains connected with their origin country. The kind of emotional bonding the diaspora share with the home country is sometimes challenging to express in words and remains primarily invisible.

The heterogeneous character of the diaspora, their distinct cultural and religious identities, colonial experiences, social, economic, cultural and political situation, and their involvement in the material development of home and host countries constitute some critical areas of study in the diaspora. Diaspora communities also play an essential role in foreign policy determination. Although it is believed that the study of diaspora has originated from the research on Jews diaspora, it has gone a long way over time and influenced the social science disciplines such as political science and international studies. Such development has added exciting nuances to diaspora studies.

The study of the Indian diaspora is relatively a new area of research compared to the other diaspora. The bonding and commitment that the Indian diaspora show towards their home country is quite different from other diaspora communities. The identity issues play a significant role in comprehending the possible differences between the Indian diaspora and other diaspora. No matter how adverse situations they face in terms of weather conditions, administrative responses, and other challenges in host countries, they sustain and keep their contributions to the host and home countries and keep their well-being intact. Such issues are more prominent in the context of the Indian diaspora living in Africa. The Indian diaspora are known for their diverse cultural practices and have developed their commitment and ability to keep their cultural distinctiveness intact in host countries.

There are various reasons behind conducting this research. Firstly, a plethora of literature has been produced concerning the multiple dynamics of Indian diaspora living at the centre (advanced countries), but not on Indian diaspora settled at the periphery (especially in African countries). Secondly, the existing research on the Indian diaspora has been confined to those countries and regions where they are in the majority. Although such an aspect may also apply to Africa, a substantial part of the existing scholarship on the Indian diaspora has primarily neglected the Indian diaspora living in the African subcontinent. Thirdly, the history of migration of Indian diaspora to the Central African countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi and their nature of participation in various spheres and their issues are quite different from the Indian diaspora settled in other parts of the world in general and Africa in particular. Relatively, less research has been done on the countries where the Indian diaspora form the minority population in a numerical sense. Again much research has been done on the Indian diaspora of South and Eastern Africa but not on Central Africa. These are some of the stimulating factors for which the current study has been undertaken to study the Indian diaspora in Africa, specifically on the Indian diaspora of Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi.

1.2 Theorising Indian Diaspora

The theoretical framework would help understand the perspectives concerning the study of diaspora. Consequently, various theories have been developed to understand the different dynamics of diaspora. However, the theoretical framework also suggests that theoretical frameworks maintain their status quo while addressing diaspora issues and do not compromise with their original position. As the issues and concerns of the diaspora can be understood from various perspectives, such perspectives would lead to the emergence of numerous theoretical frameworks to comprehend the multiple nuances of diaspora. Some of the theoretical frameworks/models have been discussed below.

1.2.1 Ethnic Model/Theory of Diaspora

The ethnic theory explains the nuances of the diaspora in terms of variable archives. Mishra (2007) emphasises that the ethnic theory revolves around the variable archives, notwithstanding the Jewish diaspora, where the variable archives form the basis of the

ethnic model for diaspora theory. Mishra (2007) advocates that the study of diaspora shall begin with an ethnic model by addressing the variable archives. Mishra suggested considering the essentialist, regressive and defiantly millenarian semantics of ethnic models. This model shall be reinterpreted via the lens of alternative models that primarily rely on geographical and temporal considerations and discourses of silence and discontinuity of diaspora communities (Mishra 2007: 6-7).

The growing interest in the study of diaspora and diasporism is due to recognising the cultural, social, political, and economic significance of those entitles.[1] The diaspora raises funds for their mother country when it is in severe crisis. When a country meets with a serious natural disaster, they come in support of their country. Some explore the opportunities of the host countries, but they remain attached emotionally to the mother countries. Staying away from the state of their origin is, in fact, very nostalgic. The Indian diaspora proudly maintains their ethno-national identity. Their identities are an intricate combination of primordial, psychological/mythical, and instrumental elements.

1.2.2 Multicultural Theory of Diaspora

The generalist multicultural theory may be more meaningful when it is thought through particularist theories of diaspora, race, ethnicity, etc. There are clear strengths in mapping in such a perspective, allowing us to think of multiculturalism as a critical concept, not a management exercise. It would allow us to show how diaspora as *décalage* (according to the Oxford dictionary, this refers to different stages of development of a child) (after Leopold Senghor) 'forces us to articulate discourses of cultural and political linkages across differences in full view of the risks of that endeavour' (Edwards 2003: 13). Such a notion reflects that the diaspora narratives can emerge from a multicultural perspective. It believes in the principle of inclusion and exclusion. The principle of inclusion indicates the inclusion of those who share commonalities with others. On the contrary, those who

[1] The interest in the study of diaspora is due to their emergence and influences in diverse fields. Diaspora contributed to the developments of the country of their origin. The Jewish state of Israel, for instance, benefited to a large extent from the Jewish diaspora before 1948. The importance of ethnic and identity consideration in politics in the era of globalisation might be one reason for more emphasis on the diaspora. For more on the issue of growing interest in diaspora, see Gabriel (2003).

have distinct attributes from others and maintain their distinctiveness can be excluded from a particular community.

The multicultural theory of diaspora focuses on two dimensions of exclusion emphasising the exclusion of members on the ground of not being the member of a nation-state, and exclusion from the heterosexuality of women, gays and lesbians (Kaiwar and Mazumdar 2003: 245–51). Hence, it is essential to engage with the broader politics of gender, race and sexuality to comprehend the nature and dynamics of diaspora engagement in a multicultural nation-state. To do this well would require much more extensive research and expertise to have a broader study on diaspora issues. But it is essential to recognise them in any critique. Within the limited framework, it is crucial to link multicultural theory specifically to the Canadian nation-state and then examine a range of texts that may be symptomatic of the general problem of diaspora communities in nations avowedly committed to generalist multiculturalism (Mishra 2005).

Diaspora can be considered as a concept and a set of social formations. It shows the means of negotiation with life amidst tremendous social, cultural and political diversities. The diaspora communities construct imagined communities and negotiate with their identity construction. Diaspora reflects various ways of life embedded in community, culture and society. It also shows the experience amidst nations and uses global belonging to represent the self and communities. As a conceptual space of negotiation, diaspora challenges the global and local dichotomy. It addresses what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri call "the social machines that create and recreate the identities and differences that are understood as the local" (cited in Shukla 2003: 4).

1.3 Issues and Dimensions of Diaspora

The concept of diaspora is multi-dimensional and is affected by multiple factors. Different dimensions provide the basis for understanding the diaspora phenomenon theoretically in the discourse of migration in disciplines such as political science and international studies. These dimensions help to have a clear idea of various issues of concern in diaspora studies. Considering all these issues, this section discusses some of the crucial dimensions

of diaspora, such as the diversity dimension, economic dimension from a developmental perspective, socio-cultural dimension, global dimension from a globalisation and transnational perspective, and political dimension.

1.3.1 Diversity Dimension

To begin with the diversity dimension, the 'diversity' factor necessitates a comparative study to understand the different aspects of the Indian diaspora. N. Jayaram (2008) explores the internal complexity of the concept of diaspora itself, manifesting the diversity dimension. To him, the diversity dimension of the concept become more pronounced by the processes and phases involved in the population migration. He underlines that the diversity dimension of diaspora in essentially linked with the period and places of migration, which range from the colonial to post-colonial period, from one region to another and the responses of different countries to the process of migration and, finally, the response of the migrated population to the diverse cultures of the receiving countries. The diversity dimension becomes further complex when the migrated people carry the the perception and cultural values of the countries of their origin to the host countries.

Further, it is difficult for them to sideline their upbringing experiences in the home countries, especially when the diaspora begin the process of their resettlement in the receiving countries, where they usually struggle to be familiar with the new and unfamiliar situation. Hence, their relative experiences of home countries continue to play a critical role during the process of their resettlement. Hence, various processes, levels and degree of integration in the host societies, responses of the host societies, response of the diaspora to various norms and cultures of host countries, etc. form the basis of diversity dimension of diaspora communities (Jayaram 2011: xi).

The contextualisation of the concept of diaspora in a specific geographical experience also demonstrates the diversity existed among the diaspora. For instance, the Indian diaspora also reflects the heterogeneity among themselves that describes along the line of religion, language, region, ethnicity and caste, among others. Meanwhile, as the Indian

diaspora were settled in French, Portuguese, British and Belgium colonies, their settlement in these colonies further contributed to diversity among the diaspora, which was far more complex than the diversity that Indian diaspora carried with them (Dubey 2010: xi). Taking such a notion further, Jayaram (2011) engages with the operational definition of the concept that indicates the absence of homogeneity and the presence of a variety. The existence of such varieties among the diaspora communities emphasises that they are not homogenous rather heterogenous in character. Hence, it challenges the notion of generalisation that dilutes the heterogeneity. As the diversity dimension rules out uniformity among various kinds of diaspora communities, it also questions the policy measures initiated on the basis of wider generalisation of the about the phenomenon.

Meanwhile, the existing literature also engages with crafting the concept of diversity itself. For instance, Loden (1996) deals with the internal complexity of diversity and emphasises that diversity can be investigated at two levels, such as primary and secondary levels. The primary and secondary levels represent the primary and secondary dimensions of diversity. The primary dimension includes the unchangeable variables, such as race, ethnicity, gender and age, which are pertinent to the construction of the self. On the contrary, the secondary dimension includes the potentially changeable indicators, such as income, education, language and religion. Such dichotomy seems to be interesting to understand the diversity among the diaspora communities. However, such understanding is far from tenable when we explore the changing relationship between and among the diaspora communities across the globe. Though it is easier for the individual to change their achieved variables such as education, income, language and religion (secondary dimension of diversity) but these variables continue to distinguish them from other diaspora communities based on specific language, religion, income category, etc.

Certain instances can be drawn to further highlight the challenges of secondary dimension of diversity. For example, the Hindus were converted to Presbyterianism in Trinidad. Such conversion might have led to their assimilation with the existing Presbyterianism communities. However, the Christians, Muslims, and Hindus of Trinidad and the Presbyterians elsewhere considered the converted Presbyterians different. Similarly, the

Punjabis distinguish the Sikh diaspora from them. Meanwhile, the Sikh diaspora also draw a line between them and other Punjabis. Similar kind of diversities can also be observed on the basis of other achieved variables, such as education, occupation and income (Jayaram 2011: 4).

In addition to these primary and secondary dimensions of diversity in the Indian diaspora, Dubey (2010), in his edited volume, *Indian Diaspora in Africa: A Comparative Perspective*, in the way of proposing another dimensional perspective of diversity, underlines the need for a comprehensive and comparative study of the Indian diaspora. He describes, "though Indians in Africa live in the same continent, their diversity, differences in their struggle to settle down, their different quest for retaining identity and need for adaptation to local situation, different insecurity and strength, their different intensity of interaction with India and different level of urge and need to link with India needs a comprehensive study" (Dubey 2010: xi).

The other observable issue of diaspora communities is that most of them desire to return to their country of origin/motherland, which is natural to get flashed out. Meanwhile, such desire may also become an unending and utopian intention. On the contrary, the diaspora communities can also mix with other communities and get get acquainted with the diversity of the host countries in social, economic and political realms. Meanwhile, the position of the diaspora communities also reflects dualism, such as joy and sorrow, gratitude and loss, and hope and frustration. Over the period, the diverse nature of the diaspora community also became more complex when the intra-diaspora community differences along the line of race, ethnicity, gender and class, among others, were explored.

As ethnic differences can also be found among the diaspora communities, Brass (1985: 1) emphasises that the formation of ethnic identities revolves around three sets of struggles. The first set of struggles begins with the competition among the members of an ethnic group to have access to and control over the symbolic and material resources. It demarcates the boundaries of an ethnic group and conditions for inclusion and exclusion

of group members. Such struggles would result in an uneven economic position of diaspora within diasporic communities. The second set of struggles indicates the inter-ethnic group competition over rights, privileges and resources. This set of struggles testifies to the uneven economic development of various ethnic communities. The third set of struggles take place between the state on the one hand and the ethnic communities and other ethnic communities, on the other hand. Hence, the construction of ethnic identities of diasporic communities goes through complex processes, thereby leading to unpredictable outcomes. The identity construction of diaspora communities is an unending process that gets defined and redefined based on changing circumstances and the actors' interactions over the period.

1.3.2 Economic Dimension

The economic dimension of diaspora includes the economic role of the diaspora communities toward the country of their origin and the host countries. Their economic role is largely driven by their contribution to the economic development of the host countries and home countries. Their economic role cannot be ignored during the digital age, which facilitates the transfer of remittance with ease especially to the country of their origin. Such importance of diaspora communities has emerged as one of the crucial research areas in diaspora studies.

The movement and settlement of diaspora communities across the borders and their multiple roles in economic advancement and reduction of poverty in the country of origin indicate that they are considered the full partner in the development process. Sahay (2009) focuses on the migration of highly skilled Indian professionals to the United States and the processes to facilitate the return of Indian diaspora communities, and subsequently, utilise their skills for the advancement of India. Most of the literature explores the relationship between migration and remittances, considering the impact of remittances on the sending or the receiving counties. Singh, Robertson and Cabraal (2012) indicate that remittances can also be studied from the perspective of globalisation, diaspora, and transnationalism. Peter F. Saeverin examines the migrants' networks and their constitutive role in establishing ties between the country of origin and destination. He argues that one

of the critical impacts of migration networks besides the knowledge transfer is the accumulation of social capital at different places globally, which is a key to creating a global value-added chain.

Diaspora communities are not homogeneous, and heterogeneity can be found in language, culture, religion and nature of activities they engage in receiving countries. The diaspora communities engaged in trading constitute the earliest diaspora. The trading communities among the diaspora are believed to have emerged some 5000 years ago. This section of diaspora communities developed the specialisation in trading. Such specialisation has been the result of experiencing the difficulties of physically leaving the country of their origin, commitment to learn the language of the host countries, eagerness to understand the commercial activities of the host countries, eagerness to arrange the travel of the people and providing lodging and boarding of people in the destination countries. Some of the examples of this category of the diaspora are 800 BC Phoenicians of the Greek Mediterranean; Greek-speaking Romans of Aden, Oman and India; the presence of Chinese traders in Afghanistan, Iran, Indonesia and East Africa who travelled by land and sea; South Indians in mainland and islands of Southeast Asia; Gujarati Indians who travelled throughout the Indian ocean (Wheatley 1975; Cohen 1997: 21).

The economic dimension of diaspora, which can also be considered 'migration-development nexus', has become the subject of study. Mercer, Page and Evans (2008) offer two reasons for understanding the criticality of the 'migration-development nexus.' The first explanation relies on the 'development benefit' perspective. The 'development benefit' understanding reflects the country's economic benefits of their origin, where the diaspora communities usually send remittances to their families. For instance, the South Indians working in the Gulf region facilitate the flow of capital to South India via their families.

Similarly, such issues have also been debated in the Global South and Global North context. The labour recruiting countries of the Global North are accused of unjustly extracting skilled labour force from the Global South. By way of a critical response to the

charge of 'unjust extraction of skilled labour from the Global South', the Global North applies the 'development-benefit' approach to dilute such a critical impression. Under such a perspective, they justify international migration on the ground that it facilitates the economic advancement of the countries of their origin. Their position is based on the claim that the skilled labour leaving their country of origin to work in Europe and America is economically benefitting the origin countries because of the flow of money, ideas and values to the country of their origin in the form of remittances. The second explanation relies on the importance of the scale of international remittances and perplexes resulting in international remittances.

1.3.3 Socio-Cultural Dimension

The concept of the diaspora can be studied from various perspectives. One of the critical aspects of diaspora studies is linked with the socio-cultural dimension. Considering the history of diaspora, it has been associated with dispersal, displacement and migration. However, as Sahoo and Maharaj (2007: 3-4) point out, the debates on human migration and mobility had not captured the essence and remained at the margin of such discussions until recently.

The socio-cultural dimension of diaspora attempts to capture the changing relationship between globalisation and the rise of diaspora and underlines that their relationship does not seem to be direct. However, globalisation has intensified various roles, such as economic, affective and practical roles of diaspora, thereby indicating adaptive forms of social organisation. As globalisation has exposed the diaspora communities to the cosmopolitan lifestyle patterns, their role and importance have also increased accordingly. Their adoptive form of social organisation also indicates their solidarity and integration with the local communities they continue to work (Cohen 1997: 176).

The journal *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* that Khachig Tololyan launched in 1991 increasingly focuses on the criticality of the concept as a tool of analysis and aims to facilitate the process of deterritorialisation. The scholars of anthropology, cultural studies and history have closely examined the essentialist understanding of

culture and nation. The contemporary ethnography has questioned the reductive notion of culture as *welling* and favoured the multiple ways of understanding culture. Subsequently, the rigid understanding of the nation-state by emphasising the criticality of territoriality is increasingly being questioned. However, the traditional understanding of the nation-state still plays important role int he understanding of the nation-state but there is a need to emphasise and accommodate the pluralism embedded in human society. To put it differently, nations are urged to reconsider and transcend old concepts of boundaries and frontiers to become the crossroads of a new transnational culture.

As societies are not homogenous and heterogeneity is the defining feature of different countries across the globe, diaspora communities also demonstrate differences in caste, ethnicity, language, religion, culture, rural-urban location, lifestyle, etc. Consequently, diaspora communities establish socio-cultural and other forms of networks along the line of such attributes. For instance, Patrick Eisenlohr underlines the role of language in facilitating the emergence of diasporic communities and regards language as one of the "transplanted" cultural elements, indicating the construction of identity among the diaspora communities in Mauritius. Andrew C. Wilford examines how Tamil Hindus in Malaysia are displaced from their former plantation communities due to ethnic conflicts and how the temples and shrines have become the focal sites for political and spiritual struggles (Willford 2014). Neelu Jain and Benjamin Forest explore the identity construction of migrants and second-generation Indian Jains in America. They argue that both the integration of Jain with the existing culture in the United States and the territorial context played important role in the construction of identities of Jain in the United States (Jain and Forest 2004). Nurit Zaidman (2014) studied the perception of Indian migrants in America, mainly Indian migrants in an ISKCON temple, and attempted to understand their notion of ideology, religion and social structure. In United States, Asian Indian Americans are considered as one of the most advanced ethnic communities in different spheres. Ronald Lakaki provides a historical and personal recollection of the socio-economic, political and cultural life of Asian Indians in America.

Dave Sangha raises concerns over the paucity of literature that focuses on Indian resistance to racism and racial inequality in Canada. He calls for a more systematic study to explore the strategies and methods that the Indians have pursued to resist the various forms of oppression in Canada. Nasreen Ali explores how the Kashmiris were displaced from their original homeland and how it has affected the articulation of Kashmiri identity in the diaspora, especially among the Kashmiris in Britain. Paula Richman examines the role and the interpretation of the Ramayan among the Hindus diaspora (Richman 1999). Henry Johnson and Guil Figgins have taken the case study of a Hindu festival — Diwali, as a cultural site for Indians in New Zealand — to analyse how Indians in that country maintain their cultural traditions despite having diverse ethnolinguistic and regional backgrounds (Johnson and Guil Figgins 2007)

The diaspora network is becoming quite sharp in globalising Indian culture. Cohen (1997) provides a macro-level analysis of various diaspora communities across the globe and the Indian diaspora. Cohen also gives an account of the etymological meaning of diaspora and a theoretical reflection on the Indian diaspora against the backdrop of their colonial experience. In their collective work, Lal, Reeves and Rai (2007) made a general assessment of the Indian diaspora around the globe and their ties with India**.** This context examines how the Indian diasporic communities played an important role in globalising Indian culture and connecting the diaspora.

The work of Parekh and Singh (2003) analyses the interplay between culture, economy and diaspora over time. It addresses demographic, economy, literature, and future development issues. Sheridan (1999) focuses on the desires of the Asian societies to celebrate their local culture with the globalisation forces. It emphasises the diverse values of Asians and explores the potential commonality among Asians. It discusses a wide range of issues ranging from regional community, aspects of modernisation, the relationship between modernisation and westernisation (whether both these terms mean the same phenomenon), civic life, an interface between indigenous tradition and cosmopolitan concerns, etc. Braziel and Mannur (2003) underline that the contemporary discourse on migration and identity has given due attention to the concept of diaspora due to its critical

importance. Braziel and Mannur consider diaspora a human phenomenon involving displacement, movement, and separation of people.

1.3.4 Global Dimension

The notion of diaspora has attracted multiple interpretations, and the spatial and territorial interpretation offers one such interpretation to comprehend the multidimensionality of the concept. Drawing a lead from such understanding, Vertovec (1997) underlines the global dimension of diaspora that goes beyond the spatial and geographical interpretation of the concepts limited to a particular territorial jurisdiction of a nation-state. Vertovec emphasises that the concept of diaspora is often used to "describe practically any population that is considered `de-territorialised' or 'transnational' — that is, which has originated in land other than that in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic, and political networks across the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe" Vertovec (1997: 277). Hence, the global dimension advocates a radical redefinition of place. Such advocacy has assumed critical importance due to the spatial movement of the population. Such movement has been facilitated by advancing information technology and modern communication (Stewart 2001: 13).

The global dimension of diaspora indicates the link or network that they establish with their motherland. Bhat and Sahoo (2003: 144) consider that the diaspora communities develop two different forms of engagement with their motherland: real and imaginary. The nature of diaspora engagement with the homeland depends on various factors, such as spatial and cultural distance between the host countries and motherland, affordability of the diaspora to visit the homeland, the establishment of the network and cultural continuity, usage and retention of one language, etc. The past decade has facilitated the linkages between the diaspora communities and the motherland due to technological advancement and modern transport and communication. The technological and communication revolution has resulted in proximity between the diaspora communities and their motherlands and brought the diaspora communities living in different parts of the world closer.

The process of globalisation has facilitated capital mobility and expanded the market. This has led to the de-nationalisation of the economy and de-territorialisation, raising eyebrows about the sovereign character of the state. The forces of globalisation have also challenged the dominant role of the national government and the sacrosanct border of the nation-state. Against this backdrop, Sahoo and Maharaj (2007) contend that the process of globalisation has de-territorialised and weakened the national boundaries, questioned the sacrosanct of the national territory, liberalised the border, facilitated rapid population movement across borders, and thereby raised the criticality of citizenship, identity and nationality. Martin and Widgren (2002:3) underlined that globalisation had posed serious challenges to national boundaries in the 21st century. Croucher (1998: 654) considers migration that globalisation has facilitated as complex socio-economic and political phenomena, which has posed policy challenges to even the stable democratic countries (cited in Sahoo and Maharaj 2007). At the backdrop of such complex dynamics, Weiner (1995) points out that states have maintained paradoxical positions at the end of the 21st century. The states have geared up to control immigration, and at the same time, they have also encouraged the free flow of capital across national boundaries.

Motwani and Gosine (1993) discuss various patterns of population movement and the global implications of the Indian diaspora. Indian diaspora communities constitute a formidable space globally, where their presence can be found across the globe. Within the broader framework of the diaspora at the global level and the patterns, they mention that people migrate from one place to another due to pull and push factors. Some migrate under certain compulsions, and others cross the territorial boundaries to take advantage of the available economic opportunities in new countries.

Diaspora communities have emerged as global actors at the backdrop of the information technology and communication revolution, easing the process of population movement, dissemination of information and movement of commodities across national boundaries. Appadurai (1996: 2, 9) contends that the global dimension of diaspora, which is the outcome of the increasing impact of electronic media and the proliferation of population movement, has resulted in the rapture of social relationships in the recent past. Appadurai

(1996: 4) invokes the global dimension of diaspora by increasing emphasising the importance of relatives or co-workers. The existing literature indicates that around 130 million people lived outside their home country by 2000 (Suarez-Orozco 2000). The social anthropological literature suggests that the process of immigration has resulted in the self-directed movement of people from one country to another (Brettell 2000; Eades 1987; Foner et al. 2001; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Gmelch 1980; Hannerz 1998; Kearney 1986; Mahler 1998; Suarez-Orozco 2000; Watson 1977b).

1.3.5 Political Dimension

Shain and Barth (2003) deal with the political dimension of diaspora and underline that diaspora communities play a critical role in global politics, thereby influencing the international scenario. The existing literature and media reports indicate that the diaspora communities also largely influence international behaviour on many fronts. In addition, it would not be exaggerated to mention that the diaspora communities also influence the nature and dynamics of the foreign policies of the home countries.

Due to the growing importance of People of Indian Origin (PIOs), it is imperative to look into it from a comparative international perspective. Internally, the Indian diaspora constitute a powerful collective (Jain 2003). They are dynamic worldwide. It is desirable to look into the position of PIOs in the country of their adoption. What happens to their identity and security in the country of their adoption? They are proud of their identity and prosperity, but they often suffer from their status as a minority in many countries. The Indian diaspora has its limitation. Though it is a more considerable force on the global stage, due to the weak position of India, the country of their origin, in the field of economy and military, it has failed to play an influential role in the international arena. The Indian diaspora has no unified organisations internationally. They have emerged as a business community. However, there is a need to unify the people of the different professions with internationally viable networks. There were signs of organisation among the Indian diaspora in the post-Cold War era in the post-Cold War era. However, these are very limited to the ones they need.

From the policy perspective of home countries, Lall (2001) and Dubey (2003) appear to be the only two books discussing aspects of India's policy towards the Indian diaspora. Lall (2001) examines the Indian policy related to its diaspora critically. Dubey (2003) focuses on the emerging issues of the Indian diaspora residing in different parts of the globe. This volume gives due importance to the distinct identity of the Indian diaspora. These works focus on the various dynamics of the Indian diaspora by taking the thematic and geographical considerations into account. In addition to the discussion on the historical context of the Indian diaspora, they focus on various initiatives and policy formulations of the Government of India towards the Indian diaspora.

From the perspective of diaspora and homeland connection, the study of diaspora emerged due to many historical reasons. It is due to the emotional association and inseparable link in their past migration history. It is also due to a sense of co-ethnicity. The Indians have a rich historical heritage which makes them proud. There was a perception that the immigrants would be integrated into the host society and get identified along with the language, culture and political fidelity of the host countries. This assumption was discernible even within the liberal democracies. The migrants often face the hostility and resentment of the indigenous population and assimilated citizenry. Some live out of their countries in exile and, as a refugee, face a high degree of psychological alienation. In the host lands, the diaspora has ethnic lobbies. They often demand and advocate a multicultural foreign policy in their domicile country. They contribute to the economy of the homeland country. They also sometimes mediate between the host country and the homeland country. This had happened in the case of India and the US. In the Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, the people of Indian Origin played an important role. They lobbied for such an agreement.

In many cases, the diaspora supported the democratic regime and fought against the authoritarian regimes. The diasporic population may sometime play a significant role in violence and stability. Diaspora transmits the value of pluralism and democracy to their home countries. They have the skills and entrepreneurial spirit that their home countries

lack. In western countries, the Indians occupy highly paid jobs. Due to this, one can argue that India can return to PIOs in times of crisis.

There are many inter-linkages and expectations between the Indian diaspora and India. It is necessary to deal with India's relations and policies toward its diaspora to uncover this. It is a fact that the Indian diaspora is a diverse entity. The host countries recognise that the PIOs are one of the economically developed communities in the host countries. In the US, for instance, the PIOs have influenced politics and often provide funds to different political parties. The same is true in the case of PIOs in the UK. The PIOs have emerged as an internally recognised force. However, the analysis of the cultural aspects of PIOs dominates the study of the Indian diaspora in Indian academia (Jain 2003).

The Indians are a more organised and enduring ethnic diaspora today. The root of the Indian diaspora is very old, but it can be documented from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. There was an eastward movement of people immediately after the death of Buddha in 483 B.C. to propagate his teachings. It was neither economic nor political but rather cultural and religious. From the 6th to 11th century A.D., there were commercial and military activities in Southeast Asia. The movement of migrants from western India to Africa in the Middle Ages was mainly due to trade outposts. The Indian Diaspora had to compete with other ethnic diaspora communities in Africa. The Indian diaspora continued to expand due to Portuguese and British rule over India. However, the Indian diaspora was never homogenous. Sheffer (2003: 62) underlines that the British brought the indentured labourers to Africa.

The present study uses most of the dimensions mentioned above in the subsequent chapters. It will compare and contrast the social, economic and political situations of Indian diaspora communities in the three Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

1.4 Historical Background

The history of the migration of people across the border of the nation-state can be traced back to the creation of the nation-state itself. Some were free migrants, and some were forced to migrate under colonial rule for construction and plantation work, mainly during colonial times. This migration is intensified with the emergence of the globalisation process in the current scenario. It is correctly said that 'the necessity is the mother of inversion'. To take up this issue in the larger context of migration, it is very much true that the human need and the ambition to lead a better life have become the root cause of migration in the larger context, with some exceptions. This compelled human beings to explore roots, resources and places to migrate to have a better life.

1.4.1 Causes of Migration

There are various reasons why people migrate from one place to another place and from one country to another country. Migration is generally considered an economic phenomenon. Migration is the result of the desire to avail facilities at home and abroad, which has also, to some extent, been affected by capitalism. But the fact is that both the social and economic forces are responsible for the migration of people (Zolberg 1983: 24).

Nunez, Sepehr and Sanchez (2014) point out that population migration also occurs due to prosecution based on caste, ethnicity, social group membership, religion, race, nationality, political opinion, etc. People subjected to prosecution often seek refugee status or asylum status. However, there is a difference between refugee status and asylum status. Refugees are required to secure their status before they enter the preferred country. On the contrary, asylum status can be secured on arrival.

Nevertheless, considering the complexity of refugees and asylum seekers, it is not easy to provide safety to the people. People also migrate to escape from conflict or violence. There could be many reasons which trigger conflict or violence in a country or a place. The significant reasons are war, civil war and ethnic cleansing, etc. In such a scenario,

people migrate from one country and take shelter in another country of their neighbourhood.

Displacement of people happens because of various environment-related factors. Those factors are natural disasters, soil erosion, dam construction, implementation of developmental projects and other factors related to climate change. This predominantly affects people living in poverty. People living in a country with limited access to healthcare sometimes also migrate to a place or country having better healthcare facilities when they suffer from serious health problems. For example, people from Pakistan and Nepal periodically visit India for cancer treatment.

One of the critical factors for migrating people from one place to another and from one country to another is poverty. To escape from poverty and earn livelihood for themselves and their family, people migrate. People migrate from one country to another and from one place to another in search of opportunities. Lack of opportunity and lack of incentives in the country of their place of birth compels people to migrate. For jobs, business and labour, people migrate. The migration also takes place for family reunification. People also migrate to receive better and quality education. To get a good education, people migrate from urban to the metropolis and from one country to another. Marriage is another reason for migration (Nunez et al. 2014: 1-3).

1.4.2 Migration and Diaspora

In diaspora studies, the question often arises, will all migrants be considered as diaspora? How does one distinguish between migrants and the diaspora? What are the criteria for making such a distinction? These issues are inherently more complex than they appear to be. According to Knott and McLoughlin (2011), the notion of diaspora goes beyond merely a group of migrants. The shared commitments towards the home countries distinguish between diaspora and migrants, where such obligations are more pronounced in the case of diaspora and are absent among the migrants. This does not mean articulating that the diaspora's shared commitment often weakens the diaspora's integration in the host countries. It is observed that the diaspora community is equally committed to their host

countries and contribute immensely to the people and society of the host countries in which they live. Ethnographic studies show that the diaspora community has equal commitments and concerns towards the countries of their origin and where they currently live. Diaspora and migrants can also be distinguished by considering the dominant framework used to comprehend them. Economic imperatives and incentives largely dominate the understanding of diaspora. However, economic imperatives and incentives are essential but not sufficient criteria to understand diaspora communities. As mentioned earlier, the understanding of diaspora communities goes beyond the economic interpretation of the concept, who sometimes also play critical role in the political affairs of a country of their origin (Knott and McLoughlin 2011: 104), as discussed in Chapter four.

Diaspora communities are deeply connected to their root/homeland culturally, are committed to their homeland economically, and reflect on their home country's political leadership and issues. Whenever possible, they also lobby for their home country to have a special status in the international forums and organisations. For example, the Indian diaspora (member of the American Senate) stated that India should be given a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation.

The general tendency indicates that the term diaspora is primarily applied to Indian and Chinese communities, spread to the United States, Eastern and Southern Africa, West Indies and Southeast Asia. These groups ought indeed to be classified as a diaspora (or perhaps semi-diaspora, given the continued existence of a state where the vast majority of their compatriots live) in so far as they meet many of the criteria that define the diaspora condition. The existing literature, such as Cohen (1997), Bruneau (1994), Sheffer (1993) and Safran (1991), explore the understanding of the concept from a perspective of ethnicity, which revolves around the associational life, group consciousness and their connection with fellow diaspora in different parts of the world. Stewart (2001) perhaps draws such a relationship in the following way:

> "A diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, consciousness, memory, mythology, history, meaningful narratives, group identity, longings, dreams, allegorical and virtual elements all of survival. The diasporic condition can be rather dynamic and ambivalent, but this should not always be interpreted exclusively negatively since the sense of alienation from the host society often coexists with a sense of belonging" (Stewart 2001: 13).

The diaspora can be a victim of labour, trade, and imperial and cultural diaspora. The Indian diaspora is regarded as an archetype of a labour diaspora. They also have an essential mercantile history (Cohen 2007: xi). They had migrated as merchants from western India to Africa and the Middle East in ancient times. They earned their livelihood through international trade. Many Indians went to East Africa as free passengers. Over the period, with the flow of migration, Indians have chosen to reside outside India permanently. However, they continue to have close contact with the people in India, which makes them members of the ethno-national diaspora.

Meanwhile, the host countries often view the ethno-national diaspora as a temporary and marginal phenomenon. Consequently, the host societies and the governments impose social, political and economic structures and pressure on those who have settled permanently. In the past two decades, the total number of established diaspora and the numbers of their members have increased.

1.4.3 Trajectory of Indian Diaspora

Many historical accounts reveal that the migration history of Indians is quite old (Beri 2003; Pande 2020). Indians were very much involved in the spices and fish trade. They visited far-flung areas through the sea route and used to sell out these food items. Years together, these Indian traders used to do business in a foreign land and return home after long years of staying in a foreign land. People back home celebrate their return after a long sea voyage. In Odisha state, which is geographically located in the eastern part of India, Odiya people have observed that memorable day in the form of the '*Kartik Poornima* or *Bali Jatra*' festival and worship boats and ships.

Indian migration dates back to the first century, primarily associated with trade activities between India and countries in Southeast Asia. However, well-documented migration trends date back when colonial powers such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands recruited indentured labourers. Consequently, Indians migrated to different countries, such as Surinam, Guyana, Malaysia, Mauritius, South Africa, etc. Such a process facilitated the Indians to migrate to African, British and Dutch colonies as contract labourers. Indian migration has recently occurred in highly advanced countries, such as Germany, Netherlands, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, United States, New Zealand, etc. Hence, the presence of the Indian diaspora can be found in almost all countries of the world. An unofficial estimation indicates that around 18 million PIOs live outside India. Nearly all of them follow distinct Indian cultures, traditions and values (Matwani 2003). Meanwhile, they have adopted the notion of 'unity in diversity', where they have been integrated within the host countries without weakening their distinct Indian culture, tradition and values, indicating the maintenance of their ethnic identity. The history and patterns of migration and their experience with people from different cultures would help comprehend the diaspora from other parts of the world (Matwani 2003).

Pande (2020) stated that the movement of the Indian diaspora was not restricted to certain areas, especially from the coastal regions. They had the option of moving to different parts of the country. However, such free movements were affected during the colonial period, where the colonial government facilitated their movement based on their needs. The colonial history shows that the planters or the government took the initiative to migrate the people as indentured labourers, officials and service providers, which later led to their permanent settlement. Consequently, the Indian diaspora communities became integral to the receiving societies' social, economic, and political realms within the broader framework of unity and diversity. They remain connected with India in various ways, and their connectivity gave rise to the *diasporic consciousness* (Pande 2020: 77). The *diasporic consciousness* brought the Indian diaspora across the globe together. Consequently, the Indian diaspora formed various associations and groups at the national, regional and global levels to share their feelings, expectations and perspectives towards

the home country and the people of the home country. Such developments provided an impetus for the heralding of a new chapter in the international study of migration.

1.4.4 Phases of Migration

Considering the period of migration, the Indian diaspora can be studied in terms of three crucial phases, which are mentioned below:

- The first phase is the classical phase which is also known as the classical wave. This phase or wave started in the 5th century B.C., which included the cultural expansion of Hinduism and Buddhism. It was the early trading activity of Indian merchants. During this period, Hindus and Buddhists had influenced Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Korea, China and Japan.
- The second phase is the indentured labour phase, also known as the colonial wave. The second phase emphasised the position of indentured labour, especially in British colonies. Indentured labourers are called 'human cargo' because they were treated on ships with even less respect than what ordinary goods or cargo would receive. This human cargo was exported to the African continent, Mauritius, Fiji, Surinam, Guyana and Trinidad, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia.
- The modern phase continues throughout the present period, with highly qualified Indians migrating to Western Europe and North America. Clammer (2009) termed this a contemporary wave. According to him, the contemporary wave is of more recent origin, starting in the 1960s. Considering the professional background of the migrants, this phase is also known as the 'brain drain' wave.

The contemporary wave of migration seems to have been influenced by the process of globalisation, which has raised a myriad of critical issues related to the Indian diaspora. One of the significant cultural effects of globalisation has been to stimulate intense debates about the concept of identity, both on the part of individuals and communities experiencing the massive social and cultural shifts that are accompanying and signalling the new economic and political configurations of international society and on the part of scholars intent on mapping, describing and theorising a new understanding of self, of

society and belonging, and the new subjectivities and concepts of community that inevitably mirror social transformations (Motwani and Motwani 2003; Clammer 2009).

However, such categorisation has not been convinced across academia. There are also attempts to understand the Indian diaspora by reconsidering such categorisation along the line of skills that the Indian diaspora possessed. Considering their skills, the Indian diaspora communities have been categorised as the first and second generations of the Indian diaspora. The first generation of Indian migrants accounted mainly for the plantation, and the construction workers migrated during the colonial period. They were taken away from India by the Britishers to various colonies of Asia and Africa. They were bounded by some contract and were used to develop the infrastructure in colonised territories to smooth the functioning of the British administration. The second generation of Indian migrants mainly migrated during decolonisation and after that. The migration of the second generation of the Indian diaspora essentially took place to search for better livelihood options and gain a better education. So, the first generation of Indian migrants was largely unskilled people with less education or no education, and the second generation of migrants was educated and skilled Indians.

The early migration phase experienced the movement of Indians to different parts of the world. The migrated to different parts of the world in different capacities, such as labourers, traders, domestic servants, sailors, preachers, etc., among others. Indian preachers also made a mark through their presence on the Asian and African soil. The preachers used the Jatakas, Brihat Kathakosha, Arthshastra, ancient Indian Puranas, etc., to spread through overseas journeys. The Indian preachers and traders travel through the sea to various parts of the subcontinents like Africa and Asia.

1.4.4.1 Demographic Scenario of Indian Diaspora

The demographic composition of Indian diaspora communities reflects the intersectional dimension, which includes the migration of skilled people, such as scientists, doctors and the unskilled manual labourers. The close observation of the migration of the Indian

diaspora suggests that they migrated to different parts of the world under the backdrop of the lack of economic opportunities and dire poverty, among others.

Table 1.1: Statistical Profile of Indian Diaspora in the World

Sl.No.	**Continents and Countries**	**Number**	**Other information**
1.	Europe	1.5 million	Out of this 1.3 million in Great Britain
2.	Africa	1.7 million	Out of this 1.1 million in South Africa and 600, 000 in Mauritius
3.	Asia (excluding Sri Lanka)	2 million	Out of this 1.2 million in Malaysia
4.	Middle East	1.4 million	Largely guest workers in the Gulf states
5.	Latin America and the Caribbean	1 million	Largely in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam
6.	North America	2 million	Out of this 1.2 million in US
7.	The Pacific	800, 000	Out of this 320, 000 in Fiji
	Total	**11 million***	
*Total estimated figure of 11 million includes itinerant workers in the Middle East but not the Tamils of Sri Lanka, although it does include Sri Lankan Tamil migrants to the West. Source: Vijay (2005: 21-22).			

Table 1.1 indicates the statistical profile of the South Asian (Indian) diaspora in different world continents. It shows that a total of 11 million South Asian migrated to seven different countries and continents. Out of them, 2 million each migrated to the Asian continent (excluding Sri Lanka) and North America, followed by the African continent

(1.7 million), Europe (1.5 million), Middle East (1.4 million), Latin America and the Caribbean (1 million) and the Pacific (800,000). One intriguing inference that can be drawn from the Table is that though a large number of South Asian migrated to different subcontinents, their numerical presence also vary among the countries of a continent. For instance, out of 1.5 and 2 million in the European and North American continents, 1.3 and 1.2 million can be found in Great Britain and the United States, respectively.

1.4.4.2 Tracing History of Indians in Africa

Indian diaspora in Africa has a very long history which can be traced before the colonisation of India and Africa (Beri 2003; Taylor 2017). History shows that the Indians had very close commercial and cultural relations with the North-Eastern African countries. The sea-fearing merchants of the North-Western part of India arrived along the East-African coast. Many historical accounts reveal the trade relations between Ethiopia and India, which goes back to the third century. Many Indians migrated to African countries first as sea-faring merchants and later as indentured labourers, working in the construction of roads, railways and plantations. The abolition of the slave trade increased the need for labourers increased and consequently, many Indians migrated to work as paid labourers and as traders and free passengers during the colonial period.

The colonial history of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi began in the 1890s when the British colonial forces concluded land-ceding treaties with the African leaders in the north of the Zambezi River to extend the territory they had earlier annexed to the south of the river. The first captured territory was recognised as Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and the second as Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), and the third one Nyasaland (now Malawi). The emergence of these three Anglophone countries together led to the formation of the Federation in 1953. Consequently, the Central African Federation (CAF) came into being, which was the outcome of the formation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland federation. It was a semi-independent state during the first ten years, 1953-1963. It was not a colony but a federal ream of the British crown. It was also not a dominion despite having a Governor-General representative of the British sovereign. However, the intention was to become a dominion in the Common Wealth of Nations.

1.4.4.3 Demographic Scenario of Indian Diaspora in Africa

The available statistics show that 2 million out of 25 million PIOs live in the African sub-continent. Their presence is visible in Lusophone, Francophone, Africa, Arab and Afro-Anglophone regions. Various reasons, such as indentured labourers, construction workers, traders, businessmen, etc., can be accounted for the migration of PIO to Africa. They also migrated to Africa as indentured labourers and construction workers during the colonial period. Some of them were settled as colonial Indian army soldiers. Some of them also migrated to Africa in the post-colonial period as skilled workers, teachers and professionals. They migrated largely from South Indian states, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab.

Table 1.2 shows that 2693195 Indian diaspora can be found in 46 African countries. Of 2693195 Indian diaspora, 158605 and 2534590 are NRIs and PIOs, respectively. Out of 46 countries, the highest number of Indian diaspora (1218000) can be found in South Africa, followed by Mauritius (882220). On the contrary, the Republic of Sao Tome and Principle has only four Indian diaspora, followed by Cape Verde Island (12).

Table 1.2: Statistical Profile of Indian Diaspora

Sl No	Country	Indian Diaspora	NRI	PIO
1	Algeria	450	447	3
2	Anglo	6000	6000	0
3	Botswana	11000	9000	2000
4	Burkina Faso	100	100	0
5	Burundi	250	200	50
6	Cape Verde Islands	12	12	0
7	Comoros	300	50	250
8	Democratic Republic of Congo	4000	3600	400
9	Djibouti	350	350	0
10	Egypt	3600	3450	150
11	Equatorial Guinea	100	100	0

12	Eritrea	500	0	500
13	Ethiopia	994	992	2
14	Gambia	333	329	4
15	Ghana	10000	10000	0
16	Republic of Guinea	550	550	0
17	Guinea Bissau	31	31	0
18	Ivory Coast	500	500	0
19	Kenya	75000	37500	37500
20	Kingdom go Lesotho	1200	800	400
21	Liberia	1501	1500	1
22	Libya	15000	14995	5
23	Madagascar	23000	3000	20000
24	Malawi	7000	1500	5500
25	Mali	201	200	1
26	Mauritania	30	30	0
27	Mauritius	882220	15000	867220
28	Morocco	300	300	0
29	Mozambique	21500	1500	20000
30	Namibia	160	140	20
31	Niger	60	60	0
32	Nigeria	30000	0	30000
33	Reunion Island (France)	275200	200	275000
34	Rwanda	1040	1000	40
35	Republic of SaoTome and Principle	4	4	0
36	Senegal	440	412	28
37	Seychelles	8500	4000	4500
38	Sierra Leone	710	700	10
39	South Africa	1218000	18000	1200000
40	Sudan	3599	3500	99
41	Swaziland	700	200	500

42	Tanzania	54700	5300	49400
43	Togo	510	500	10
44	Uganda	20000	15000	5000
45	Zambia	20500	12500	8000
46	Zimbabwe	10500	500	10000
Total		2693195	158605	2534590
Note: NRI- Non-Resident Indians; PIO-People of Indian Origin Source: Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Government of India (2012)				

1.5 Indian Diaspora in Africa

The immigration of Indian coolies in the South and East, and Central Africa was not an isolated phenomenon. Instead, it was a part of Britain's general policy of indenturing Indian labourers with the Indian Government's formal approval to her different coolies and protectorates, where efficient labour for cultivation and plantation purposes was scarce, though much in demand. Economic forces and conditions produced by the Industrial Revolution of the Fifteenth century lent a new value to the possession of colonies which invited excess capital, saved through the unequal distribution of wealth, for profitable investment and offered a tempting field for economic exploitation. To make capital of the economic resources of colonies required the employment of cheap labour. These colonial powers in Africa and elsewhere solved the problem of cheap labour by encouraging the immigration of labourers from Asia, particularly from India. The British colonies in South Africa were not also slow in appreciating the indispensability of Indian labourers and taking steps to indenture them for mining, plantation and agricultural purposes. India's earliest contact with South Africa dated 1860, when the first batch of Indian labourers reached Natal. Still, India had her commercial relations with East Africa, initiated and sustained by private enterprise, centuries before the building of the Uganda Railway (Chattapadhyaya 1857).

In the 1980s, the first batch of Indian coolies migrated to Natal to work in its sugarcane plantations. Coolies were soon followed by free Indians who came to settle in Natal and other parts of South Africa. On the other hand, Indian labourers were needed in East

Africa to construct the railway from Mombasa to Victoria scheme maturing with parliamentary approval in 1895 during the third ministry of the Marquis of Salisbury. The first batch of three hundred fifty Indian labourers, recruited from Punjab, arrived at Mombasa in January 1896. Waves rolled between the Kenya coast and the Indian shore, and Mombasa became resonant with the voices of more and more Indian labourers. They worked strenuously on a small pittance of fifteen rupees a month and risked their lives in areas like Tsova, which abounded them in man-eating lions. They advanced the railway from the coast to Nairobi in 1899 and Lake Victoria in 1903. The Indian immigrants in East Africa were least inclined towards agricultural pursuits. Trade and craftsmanship appealed to them most, while agriculture remained in the hands of the whites (Chattapadhyaya 1857: ix).

The Portuguese sailor Vasco de Gama was shown the sea route to India from the African coast by the trader from the Indian Ocean, mainly Indians and Arabs. With the consolidation of Portuguese control over Mozambique, Goa and other strategic places, Indian trade with Africa suffered. Indians were employed by the Portuguese as accountants, bankers, and skilled artisans to serve in the colonies. Other European powers followed the Portuguese, and Portuguese authority declined during the latter half of the 17th century. The European powers were desperately looking for a market to sell their products after the industrial revolution. The improvement of the means of communications and transport was visible during the 19th and 20th centuries, which facilitated the spread of colonisation.

There were two crucial factors which can explain the reasons for the migration of Indians to Africa. The first reason was that there was abject poverty in India, and there was a scope for a chief labourer market within the empire, which opened up the window for the migration of labourers. The second reason was that people heard from the merchants concerning immense opportunities to earn money in Africa. The availability of opportunities in Africa resulted in the separation of Indians from their relatives and the beginning of the journey to an unknown geographical terrain in Africa via a long sea voyage. Many indentured labourers worked in railway construction in African countries.

Some indentured labourers were repatriated to India, and others settled there in Africa. The nationalists in India opposed the indentured labour system and discouraged the process of migration. However, the British defended their position of taking the Indians to Africa on the ground of providing enough opportunities for the poor to earn their livelihood. The Indian merchants have the history of travel to different parts of the world. The merchants, especially from the coastal region, have been travelling to different parts of the glove via Indian Ocean sea routes. However, the occupation that the Indians adopted after their migration was not confined to indentured labourers and merchants only. However, they adopted diverse occupation.

Consequently, the migration of Indian merchants got accelerated and took a new form. Many Indians went too far off countries as merchants and settled there permanently due to better opportunities in the destination countries. In around 1830, small communities of Indian merchants resided in Africa even before the British came to India. Mauritius experienced the arrival of the first batch of Indian traders in 1829, which can predate the process of indentured labourers to Mauritius. There were traders and money lenders in a country like Burma in 1826, and there were Indian settlements (Markovits 1999: 891-892). Although there were some legal obstructions, Indian traders could tackle such difficulties and succeed in establishing themselves in trade in different parts of the world (Markovits 1999). The Halai Memon, an Indian caste, was operating trade from Kathiawar in South and East Africa. The migration of the Indian merchant diaspora from central Gujarat did not take place prominently. The traders from the Daudi (Shia) Bohra communities appeared prominently in trade and business and were successful in their economic activities. The presence of their business and trade was visible from Thailand to Malagasy. The Patidars also marked their presence in trade in East Africa, despite not going there as traders (Markovits 1999: 900).

Considering the gender dimension of migration, the women in large numbers also migrated along with their families. In recent times, feminist studies have started constructing the history of Indian women who migrated far off. They highlight the neglected areas of diaspora studies, i.e., the issues and concerns of women migrants. They

shed light on the gender dimension of migration and flagged off myriad difficulties that the women have been subjected to.[2] The study of the Indian diaspora has not only neglected space for the women's issues but also neglected the space for those who lost their ethnicity in the host countries. Therefore, there is a need to understand those who lost their identity over time.

1.5.1 Indian Diaspora in East Africa

The presence of Indians in East Africa can be glimpsed from Periplus of the Erithraean Sea. The epic work was written in the first century AD by an anonymous author considered the merchant's guide to the Western Indian ocean. This epic work and other sources indicate the active role of the Indian merchants in trade in the Indian Ocean since the ancient Babyloan. There was an even establishment of trading posts on the coast of East Africa. However, these historical accounts did not seem to directly relate to the discussions on the Indian diaspora in contemporary East Africa.

Like the case of South Africa, the story of Indian settlers in east Africa indicates the fusion of hopes, success and despair. The British Empire initiated the process of inducting Indians in the late 1980s. During that time, the Indians were mostly Sikhs from Punjab, whose number was more than 30,000. The British empire placed them for public work purposes. The National Museum of Kenya estimated that with the induction of 30,000 Indians, the total Indian population was 31,983. The Indians were engaged in making the inaccessible interior area accessible, where there were bountiful resources. Consequently, the forests were cleared, and a railway line of over 580 miles was constructed. The railway line connected the port city of Mombasa on the Kenya coast and Uganda's capital city of Kampala. There was also geopolitical motivation, indicating controlling Sudan and Egypt. Subsequently, the sea route to India via Suez Canal was safeguarded (Report of the High-Level Committee on Indian Diaspora: Country Profile, 2000).

The Indians migrated to East Africa in batches. Between August and September 1896, many Indians emigrated to East Africa. Nearly 12,212 Indians left as free migrants to East

[2] It is a new area within the study of diaspora emerging late but with success. For more on women's space in the study of the Indian diaspora, see Jain (2006: 2312-2316).

Africa between 1906 and 1908. East Africa was considered an outlet for expanding Indian trade and enterprise. The Indians captured all the retail trade from Arabs. Indians became shopkeepers, moneylenders, importers and intermediaries. Indians monopolised imports, exports, wholesale and retail trades and exercised financial control over clove trade in Zanzibar (Clammer 2009: 222). The Indians adjusted to their changed status in the new global order, and the Indian diaspora in Africa, as we recognise it today, was born in the 19th century.

1.5.2 Indian Diaspora in Southern Africa

The history of the migration of Indians to South Africa goes back to 1653, and the Dutch played an essential role in this process. In 1653, the Dutch merchants sold Indians as enslaved people in the Dutch settled area of South Africa, named 'Dutch Cape Colony'. Later on, the Britishers contributed to this process. The pattern of migration of Indians to this region of Africa was quite similar to other parts of Africa, especially during the 19th century, when colonisation was at its peak. The significant presence of Indians could be found in Natal, a city in South Africa. Indians mainly engaged in the plantation work as indentured labourers who migrated to South Africa constituted from Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. However, later on, the Gujaratis migrated to this area as 'free passengers'. The colonial powers took service of Indians, and to meet their purpose, they engaged them in railway construction work, dockyards, coal mines and municipal services and as domestic help, which was a kind of slavery. This exploitation of Indians and their enslavement continued till 1833-1834, when the British Empire officially banned the practice of slavery.

Meanwhile, the colonial power introduced many discriminatory laws to make the Indians live miserably in foreign lands and arrest their progress in every sphere. Despite such efforts of the colonial administration to halt the progress of the Indians, the Indians continue to advance in the economic sphere. They kept doing hard work and found a way to gradually come out of enslavement by slowly making progress in the economic sphere. They not only benefited from their economic activities but also contributed to the economic progress of African society. Consequently, there was a rift between the Indians

and the Whites in trade and commerce, as the Whites did not receive well the economic advancement of the Indians. However, such orientation of the Whites did not discourage the Indians from actively engaging in the economic sphere. They gave tough challenges to whites on the economic front and became competitors for white traders and businessmen.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's movement against racial discrimination and the peace movement of Satyagraha brought confidence among the Indians and the natives of South Africa. They spearheaded a long struggle for equality and dignity in 1893 when Gandhi arrived in South Africa, which remained a significant phase in human history and the history of the fight against colonialism, racial discrimination and slavery, especially in South Africa. Such initiatives led to the emergence of social and political movements in South Africa, and the emancipation of Indians settled there. This also led to the formation of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in 1894 and the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Gandhian movement against racial discrimination and injustices inspired many generations in South Africa (High-Level Committee Report on Indian Diaspora, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2001).

1.5.3 Indian Diaspora in Central Africa

Since 1964, Malawi and Zambia became the two independent states, who have been part of Central Africa. The jurisdiction of Central Africa has also been extended to Rhodesia, the British colony, which gained independence in 1965. The geographical boundary of Central Africa is spread over around 500,000 sq. miles. However, these three countries do not have equal geographical areas. Out of about 500,000 sq. miles, the largest geographical area can be found in Zambia, which is about 300,000 sq. miles. The geographical area of Rhodesia appears to be half of the area of Zambia (150,000 sq. miles). Malawi has the smallest geographical area among these three Central African countries, spread over about 50,000 sq. miles. Even out of 50,000 sq. miles, the lake has covered about one-quarter of the total geographical area of Malawi (Pachai 1971: 223).

Table 1.3 indicates the demographic composition of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Table 1.3 shows that there are 18500 population in Zimbabwe; 9000

and 9500 are NRIs and PIOs, respectively. Similarly, 6000 and 24000 NRIs and PIOs, constituting a total of 3000 Indian population, can be found in Zambia. In Malawi, there are 2500 and 8500 NRIs and PIOs. The comparative description suggests that Zimbabwe has the highest Indian population among these Central African countries. On the contrary, Malawi has the lowest Indian population.

Table 1.3: Demographic Profile of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

Sl No.	Country Name	Total Population	Indian Population	No. of NRIs	No. of PIOs
1.	Zimbabwe	14,862,927	5000	9000	9500
2.	Zambia	18,383,956	30000	6000	24000
3.	Malawi	19, 129,955	11000	2500	8500
Source: Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Government of India Report 2020 and Population data on Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, World Bank Report 2020					

1.6 Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

The historical account suggests that Zimbabwe was initially a country of hunters and gatherers. The people of Zimbabwe were leading nomadic life. In the stone age it was inhabited by the stone age people around 100,000 years before. However, iron-age people, Bantu, displaced the stone age. Bantu came to Zimbabwe from the Northern part of Africa, and they were skilled in mining and iron smelting. After that, many kingdoms had short-lived history, to name a few Munhumutapa and Zulu Kingdoms. They left their footprints in the lifestyle and culture (Mlambo 2016: 1-2). The existing literature suggests that disproportionate attention has been paid to the people who have migrated to neighbouring countries from Zimbabwe and people migrating to Zimbabwe. The migration of Zimbabweans to neighbouring countries during the crisis has received due attention. However, the migration of people to Zimbabwe for business and professional purposes has received very little attention (Gukurume 2018).

1.6.1 Colonialism and the Migration of Indians to Zimbabwe

The history of migration to Zimbabwe goes back to the 19th century. During the 19th century, the British Empire expanded to Africa. Incidentally, India was also under British rule during the 19th century. Consequently, the British colonialists required the Indian labour force to meet their purpose in Zimbabwe. Hence, the British enabled the process of migration of Indians to Zimbabwe. However, such an approach of the British did not last for long. The British colonialists changed their approach towards Indians over the period. The imposition of restrictions after 1923 discouraged the process of migration further, when the colony emerged as a self-governing territory.

1.6.2 Colonial Experience

The colonial experience of Indians reflects that they migrated to Zimbabwe in different categories, such as indentured labourers and free migrants. During the colonial period, the British colonialists brought Indians, especially from Telugu and Tamil ethnic groups of India, to Zimbabwe. However, the British did not bring them directly from India, but they brought them through Natal city of South Africa. To put it differently, the British colonialists brought these Indians from the Southern part of India, more specifically from Andhra and Tamil Nadu region and engaged them in various works as indentured labourers in Natal and later on, they were shifted to Zimbabwe as a labour force to engage in multiple works of the British government. Consequently, they did not have to depend much on the African workforce. However, these Indians faced all the hardship and stayed back in this country and served people, especially whites. They were called by the Europeans/whites as 'coolies'.

The second category of Indians who migrated to Zimbabwe as the 'free migrants' were from the Gujarat region of India, commonly known as the 'Gujaratis'. But the British colonialists introduced the stringent law to stop Indians prosper economically and having a more significant participation in the political, social and economic spheres. All posh, fertile and well-connected cities and towns were reserved for Europeans, and the Indians and natives were forced to live/settle in the periphery, less productive and on the outskirt of the cities. The land rights law was arranged so that the Indians and the natives were not

allowed to enter inside the territory of the whites and, therefore, they could not settle in the heartland.

However, in 1893, the colonial government allowed the Indians and the natives to buy land in white settled areas. They increased the price of land so high that the Indians and natives could not afford to purchase such land, and only Europeans could buy it. The colonialist implemented a series of land laws. The land politics of the British was to discourage the Indians from competing with Europeans in both the economic and political spheres. Hence, the Indians lived nearby the white settled cities to supply commodities and food items and managed to carry on their economic activities.

Meanwhile, the colonialists always maintained racial division and segregation to run their administration smoothly without much resistance from the natives. So, the Europeans largely dominated the Zimbabwean economy during the colonial period. From administrative and commercial perspectives, Zimbabwe remained an important centre for the Europeans because the Britishers made Zimbabwe the financial, commercial and administrative centre of the Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, respectively) (Makambe 1984: 110-111; Nobel 2016: 70, 77).

1.6.3. Transition to the Post-Colonial Scenario

The Indians, along with the natives, were actively involved in protesting against the colonial forces. Kantibhai Patel, along with many progressive Indians of the Indian diaspora community, joined the National Democratic Party (NDP) and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) of Zimbabwe to fight against the British colonial government (famously known as the Rhodesian regime during the colonial period). These Indians fought against colonialism and the apartheid government of White Europeans by actively participating with the native Africans. They were inspired by Gandhi's non-violence movement in their home country India. The Asian Association, which consisted of the progressive and active Indians, actively participated in the freedom struggle of Zimbabwe and made a mark in politics. The members of the Asian Association supported African

nationalism and their struggle for independence. In 1969, the Indian diaspora community, under the banner of the Asian Association, organised Gandhi Centenary Celebrations in Zimbabwe to commemorate the Gandhian contributions to the struggle for independence by the people of Southern Africa. However, the houses and shops of some Indian diaspora who actively participated in the anti-colonial movement were attacked by the colonial power to send a strong message. The colonial police twice attacked the houses of some of the leaders like Kantibhai Patel. Meanwhile, the colonial regime banned the FDP and ZAPU (*The Herald*, 23 August 2014).

In Zimbabwe, the Indians and Africans fought against the White racist regime. India and the Indians of Zimbabwe supported the freedom movement of the country against British colonialism. Under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe got independence. Mugabe was inspired by the Indian national movement leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and supported Non-alignment Movement. These positive developments brought Indians closer to the natives and the government of Zimbabwe. The government welcomed Indian businessmen and investors. Indian diaspora welcomed the Zimbabwe government under the leadership of Mugabe, which was formed after independence (Marathe, *Indian Express*, 9 September 2019).

1.6.4 Indians in the Post-Independence Period

The Indians played a critical role in the advancement and the well-being of the Zimbabwean people. The Asian Association of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of Kantibhai Patel, established the Saraswati Education Trust for radical African students studying in overseas universities. They were expelled from the University of Rhodesia (Zambia) by the British regime due to their active participation in the anti-colonial movement. The education of these students was sponsored by the trust established by the Asian Association in Zimbabwe. This trust kept on helping African students in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Many Indians participated in Zimbabwean politics, and among them, Kantibhai Patel's name would figure out in the political history of Zimbabwe who died in 2011 (*The Herald*, 23 August 2014). The Indians made their progress in the economic and social sphere and contributed immensely to the post-independence period in Zimbabwe.

1.6.5 Socio-Economic and Political Situation of Indians

The present socio-economic situation of Indians is much better compared to the colonial and the aftermath of independence in Zimbabwe. During the colonial period, they were the victim of discriminatory land rights, which promoted only the interest of the Europeans and made the situation of natives and Indians vulnerable. After the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, although the Robert Mugabe government was very close to Indians and favoured the Indian community in Zimbabwe, his supporter Nd Novu and his allies attacked the Indians at a regular interval. The economic prosperity of the Indians was the main reason for such attacks. Consequently, out of fear, many Indians migrated to bordering countries of Zambia and Malawi after such incidents, and some decided to stay back with fear and a sense of insecurity. Although the Mugabe government officially condemned this attack and attempted to ensure the safety of the Indian minority in the country, however, the number of Indians was reduced after such an attack. In the administrative and the political spheres, the participation of Indians always remained negligible, firstly, because of their small number and secondly, they are not much encouraged by the Zimbabwean government to become active in politics. They were also involved in local politics, but their participation was very marginal in the political sphere (Roy 2006).

Against this backdrop, the presence of Indians can be found in different institutions. Considering the politics in Zimbabwe, the PIOs have been appointed to the Upper House of the legislature. They have also been represented in the judiciary. Indians have been appointed as judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts. For instance, three PIOs have been the judges of the Supreme Court. It is a record of having appointed three Judges to the judiciary from a small population. They have played a significant role in the diplomatic field as well. Most of the Indians are successful in business and profession.

Currently, the number of Indians is around 9000 in Zimbabwe and mostly, they have migrated from the Indian state of Gujarat. Among them, some prominent figures are former senator Kantibhai Patel, a member of Zimbabwe's politburo. Kantibhai Patel was conferred the status of 'Hero' posthumously in 2012. Another Indian personality was

Justice Bharat Patel. He contributed immensely to legal services as he was a judge of the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe. Justice Ahmed Ebrahim was another Indian who contributed to the legal profession. He was also awarded Pravasi Bharatiya Samman because of his exemplary contribution as a Pravasi Bhartiya to the diaspora community in Zimbabwe and to making India proud in a foreign land (Marathe, *Indian Express*, 9 September 2019).

1.7 Indian Diaspora in Zambia

The history of the Indian diaspora in Zambia is different from the history of the Indian diaspora in South Africa or East Africa. In South Africa and East Africa, the requirement for indentured labourers facilitated the migration of Indians. On the contrary, the need for indentured labourers was not there in Zambia, which was considered as Northern Rhodesia during the colonial times. During the colonial period, the territory of Zambia was poor, underdeveloped and inaccessible. Consequently, it was not of interest to the British or the Indian settlers. However, the territory was rich in copper deposits, which were yet to be discovered.

Meanwhile, the Indians from Gujarat, who were in a haunt of trading opportunities, arrived in Zimbabwe in 1905 via the coastal Bechuanaland (present-day Malawi) to settle down in the north-western part of Zimbabwe. The initial presence of Indians mainly was confined to Muslim communities. However, the Hindu communities followed in the footstep of Muslims and soon joined them. The Muslim and Hindu traders gradually moved to Lusaka to settle in the region's administrative capital.

1.7.1 Colonialism and the Migration of Indians to Zambia

During the 1960s, the British official Harry Johnston brought the Indian labour force to Natal, South Africa, and from there, the Indians were brought to Zambia. The first time, the Indians arrived at Fort Jamson city (after independence named as Chipata) of Zambia. Chipata was a cultural extension of Nyasaland (now Malawi) during that time. Johnston encouraged Indians to migrate to this country and employed them mainly in various administrative works to provide a helping hand to the Europeans. Indians were largely

appointed as clerks and telegraphists in the Zambian administration during the colonial phase. Some of the Indians, mainly Gujaratis, started their business in Zambia. Prithvish Nag's (1977) study reveals that the Indians first migrated to Zambia in 1904, mainly to Fort Jamson (now Chipata), along with the Europeans and then the Indians settled in Livingstone in 1905. Phiri (2000) emphasised that Indians mostly came from the Gujarat province in the Western part of India during the colonial period. In 1904, the Britishers introduced the principle of literacy testing in European languages. As a result, the migration of Indians drastically reduced in the initial phase but later on, especially after 1939, the language test no longer remained an obstacle, and Indians smoothly migrated to this country (Krishna 2018: 132-133).

1.7.2 Colonial Experience

Zambia, along with Zimbabwe, played host to the Asian ecological movement from the neighbouring territories. Altogether it is a different story from Malawi. Unlike Malawi, where Indians were brought through South Africa by the Britishers in 1860, Zimbabwean Indians were primarily 'free passengers' who freely moved from India to Zambia. Their labour was required for any specific purpose in Zambia. When the British administration established its political base (colonised) in Zambia in the 19th century, Indians got a chance to explore this central African country. The migration of India's most prosperous Gujarati community started mainly for business purposes. There was no concerted and official arrangement to bring Indians to Zambia, which happened in the case of Malawi Indians (Makambe 1984: 114).

1.7.3 Transition to the Post-Colonial Scenario

The Indian community in Zambia wholeheartedly supported and contributed mainly to the freedom movement of Zambia. In addition to that, the government of India also provided economic and political support to the Zambians in their national movement. Both India and Zambia developed a close relationship in the political sphere, especially when Zambia became a member of the Non-align Movement (Phiri n.d.). Although fewer Indians participated in Zambia politics during that time, their significant role cannot be ignored. In the economic and social sphere, the Indian diaspora played an essential role in the

development and nation-building process of Zambia after independence. Though the post-independence Zambia allowed the Indians to become Zambian national, some Indians preferred to remain British national, and some took Zambian nationality. After independence, many Indians actively participated, especially in the business and health sectors (www.hcizambia.gov.in 2016).

1.7.4 Indians in the Post-independence Period

The post-colonial Zambia witnessed considerable contributions of Indians to the Zambian economy, especially in trade, industry, transport and hospitality. Their active role was visible in the agriculture, horticulture, mining and chemical sectors. In addition to the economic sphere, the Indians also made a remarkable presence in politics during President Chiluba's term. During his term, two Indians were also given the cabinet minister portfolios (www.hcizambia.gov.in 2016). Though they marked their entry into different sectors, their primary occupation was trading.

Consequently, they were increasingly involved in whole-sale activities. Subsequently, they run a large chunk of shops in different parts. Some of them also practise the occupation ranging from farming, banking to mining. They also made their presence in medicine and educational sectors in Zambia. Meanwhile, around 10,000 of Indians secured the citizenship of Zambia. Three of them secured ministerial berths of commerce, trade and industry. Despite their active involvement in politics, their role in politics is pushed to the margin due to their insignificant numerical strength. Although they are small in number, they have become one of the significant sources of election funding for the party in power over time.

1.7.5 Socio-Economic and Political Situation of Indians

Compared to Zimbabwe and Malawi, Indians in Zambia were better off due to the moderate policy enumerated by the government, which provided them with the opportunity and space to flourish in economic and political spheres. The PIOs have been working in the trade sector after taking the British or local nationalities. Some PIOs have engaged in manufacturing edible oils, medicines, textiles, firewood and leather

processing. The PIOs have also formed the Hindu Association of Zimbabwe, the national body, which has branches in all towns. They have also established the office of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the centre of Brahma Kumar in Zambia. In addition to these religious associations and organisations, various temples with the Hindu idols of Hindu Gods and Goddess in Zambia. Some religious organisations also run schools and higher education in Zambia. For instance, Sathya Sai Secondary School and Sathya Say College are run by the Sai organisation in Zambia (Ray 2006).

1.8 Indian Diaspora in Malawi

The history of the Indian diaspora in Malawi goes back to the colonial period when the British brought the Indians to construct the railway line between Malawi and Mozambique. Subsequently, they stayed around to initiate retail business, where their presence was dominant for decades. Initially, they were from the Indian state of Gujarat and entered Central Africa via South Africa and East Africa. Later, many Hindu free immigrants from Gujarat entered Malawi, followed by Muslim communities of the state.

1.8.1 Colonialism and the Migration of Indians to Malawi

The migration of Indians to Malawi resulted from the well-organised Asian labour importation plan adopted in Natal, South Africa, in 1860. The British colonial power adopted this policy to benefit white sugar planters and the administrative benefit of the whites/Europeans. The British official, Sir Harry Johnston, was assigned this responsibility by the colonial regime to recruit Indians in Malawi. These Indians were brought to Malawi through Natal, South Africa. Johnston recruited Indian Sikhs for Malawi's military and police services during the early phase of colonisation in the early 19th century. From the above facts, it is clear that the Britishers brought them the high demand of the Europeans for the Indian labour force in Malawi. It does not mean that the Britishers never thought of any other alternatives. They thought of bringing the labour force from Italy, but later on, looking at the demand of the Europeans for the Indian labour force, they brought Indians to Malawi. Then Indian Sikhs served in the military force of the colonial government and the administrative work as well (Makambe 1984: 114).

1.8.2 Colonial Experience

During the 19th century, the migration of the Indian diaspora to Malawi was necessitated due to the expansion of the colonial regime to Africa. However, Indians did not come to Central Africa, especially Zambia and Zimbabwe, to meet the labour requirements of the British but because the British Empire allowed free movement between all parts of their domain. Malawi was the exception, although it constitutes a part of Central Africa. Unlike Zambia and Zimbabwe, the British brought the Indians to Malawi during the later part of the 19th century to engage them in constructing a railway line between Malawi and Mozambique. Hence, the colonial regime facilitated their entry into Malawi, who decided to stay back to start their business.

1.8.3 Transition to the Post-Colonial Scenario

The developments in the international scene had a tremendous impact on the colonies after the Second World War when the colonial or occupying powers were made answerable to an international organization for their actions in the colonies. This influenced the Indian settlements in Africa. After the First World War, the weakening of the colonial and imperial power autonomy began. The formation of the League of Nations is the most important among them. Strengthening linkages with the people of common origin or descent has become necessary as boundaries and frontiers have lost meaning in an interdependent world. With the growing interdependence between nation-states, transnational linkages have become indispensable. Therefore, the word diaspora has been used to refer to the dispersal of people of common origin, irrespective of the time and conditions in which they have left their motherland for distant places.

The Indian diaspora communities, like many other ethnic diaspora, show loyalty to their homelands. It is also true that they serve the host countries. They have only carefully support for their home country. This is because the most loyalty to the home country often creates rift and suspicion with the indigenous people in the host countries. In Africa, the Indian diaspora communities face the allegation that they live on the resources of the host countries, and they think much of India. It is also alleged that the Indian diaspora communities are exporting the rich resources of Africa to India.

During British colonialism, the indenture of millions of Indians created a distinctive labourer diaspora. The diaspora might arise due to traumatic dispersal. A diaspora could also be caused by the expansion from a homeland in search of work, pursuits of trade, or further colonial ambitions. The English diaspora was due to colonial ambition. Some of the Indian diaspora, especially the Gujaratis in Africa, moved due to expansion in pursuit of trade. The Indian diaspora moved to America and Europe, searching for work or employment and trade. The examples of labour diaspora and an imperial diaspora are the labour diaspora of Indian indentured workers deployed in British, Dutch and French tropical plantations between the 1830s to 1920s.

However, the nature and dynamic of diaspora consciousness have attracted scholarly attention over the period. Robin Cohen (2004) engages with a larger question: whether the Indian labourers abroad constitute themselves as the diaspora. Considering the distinctive diaspora consciousness of the Indian diaspora, three attributes can be highlighted. Firstly the Indian diaspora has reconstituted their family life. Secondly, they showed their religious conviction. Thirdly, they adopted Ramadan as the 'essential text' of the Indian Hindu diaspora.

It appears that the integration of the Indian diaspora was weak. The indentured labourers preferred to live separately and remained isolated from others. The secluded position of the Indian diaspora led to an uncordial relationship between them, especially their offspring and indigenous and other migrant communities. For instance, the Indians were considered 'marooned at home' in Fiji because they remained as squatters, estate workers, and leaseholders. The isolated position of the Indian diaspora can also be found in Guyana, Uganda and South Africa. The conflict stems from the fight that flows from land and property issues. In countries like Madagascar and Mozambique, people of Indian origin are educated and professional, and most of them are engaged in business. The African customer is often misled that Indian traders hoarded goods and charged high prices. They had very few options in such a critical situation, i.e., settling there and acquiring citizenship, moving to a safer place, or returning to their country of origin.

According to the United Nations International report of 15 December 1966, more than eight million people of Indian Origin live scattered almost all over the world, especially in Africa, Britain, Burma, Cylon, Fiji, Mauritius, Singapore, Surinam, and the West Indies Islands (Chattopadhyaya 1857: ix). In 1897, the scheme for constructing the Mombasa-Victoria Nyanza Railway was approved by the British Parliament and in 1896, which required the labour force for the construction. As a result, the first batch of Indian coolies arrived at the port of the Mombasa railway.

In 1957, Ghana gained independence, which showed the seeds of nationalism in West Africa and East Africa. National agitation came out. The year 1860 witnessed the first arrival of the Indian labourers at Port Natal (Durban) in South Africa for employment on Natal's sugar plantations. The year 1852 marked the tercentenary of the foundation of the European settlement at the Cape of Good Hopes and also witnessed the launching of the first united campaign of the Indian settlers and African natives alike in protest against the Apartheid policy of the government of the Union of South Africa (Chattopadhyaya 1857).

1.8.4 Indians in the Post-Independence Period

The situation of the Indian diaspora in Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi was relatively better due to the adoption of moderate policies towards the Indian diaspora than the Indian diaspora located in the east-African region, where the new governments initiated the process of Africanisation of affirmative action programmes. The PIOs did not lose their distinctiveness in the integration process, and they managed to maintain their distinct ethnic identities in a broader sense. The colonial policy of divide and rule also strengthened their separate identities within their colonies. The indirect rule policy followed by the British colonial government ordinarily did not touch the local customs, values and languages, which was not in the case of Francophone Africa. The PIOs have been able to preserve their culture and heritage and have been active in maintaining Indian culture and identity. The PIOs celebrate Indian festivals, such as Diwali and Holi with great enthusiasm. In addition, Indian music and Hindi movies have gained popularity among them. So, while being a part of the African Nation, they have retained their ethnic identities.

1.8.5 Socio-Economic and Political Situation of Indians

The presence of Indians can be found in social, economic and political arenas. Most of them are successful in business and profession. They are also active in local politics, but their participation is very marginal in the political sphere. Until now, Indians have not been given citizenship rights in Malawi, which is an irony. The majority of them hold either British citizenship or US citizenship. In Zimbabwe, in the field of politics, PIOs have been appointed to the Upper House of the legislature. They have been represented in the judiciary as well. Indians have been appointed as judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts. Out of the panel of twenty-seven Judges, three are PIOs. It is a record of having appointed three Judges to the judiciary from a small population. In diplomatic fields, they have played a significant role. Compared to Zimbabwe and Malawi, Indians in Zambia were better off due to the moderate policy enumerated by the government, which provides them with the opportunity and space to flourish in the economic and political sphere. This cannot rule out that, at times, except under the Kaunda administration, the military and the police time and again intimidated Indian business communities because of their economic prosperity.

1.9 Comparative Study of Settled Communities in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

To understand the relationship between the native Africans and settlers in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, it is very crucial to know how land played around in this relationship. Because land played the defining factor during the colonial period and even after that in the decolonial phase of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, it played a significant factor, more specifically in the context of Zimbabwe. This land relation, the ownership and land rights, strongly contributed to the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Here the settled community primarily referred to the Europeans in the context of land in the 19th century. The European colonial power completely denied the Indian settlers the land rights through the Land Rights law of 1923 (Nobel 2016: 13). It brought the entire demographic, political, social and economic structure of the Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi societies. Ultimately, this law denied the land rights to the native Africans and the Indian settlers in the country's heartland, more specifically in Zimbabwe. The British colonial government made all the efforts to protect

the rights and privileges of the Europeans at the cost of violating the land rights of the native Africans and Indians. The land alienation process was initiated and appropriated by the colonial power by alienating the native or indigenous people of Zimbabwe who used to manage their land through customary community laws (Nobel 2016: 13).

Compared to the British settlers, the Portuguese settlers turned out to be better in their approach toward the native people. They never tried to alienate the natives from their land rights and went against their interests. The Portuguese reached Zimbabwe in and around the 15th century through Mozambique and were settled mainly in the North-eastern part of Zimbabwe. Later on, in the 18th century, the successor of the Monomatapa Empire, the Rozvi, drove these Portuguese settlers out of Zimbabwe. Livingstone, who travelled to Zambia and Malawi, brought the missionaries among the European settlers to accomplish his three Cs mission-'Civilization, Commerce and Christianity' and work against slavery. Consequently, with his initiative, several missionary stations were set up in the fertile areas of Malawi (Nobel 2016: 14).

1.10 Conclusion

The chapter engaged with numerous issues that are critical to diaspora studies. These issues have theoretical as well as practical implications. It discussed diaspora with the emphasis on the theoretical part taking into account the global presence of the Indian diaspora. It provided valuable insights and helped develop and understand the academic trends associated with the study of diaspora. It would not be wrong to say that the diaspora is a legacy of history. The 20 million PIOs are a great asset to India. They could be helpful if they are taken care of properly by the Indian mission abroad. The Government of India must not consider its diaspora as a mere economic opportunity. It must see them as its own citizens and help them in times of their need. They could not only invest in India, but they could also influence international public opinion.

Hence, the government of India needs to be sensitive to the issues and concerns of the Indian diaspora. The Indian diaspora is intriguing because 'the sun never sets in the Indian diaspora'. It means the Indian diaspora is present around the globe. Sources suggest that

the identity of the Indian diaspora is alive, and they have not forgotten their cultural uniqueness despite the series of historical odds they faced in the past. Due to myriad reasons, people had migrated too far off places and settled there permanently. It is a fact that ethnic affinity is more important than economic gain in our time. The PIOs in some countries may not be well off to help India, but India must help them in times of their crisis. There are arguments that diaspora communities of some countries did not vigorously link themselves for long in the past, so they are being denied the opportunity for dual citizenship. Dual citizenship is not extended by the Indian government to people of certain countries, which creates resentment among the diaspora communities of those countries.

Chapter Two

Diaspora and Society: Reading Social Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

Chapter Two

DIASPORA AND SOCIETY: Reading Social Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

2.0 Introduction

The historical background of the Indian diaspora has been the primary focus of the previous chapter. This chapter, however, focuses more specifically on the social situation of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The lack of comprehensive study or the inadvertent negligence of literature on the social situation of the Indian diaspora in these three countries provides an ideal case for this chapter to explore the issues relating to the Indian diaspora. This chapter unravels the social status and cultural identity of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi from a comparative perspective. The issues of social status and cultural identity are addressed in the context of the respective social circumstances and experiences of the Indian diaspora in these countries. Do these issues raise some pertinent questions, such as the social situation of Indians in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi? How have they been managing to preserve their culture and identity in the host countries? What is their relationship with the natives in these three countries?

Against this backdrop, this chapter looks at the changing relationship of the Indians with the natives of the areas under research. It also explores various aspects of how their social condition is changing over a while and what are the challenges Indians are facing because of their social positioning. As identities are essentially embedded with their historical experiences, this chapter explores the social role of the Indian diaspora based on their colonial experiences, assimilation and contested social identities. The analysis of the identity of the Indian diaspora is significant due to its dynamic nature and persistent change. There are arguments that the identity of Indians in African countries is still fascinating. Due to this reason, the analysis of the Indian diaspora and their identity is desirable. It compares and contrasts the social situation, challenges, participation and status of the Indian diaspora in these three countries during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It is also significant to study how the Indian diaspora community were absorbed

into their host societies, how they maintained, preserved and transformed their own cultural identities, and the influences they carried with them into these new historical situations.

2.1 Diaspora and Society

Even if the diaspora community remains far away from their native land or home country, they remain connected socially and culturally. This is unique to the diaspora community as far as the understanding of their social situation is concerned. In the case of Indians, wherever the Indian diaspora go, they form their associations to remain connected to their home country's community and society. India's diverse culture, religion and ethnic identity get reflected through the social gathering and celebrations of the Indian diaspora in the host country. They remain connected and serve their people and society in various ways through their socio-cultural and philanthropic associations. Hence, a diaspora network emerges, connecting them to the home country and society. This makes the research more interesting to explore the various aspects of the social life of the Indian diaspora in the host country.

Before discussing the social situation of the Indian diaspora community in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, it is essential to understand what is meant by the social situation of a particular community. Members of a particular society are guided by common norms, principles and conventions that bind them together.[1] To put it differently, social refers to the mutual relationship among the individuals in a particular society. According to Sociologists, social refers to the close interaction among the people without any kind of barriers and following certain social norms. In this context, a pertinent question arises as to what makes the individuals act in cooperation or be connected? In deciding how to act, each individual must balance their normative position against society's prevailing rules and norms. However, it seems the logic of their actions are rarely one of rational calculation, particularly in so far as they are subject to interpellation and also because the nature of informality precludes the application of decision and rules. The work of Bourdieu has thrown some light on this point. Bourdieu argues that the social world is to

[1] According to the Macmillan dictionary, the literal meaning of "social" refers 'to society and to people's lives in general in that particular society'. For more on this, see-Online Web-http:// www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/social accessed on 20 July 2020.

be understood in terms of various practices which has been objectified in two ways. The first one involves bodily experience in terms of social relationship and activity and is more informal which in his own word is 'spontaneity without consciousness or will'. This objectification is known as '*habitus',* which can be understood as a durable way of happening in the world sphere that is adapted to that world but is not produced by following any set of rules and regulations. The second is more formal and involves fields or various networks or a configuration of objective relations between positions. Therefore, the term '*habitus'* refers to everyday or regular balances that individuals and groups draw between their formal and informal relations, which form the basis for a community, its relationship in its active sense. Here field is also referring to a system of organised social relations and institutions (Somerville 2011: 4).

So, the social situation of a particular community refers to the condition in which an individual interacts formally and informally and establishes a relationship within and outside the community that leads to the emergence of certain institutions like family, various socio-cultural, religious and philanthropic institutions. These institutions balance the relationship between the individuals and groups and provide them with a platform to learn the art of balancing life through mutual cooperation, coexistence and sharing responsibilities.

We need to go a little further to understand what refers to the community to understand the social life of the Indian diaspora community in these countries. 'Community' is a word that interpellates individuals as members of a certain collective unit, who consequently feel obliged to act in a particular way and share the collective responsibility as a group. The interjection works to the extent that individuals can have the disposition to act cooperatively, and the roles they are called upon to perform are consistent with this disposition. However, the real power of the community ideology stems from its capacity to interpellate individuals irrespective of their participation in networks. Where networks connecting its members are absent, the community can be represented along the line of Benedit Anderson's (1983) notion of an *imagined* one, where he interprets nations as 'imagined communities'. Community, therefore, can be *referred* to or interpreted through

networks of affability but is not necessarily to be *identified* with such networks. At least part of the core meaning of community seems to rely on a capacity to interpellate individuals to act cooperatively and in cohesive manner as members of the same collective entity. It is very important to understand this basic difference that the individuals can cooperate without necessarily being sociable (civility may be sufficient which involves recognition but not necessarily acquaintance). But individuals can also 'cooperate' in some sense (where their actions can be coordinated in some way while working as a team collectively) without even interacting. They must be linked for cooperation, but these links may be highly mediated and essentially, if not entirely, imagined. At the bottom, therefore, the community is largely a web of (embodied or imagined) connectedness among individuals (Somerville 2011: 3-4).

This connectedness makes them interdependent without compromising the space in which every individual in the community needs to develop their personality and protect their dignity. Community life makes people grow together, nourishes life, and strengthens social networking in a particular group. Indian diaspora lives a unique community life which reflects both imagined as well as natural because although they settle in the society of a host country and establish a social relationship and follow all the rules and norms of that particular society yet maintain the (embodied or imagined) connectedness among the individuals and society of a home country. Therefore, it is being said in the context of the Indian diaspora that wherever they go outside India, they form a *mini-India*. This factor makes the study of the social situation of the Indian diaspora more exciting and unique.

As far as the social situation of the Indian diaspora community in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi is concerned, the present study focuses on some pertinent areas such as demography, education, health, gender and ethnic diversity primarily along with their socio-cultural and religious practices as measuring yardstick to look at the social situation of the Indians in the respective country of their settlement and will consist of a comparative analysis of their social situation.

2.2. Social Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

The social life of the Indian diaspora community can be traced back to the pre-colonial period in Zimbabwe. The historical facts reveal that they entered Zimbabwe initially through Mozambique in search of an opportunity to involve in certain kinds of economic activities and sustain themselves so that they could have a smooth social life. Initially, they were involved in the occupation of metal workers and market gardeners and established relations with the native people of Zimbabwe (Hall 1905: 51, 134). Their social life was not so easy in the early phase of settlement in Zimbabwe since they used to go too far off places to find a place to live and prepare food for themselves.

2.2.1. Demographic Composition of Indian Diaspora

Table 2.1 shows the demographic picture of Europeans and Asians in Zimbabwe between 1911 and 1961. The European population has increased by 10014, 5554, 10740, 5498, 14546, 12432, 53210, 41528 and 44380 in 1921, 1926, 1931, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956 and 1961. The highest European population increase occurred in 1951 and 1936, respectively. Consider the Asians in Zimbabwe, their population has increased by 380, 204, 246, 480, 367, 364, 1381, 835 and 2126 in 1921, 1926, 1931, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956 and 1961. The lowest increase of Asians in Zimbabwe was recorded in 1926.

Table 2.1: Population of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, 1911-1961

Year	Europeans	Asians
1911	23,606	870
1921	33,620	1,250
1926	39,174	1,454
1931	49,910	1,700
1936	55,408	2,180
1941	69,954	2,547
1946	82,386	2,911
1951	1,35,596	4,292
1956	1,77,124	5,127
1961	2,21,504	7,253
Source: Gupta (1971: 224).		

However, Zimbabwe experienced the highest increase in the Asian population in 1961. Interestingly, there was a steady increase in the European and Asian population in Zimbabwe over the period. Racial communities experienced an incremental increase over the period. They also experienced gaps in their demographic composition. For instance, Zimbabwe recorded the presence of 23606, 33620, 39174, 49910, 55408, 69954, 82386, 135596, 177124 and 221504 more Europeans than the Asians in 1911, 1921, 1926, 1931, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956 and 1961, respectively.

2.2.2 Social Life of Indian Diaspora during Colonial Period

The colonial period became a major setback to the Indian diaspora community in Zimbabwe. Because during the colonial phase, when the British occupied this country, they restricted the immigration of the Indians in 1925 so that it would become easier for them to govern the country and establish the white hegemony over the black population of Zimbabwe society (Musoni 2017). This restriction continued till the decolonisation of Zimbabwe in 1980. The Indians who had already navigated to this country and were planning to call their family members to join them after making all social arrangements and financially securing themselves, the Indian diaspora who had already settled there and were desperately waiting to bring their family members from the home country India, could not bring them because of immigration restriction imposed by the Britishers. It was a dark phase for Indians as far as their social life was concerned in Zimbabwe**.** Emotionally and socially, they had to struggle all alone away from home, away from their spouse and children. Under this immigration restriction law imposed by the colonial authority, only the priests and teachers were allowed to enter Zimbabwe from India (Musoni 2017).

During the colonial period, the colonial administration always wanted to keep the population strength of Indians low so that the Indians would always remain a minority community in Zimbabwe. In order to keep their number minimal, they imposed this immigration restriction law on Indians during the entire colonial period, which started in 1925 and ended after de-colonisation in 1980. As a minority community, Indians faced much discrimination during the colonial period, especially by the whites/Europeans

settled in Zimbabwe and the colonial administration (Musoni 2017; Chillick 1980; Dotson and Dotson 1968). If we analyse the entire social situation of the Indian diaspora during the colonial period, Indians had to face hardship in every aspect.

The immigration restriction law of the colonial administration compelled Indians to lead a homeless life even if they had a home and near and dear ones back home in India. This compelled them to live a life of exile, hardship and mental trauma. Secondly, their socio-economic life revolved 'around' the white settled areas but not 'in' the white settled areas, closer to market and fertile urban and rural areas. Because the 'Land Appointment Act of 1930' ultimately restricted the Indians and the native Zimbabweans from accessing and buying land in white settled areas (Nobel 2016 and Musoni 2017), this again made the social life of Indians hell. Even if they worked on the white-owned farms, involved in market gardening and other activities, they lost all chances to buy land nearby and build their house or use the land for any socio-economic activities. This indicates that the British colonial power just wanted to make the Indian diaspora instrumental for their own purpose and the smooth functioning of their administration. They did not favour the prosperity and well-being of the Indian community settled in Zimbabwe.

Why did the colonial power do so with Indians? What is the purpose behind that? Presumably, the reason behind that is that the Britishers had a long experience and interaction with Indians back home in India because India was also under British rule then. They knew that Indians were very hard-working and progressive people, and wherever they went, they would create a space for their social and economic activities. The Britishers were also well aware of the fact that Indians are very sociable, culturally rooted, and family and community-oriented people. Wherever they go, they love to migrate with their kith and kins. This will automatically increase the population of Indians in the host country, Zimbabwe. Over the period, Indians might outnumber the Europeans/ whites, which would cause a direct threat to their colonial administration. Secondly, during the 1920s, many nationalist leaders under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi raised their voices and started a protest against the British colonial power. Probably that could be why the migration of Indians to Zimbabwe was restricted during the 1930s.

2.2.3 Social Life of Indian Diaspora During the Post-Colonial Period

In the post-colonial period, right after the independence, although the restriction on the migration of Indians to Zimbabwe lifted yet, their number remained very small even after independence. Because the long administrative arrangement of the Britishers did not mitigate the social pain of Indians in the long run, they had to struggle a lot to come out of that situation even after the independence of Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean government also treated Indians with the baggage of colonial experiences, maximising their hatred towards the migrants. Indians were also looked at from that vantage point by the native Zimbabweans. This regime change brought new opportunities for Indians, no doubt about that. However, at the same time, it also brought new social challenges in terms of shifting permanently from one place to other and looking for new opportunities and avenues for family, especially the children and the community people.

2.2.4 Socio-Cultural and Religious Associations of Indian Diaspora

The Indian diaspora communities have formed their socio-cultural and religious associations. These associations not only reflect the symbol of their social and cultural identity, but they are also playing the role of the connecting bridge between the Indians in Zimbabwe and the Indians of the home country India. These associations are also helping the Indian community in Zimbabwe to set up various educational institutions for their kids and Indian mode of instruction as well as curriculum introduced in such Schools. These social associations and few educational institutions of Indians are also the socio-cultural, religious and regional reflection of their community life. Many Indian respondents expressed proudly during the field study interview that "even if we are sending to our children to the best English medium school for his or her study but evening, we are sending them to the schools established by Indians or Indian charitable organisations to learn various Indian classical dance forms, singing, art or painting etc. This is how we are making our next generation learn the rich culture and traditions of India and remain attached to their root" (Field study interview conducted on 12 March 2011). Among the Indian classical dance forms, *Bharatnatyam* and *Kuchipudi* dance are pretty famous among the Indian diaspora, especially in Zambia. Some of those associations are listed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Socio-Cultural and Religious Associations of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

Sl.No.	Name of the Indian Associations	Address of the Association	Objective of the Association
1	Goanese Association	Post Box No.4432, Harare, Zimbabwe	To work for the welfare of the Goans and to organise socio-cultural programs for the Goan community in Zimbabwe
2	Hindu Society and Hindu School	Anson Road Redgeview, Post Box No.1517, Harare, Zimbabwe	To work for the welfare of the Hindu Community and to organise socio-cultural and religious programs for the Hindu community in Zimbabwe
3	Hindoo Society	P.O.Box No. 140, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe	To work for the welfare of the Hindu Community and to organise socio-cultural and religious programs for the Hindu community in Zimbabwe
4	Hindu Society	P.O.Box No.39, Mutare, Zimbabwe	To work for the welfare of the Hindu Community and to organise socio-cultural and religious programs for the Hindu community in Zimbabwe
5	Indian Women Association	C/o High Commission of India. P.O.Box No. 12, Natal Road, Belgavia, Harare, Zimbabwe	To work for the empowerment of Indian women and collectively deliver service to the Zimbabwean society

6	Islamic Association	72, C.L. Takawire Street, Harare, Zimbabwe	To work for the welfare of the Muslim community and to organise socio-cultural and religious programs for the Muslim Community in Zimbabwe
7	Tamil Sangam	University of Zimbabwe POB MP 167 Mount Pleasant Harare, Zimbabwe	To work for the welfare of the Tamil community and to organise socio-cultural and religious programs for the Tamil Community in Zimbabwe
Source: NRI Reality News, http//www.nrirealitynews.com, online web accessed on 12 May 2021.			

2.2.5 Current Social Situation of the Indian Diaspora

Because of the economic prosperity of Indians, their homes have often been attacked, and the local goons are restricting their social movement in Zimbabwe from time to time. Recently, there was civil unrest in Zimbabwe which adversely affected the social life of Indians in this country. So along with the assurance of the Zimbabwean government, the Indians over there are seeking support from the Indian government so that their life and property will be protected, which will ultimately bring social well-being and social prosperity among the various diverse Indian communities living in Zimbabwe.

2.3. Social Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zambia

Indian communities in Zambia largely migrated during the colonial period. They reached Zambia through Zimbabwe, especially from the city of Bulawayo of Zimbabwe to Lusaka city of Zambia. It is a large and vibrant community. According to the Report of the High Commission of India in Zambia, there are around 25,000 Indians in Zambia. During the British colonial period, most Indians were from Gujarat, Punjab and the Southern part of India. However, after the independence of Zambia, we could find many Indians from Bengal, Odisha, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh, apart from the states mentioned above and

regions of India, migrated to Zambia in search of occupation. Many of them are engaged in teaching, farming and health profession and contributing immensely to the Zambian society in the social sphere (Report of the High Commission of India, Lusaka, Zambia, January 2019 and Field Study observation conducted in March 2011).

2.3.1 Demographic Composition and Indian Diaspora

Table 2.3 shows the demographic composition of Europeans and Asians in Zambia between 1911 and 1969 and 2000. The European population increased by 2137, 10212, 8061, 15172, 28198 and 9272 in 1921, 1931, 1946, 1951, 1956 and 1961, respectively. However, there was a decline in the European population by 31159 in 1969.

Table2.3: Population of Indians in Zambia, 1911-1969 and 2000

Year	Europeans	Asians
1911	1,497	39
1921	3,634	56
1931	13,846	176
1946	21,907	1,117
1951	37,079	2,524
1956	65,277	5,450
1961	74549	7790
1969	43390	10785
2000	6182	11848
Source: Gupta (1971: 225); 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Central Province Analytical Report, Volume-1 Zambia: Central Statistical Office, p.12.,1969 Census of Population, Zambia, C.S.O., p.20		

As far as the Asians are concerned, their population increased by 17, 120, 941, 1407, 2926, 2340 and 2995 in 1921, 1931, 1946, 1951, 1956 and 1961, respectively. Like the case of Zimbabwe, Zambia also experienced a disproportionate presence of the Europeans and the Asians between 1911 and 1969, where there was a large presence of the

Europeans. For instance, Zambia recorded the presence of 1458, 3578, 13670, 20790, 34555, 59827, 66759 and 32605 fewer Asians than the Europeans in 1911, 1921, 1931, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961 and 1969, respectively.

Table 2.3 indicates that the Europeans always outnumbered the Asians during the colonial regime in Zambia between 1911 and 1931. The ratio between the Europeans and the Asians was 38:1, 65:1 and 79:1 in 1911, 1921 and 1931, respectively. Their proportion, however, has steadily declined since 1946. The ratio between the Europeans and the Asians was 20:1, 15:1, 12:1, 10:1 and 4:1 in 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961 and 1969, respectively. The wider gap between the Europeans and the Asians between 1911 and 1931 can be attributed to the copper belt's economic position. More specifically, the depression in world copper prices in the 1930s contributed to the low figures of Asians in Zambia before World War II. However, in Zambia, the African population outnumbers the non-African ratio by 46:1.

2.3.2 Social Life of Indian Diaspora During the Colonial Period

During the colonial period, Indians largely migrated to Zambia from Zimbabwe. The migration was not because their services were required for any specific purpose. However, out of fear, they landed in Zambia primarily from the Bulawayo city of Zimbabwe, as mentioned before. The reason behind developing fear was the restriction the British colonial authority imposed on the migration of Indians in 1925 from India to Zimbabwe. They settled mainly in the city of Lusaka during this phase. Initially, most of the Muslim population among the Indians from Gujarat migrated to Zambia through Bulawayo. Later, the Hindu community migrated mainly from Gujarat, some from southern India. The British colonial authority in Zambia had developed the sense of fear that if they were giving space to Indians in Zambian society, it would further escalate the ethnic conflict between Indians and white Europeans. Initially, that was the reason for which the colonial government in Zambia did not allow to have an Indian office in Central Africa where the Indian representative would be employed to look after the interests of Zambia Indians along with Indians of Zimbabwe and Malawi (Singhvi 2000; Haig 2007; Musoni 2017).

2.3.3 Social Life of Indian Diaspora During the Post-colonial Period

The Zambian leaders got deeply influenced by the Indian freedom movement. As a result, the social life of Indians became very smooth and comfortable in the decolonisation phase of Zambia. There was no restriction as such on the migration of Indians to Zambia. Indians got the opportunity to travel to Zambia with their kith and kins. Many Indians contributed to the nation-building and development process of Zambia after independence.

2.3.4 Socio-Cultural and Religious Associations of Indians in Zambia

In Zambia, Hindu Association is one of the critical associations that exist which takes care of the collective interest of the Indian Hindu community. They celebrate *Diwali*, a major festival among the Indian community in Lusaka, along with other festivals like *Holi, Sri Krishna Janmashtami, Raksha Bandhan* etc., '*Garba'* the famous dance of Gujaratis is performed widely during Diwali and other festivals in Zambia. *Onam* is the new year of Malayali people of Kerala, *Ugadi* the new year of Telugu and *Puthandu* the new year of Tamil people, celebrated widely in this country. To celebrate most of the festivals and organise marriage and birthday functions for Indians, the Hindu community among Indians of Zambia primarily built Hindu Hall in Lusaka. The manager of the Hindu Hall takes care of the overall management and maintenance of the Hall. Many native people, along with the Indians, have worked as the manager of Hindu Hall. This Hindu Hall is open to all Indian diaspora communities. They just have to book the Hall in advance during their festival time. This is also open to the native people. The native people also widely participate in the Diwali celebration with the Indians and perform Indian dance forms together with Indian performers (Field study interview March 2011).

2.3.5 Achievement of Indian Women Associations

In Zambia, the Hindu women's association named *Mahila Mandal* has organised prayer sessions. Here the organisational pattern is borrowed from the women's clubs: meetings are held in the homes of the members in rotation, with refreshments being prepared and served by the hostess. Enthusiasm for these associations is also highly variable (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 97).

Another critical Indian Women Association is the Lusaka Indian Ladies Association (LILA). It was established in 1980. This Association is also doing a commendable job organising, uniting and addressing the issues of Zambia Indian women. The significant role of this women association is to raise funds for charitable purposes in Zambia and initiate various philanthropic and welfare activities to empower the people of Zambia irrespective of their ethnic identity. Everyone gets benefits out of it. This association is known for its innovative ideas. Every year the LILA organises programmes to raise funds, and the fund used for the welfare of the society. It also invites the high profile political leaders and administrators through various programs to motivate the women members of the association and to distribute prizes to the Indians who have become successful in political, social and economic fields and contributed immensely to a charitable purpose. The news on various events organised by LILA is published usually in the Lusaka-based publication *Zambia Daily Mail.*

2.3.5.1 Objectives of Lusaka Indian Ladies Association (LILA)

The Lusaka Indian Ladies Association (LILA) was formed forty-two years ago in 1980 under the leadership of the then spouse of the Indian High Commissioner. Under the shades of a mango tree on the lawns of India House in Lusaka (the Capital city of Zambia), a group of public-minded Indian ladies led by the spouse of the then High Commissioner decided to devote their talents and time to do something for the people at the margin. To contribute to the welfare of those in need in this country. Furthermore, this is how LILA was born by a group of Indian ladies who committed to doing something for the Zambian society and extending their support to the needy people of the society. From that year onwards, the spouse of the Indian High Commissioner to Zambia used to become the Chairperson of LILA. In 2008, Mrs. Wesline Wallang, the spouse of the then Indian High Commissioner R.O.Wallang, was LILA's chair (Chairlady) (LILA Brochure, 2008).

Over the years, Indian High Commissioners and their spouses have become office bearers of LILA and gone to Zambia, but LILA continues to serve its purpose. It not only continues to survive but also grows from strength to strength. This organisation of selfless

and dedicated ladies has done a lot to contribute to charitable causes, to assist those in need of a helping hand to mitigate their pain and deprivations in innumerable ways. Food, medicine and clothing, shelter, schools, clinics, orphanages, and old age homes could run through LILA's contribution. Schools have been set up, especially for the physically challenged students, run by LILA's fund. These are just a few of the causes that LILA has been able to contribute to Zambian society.

The LILA organises the fund-raising events from time to time, and the donations to worthy causes continue throughout the year. The highlights of all such events are in showcasing incredible India. Various artists and film personalities are, from time to time, invited by LILA to perform in various events organised by it (LILA Brochure, 2008). In addition, Zambia Indians are fond of reality shows like *SaReGamaPa* by Zee TV, among others. Hindi serials are watched almost in all houses of Indian families in Zambia. They are also fond of Bollywood movies. During the field study, the respondents also mentioned that more than Hollywood, they prefer to watch Bollywood Hindi movies, and their favourite actor is Shahrukh Khan (Field study interview conducted on 12 March 2011).

Table 2.4 refers to the important office bearers of LILA. These office bearers organise various events for LILA and raise funds for the Association. They also handle the social media account of LILA and spread awareness among the people about the objectives and functions of this association, along with handling the fund.

There are various companies, entrepreneurs, industries and Banks mostly run by Indians or running with the collaborative effort of India and Zambia, standing behind the associations like LILA and providing financial support by sponsoring various events organised by it. As a part of corporate social responsibility, these industries and Banks are funding LILA to meet its purpose, become an integral part of such a noble cause, and encourage the women of the Indian diaspora community to participate in large numbers.

Table 2.4: List of Office Bearers of LILA (Executive Committee Members)

Sl.No.	Name	Designation	Year
1.	Mrs. Wesline Wallang	Chairlady	2008
2.	Mrs. Sonia Patel	Vice Chairlady	2008
3.	Mrs. Uma Pathak	Advisor	2008
4.	Mrs. Ila Desai	Advisor Fund Raising	2008
5.	Mrs. Nagu Murugappan	Secretary	2008
6.	Mrs. Seema Bhargav	Treasurer	2008
7.	Mrs. Anuradha Jayaraman	Editor	2008
8.	Mrs. Rita Naik	Programme Coordinator	2008
9.	Mrs. Rosy Kalra	Joint Programme Coordinator	2008
10.	Mrs. Sophie Kerketta	Charity Coordinator	2008
11.	Mrs. Nona Mohan	Joint Charity Coordinator	2008
12.	Mrs. Krishna Sikand	Coordinator Fund Raising	2008
13.	Mrs. Elizabeth Rao	Member	2008
Source: Brochure on *Folk Dance Across Cultures* Published by Lusaka Indian Ladies Association, 2008: 8.			

Without the support of the above-mentioned sponsoring industries/agencies and Banks, LILA could not have served the noble cause and become an example for other diasporic associations and organisations across the globe (Table 2.5). It is imperative to mention here the organisations which have been constantly supported by LILA over the years and are working at the local level and serving the people at the margin of the society (Table 2.6).

Table 2.5: List of Sponsoring Agencies to the Events of LILA

Sl.No.	Sponsors	Sl. No.	Sponsors
1.	Tata	6	Indo-Zambian Bank
2.	Lazer Digital	7	Finance Bank of Zambia
3.	Jagoda Gems	8	Specialised Systems
4.	Zambian Airways	9	Modern Press
5.	Bobbili Gems		Bobbili Gems
Source: Brochure on *Folk Dance Across Cultures* Published by Lusaka Indian Ladies Association, 2008: 7.			

Table 2.6: Beneficiaries of LILA

1	Women's Prison	16	Power of love
2	MMCI	17	UTH
3	Physically Handicapped Centre	18	Mother Teresa Home
4	Right to Play	19	Buseko Community School
5	Nyphande Orphanage	20	Blind School
6	Cheshire Homes	21	Matero Orphanage
7	Presentation Sisters	22	Chilanga Hospice
8	YWCA	23	Kara Counselling
9	Kondwa Centre	24	Hope Foundation
10	Kasisi Mission	25	Home of Joy
11	Chawama Old Age Home	26	Mongu Clinic
12	St John Ambulance	27	Medicine for Health Ministry
13	YWA, Solwezi	28	Makeni Muslim Centre
14	Makeni Ecumenical Centre	29	Ndola Street Kids Project
15	Zambia Juvenile Welfare Association		
Source: Brochure on *Folk Dance Across Cultures* Published by Lusaka Indian Ladies Association, 2008: 9.			

2.3.5.2 Cultural activities organised by LILA

Every year LILA organises cultural programmes and events to raise funds for the underprivileged section of the society. At the same time, it also ensures that the richly diverse culture of India will be showcased at each event of LILA. It shows the level of commitment of the organising committee of LILA to protect and promote Indian culture and serve the noble cause of providing a helping hand to the underprivileged section of the Zambian society. In the various events of LILA, the richly diverse culture of India is showcased through the performance of folk dance and folk songs and the celebration of festivals across cultures. In 2008, various Indian regional folk dances were performed, like Bhangda Dance (famous folk dance of Punjab) along with folk dances of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat states and various other regional folk dances of India. The LILA is not only the front runner in promoting Indian culture and traditions through its various events but also gives space to the folk culture of other countries to flourish through its events. That is why in 2008, along with the above said folk dance of India, Greek, Sri Lankan, Zambian, Spanish and Irish dances were also performed by the artists invited from across the globe. The importance of these folk dances and songs is explained in detail and is published in the Brochure of LILA every year (Brochure published by LILA 2008).

Nagu Murugappan, the Secretary of the LILA Executive Committee and editor of the LILA Brochure explains that "folk dances are an integral part of every culture from times immemorial. These folk dances reflect the cultural uniqueness of each region of a country. They are the barometers reflecting local people's ethos which weave them together" (Brochure published by LILA 2008: 27). Moreover, India is undoubtedly a land full of diversity reflected through the folk culture and traditions of various parts of it. The logo of LILA Brochure, printed on the left side of the cover page, symbolises the folk culture of India, where a woman standing in Gujarati traditional attire is shown.

The authentic Indian delicious food (for example, *Palak Paneer and Murg Makhani* are popular dishes) is served to the participants, guests and members of the Association at the end of the event and celebration of festivals. Furthermore, the Indian community

predominantly participates in such events; women and children of the Indian families across religions participate in such events in large numbers (Brochure published by LILA 2008).

2.3.5.3 Recent Developments by LILA

LILA is not only providing a platform for the Indian diaspora women to raise their voices and represent themselves in various socio-cultural, economic and political spheres. However, it is also contributing to uplifting the downtrodden people of the society, who are at the margin and need the most help. A programme organised by LILA on 9 November 2015 was attended by Esther Lungu, the first lady of Zambia (the wife of former Zambia President Mr. Edger Lungu). She was the chief guest of this charitable programme hosted by the Lusaka Indian women. She was very much impressed by the work the Lusaka Indian women are doing for the welfare of the Zambian society. By wearing the Indian attire of *saree,* she made the occasion very special and boosted the morale of the Indian women (*Lusaka Daily Mail*, 10 November 2015). She also encouraged the members of LILA and gave prizes to Indians who contributed to the charitable purpose in a charitable programme organised by LILA.

(Esther Lungu, the first lady and wife of the former President of Zambia Edgur Lungu Chief Guest of the Program is distributing prizes)

Source: *Lusaka Daily Mail*, 10 November 2015

While addressing the Indian women of Zambia, she said that the government of Zambia alone could not intensify the fight against social and economic backwardness and challenges people are continuously grappling with in the Zambian society. For that, we need the organisations like LILA to come forward and help different communities in our society, initiate various welfare activities and empower them. She praised LILA, which, with the collective effort of Zambia Indian women, has made a difference in people's lives and brought societal changes. She added that the associations like LILA needed to be promoted more so that the government, in collaboration with associations like LILA, could achieve the 2030 sustainable development goal. She also emphasised the increasing participation of women in sports, more specifically in the gulf (*Lusaka Daily Mail*, 10 November 2015 and *Lusaka Times*, 9 November 2015).

2.4. Social Situation of Indians in Malawi

The historical account of population migration to Malawi (formerly known as Nyasaland), especially the Asians/Indians, demonstrates that the process of Indians' migration to Malawi was facilitated by a British official, Sir Henry "Harry" Hamilton Johnston, popularly known as Hurry Johnston. Hurry Johnston arrived in Malawi in 1891 with the mission to set up British administration. He was the first Commissioner and the Consul-General of the Nyasaland Protectorate and occupied the office for six years, from 1891 to 1896. He had two significant concerns: working out a land policy for the Protectorate and raising local revenues for running the government (Kalinga 2012: 211). As the first Commissioner and the Consul-General, he had the responsibility to develop the country and consequently, he began to explore various alternative means to materialise such objectives. Meanwhile, he realised a need to encourage and promote trade and commerce to advance the country, probably in a short period (Lamba 2010: 187).

Within this backdrop, Hurry Johnston turned towards the Indians and considered that Indians could be the possible agents who could substantially contribute to the development of the country. For him, Indians could be helpful in two ways. Firstly, Indians can be partners with the Europeans in sharing the burden in multiple ways to materialise the mission of civilising the country. Secondly, he acknowledged the skills of Indians to handle the thrift and credit system and manage the economy relatively better

than the Europeans and the native Africans and emphasised that Indians could be the effective agents of economic growth of Malawi.[2] However, such position of Hurry Johnston appears to indicate the compromising position of the Europeans to manage the economic affairs more desirably and effectively, thereby passing the responsibility of effective management to some others than the Europeans and where the Indians were the apparent partakers of such responsibility. The colonial forces did not want to face any economic hardship while governing the country.[3]

Hence, without any economic impediments, the Europeans could run the country's political affairs or administration without facing any kind of societal challenge and, more specifically, from the economic front. This also shows their inefficiency in managing the economic affairs, which they tactfully tried to pass on to the Asians/Indians. The existing study reveals that the first Indian trader, a Muslim by the name of Osman, arrived in 1885, according to his family's reckoning. Moreover, interestingly, the work reveals that the history of modern Malawi begins with Johnston's administration, as mentioned above

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[2] Economic growth here refers to only material growth or changes, not human growth.

[3] Meanwhile, the history of Malawi demonstrates that colonial rule was not readily acceptable to Malawi. The early establishment of colonial rule in Malawi invoked strong resistance in general (McCracker 2012: 2) and generated ethnic fragmentation interns of protagonists and opponents of colonial rule in Malawi. Ranger (1969) and Phiri (1984) mainly focus on the ethnic fragmentation between the two ethnic communities, such as Yao and Nynja, concerning the colonial rule in Malawi. Nynja, the native ethnic community of Malawi, welcomed the colonial rule in Malawi. However, the Yao resisted the imposition of colonial rule in Malawi (Phiri 1984: 170).Nevertheless, it is intriguing to explore the potential reasons behind the ethnic division concerning the imposition of colonial rule in Malawi. The ethnic division has much to do with the history of the Yao community and its interface and interaction with the Nynja community. It is worth clarifying that the Nynja and Yao ethnic communities have different historical anecdotes. The Nynja is a native ethnic community of Malawi, and the Yao is a non-native ethnic community that migrated from Northern Mozambique in the 1830s and 1840s. The Yao community is considered well versed in commercial and military skills and allegedly established their political dominance over the native Nynja community. The native Nynja community has already resisted the presence and political dominance of the Yao community in Malawi and has established a hostile relationship with the Yao community. Hence, these ethnic communities, who were already in interaction for over 50 years prior to the arrival of the colonial forces, have already established incompatible relationships. Such incompatible relationships pushed them to develop different kinds of orientations toward colonial rule. However, it is interesting to point out why the already marginalised community (Nynja) wanted to be under the control of the outside regime? This can perhaps be explained in terms of their access to available resources. The existing literature on the resource relationship between the native community and outsiders suggests that in resource competition, the native communities are always at the margin and thereby leading to the feeling of ethnic deprivation (Ambagudia 2019). Hence, the Nynja community, which was already deprived on many fronts because of the Yao community in Malawi, were possibly exploring the opportunity where they could find some sort of solace from the dominant position. However, the actual impact of colonial rule over the native community remains the present thesis's outside enquiry and demands independent dedicated study.

(Dotson and Dotson 1968: 43).[4] This smallest state stands out prominently in many ways, historically, scenically, socially and numerically. In 1966, the population of Malawi stood at 4,042,412, of whom 7,046 were Europeans and 10,880 were Asians. The Asians' lead over Europeans in Malawi in terms of population figures has been maintained only since 1945. The post-second world war period contributed to a sharp increase in Europeans and Asians numbers in Malawi. Considering the demographic picture, the non-Africans in Malawi constitute a small minority in the overall population. They are outnumbered by the overwhelming margin of 1: 225.

In Rhodesia, on the other hand, the Asian-European population ratio has maintained an average of 1: 35 over many years. However, here, too, as of 30 June 1968, the collective picture is that the non-African population is outnumbered with a ratio of 1:18 but not quite as overwhelmingly as in Malawi (Pachai 1971). Southern Malawi contained nearly all of what passed for an Asian community in the country. Nyasaland always had a much smaller Indian population than Zanzibar, with only 2,804 Asians as of 1945. However, where Asian migration to Zanzibar peaked that year, Asians only began arriving in large numbers in Nyasaland between 1945 and 1965. By 1966, the country had a little more than 11,000 Asian residents. This was to be the peak population of the Asian community.

In 1967, the Banda regime forcibly removed all Asians from rural areas. It denied them any rights of residence or business ownership outside of four urban centers-Limbe, Zomba, Blantyre, and Lilongwe. The forced removal led to the first wave of out-migration of Asians from Malawi, and consequently, only 5,6824,927 remained by 1977 and 1987, respectively. Less than half of that number was estimated to be residents in the country in 1996. Almost all of the Asian population lived in the three southern cities when

[4] There is no unanimity as far as the definition of 'modern' is concerned among scholars and academicians. The modern world, in simplistic terms, refers to 'something new or the recent'. According to Modern European History, modernity has begun during or after the arrival of the enlightenment. More specifically, modernity came around the 17th century during the Renaissance and the Protestant reformation phase. It accelerated in the 19th century with the industrialisation and the urbanisation of European society. Since this term originated in western societies, very often, this term is being interpreted and reinterpreted from western perspectives**.** Here 'modern' stands for introduction of British administration in Nyasaland. In some way, it is attached to the "civilising mission' of the British administration (particularly, it could be named the Johnston's policy in Malawi). For more on this, see Dotson and Dotson (1968: 43) and David (2007: 316).

Ajit Patel (an Indian settler in Malawi) arrived there-the 1966 census listed only 742 Asians in Lilongwe (one province of Malawi), and very little has changed since then in this geographical pattern.

Among the Indian community settled in Malawi, Sikhs have always been a tiny minority. Forty Sikhs were among the first contingent of seventy Asian soldiers Johnston brought to "develop" the country in 1891. Two hundred more arrived four years later to help Johnston subdue local Yao and Arab forces. Most of these Sikh soldiers, and many other Sikhs who emigrated in the twentieth century, gained employment in the railway yard and were given housing in the railway engineering works area of Limbe town. Almost all belong to the Ramgharia (craftsman) caste. Their numbers were sufficient for the formation of a temple community in Limbe. Around 1996, the temple had well over 200 practising members (it now has about 10 Sikh families and a handful of Hindu attendees). There is a temple in Limbe, and also there is a small Hindu temple in Lilongwe, and a handful of Sikh residents are there in Lilongwe (Myers 2003: 149).

Table2.7: Population of Malawi by Race, 1901-1966

Year	Total	Malawi Africans		Europeans		Asians	
		Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1901	737,153	736,724	99.94	314	0.04	115	0.02
1911	970,430	969,183	99.87	766	0.08	481	0.05
1921	1,201,983	1,199,934	99.83	1,486	0.12	563	0.05
1926	1,293,391	1,290,885	99.81	1,656	0.13	850	0.07
1931	1,603,454	1,599,888	99.78	1,975	0.12	1,591	0.10
1945	2,049,914	2,044,707	99.75	1,948	0.10	2,804	0.14
1966	4,042,412	4,023,193	99.52	7,046	0.17	10,880	0.27
Source: Gupta (1971: 224).							

Table 2.7 indicates the population of Malawi based on racial identities between 1901 and 1966. It shows a slight decline in the native Malawi population over the period. For instance, the Malawi population declined by 0.07, 0.04, 0.02, 0.03, 0.03 and 0.03 percent during 1911, 1921, 1926, 1931, 1945 and 1966 respectively. Similarly, as far as the Europeans are concerned, their population increased by 0.04, 0.04 and 0.01 percent in 1911, 1921 and 1926. Their population declined by 0.01 and 0.02 percent in 1931 and 1945. However, the European population increased by 0.07 percent between 1945 and 1965.

In the same vein, there has been a gradual increase in the Indian population over the period in Malawi. The Indians constituted 0.02, 0.05, 0.05, 0.07, 0.10, 0.14 and 0.27 percent of total population of Malawi during 1901, 1911, 1921, 1926, 1931, 1945 and 1966, accounting the increasing of Indian population by 0.03, 0.07, 0.03, 0.03 and 0.13 percent in 1911, 1926, 1931, 1945 and 1966, respectively. However, the share of the Indian population remained constant between 1911 and 1921. The marginal decline of the native population can be attributed to the increasing share of the Europeans and the Indian population in Malawi. Table 2.7 also indicates an interesting aspect that the Europeans outnumbered the Indians between 1901 and 1931. For instance, 199, 285, 923, 806, and 384 more Europeans can be found during 1901, 1911, 1921, 1926 and 1931, respectively. However, 856 and 3834 more Indians than the Europeans registered between 1945 and 1966.

The close analysis of the demographic and racial composition of the Central African countries of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi helps us observe the following intriguing aspects. Though there is a marginal decline of the native (African) population in these countries, they have outnumbered the European and the Indians and even combined these two. It also indicates that there have always been more Europeans than Asians in Zambia and Rhodesia. During the Second World War, the figures for Europeans and Asians in Malawi were almost equal, but the Asian population has maintained a slight lead since then. In all three countries, the earlier significant trickle of Indian immigration increased relatively during the period spanned by the outbreak of the second world war, and another

development was the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland by British colonial power (i.e. between 1939 and 1952) (Pachai 1971; Yadav 2005: 348). The economic position of the native Africans deteriorated, although Britishers claimed that they opened up various employment sources for natives with industrialisation. However, very few Africans got benefit from it. The literacy test was imposed on the Britishers in the name of modernising and educating the Asians. However, their real intention was to restrict Indians from entering Malawi soil and joining the administrative posts. Learning the English language helped the Asians qualify for the literacy test imposed by the Southern Rhodesia Immigration Ordinance in 1904 and extended to Northern Rhodesia in 1915 (Yadav 2005: 348).

The current study reveals the presence of around 25,0000 PIOs in Zambia, around 20,000 in Zimbabwe and around 5,000 in Malawi. They are mainly comprised of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus primarily from Gujarat, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Odisha. Most of the PIOs hold British or American nationality. The Indian community is mainly concentrated in cities like Blantyre, Lilongwe, Mzuzu and Lusaka (the capital city of Zambia), and they mostly trade with few professionals (Ray 2010).

2.4.1 Social Life of Indian Diaspora During Colonial Period

2.4.1.1 Educational Status of Indian Diaspora in Malawi

The nature and dynamics of the educational condition of the Indian diaspora in Malawi have much to do with the colonial policy's overall concerns in Malawi. The educational policy of the colonial government was essentially guided by the notion of racial superiority and inferiority. For the British, education can be a necessary means of racial superiority and inferiority in a particular social context. To put it differently, the educational policy of the British in colonial Malawi (Nyasaland) was invariably based on the notion of racial superiority.

The understanding of colonial forces that "the European must always be superior" (Laws 1929: 347) was the defining feature of the colonial education policy in Malawi. It has been observed that the British could go to any extent to enforce their racial superiority.

Laws (1929) discussed the colonial approach toward the native education in Nyasaland and inferred that the colonial education towards the native was based on exploitation and discrimination. The colonial government designed the education policy in such a way that the natives shall not resist the interest of the Europeans even though they developed their abilities via educational advancement. The educational policy was based on the European understanding that the native communities of Malawi needed to be exploited for the benefit of the Europeans. Hence, the educational policy of the colonial government was loud and clear. It aimed to develop the skills of the native communities so that they could work as per the requirements of the Europeans and, to be specific, to help aggrandise the Europeans. However, at no point, the natives would overpower or lead the Europeans. Hence, "the notion the native should be kept in his place" (Laws 1929: 347) governed the educational policy of the British in Malawi with more significant implications over racial communities such as the Asians, Europeans and the Africans.

Meanwhile, there was an issue of the educational problems of the half-caste children. The literal meaning of half-caste in Malawi is non-white and non-coloured mix-race children. The term half-caste is a colonial construction to differentiate people based on their racial differences and the privileges extended to them, especially in the educational sphere. The half-caste people are also Eurafricans, denoting the offspring of British fathers and African mothers. The term has serious socio-political and legal repercussions (Milner-Thotnton 2012: 11). The colonial administration also used the concept of coloured people concerning different educational privileges in Central Africa. The term coloured is again constructed for the convenience of the administration, which refers to all non-white populations other than the predominantly black people. This term also excluded the half-caste people from its ambit (Milner-Thotnton 2012: 12).

Such categorisation has governed the subsequent educational policies of the colonial government. Along with native education, issues have also been raised concerning the educational opportunities for half-caste children. The issue was first taken up in the context of the then Anglo-African Association of Nyasaland, which was formed in 1929 to advocate the representation of the mixed-racial population. The Association also

submitted a memorandum to the Advisory Committee on Education highlighting the need to recognise diversity and ensure a separate education for half-caste children (Lee 2008: 31).

The Committee acknowledged the distinctiveness and separate category of half-caste children in Malawi, viewed their educational status with deep sympathy, and undertook to ensure that all such children get all the opportunities to flourish educationally. However, the official consensus was quite surprising, emphasising that the African and the half-caste children are at the same foot in learning and intellectual attainment. Therefore, no educational distinction shall be made. Therefore, the demand of the Associate for separate education stands rejected. Similarly, the committee further recommended that full consideration be given to the African point of view (Lee 2008: 28). Levi Mumba was the sole member of the African community in the Advisory, representing the African point of view. The Committee concluded that any plan of separate education for the half-caste children is undesirable. As a result, the British colonial administration perceived the issue of separate education for the half-caste children as not only unimportant but intricate and complex due to the issues of racial privileges, separate legal status and the novel notion of corporate belonging taken root in these countries by colonial administration (Lee 2008: 29).

Meanwhile, administrators of Nyasaland turned towards the neighbouring colony of South Rhodesia, which had already implemented the education policy for the half-caste children in South Rhodesia, to draw specific lesson**s.** As a consequence, the colonial officials referred to "*the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Southern Nyasaland to Enquire into the Questions Concerning the Education of Coloured and Half-Caste Children in the Colony"*, (1934)[5] submitted by the Foggin Commission on Southern Rhodesia that paid heed to the educational needs of the half-caste children (Lee 2013: 189). Although the Foggin Committee recommended compulsory education for all the coloured children, it did not enact any such provision to include the educational

[5] The Government of Southern Rhodesia had formed the Committee under the Lord Foggin to study the educational status of the Coloured and the Half-caste children in Southern Rhodesia.

requirements of the excluded half-caste children living in rural areas with their native parents (Muzondidya 2005: 136, endnote 166). Hence, the educational interest of the half-caste children got hampered.

Following in the footstep of the Foggin Committee report on the Southern Rhodesia, though the Advisory Committee on Education in Nyasaland considered the educational needs of the half-caste children on many occasions, it did not recognise the diversity and their particular needs remained unattended. Hence, the Committee did not recommend any separate facility needed for the educational advancement of the half-caste children in Malawi (Lamba 2010: 187).

Therefore, the government was charged with high negligence of the educational needs of the half-caste and coloured children. Although the policy-makers attempted to respond to the charges of the government's negligence towards their educational requirements, that yielded no result as the half-caste and coloured children continued to defy the damage control moves of the policy-makers. Lamba's study (2010: 187) indicates that the Asian and coloured people lagged behind the educational advancement of the Europeans till 1961. Such position of the Asian and the coloured people can be attributed to the practice of racial discrimination against them while adopting the education policy. The government also occasionally tactically used the internal differences between the Asian and coloured people to relieve itself from the burden of being partial in extending educational opportunities to the Asians and Coloured people compared to the Europeans.[6] However, such a position of the colonial government is far from tenable, considering the involvement of the actors in policy-making. Being in the administration, the policy-makers were primarily drawn from Europeans, and it is crystal clear that the policy-makers proactively took the initiative in advancing the educational level of the Europeans. The administration took the initiative for the educational development of the Europeans

[6] It is worth mentioning here that the Asians and Coloured people were clubbed together in the official education policy of the time. Such an attempt of the government drew much criticism from different quarters, including the targeted communities, as it further reinforced the racial differences rather than smoothening their integration into the host society.

by providing a favourable and conducive environment along with the state-sponsored European educational system.

Meanwhile, a tantamount pressure was exerted on the colonial government to express its commitment to educating most native African communities. Considering the education policy of the colonial government in Nyasaland, the education policy was always based on exploitation and discrimination. The structural arrangement of educational facilities pushed the Asians and the Coloured people behind the native African communities and the Europeans concerning the accessibility of state-sponsored education. Hence, the Asian and Coloured communities struggled for a legitimate entitlement to social service of education from the protectorate government (Lamba 2010: 187).

Gradually, the economic contribution of the Asians to the host country developed their expectation in the educational sphere with better facilities. However, the protectorate was giving undue importance to their economic contribution rather than creating educational facilities for the Asians. Hence, it was evident that the Asians would put much emphasis on education due to its long-term effect on developing their capabilities and demanded better educational facilities from the state. However, the Asians did not demand uniform education for every Asian child. It seems the nature of demand was primarily defined by the way they looked at education. Hence, there was a demand for different kinds of education corresponding to their geographical location. For instance, Asians living in urban areas were more inclined toward western education, primarily influenced by the web of cosmopolitanism.

However, Asians living in rural areas had different levels of expectations from education policy, and they needed education to different degrees. Their expectation was primarily confined to disseminating education to their children only some functional literacy, mostly in Gujarati, and some figures for commercial dealings. Hence, such emphasis suggests that the rural Asians gave much emphasis to building themselves and their families on the spoils from the Africans. However, the urban Asians, while cherishing their role above the Africans in the racial pyramid, had different orientations towards

education. Unlike the rural Asians who appear to consider education as the means of facilitating business, the perception of the urban Asians towards education went much beyond the means of engaging with business and commerce. They emerged as competitors and challenged the monopoly of Europeans in economic spheres. It was realised that the dissemination of western education to urban Asians would open the window for them to enter into other spheres, facilitating competition in areas the Europeans have traditionally monopolised. Such competition may also lead to the dismantling of the European monopoly. This dichotomy characterised the relationship between the Europeans and Asians in the latter's struggle for western education in a situation where, unlike most Europeans, they saw themselves as permanent settlers in colonial Malawi (Lamba 2010). The argument mentioned above refers to the fact that deliberately the colonial ruler ignored/sidelined the demands of the Indians, especially the urban Indians, to have the right to education just like the Europeans in these Central African countries because of the fear the Europeans had in mind that the Indians already outnumbered them in the economic sector and they (Europeans) did not want them (Indians/Asians) to do the same in other professions as well by getting an education. By doing so, the Indians will demand a share in the cake on which the Europeans had a monopoly for a more extended period which they did not even want to share with the Blacks. Hence, the Europeans did not provide the opportunity to the Asians to learn the Western education, which was confined to the Europeans only. As the Indians had already given stiff competition to the Europeans in the economic arena, they feared Asians more than the native Blacks, assuming similar competition in other spheres. Hence, the Europeans did not open Western education to Asians.

2.4.1.2 Pre-1945 Demands and Trends in Asian Education

Until the late 1920s, non-African education in Malawi was denoted almost exclusively that of Europeans. From the 1930s, Asian demands for western education in urban areas surfaced. By the mid-1930s, Asians were determined to reorganise and run some schools without government financial support, and a demand for a definite government education policy for Asians continued. Asian argument for facilities for their children's education centred around their economic contribution to the country, which was almost as much as,

if not more than, that of the average European, whose educational demands received more official government attention from as early as the 1920s. The Asian request was more unwelcomed mainly on the official grounds that "mission schools established for Africans have admitted Indian and half-caste children in many cases. Once government financial assistance had been extended to Europeans, the government seemed more unwilling to attend to Asian demands not only as a money-saving device but also to avert any antagonism from the European side, which claimed privileges and entitlements in a colonial environment.

By 1930, therefore, Asians took the drastic step of applying, through the Limbe Indian Federation, for official permission to open an Asian School in Limbe with their own money. This application caught the government on the wrong foot without relevant policy. The government always claimed it realised its responsibility for Asian education without doing much about it. The government expressed willingness to provide financial assistance on clear evidence of parental initiative and readiness to finance a school. In his official address to the Advisory Committee on Education in 1935, Governor Kitter's master's omission of any mention of Indian education seemed to conform to the Asian Community's reluctant official government attitude towards education.

It is quite visible that the problems in Asian education originated from the purely deliberative administrative negligence and inefficiency on the part of the government and partly the internal problems among the Asians themselves. In the first place, just as in the case in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) government's uncertainty regarding whether Asian and Coloured education should operate as missionary or government responsibility took some time to resolve. Nevertheless, more than this, the determining factor in official policy towards Asian education had much to do with the uneasy relations between Asians and Europeans. Although the two communities seemed to enjoy some close relations in official, business and even ceremonial and social circles, in reality, they constituted a superficial association, for beneath all this lay the European self-conscious as a community with racial and cultural superiority over both Asians and Africans. European

government officials, in general, shared this type of bigoted thinking which permeated some of the important official decisions.

The Asian case for official educational assistance has been made more complicated by internal divisions amongst the Asians, which the protectorate government utilised to block Asian demands. Foremost of these negative factors were religious divisions and differences between Muslims and Hindus, which proved inimical and often operated against the presentation of a common front to the government. As the Dotson and Dotson (1968) suggest, religion formed the sharpest and most persistent line of cleavage, often maintained mutually by derogatory stereotypes which created the wall of division. The religious situation among the Asians was compounded by the belief in caste.

At any rate, political developments in colonial India reverberated even as far afield as Malawi to complicate the situation in a country with a Muslim majority among the Asians. The nationalist politics of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of India and who belonged to Hindus, met the antagonism of the Muslim minority in India, who feared political and religious marginalisation abroad, expressing this politico-religious dichotomy. The study reveals that such divisions were absent among the European settlers who avoided any allusion to religion in their fight for education. Asians grouped themselves separately even in sports activities, clearly underlining a Muslim or Hindu identity (Lamba 2010: 192).

Until 1938 the only major pressure group for Asians remained the Indian Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber attempted to bring together all Asians engaged in trade which formed their common occupational interest, given that about ninety-nine per cent of all Asians in Malawi was in Commerce. The Chamber cut across religious lines, and its initial preoccupation was with commercial matters such as trading licenses, customs and excise, and other related issues. It is important to remember that although Malawi was generally said to be multi-racial, racism was not unknown. The Indian Chamber of Commerce operated parallel to a similar organisation for Europeans who also had the convention of Associations as the umbrella organisation for European interests.

In 1938, Asians attempted to form an umbrella organisation similar to the European Convention of Associations to deal with various matters, including education. The organisations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Traders' Association, and the Indian Sports Club, met in response to the expressed necessity of the Asian community to organise itself to safeguard and improve its interests and status in the protectorate. Later on, the Bell Commission Report again reiterated this position. The year 1938 appeared particularly proper for this action because it was when the colonial office demonstrated concern over the development of Malawi's economic and other services by dispatching the Bell Commission for a closer on-the-spot examination of the situation (Lamba 2010: 192).

On the other hand, if we could see the overall literacy status of Zambians, a large segment of the population remains uneducated and illiterate. Since 1990, 45 per cent of the population aged five years and above remained illiterate in Zambia. The level of illiteracy remained higher among the female than the male population, and the illiteracy problem was more common in rural areas than urban areas. More than fifty percent of the rural population aged five years and above have been illiteracy since 1990. At the provincial level analysis of literacy rates in Zambia shows that Eastern Province has the highest proportion of illiterate people aged five years or more than that, while Copperbelt and Lusaka are having the lowest illiterate people. Nearly all provinces of Zambia registered very marginal changes in the proportion of the population that can read and write in any language between 1990 and 2000. From the general perspective, the problem of illiteracy was more associated with remote provinces than highly urbanised provinces of this country. In 2000, the literacy rate for the population aged five years and above was 55.3 per cent as per the Census report of the country which conducted in 2000 (Census Atlas of Zambia 2000:14).

Table 2.8 shows the detailed literacy data of Zambia till 2012. Table 2.8 computed data on the educational status of the Zambian population, which shows the representation of both males and females in the educational sector and the overall participation of the Zambian population in the educational sphere.

Table-2.8: Education Data of Zambia Population, 2008-2012

Year	Age Group	Gender	Literacy Rate (%)
2008-2012*	15-24 (Youth)	Male	70.3
2008-2012*	15-24 (Youth)	Female	58.5
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Male	Gross enrolment ratio (%) 117.7
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Female	Gross enrolment ratio (%) 117
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Male	Net enrolment ratio (%) 96.1
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Female	Net enrolment ratio (%) 98.4
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Male	Net attendance ration (%) 81.3
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Female	Net attendance ratio (%) 81.8
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Both M&F	Survival rate to last primary grade (admin. data) (%) 53.1
2008-2012*	Primary School Participation	Both M&F	Survival rate to last primary grade (%) (survey data) 86.7
2008-2012*	Secondary School Participation	Male	Net enrolment ratio (%) -------
2008-2012*	Secondary School Participation	Female	Net enrolment ratio (%) -------
2008-2012*	Secondary School Participation	Male	Net attendance ratio (%) 38.2
2008-2012*	Secondary School Participation	Female	Net attendance ratio (%) -------

*M&F- Male and Female

Source: UNICEF Country Report (Zambia), 31st December 2013, For more, see-www.unicef.org/infobycountry/Zambia_statistics.html#120

If we could compare the Indians and the Africans, from the language perspective, the Africans are largely well-versed in English compared to the Indians in these three countries. Dotson and Dotson (1968) observed their field study findings that primarily male members of this community speak English. So English is a universal language among Indians in Zimbabwe and Zambia, although there is a considerable range in fluency. Dotson and Dotson's (1968) study and the field study conducted in March 2011 reveal that few Indian women of the immigrant of this generation also speak English. They mainly mix English with Gujarati to express their views when interacting with people outside their community. They prefer to speak Gujarati with their fellow Gujaratis and Hindi with other Indians (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 12-13). Malawi requires no literacy test, but it is required in Zimbabwe and Zambia, and it mostly takes their patron's help to pass the test.

It is being observed that the literacy test, combined with a lack of economic opportunity, held the flow of Indians into Zambia down to a trickle until the end of the second world war. The Census of Population data refers that in 1911 the number of Asians in Zambia was only 39, but in 1961 it increased to 7, 790. Moreover, by the middle 1940s, the literacy test was less of an obstacle than it had been earlier, owing to the development of education in India, and Zambia's booming economy easily absorbed all Indians who came to Zambia (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 51). The above fact suggests that the education and proficiency in the English language mattered a lot for the Indians who migrated to Zambia along with Zimbabwe to settle and do business out there. Within the Indian Diaspora community, Patidar and other Patels, having been migrated from Gujarat and having feudal backgrounds, are the most prosperous castes in educational and trade sectors in Zambia (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 130-131).

2.4.1.3 Assessment of the Educational Status

A statistical relationship between caste rank and the amount and kind of formal education could undoubtedly be shown within the Indian community in Central Africa. However, formal education has long since ceased, even in India, to be an exclusive prerogative of the higher castes, and in modern India, as elsewhere, education is commonly used as the principal mechanism for socio-economic mobility. With few exceptions, children of the generation growing up in Africa all go to elementary school, irrespective of the caste of their origin. Their educational continuation depends more upon the family's economic status than caste origin per se. However, since caste and socio-economic status are related to some extent, there is unquestionably *some* relationship between education and caste status. Older members of the higher castes still have difficulty disassociating the privileges of higher education from caste positions. A young Patidar said that a well-known Anavil leader in his community was "not happy" when he learned that the former planned to proceed with professional training. Most of the young men in the Anavil's family are in the process of becoming professionals; this, of course, is "right" and appropriate. Presumably, the Anavil is even less happy to see Mochis and Khumbhars becoming professionals.

Nevertheless, the fact is that they are doing so in ever-increasing numbers (Dotson and Dotson 1968:148-149). In addition to the argument given by Dotson and Dotson, many of the respondents during the field study reiterated this view, and it was observed that a particular caste or community people within an Indian community is mainly confined to business or a profession only. There is more significant mobility witnessed in terms of occupation. For example, the Patels are doing well in business and professions; some are the professors at the University of Zambia. For example, the Patels (Patel is the surname of the people belonging to the *Patidar* community of the state of Gujarat, India) are doing well in business as well as in other professions like teaching (some of them are the professors at the University of Zambia) and some are engaged in health sectors or medical profession.

Dealing with the issue of education, Patel (2007) argues that there is an inclination among the Indians to live together as a community by creating residential self-segregation and by establishing various language and cultural schools for their children so that the children will get education in their mother tongue and inculcate various cultural norms and practices which is specific to that particular community. This tendency was exploited and encouraged by the European rulers, who set up separate educational institutions for each race in Zambia. Even after independence, this was perpetrated by Indians for reasons of insecurity and an inherent feeling of cultural superiority. She further adds that racial superiority and the economic success of the Indians are the main factors of hostility between Indians and Africans (Patel 2007).

2.4.1.4 Health Condition of Indians in Malawi

From a health perspective, all the African countries face many challenges and health hazards, especially most people suffering from malaria, yellow fever, HIV, AIDS etc., and these Central African countries are not the exceptions. Table 2.9 provides the available health data for Zambia.

Table 2.9: Health Data of Zambia, 2011

Year	Basic Facilities	Population	Percentage
2011	Use of improved drinking water sources	Total	64.1
2011	Use of improved drinking water sources	Urban	86
2011	Use of improved drinking water sources	Rural	50.1
2011	Use of improved sanitation facilities	Total	42.1
2011	Use of improved sanitation facilities	Urban	55.8
2011	Use of improved sanitation facilities	Rural	33.2
2012	Routine EPI vaccines financed by the government	------	-------
2012	Immunisation coverage	BCG	83
2012	Immunisation coverage	DPTI	86
2012	Immunisation coverage	DPT3	78
2012	Immunisation coverage	Polio3	83
2012	Immunisation coverage	MCV	83
2012	Immunisation coverage	HepB3	78
2012	Immunisation coverage	Hib3	78
2012	Immunisation coverage	NBPagainst tetanus	81
2008-2012*	Care seeking for suspected pneumonia	Pneumonia	68.2
2008-2012*	Antibiotic treatment for suspected pneumonia	Pneumonia	46.6
2008-2012	Treatment with oral rehydration salts (ORS)	Diarrhoea	59.9
2008-2012*	Antimalarial treatment among febrile children	Malaria	34
2008-2012	Children sleeping under ITNs	Malaria	49.9
2008-2012*	Households with at least one ITN	Malaria	64

*NBP against tetanus-Newborns Protected against tetanus

Source: UNICEF Country Report (Zambia), 31 December 2013, For more, see-www.unicef.org/infobycountry/Zambia_statistics.html#120

2.4.1.5 Engagement of Indians in the Health Sector

Three Indian companies are working with the Government of Zambia to provide the best service to the common people of Zambia in the health sector. For this, 650 health posts are being constructed country-wide by these companies, which will provide better health facilities to the population residing in every corner of the country and employ them in the health sector. To materialise this objective, the Zambian Government has awarded tenders to three Indian companies to construct the 650 rural health posts (*Lusaka Times*, 2 February 2015).

The Minister of Health, Dr Joseph Kasonde, revealed at the signing ceremony held in Lusaka on 2 February 2015 that the project involves the construction of prefabricated structures. He said the three firms would also install essential medical equipment in the 650 health posts to be constructed country-wide. The tenders have been awarded to Jaguar Overseas to construct the health posts on the Copperbelt and Eastern Provinces at 19,468,236 US dollars. Another Indian company, Angelique Limited, won the tender to construct rural health posts in North-Western, Northern, Muchinga and Luapula provinces at 18,100,000 US dollars. Another firm called Megha Medical Centres will work on the health posts in Western, Southern and Lusaka Provinces at 18,387,160 United States dollars. In the early phase of 2015, the Zambian government acquired a credit line amounting to K 260 billion from EXIM Bank of India to construct 650 rural health posts across the country (*Lusaka Times*, 2 February 2015).

2.4.2 Gender Issue of Indians in Malawi

The gender issue is critical and sensitive especially in the South Asian social life. This is not only peculiar to those who live in the diaspora community, but it is a concern of every society across the globe, specifically in the context of South Asian. Since the mid-nineteenth century, on the Indian sub-continent, various critical issues have been raised about women's role in the society. The study reveals that women had gone through many bitter experiences in the past decades as society began to change, and some of the issues they are still coping with even today. In this context, it is essential to understand the contribution of the social reformers especially in the context of India who played a crucial

role in addressing the issues of Indian women and fighting for their legal, social, economic and political rights through various social reform measures. The social reformers argued that changing society and treating women is vital if India has to take its place in the modern world.

During this initial phase of social reform, many uncovered facts about the vulnerable position of women and their subordination came to the surface. Society saw women as repositories of family honour, and changes in women's behaviour were considered potentially dangerous to the patriarchal society. Women's sexuality was explicitly considered dangerous and was thus carefully controlled by doing early marriages of women and maintaining the social convention of seclusion. So, many voices were raised against such positive changes in the life of women. For example, *Pardah* is the most extreme form of seclusion. Although women were not wholly confined to the domestic space and expectations were always there. However, women had to cover their heads and faces in public whenever they had to go out. This custom was imposed on women, and they had to follow it in public spaces. Gradually women came out into the public sphere, started participating in public education, and eventually started taking their part in public life and the paid work outside the home. The journey was not easy at all. Women of the Indian society had to make many sacrifices, and at the initial stage of their learning, they faced many humiliations to get an education. Many of them secretly pursued an education at home.

Study reveals that the women groups strongly support the economic independence of the women and they have considered this as appropriate and desirable for the economic empowerment of women which will automatically open the door for their social empowerment. Changes in India in social attitudes have been faster among Hindus and Sikhs, while Parsis and Christians were, for different reasons, much more westernised. Nevertheless, rural Muslim groups from Pakistan and Bangladesh largely maintain conservative attitudes towards acceptable female behaviour, dress, lifestyle and social relations. These differences have been exported into the diaspora. Any consideration of gender relations in the South Asian diaspora must therefore take account of the timing and

nature of the different migratory flows out of the subcontinent. Later migrants, particularly at the end of the twentieth century, came from homes where social change had been underway for several generations in South Asia. At the same time, those from urban backgrounds were also much more likely to have negotiated many changes in family relations before they migrated. Indeed, as the history of the diaspora unfolds. As the pace of social change on the subcontinent quickens, it may become the case that South Asians feel the need to retain their distinctive cultural identity and social values in comparison to their diaspora relatives and counterparts (Brown 2007: 88-89).

2.4.2.1 Gender Issues and Indian Diaspora in Malawi

Gender issues among the Indian diaspora can be traced back to the history of the migration of Indians as an indentured labourers during the British colonial rule in India. The recruitment of labourers under a contract of indenture for a specified number of years developed from the 1830s. This happened in response to the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the British Empire and other European countries. The demand for labour increased. The owners of a sugar plantation, in particular, faced a dire labour shortage as enslaved people were freed. Very few formerly enslaved people were inclined to continue on the plantations as free, paid labourers.

For example, in Mauritius, virtually all formerly enslaved people had left the plantations work by the mid-1840s. So as the situation demanded and to fill the vacuum, the Britishers had recruited many Indians on a contract basis wherever their labour was required for plantation work. This helped them resolve the crisis and get cheap labour from India. Gradually, the numbers of Indian indentured labourers were becoming so large that they shared significant characteristics and were not representative of the subcontinent. More men than women labourers were recruited, an attempt by the British government to insist on a female quota per batch of recruits. The proportion of women migrants during the decades in which the system operated was probably just under 30 per cent of the whole. This created immigrant communities with a severe gender imbalance in the early years, before the birth of a new generation of Indians abroad, which helped redress the shortage of Indian female labourers (Brown 2007: 30-31).

Brown (2007) says, in the matter of gender relations, the experience of indentured Indians was a particular case, and indentured Indian women's experience differs from the rest of the women's experience in the Indian diaspora community. Because they were not only among the earliest migrants from rural backgrounds untouched by processes of social reform, which were initiating change in Indian towns and cities but were also exposed to a life in the barracks, which shattered their older social norms and relationships. In addition, the gross imbalance in the sex ratio exposed women to violence and sexual exploitation. Scholarship on Indian women during the period of indentured labour in many places confirms the misery of their existence, the violence they experienced from Indian and white males alike, and the breakdown of stable sexual unions (Brown 2007: 89).

However, as Indian women became free from the particular problems caused by indenture, they did not become free in any modern understanding of the term. As labourers began to establish free Indian communities once their indentures had expired, they began to reconstruct families according to norms remembered from South Asia. For women, this meant tight control of their lives by senior males within patriarchal families in terms of their labour, reproduction and role in the decision-making process of the family and ownership of property (Brown 2007: 89).

2.4.2.2 Gender Issues and New South Asian Diaspora

The strict control often tipping over into forms of violence is not uncommon among the diaspora communities, resulting from later migration waves. In Britain and North America, where South Asians by the end of the twentieth century were more educated and had been long exposed to ideas of gender equality, there is compelling evidence that, in South Asian families, wives and daughters were often subjected to treatment which the host societies would consider unacceptable. This is particularly the case in Muslim communities from rural backgrounds. However, conservative assumptions about gender roles and the right of senior males to discipline women affect many girls brought up in a dress, leisure, freedom to socialise, and relationships with young men are more akin to those of their peers outside the ethnic enclaves where they live. It is impossible to quantify the level of domestic violence. However, scholarly evidence makes it clear that

this is a profound and disturbing demonstration of stress in diaspora families as they adapt to their new environment.

The proliferation of websites advising South Asian women who are subjected to violence, and pointing them in the direction of women's refuges, is further evidence of women's experiences of domestic violence. For example, in the USA, there is a website called 'Maitri' founded by Indian women in 1991 and the South Asian women's Network (Sawnet), which links users to the office on Violence Against Women in the US Department of Justice. In the UK, two websites are working for women. One is Asiana in South Yorkshire, and another is Kiran in London. Apart from these, a website is created which is working for all the women migrants across their ethnic origins suffering from violence. Some Asian women live in extreme distress and pressure. The findings show that the South Asian women in the age range between 15 and 35 are two or three times more likely to harm themselves than non-Asian women. It is clear from the above that young women in the diaspora carry a cumbersome burden as they are seen as the repositories of family and community honour, which, in turn, puts them under tremendous pressure from family, community and religion (Brown 2007: 90).

In Africa, women in the Indian diaspora face restrictions from both a societal and family perspective and an institutional and political perspective. Their freedom of choice is restricted in choosing their partner: especially concerning African-born daughters. Because under federal immigration law, Indian women could not find husbands in India without, in effect, losing their citizenship since they could not, like their brothers, bring their spouses to live with them in Africa (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 176). As far as the role of Indian women in Central Africa is concerned, their social position outside the family is still notably restricted among Hindu and Muslim communities. This may be why not many Indian women are seen in the public sphere except in academics (both School teachers and Principals in some Schools and Professors in the Universities), providing a helping hand in family-run restaurants and shops and some of their medical services. A marked difference between the two religious groups nonetheless exists in this respect. Both Muslim and Hindu families will find certain kinds of variations. To begin with the

Muslim family life, certain families strictly follow the *purdah* system, and the women used to abide by all the values and practices imposed by the elderly members of the society. Young women are not allowed to serve food to the male guests and remain in *purdah,* and that work either will be done by an adult woman, a preadolescent girl, or an African servant. This is practised in some Hindu households as well.

Still, not all Muslims follow these restrictive practices. The women of less traditional Muslim families may have as much freedom of movement as Hindu women. The range of actual behaviour in this respect is extensive. On the one hand, a husband may become very agitated when his middle-aged wife dares to go out of the house alone to buy a spool of thread in the middle of the day. On the other, a young husband may try to get his wife to learn how to dance so they will not be so conspicuous when invited to any social functions. In this way, family-wise, the role of women varies.

Among Hindus, social participation outside the family seems more a matter of cultural adequacy than external social restraint; those women who are equipped by experience, education, and fluency in English to participate in general community activities do so; those who lack the necessary prerequisites do not. Dotson and Dotson (1968) argues that within the sample of families, several Hindu women play essentially cosmopolitan roles; these are intelligent, sophisticated, and forceful females who are no more subordinated to their husbands than their counterparts in suburban America.

Given this wide range of variation and the sharp conflict in values it reveals, the Indian male attitude toward the female role is typically more than a little ambivalent. An Indian man always wants his woman to play this dual role; she should be capable enough to fit into the western framework of sophistication and at the same time 'cultured' in the Indian sense of the term. Most Hindu men prefer to have wine and chicken outside with their European and African friends but will neither have it at home nor allow their women to have it since their family values do not allow them to do so (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 185-186).

There are some positive aspects which help diaspora women to develop professionally and educationally from a career perspective. Because growing up as a South Asian girl in the diaspora community abroad is also an invitation to the possibilities of paid work, giving some economic independence. Many families support their girls' educational and professional aspirations for the matrimonial and socio-economic doors it opens (Brown 2007: 91). It is being observed during the field study that in these Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, many Indian families who are economically and educationally well off use to send their girls and boys to European Countries and mainly to UK and USA to do a professional course out there (Field study interview conducted in Lusaka in Zambia in March 2011).

Moreover, women's paid work outside the home, which is growing in significance, particularly among non-Muslim South Asians, can serve to empower women, in the workplace itself, in the context of household decision-making, or in the choice of marriage partner. However, paid work is not always the route to greater independence or more equal gender relations. Men can see women's wages and salaries as a threat to patriarchal dominance, mainly if they are lower paid or unemployed. This can, in turn, lead to domestic violence even among younger South Asians. In this context, if we could assess the role of Indian women in Central Africa, Dotson and Dotson (1968) argues that the modernisation of the female role among the Indians of Central Africa still leaves women securely within the family. In sharp contrast to every European married woman, who works for pay outside the home, Indian women rarely have gainful employment, the only significant exception being a very few school teachers.

In low-income families, it is true that women commonly assist in the family shop. However, such work is still organised within the family unit. Dotson and Dotson (1968) made this observation in the 1960s from the western perspective. The gap in their research is that they could not independently analyse the situation of Indian women in Central African countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, and this research has tried to cover up that gap. If we could see the role of women by putting it in a larger framework, what Dotson and Dotson (1968) ignored is that the struggle and the psychological trauma

the Indian women had to go through in the new land of settlement is absent among the European women. European women came from different environmental sets up, and the Indian women came from a different environment altogether, which was not similar to European women. The second thing is that the system of the governmental machinery was quite favourable to the Europeans, not the Indians. So, the case of Indian women is entirely different. Things have comparatively changed behind which not only solely western values and ideas are responsible, as Dotson and Dotson (1968) argue, but also the circumstances back home in India, as well as the socio-economic and political situation of these countries, essentially had an impact on the role of Indian women. Their role is not only confined to assisting in the family shop or teaching in schools. As mentioned earlier, some of them are doing quite well in various professions, especially in academics at school and university levels, business and the medical sector. Some are doing higher education in Europe and America and working as well.

2.4.2.3 Gender and Indian Household Life

The study reveals that in many diaspora households, women and girls are subjected to strict and sometimes extreme forms of control. As far as South Asian family life is concerned, there is an erosion of cultural norms because of the growth of the diaspora-born population, and portrayed young South Asians as caught up between 'two cultures'. Despite tension and occasional breakdowns, it is clear that many parents are adapting and modifying their views on critical issues. It is still the case that parents adopt a double standard in dealing with their children, and girls tend to be more carefully controlled than sons, indicating the persistence of assumptions about the connection between gender and family honour (Brown 2007: 92).

The experiences of South Asian women in the diaspora and, more specifically, the Indian diaspora women and even in one country differ considerably according to age, location, religion and class. It would therefore be entirely wrong to assume that there is one stereotype of a South Asian woman, oppressed and powerless in a patriarchal society (Brown 2007: 91).

In Central Africa, Dotson and Dotson (1968) have emphasised the practice of child marriage among the Indian diaspora in the Central African countries. However, no such cases were witnessed during the field study in Zambia in March 2011. This may be due to the impact of education and progressive attitude among the Indian diaspora. The second issue is dowry. Dowry is still practised among the Indian diaspora community in a few Indian families settled in these countries, especially people who have a feudal rural background and business class. Thirdly, customs and practices of the traditional Indian marriage system are still followed and practised by the Indian diaspora community, especially among the Hindus who stick to their customs and practices. Comparatively, some professional, educated Indians go for both arranged and love marriages, and most business classes prefer an arranged marriage. The practice of polygamy is not an issue for Muslims, as their religion allows them for this, but although this is rare among Hindus, it is being witnessed that the Hindu men who have more than one wife use to hide this factor. Some of them used to have a wife in the village of their native place in India and another wife in Africa who participated actively in social and public life (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 178-179, 181-182).

Both nuclear and joint family system exists among the Indians in these three Central African countries. Although the joint family system is not typically like the traditional joint family system which we have in India called *Kutumb*a and such many changes have occurred from the functional aspect of this joint family system in Central Africa, and most of the Gujarati families come within this category and Muslim families as well. Most of them run the family business, and female family members contribute to their business by involving in various business-related activities along with the household work at home. They live together and become the labour force themselves for their established business. Almost all Indian families are patriarchal (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 158-163).

Some competence in English is universal among Indian men and women in Zimbabwe and Zambia. However, there is a considerable range in fluency, and few women of the Indian diaspora community speak English in these two countries. On the contrary, in Malawi, since the immigrants are admitted to this country without passing a test in

English, it is found that the language barrier in that territory is considerable, even among men (Dotson and Dotson 1968:13).

2.5 Comparing the Social Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

The social situation of the Indian diaspora remained challenging in their host countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It is not easy to adjust to a society which is ethnically, socially and culturally different from the social situation of the Indians born with distinct socio-cultural identities in their home country India. Adjusting to the African society and their culture has become a significant challenge for the Indians. However, despite that, without segregating the Africans within their own country, unlike the Europeans, the Indians set a benchmark by adopting the Africans socially. At the same time, they have kept their ethnic, cultural and social identity intact without isolating the Africans socially. The culture of ethnic diversity in India within which they were born helped them to remain together and grow by maintaining their distinct identity alongside the Africans of these countries.

The Indian diaspora is known for its culture of diversity which other diaspora communities, especially the Europeans need to learn from the Indian diaspora. The imposition of European language and culture is the basic tendency of the Europeans in various countries of their settlement, but that is not the case with the Indians. Indians never tried to impose their language, culture and social practices on the Africans wherever they settled in Africa and other parts of the globe. Perhaps that is the essential quality of Indians, making them distinct compared to other diaspora communities. Perhaps this is why the Africans adopted Indians, and the Indians got support from the Africans in various ways. Indian diaspora became an integral part of their movement for individual dignity and rights, social integrity and solidarity, as well as the fight against racism and the hegemony of the whites.

2.5.1 Comparing Social Institutions and Interactions

In Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, the majority of native Africans follow Christianity baring a few who follow Islam, whereas, among the Indians, people follow Hinduism,

Islam, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism etc. In Malawi, the Hindu Sewa Mandal is located in Blantyre city, where the Indian community performs and celebrates various cultural and religious functions and festivals together. Apart from this, some Hindu Temples where devotees chant and sing bhajan and Kirtan ceremonies (*samaras*) and perform various religious functions (bizmalawionline.com). There is also a Gurudwara established in 1928 by Sardar Gyan Singh in Limbe, Malawi, in the name of the Sikh Temple, which provides service to all the people across various religious and ethnic identities in Malawi (worldgurudwaras.com). Whereas in Zimbabwe and Zambia, there are Halls established by the Indian Community in the name of the Lusaka Hindu Hall in Lusaka city of Zambia and Harare Hindu Hall, which is located in Harare, Zimbabwe, where the Indian Community gather for every festival and religious functions and celebrate. Deewali is a major festival among the Indian diaspora communities of Zambia and Zimbabwe. Every year they invite the artists from India and use to have a grand celebration where the native people also actively participate. In Malawi, mostly the Sikh social and cultural institutions play an essential role in the Indian diaspora. In contrast, in Zimbabwe and Zambia, the Hindu religious, social and cultural organisations and institutions play an essential role in the life of the Indian diaspora.

2.5.2 Comparing interaction Between the Indians and the Natives in the Social Sphere

The Indians and the Africans maintain a very cordial relationship in the social sphere in all the three central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Ironically, the conflict between the Indian diaspora community and the native Zimbabweans is not because of their socio-religious and cultural distinctiveness but because of the economic prosperity of the Indians. From the social aspect, both the Zimbabwe Indians and the native Zimbabweans maintain a healthy and cordial relationship. Their social identity never became a reason for the rift between the Indian diaspora community and the native Zimbabweans. Compared to Zimbabwe, in Zambia and Malawi, the Indian diaspora communities are safer in their social and economic situations.

2.5.3 Comparative Study of the Challenges in the Social Sphere

The economic prosperity of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe became a significant factor in their social vulnerability. Their house and property are being attacked by the local goons, especially in Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. A sense of social and economic insecurity prevails among the Indians of this particular city. Whereas in Zimbabwe, the challenges for the Indian community emerge from the factor of poverty and vulnerability of the native Zambians, which sometimes leads to social security concerns among the economically well-off Indians. During the field study, some Zambia Indians expressed that they do not face significant challenges. However, in terms of their number as a minority community, they sometimes feel insecure, which happens with all minority communities. Some Indians also expressed that they face social challenges in socialising with their new generations who were born and brought up in Zambia and are more exposed to the native culture and social life and inculcating among them the culture of Indianness. Whereas in Malawi, Indians are primarily Sikh communities who, along with their distinct culture, get along with the native Malawians easily. Being a minority community, although they face particular challenges in the marketplace and educational institutions, they easily overcome them through their social service, charity and philanthropic activities and the spirit of serving humanity whenever any crisis emerges in the Malawi society. Even the Indians of Zimbabwe and Zambia largely contribute to society through charity and various welfare activities, especially the Indian Women organisations.

2.6 Conclusion

The comparative analysis of the social situation and cultural proximity of the Indian Diaspora community in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi suggests that the process and their development are essentially rooted in the notion of safety and security. This is one of the significant factors in demonstrating the different levels of development among the Indian Diaspora communities in these three countries under research. It is beyond doubt that the social situation of the Indian diaspora in Zambia is much better compared to the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe and Malawi because of their insecurity and political vulnerability. Furthermore, suppose a section of the population will not feel secure in a

particular country. In that case, they cannot prosper and contribute to the country's development as expected. As far as their social position is concerned, it has become much better in Zambia. If they are provided security in Zimbabwe and Malawi, they could contribute much more to the development of this country and society as expected.

The British administrator, Harry Johnston, was well aware of the fact that the Europeans could not form a trading class and the African Lakes Company's dismal performance in Malawi only strengthened his view of giving this responsibility to Indians, considering their well-articulated capacity in managing the trade and business and possession of skill in business and entrepreneurship. Asians also represented a civilising agency. This stood, in general, as one of the few instances when Asians came to a country invited and wanted; after Johnston, Asian immigration was not the most welcome in colonial circles; particularly as the size of the Asian population rapidly overlooked that of Europeans (Lamba 2010).

Johnston's development policy hinged on functional multi-racialism in which a racial pyramid of white at the top, yellow in the middle, and black at the bottom was expected to work in a complementary manner. As he declared, the country "must be ruled by whites, developed by Indians and worked by blacks". The future complication of such racial composition never occurred to him, particularly any likelihood of Asian aspirations, apart from the commercial enterprise, to assume the role of Europeans and claims of equal access to citizenship and other social and economic opportunities. Johnston never moved from his belief that Nyasaland (Malawi) must be "administered under the benevolent despotism of the Imperial Government". However, he was "all for Indianizing Central Africa and making these great wastelands of thriving Indian colonies where the Negro can be improved by a mixture of Indian thrift and industry" (Lamba 2010: 187-189). It is essential to mention here that in the context of the educational issue of Indians, Johnston's policy is essentially embedded with the instrumental role of Indians in bringing economic development to the country and the complete ignorance of the administration towards this particular community for their overall development. It refers to the bitter realities that the Indians had to suffer despite being the main driving force of development, and they are

being denied their development. They simply remained the initiator and facilitator of economic development and growth. However, they could not become the beneficiary of this in terms of bringing their development from a human perspective for a long time in these Central African countries.

Chapter Three

Diaspora and Economy: Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

Chapter Three

DIASPORA AND ECONOMY: Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

3.0 Introduction

Participation of various communities in the economy of a particular country and their share of responsibilities, burdens and benefits decide the overall well-being and development of the country and the people. It essentially decides their social, economic and political life. An analysis of the socio-economic and political position of any ethnic group in Central Africa (Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi) is implicitly an analysis of inter-ethnic relations in that society. The Indian diaspora can also be considered as one of the ethnic minorities in Central Africa due to their different languages, cultures, religions, etc.

Chapter three compares and contrasts the economic situation of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. While doing so, this chapter deals with the contribution of the Indian diaspora communities to the economic development of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi and the economic challenges they have been encountering over time. It focuses on various modalities adopted by the Indian diaspora concerning their economic engagements and trade in these countries. It also focuses on the economic interactions between the Indian diaspora and the native communities. While addressing these issues, this chapter dwells upon the changing patterns of economic engagements of Indian diaspora from colonial to contemporary period in these countries, and their implications over the home country, i.e., India.

3.1 Diaspora and Economy

Indian diaspora communities play a significant role in the global economy. The role of Indian diaspora includes their economic engagements both in host and home countries. For instance, the Gujaratis among the Indian diaspora in Africa play a crucial role in the economic sector. The existing literature reveals that many Gujratis migrated to East Africa in the early 20th century and dominated some critical old economic sectors like the

diamond sector. They play a crucial role in the diamond trade and business (Pandey et. al. 2006: 71).

There is a broad consensus that Indian diaspora communities have been an invaluable resource for the economic development of Central Africa. The diasporas are the classical first movers – economic agents ready to take additional risks from the economic theory perspective. The economic success of Indian diaspora also influences the native communities, where the later see them as role models (Minoian and Freinkmen 2003: 1).

Economic factors considerably influence the decision of the diaspora to migrate. The diaspora communities actively engage in the economic sector because they believe that economic advancement brings prosperity to the individuals and societies of the home and host countries. In addition, it brings well-being to the communities and societies at large. To put it differently, population migration has various dimensions. Economic migration occupies a critical position in population migration. The process of economic migration of diaspora community occurs because of push and pull factors. It is also referred as economic diaspora. The former or the push dimension of economic diaspora usually takes place in a situation where there is a lack of economic opportunities, poverty, environmental disaster and internal disturbances (OECD 2009: 3). On the other hand, pull factors essentially indicate the availability of economic opportunities, the relative absence of civil strife, environmental sustainability etc., indicating the pull factors. However, the complex interaction and interface between the push and pull factors influence migration (OECD 2009: 184).

On the contrary, economic migration can also occur when the authority facilitates the process of migration. The authority plays a significant role in facilitating migration in such a situation where the local natives do not respond positively to the economic needs of the ruling dispensation or do not show interest in carrying out the economic activities by the ruling agents. It can also be possible when there is a disproportionate relationship between the expectations of the ruling agencies and the lack of required skill to meet the financial requirements. This facilitates the process of indentured labourer. Hence, the

presence of Indian diaspora in the Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, at least in the early phase of migration, can be attributed to this dimension of migration, where the colonial forces wanted to establish an economically viable administration and the colonial forces stereotyped the economic skills of the native Africans.

Exploring the economic dimension of the Indian diaspora, people migrate from one corner to another in search of better economic opportunities. Free trade economics considers capital, labour and goods as essential factors of production. These factors of production should be allowed to move freely to maximise welfare gains on both a personal and global level. However, there is an ambiguity regarding the welfare effects for the sending country as a whole. Market failure can be an essential factor in de-territorialising the international economic borders by encouraging the labour force to move freely in search of better economic opportunities. However, this may not be entirely true in the case of the Indian diaspora community. This is because the first arrival of Indians in South Africa was occasioned by the urgent need of the country's White Planters for cheap labourers for their sugar plantations and not strictly confined to the search for better economic opportunities.

The historian, Pachai (1973), explored the dimension of Indian migration in Africa and emphasised that over five hundred years before the birth of the religion of Islam, traders from India, Persian Gulf, south of Arabia, Indonesia and China had engaged in trade with the East African coast, from Somalia in the north to Sofala in the south. The trading items were aromatics and incense used to manufacture perfumes and medicines and religious ceremonies, ivory, timber, tortoiseshell, leopard skins, ambergris, gold and slaves. Although the Indian traders did not have much significant role in organising interior trade, their activities and interaction were more along the coast (Pachai 1973: 41). Although initially the Indians were brought to these countries to meet the colonial power's requirement, gradually Indians proved themselves through trade and business that they were there for the well-being and prosperity of the native people, which is coincided with their survival and prosperity. Gradually they could able to win the faith of the natives.

3.2 Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

The engagement of Indians at the economic front of Zimbabwe can be traced back to the colonial period. There are two narratives about the navigation history of Indians and their active involvement and engagement in the Zimbabwean economy. One narrative says that the Indians initially were taken away by the Britishers to this landlocked country of Central Africa for Railway construction, plantation and development of other communication facilities as a part of their developmental project. The second narrative indicates that the Britishers opened up the border of this country and invited migrants, especially from Asia, to settle in Zimbabwe and contribute to the economic development of the country. Later on, even after the independence of Zimbabwe, they made their mark in the social and economic life of Zimbabwe.

There is a growing recognition among academics and policy-makers on the empirical connection between migration and the country's economic development. The empirical connection here refers to the role of colonial powers behind the migration of Indians to various countries and their engagement in various developmental works of the respective host countries, i.e. railway construction, road construction, plantation work, etc. This can be demonstrated in the context of the economic situation of the Indian diaspora and their contribution to the economic development of the respective host countries. Indians appeared in trade and commerce fairly early in Zimbabwe and other Central African countries, but they did not initiate the trade practices. Instead, the Europeans initiated the process of trade in Central Africa, including Zimbabwe and largely remained in their hands for a pretty long time (Doston and Doston 1968: 21).

In Zimbabwe and other Central African countries, Indians mainly play an economic role concerning certain specific occupations. The Indians play a crucial role, notably in trade and commerce. In addition to that, they play middleman roles such as agents, labour contractors, rent collectors, money lenders and brokers. More specifically, they play the role of middleman between producer and consumer, employer and employee, owner and renter, elites and the masses (Bonacich 1973).

3.2.1 Economic Life of Indian Diaspora during Colonial Period

The land question was one of the significant issues during the colonial period. This is because the overall position of a particular community in Zimbabwe could be understood from the racial distribution of land by the colonial government through land laws. So, land politics during the colonial period profoundly impacted the life of the Zimbabweans and Indians. According to the 1895 land policy of the colonial government, the fertile and heartland of the cities reserved for Europeans and interiors and less fertile land had been given to the natives and the Indians. There was a clear demarcation of a line between the white settled land and the non-white settled land, and the non-whites were strictly prohibited from entering into the white settled land. Although some changes in the land law made in 1923, which claimed to provide equal rights to natives over land, in reality, no positive changes occurred. The Constitution Letter Patent of 1923 stated that the native African people might obtain, hold, encumber and dispose of the land on the same conditions as the person who is not a native. However, in reality, the natives and the Indians could not use this law to meet their purpose and purchase a piece of land in the white settled area. The reason was that the land price in European or white settled areas had risen high. As a result, it became nearly impossible for the native Africans and Indians to buy land in these areas (Nobel 2016: 71).

According to Phiri (2001), the economic life of Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, along with other Central African countries, had started with the imperial takeover of India. Although it did not have more significant implications on the economy of the African countries, they had contributed immensely as a labour force in the African economy which the Britishers completely dominated during the colonial period. During the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of Indians were taken as indentured labourers to far-flung parts of the British Empire. Consequently, the Indians reached Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Therefore, the Indian presence in Africa was closely associated with British colonisation (Phiri 2001: 1).

During the colonial period, the Indians were allowed to participate in the trade sector only and were denied participation in the farming and agricultural sector by the colonial

authority. In the farming sector, the Europeans had a complete monopoly. Such orientation of the Europeans negatively affected the economy of Zimbabwe along with other Central African countries. These countries could not witness development in the agricultural sector compared to the trade sector because of the complete absence of the Indians in the former. The Indians entered into the agricultural sector only after the decolonisation of these countries. However, even after independence, we can find certain kinds of monopolies of the Europeans in agricultural sector. Meanwhile, Africans involved largely in agricultural sector because of various programmes initiated by the government, which motivated the native communities to participate in great number.

The Indian workers were called 'indentured labourers' during the colonial period. The Indian indentured labourers were taken from their homes to work in various fields such as mines, sugarcane farms, building of railways and general construction work in different parts of the colonised world. They worked for the white colonialist settlers, and the African subcontinent was not an exception (Chattopadhyaya 1970). This worker migration was accompanied by a corresponding merchant class venturing into newly colonised areas searching for business opportunities in various sectors**.** This process led to the emergence of the middlemen. The Indian migrants invested their labour in sugar plantations, settle down as cultivators and market gardeners, while the upper-class Indians who migrated to South Africa in the wake of coolie immigration, commonly known as middleman minorities, followed industrial and trading activities and pursued the profession of doctors, attorneys, advocates and teachers (Chattopadhyaya 1970: 26; Makambe 1984). Chattopadhyaya's (1970) study indicates the class categorisation of the Indian diaspora settled in various parts of Africa. The unskilled labourers are considered lower class and the skilled and semi-skilled traders, businessmen, and professionals are considered upper-class Indians. Both the upper-class and lower-class Indian settlers in Africa, thus, came to form an inseparable part of the economic life of the host countries.

The British engaged the Indians in mining and farming industries to meet their demands. Such approach of the British towards the Indians can be attributed to several reasons. Firstly, the Indian labour force primarily attracted the Britishers because of their size.

Secondly, the British had a long association with the Indians since the colonisation of India. Thirdly, Indians were very hardworking and worked at low wages. Fourthly, the British colonialist used their industrial/entrepreneur mindset and found among Indians 'industrial energy', pleasant appearance and tangible cultural heritage. On the other contrary, they found Africans as "lazy' and 'savagery'. In short, Indians were a valuable asset for the white colonialist Britishers (Makambe 1984: 111-112).

In addition, a significant difference was found in terms of the connotation used for the Indian labour force and the African labour force in Zimbabwe. The Indian labour force was named "coolies" and the African labour force as "slaves" by the colonialist. The reason for naming the Indian labour force as 'coolie' is attributed to the the popular term the British used for the Indians, when the former engaged the later to meet their purposes, from railway construction to plantation. The Indians, especially from Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (Telugu and Tamil ethnic groups), were taken to Mauritius for sugar plantation work by the British colonialist till 1835 and later they were shifted to Natal, South Africa and from South Africa, they were relocated to Zimbabwe to meet the purpose of the British colonisers. The Indians from the Southern part of India landed in Zimbabwe and were popularly known as 'coolies'. They could be considered first-generation migrants from India to Zimbabwe, and the second-generation migrants were the Gujaratis from the Indian state of Gujarat. However, interestingly, the Britishers did not facilitate the movement of the Gujaratis, nor did they require their labour for any specific purpose. They came to Zimbabwe as 'free migrants' and opened up their business and industry (Makambe 1984).

The presence of Indians at the early stage of the colonisation of Zimbabwe became an advantage factor for the whites despite their negative attitude towards Indians. The Indians played a minimal yet significant role in 'pacifying' and annexing the indigenous African states in the name of British imperial control. This was witnessed during the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893. In addition, during the Shona-Ndebele risings in 1896, Indians featured prominently as a positive asset to the white colonialist in Zimbabwe. So, the Britishers considered the Indians as 'the loyal and useful members of Zimbabwe

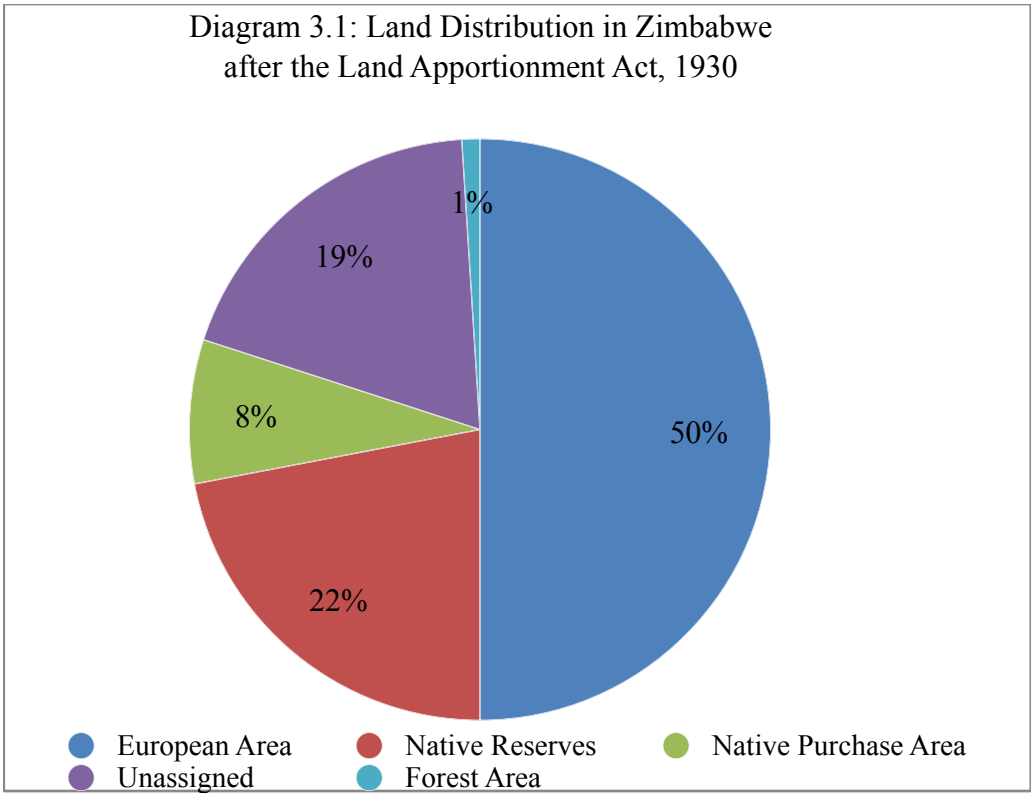
(Southern Rhodesia) community'. The Indians of Bulawayo city had set an example in 1896 by taking all the risks and supplied vegetables to the white colonialists. During this time, there was a blockade in the entire city by the Ndebele insurgents and an acute food shortage had occurred due to the outbreak of the rinderpest epidemics. So, the Indians played a prominent role in alleviating acute food shortages and saved the people of Bulawayo city, specifically the white colonialist in 1896. The white colonialists were compelled to appreciate the Indians for acting as the life support system during the critical time (Makambe 1984: 116).

Considering the above description, different reasons for the migration of Indians and Europeans can be noted. The Indians migrated (which includes both forced and free migration) due to the requirements of the colonisers and earn their livelihood. However, it appears that Europeans migrated to Africa to exploit the resources and native communities, and establish their political control. The forced migrants from South India had no choice but to choose their occupation. They engaged in whatever the British colonialists forced them to do.

Nevertheless, the Indian diaspora community, who migrated from Gujarat on their initiatives were able to choose their occupation and trade according to their own choice. But the mainland and central commercial hubs were always reserved for the whites, which were neither accessible to native communities nor Indians (Nobel 2016: 71). This shows the complete hegemony of the Europeans/Whites over the land in Zimbabwe during the colonial period, thereby leading to the emergence of resource conflicts in Zimbabwe. The side effect of such position of the Europeans was that the Indians became the easy targets of the native communities in this episode. The local goons attacked the Indians because of their economic prosperity in decolonised Zimbabwe. The motivated land law of the British put the Indians and the native communities in a comparative disadvantaged position vias-a-vis the Europeans. The Europeans/Whites were well aware that the Indians were hardworking and had the skills required for the economic growth. The Europeans feared that once the Indians were settled permanently, they would bring their kith and kins to Zimbabwe and settle them permanently, spread their business, which could have posed

tough challenges to the Europeans. At the same time, the Europeans were also aware that they alone can not manage, sustain and grow and make their administration run smoothly in Zimbabwe without the help of the Indians. Consequently, they facilitated the migration of Indians as a workforce to engage them in the mining and agricultural sector for their purpose and later allowed Indians along with other migrants, especially from the British and other European colonies to access land, in a highly restricted manner by implementing highly partial land law (for example: Land Apportionment Act of 1930) which ultimately favoured the European settlement in the country (Dotson and Dotson 1968; Makambe 1984; Nobel 2016).

Diagram 3.1: Land Distribution in Zimbabwe after the Land Apportionment Act, 1930



Source: Nobel (2016: 72)

Graph 1 shows that the Europeans occupied 50 percent of the land. It also shows that 22 percent was native reserves land. Nevertheless, the land remained largely inaccessible to the Indians and native communities due to the high price of land that the colonial government had set. However, the native communities managed to purchase 8 percent of land. Nineteen percent of land remained unassigned, and 1 percent was forest land. Meanwhile, the Whites/Europeans also indirectly controlled the unassigned and forest land. As a result, the natives could purchase only 8 percent of the land, which is shocking

and disappointing. The graph shows that the natives could access only 8 percent of the land of their own country. The Indians and Zimbabwean natives were pushed aside by the Europans/white population, and their land rights was encroached because of the imposing of draconian law by the British colonial power (Nobel 2016: 72).

3.2.1.1 The City of Bulawayo and the Indians

Presently, Bulawayo is the second-largest city of Zimbabwe after the capital city Harare. Tracing the history of the city of Bulawayo would indicate the immense contributions of two persons to shape Bulawayo as a vital city of Zimbabwe. Among them, the first person is Prince Lobengula. Lobengula was the son of the warrior King Mzilikazi who ascended his throne and established his capital near the Bulawayo city in 1872. His capital was just 14 miles away from the present-day city of Bulawayo. That is how the city gradually developed and came into the limelight. The second person is Cecil Rhodes, the British official, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, named after his name when the British colonised Zimbabwe along with Zambia and Malawi. Cecil Rhodes is famously known as the mining magnate, and he only made Bulawayo a transport hub and put the city on the map. In 1897, a train connection was established in Bulawayo city for the first time. The city had ample natural resources and mines, being exploited and expropriated by the colonial powers. Today, Bulawayo city is the hub of the art and culture of Zimbabwe. Many Indians, especially from Gujarati community, settled in Bulawayo. The Indians are primarily active in trade and business, and some of them are restaurant owners. It has also been pointed out that the Indians even funded the local liberation struggle of the city (Sundar 2014).

The city of Bulawayo has witnessed the hardship, dedication, beginning of the lives of Indians in Zimbabwe, ups and downs in their lives, and their contribution. The Indians started their diasporic journey by welcoming all hardships and challenges and becoming an example to both natives and the white colonialists. They proved that they will continue to contribute towards the advancement of Zimbabwean society irrespective of the circumstances. During the 1896 pandemic and insurgency situation, they did not sit back and try to protect their interest and the interest of their community. Instead, they took

proactive measures by keeping their life at risk and provided vegetables and other essential commodities to the natives and the white colonialists. This is the city where the Indians started their economic life as 'market gardener' (Makambe 1984: 116).

Map 3.1: City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Source: www.europa.uk.com, Online web accessed on 2 January 2021.

A remarkable progress of Indian diaspora in economic arena in Bulawayo city can be seen. Their aspirations and support multiplied. This can be demonstrated by looking at the recent development. The Indian businessman, Rajesh Kumar Indukant Modi, who grew-up among them now became the first Indian to become the Member of the Parliament of Zimbabwe. He was elected from the Bulawayo South constituency in a considerable margin in the recent general election of 2018. He is being overwhelmingly supported by the Indian diaspora community of Zimbabwe and the natives. He is an outstanding businessman and does so much charity and welfare activities for the Zimbabweans. By acknowledging his contribution to the country, the people of Bulawayo, including the

Indian diaspora community, elected him to the Zimbabwean parliament with a large margin. It is a historic event in the history of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe because Indians had to struggle a lot to enter into the economy and politics of this country.

The winning of Rajesh Kumar Indukant Modi, popularly known as Raj Modi, is an unprecedented development for at least three reasons. First, he does not belong to the native communities but from the Indian diaspora community. Second, he was elected from the second largest city of Zimbabwe, i.e., Bulawayo. Third reason even is more crucial due to the fact that they began their economic journey from the scratch from the city of Bulawayo.

The economic success of Indian diaspora in Bulawayo was not an easy journey. It is the city, which is accounted for many ups and downs for the Indian business community. They had to bear the brunt of their economic achievements. The local goons attacked them due to their economic prosperity in the early 20th century. Despite that, the Indians largely remained in the city and carried on their economic activities, although they had to live with fear. The win of Mr. Modi raised faith and confidence among the trading Indian community, particularly of Bulawayo city. They feel more secure now than ever before because of their remarkable presence in the political sphere through the entry of Mr. Modi into the parliament of Zimbabwe. Mr. Modi landed in Zimbabwe in 1981 when he got married to his wife, Parul Kothari, who was already settled in Zimbabwe by now. With a brief career in job sector, Mr. Modi pursued his career as a businessman in Bulawayo city by opening his supermarket. Later, he joined the Zanu-PF party and became active in politics (*The Chronicle* 2018; Kajunga 2020; Chimbiri 2018; *The Herald,* 17 May, 2022).

3.2.2 Economic Situation and Indian Diaspora in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

The Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe caught the attention of the entire world along with the host country India in 2002 when native local goons attacked the Indians in the Bulawayo district of Zimbabwe (Muzondidya 2004: 229; Mohanty 2020: 47; Butcher 2002; Zee News 2002). This caught the attention of media and the diaspora experts and analysts in India and abroad. As a result, the government of India was forced to take security

measures for the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe and negotiate with the government of Zimbabwe for their safety and security. As a result of this dialogue and discussion, the Zimbabwe government assured the government of India that such attacks will not be repeated in future and the safety and security of the Zimbabwe Indians will be ensured (Zee News 2002).

3.2.3. Zimbabwean Economy and its Implication on Indian Diaspora

During the colonial period, the land settlement law imposed by the colonialist became the major obstacle for the Indians, which denied their active participation in the economic sphere. The land settlement law in Zimbabwe denied the Indians, along with the natives to access the mainland and main market area of the Zimbabwe cities. They stayed near the white/European settled area and carried out their economic activities. The colonialists' adopted this policy for two purposes. Firstly, to keep the economic interest of the Europeans intact by not leaving any space for the Indians to enter into the market and compete with the European traders. Secondly, indirectly the colonial regime wanted to discourage the migration of Indians to Zimbabwe in large numbers. Because they knew that the Indians always invited their kith and kin and fellow Indians from their home country India once they settled in the host country and spread their business. Especially the Gujaratis and, to some extent, the Tamilians had that tendency to bring their kith and kin as well as fellow community people and engage them in various economic activities wherever they settle economically and personal sphere in the host country. Because they believed that business and trade cannot be carried out in isolation, and the prosperity of each member of the family and community always depended on strong emotional bonding, trusting each other and growing together. Looking at this strength of the Indians, the Europeans thought this would hamper the interest of the Europeans/Whites, and at the same time, the Indians would give intense competition to the Europeans at the economic front and would bring demographic change. Consequently, the colonial government enacted various language test education policies exclusively for the Indians to restrict them from entry in large numbers. Consequently, remained minuscule and were confined primarily to the migration of male members in the nineteenth century, which led to huge gender disparity. Table 3.1 demonstrates the gender composition.

Table 3.1 Asian population in Zimbabwe in 1901

Mashonaland	Males	Females	Total
Matabeleland	177	10	187
Total	116	290	909

Source: Makambe 1984: 116-117

The significant presence of male members as compared to the female members among the Indians also indicates that the colonialist employers of South Africa required the services of male Indians (called as Asians),[1] more specifically colonialist sugar planters of Natal. Needless to mention that Natal was the origin point of the Indians to reach Africa and later on by 1900-1901, they brought to Zimbabwe by same colonialist power (Makambe 1984: 116-117).

3.2.4. Economic Associations and Indian Diaspora

The segregation of Indians from various sectors of the Zimbabwean economy is very much rooted in the colonial economic policy of the Britishers, which is explained in detail above. The well-planned economic policy of the British colonial power excluded Indians from commerce, manufacturing, agriculture and civil services. The colonial power had given many baseless arguments that the Indians were uncivilised, uneducated, and incapable of doing good business in Zimbabwe. The whites spread such image of the Indians among the native Zimbabweans that the Indians are incapable and ill-equipped to run the farms, mines and the manufacturing plants (*The Patriot*, 23 February 2017). This lousy image and perception that the whites shaped and inculcated in the minds of the native Zimbabweans remained for long from which the Indians needed to get rid-off at the earliest. Subsequently, the Indian diaspora proved that they are hardworking, law-abiding

[1] The term "Asian" is used interchangeably with "Indian", mainly to refer to the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi. Before the partition of India and Pakistan into two separate states in 1947, the Indian state consisted of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Since the migration of Indians to Africa mostly happened during the colonial period/phase when India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were governed by one British colonial empire. So, the people of this region are widely termed "Asians" in Africa. The Asians also include the Sri Lankans in Africa. Although Sri Lanka was not a part of India, nor was it ruled by the British, the Sri Lankans absorbed the term "Asian" due to their relatively smaller numbers and similarity in culture and physical appearance. So, scholars and researchers use the terms "Asian" and "Indian" interchangeably in their writings. For more on this, see Delf (1963: ix) and Krishna (2018: 131).

and committed to the prosperity and well being of their people, the fellow Indians, and natives of the Zimbabwean society.

Why did the British colonial power create such false image of Indians? What was the vested interest of the whites, which denied equal space for the Indians in the economic sector of the Zimbabwean economy? Such perception of the British towards the Indian diaspora can be attributed to many reasons. Firstly, the whites wanted to have their dominance and supremacy over the rich natural resources of Zimbabwe. Secondly, they knew very well that the Indians were good at managing the economy, multiplying finances, being competitive, and spending considerably less on their daily expenses. If the Indians were given a free hand to compete with the white traders, they would have surpassed the whites in competition. Consequently, the British colonial power facilitated the whites to settle in Zimbabwe in large numbers. meanwhile, they also enacted the discriminatory land policy that disproportionately benefitted the Whites vis-a-vis the native Zimbabweans and the Indian diaspora. In the post-independent period, with the support of the Robert Mugabe government, the Indians succeeded gradually in creating a space for themselves in the Zimbabwean economy. Indians are mainly active in retail business and shops, manufacturing sector, restaurant business and pharmaceutical industries in Zimbabwe (*The Patriot*, 23 February 2017).

Although it was not easy for the Indians to make a mark in the economy of Zimbabwe, they succeeded in entering into the economic sector and contributing to the Zimbabwean society at the economic front. Table 3.3 indicates the achievements of some of the Indian diaspora or the Zimbabweans of Indian origin.

Table 3.2: List of Business Persons among the Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

Sl.No.	Name of the Indian Businessmen	Name of the Industry/ Company	The objective of the industry and its contribution
1	Rajesh Kumar Indukant Modi (Presently Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce of Zimbabwe)	Sai Mart, Lobengula Street, Bulawayo City, Zimbabwe and owner of Sai Enterprises of Zimbabwe. Sai enterprises also established its branches in Australia.	To create employment that is the main objective Mr Modi said
2	Ravi Jaipuria	Proprietor of Varun Beverages Private Limited, Harare, Zimbabwe. Although Varun Beverages has a base in Zimbabwe, it has also its branches in other countries, such as Zambia, Mozambique, Morocco, Nepal and Sri Lanka	The objective is to provide employment and the best services in the food supply sector. Mr Jaipuria is also trying to diversify its base into the production of key agricultural products for which the Zimbabwe government is ready to provide huge land.
3	Lukman Adam Patel	Zimbabweans Brands Private Limited in Harare, Zimbabwe	Grain and Field Bean Wholesalers Industry creating employment and contributing to the wholesale sector
4	Chitty Laxmidas	Patel Wholesalers Private Limited in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe	Part of Grain and Field bean Wholesalers Industry

Source: Kajunga (2020); Sibanda (2019)

3.2.5. Comparing Indians and Other Trading Class in Zimbabwe

The various capacities of Indians as fondues and dukkawallas, cotton ginners and building contractors, wholesalers and retailers, and indeed in every conceivable business activity, helped in the overall economic development and prosperity of Zimbabwe. The aggregation of indentured Indians in any given area created the economic base for a certain amount of unrestricted immigration. Attracted by the commercial potentialities inherent in the needs of their fellow countrymen, Indian business classes, at the initial phase of their migration to these countries, followed indentured immigration. Wherever they found favourable circumstances and policy, they became active at the economic front

and quickly expanded their business operations to non-Indians in that particular territory they settled. In South Africa, for instance, the Indian traders who came for the first time to trade with fellow Indians quickly extended out into the African trade and, to a much lesser degree, into the European trade. This indicates that the Indian traders have the outstanding skill to understand the business atmosphere of a particular area and have the ability to cooperate and coexist with the formerly established trades. The Indian traders could understand the nature of the market management and the taste of the consumers.

The relative economic position of the Indian diaspora with the native communities has become the bone of contestation. Much of the resistance against the Indian diaspora is being reinforced on economic ground. The native communities developed the feeling that the Indian minorities have established economic dominance over the native communities. Such notion led to the confrontation and conflict between the Indian minority and native communities in Zimbabwe. Native people targeted the land and the property of the Indians. They threatened the Indian businessmen and wanted them to leave their country. They considered Indian businessmen looters who came to loot their country from time to time. This attack on Indians was initiated from Uganda and later spread to the Central African countries, especially Zimbabwe (Muzondidya 2002). The natives developed the perception that the minority Indians do not serve the interest of the native Africans and concerned with the interest of their people and the development of their own home country India. However, the Indians do not subscribe to such notion. The Indian businessmen said they do various charitable and welfare activities.

3.2.6 Current Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

The current economic situation of the Indians is much better than ever before. Raj Modi is one of the prominent members of the Indian diaspora community of Zimbabwe to become the Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce in the present government. This created many hopes and expectations among the Indian investors, Indian businessmen, and the government of India. Indians are now quite active and successful in retail business and shops, manufacturing sector, restaurant business and pharmaceutical industries in this country. The current economic status of Indian diaspora suggests that they are no longer

confined to retail and manufacturing business, which was the case before, but they are now entering the food grain and agricultural sectors (*The Patriot*, 23 February 2017; Sibanda 2019).

3.3 Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zambia

The Indian traders have one thing in common: they spend a reasonable amount from their earnings on charity and philanthropic work. They stick to their principle and work for society's welfare and business activities wherever they go. It is also important to mention here that they take care of the requirement of their fellow Indians in host countries where they settle. During the field study, it has been observed from Lusaka city of Zambia that there are some specific Indian small retail shops where the Indian food items and beverages along with the local food items and beverages are available. These shops witness the regular visit of Indian diaspora to meet their grocery requirements. Needless to mention that these food items are imported from India. During the field study one of the shopkeepers stated, “Although the transport cost is little costly, considering the demands of the Indians, I get these food items and beverages from India. Subsequently, I ensure that the stock of such items is available for Indian customers.” The Indians happily buy such products mainly during the weekend. As witnessed at the shop, *murmura* or *mudhi* (puffed rice), *nariyal tel* (parachute coconut oil), various pickles and spices are very much in demand among the Indian diaspora in Zambia. In addition, the tailoring shops and watch shops were essentially won by the Indians (Field trip observation, conducted in March 2011).

The Indians have a significant contribution to the economic development of the host country. In this context, Nanjibhai Mehta's remark is equally true not only in Uganda but it can also be in the case of Central Africa. He noted that "It was Indian merchants who made Uganda habitable at the cost of the lives of their own kith and kins and through physical hazards and natural hardships built up trade, raised plantations, cultivated tea gardens, grew coffee estates and installed factories and industrial concerns and helped them to usher in modern civilisation and provided an economic basis, which ultimately

inspired the people of the land to achieve freedom and economic independence" (quoted in Thakurdas 1971: 13-14).

3.3.1 Zambian Economy and Indian Diaspora

The engagement of Indians in the economy of Zambia was strengthened during the colonial period. This engagement continued even after the colonisation, during the decolonisation phase. As far as the economy of Zambia is concerned, the various global forces like France, Italy etc. were not much aware of it during the colonial period. That is why as a part of its expansion policy, the British kept on expanding its control over the region. Consequently, there was so much resistance from the local chiefs of Africa and other colonial powers like Portugal and Germany. Gradually the whites explored various opportunities in the economic sphere (Virmani 1992).

The economic journey of Indian diaspora in Zambia has remained unexplored, especially after decolonisation. Very few studies have been done in this sphere. Indians faced all the hardships and travelled a long journey from plantation and construction workers to *Dukawala* (small shopkeepers) to the big farmers and entrepreneurs (Dotson and Dotson 1968; Virmani 1992). During the field study, some of the Indian diaspora who initially migrated to Malawi and later shifted to Lusaka city of Zambia narrated the economic experiences of Indians in both the countries that apart from the microeconomic sector, the Indians made remarkable progress in macro-economy, especially in Zambia and Malawi. They made remarkable progress in the copper industrial sector, detergent powder industry, restaurant business and petrol pump. While the colonial powers were busy expanding their colonies and exploring every possible way to exploit the resources of these countries, the Indians were busy exploring the possible ways and means to strengthen the local market and fulfil the requirement of the native people. They tried to empower and help the native people at the economic front in various ways. So, the Indian diaspora were very much well aware that the economic interest of the Indian diaspora coincided with the economic interest of the natives of Zambia.

3.3.2 Zambian Economy and its Implications on Indian Diaspora

The Africans' different dressing patterns correspond to their geographical location (i.e. urban and rural). Even if they do not use it, they want to own the elements of the dressing style. For instance, rural Africans may also own a pair of shoes even if they do not ordinarily wear them. The business-minded Indians do not want to lose the opportunity, and Indian shops are planned to meet the demands of this reasonably stable market in Zambia. Each Indian retail shop tries to stock all the essential items to accommodate a customer (Doston and Doston 1968: 63). The Indians are clever and intelligent enough, and they behave according to the demanding circumstances, significantly they redesign the content of their shops in such a manner. For instance, with the legalisation of European wine and beer to Africans in Zambia, Indian diaspora owned wine shops quickly appeared and stocked accordingly. The Indians are doing very well in the retail business, as witnessed during the field study. During the filed study, it was witnessed that the Indians own most retail shops, especially toys, electronic equipment, handloom, pharmacy, stationery and kerana shops, containing Indian food items and the Africans at the heart of the city. Indians are good at dealing with customers and have the skill of attracting customers through their hospitality and good gesture. They are better equipped to deal with the customers through their behaviour, and most of them are well-versed in the local language. Some of them mix Gujarati, Telugu and Punjabi along with English and the native languages of Zambia while communicating with the customers.

3.3.3. Entry of Indians into Zambian Economy

In Zambia, most of the Indian diaspora are from the Gujarati community. They are large in numbers and followed by the South Indians, and a bunch of them are from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Kerala and Odisha. Among these Indians, the Gujaratis are mainly involved in the economic sector of Zambia. Though the presence of Indian diaspora is visible in economic sphere, their presence, however, is uneven in different economic sector. For instance, the presence of Gujaratis is more prominent from retail to large scale industries vis-a-vis the other Indian diaspora. Most of the Gujaratis are middlemen traders. Starting from copper to coffee industries, they predominantly work as middlemen traders. Concerning cultural background and historical situation, the Gujarati Indians who

perform the middleman trader's role in Zambia today entered into other professions apart from trading, especially in the health and education sectors. Europeans describe them as "born businessmen", and the Indians themselves related to their inherited capacity for business (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 66).

As far as the migrations of the Gujarati traders to Africa, more specifically Zambia, is concerned, the British facilitated the process of migration of Gujarati traders to Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Subsequently, many Gujarati traders settled in Zambia (predominantly in the Eastern Province). Consequently, almost all Indians settled in colonial Zambia came from the Western Indian state of Gujarat (Phiri 2011:1). In this context, it is essential to point out that the successful traders in Africa were traders from India. Considering the earnings from the shop, the existing study shows that the average net return from a small Indian shop is probably something like fifty pounds a month-a little less than a European woman would earn as a secretary (Dotson and Dotson 1968). These illustrations show that Indians have succeeded in trade but have not been welcomed in other sectors of the economy in the initial phase of their economic life in Zambia, including Zimbabwe and Malawi (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 67). The Indians in Zambia, although numerically small compared to the total population, they are economically way ahead as far their success in the economic sphere is concerned. However, the Indian diaspora are not dominant in wielding power or active participation in Zambia politics and policymaking. Patel's (2007) study reveals that the degree of political participation of Indians is less compared to their economic participation, which is the main reason for their feeling of insecurity and vulnerability in these countries (Patel 2007: 2). To put it differently, despite their economic achievements, the Indian diaspora ‘would still remained socially and politically marginal especially when we compare their position with the whites or Europeans (Dotson and Dotson 1968).

3.3.4 Current Economic Situation of Indians in Zambia

During the field study in Zambia, it was observed that the Indians are more skilful and hardworking than the other trading class. Dillip Patel, an Indian businessman from Zambia, said, "Indians are very hardworking. They have a sense of social responsibility.

Majority of them follow the labour law. Their sense of dedication to work, their trustworthiness, their willingness to work with different people in the society or betterment of everybody. Moreover, in a way we have shown people that we can work together without resorting to many things in the society. He also said that mainly our people Indians are law-abiding citizens" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ). Meanwhile, during the field work in Zambia, many Indians stated that they are law-abiding people and love the people of Zambia, and Zambians also love them and Zambia is a very peaceful country. Meanwhile, the leaders of these African countries appreciate the Indians, and they want more Indians to come and contribute to their society which the Indians express. The field experience also shows that the Indian diaspora follow the notion of "more income and less expenditure".

In addition, the South Indian businessmen among the Indian diaspora are quite successful in the hotel and restaurant business since they are highly professional in their cooking skills, providing the best service and financial management. It was observed during the field study that the Indians engaged in trade and commerce have good business skills in the sense that they keep the products as per the requirements of the consumers from various ethnic communities. Subsequently, their presence is visible in various economic arenas, such as electronic shops, cybercafé, hotels and restaurants, filling stations, toy shops, street vendors, etc (Field study interview conducted in March, 2011).

During the field study in Zambia, it was observed that most of the food items, clothes, electronics and ethnic products stocked in the shops are manufactured in India. Similar trend was also visible during the colonial period. Despite all hardships, the Indians managed to consolidate their presence in trade and commerce and gradually progress remarkably. On the contrary, the Whites failed to do so. After decolonisation and till the date, they took up their profession with commitment, became adaptable to the demanding situation, and progressed and contributed to the development of Zambia and their prosperity. These skills are rarely seen among the African and other trading classes. During the field study in Lusaka, Zambia, the African respondents and some of the Indian respondents, while reflecting on the role of Africans in trade and business, said that the

Africans or the natives believe in living in the present. No doubt, that they are very hardworking people with a bare exception. However, they believe in this theory that whatever they earn, they spend on themselves without saving for the future. They believe in living in the present and enjoying life, whatever the circumstances may be. Daytime, they do various business activities, and at night they enjoy having a night out, party with friends and family and spend all the earnings.

3.3.5. Testimonies of Business Persons among the Indian Diaspora in Zambia

According to Mr Dilip Patel (Indian businessmen settled in Zambia), the colonial government had opened up the Central African areas constituting the countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi to the Indian diaspora during the colonial period. The government allowed Indians to come to these countries and basically to involve in business and trading. Consequently, the Britishers started giving permits to the Indians in this area. In Southern and Eastern Africa, the Indians came as labourers and slaves. However, that is not the case with these Central African countries.

The existing literature shows that the Indians were first brought to South Africa by the British colonial power to meet their labour requirements, and later on, they moved to Zambia and other Central African countries from here. Hence, the colonial government facilitated the initial process of migration to Zambia (Makambe 1984). Subsequently, Indians entered Zambia and initiated their business initially. Later on, they moved to a diverse field and contributed immensely to society. Mr Patel also mentioned that initially, people from the Indian state of Gujarat, i.e., Gujaratis, especially from Surat, came to Central Africa and started their business. Later on, Indians from various other parts of India came to this area. He reiterated that Indians never came to Zambia as slaves, but they came to Central Africa primarily as Indians facilitated by other Indians. In those days, Gujaratis were the only People of Indian Origin in Zambia, and their number was about 26000 at the time of Independence of Zambia 1964, he mentioned (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

Table 3.3: Area of Contribution to Economy

Sl.No.	Name	Type of occupation	Period of migration to Zambia	Nature of contribution
1	Mr Dilip Patel	Businessman in the Manufacturing sector	During colonial period	Business, especially to the manufacturing sector
2	Ms Asha Patel	Businesswoman at Transport and Retail sector, owner of the shop “Mama Africa”	Her parents migrated to Zambia in 1946	Around 200 natives were employed in her retail shop "Mama Africa" and in the transport business.
3	Mr Ben Patel	Businessman	1948	Around 250 natives employed
4	Ms Veena Desai	Businesswoman	1968	Providing employment to natives and contributing to the economy of the country.
5	Mr and (Mrs.) Verma	Doctors	NA	Contributing to the health sector
6	Mr Shankar	Retail Business	First-generation migrants	Contributing to employment and the retail sector

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ; Field study interview conducted on 8 March 2011.

NB: NA-Not Available

Mr. Patel did his education at the University of Zambia, and he graduated as an engineer and has his own retail business. He is the second generation of Indians in Zambia. He said that his parents came to Zambia to help in the business of some other Gujarati relatives who were settled in Zambia, and gradually, they started their own business. To Patel, the Indian diaspora community is integrated with the African society and find no reason to leave Africa. Life was smooth and weather and African society was conducive. There were various opportunities for the people who remain behind. He said, "I personally found my life is here, so I decided to stay here in Zambia only". As far as the contribution of the Indians to Zambia is concerned, "Indians have contributed a lot in terms of the manufacturing and trading sector and have given the opportunity to give jobs to the

thousands of people. Indians also have been involved in the Chambers of Commerce in most of the towns in Zambia. They have also contributed to the political level. Some of them are members of the political parties. In some of the political parties, they are also involved actively and participate in politics. However, they shy away from taking part in politics. However, many people are into politics and are working for the betterment of the people and society as a whole. At the community level as well, they are contributing a lot. They actively participate in local hospitals, clinics, local orphanage centers, etc. They are not only engaged in just the commercial and trading sector. Many of them are also in the mainstream and professional jobs, Information Technology and medical sectors. So, their contributions are tremendous. Historically, more than anything, trade has always been the driver of any country's economy. The more you trade, the more economy you gain, which is very much required for the prosperity of any country" (Field study interview conducted in March 2011; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ)

The strength of the Indian diaspora is that majority of them follow the law. To put it differently, the Indian diaspora in Zambia are law-abiding people. The Indian businesspersons strictly follow the labour laws. They have developed a sense of social responsibility and their sense of dedication to work, hard work at the economic front, trustworthiness, and willingness to work with different people in society to better everybody. In a way, the Indians showed the people that they could work together and make a better world without resorting to many things that they could see in society. Mainly Indians are law-abiding citizens. The lifestyle of Indians, their particular behaviour, their religious beliefs make them model citizens in many countries wherever they settled. That is why over and over again, even the leaders of this country of Zambia said we want more people like Indians in this country" (Interview of Dilip Patel from Zambia (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

Ms. Asha Patel, a business woman of Zambia, said she is the second generation in Zambia. Her parents came to Zambia in 1946, when Indians were exploring various opportunities in the economic sphere in Zambia. "Most Indians who came a long time ago have all been very successful. Initially, there was apartheid here as well in Zambia.

Indians were not allowed in the Town Centre or City Centre. There was City Centre and a second-class area. The Indians used to have all their business in the second-class areas. After the independence, the time has changed, and all the Indians were allowed to work and do their business even in the City Centre. My father came here as a trader and started his retail business. Now we have similar business what our parents had. My shop is named "Mama Africa", which we have expanded later on through our hard work and commitment to the people of this country. We have expanded and started transport business as well from 2011. And currently, this "Mama Africa" shop is doing very well, and around 200 people working in this shop and contributing to themselves and society. Similarly, Ms Patel said the contribution "what we do that you can witness from the fact that we are giving employment to 200 people that means we are looking after two hundred families at the same time. There are a lot of Indians who do lots of charity through the lions' club here. Many missionaries are also running over here accommodated with lots of stuff required for the children" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

Mr Ben Patel, who runs a business in Zambia, said, "I came to Zambia, the Federation of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Indians were not slaves arriving in Zambia as such. They were free people who came on their own. And they made their way to Zambia on some British permit system. So, the village boys had to write some traces in English. If they pass the test, they are allowed to stay in Zambia, and if they do not pass, they have to go back to India. In September 1958, we arrived by ship with my mother in Mombasa, and from there, we caught a flight to Endola, which was our first entry to Zambia, my father originally was a small trader, and he was working with other traders here in Zambia. Then, later on, he opened his own business and made progress in the economic sphere. When I finished my high school, I went to the United States of America, and I attended the University in California and completed my higher education. I was done with my education, and I came back to what was left behind by my parents. I found my father's business was operating, selling clothes and shoes and all that kind of merchandise. And very quickly, I got out of that, and we started food business, selling nonperishable household items and groceries. So, we have been doing that since 1981 up to now. As an

opportunity to expand, we diversified into transportation and mining services. So, right now we have more than two hundred fifty employed. This town is a considerable force to employ and pay them on time." On the issue of the contribution of Indians to African society, he said, "every contribution is accidental. We have developed by sheer persistence in investing whatever we made in the local economy and building up our business. And as a result, we have attended the number of employees we have now. The biggest strength of Indians are just there with kith and kins is our strength. If we had given up at the wrong time, we would not have seen a good time."

Ms Veena Desai said that she came to Africa in 1968 when she was only ten years old. The reason for coming to Africa was her father used to work for the Indian army, and soon after the independence of Zambia, the Zambian army called upon the Indian army to train them. That is how Ms Veena Desai and her family came to Zambia and settled in Zambia. She said, "I came here as a young child at that time. Zambian people are so friendly, and they welcomed Indians like us in open arms. I went to the school here, and the schools are absolutely fantastic. Most of the teachers at that time are used to being Indians. I will not say all, but quite a few, a large percentage of them were Indians. I felt very much at home, and the people of this country are absolutely fantastic."

Ms. Desai expressed that "the Indians play a critical role in this country. Because if you see, we have so many mining companies who have come from India. They have created so many jobs for the local people here. They are imparting the professional know-how; we have engineers, teachers and doctors who contributed significantly to the economy of this country. Because I remember when I came as a child also since most of my teachers were Indians. That means most Indians were in the teaching profession when I came to this country—most of the medical services run by the Indians. I remember in places like electricity boards and city councils, and it was Indians who were in critical positions who were looking after the welfare of this country. So. I totally disagree with the fact that Indians are cheap labours, I think Indian professionals significantly contributed to this country. Not only professionals, even our business people, especially in the retail sector, are contributing immensely. And you can imagine the retail business in this country at a

time were 70 percent in the hands of the Indians. The Indians create so many jobs in Zambia. I think the Indians had a tremendous contribution, especially to the economy of this country" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

Mr and Mrs Verma said they got job offers accidentally and came to Zambia as medical practitioners. Both the doctors visited many places in the world, but they decided to settle and remained in Zambia because they felt the people of this country were so good. They are very loving and caring people. As Indians, they also love to be here in this country. They also feel that the Indians contribute to Zambian society by involving themselves in various professions and business. They could not find any reason to leave this country, and the people of this country are fantastic. Being doctors, both of them treated many people in Zambia, and they feel proud for what they did and what they are doing in Zambia. Being a gynaecologist, Mrs Verma delivered many children who grew up now and gave so much respect to her. While explaining all this, she was very emotional, and one can feel the kind of attachment they are having towards the society and people of this country. Both of them contribute immensely to the Zambian health sector, one of the most challenging areas in this country (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

Compared to the Zambia and Malawi Indians, the Zimbabwe Indians faced many hardships and challenges in the economic sector to sustain themselves and survive within the conflicting and hostile environment. They are being targeted and looted by Ndnovu and his supporters, who were very close to Zambia's then president. Even if they lived in an uncertain and conflicting atmosphere, they never lost confidence. However, some Indian businessmen migrated to Zambia and some to South Africa. But a large number of them decided to stay back and keep contributing to the prosperity of this country as always (Muzondidya 2002).

3.3.5.1 Economic Outlook of Indian Diaspora in Zambia

Compared to other native people, the Indians are performing better. The Indian diaspora community and native communities can be compared in terms of their outlook in the economic sphere. The Indians and native communities have different orientations towards

the economic sphere. The fundamental difference between them is that the Indian advocate the long-term gains, and the native communities are more enveloped with short-term gains, leaving less scope for long-term and sustainable trade and business. However, such orientation of native communities of Africa began to change when they came in contact with the Indians. As a result, native communities have started to follow and learn from the Indians' experiences and performance in the economic sphere.

Taking this point further, Prof. B. J. Phiri of the University of Zambia emphasised that the native Zambians are gradually learning business tricks and other skills from the Indians to become successful in the economic sphere. He further emphasised that the native people believe in "less work and more enjoyment", whereas the Indians believe in "more hard work, more saving and less enjoyment". Hence, it has been observed during the field study that the native people tend to spend a significant portion of their earnings on eating, drinking and having parties with friends and relatives, with little plan for saving the earnings for meeting the crisis. The native people of Africa very much practice this culture. During the field study, while responding to the question of income and saving, a native Zambians working in an Indian shop responded, "we live in present and why to think of future…you never know what will happen in future." On the contrary, Indians engaged in the economic sphere are more futuristic in nature (Field study interview conducted in March, 2011).

The outlook also indicates the preference of Indian diaspora concerning their preference to engage people in different position. Indians prefer a person from their relatives among Indians for the treasurer position. This trend is mainly seen in the Gujarati traders and business persons in Zambia. One of the respondents who is the owner of an old kerana shop said that the cashier position is a very responsible position and we cannot give that responsibility to any staff of our shop because keeping the account safely and calculate correctly each penny which is coming through the business transaction is not an easy task. It is a critical task, and a responsible person loyal to the shop owner can do that honestly. That is why the Indian businessmen prefer to give that responsibility to an Indian rather than a native African staff of his or her shop. Secondly, primarily because of the non-

serious attitude of the native African staff at the economic front towards their duty and responsibility compels the Indians to depend on an Indians rather than a native African staff to keep and manage the finance of the shop or business the Indians involved. By assigning such responsibility to their fellow Indians, the Indians feel safe and secure while doing financial transactions and investing money for economic well-being. According to some African respondents and Indians, all most all-important positions in a shop or business house are occupied by the Indians. However, the field study observation says some of the high-level executive posts in business houses, shops and restaurants owned by the Indians are held by the Africans. Such observation indicates that the key administrative posts in a business house or shop owned by the Indian diaspora are occupied by both Indians and Indians where there is no discrimination. Nevertheless, when it comes to crucial financial posts, they are only being occupied by the Indians (Dotson and Dotson 1968; Field study interview conducted in March, 2011).

3.3.5.2. Economic Success of Indian Diaspora in Zambia

There is an indicative relationship between the nature of occupation and the economic conditions of the Indian diaspora. The nature of the Indian shops in Zambia, from small scale business to big industries, reflects their economic conditions. Citing the case of a couple of shops, Doston and Doston illustrate a difference in terms of amount and goods offered for sale, but the basic pattern of the Indian shops is monotonously standard everywhere in the rural areas and small towns. To put it differently, the nature of the shops established by the Indians represents the Indians' toe-hold in this country (Doston and Doston 1968: 57). These shops functioning on the market principle of buying and selling become the platform for the continuous interaction between the Indian shop owners and the Zambian customers. Hence, Doston and Doston consider these shops the single most critical mediating point in the Indian-African relationship (Doston and Doston 1968: 58).

Meanwhile, the rise and growth of African nationalism, which eventually led to the attainment of political independence in October 1964, influenced the historians of Africa to approach Zambia's colonial and post-colonial history from an African perspective with the African as the colonial player. The changing dimension of the demographic

composition of colonial Zambia clearly shows a relatively rapid rise in the Indian population until, for example, in the 1951 census, Indians accounted for 74 percent of what was generally referred to as Asians. Phiri (2011) emphasised the positive impact of the demographic change and underlined that the Indian population growth positively contributes to Zambia's social and economic advancement.

Indians involved in the trade and business sector from the colonial period to the present century have proved that they are good in economic skills in managing, saving, and spreading the business compared to the native Africans and Europeans. These skills of the Indians proved to be commendable as the Europeans had deliberately put them into an adverse situation, at least at the initial situation. Consequently, Indians faced so many obstacles in legal provisions that restricted them from prospering economically in Zambia. Sometimes, they also endured challenges in the form of a literacy test in English and others. They were deliberately pushed to engage only in a particular economic sector by confining themselves in some restricted areas of Zambia. During the field study in Zambia, the interaction and discussion with some Indians indicated their active involvement in farming and their involvement in copper and jute business in Zambia. They narrated the nature of the struggle they had to go through to establish themselves in the farming sector even after decolonisation.

Meanwhile, the Europeans had a fear that the introduction of Indian traders and their exposure to the market would be harmful to European business because they viewed that the Indians have a meagre standard of living as compared to the Europeans, and as a result, the Indians will able to provide unfair competition to Europeans (Phiri 2011: 5). As far as the European's observation on Indians is concerned, it is true that the cost of living of the Indians is low as compared to the Europeans, but that does not mean it will lead to unfair competition because competition in trade is based on the managerial capabilities and skill of a person. However, the low standard of living may imply the saving of a person and Indian traders are equipped with the skill of saving more by limiting the personal expenditure, which is absent among other traders. Other traders, especially the native Africans, should learn the skill of balancing between income and expenditure from

the Indians, which is emphasised by various scholars (including the native African scholars and researchers) of Indian diaspora studies.

From the field observation and the interview conducted with some of the Indians living in Zambia, it is clear that the Indians who are born in Zambia and second and third-generation Zambia Indians get along quickly with the native people compared to the Indians who migrated to this land, the first-generation Indians. Primarily, Indians and the native people have a cordial relationship. They help each other in trade and business sector, and Indians make various efforts, i.e. training for their native Indians and the native employees or staff to empower them economically. The right to work of the Zambians was never affected by Indians. Chipata is a business city in the western part of Zambia where the Indians are primarily involved in the retail business where the relationship of the Indians and the natives is very close in terms of business transactions (Interview of Mr Shankar conducted on 14 March 2011). Indian industrial class primarily employs many natives in their business. By employing thousands of natives, they are making them economically empowered. Ms Usha Patel said that giving employment to the native Africans would make them economically self-dependent. That is how Indians contribute to the Zambian people and society and bring development and prosperity in the lives of the people and the state (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

Comparing the Indian street vendors and *Dukawalas* (shop keepers) of Chapata with the native street vendors and shop keepers of Livingstone shows a considerable difference in selling techniques, convincing power, and customer-friendly attitude. Indians are known for their trading skills and techniques to attract customers, and these skills are missing among the other trading communities of Africa. Indian traders consider their customers as gods and treat them accordingly, which is missing among the other trading communities. Such orientation of Indian traders towards the customers would put them on comparative advantage in attracting customers, leading to more demands of goods and services available in Indian shops, and thereby contributing positively to their income, leading to a better economic condition.

3.4. Economic Situation of Indians in Malawi

Malawi is a multi-ethnic society where people from different ethnic communities coexist. The country consists of Chewa, Nyanja, Yao, Tumbuka, Lomwe, Sena, Tonga, Ngoni, Ngonde, Asian and European. The Indian diaspora people are small in number, and they mostly live in cities. The highest number of populations in Malawi is from the Chichewa (Chewa) community, whose presence is visible in the central and southern parts of Malawi. On the contrary, the presence of Yao and Tumbuka communities is visible in Southern areas of Lake Malawi and Northern part of Malawi, respectively (https://www.earth-cultures.com/cultures/people-of-malawi).

3.4.1. Malawi Economy and Indian Diaspora

Exploring the complexities, which govern the relationship between the Indians and the government responses towards them, it can be observed that the African government developed a mixed response to the Indian Diaspora. In Malawi, the arrival of the Indian traders was strongly resisted by the established European traders. The support of the colonial administration was extended to minuscule Indian immigrants, who would provide cheap labour to meet their purpose. Such orientation of the colonial government was governed by the notion of increasing the desire and demands of Africans towards the European goods, thereby incorporating the African communities in money economy. However, it appears that such orientation of the colonel administration benefitted both the European and Indian traders. In this context, Lamming's remark is equally true in the case of British Guiana or Trinidad and the Central African countries like Malawi. Lamming remarks that "those Indian hands-whether in British Guiana or Trinidad have fed all of us. They are, perhaps, our only jewels of a true native thrift and industry. They have taught us by example the value of money; for they respect money as only people with a high sense of communal responsibility can" (Lamming 1966: 69).

3.4.2. British Economic Policy and the Indian Diaspora in Malawi

During the colonial period, Malawi was not a fertile land except that it lay on the northern boundary of the economic and colonial invasion from the south. The natural resources of Malawi were unknown to the world. However, Malawi was known for its workforce.

They are migrant labourers from South Africa, earning their wages to meet their family requirements. To put it differently, the country was a reserve of unskilled human resources that was extensively exploited to fill white-dominated Southern Africa's post. However, the British were not disheartened in its possession, mainly because the Scottish had nurtured it (Malawi) with a great deal of love and enthusiasm. Moreover, the British forces were frequently engaged in warfare against the Portuguese (Virmani 1992: 20-21). Once the dust of the Anglo-Portuguese conflict had rested, the hinterland of Malawi was opened for plantation and settlement.

There is a complexity of the relationship between the Malawi government and the Indian diaspora, which has been a source of considerable limitations for diaspora investment. This is based on the notion of racial discrimination in trade in the entire region. The Indians have alleged that the government does not encourage industries if the Indians own them. The government does not want to see the Indians as traders (cited in Doston and Doston 1968: 71). This was the consequence of the fear of the colonial government, where it can be illustrated that if the Indians were allowed to expand freely, they would soon acquire a stronghold on the economy. In the same vein, in the context of Malawi and Zimbabwe, in 1905, the commissioner for the Fort Victoria district considered the Indians as 'undesirable traders' (Doston and Doston 1968: 38). He stated that “I am strongly of the opinion that the holdings of licenses by Indians or any Asiatic does, to a certain extent, serious effect the welfare of Europeans resident in this district, and that no grounds can the holding of trading licenses by Asiatics or other coloured foreigners be accounted beneficial to the community" (quoted in Dotson and Dotson 1968: 38).

The commissioner recommended a gradual but progressive restriction upon trading licenses to Indians. Soon after that, all the rural areas of Malawi and Zimbabwe were effectively closed to Indians, thus, forcing them to towns, whether they had remained for long. Indians were also encountered similar problems in obtaining licenses, even in towns. The Estate Office of the British South Africa Company instructed local officials to refuse applications from Indians for trading stands in the townships, except where they could be supported by the local authority or responsible British residents. Stands were to be rented

to Indians on an explicit year-to-year basis, contrary to the usual practice of indefinite tenure (Doston and Doston 1968: 39). Despite a history of intensive and quite overt government restrictions on licensing, purchase of the real estate, distribution, etc., the Indians have succeeded and have created more per capita wealth than Indians have in India. This has to be attributed to their thrift, undoubtedly, and to a tremendous economic optimism that was discrepant with their political hope (Doston and Doston 1968).

Virmani (1992) argues that the history of the British Empire testifies that where the British penetrated the unknown and unexplored regions, Indians, mainly of the trading classes, followed them and bolstered them in their endeavour. Indians were a great source of strength for the British. The Indians supplemented the role of the British by keeping the line of supply open to meet all kinds of material demands. The Indians proved to be a great source of help for the British even in Central Africa (Virmani 1992: 21). That is how the journey of Indians at the economic front of these countries started. The initial engagement of Indians in the economy of these countries started as plantation workers. They were confined mainly to the market gardening activities. This does not deny that some of them are also involved in construction work and improving communication facilities of these countries. With their gradual accumulation of wealth and business skill of understanding the requirement of the local people wisely and shifting to those sectors of the economy which will give them more profit and sustainability, the Indians gradually speeded to the other sector of the economy. Some were confined to retail sectors, and some could manage to establish large-scale industries. That is how they succeeded in the economic sphere.

An idea was floated that when the interior area of Central Africa was to be opened to the outside world through the little shops of the Indian traders, the two-way system of transportation would gradually remove the dependence on the captured slaves for carrying ivory in hands from the interior to the costs for export. A suggestion was made to launch a steamer, called Ilala, on the lake of Malawi to cut short the distance by land. The steamer was brought in pieces and reassembled way back in 1875 to provide cheap transportation on water (Virmani 1992: 22). The idea of introducing ox-drawn wagons, which was done

in the extreme south of the continent, did not succeed because of the presence of the tsetse fly in the region of Central Africa. All the ox-drawn wagons brought for the experiment had died very soon from the bites of the tsetse fly. Thus, the original idea of linking Dar-es-Salaam with the Lake Nyasa was abandoned, firstly because of the loss of a large number of ox-drawn wagons and secondly, the land route was steep and mountainous, though a stretch of some 73 miles had already been constructed (Virmani 1992: 22-23).

Thus, it was emphasised that with the development of small-scale trade by Indian shopkeepers in the interior, a viable transportation route on a large scale would be opened in due course. Indians, by virtue of their entrepreneurship skill in practically unexplored regions, would not hesitate to open a small shop (*Duka*) and attract the local people to look at the diverse merchandise displayed therein. Moreover, the Portuguese, considered to be the pioneers in the exploration of Africa, encouraged Indians from Goa (one of the states of India) to provide trading and commercial activities, which were later fortified by the British interests. Under the colonial rule, almost every European plantation under the colonial rule would have an Indian shop, displaying such items as bicycle parts, pumps, sugar, tea, blankets, lamps, cloth, utensils, and other household needs for an African family. Some inferences could be drawn from these experiences and achievements of the Indian diaspora and their commitment to work in adverse situations and unfriendly atmosphere, culminating in big success in the economic sector.

Virmani (1992) says such Indian shops functioned more than an eye-opener to the indigenous people. They were attracted to look at the Indian shops and desire to possess them. This also helped Indians build trust with the local people, which went beyond the consumer and owner relationship. It largely influenced the African people, especially the Malawi native people. Because of this change in the economic sector at the micro-level, more and more Africans joined the European plantation work and industries to purchase the displayed items of luxury and necessities (Virmani 1992: 22). In this way, the Indian diaspora brought back the confidence of the native people of the region to rely on their domestic market.

From the above historical facts, we can draw some inferences that the Indians not only encouraged the native Malawi people to explore economic opportunities at home country instead of migrating to South Africa to earn their bread but also to some extent played a notable role in discouraging the slavery of Africans at least in Malawi which was very much practised by the colonial powers (mainly Portuguese and British) by providing them substitute in the economic sphere.

The Indian community in Malawi and their work has been acknowledged by the state and the native people in the decolonisation period. Because it is the Indians who are the all-weather friends of the native people. Whatever the challenging situation, the Indians always ensure that essential food items and other products are made available to the natives. In the context of Malawi, wherever the Europeans could not reach because of lack of proper communication, geographical hardship and adverse weather condition, the Indians managed to reach there and started business on a small scale, i.e. mostly retail business. It has been witnessed that the Indian diaspora admirably bridged the gap between the Europeans who were predominantly active in manufacturing and production levels and the African consumers in the economic sector.

3.4.3. Economic Situation of Indians in Post-Colonial Malawi

The financial transaction of the Indian diaspora in the professional field is based mainly on the trust factor and loyalty of an Indian towards his or her fellow Indian. The Indians trust their fellow Indians who generally belong to their state or region of the home country, India. A Gujarati trusts a Gujarati, a Punjabi trust a Punjabi, a Tamilian trust a Tamilian, a Bengali trust a Bengali and a Malayali trust a Malayali person as far as any financial transaction in business is concerned. The treasurer of a business house, company or shop is generally seen as an Indian preferably belonging to the same town or same city from where the owner of that business house or company or house belongs to back home in India.

3.4.4. Malawi Economy and its Implications on Indian Diaspora

The evolution of economic institutions goes back to five hundred years before the birth of the religion Islam, when the Indian traders started the trade relations with parts of the East African coast, from Somalia in the north to Sofala in the south. The trading items were aromatics and incense used to manufacture perfumes and medicine, ivory, timber, tortoiseshell, leopard skins, ambergris, gold and slaves in Malawi. The second phase of the evolution of the economic institution started around the year 975 A.D. when on the coastal settlements, the Persians and Arabs traded and interacted and intermingled with the Africans, married African women and adopted the native culture. The next phase covers the colonial period, where the Indians were primarily involved in plantation and construction works in Malawi and other Central African countries. They also worked as labourers in the copper industries. Then gradually, the Indian economic institutions independently evolved during the post-colonial period in this region. Apart from small shops (*dukas*), Indian copper industries, textile, detergent, spices, motor parts, pharmaceutical industries are set up mainly in Malawi. At the same time, the Indian diaspora's presence is also witnessed in Malawi's farming and industrial sectors.

3.4.5. Economic Crisis and the Indian Diaspora

The economic situation is undoubtedly the catalyst for confrontation and conflict. The Indian traders have their unique way of doing trade and business. Their extreme thriftiness and willingness to live on a narrow profit margin, and most of all the complete absence of any desire for leisure and enjoyment, made the Indians the ideal merchant in his or her image. However, unfortunately, this approach to trade and business of the Indians was perceived by the native Africans differently. The Indians became the object of suspicion and hatred to their native African clients of these countries.

On the contrary, the wealthy native Central Africans think of leisure time thinking of wine or keeping more wives, sometimes two or three. The hardship of Indians and the challenges they face in the economic sector is not a new phenomenon and is confined to the confrontation and conflict between the Indians and the native Africans of these three countries. However, history has witnessed that they were also targeted by the same

colonial forces (Europeans, especially Britishers) who were responsible for the migration of Indians to these three African countries and became instrumental for their development vis-à-vis the native people of Africa.

This history of hatred and targeting of Indian traders started establishing the North Eastern Rhodesian Administration in 1898, which further facilitated European trading activities. The North Charterland Exploration Company (NCEC) established several trading posts in the Tanganyika Plateau at Fife, Abercorn and Kalangwisi. The African Lakes Company (ALC) had followed the administration and established several stores and outlets in the territory. Between 1898 and 1905, North Eastern Rhodesian Trading activities were in the hands of the European traders, who enjoyed a monopoly over the African and the European trade business in the region. In 1904, there was an attempt by Indian traders from Nyasaland to start trading in North-Eastern Rhodesia. This attempt, however, faced resistance from the European traders, and the Indians were forced to retreat to their established trading areas in Nyasaland (Malawi) (Phiri 2011: 4-5). So, initially, there was so much suspicion and internal fear among the European traders that they were going to face a tough challenge from the Indian traders of this region. As a result, they were most welcomed in the same manner positively as they were in Malawi. This was witnessed in 1905 when Indian traders entered this territory for the first time.

For many reasons, the introduction of Indian traders and the influx of Indians were heavily opposed by European traders and farmers in the region. Although Indian traders were active in neighbouring Nyasaland (Malawi), where they traded alongside their European counterparts, European trades in North-Eastern Rhodesia (Zambia) felt threatened by the introduction of the Indian traders to the region. The Europeans argued that the introduction of Indian traders would be harmful to the European business in Zambia since the cost of living of the Indians is relatively low compared to the Europeans. The European traders perceived that the Indian traders could provide unfair competition (Phiri 2011: 4-5). To put it differently, unlike Europeans, the Indians did not prefer to lead a comfortable and lavish life. They were able to accumulate financial resources and thereby leading to unfair competition.

The discriminatory attitude is not only prevailed at the government level; the Africans have also developed a different attitude. For instance, the Africans consider the Indians as parasites, as self-centred, impolite, humourless petty traders who want nothing from them except their pennies (Bharati 1972: 103). Consequently, the Indian minority became a common enemy to both the white Europeans and the native Africans and was perceived differently by both these communities. The Indians contested with business groups in the settled population of this region, which is witnessed in the case of South Africa earlier. In South Africa, both the Whites and Africans were already 'settled' and experienced the trading skills and activities of the Indians closely. The Africans and Europeans became resentful of the stiff competition from the enterprising Indian traders, and both proceeded to unite as a common front despite their very many differences. The gruesome attack on the Indian diaspora by the native Africans during the Durban riots of 1949 is a glaring illustration of simmering resentment boiling over into conflict. This horrible attack on the Indians by the native Africans brought many structural conflicts and contradictions where the Indians became the main target by natives.

Bonacich (1973) underlines the importance of the middleman minorities. She explains the development and persistence of middleman minorities, especially in trade and occupation among the settled communities of various countries. Her study reveals that minority groups are in an intermediary position between the majority group and other segregated minority groups. In addition, she notes several commonalities among middleman groups (for example- Armenians, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Jews) in selected occupations such as bankers, barbers, brokers, launderers, and restaurateurs. (Bonacich 1973: 588). One of the peculiar features of the middleman is the economic role they play. They occupy the intermediate position. The middleman tends to concentrate on certain occupations, notable trade and commerce, and other middle man lines such as agent, labour contractor, rent collector, moneylender, broker, etc. (Bonacich 1973: 583). They play the role of middleman between producer and consumer, employer and employees, owner and renter, elite and masses.

3.4.6. Present Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Malawi

The economic activities of Malawi Indians are primarily concentrated in various cities like Lilongwe, Blantyre, Zomba and Mzuzu. Since the colonial period, the Sikh community has played an active role in Malawian society. The Britishers brought them from India, and they primarily served in the British Army during the colonial period. Apart from the Sikhs, the Indian diaspora community from Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Telangana, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal settled in Malawi and engaged in various economic activities. These Indians primarily engaged in trade, agriculture, agro-business, pharmaceutical and hospitality sectors. Some are also in other professions, including the education and health sectors. From 2012 onwards, the closer ties between India and Malawi in the economic sphere brought new hope among the Indian diaspora community in Malawi, especially among the Indian businessmen (Government of India 2017). They are making much more progress than ever before.

The cordial relationship between these two countries, India and Malawi, can be witnessed because India's investment in Malawi has increased over the last decade since 2012, which made the Indian diaspora happy in Malawi. The Malawi Investment and Trade Centre has indicated to the High Commission of India in Malawi that out of 56 registered companies to invest in Malawi, around 10 companies are of Indian origin, which registers a great success for the Indian diaspora as India at the economic sphere. Around 10 percent of the investment comes from these Indian companies in Malawi (Government of India 2017). The Asian Business Community of Malawi recently raised funds to provide hospital beds and to set up new Covid-19 hospitals in Malawi to help the people to the greatest extent (*Mlanjira Nyasa Times*, 2 December 2020).

3.5 Comparing Economic Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

The large companies rather than individual Indians or Europeans dominated the early trade in Zimbabwe and Malawi. As the transportation was facilitated via water, there was an involvement of heavy cost towards transportation, which was beyond the capacity of the small individual entrepreneur (Dotson and Dotson 1968). Dotson and Dotson's (1968)

study shows that there are some common traits of the Indian diaspora (before India's independence, named Asians, which includes the population of Pakistan and Bangladesh) is their adamant aversion out-marriages for racial, cultural and for economic reasons. Indians generally consider themselves racially superior to the Africans and are determined to attain an economically advantaged position compared to the Africans. They are committed to preserving their cultural identities and, equally or even more anxious, keep wealth within their inner circle and help their fellow Indians. Ethnic ties among intermediaries minorities create and drive preferential economic mindsets by focusing on the distribution of economic resources within the community, including building capital through the use of partnerships, through low-interest loans and rotating credit associations, which appears to be one of the crucial factors behind the success of Indians in the economic sphere.

In addition to that, members of the extended family or a member from the ethnic group, who would work long hours for low or no wages with total loyalty, would be preferred above all others to occupy positions of paid employment by the Indians who are active in trade and business. In return for their loyalty and services rendered, they would eventually be allowed to become partners or to receive training and aid in setting up their own business, which is a trend seen among the Indians. The continuing influx of Indians illustrates this trend in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and other parts of Africa. The Indians brought by their fellow Indian traders used to be assured of boarding and lodging and social security in an unknown land, work as employees of fellow Indians who are already established in retail/wholesale businesses. In most cases, the newly arrived Indians are either relatives or neighbours of the Indian employers in their home countries and share strong ethnic ties.

3.5.1. Comparing Economic Institutions and Interactions

The economic institutions in Zambia maintain cordial relations with both countries' business houses and corporations. The engagement of the Indian diaspora in this regard is highly appreciated. On 5 January 2010, Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) Business Delegation accompanied to the then Vice-President of India, Dr Mohammad Hamid

Ansari, visited Lusaka, the capital of Zambia. The Vice President of India and his delegates were welcomed by the President of the Zambia Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ZACCI), Mr Hanson Sindowe. in his inaugural speech, the president of ZACCI, Mr Sindowe, mentioned that there is much scope for the Zambian business fraternity to learn a lot from the countries like India which has made immense progress in terms of economic growth. ZACCI is the apex national body of Zambia, which represents the business of this country and speaks on behalf of the business community of Zambia. It also acts as a link between the private sector and the government in Zambia. The ZACCI has a widespread influence on the economy of Zambia. From the local to the national level, in all most all chambers of commerce and industry, ZACCI has members starting in the financial sector, manufacturing, mining, agriculture and agro-processing, tourism, construction, education, and many more.

Zambia is an attractive investment destination in the contemporary scenario. It offers various lucrative investment opportunities, especially in tourism, agriculture, manufacturing, energy, and mining. Zambia's investment climate is amiable from India's point of view, which is characterised by a stable macroeconomic environment. Politically, the country is stable, and the government of Zambia is committed to investment and is very investors friendly. The government of Zambia firmly put forward its position during the negotiation with the Indian delegates. It stated that Zambia is pursuing a zero-tolerance policy against corruption. Local and foreign investors are treated equally in Zambia. The Zambian economy is a well advancing free-market economy without a price and foreign exchange controls. The government also offers a well-balanced package of fiscal incentives in priority areas and additional negotiated benefits to strategic investments in various sectors. As the business community in Zambia, the Zambian business class have a lot to learn from India, which has made tremendous strides in economic growth.

As far as promoting the expansion of trade and investment between Zambia and India is concerned, Zambia emphasised the need to foster knowledge-sharing and networking among Zambian and Indian business communities through regular networking events,

bringing together Zambian and Indian businesses for exploring opportunities and making contacts. It also emphasised the need to strengthen business ties between the two countries to enhance and increase commercial links between Zambian and Indian businesses. There are enhanced links established between members of ZACCI and CII so that we can develop the Zambia-India Business Partnership and enhance economic growth in both countries (Press release of ZACCI, Lusaka, Zambia 5 January, 2021).

3.5.2 Comparing Skills for Success in Economic Sphere

The success of the Indian diaspora may be attributed i) to the generally excellent family life, ii) to the simplicity of their life, iii) to the saving of money, and iv) to the mutual economic aid within the sphere of related families. The processes that are involved in Indians to become successful traders are based on the fact that they initially start as an apprenticeship behind the counter of a shop belonging to his patron and then move to wholesale traders in African goods and invest in real estate. The Indian diaspora do not have any uniform influence over Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The degree to which the Indians have influenced markets differs from country to country. The Indians have occupied the dominant position in trade in Zambia. On the contrary, they have very little influence on economic sector in Zimbabwe and Malawi, which the Europeans have consolidated. To Phiri (2011), compared to the other two countries, Indian immigration to colonial Zambia was a late phenomenon compared to other African communities, and never had any time were Indians numerically significant. Nevertheless, despite this numerical insignificance, they exerted a critical economic influence throughout the colonial period and even after that (Phiri 2011: 1).

3.5.3 Comparing Interaction between the Indian Diaspora and the Natives in Economic Sphere

The interaction between the natives and the Indian diaspora in the economic sphere is cordial in Zambia and Malawi, but in the last couple of years, especially during President Mugabe's period, there was a rift between the natives and the Indians because of political hate campaigning and misunderstanding among the natives and Indians. Although the

population of Indians is relatively less in Malawi than the Zambia and Zimbabwe, Indian community still plays a significant role in the economic sector in Malawi.

The space and time of the interaction between the Indians and the native people, and between the Indians and other migrants in these three countries determine the history of their interaction and relations. This also determines the nature of trade and business the different communities opted for, especially the Indians and natives. If we compare the history of the migration of Indians to Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, Indians have an old history of interaction with the natives and other traders in Malawi compared to Zimbabwe and Zambia Indians. Because the Indians largely migrated to Zimbabwe and Zambia by the colonial masters during the colonial period and after that on their own effort, but in Malawi, the case is altogether quite different. They migrated long before the emergence of the colonial masters.

During the field study in Zambia, the Indian traders and businessmen responded that the Zambian government and the native people working in the economic sector are very cooperative and supportive. There are many business conclaves and business summits organised by the government of Zambia to encourage and promote the Indian investors and traders to work with Zambia's companies. The Indian diaspora play a significant role in this sphere and are working for the development and prosperity of Zambia and India. Some of the Indian businessmen who migrated from Malawi and Zimbabwe to Zambia stated that they feel more secure and business-friendly environment in Zambia, which is missing in Zimbabwe. Although Malawi is safe for them, Zambia is better than Malawi regarding business opportunities.

When the natives realised that their interest coincides with the interest of the Indians, who are quite skilful and contributing mainly to the economic sector, they started cooperating, participating and collaborating with the Indians in the economic sphere. Prof. Phiri (2011), in his book, *PIOs in Zambia*, emphasised this aspect by reiterating that the Indians' attitude towards trade and business somehow attracted the native people to learn from them and participate in various sectors of the economy with the Indians. The natives

observed that the Indians' cost of living was meagre. They spend very little on their day to day requirements and live a simple life which is absent among the white traders. Indians primarily encourage the natives to participate in their economic activities. Indians have been employing the natives in their farms, factories, shops and restaurants. Many natives are recruited in this sector, ranging from the managerial staff to the guards and drivers.

During the field study in Zambia, it has been observed that the Indians active in the economic sector are very fluent in the local language and communicate diligently with the native people. Even their family members, especially women, have learned the native language and interact with the natives along with Hindi and English. They do participate in the programmes organised by the natives and vice versa. However, the difference that can be noticed is that as far as managing cash/money is concerned, the Indians prefer to assign this responsibility to their family members or near and dear ones than the native Africans.

Generally, in shops and restaurants, it is observed that, at the counter (where payment is made after purchasing, having food), an Indian will be sitting and managing cash, not an African. This is very much practised by the business class in India as well. They prefer to keep someone to manage the cash who is either a family member or relatives whom they could trust with some exceptions. Yes, exceptions are always there. During President Mugabe's period, Indian businessmen were attacked by the natives because of political propaganda and rumours in Zimbabwe. The Indians had a tough time during this period. Some migrated to Malawi and Zambia since they did not find Zimbabwe as a safe place for them anymore. However, many of them also decided to stay back and resolve the misunderstanding and conflict through continuous dialogue with the natives and the administration.

3.5.4 Comparing the Changing Relation Pattern in Economic Institutions

With the changing of norms and conventions of the economic institutions where globalisation has become a significant force, the relationship between the native Africans and Indians has changed over time. The process of modernisation made the Indian trading

class adopt new ideas and techniques in business transactions and practices. A new class of professionals, both from the natives and the Indians, are being hired, especially in the pharmaceutical, chemical, motor parts, Information Technology and electronics, tourism, restaurant and health sectors in these countries. Hence, there is a shift from the labour and unskilled class to the professional and skilled class. Due to the impact of globalisation, the concept of labour itself got modernised. They are trained labourers now and essentially became stakeholders of the economic institutions.

The social practices and values of Indians are very much attached to their business and trading activities. Without cleaning their shops or offices and worshipping God, they do not start their *karobar* (business) of the day. In every economic institution that the Indians own, shubh and labh will be written at the entrance door or adjacent to an idol of the goddess Laxmi or God Ganesh or, in the case of South Indian Balaji, or might be kept at the counter. Such practice is more pronounced among the Hindu traders and businessmen.

There is a belief that *shubh* and *labh* symbolise purity and prosperity at the workplace, and worshipping God and goddesses will bring wealth and prosperity. They generally avoid eating inside the shop or office. However, this practice is gradually changing to some extent with the impact of modernity. This is something not practised by the native staff who practice Christianity. However, these practices of the Hindu business class were accepted by some natives positively but not by others. Since the owners do not dine with the staff at the workplace, it becomes a matter of annoyance on the working staff, which somehow becomes a matter of maintaining social distance instead of closeness between the Indians and natives. Moreover, the natives have different food habits as compared to the Indians.

3.5.5. Comparative Study of the Challenges at Economic Front

The Indian diaspora faces various challenges because of their economic position in these countries. Due to the economic positioning of the Indian diaspora, they are being targeted by the natives, especially in Zimbabwe. During President Mugabe's presidentship, the native protesters destroyed their shops and farms. The situation is not that bad in Malawi

and Zambia, and the Indians feel safer in these countries. However, wealthy businessmen still feel insecured because of their economic possession. This concern is confined to these three countries and in almost all the African countries because of unemployment and poverty, leading to a growing rate of crime in the cities—so much effort and time required to get a license permit for their business, especially in Zimbabwe. The Indians used to pay so much money for that and pursue the ministers for that purpose. Secondly, the shopkeepers on the roadside are more prone to face situations like loot and snatching since they do not have proper arrangements to keep their products and money safely. Thirdly, the Indians, having their economic set up at the periphery and hilly areas, face multiple challenges than the natives and other outside traders to keep their business growing. In Zimbabwe, the native communities attacked and destroyed the houses and farms of the Indian diaspora.

Compared with the white businessmen, the Indians faced more challenges at the economic front because their business was widespread geographically and speeded into various sectors. However, the whites were only confined to the core areas with selected sectors of business-like, the retail sector primarily, transport and health. Whereas starting from small retail shops to big farms, Indians have marked their presence in the economy. Along with the requirement of the natives, they are also fulfilling the requirement of the Indians. They visit their home country India to buy products and sell out at the market of these countries. In this way, they fulfil the requirement of the Indians settled in these countries, and the Indian products are being popularised in these countries among the natives. Comparatively, the Indians face more challenges in the farming sector in Zimbabwe, whereas, in Zambia, they face challenges in the microeconomic sectors.

3.6 Conclusion

To conclude, it can be said that there is a direct relationship between migration and economic development and the above analysis makes a point to this case. Despite their small number and the intensive and quite overt government restrictions, Indians have done better economically than their Central African counterparts. This is because of their different approach to trade and other economic activities. As far as their economic role is

concerned, the host countries and the natives have developed mixed responses towards the Indian diaspora. sometimes, the native communities help the Indian diaspora communities but often the natives look at the economic success of the Indian diaspora with suspicion. hence, there is a need to develop a cordial relationship between the Indian diaspora and the native communities in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Such relationship would benefit not only the Indian diaspora communities but also the native communities and governments of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

Chapter Four

Diaspora and Politics: Reading Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

Chapter Four

DIASPORA AND POLITICS: Reading Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

4.0 Introduction

The post-second world war period witnessed the emergence of newly independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They initiated the nation-building process and strategised to accelerate social, economic and political reconstruction. These states were at different social, economic, and political development stages in their specific contexts. The nation-building process of third-world countries had tremendous implications for various communities that resided during that process. The political development of the respective countries has more significant implications for the political position and the political behaviour of different communities. Meanwhile, third-world countries adopted their own political system considering their socio-economic, cultural, and political backdrop. As the population flow had already impacted these countries much before their independence, they also adopted various constitutional provisions to deal with the political rights, entitlements, opportunities and problems of the 'non-native' people.

Against this backdrop, the chapter looks at the changing relationship between the communities and politics. While addressing this broader issue, it begins with a brief discussion on the relationship between diaspora and politics. Then it focuses on the political engagements of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Within the broader framework of political engagement, it describes the political participation of the Indian diaspora in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwean, Zambian and Malawian societies. The post-colonial period explores the various constitutional provisions for granting citizenship in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi and their implications for the Indian diaspora. The chapter argues that despite the constitutional setup to extend political rights to Indian diaspora communities, the political participation of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi continued to be a concern due to their marginal political participation.

4.1 Diaspora and Politics

There is a close relationship between diaspora and politics. The existing literature captures the nuances and dynamics of diaspora politics in the contemporary period (Kapur 2014; Lahneman 2005; Vertovec 2005; Kapur 2010; Sharma 2017). Kapur's writings (2014, 2010) essentially capture the contribution of diaspora to the domestic politics of the countries of origin. He argues that the citizenship status 'as dual citizenship or citizens residing abroad' of the diaspora community facilitates their participation in the political affairs of the country of their origins. Sometimes, the political ambition of the diaspora facilitates their returns, thereby contesting the elections as competing candidates for occupying political offices. More often, they influence the political preferences of their kins, which becomes easy for them due to their financial assistance to their kins. However, the direct participation of the diaspora may not be possible due to the restricted practices of citizenship, as very few countries have the provision of dual citizenship. In such cases, they indirectly influence the domestic politics of the country of origin via financial contributions to political parties, candidates, activists and organisations, providing channels for the flow of ideas having more significant implications over policy changes, etc. (Kapur 2014: 484).

On the contrary, diaspora communities can be political assets to the host countries (Sharma 2017: 1; Vertovec 2005: 1; Lahneman 2005). As the diaspora communities are citizens in most of the countries, they can directly influence politics by participating in various forms: as voters, contested candidates, elected candidates, policy-makers, pressure groups, etc. Wherever the direct participation of the diaspora communities is restricted, they influence the politics by providing ideas, financing the candidates, political parties, activists, local organisations, etc. Vertovecs (2005: 5) emphasises that diaspora-based organisations can influence the host country's politics critically.

4.2 Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

The political history of the Indians settled in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the British colonial period. The colonial power used them to develop communication facilities like railways and road construction, enabling them to navigate from one place to another

easily. The Indians were also used for plantation and other clerical works. Gradually, the political presence of Indians could make a mark in this African country's social and economic life.

4.2.1 Political Life of Indian Diaspora During Colonial Period

The political history of Zimbabwe can be traced back to the colonial period when the British occupied the territory of this country. The British Isles may be called the original home of modern representative political institutions. British settlers and officials coming to Africa carried certain well-defined notions of political rights, political freedom and political equality. Such a political outlook enabled them to demand political power from the beginning of their settlement to control the local affairs. Consequently, more than 1500 Europeans settled in Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and demanded the political representation of Europeans in 1912. However, the colonial government did not develop the same approach towards dealing with the demand for political representation of diaspora other than the Europeans. Hence, the demand for political representation of Europeans and non-Europeans was treated differently by the colonial government (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 298).

The indifferent attitude of the colonial government towards the demand for the political representation of Europeans and non-Europeans can lead perhaps to understanding the notion of civilised standard. Such a notion suggests that the Europeans have attained the civilised standard, and the non-Europeans were yet to attain that standard. Meanwhile, the Europeans had also developed indifferent attitudes towards the political representation of the non-Europeans. For instance, if a question on the unequal political representation of Europeans and non-Europeans were posed to a White person settled in any of British occupied Africa during the European dominance, the response would have stereotyped the non-Europeans by stating that "because they do not measure up to European (or civilised) standards." However, hardly any literature explains such attitudes of the Europeans toward the non-Europeans.

At this juncture, the critical question is: how do we understand the unequal political representation of the Europeans and non-Europeans and the stereotyped attitudes that the colonial administration and Europeans developed towards the non-Europeans? Apart from any normative conception, social inequality has always been inherent in the evolutionary gap separating Europeans from non-Europeans. These differences have been progressively obscured by the extensive acculturation which has taken place. However, when the enduring definitions of who-was-who and why were laid down in the first years of occupation, the gap between the Europeans and the non-Europeans was so vast that they were never treated equally. The non-Europeans were subjected to the Europeans by bringing the issues of superiority and inferiority, where the latter were considered superior to the former. To recognise the empirical foundation for the European's perception of his social situation in Africa is insufficient to understand his political behaviour. Belief and evaluation must be manifested in action to be turned into concrete social reality. Unfortunately, the perceived comparative perception of differences between the Europeans and non-Europeans was advantageous for the latter. It became the ground for advocating for privileges for the Europeans, which has become the basis of moral justification for the advantage.

The argument endlessly repeated in stereotyped phrases wherever settlers gathered went something like this:

We Europeans "built up this country" and have "made it what it is". When we arrived in Africa, we found a population of "savages barely out of the trees," who did not even have the wheel." They are as civilised as they are now due to our perception and example. For this priceless gift of civilisation, the present-day African shows little gratitude. True, we enjoy a higher standard of living due to our proportional contribution. If we insist upon a monopoly of political power, that is because only we have the necessary knowledge and experience to employ power wisely in the interests of all. Suppose we insist upon what, in the shortsighted view, seems like a provincial and small-minded snobbish seclusion in our intimate social relations. In that case, that too is only because European standards must be protected at all costs. In any proper perspective which would give adequate weight to our

sacrifices and labours, it would be seen that we have acted justly and, on the whole, unselfishly.

Hence, such understanding essentially focused on racial discrimination to provide different kinds of privileges to both the Europeans and non-Europeans. Racial superiority favoured the Europeans to have comparative advantages, entitlements and privileges. However, the non-Europeans were also promised under the European standards rule that they would also be entitled to such advantages, entitlements and benefits once they attained cultural values and ideals equal to the Europeans. Such orientation towards the non-Europeans seems to be based on a certain understanding of establishing equality and extending similar benefits to Europeans and non-Europeans. However, such a notion came with certain perhaps discriminatory riders that the non-Europeans would be granted similar privileges when they attained, instead of the European driven, cultural values, and the Europeans advocated the timeline of "two thousand years" to meet the equalisation process (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 300).

4.2.2 Political Situation and Indian Diaspora in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980. The political situation of the Indian diaspora in post-colonial Zimbabwe has much to do with -the nature and dynamics of the political system and constitutional arrangements that were made to deal with the political concerns of the minority communities in general and the Indian diaspora in particular. Their political situation also depends on the implications of these constitutional arrangements and their implementations.

4.2.2.1 Zimbabwean Constitution and Citizenship

The Zimbabwean Constitution came into force in 1980. Chapter II of the 1980 Constitution deals with the provisions related to the acquisition and loss of citizenship. It states that citizenship will be granted to those who were citizens before the implementation of the Constitution and those who fulfil the criteria of the new Constitution. The criteria, such as birth, descent or registration, were considered for granting citizenship. The 2013 amendment includes citizenship under Chapter III of the

Constitution, committed to providing equal rights, privileges and benefits to all citizens and prescribes their duties. The amendment also defines that the state shall protect the rights and benefits of the citizens. Further, the state shall issue travel documents such as passport, certificate of birth and other documents of identity. It also prescribes duties that include loyalty to the country, reverence for the Constitution and its values, and respect for the National Flag, National Anthem and other symbols of the Nation. Moreover, the citizens are expected to protect the country and sovereign authority, as stated in Article 35 (4).

As mentioned above, the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides citizenship status to the person based on birth, descent and registration. A person can become a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth if he/she is born in Zimbabwe. During that period, any of the parents was a citizen of Zimbabwe or any of the grandparents was a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth or descent. A person born outside Zimbabwe can also become a citizen by birth if, during the birth, either of the parents was a citizen of Zimbabwe (Section 36[2]). Subject to Section 36(2), a person born outside the country can become a citizen of Zimbabwe by descent if the grandparents or either of the parents of the person born outside the country must be a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth, descent, or registration. In another situation, a person can also become a citizen of Zimbabwe by registration if he/she is a resident of Zimbabwe for a minimum period of 10 years, or married to a Zimbabwean citizen, or a child born outside the country but adopted by a citizen of Zimbabwe.

4.2.2.2 Zimbabwean Constitution and Its Implications on Indian Diaspora

The Indian diaspora can become the citizens of Zimbabwe as specified by the Constitution through birth, descent or registration. After becoming a citizen of Zimbabwe, various political and citizenship rights are granted. Few of the many entitlements are registering as voters on common rolls, contesting for the membership of the Parliament, running for the post of President, Vice-President(s), Ministers, Deputy Ministers and becoming a part of the Cabinet system. The Constitution of Zimbabwe provides equal rights to the Indian diaspora after fulfilling citizenship criteria. Political participation is neither limited nor restricted.

However, the political situation of any country or its communities determines the constitutional functioning of its political system. The political rivalries among leaders and political outfits seek new agendas to conquer the political power. It demands new narratives, and diasporic identity, national identity, and in-group and out-group formations are often constructed. Citizenship as a policy is invented and reinvented. In Zimbabwe, various political regimes have employed diasporic political narratives over a period. The following section shall shed some light on the formation of political regimes and their impact on the Indian diaspora.

4.2.3 Political Regime and the Indian Diaspora

Many newly independent African states went through political turmoil, and Zimbabwe was no different. It encountered political instability, rampant corruption, policy failures, ethnic crisis, etc. Uncertainties grip the current political situation of the country**.** More than the two-decade-long rule of Robert Mugabe is less popular among the people of Zimbabwe. However, his attempt to capture the lost power further aggravates the country's political instability**.** He comes down heavily on his critiques. His political party, Zimbabwe African National Union, has adopted various means to control different agencies/actors, vocal in pointing out unpopular decisions or raising concerns regarding freedom of speech and expression and highlighting human rights violations. For instance, it controls the media to shield the government's ruthlessness and does not come to the public. This happened to an opposition party member of Parliament when he raised his voice against the ruling party in power. A fight followed, reported as "... That is what politics is all about, and you don't get into politics to be easily provoked, and then to take such terrible action and turn mad. We explore that very strongly."

The Zimbabwe's Prime Minister (PM), Morgan Tsvangirai, reviewed the government's performance for sixteen months it was in power with its coalition partner, where he has a troubled power-sharing. Alleging the non-performance of the Cabinet ranked ministers, PM Tsvangirai removed four Cabinet Ministers and allotted a new portfolio to the other. These Cabinet ranked ministers were related to Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) Party. Due to the coalition government with President Robert Mugabe's

Zanu-PF party that came to power in 2009, Prime Minister Tsvangirai did not have any power over Mugabe's ministers. The coalition government emerged after the 2008 national elections. For instance, the housing minister and the ministers on energy, women and youth were removed. According to Tsvangirai's interview with the media, lack of dedication towards implementing law and order, weakening of power infrastructure and failure to succeed in democratic changes brought "a loss of confidence in the new administration among the electorate". He lamented further, "As a result, I have decided on a number of changes needed to strengthen the performance of the MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) in government and outside government." It has also been stated that the changes in the portfolios have contributed towards the improvement of the political scenario in Zimbabwe.

On the contrary, Mugabe's orientation toward his ministers starkly contrasts with the position of the Prime Minister. Mugabe seldom removes or reshuffles his ministers as they are loyalists of his political party Zanu-PF. Corruption charges were levelled against several Zanu-PF politicians for over three decades, but they survived corruption allegations during Mugabe's regime in Zimbabwe. Though Zimbabwe experienced political differences between MDC and Zanu-PF that crippled the government, it has succeeded in the economic, health and educational sectors. The PM Tsvangirai mentioned, "the most practical means of living forward that halting the needless suffering of the people."

Corruption, irregularities in the conduct of the government and extension of support to tainted ministers are frequent episodes in Zimbabwe. Roy Bennett, a key confidant of the Prime Minister, was promoted to the deputy agriculture minister. Mugabe certainly did not endorse Bennet.[1] The promotion of corrupt leaders in the country leads to political instability. Routine violence during the elections raises question marks over the free and fair elections in the country. As per the report revealed by British lawmakers, it pushed Zimbabwe further away from democratic practices.[2] It further said the achievements made

[1] http://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/Zim-PM-fires-4-ministers-20100623.

[2] The International Development Select Committee prepared the report. It included eleven parliamentarians from British Parliament.

in the economic sector are failed by lack of governance, human rights violations and deplorable essential services. The panel of British lawmakers appreciated the coalition government between Mugabe and Tsvangirai but raised suspicion over the government's willingness toward the welfare of the people and to provide a stable political environment for the country.

The Chairman of the Committee, Mr Bruce, highlighted the displacement and refugee crisis issues in Zimbabwe. The report accused Mugabe of unsuccessful delivery of better governance and obstructing the functioning of MDC government. The influential leader hijacked the political institutions and caused more significant damage to human rights and democracy. Zimbabwe's political health is a cause of worry; therefore, the sanctions imposed on Mugabe by EU were not lifted. The President of the neighbouring state of Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mr Zuma, expressed his desire to lift the sanctions on Mugabe. However, those sanctions continued to remain since the functioning of democracy was far from desirable. Mr Bruce, in his remark, mentioned that the farm invasions of the farm-owners individuals are inappropriate. As a democratic state, its leaders should end this lawlessness. Despite the ban by the EU, the report recommended that Britain must support Zimbabwe economically through non-governmental networks. According to the data, Britain provided 60 million pounds to Zimbabwe, making it the largest donor in 2009-10 (Zim's political situation fragile 2010).

4.2.4 Current Political Situation of the Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

Indian Diaspora in certain countries of Africa have witnessed tough times due to the dictatorial regimes for a while. Many were forced to leave the African countries. However, in recent years their condition has been improved for them. Few Indians who continue to live in East and Central Africa aspire for higher posts in the state administration and police and defence forces. However, the pricy private sector is controlled by the African trading communities. In Uganda, after the ousting of Idi Amin, many Asian companies have made an entry. The process of diasporic return accelerated due to the compensation offer made by the Museveni government to the Asian community. The latter has appreciated the initiative of reconciliation that will compel

more Asian diasporic people to return permanently. For many years, the return of doctors, teachers, engineers, accountants and workers engaged in rail network on two-year Indian and Pakistani technical assistance programmes has been a welcome sign (World Directory of Minorities: Sub-Saharan Africa, Saharan Africa 2008).

Despite the initiatives to draw the Asian community into the East and Central African countries, the permanent or long-term association seems less likely. It is to be noted that Asian communities cannot be described as persecuted communities. However, they have been made a scapegoat in many conflict situations or blamed for the economic crisis or underdevelopment of the local population. In 1982, a similar situation was unravelled in Kenya, where shops of the Asian community were looted and destroyed, and women were raped and killed. Still, an Asian representation in Kenyan Parliament is elected by the multiracial, multi-ethnic population. The socio-economic conditions of the Asians are relatively better, cultural and religious freedom are available without restrictions, and the political atmosphere is conducive today. Moreover, the Asian population have maintained strong ties with outside Africa (World Directory of Minorities: Sub-Saharan Africa 2008).

Table 4.1: Important Political Personalities of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe

Sl. No.	**Personalities**
1	K.G.Patel, Former Senator and a member of Zimbabwe's Politburo who was accorded 'Hero' status in 2012
2	Justice Bharat Patel, a retired judge of the country's Supreme Court
3	Justice Ahmed Ebrahim, who was awarded the Pravasi Bhartiya Samman in 2004
4	Rajeshkumar Indukant Modi, Deputy Trade Minister, Zimbabwe

Source: Marathe (2019)

Among the Asian communities in Africa, the Indian Diaspora has a robust presence across Africa. In the case of Zimbabwe, Table 4.1 shows the important personalities/political leaders of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe. It lists the prominent personalities who hold important positions and contribute immensely to Zimbabwe politically and legally. K. G. Patel was the former Senator and member of the country's politburo. Mr Patel worked hard for the welfare of the people of Zimbabwe and the development of the country as a whole. By acknowledging his significant contributions, the government of Zimbabwe accorded 'Hero' status to him after his death in 2012. He passed away in 2011. The second important personality was Justice Bharat Patel, who achieved the position of judge in the highest court of law, i.e. the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe. Justice Ahmed Ebrahim was also an expert in the legal field. The Government of India posthumously awarded him the Pravasi Bhartiya Samman in 2004 (Marathe 2019).

Table 4.1 includes the name of political personalities among the Indian diaspora community. Among them, one personality is Rajeshkumar Indukant Modi, popularly known as Raj Modi. He went to Zimbabwe on a family visit in 1981 after tying the knot with a Zimbabwean Indian citizen, Parul Kothari. However, due to family compulsion, the couple decided to stay back in Zimbabwe, and he began his political career with the political party ZANU-PF in 2002-03. He soon became a prominent face within the party. In 2014, he occupied the position of Secretary for Indigenisation in Bulawayo City. Later, he was deputed as World Secretary in the Production and Labour in 2018 and occupied the Provincial Secretary of Finance for Bulawayo District. His political destiny changed with a crisis that created a faction within ZANU-PF in 2017. In the Zimbabwean Coup Detat that occurred in 2017, Raj Modi was a crucial player and a close aide to Vice-President of Zimbabwe Emmerson Mnangagwa, that gave him the electoral ticket to contest the Bulawayo South Constituency in the 2018 elections. It is also important to mention that ZANU-PF had never successfully contested the election from this constituency. This constituency has a negligible presence of the Indian diaspora but is historically a significant city for Indians. Despite all odds, he won the election with a

margin of 1597 votes,[3] and became the first Indian to become a Member of Parliament in the post-colonial political history of Zimbabwe. Later, he was inducted into the Cabinet and became the Deputy Trade Minister of Zimbabwe, the first Indian to become a Minister in Zimbabwe.

However, how do we understand the victory of Raj Modi in a constituency where his affiliated party has never won the election? The success of Raj Modi cannot be attributed solely to the votes he might have secured from the Indian diaspora due to their negligence presence in the Bulawayo South constituency or to his political engineering. The immediate explanation for his victory can be the division of votes polled by the counterpart MDCA where two candidates had contested from the MDCA ticket. The combined votes of the MDCA indicated that it secured 2249 more votes than the ZANU-PF candidate Raj Modi.[4]

However, can his success be computed only to the fragmentation of MDCA votes among the party's two candidates? It seems unrealistic to equate his victory to the fragmentation of MDCA votes when there were other 13 candidates from native communities. His victory can be understood by considering numerous factors. In addition to the fragmentation of MDCA votes, his electoral engineering, Indian diaspora votes and his long-term engagement with the communities in different political capacities and philanthropic activities in Bulawayo have provided a political dividend to him during the 2018 election. In addition to his various political capacities assigned by the ZANU-PF, he had also organised education and sports sponsorship camps and free health checkups and treatment (*Ahmedabad Mirror*, 2020). He also announced to donate his salary to charity (*The Sunday Mail*, 2020). These social and philanthropic gestures yielded him political results.

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[3] Raj Modi secured a total vote of 5752 votes, and his close competitor of the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDCA) secured 4155 votes in sixteen members contested constituency of Bulawayo South http://kubatana.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/NATIONAL-ASSEMBLY-BULAWAYO-PROVINCE.pdf (accessed on 29 September 2020).

[4] It is worth mentioning that Mangwendeza Muvirimi Francis and Muchemwa Kunashe contested from the Bulawayo South constituency from the MDCA tickets and secured 4155 and 2249 votes, respectively, http://kubatana.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/NATIONAL-ASSEMBLY-BULAWAYO-PROVINCE.pdf (accessed on 29 September 2020).

4.3 Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zambia

The government of Zambia is a Republican government. Zambia got independence on 24 October 1964. Before independence, it was a British colony, as mentioned above. The Constitution of Zambia was amended in 1996. It adopted liberal democratic principles while amending the Constitution of the country. Zambia comprises nine provinces and is subdivided into 72 districts (Bureau of African Affairs 2010).

4.3.1 Zambian Constitution and Citizenship

The Constitution of Zambia, which came into force in 1964, has prescribed certain criteria to define who can be a citizen of Zambia? Chapter II of the Zambian Constitution deals with the various dynamics of citizenship. It states that a person who is the British Protectorate person as of 24 October 1964 can be a citizen of Zambia irrespective of having been born in or outside the former Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia. It also states that any person born after 23 October 1964 can become a citizen of Zambia. Any woman married to a Zambian citizen after 23 October 1964 shall become a citizen via registration. Further, any person who has been an ordinary resident in Zimbabwe for a prescribed period of four years can apply as specified in the Parliament Act to acquire Zimbabwe's citizenship. Section 11 (1) and (2) of Chapter II of the Constitution also empower the Parliament to make provisions for the acquisition and loss of Zambian citizenship.

4.3.2 Zambian Constitution and Its Implications on Indian Diaspora

As discussed in the section above, the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe can acquire the citizenship status of Zimbabwe on the ground of being born in Zimbabwe after 23 October 1964 or being a British Protectorate person, or in the case of women, as married to the citizen of Zimbabwe prescribed under Chapter II of the Zimbabwean Constitution. As a Zimbabwe citizen, any member of the Indian diaspora can also access various political entitlements prescribed under the Zimbabwean Constitution. Chapter V of the Zambian Constitution deals with the Parliament, a Unicameral legislature. The Parliament is composed of the President and the National Assembly.[5] .Section 61 of the Constitution

[5] For more detail on the National Assembly of Zambia and its structure, refer: https://www.parliament.gov.zm/ accessed on 18.02.2022.

lays down the norms to become a member of the Parliament. Any person who is a citizen of Zambia and attained the age of 21 years can be a member of the National Assembly. Further, any member of the National Assembly can contest and get elected to the post of Speaker and Deputy-Speaker by the members of the house. The Presidential post is the highest Constitutional post in Zambia. Citizenship, age and voting rights are essential to contest the highest post. Therefore, the Constitution of Zambia states that anybody with Zambian Citizenship acquired the age of 30 and is registered as a voter could be the President of Zambia. In the case of the Vice-President, the election may be conducted, or the President may nominate any member of the National Assembly. As per these norms, any ethnic origin who fulfils these criteria can acquire political positions in the Zambian political system. Over the years, the members of the Indian diaspora have got elected to various constitutional positions. In the following section, we shall see the political leaders of Indian origin in Zambia.

4.3.3 Entry of Indian Diaspora into Zambian Politics

The entry of the Indian diaspora into Zambian politics has been attributed to the constitutional provisions of becoming citizens, registering as voters, contesting the elections and occupying political offices once they successfully contested the elections. However, some of the early accounts of the political situation of the Indian diaspora indicate that the entry of the Indian diaspora into Zambian politics is attributed to the dynamics of the political and economic situation of the country. For instance, Dipak Patel,[6] An Indian diaspora recalls his entry into politics, contextualising with the prevailing political system, considering Zambia had a one-party state. To cite him, "we have one party, one leader, no politics was around the country. The economy was down on its knees… a lot of built-up social and economic frustrations were there in the country."[7] As a result, he further emphasised, "A group of people got together sometime in 1990 to

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[6] Dipak Patel was the National Executive Member of the MMD. After winning the Lusaka Central constituency election in 1991, he became the first Asian Cabinet Minister in Zambia in November 1991. He was the Deputy Minister of Trade, Commerce and Industry between 1991 and 1992. He also occupied the different portfolios as a Cabinet minister's capacity such as Information and Broadcasting Minister, Youth, Sports and Child Development minister, and Commerce and Industry Minister between 1992 to 1996. In 2006, he resigned due to corruption charges and differences of views with President Chiluba. **a**n, Interview conducted on 15 March 2011 in Lusaka, Zambia.

[7] Interview conducted on 15 March 2011 in Lusaka, Zambia.

discuss the possibility of creating a pressure group… that led… to a registration of political party then we actually run the election." The joint efforts that originated as a pressure group were later converted into a Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) and became one of the active political parties. As a result, Patel became a part of the MMD. Being part of the MMD, he faced no difficulty entering politics.

The involvement of the Indian diaspora in politics resulted in the fundamental change in the party system, i.e., a shift from a one-party system to a multi-party system in Zambia. They also safeguarded the ethos of the Constitution of Zambia, where Frederick Chiluba tried to overstep the constitutional arrangements of a maximum of two terms for the Presidentship and attempted to introduce the third term through a constitutional amendment. They also had a significant role in protesting against such a move of the President along with the civil society, and Dipak Patel led from the parliamentary level. This phase also saw the rise of civil society for the first time in Zambia. Since the Zambian Constitution allowed the Indians to be the voter, political representatives and heads of the state, some of the politicians from the Indian diaspora also had an aspiration of becoming the President of Zambia, but that did not get materialised. One of the aspirants also mentioned that there was an excellent chance to become the President in the early 2000s. However, the situation is different now, and it will be tough for the minority to become the head of the state in the contemporary period.

The nature and dynamics of the political representation of minorities also indicate that it becomes difficult for the minority communities to get elected from random constituencies. However, some of the constituencies become the fertile ground for the political representation of minority communities in Zambia. For instance, the Lusaka Central constituency seems to be a springboard for the minorities, which has given opportunities to them to become political representatives. The Lusaka Central constituency has the credit of electing members from the minority communities. For instance, after Dipak Patel resigned, a European, Guy Scott, became the representative from the constituency. Dipak Patel has also won the constituency by contesting as an independent candidate in the 1996 election.

4.3.4 Current Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zambia

The presence of the Indian diaspora in Zambia dates back to its colonial days. Indian freedom movement leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi inspired the Zambian freedom struggle against colonialism (Haig 2007). After its independence, Zambian found India a crucial partner for its material and economic growth. Further, the Indian community residing in Zambia contributed to its economic and political growth. According to the 2019 reports of the Indian High Commission in Zambia, there are about 25000 Persons of Indian origin living in Zambia, most of whom are Zambian Citizens now. The Gujarati community has the most significant number in Zambia from India. They contribute to trade, hospitality, industry and transport businesses. Apart from the educational, banking, and medical services, PIOs who are citizens have also shaped Zambia's political society. As highlighted in the previous section, the movement to bring democracy to Zambia was led by numerous Indian origin. They have joined the political parties and also become cabinet ministers.[8]

4.3.5 Portfolios of Indian Diaspora in Zambian Government

Since the Zambian independence in 1964, people of the Indian Diaspora have contributed to Zambian politics. From civil society activists to members of different political parties, Indians have asserted their political presence. There are some Indians who held and still hold critical political positions, including Cabinet Ministers of their adopted countries, especially in Zambia.

The current Mwanawasa government is favourable to Indian origin and has been publicly vocal. Recently, the President of Zambia said that the Indians wanting to visit Zambia would be provided easy visas. Further, the celebration of Indian cultural festivals like Diwali is attended by various ministers, including the Cabinet ranked ministers.

[8] For more on People of Indian Origin, see: https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral_Brief_for_zambia_Jan_2019.pdf accessed on 18.2.2022 at 10:47 am. Also visit https://www.hcizambia.gov.in/index.php

Table 4.2: Portfolios of Indian Diaspora in Zambian Government

Sl.No.	**Name**	**Ministry**
1	Yusuf Badat	Deputy Health Minister, Zambia
2	Yusuf Badat	Minister of Commerce and Industry
3	Suresh Desai	Minister for Agriculture under the Chiluba government
4	Ali Hamir	Attorney General of Zambia (also a cabinet rank position)
5	Hamid Hamir	MP of Serenje
6	Nasim-ul-Gani Hamir	Late Lands Deputy Minister, member of Parliament for Serenje, and the nephew of Ali Hamir
7	Dipak Patel	Minister of Commerce and Industry under the Chiluba and Mwanawasa governments, Zambia

Source: Field study interview of 11 March 2011; www.mea.gov.in

4.4 Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Malawi

Nyasaland was declared a protectorate, a state the British government controlled in 1891. There was a cry to create a separate state, and different political parties specified their position in this context. The Nyasaland African Congress (NAC), which was formed in 1944, was the front runner opposed the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953. However, it had not succeeded in its mission. In 1958 Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, a physician, became the head of NAC. A period of civil disorder followed, during which the NAC was banned, and Dr Banda was imprisoned. During his detention, Banda organised the new Malawi Congress Party (MCP). This party led the anti-colonial struggle for many years. Banda was a prominent face and was released from

jail in 1960. The British administration was caught between launching an armed struggle and declaring Malawi as an independent state.

Malawi got independent from British colonialism in 1964. It is predominantly an agrarian society. Most of the population lives in rural areas. The demography is shaped by the tribal migration from the neighbouring states. It is one of the poorest nations in the African continent as per the Gross National Income index. Like other countries in Africa, Malawi also has a tourism economy. The economic underdevelopment, poverty, illiteracy, and malnourishment are caused mainly due to the lack of political conviction by the one-party rule that has dominated the country's political landscape since its independence. Thirty years after the liberation from colonial rule, a multi-party system was created, and elections were held in 1994. A new provisional constitution was drafted and implemented in 1995. United Democratic Front (UDF) is one of the popular parties in Malawi that was voted to power in the 2004 election. It was the third time since its formation in 1992 that it held the Presidentship post (Kalua 2011: 43-63).

4.4.1 Role of Indian Diaspora in BCA in Malawi

The Sikhs of the Indian community played a significant role in the British Colonial Army (B.C.A.) during the British occupation and initial settlement in Malawi. The British Colonial Army fought against Singu, the eldest son of Mpezeni (Mpezeni known as the successor and eldest son of Zwangendaba, a chieftain who reached Malawi in the 19th century and died around 1848). Singu rose in revolt against the British settlers in his father's territory in December 1897. The political history of Malawi took a different turn in and after this raising. In this process, the Indians were also involved politically with the natives and the Britishers. It was the initial political journey of the Indians on Malawi soil. Firstly, British troops were sent out from Malawi. Around five companies of the B.C.A. Rifles consisting of 550 Africans and 100 Sikhs moved in support of the administration of the then Northeastern Rhodesia. Secondly, several refugee groups fled into Malawi, some returning later and others establishing permanent settlements under refugee chieftainships (Pachai 1973: 34).

4.4.2 British Colonial Policy and the Indian Diaspora

The relationship between India and East Africa dates back thousands of years. The trade between the East-African countries and the Indian sub-continent flourished before the European colonial powers settled in Africa. After the arrival of colonial powers, the coastal settlements grew along the coastlines creating small settlements such as Mombasa, Malindi and Bagamoyo. Around the same time, the people of Asian origin in Zanzibar grew to five or six thousand. European colonial system brought changes to the old economic system by creating opportunities that supported their new-age industries in Europe. Indian population migrated in huge numbers during the colonial rule in search of better opportunities in Africa. Famines, drought and lack of better jobs compelled them to work as indentured labourers on railway networks and agricultural labourers in east, central and southern regions of Africa. During the twentieth century, another wave of migration occurred from India to Africa, and they were called 'free immigrants'. These were predominantly traders and small shopkeepers from Gujarat and Punjab.

The large-scale migration from the Asian countries to Africa compelled the European colonialists to introduce laws to check immigration. For instance, in 1904, a literacy test was introduced in Rhodesia to enter Africa. It continued in other colonies of East Africa as well till the second world war. Asian immigrants were perceived as an economic threat by the colonialists. It reduced the number of Asian immigrants. However, the post-second world war witnessed a rise in number.

The treatment of Africans, Indians and other Asian counterparts was more adequately poor than the Europeans. They were differentiated on the racial lines and the opportunities extended to them lacked quality and substance. The differential treatment applied to Africans and Asians in all sectors of life. The agricultural land was owned only by the Europeans. Indians were disallowed from owning and pursuing any agricultural work. As a result, the Asians were forced to take up lower-grade jobs in railways, commercial and other industrial sectors. The economic mobility was restricted. Education was kept exclusive to the colonial rulers (Kandawire 1974: 113). Asians set up schools to promote

education among themselves, and Indians saw education as an opportunity to grow. In the later part of the colonial rule, the authorities gave funding to these schools.

The end of the Second World War saw the growth of Asians migrating abroad. Many of them returned as lawyers, medical practitioners and engineers, changing the Asian labour force. These developments varied from one region to another. Indian communities living in Central Africa were primarily commerce-centric communities and could not avail themselves of the educational opportunities like Indians of other regions of Africa. (World Directory of Minorities: Sub-Saharan Africa 2008).

The arrival of immigrants from India to Africa during the colonial period was to find an alternative livelihood. In the 19th century, Africa attracted Indians into its territory. South Africa had one of the highest immigrants from India compared to other regions. Gujarati population was highest among them, especially those who inhabited the British territories. The majority of the Gujarati's entered into Northern-Rhodesia in 1905 through Southern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. They were artisans, small businessmen and skilled workers. Unlike the other regions where the colonial masters' required indentured labourers, in the regions of Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe, Indians contributed to the most specialised workforce. Initially, Muslim traders and artisans arrived in these regions of Africa, and later, Hindus joined them. The Indian population was much smaller in comparison to the European settlers. However, their numbers gradually increased between 1905 to 1950. Much of this rapid growth of Indian immigrants was due to the proliferation of mining industries in Northern Rhodesia in the 1940s. The fear of new regulations on the arrival of immigrants in 1953 also resulted in the acceleration of migration.

The welfare of the Indian emigrants was a priority of the India Office. Therefore, to secure the interests of the Indian emigrants, it decided to send a representative to British Central Africa. However, this proposal was denied due to the fear of ethnic tension between Indians and Europeans living in Africa. After the independence of India in 1947, another proposal was submitted by the British High Commissioner to India to give representation in Lusaka's Legislative Council. The suggestion was not accepted. Later,

the Indian High Commissioner for British East and Central Africa was reprimanded for stopping raising the concerns of the Indians living in Central Africa. The colonial state was still powerful despite the freedom achieved by the Indian state. However, the Indian government back in South Asia continued to raise their demand for better treatment of Indians living in Africa but primarily focused on East Africa.

4.4.3 Situation of Indian Diaspora During Independence Period

The second world war pushed the anti-colonial struggle across Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Several colonial states such as Britain, Germany, Netherland, Portugal, and Spain witnessed the economic crisis in Europe and the rise of nationalism in the colonies. It resulted in the transfer of power to the people. Africa was witnessing freedom from decades-long imperial rule. Moreover, the new African nations demanded the creation of structures to move ahead. It had to deal with the problems of the indigenous population and the settlers from outside Africa, including Asians and Europeans. The earlier colonial policies were based on racial lines that created societal compartmentalisation. It eventually caused a rift among the Asians as well as Africans. Apart from the existing racial differences, the economic control of the Asians over commerce and manufacturing developed animosity between the Africans and Asians. The idea of colonial exploitation was replaced with the Asian exploitation of the Africans. The Indians continued the caste and rigid social practices in Africa that prevented social assimilation. The accusations on the Indian diaspora, such as lack of commitment to African nationalism, fight against colonialism and racial discrimination, angered the Central Africans. Asian communities joined in the national struggle, but their vigour was limited to East Africa.

It is essential to mention that the rise of African nationalism has obscured the historical fact that Indians, not Africans, first challenged the European-standard rule in British-occupied Africa. Until the most recent adult generation appeared, Africans were so far removed from any seemingly valid claim to socio-cultural equality that a severe political challenge from them would have seemed fantastic to most Europeans. Indians, however, were placed by the Europeans in an entirely different category. Given the opportunity, they were known to possess the capacity to acquire wealth and education rapidly. From

experience in India and South Africa, it was concluded that they would not hesitate to press for political rights whenever and wherever they felt strong enough to do so. As early as the 1920s, they bid for the franchise and the rights of entry into the exclusive White Highlands of East Africa. This move coincided with Gandhi's successful agitation of nationalist sentiment in India (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 301).

The juxtaposition of these events reveals an additional and highly realistic facet of the European settlers' fear of Indians in Africa. Seriously pressed as it was in India, the British government refused to complicate matters, giving a few thousand settlers in Kenya the restrictive powers over Indians that they demanded. Thus, it showed that the Indians in Africa could exert considerable leverage upon the Colonial Office through India (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 301).

In Central Africa, Indians have always been a tiny minority compared to the European population, including Nyasaland (Malawi). A test of power between Indian and European of the kind which occurred in Central Africa was, therefore, numerically impossible and never came about. Still, as we have seen, the rapid increase in the Indian population of the two northern territories during the prosperous post-war years immediately preceding federation brought the always latent fear of Indians among Europeans to the surface and the achievement of independence in India gave this fear an added edge. Imaginative politicians again hauled up before rapt audiences the old bugaboo of an Africa overrun by the "teeming millions of Asia" (Dotson and Dotson 1968:302).

Moreover, the long colonial regime favoured the European resident over Africans and Asians as they were British citizens and British protected persons. The new Constitution provided them economic security along with numerous other political benefits. The post-independent citizenship policies and laws provided individuals opportunities to obtain the new nation's citizenship in due procedure or give the option to become a citizen within a stipulated time. The new citizenship qualification criteria did not support many in getting citizenship. Thus, they could not qualify and retain their previous status.

The accurate figures for Asians qualifying for citizenship in Africa are not precise. Therefore, the data from scholars working on the Asian diaspora in East and Central Africa present an estimated figure. However, it has been observed that the Asians number as citizens drastically fell during the post-independent period. The British and Asians assumed that holding their parents' citizenship would protect them from persecution and expulsion by the African authorities. The reluctance to accept the African nationality and citizenship further angered and created suspicion among the African community.

Several newly independent African countries have devised new policies to grant citizenship to Asian communities. The choice to become African citizens or remain non-citizens or outsiders was extended to the Asian communities. Citizenship identity determined the access to economic and state bureaucracy. The Africanisation policies gave the indigenous population more opportunities than others in the economic, administrative and political arena. The non-citizens were subjected to limited access to residence, trade and employment. Deportation of non-citizens was also implemented in countries like Malawi. This compelled those non-citizens to explore new avenues outside their existing residence. Economic sanctions, new regulations on foreign exchange, and limited withdrawal of money saw the wealthy Asians transfer their money abroad (World Directory of Minorities: Sub-Saharan Africa 2008).

4.4.4 Constitution of Malawi and Citizenship Norms

As discussed above, many independent African states drafted a new constitution. The birth of a post-colonial state identified the citizens and non-citizens. The determination was based on principles laid out in the Constitution. Birth, descent, naturalisation etc., fixed the norms for granting citizenship. Chapter 4 of the Malawi 1994 Constitution elucidates the citizenship criteria. In the year 1994, a new constitution was adopted in Malawi. Under Article 48 (1) of the new Constitution, any person who was a citizen before creating a new constitution in 1994 will be recognised as a Citizen of Malawi. However, Article 48(2) empowers the Parliament of Malawi to enact any law related to the acquisition and loss of Malawi citizenship. The Malawi Constitution of 1994 also prescribes the procedure concerning the acquisition and loss of citizens. Article 48(3)(a)

prescribes that citizenship can be based on birth, descent, marriage, registration, naturalisation or any other as prescribed by the Act of Malawian Parliament. In the same vein, a person can lose the citizen of Malawi by deprivation, renunciation or any Act prescribed by the Parliament (Article 48[3][b]). However, these provisions are placed under Chapter 5 and Article 47 of the amended Constitution of 1998.[9] However, article 47(2) of the amended Constitution of Malawi, 1998 states that though the Parliament is empowered to make any law for the acquisition and loss of citizenship, it cannot arbitrarily deny or deprive citizenship. Article 42 (1) of the Constitution of Malawi also addresses the issue of asylum, refugee status and statelessness. It guarantees the right to asylum in Malawi to those, who have been denied the country of origin or residence, right to freedom, democratic rights, and faced religious, sexual, racial, ethnic and political persecution. The developments such as globalisation and liberalisation have reignited the debates on citizenship globally. Its impact on various countries of Africa can be observed. Increased violence against the non-African communities in the 1990s and 2000s have shifted the focus on identifying new norms and criteria for granting citizenship.

4.4.5 Malawi Constitution and its Implications on Indian Diaspora

The Constitution of Malawi prescribes certain opportunities and restrictions that have considerable implications for those who are not the original inhabitants of Malawi. Consequently, these opportunities and challenges have more significant implications for the Indian diaspora community living in Malawi. The Indian diaspora in Malawi can become the citizens of the country on the ground specified in the Constitution, such as birth, descent, marriage, registration and naturalisation or as mentioned by Act of the Parliament. Considering these criteria, all the Indian diaspora members are citizens of Malawi. They can register as voters in any constituency after obtaining the citizenship of Malawi and meeting the age criteria of 18 years and residential criteria of being residents of a particular constituency. However, the person can also register as a voter on the ground of birth, employment and engaging in business in a particular constituency. The Constitution of 1994 also provides certain alternative arrangements for the registration of voters. A person can also register as a voter even without being a citizen of the Republic

[9] Various Articles mentioned here are from the Malawi Constitution of 1994 unless specifically mentioned.

after fulfilling the residential criteria of residing in Malawi for seven years (Article 78[2]). On these grounds, all the Indian diaspora can register themselves as voters of Malawi.

The citizenship and voter status of Indian diaspora community members in Malawi also extends their political rights. They can also get nominated or elected to the National Assembly and National Council upon attaining the age of 21 and 35 years, respectively (Article 52[1][a] and [c]. Article 52 (1)(b) also provides certain language requirements of proficiency in English or any language of Malawi to be considered for the members of the Parliament. The language requirement is adopted in the Constitution to enable the members of the Parliament to have constructive deliberations in their own language at the decision-making institutions of the Malawian state. Meanwhile, the Constitution also put some restrictions on occupying the position of the President and Chief of the Defense Forces. The eligibility for the post of President, First Vice-President or Second Vice-President is based on citizenship acquired by birth or descent and who has attained the age of 35.[10] In short, all such provisions of the Constitution provide enough scope for the Indian diaspora to effectively participate in the political affairs of the Republic of Malawi, which will have more significant implications on their political situation. However, the election of a person of Indian diaspora to any political post is determined mainly by the support of the people. The popularity and social commitment of an individual decide the electoral outcome.

4.4.6 Citizenship Crisis and the Indian Diaspora

Citizenship became a challenge for the modern-nation state across the world. Identifying an individual, granting citizenship and monitoring their movement were crucial for the state. Several Asians, including Indians, adopted British nationality during the colonial rule. However, they continue to remain in African states. Many of them anticipated free entry into Britain in 1965 and 1966. However, the British changed their policies towards their overseas citizens. Fearing tensions of ethnic clashes back home, Britain introduced a new law in 1968 that restricted the entry of British citizens from overseas. It targeted those British citizens who had no close ties with Britain. It recognised those whose father

[10] Considering the national interest, the President may appoint a person to the post of Second-Vice President.

or grandfather was born in Britain. Before this law, around 13000 Indians entered Britain. Others remained at the mercy of the British quota voucher system that allowed 1500 families to enter annually. It increased the waiting list and doubled in 1971. The Indian government decided the fate of Indians choosing to return to India. The Indians with UK passports found it challenging to enter India.

The political developments in most regions of Africa after the end of colonialism disfavoured the outsiders such as Asians. The military coupe aggravated this crisis further. For instance, Idi Amin occupied the political throne in Uganda in 1971. Soon after his reign, a political order was passed declaring the non-citizens to leave Uganda within three months. It set panic among the Asians resulting in the withdrawal of Ugandan passport holders from the Asian community. In six weeks, more than 50000 Asians vacated Uganda without their belonging. According to an estimate, around 27000 fled to Britain due to partial relaxation in immigration laws. Similarly, 10000 went to India, and the other 4000 to Canada. Many seek refuge in the UN camps in Europe, the USA, Pakistan and other parts of Africa such as Kenya and Malawi. It was one of the significant citizenship crises that emerged in Africa. Even other countries witnessed the movement of Asians from one place to another due to the citizenship crisis.

The exodus of Asians from Africa to other regions continued soon after the independence. An estimated 344000 Asians were residents in Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi and Uganda in 1968. However, in 16 years, their number reduced drastically to 85000. Only 40000 stayed back in Kenya, 20000 in Tanzania and 3000 in Zambia and 1000 each in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Among these 20000 Asians were British passport holders and British Citizenship. Asians also encountered discrimination from British policies. According to the British Nationality Act passed in 1982, the UK Asian passport holders were recognised as British Overseas Citizens with limited entry rights to the UK. It began to issue vouchers to UK passport holders though their demand decreased. Asian settlers were caught between African states and UK authorities as their citizenship crisis deepened (World Directory of Minorities: Sub-Saharan Africa 2008).

4.5 Political Situation of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi: A Comparative Perspective

Indian Diaspora in each of these countries has gone through different experiences as far as their political life and struggle in these countries are concerned. One common experience they had gone through in all these three countries was the deliberate attempt of the British colonial power to keep the Indians away from politics. As a result, they offered only the clerical positions to Indians in administration, kept strict and tough educational tests to become citizens for non-Europeans, especially Asians, and entered government jobs. As far as the participation of Indians on the security front is concerned, they confined Indians to work as soldiers in British Colonial Army without offering any commanding position even if they had shown their bravery and efficiency. On the economic front also, they were being used by the Britishers. However, gradually the Indians managed to make a space for themselves on the economic front by serving the interests of the common African people or natives along with their own. As far as differences in experience are concerned on the political front, the Indians in Zimbabwe are being targeted by the state authority during the post-colonial period, which emerged out of hat-redness towards Indians among the natives because of their economic prosperity. In Zambia, the government is mainly friendly towards the Indians. They did not suffer from any violent attack by the state authority or by instigating state authority so far after independence like Zimbabwe.

However, during the field study, it was observed that they fear being a minority community in this country. Most of them either hold British or Indian passports without opting for Zambia citizenship. They are spread to various professions. The Indians belonging to the affluent section prefer sending their children to European schools instead of sending them to government schools and sending them to study abroad at a higher educational level or for jobs. Although the number of Indians in Malawi is relatively less than in Zimbabwe and Zambia, they are primarily stateless citizens denied citizenship rights. One unique thing about the Indians in all these Central African countries is their support and indirect participation during the independence period to Africans against the colonial power.

4.6 State Against the Indian Diaspora

Despite contributing to the economy of these countries, the Indian diaspora communities face an immense threat to their life and property, especially in Zimbabwe. Indians are also segregated from the political sphere of this particular country since the government is not allowing the diaspora people to participate in the country's decision-making process. The exclusion of the Indian diaspora from the economic and political activities caused a community's deprivation. Moreover, the political narratives of the new regimes in many countries toward the Indian diaspora caused social unrest. The rift between the indigenous African and Indian diasporic population resulted in ethnic tensions.

In 1970, the Indian business community in Uganda faced threats from the local population. Land, businesses and properties were under constant attack. Small-scale peril against Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) existed in many African countries. In 2002, PIOs became soft targets of the local population. The supporters of President Mugabe's political outfit exerted pressure to give away the properties of the PIOs to the locals, or they would control them forcefully (*The Times*, April, 2002). Indians in many of the African countries are known for their entrepreneurial skills. They controlled a significant market share. The Economic success of them angered a few sections of the society. In many civil war-infected countries, the militant organisations targeted the Indian business communities.

Similarly, in Malawi, Indians faced racial discrimination from the local population. It drew a sharp reaction from the Indian community members. Mr Altaf Almad Muhamad, Chairman of the Asian Community, in an interview with Capital Radio Straight Talk of Nyasa highlighted the racial slurs encountered by the Indian community in Malawi. He stated, "We are abused like minibus people use foul language to insult Indian women". Further, he added, "We don't know why the native Malawians are doing this when they know we belong to this country". The public display of racial abuse against Indians was a matter of grave concern. There are enough shreds of evidence of foul language in the market, shopping malls and public streets. Indians are a minority community in Malawi, contributing significantly to the country's economic development apart from their role in

charity and other relief work, including the Koranga earthquake disaster (*Nyasa Times*, May, 2010: 1).

After fifty years of independence, many African countries realised the underdevelopment, inflation and economic instability. The political parties that came to power during this time began to identify the reason behind their underdevelopment. Asians, Europeans and other non-black communities were made responsible for the lack of economic development. Blaming certain communities for the people and states' misery is an easy political ploy for the political leaders and local population. In Zimbabwe, the Zanu-PF party won the Presidential elections. Soon after their election, the militant organisations supported by the Government issued threats to the local Indians, Europeans and Jewish communities. For instance, the Liberation War Veteran Association issued an ultimatum to stop black marketing, circulate the money in the local banks, reduce rents and raise wages for the workers working in their firms. In a press interview, the leader of the association, Andrew Ndlovu, stated, 'Nothing will stop us from reclaiming commercial land from Indians. If they do not stop looting our economy, they will leave us with no choice but to go door-to-door, ensuring all Indians in the cities comply with instructions from war veterans. They issued a public threat to seize the properties of the Asians. These militant groups also targeted the White population to hand their farmlands to landless blacks. The State did not have any land distribution policy.[11] Indirectly, the state provided tacit consent to these militant outfits to procure the land informally. A state-wide farm-seizure campaign for two years saw the Zimbabwe economy collapse. It saw an increase in inflation, a shortage of food supply and images of people carrying money in suitcases to purchase food in stores became ordinary. Earlier, the government and political parties blamed the small European population for their economic underdevelopment, but they have found new communities- Asians and Jews.

The state-led initiative of targeting the Europeans and Asians in Zimbabwe acquired currency among the public. A senior member of the Zanu-PF party and provincial governor, Elliot Manyika, issued a statement on the finalisation of 5000 white-owned

[11] To read about who owned land, refer to Hansungue (2000: 305-340). ‘

farms that the government would seize. Further, the government would also control the urban businesses and mines. In his interview with a pro-Government Zimbabwe Mirror, he said, 'Asians, commonly referred to as Indians, would also not be spared for what is said to be their role in the hoarding of essential commodities'. The state-supported local militias also targeted Indians because they owned the lands left behind by the Europeans in the 1980s. Indians bought those lands in towns and cities and charged the locals with high rentals. Moreover, they were alleged to violate the rental laws of the state. The local organisations were instigated for political gain by the government. Often, they ignore that they are targeting their citizens. Indians felt threatened by the majority population. They are citizens of the country with small businesses, leaving them unprotected. Economic security was not granted.

4.7 Contribution of Indian Diaspora to the Politics of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

The Indians primarily contribute to the politics of the above three countries, which is not much recognised and acknowledged by the natives of Zimbabwe and Malawi, especially in Zimbabwe. For that, they need to revisit the history of Indian settlers during the colonial period and the impact of the Indian nationalist leaders; especially Mahatma Gandhi, on African politics and his contribution to fighting for the right to self-determination of the coloured people (natives) and non-Europeans by challenging the superiority and hegemony of the Europeans.

The Indians wholeheartedly demanded and supported the native coloured people of these three countries to have a federation where there would be more representation of the natives and the non-Europeans. The historical facts reveal that Indians, not Africans, first challenged the European standards of rule in British-occupied Africa (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 301). India's freedom movement, the movement of self-determination, largely inspired the Africans to claim freedom against the colonial power. This got momentum in East Africa and had an impact on Central Africa. The Indians participated in the freedom struggle of Zimbabwe. For example, Keshab Bhai Patel was a famous Political leader and a freedom fighter who contributed mainly to the freedom movement of Zimbabwe. He

was also a member of Polit Burou in independent Zimbabwe. Recently he passed away. Indian diaspora community fought against the colonial hegemony, white supremacy and racial discrimination in these central African countries. Many political leaders of Zimbabwe and Zambia were primarily inspired by Gandhi and other Indian freedom fighters and mobilised the Africans to fight against discrimination, racism and injustice.

4.8 Issue of Political Participation and Representation of Indian Diaspora

During the pre-independence period, the colonial powers completely dominated the political scene. The British always consider Britain as the home of modern representative political institutions. However, it has a robust monarchical foundation where the position and privileges of the crown have remained intact even today in the name of Britain's conventions and tradition. They hold this notion that perhaps nowhere else has the conception of democracy as moral equality flourished more vigorously than in Britain. Therefore, every British settler and official coming to Africa carried with him certain well-defined notions of political rights, political freedom, and political equality. To access these rights in a foreign land, the British settlers demanded sufficient political power to control local affairs from the beginning. For example, in 1912, merely 1,500 European settlers in Zambia were agitating for legislative representation. When the Indians and other non-Europeans demanded the same political rights in any part of British occupied Africa where the European had the dominance, the British official would give the stereotyped reply by denying the same rights to others that "they do not measure up to European (or civilised) standards". This confirms the stereotypical conviction that the Europeans have that *any* European is superior to *any* non-European. These perceived differences of separating European from non-Europeans were turned to the European advantage, which became a highly convenient moral justification for the privilege of Europeans wherever they spread from Africa to Asia (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 298-300).

This stereotype denied the contribution of Indians and other non-European settlers to Africa's socio-economic and political life. Perhaps this is why the Indians are denied equal political rights and representation like the Europeans in Africa, which impact them even today. They have less political participation and representation than their socio-

economic status and participation. The Europeans claimed that "we insist upon a monopoly of political power, that is because only we have the necessary knowledge and experience to employ power wisely in the interests of all. The European standard must be protected at all costs" (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 300).

In the contemporary politics of these three countries, the representation and participation of the PIOs are more in Zambia than in Zimbabwe and Malawi. During the field study, the Minister for Youth Mr. Dipak Patel and the Agricultural Minister Mr. Suresh Desai shared their experiences as ministers and the election campaign. Both emphasised that to win the hearts of the people in Zambia. There is a need to learn the local language apart from English. Both of them are fluent in the local language, and they gave speeches in the local language during election rallies. The native Africans and the Indians are overwhelmingly supporting them. Both Patel and Desai are known for their dedication and hard work and brought many reforms during their tenure for the welfare of the farmers and youth. Their role model in politics whom they got inspiration from are Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Although PIOs are not being denied political representation in Malawi, their number is less since most are stateless citizens. In Zimbabwe, they are denied because of the antagonistic nature of the Zimbabwean leaders towards the PIOs, and the reason behind that is their economic prosperity. So, the economic prosperity of the Zimbabwe PIOs led to their under-representation in politics (Mohanty 2020).

4.9 Challenges at the Political Front

Over the period, the political sphere has become a contested one. It provides the space where various communities interact and interface for various reasons. Their interactions occur along the line of the majority-minority principle. Their engagement with politics also depends on the more considerable understanding of insider versus outsider or native versus migrants' discourse. Such binaries have created numerous opportunities and challenges in the political sphere. However, these opportunities and challenges do not have equal implications for various communities. The relative implications of opportunities or challenges are entrenched in their experiences with the existing

Constitution and mainly with the existing political structure and nation-state. Indian diaspora has both opportunities as well as challenges in political spheres.

Sometimes, political challenges also emerge from within the Indian diaspora community. Considering the more significant concerns of economic interest and the migration pattern of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, most of the Indian diaspora community members are from the Indian state of Gujarat. These members are primarily driven by their economic interests rather than political interests. As a result, there was an 'invisible' presence of the Indian diaspora in politics, more as voters than contested candidates. Over the period, the Indian diaspora entered into active politics by contesting the election and being part of the Cabinet. Hence, there is gradual visibility of Indians in politics. However, any form of visibility that the Indians get in the political sphere has invited contestation from the native communities in general and native political leaders in particular.

Considering the case of the Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, which have a history of colonial experiences, the Constitutions of these countries have adopted numerous provisions extending similar political opportunities and entitlements to Indian diaspora as well as the native communities. Although the Constitutions do not discriminate against the Indian diaspora in political spheres, it seems such a notion has not been internalised by the native communities, especially the native political elite. Hence, racial discrimination and the majority-minority principle have been used against the Indian diaspora communities, to be more specific, against those who wanted to be actively engaged in the political sphere and aimed to bring political transformation in terms of encouraging the youth to become part of the decision-making process and provide a fresh perspective for the advancement of countries.

However, such approaches of some of the Indian diaspora members have not been received well by the native old guard politicians. They wanted to be in a position of political power. As long as political opinions of the Indian diaspora suit the native political leaders or the ruling government, the opposition seems largely 'invisible'. Such

invisible opposition is possible when alternative strategies are adopted to address the issues of minorities, including the Indian diaspora. For instance, under the Constitution of Zambia, the President can nominate eight people from the minority communities. However, when the people from minority communities won the elections, the President inducted them into the Cabinet. The 1991 election witnessed the winning of members from the minority communities, and the President accommodated them into the Cabinet. However, the members from the minority communities felt that the President could have nominated the eight members from minority communities outside the elected members.[12]

However, the opposition to active political participation of members of minority communities becomes more prominent when the ruling government develops a sense of political insecurity when the minority communities are not benevolent in their activities. For instance, in the wake of differences of opinion with President Frederick Chiluba, Dipak Patel resigned from the Cabinet in 2006 and raised the issues of corruption and the potential attempt of the President to violate the constitutional provisions he was threatened with. When he decided to contest the 1996 election from the Lusaka Central Constituency, consisting of around 99 percent indigenous voters, an anti-racist protest was carried out.[13] However, they could not succeed in restricting the winnability of Dipak Patel, and he won the election with a considerable margin.[14]

Similarly, the contested political relation has also been witnessed in Zimbabwe. However, they took the border connotation of marginalisation in the social, economic and political spheres into consideration and began to attack Indians. Both the state and government fanned racial animosity to target the Indian community. The statesmen of Zimbabwe could have eased the tensions. Instead, they used the tensions to garner support from the local, regional and international communities (Muzundidya, 2010: 1). The control of Indians over the Zimbabwe local economy gradually resulted in political control. It eventually divided the minority settlers and native people (Mlambo 1998: 123).

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[12] Interview conducted with Dipak Patel on 15 March 2011 in Lusaka, Zambia.

[13] Interview conducted with Dipak Patel on 15 March 2011 in Lusaka, Zambia.

[14] Interview conducted with Dipak Patel on 15 March 2011 in Lusaka, Zambia.

Similarly, the political participation of the Indian diaspora in Malawi is also not well conceived by the native Malawians. To put it differently, an underneath political resentment is always there against the Indian diaspora in Central African countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

4.10 Low Political Participation and Socio-Economic Insecurity of Indian Diaspora: An Observation

The condition of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi cannot be studied in isolation. The social, economic and political conditions are intertwined with each other. The comprehensive picture of the Indian diaspora in a particular sphere in these Central African countries seems incomplete without reference to other spheres of life. The concurrent position of the Indian diaspora has implications over other spheres of life.

In the three-country comparative study on the social and political conditions of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, it is observed that the Indian diaspora experienced differential treatment from the local population before and after independence. The degree of threat may be different in these countries. However, the insider and outsider debate did not end despite acquiring citizenship. The Constitution of these countries treats the African and Indian populations equally. However, the politicisation of the Indian diaspora for political mileage by the local parties often results in a potential threat to the diasporic community.

The study reveals the multilayered dynamics of the conditions of the Indian diaspora in the three countries of central Africa. The social, political and economic security of the Indian diasporic community is at risk. They face discrimination, verbal abuse and violence as well. Zimbabwe poses a significant threat to the Indian diaspora internally. Both social and economic spheres remain vulnerable. The field study highlights two crucial elements, firstly, the socio-economic vulnerability of the Indian community and secondly, the first element is determined by the political landscape within these three countries. The Indian minority is targeted due to their economic affluence and positions within the corporate companies. Therefore, increasing the political participation and

representation of the Indian diaspora may reduce the tensions between the locals and the Indian community. Mauritius and Fiji are fine examples of a safer environment for the PIOs.

The study also reveals that among the three nations, Zambia offers better security and economic environment to the Indian diasporic population in comparison to the other two countries Zambia and Malawi. The field interview indicates it is possible mainly due to better and active participation of some of the members from the Indian diaspora at the decision-making level. Zambia has seen the Cabinet Ministers from the Indian diaspora, such as Dipak Patel and Suresh Desai. They have had a significant contribution not only to the betterment of the host country but also to advocating for secured life for the minorities. For instance, Dipak Patel stalled the debate on the Constitution Amendment Bill no. 10 after dragging the state to the Constitutional Court on 18 March 2020.[15] Among other proposals, Bill 10 aimed to reaffirm Zambia as a Christian nation rather than a multi-religious state.[16] Zimbabwe caused more threats to the Indian diaspora due to a new political narrative.

Blaming the Indian minority for underdevelopment and lack of opportunities for the locals brought political advantage to the ruling party. Destruction of properties, loss of economic wealth and damaging life highlight the insecurities of the Indian minority in Zimbabwe. It can be argued that the lack of active participation in Zimbabwean politics caused the vulnerability. It also proved detrimental to their economic well-being and social security. However, during his visit to India in January 2020, the Indian-origin MP of Zimbabwe, Raj Modi, assured the Gujarati businessmen of peace, safety and total state support in setting up business in Zimbabwe (Ahmedabad Mirror 2020). It depicts the

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[15] "Daily Nation: Dipak Patel Stops Bill 10", (accessed on 28 September 2020).

[16] The Bill once again reinforced the widely unsettled discourse on individual faith versus state intervention in religious matters. It is worthwhile to mention that the First Amendment to the Constitution, 1996, inserted a clause in the Preamble declaring Zambia "…a Christian nation while upholding a person's right to freedom of conscience, belief, and religion…" The Constitution Amendment Bill 10 aims to shift the Christian nation clause out of the Preamble, which is merely a declaration without any force of law, to a more substantive and, therefore, could be enforced under the law. However, many Zambian Christians are not benevolent to the proposal of taking this cause out of the Preamble and vehemently criticised such a government move (Chikoti 2020). Once the Bill is passed, matters of faith may not remain as 'personal', and the state may intervene to define the nature and practice of faith.

changes in Zimbabwe in the last twenty years since former President Mugabe assumed the political throne. Perhaps, more such positive developments may take place in the future too.

Similarly, the Zambian government adopted racially discriminatory practices concerning business, which has primarily been understood as the implications of low political participation and under-representation of the Indian diaspora in decision-making. The non-citizen Indians living in Zambia were denied licenses to do business in rural areas in 1970 and later in urban areas in 1972 by the Zambian government. It limited their economic and business activities. Apart from these three countries, a similar policy was introduced restricting the business license for the non-citizen Indians in Kenya and Uganda. The nationalisation of prominent economic institutions in Tanzania made the Asian private economic enterprises irrelevant. The imposition of restrictions on certain areas and certain items can be attributed to their low political participation, failure to have a decisive influence over the political affairs of the host countries, and their lack of representation in decision-making bodies.

4.11 Conclusion

To sum up, the chapter focused on the existence of the Indian diaspora and their socio-economic and political relationship with the local population, government and state in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The interaction between the communities and politics has been analysed in the context of political engagements of the Indian diaspora in host countries, especially about their participation in the political affairs of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The analysis indicated that the political engagements of the Indian diaspora in these countries could not be understood in isolation. However, their political engagements have more significant implications for their social and economic conditions and vice versa. Meanwhile, the nature and dynamics of political participation of Indian diaspora are also influenced by myriad factors, such as political structure, party system, constitutional provisions, reception of Indian diaspora by native communities, awareness and commitment of Indian diaspora towards the socio-economic problems of the host countries, etc.

The Constitutions of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi have well-established provisions to entitle the citizenship status to the Indian diaspora and other minority communities. The active participation of the Indian diaspora has also resulted in political contestation with the native communities, thereby leading to political assertion. To put it differently, the Indian diaspora community is still considered 'outsiders' despite being citizens of the host countries. Such orientation has led to political contestations in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi and ethnic tension.

Chapter Five

India and Indian Diaspora: Comparing Connectivity of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi with India

Chapter Five

INDIA AND INDIAN DIASPORA: Comparing Connectivity of Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi with India

5.0 Introduction

In this globalised world, the Indian diaspora are the most powerful and vital asset of India. Visibility of India and Indianness in a substantive manner in the global sphere is only possible through the Indian diaspora community. Indian diaspora is the connecting bridge between India and the rest of the world and between India and the Indian diaspora community of the various parts of the world. The heritage, the history, the art and culture, the religion, the diversity and plurality, the social values; Indian diaspora are the carrier of all these across the globe. So, the connectivity between India and the Indian diaspora is reflected in every aspect of Indian diaspora life.

The Indian diaspora or the People of Indian Origin (PIOs) are very much connected to their native country India without compromising their loyalty to the settled countries. They have preserved the "Indianness" through their language, culture, social and religious practices etc., on the one hand, and on the other hand, having closer ties with the home country India. If we look at the response of India towards the Indian diaspora, the Indian state could not keep much closer ties with the Indians abroad till the 1990s since the leadership was more involved in resolving internal problems and challenges, which the circumstances after independence demanded. The government was involved in accomplishing the nation-building measures. There was no specific policy as such evolved by the government of India for the Indian diaspora settled abroad. Nevertheless, the situation of the Indian diaspora abroad has demanded some special attention and a healing approach by the government of India. The reason behind that was that many of the Indian diaspora community people were taken away by the British colonial ruler either by force or through contract since the Indian labour force required the Britishers in their colonised countries of Africa to assist them in various ways like railway constructions, plantation work, to join British Army and to provide administrative assistance in

participating in various clerical works and so on (Laurence 1994; Tinker 1973; Harries 1987).

Furthermore, the British administration did not get much resistance from the Indian diaspora side because of the massive poverty and political dependency of the Indians. After independence, because of the prevailing circumstances and challenges, the government of India could not engage proactively with the People of Indian Origin (PIOs). The position of the Indian government was that whoever migrated and settled in which part of the world outside India needed to remain there only without expecting much from the home country India with the hope of returning to India. This policy of the government of India continued till the 1990s. However, from the 1990s onwards, with the initiative of the Bajpayee government, pro-active measures were undertaken to engage with the PIOs settled in different parts of the world**,** including Africa (Dubey 2010). So, the strength of the Indian diaspora and their potential were adequately measured by the government of India during this time. Ray (2010) expressed that till 2002, there was no formal initiative taken from the government of India side to engage with the Indian diaspora across the globe.

The appointment of the High-Level Committee to study and analyse the overall situation and potential development of the Indian diaspora (more than 20 million NRIs and PIOs) first time led to the formal engagement of the government of India with the Indian diaspora community. The findings of this committee were submitted to the government of India in 2004, which led to the creation of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (Ray 2010: 80, Report of High-Level Committee on Indian Diaspora, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2001 and www.indiandiaspora.nic.in). With the creation of this ministry, the Indian diaspora got the wings to fly and connect with the home country of India politically, economically, emotionally and culturally etc. Indian films are quite popular among the Indian diaspora community. In various fields and roles as the indentured labourers, free passengers, professionals, skilled or unskilled workers, business persons Indian diaspora made tremendous progress over the period and are doing quite well economically, professionally and to some extent politically. Especially the second

and third-generation members of the Indian diaspora held prominent positions, especially in the economic, judicial and political spheres (Ray 2010: 80).

Recently, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, under the Prime Ministership of Mr. Narendra Modi, has taken aggressive measures to engage with the Indian diaspora worldwide, more specifically in the economic sphere (Taylor 2017: 2). However, the Ministry of Overseas Indians (MOI) merged into the External Affairs Ministry, which was not a very good move for the benefit of the Indian diaspora community abroad. Because to give special attention to the Indian diaspora community and make policies that will benefit the upliftment of this particular community, a separate ministry is required.

Moreover, taking into consideration that aspect and giving more attention to the Indian diaspora community, former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee set up an independent ministry. Under his leadership, the government of India set up the Ministry for Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA). Vajpayee had a great vision and a strong commitment to the Indian diaspora abroad. Indeed, the exemplary contribution of the Vajpayee government towards the Indian diaspora brought them together and connected with the home country politically. He was the first leader of India who not only recognised the potential of the Indian diaspora and protected their dignity and respect. Such policy at the domestic level had a significant impact on the global community. Now, the global community has started looking at the Indian diaspora with respect and recognized their potential and contribution at the global level. This brought honour and pride to both the home country India and the Indian diaspora. Vajpayee government also initiated the Pravasi Bhartiya Samman (PBS) and dual citizenship for the Indian diaspora community. The difference between the Bajpayee government and the present Modi government is that the earlier gave more emphasis to political engagement, and the latter is taking proactive measures for economic engagement.

5.1 Journey from Overseas Indians to Indian Diaspora

The diaspora studies generally use the term 'Overseas Indians' initially. Later on, the academic circle used the term 'Indian diaspora' widely. In the Indian context, overseas Indians refer to the Indians who cross the Sea through sea voyages and move to various countries for education, trade, labour, and other professions. Eastern India, more specifically Odisha state, celebrates every year the significance of this journey (*yatra*) in the form of a festival known as *Bali Mela* on the occasion of *Kartik Purnima.* This *Bali Mela* day historically signifies the day of coming back of Odiya traders (*sadhaba pua*) after making trade (*baniya*) across the world through sea voyage (Pande 2020).

Such fascinating historical facts demand the engagement of India with its diaspora in a more constructive way which brought back the faith of the Indian diaspora towards their home country. Such celebration also cemented the emotional attachment of Indian diaspora with India, which has boosted their expectations. So, it is imperative to understand how far India can meet those expectations, what the initiatives have been undertaken, and how the Indian diaspora is also meeting the expectations of its home country, India. It is also required to understand the challenges and opportunities that brought new paradigm shifts in the diaspora policy of the government of India and the study of the Indian diaspora as such, and the connection and relationship between the home country and Indian diaspora. These have more significant implications on the lives of the Indian diaspora living in these Central African countries and worldwide. The above-stated factors also affect the relationship between the Indian diaspora and the home country vis-à-vis the Indian diaspora's relationship with the host country and the relationship between home and host countries, which needed special attention.

The present chapter dealt with the relationship between the Indian diaspora and the home country of India from various aspects. This will look at the connectivity between these two and emerging new areas of cooperation and engagement. In that context, it is also looking at the identity issue of the Indian diaspora and their relationship with the natives of the host countries they settled. The Indian diaspora are playing a significant role in India's foreign policy. The Indian diaspora, as the prime movers of India's foreign policy,

created space for the Indian diaspora to play an essential role in shaping and reshaping India's foreign policy and giving a new direction to it in international politics (Taylor 2017: 2). To promote bilateral relations and strengthen ties between the home and host countries, diasporas are becoming critical not only for India but also for the other countries of the world, broadly discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Why do Indian Diaspora Matter to India?

According to the recent United Nations Organisations (UNO) Report of 2019, India facilitates the outward migration, which resulted the presence of around 17.5 million Indian diaspora in different parts of the globe. Mexico holds the second position with 11.8 million, and China holds the third position with 10.7 million migrants. Apart from their numerical strength, the Indian diaspora have proven themselves in various professional as well as in the field of business that they are the most sincere, hardworking and law-abiding citizens, which the other diaspora needed to learn from them. They also possess the entrepreneurial mindset, which has given at most priority in any business house and the professional field.[1]

The Indian diaspora community is a great asset to India in terms of their contribution to the home country, India, and in terms of their material as well as emotional support and investment in India. The United Nations report, which is prepared by the migration agency of the United Nations Organisation (UNO), reveals that the Indian diaspora communities living in different parts of the world have sent remittance of $78.6 billion, which is highest in the world. International Organisation of Migration (IOM) visualised the continuation of the same migration pattern in future and for many years. It is the Indian diaspora community who are investing in India in various sectors and strongly supporting India to become an economically prosperous and empowered country. It also reiterated that in Africa, Asia and Europe, most of the international migrants stay within the region of their birth and maintain some kind of connectivity (*The Hindu*, 28 November 2019).

[1] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ

5.2.1 Why do Indian Diaspora in Africa Matter to India?

The analysis of India's relation with the Indian diaspora from the foreign policy perspective, especially in Africa, brings out some of the crucial facts to reflect upon. One such major issue is the comparative and competing relationship between India with China. In Africa, both these countries are using their competitive strength to increase their importance in the region and the civil society and diaspora communities of both the countries are engaged in that direction (Taylor 2017: 1). However, it is imperative to mention here that India is neither emulating China or it is against China as far as its policy towards the Indian diaspora in Africa is concerned.

Time and again, Indian leaders have made it clear that as far as India's foreign policy towards the African countries is concerned, the unique 'Indian way' or 'Indian method' of dealing with the African countries has been applied, which is quite different from China. In this context, the former Minister of State for Commerce of India, Mr. Jairam Ramesh, emphasised in the first Africa-India Forum Summit held in 2008 that 'the first principle of India's involvement in Africa is unlike that of China'. A similar position was held by the then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also, who stated that 'neither India is trying to impose any particular pattern on the African people nor it is in a race with China or any other country. It is for the African people to decide on their future. The desire of India and Africa to work together is not new' (Michael 2014: 342). Here we could see India's desire and intention to work with African countries and commitment to mutual cooperation and coexistence, which is pretty clear, unlike China and other countries. Even the African countries realised that India stood for us and India's interest coincided with the interest of the African countries.

India is committed to developing African people along with its own interest in strengthening the relationship in various aspects. This approach of India makes it distinct from other countries like China regarding its engagement with the African countries. This is very interesting to study, especially during this pandemic situation where the government of India has moved one step ahead as far as its relation with the countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi are concerned. It is immensely providing medical

support by providing medical equipment and medicines in which the Indian diaspora is primarily engaged and working hand in hand with the administration and the natives of these countries. Significantly, the Indian government is establishing very close ties in health and other sectors like education and energy to rejuvenate the relationship further and for a strong partnership. This is something missing in the case of China's ties and initiative with these African countries during this time of need and severe crisis. The only sector in which the Chinese are more interested is the energy sector, which has remained a prominent and priority factor as far as China's engagement with and in Africa is concerned (Taylor 2017: 29). Secondly, the study reveals that now India has the potential to play a leading role in Africa. India is gradually becoming a 'game changer' in the new scramble for Africa's resources. It also has the potential and is moving cautiously towards playing a leading role in the struggle and lobbying for votes and support of all the African states in international institutions and at various international and supra-national forums (Michael 2014: 1).

5.3 Government of India Policy towards Indian Diaspora

The Government of India's policy toward the Indian diaspora has taken many twists and turns from the Nehruvian period till now. If we broadly analyse, four significant trends emerged as far as India's relation with its diaspora in Africa is concerned. The first phase began with the emergence of India as an independent and sovereign country, and the first Prime Minister of independent India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru**,** built the foundation of India's policy towards the Indian diaspora. If we closely analyse, the Nehruvian policy towards the Indian diaspora community, particularly in Africa and globally, emphasised strengthening ties with the African countries. To put it differently, Nehru's diaspora policy coincided with India's policy toward the African countries. Nehru had never considered the Indian diaspora as a separate entity that needed to be given special attention by the government of India, apart from the Government of India's policy to strengthen ties with the African countries. So, Nehru did not have a separate policy for the Indian diaspora. That is why the Nehruvian phase is considered India's 'active dissociation' policy toward the Indian diaspora (Dubey 2010). There are various reasons behind that. During that time, India had emerged as a newly independent state and focused more on internal issues

than external ones. Being a developing country, it concentrated more on stabilising the economy and resolving various issues people were grappling with during this phase.

Moreover, Nehru had a clear vision as far as his foreign policy agenda was concerned, especially in the African countries are, 'unless until India will engage with these countries in fighting against poverty, illiteracy and unemployment and other issues of significant concern, strengthening of ties between India and the African countries is not possible. He held this position in the context of other third-world countries as well. That was the demand of the situation for which the Government of India could not give much attention to its diaspora community and could not come out with any concrete and specific policy toward the Indian diaspora community. It was a period when the Indian diaspora community had zero expectations from the home country India. As a result, we could not see any Indian diaspora network during this phase.

Later on, realising the potential of the Indian diaspora, the Government of India came out with a concrete policy toward the Indian diaspora, which makes us enter into the second phase of India's relation towards the Indian diaspora roughly around 1999 to 2004 during the Prime Ministership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. This phase can be considered the most fertile phase of the Indian diaspora and India relationship. This phase was elaborated by Dubey (2010) in his writing as the period of a significant shift in India's diaspora policy towards the Indian diaspora, 'from active dissociation to active association'. Because during this phase, the government of India took various initiatives for its diaspora community. The government of India declared to celebrate Pravasi Bhartiya Divas on 9 January every year from 2003 onwards to honour the Indian diaspora community and acknowledge their contribution to their home country, India.

The significance of 9 January is that on 9 January 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned from South Africa to India after his long struggle against discrimination. In South Africa, he fought against racial discrimination, started his first Satyagraha (stick to truth) movement, and began his political journey to fight against injustice. This political journey culminated in giving freedom to our country India. So, 9 January has chosen to celebrate Pravasi

Bhartiya Divas (Non-Resident Indian Day) in the memory of Mahatma Gandhi coming to India from South Africa after his successful satyagraha movement against racial discrimination and injustice out there and to celebrate the achievement of the Indian diaspora across the globe. The Government of India also honour the selected Indians from the Indian diaspora community for their exceptional contribution in various fields and offers Pravasi Bhartiya Samman on the occasion of Pravasi Bhartiya Divas every year. Bajpayee government also decided to introduce dual citizenship for the Indians abroad who are eager to retain citizenship of India along with the citizenship of the country they settled in. The government also established a separate ministry altogether to address the grievances and issues of the Indian diaspora community and to provide maximum support on the political front by the Government of India to the Indian diaspora. The ministry named as "Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs" (*India Today*, 9 January 2021).

The third phase of India's relationship with the Indian diaspora ultimately depends on the relationship between India and Africa as the natural allies during the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh from 2004 to 2014. In this phase, the close ties between the Indian diaspora and India in African countries revived during the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. The fourth phase of Indian diaspora and India relations started from 2014 onwards with the Prime Ministership of Mr. Narendra Modi. Modi is taking aggressive measures to engage with the Indian diaspora, especially on the economic front (Taylor 2017: 2).

5.4 Home-Host Countries Relation and Indian Diaspora

The relationship between the home country India and the host countries where the Indian diaspora migrate and settle has a more significant implication on the situation of the Indian diaspora living in that particular host country and their connection with the home country. This relation not only defines the foreign policy perspective of both the countries and ties between them, but it also ensures the security and prosperity of their diaspora communities. The Indian diasporas are also playing a much more critical role in shaping and reshaping the relationship between the home country, India, and the host country of their settlement. The Indian diaspora settled in various African countries have many

expectations from the home country, and the home country does have some expectations from the Indian diaspora living abroad. This does not mean that they do not have any expectations from the host country they live in and the host country does not have any expectations from them. The history of the migration of Indians revealed that the Indian diaspora's interest always coincided with the interest of the native people and the country they settled in. They are well aware that without contributing to the well-being of the society they live in, they cannot bring well-being to their lives and strengthen ties with their home country.

Moreover, the Indians are law-abiding citizens for which the host country's government, again and again, reiterated this fact and stated that we want more and more people like the Indian diaspora, especially in the context of Zambia.[2] India and Africa share a special bonding as far as their relationship is concerned. Both share rich historical experiences of British colonial suppression, exploitation and domination. Perhaps this is why Gandhi could touch the hearts of the millions of Africans through his Satyagraha movement, which brought a new hope among the Africans to come out of such exploitation and racial discrimination. The engagement of Indian leadership primarily reflects on this issue that they are deeply influenced by Gandhi's contribution, who brought back the self-respect, dignity and integrity of the Indian diaspora on the foreign soil through his movement and struggle. His movement had a broad impact that influenced the Indians abroad and the native Africans.

The seeds of the Indian national movement germinated in the African soil. Starting from Nelson Mandela to Kenneth Kaunda, all such great political leaders were inspired by Gandhi's movement and fought for their country and people. Apartheid movement to Pan-African movement inspired by Gandhi's Satyagraha movement. From Gandhi's Satyagraha to strengthening the health sector in Africa and bringing economic development to these countries, the Indian diaspora became an example to other diaspora communities of the world. Gandhi provided a moral surface to nurture the worm

[2] Interview of Dilip Patel available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ)

relationship between India and Africa by raising his voice against racial discrimination and standing firm to promote and protect the rights of the blacks (Taylor 2017).

Jawaharlal Nehru provided the political framework to have a friendly, cooperative and mutually constructive relationship between India and the African countries with strong bondage of South-South solidarity. Nehru considered Africa the "sister continent" to India, and it became necessary in Nehru's vision for a fairer and more equal global system (Taylor 2017: 5).

Currently, the relationship between India and African countries further rejuvenated through the expansion of the relationship in 2005 and 2006, which was named "Our Years of Africa". In almost all sectors, ties between India and African countries strengthened, especially in the economic, cultural and political spheres. As a result, India's trade with Africa doubled between 2006 and 2007 to 2015. The trade between India and Africa doubled from $24.98 billion in 2006-2007 to an expected $90 billion in 2015. Looking at the greater business interest in Africa, the former Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh, a well-known economist, described Africa as 'a major growth pole of the world' (Taylor 2017). However, not much attention was paid to connecting the Indian diaspora community with India and addressing their issues. This growth implicitly speaks a lot about the hard work and contribution of the Indian diaspora in the professional and business sectors.

5.5 Engagement of India with Indian Diaspora of Zimbabwe

India and Zimbabwe have a long history of close and friendly relations. Both countries helped each other in many ways. The political history of Zimbabwe and India reveals the fact that during the famous Mwene Mutapa Kingdom3 which existed from the 14th century to the 17th century. The Indians had a very close commercial connection with the Zimbabweans. During the Mutapa Kingdom, the Indian merchants went to Zimbabwe and

3 Mwene Mutapa, considered 'the Ravager of the Lands', was a Kingdom of Southeast African territory which ruled from the 14th to 17th centuries. This kingdom has covered the territory from the Zambezi River to the Limpopo River, and these territories are now known as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Especially the Southeastern part of modern Zimbabwe earlier was an integral part of the Mwene Mutapa Kingdom. For more on this, see Kuiper, Kathleen (n.d.) Mwene Mutapa: Historical dynastic title, Southern Africa, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Mwene-Matapa.

engaged in textiles, minerals and metal business. The son of the Mutapa king visited India once to enlighten him and was impressed by the Indian education. He also tried to use those experiences in Zimbabwe to broaden education.

Recently, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri V. Muraleedharan, had an official virtual meeting with the Zimbabwe Finance Minister Dr. Frederick Shava, on 28 June 2021. Shri Muraleedharan congratulated Dr. Shava for becoming the Finance Minister of Zimbabwe and taking charge of his office. Along with that, both sides had a long discussion about strengthening ties between India and Zimbabwe in various sectors (Report of the Embassy of India, Harare, Zimbabwe, 5 August 2021).

5.5.1 Political Engagement of India with Zimbabwe

India and Zimbabwe share a very rich and historical political bonding as far as their political tradition is concerned. When we look back to the history of these two countries, in the 17th century, the great son of the king of the Mutapa kingdom, Prince Dom Miguel, studied in Goa. He was a professor by profession and was also doing priest work. An inscribed pillar was made in Goa as a tribute to his intellectual stature. Zimbabwe was highly inspired by the freedom fighters of India who fought against the British colonial administration. India also supported the freedom struggle of Zimbabwe. The following table is the witness to the fact that there is a strong engagement between India and Zimbabwe at the political level.

Table 5.1 reflects that India and Zimbabwe share many common things as per their political relation. The leaders from India frequently visited Zimbabwe to strengthen the political, diplomatic and economic ties. Trust and friendship are always maintained between both countries, which is a significant source of inspiration for the Indian diaspora community in Zimbabwe. As we can witness from the above table, the then Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi attended the independence celebration of Zimbabwe in 1980. During this visit, the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe (the leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)), shared his experiences with Mrs. Gandhi about his struggle for independence along with the Zimbabwe leaders

against colonialism and how he is being inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and his *Satyagraha* movement. He was also inspired by the other Indian leaders of the National Movement, including Jawaharlal Nehru (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 30 January 2019).

Table 5.1: List of Indian Leaders who Visited Zimbabwe

Year	Leaders Name	Purpose of visit
1980	Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi	To attend the independence day celebration of Zimbabwe
1986	Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi	To attend NAM Summit
1989	President Shri. R. Venkataraman	Had an official visit
1991	Prime Minister Shri. Narasimha Rao	To attend CHOGM Summit
1995	President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma	Had an official visit
1996	Prime minister Shri. H.D. Deve Gowda	For the G-15 Summit
2018	Vice President Shri Venkaiah Naidu	Had an official visit
2021	Minister of State for External Affairs Shri V. Muraleedharan	Had an official virtual meeting with Zimbabwe Finance Minister

Source: Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 30 January 2019 and Report of the Embassy of India, Harare, Zimbabwe, 5 August 2021.

There was a frequent bilateral exchange between the countries and high-level visits of Indian leaders to Zimbabwe. Indian leaders also visited Zimbabwe to attend various Summits such as NAM, CHOGM and G-15. Although the Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Bajpayee, did not make any official visit to Zimbabwe during his tenure. He met his counterpart, the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, twice in the year 2003 at the 58th Session of the United Nations General Assembly and at the NAM Summit (*Hindustan Times,* 16 August 2018; Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 30 January 2019).

The computation of data of Table 5.2 reflects on the frequent visit of Zimbabwe leaders to India for bilateral negotiations and agreements. The Zimbabwe leaders also visited India to attend various Summits organised in India. These bilateral political, diplomatic and economic exchanges made the countries' leaders know each other closely and share their political struggles and experiences. They also discussed the opportunities and prospects to have more cooperation and collaboration in the future.

Table 5.2: List of Zimbabwe Leaders who Visited India

Year	Leaders Name	Purpose of visit
1981	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	Made an official visit
1983	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	To attend CHOGM and NAM Summit
1987	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	Africa Fund Summit
1991	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	Nehru Award presentation
1993	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	Had an official visit
1994	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	G-15 Summit
2015	President Robert Gabriel Mugabe	IAFS-III Summit
2018	Vice President General (Retd.) Dr. C.G.N. Chiwenga, special envoy of President E.D. Mnangagwa	Had an official visit

Source: Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 30 January 2019

5.5.2 India's Response to Political Insecurity of Indians in Zimbabwe

The situation of Indians in Zimbabwe is quite different from the Indians of Zambia and Malawi. The war veterans often attacked Zimbabwe Indians under the leadership of Ndlovu in 2002, who is a big supporter of the Mugabe government. The main reason for the attack on the Indian diaspora is their economic prosperity in Zimbabwe. The home and business houses of Indians were attacked by these goons, especially in Bulawayo, where Indians settled in large numbers. During this time. A strong reaction came from the government of India. Under the leadership of Bajpayee, the Government of India had

negotiations with the Mugabe government, and the issue was gradually resolved peacefully. Nevertheless, out of fear, many Indians moved to Zambia, Malawi and other neighbouring countries. During this time, the President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, himself accused the Asian community of Zimbabwe by saying that the Asian community in Zimbabwe exploited Black Zimbabweans. The leader of Zimbabwe's Liberal War Veterans Association, Mr. Robert Ndlovu, further stated that 'nothing will stop us from reclaiming commercial land from Indians' (Butcher, *The Telegraph*, 25 April 2002). The bitter experiences of Zimbabweans with the Europeans who exploited the country from every aspect during the colonial period made the Zimbabweans suspicious of the Indian community's position in Zimbabwe. Although time and again, it is being cleared by the Indian community that they are there in Zimbabwe for the development, prosperity and welfare of the Zimbabweans along with their own prosperity. The Zimbabweans should realise that if the Indians had any intention to exploit the Zimbabweans, they could have aspired to become more politically active in Zimbabwe, which is not the case with the Zambia Indians.

Moreover, Indians are very law-abiding people, which is rarely found in many other migrant communities of Zimbabwe. The government of India, through the help of the High Commission of India, took various initiatives and ensured the safety and security of the Indian community in Zimbabwe. The government of India also had negotiations with then Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe to ensure the safety of the Zimbabwe Indians. It appealed to take some action against such goons who attacked the Indians and their property.

Again in 2016, when thousands of people peacefully protested against human rights violations and the deteriorating economic situation of Zimbabwe, the Robert Mugabe government intensified repression against the protesters. In response to the civil unrest that escalated throughout Zimbabwe, there was a fear that the military would take over since the military intervened by claiming to tackle the situation during this conflict (Philimon 2016 and Economic Times news on Zimbabwe Indians, 15 November 2017). The Indian mission in Harare reported about this unrest in Zimbabwe. Immediately, the

Indian Embassy responded through a tweet after reviewing the situation and ensuring the safety of the Indians in Zimbabwe. In its tweet, Indian Embassy said that 'the situation is calm in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe and the Indian community is safe, nothing to worry about at all (Economic Times news on Zimbabwe Indians, 15 November 2017).

5.5.3 Economic Engagement of India with Zimbabwe

There was a time when India occupied a semi-peripheral status in a global economy. However, now India is competing for the world's resource-rich market with the metropolis, and the biggest competitor is China. So, Asia and Africa relationship is growing unprecedentedly, and India is playing the leading role as a key player. Another factor behind the strengthening of such relations is the 'Global Financial Crisis (GFC)', which led to the downfall of Europe and America's economies and the rise of Asia. The Asian giants emerged as prominent leaders in economic progress in this 21st century. Now both these leading Asian countries, India and China, are the fastest-growing economies in the world, with a growth rate of 9 percent to 5 percent per annum. In such a scenario, India is seeking a closer partnership with Africa and is trying to expand its economy (Nyemba and others 2013: 26).

5.6 Engagement of India with Indian Diaspora of Zambia

The Indian diaspora community in Zambia truly represents India's culture of diversity. Indians across the Indian state settled in Zambia, especially from Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal and Kerala etc. The children of many Indians from Zambia are getting an education in India; to name a few, the daughter of Mr. Sajeev Nair, an entrepreneur in Zambia from the state of Kerala, who settled in Lusaka, Zambia, is getting higher education in Bangalore, Karnataka. Even the Indian diaspora community contribute immensely in the field of education apart from other areas. Many faculty members of Zambia University and other educational institutions among the People of Indian Origin are spreading education in Zambia in regular as well as in distance mode through various Study Centers set up in the collaboration of Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), India (from the field study observation conducted in May 2011).

During the Chiluba regime, a person of Indian origin from the state of Gujarat in India was appointed as the cabinet minister. Mr. Deepak Patel, the most dynamic leader of Zambia from the diaspora community of India, was appointed as the Minister of Commerce and Industry in this government. Even in the next government of President Mwanawasa, Mr. Deepak Patel held the same portfolio, Minister of Commerce and Industry. During his tenure, even Mr. Suresh Desai, the Minister of Agriculture, has done a commendable job in politics and other philanthropic activities. Many Indians from Zambia are investing mainly in the economic and education sectors and making considerable contributions to their home country. There is a strong lobby of Zambia Indians in support of India's demand for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2021)

5.6.1 Political Engagement of India with Zambia

There is a strong tie between India and Zambia as per as their political relation is concerned. Both share a common history of fighting against the British colonial regime. The famous national leader of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, who fought against the colonial power tooth and nail, got highly inspired by the Indian freedom fighters. In his speech, he repeatedly mentioned that Mahatma Gandhi highly inspired him. Gandhi is their true inspiration for him. Gandhi's sacrifice, political techniques and leadership highly inspired Dr. Kaunda, who is considered the hero of Zambia as far as his movement against colonialism is concerned. Zambia has supported India at the international forums on various crucial political issues on which India has a firm stand, such as; Zambia extending its support for India's nuclear test in 1998, on the issue of terrorism, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, and India's admission as a permanent member in the expanded United Nation's Security Council (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2021). India and Zambia share a robust political connection which can be witnessed from the frequent visit of the political leaders from both sides.

Table 5.3 lists out the Indian leaders who visited Zambia. Similarly, Table 5.4 focuses on the Zambian personalities who visited India.

Table 5.3: List of Indian Leaders who Visited Zambia

Year	Leader Name	Purpose of visit
1964	Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Information and Broadcasting Minister	Made an official visit
1970	Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi,	Made an official visit
1974	President V.V. Giri	Made an official visit
1976	Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi	Made an official visit
1981	President Sanjiva Reddy	Made an official visit
1986	Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi	Made an official visit
1989	President Venkataraman	Made an official visit
2010	Vice President Shri. Hamid Ansari	Paid an official visit in January
2014	Secretary (West) visited Lusaka	Paid an official visit in August
2015	Mr. G.M. Siddeshwara, Minister of State for Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises	Visited as PM's special envoy to invite the President of Zambia in October
2015	Minister of Mines and Steel Mr. Narendra Singh Tomar	Made an official visit in February 2015

(Source: Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2021 and Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2016)

The reciprocity and goodwill between the leaders of both the countries, India and Zambia, can be witnessed from Tables 5.4-5.5. In this regard, the Zambian leaders described India as an "all-weather and time-tested friend". India has proved as the most reliable and friendly partner of Zambia. The relationship between both countries is based on the spirit of mutual respect and partnership for mutual benefit. The Indian diaspora are the stimulus and driver of such initiatives and cooperation (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2016).

Table 5.4: List of Zambian Leaders who Visited India

Year	Name of the Leader	Purpose of visit
1967	First President of independent Zambia Dr. Kenneth Kaunda	Made official visits to India more than ten times starting from 1967 onwards.
2003	President Mwanawasa	Made an official visit in April 2003
2012	President Michael Chilufya Sata	Made an unofficial visit with family
2013	Vice President Mr. Guy Scott	9th CII-EXIM Bank Conclave in New Delhi in March
2015	Health Minister Chitala Chilufa	Visited to attend India-Africa Health Forum, New Delhi, 24th April
2015	Minister of Trade, Commerce and Industry Ms Margaret M. Mwanakatwe	To participate in the 4th India-Africa Business Forum Meeting in New Delhi, 24 October on the sidelines of IAFS-III
2015	Vice President Mrs. Inonge M. Wina, along with other ministers	3rd India-Africa Forum Summit, 26 to 29 October

(Source: Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2021 and Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2016)

5.6.2 Economic Engagement of India with Zambia

India has given support to Zambia for the economic and technical development of the country. India has provided all the support over the period for the economic development of Zambia. As a part of these initiatives, India imparts a wide range of skill development courses and training programmes. Zambians also get ITEC scholarships from India, and around 2400 civilian Zambians trained in India in various disciplines under ITEC. India is also broadly spending on railway and rural health sectors of Zambia. Bilateral trade between both countries is proliferating. India is the largest investor in Zambia. In 2015, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between Apollo Group of Hospitals

and the Ministry of Health of Zambia. India's Maruti and Bajaj companies also started investing in Zambia from 2015 onwards in the areas of vehicles and motor parts. Tata Company is also investing in Zambia in various sectors (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2021; Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2016).

5.7 Engagement of India with Indian Diaspora of Malawi

The Indian diaspora recently have a close connection with the home country of India. Gradually the number of the Indian diaspora community in Malawi has increased. Presently their number is around 2500, including their family members, especially spouses and children. The maximum number of Indians are from Gujarat. Apart from Gujarat, there are Indians from Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, West Bengal, Kerala and Telangana, who settled in Malawi engaged in various professions. The Indian community is primarily engaged in trading, agriculture, agrobusiness, pharmaceutical, and hospitality. Besides that, a few professionals also engaged mainly in the education and health sectors (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, October 2017).

Malawi Indians are very strongly connected to home country, India, and India is also constantly engaged with the Indian community of Malawi, which could be witnessed through the cultural exchanges between the countries. This process accelerated from 2014 onwards with the coming of the Modi government in power. The ICCR has facilitated and sponsored the dance group to Malawi in April 2014. This group was led by MeruSapera, which performed in Lilongwe and Blantyre. In the same year, in October, a fusion music team led by Murad Ali led fusion music team went to Malawi for performance in Blantyre Arts Festival, Blantyre city. The ICSSR has also sponsored this visit. Again in 2017, a six-member Bharatnatyam Troupe of India led by Aranyani Bhargav visited Malawi. ICCR of India also sponsors this. It was specially invited to perform on the occasion of India's Republic Day reception celebrated in Blantyre on 26 January 2017. The group also performed in Lilongwe (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, October 2017).

5.7.1 Political Engagement of India with Malawi

India and Malawi hold robust bonding historically. Some of the international issues, such as the issue of terrorism and the bid for permanent sear for India in the Security Council of the United Nations brought these two countries closer. The close relationships have been demonstrated in various international platforms, such as the UNO, NAM, CHOGM and WTO. Till 1993, India maintained a resident diplomatic mission in Lilongwe, Malawi. On the other hand, Malawi also opened its mission in Delhi in 2007. Currently, India has about 15 diplomatic missions in Lilongwe. On the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, Malawi always supported India. On the issue of a nuclear test by India in 1998, Malawi was among the few countries that supported India's position in the first committee of the United Nations in 1998 (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 2012).

5.8 Government of India Policy towards Diaspora: Changes and Continuities

The proactive measures taken by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government during the Atal Bihari Bajpayee period in 1998 and 1999, which again came to power from 2014 onwards under the Prime Minister-ship of Narendra Modi, to strengthen the relationship of India with its diaspora and the government of India is working as the stimulus in that direction. Along with prosperity, it brought back confidence among the Indians settled abroad. The abundant natural resources of Africa and the engagement of Indians in various sectors in African countries attracted the attention of India towards these countries. As a result, India signed various bilateral and multilateral agreements in various sectors with these countries to have mutual growth and development. It is not one-way traffic. India is also supporting and contributing, especially in the pharmaceutical, information technology, education and health sectors. Somewhere the Indian state realized that India's motive to become a significant player at the global level and its ambition to become a superpower could not be realized without strengthening ties with the countries of Africa, and the Indian diasporas are playing a more significant role in pushing the relationship further and rejuvenating relationship of India with the African countries.

Along with that, the relationship between the Indian diaspora and India is becoming stronger day by day. Africa is a significant source for India in terms of achieving its

energy security (Taylor 2017: 4). India is strengthening its ties with the African countries in different sectors as a part of its foreign policy of South-South cooperation. The African countries are exploring various opportunities to strengthen their relationship with India.

To realise the above goals, the Indian diaspora could become a significant asset to the Indian state. The Indian diaspora, in many ways, strengthen the position of India at the international level and will keep contributing in that direction in future as well. The Indian diaspora in Africa and other parts of the world can create a strong lobby to support India's position to claim a permanent seat in the Security Council (the executive body) of the United Nations Organisation (UNO). The Indian diaspora are also becoming a great asset to India in terms of contributing to India's economic development. Indian culture is getting popularized through Africa in particular and the world in general through the Indian diaspora. The people of Africa like a variety of authentic Indian food. Indian handloom and handicraft cottage industry are widely becoming popular in the African market and global market as well because of the effort of the Indian diaspora. Recently the Members of a Zambian delegation, along with some government officials and Cotton Sector Representatives, visited India. The International Study Centre facilitated this study tour. This study tour was part of the European Union Project to promote Handloom and Textile Industries in Zambia. Their study aimed to learn how to increase productivity and competitiveness in Handloom and Textile sector. The head of the Zambian delegation, Tobias Mulimbika[4] emphasised on the need for enacting policies for robust handloom sector, and stressed that the visit would be beneficial for the Zambian policy makers and industry groups to achieve that. He added by saying, "Zambia has a lot to learn from the Indian handloom sector. In the Indian tradition, handloom is a way of life, and it is a part of the tradition of the Indians" (Fibre2Fashion News, 11 May 2022). The information technology, pharmaceutical industries and health sector achievements have redefined India's position on the African continent.

During this Covid-19 pandemic period, the Indian diaspora and India again proved that we are very much committed to the well-being and development of the African countries

[4] Director of the Department of Industry, Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry.

and the people of Africa. During this crisis period, when most of the African countries' health sector is in a bad state, especially in the country, like Zimbabwe, India has extended its support to meet the challenges despite many challenges it is encountering at home. This shows the level of commitment India has towards its diaspora and these countries of Africa.

Let us compare the contribution of the Indian diaspora in Africa with the Indian diaspora settled in other parts of the world. Indians have tremendous achievements in the health sector. It would not be wrong to say that "the Indian diaspora are the life support in the land of diseases like Africa". AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and Yellow Fever (YF) diseases primarily affect African society. The Indian diaspora community is involved mainly in this sector and is saving millions of lives. This makes them unique compared to the Indian diaspora of the other parts of the world. From a diasporic perspective, if we analyse the relationship between India and Africa, Africa is host to a long-established Indian diaspora. Moreover, India also maintained that reciprocal relationship. Long back, the Indian diaspora settled in their host countries of Africa and the African diaspora settled in India (Taylor 2017; Karmwar 2010).

In the contemporary period, active association and expansion of the relationship between the Indian diaspora and the home country India, has emerged. This new and dynamic chapter in the history of the relationship between the Indian diaspora and the homeland, India, in 2005 and 2006 is correctly termed 'Our Years of Africa' (Taylor 2017; Suri 2008). Over a while, the trade investment of India in Africa has tremendously increased. The number of Indians establishing themselves in various African sectors has been increasing since 2006. Indian investors have started investing in various sectors in Africa.

5.8.1Government of India Policy towards Indian Diaspora in Africa

The current Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narendra Modi, has mentioned in his speech while addressing the Indian diaspora on various occasions that 'India is not going to disappoint the Indian diaspora'. That means the Indian diaspora, whoever and wherever settled abroad, can seek assistance from India whenever they are in need. As a home

country, India is trying its best to keep its promise which can be witnessed during this pandemic when the Covid-19 affected the entire world. Diverse Indian diaspora came together during this homecoming crisis, and the 'Vande Bharat Mission' of the government of India is a successful initiative to rescue millions of Indians who migrated to various countries of the world for education, profession, business and other purposes (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2021).

Evacuation action by the government of India was done smoothly despite various obstacles faced to rescue the Indian diaspora and make them reach home safe. During this time, the airlifting initiative boosted the morale of the diaspora. The Indian government also reached out to the Indian diaspora through the diplomates. It made various arrangements through their help, the locals, and the Indian diaspora of that particular country. India is also reaching out to the host countries, and native Indians live in and providing them food and essential medical support. The issue of survival among the Indian Diaspora in the adopted countries like Zimbabwe has become a significant concern. Because in this country, the health system is in bad shape and on top of that, the spread of the Coronavirus made Indian diaspora life, along with the lives of the natives, more vulnerable. The timely initiative and assistance by the government of India saved many lives and provided protection.

During this pandemic crisis, the government has taken crucial initiatives under *Vande Bharat Mission*. Because it is not easy to reach out to the Indians settled abroad and who are in immediate need during this crisis period. Providing health facilities and food and bringing it home is extremely difficult. Although the political analysts and academicians emphasised that the real challenge will start now after evacuation through the 'Vande Bharat Mission'. Various challenges include providing jobs to these diasporas fighting against Covid-19 and handling this economic crisis because many Indians lost their jobs and returned to their home country, India. This mainly happened with the Indian diaspora from gulf countries, most of whom are not well off. The Government of India's policy related to the issue of passports to the Indian diaspora has become quite flexible. The government initiated a visa-on-arrival policy and many other initiatives (Report of the

Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2021). So, the engagement of the Indian government with the Indian diaspora has gone one step ahead.

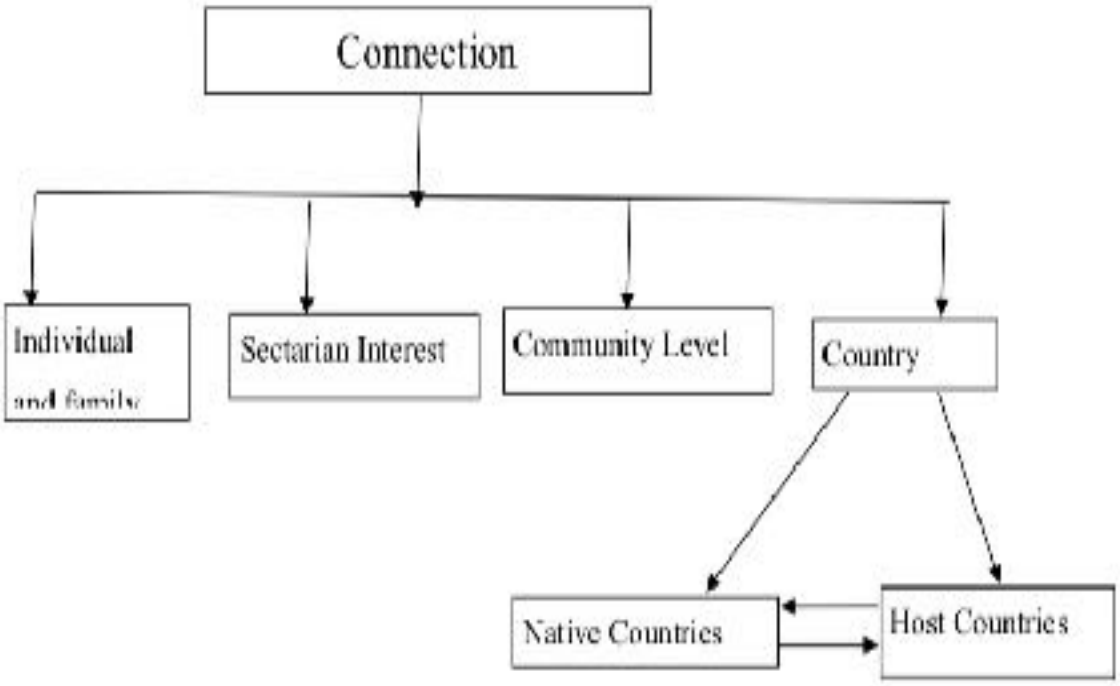
5.9 Connection with India

The PIOs of these three countries are socially, culturally, economically, and politically connected to their home country, India. Both in the colonial and post-colonial periods, India and India's material and human resources significantly contributed to the flourishing democracy, nationalism, economic development, and nation-building in Africa. India and the Indians became an example for the British colonial power and are being used during the colonial period in various ways to have experimented on African soil and contribute to the infrastructural development of the economy and polity.

In many ways, Indians are connected with their home country India. The Indian diaspora, in this twenty-first century, is the most significant global force at the international level. From culture to supporting the workforce through brain gain to contributing to economic development, the Indian diaspora have become an example to others. They are connected to India in many ways, which can be understood through the following diagram:

Figure 5.1 shows the nature of the connection that the Indian diaspora can establish with both the host countries and the countries of their origin. It indicates that the Indian diaspora can engage with the host and origin/home countries at the individual, sectarian, community and country levels. At the individual level, it is essential to mention that the family members and relatives of the Indian diaspora are still in the country of their origin, and they keep close contact with them. Both sides visit each other. Meanwhile, the Indian diaspora can also have family individual/family relationships with some of the members from the host countries, even though they may not have a cordial relationship with the native communities at the drop level.

Figure 5.1: Forms of Connection of Indian Diaspora



The nature and practices of certain occupations also facilitate their connections with the groups working in the same professions both in the host and the origin/home countries. Perhaps the community-level relationship has become one of the most contested relationships between the Indian diaspora and the native communities, which have been redefined along the line of 'natives versus outsiders'. The country-level connection facilitates the dual processes for the host countries and the countries of their origin. It begins with the policy of the countries of origin towards their diaspora communities. Such orientation of the countries of origin can also have implications over the policies and programmes the host countries adopt towards the diaspora communities. Such approaches of both countries also positively and negatively affect the foreign policy of the countries towards the other. Sometimes, diaspora communities can also play a significant role in mediating between the countries concerning signing the crucial deals. Country-level connections can take place at the ministerial and government levels.

5.9.1 Connection in the Past

The British colonial power, when and wherever confronted with a problem, their administrative officers find the solution in terms of an Indian precedent or Indian resources.

Before the invasion of the colonial powers, the Indian state-maintained relation mainly in the economic sphere. The Indian traders primarily visited these three central African countries for the fish and spices trade. These food commodities are pretty popular in these countries. There were also some cultural exchanges between India and these countries (Dotson and Dotson 1968).

During the colonial period, the British colonial power became instrumental in defining the relationship between India and Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi broadly. Because before entering the territories of these central African countries, Britain had already occupied India. So, it became more accessible for the British to take the help of Indians in occupying these countries and using Indians in various fields. For example, Army, plantation and construction work. After its independence in 1947, India adhered to the Non-alignment Movement (NAM) principles and maintained a mutual trust and cooperation relationship with these countries.

5.9.2 Mid 1990's India's Policy and Responses of Indian Diaspora

In the mid-1990s, the government of India, with the initiative of the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, adopted an active association policy with the Indian diaspora. This was a significant shift in the 1990s from dissociation to active association with the People of Indian Origin (PIOs) settled abroad (Dubey 2011). This major shift brought hope and aspiration among the PIOs, and they looked to their native country to connect with through various platforms and means. They also felt much more secure in their host countries. This also rejuvenated India's relationship with these countries where Indians settled and achieved excellence through their hard work and dedication. Now the Indian diaspora has become a significant asset for India to lobby in favour of India on various issues of national concern at the national, regional and international levels. To name a few,

the claim for a permanent seat for India at the Security Council of UNO and tackling the problem of terrorism. Even India supports Africa's claim to have a permanent seat in the UN Security Council (Mohan 7 January 2021, India Today). These moves made a significant shift in the foreign policy of India as well as in these countries.

5.9.3 Connection at Present

Many dynamic changes have occurred in the Government of India's policy towards its diaspora in the current era with the coming of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) into power from 1999 to 2004 and from 2014 onwards. With ought undermining the effort and initiative of the NDA government under the leadership of Dr. Atal Bihari Bajpayee. However, credit goes to the Bajpayee government, which added a new chapter in the history of India's relation with its diaspora community in the 1990s. This development is clearly stated by Dubey (2010) as a significant shift in India's foreign policy from active dissociation to the policy of active association of India toward its diaspora (Dubey 2010). However, the Bajpayee government could not do much since it could not remain in power for long. Still, it could not be ruled out that the foundation of strong ties between India and the Indian diaspora is made on the political and diplomatic front.

A significant change could be witnessed from 2014 onwards with the Narendra Modi government coming to power, especially et the economic and foreign policy front. This was when Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), along with its alliance partners, which are called National Democratic Alliance (NDA), came to power with a thumping majority. The neoliberal policy of this government emphasised taking proactive measures in strengthening relations with its diaspora community in almost all aspects, namely socio-economic, political, diplomatic and cultural spheres. It gave special attention to the economic relation. Indian diaspora is a source to connect India with other parts of the world. Indian diaspora is a source to explore various opportunities in the economic sphere between India and the host countries where the Indian diaspora settled, especially in the context of Africa. Indian diaspora is a source to push India's foreign policy forward on the international platform. Indian diaspora is a source of bringing economic growth and

prosperity to India. Indian diaspora is a source to spread India's rich diversity and culture abroad.

As far as the developed countries are concerned, their priority is always military, the economy remained as far as strengthening ties with other countries are concerned, and their foreign policy agenda is concerned. Nevertheless, India has always given priority to the health sector along with the Information Technology (IT) sector, particularly in the context of Africa. Looking at the pandemic situation in this 21st century, the intellectuals, experts, and policy analysts of international relations engaged in debating and deliberating on the issues of the relevance of the realist theory of Morgenthau. The entire focus of nation-states is shifting to health issues in the contemporary world because of the pandemic outbreak. The Indian diaspora started engaging in the health sector and contributing towards that much before in Africa. When the entire world is trying to shift its foreign policy priority from economic and military to the health sector, India has initiated this process long back in these African countries, which are prone to various diseases like malaria, yellow fever, AIDS and now Covid 19 (Corona) etc. Indian pharmaceutical industries play a vital role in African countries, and the Indian diaspora are mainly engaged in health services.

Indian diaspora is a source as well as an asset to deal with the crisis at the domestic front as well as at the international level. For example, the Indian diaspora played and are playing an exemplary role as far as providing charitable service and extending their support during the crisis in Africa. During this pandemic period, when the entire world was affected by the Covid-19 virus, the Indian diaspora selflessly and tirelessly helped people in Africa by providing basic health facilities and nutritious food to those in crisis. In Zimbabwe, where the health system is awful, the Covid warriors among the Indian diaspora selflessly serve people and cure them with limited health equipment and medicines. The government of India is providing maximum help as much as possible to these countries in terms of providing them with medicines and medical kits to protect human life from Coronavirus. It is collaborating at the governmental level.

Moreover, India has become one of the emerging powers, attracting the Indian diaspora and other diasporas associated in various ways with India. In the past, an association of the Indian diaspora with India was not as attractive as today as the superpower on the rise. This needs to be acknowledged because this has been a major shift in the attitude of the Indian diaspora over the years (Taylor 2017: 29).

The Indians resident in Zambia and Zambians of Indian origin joined the 59th independence anniversary celebration of India. In addition, this celebration was also joined by more than one billion Asian population. India has multi-faceted qualities of culture, language, religion and history; most citizens of the world associate with the freedom fighter and non-violent campaigner Mahatma Gandhi (Gandhiji), whose ideas and inspiration spread across several other African nations that were fighting for political liberation. Kenneth David Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Kambarange Nyerere of Tanganyika (Tanzania), Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and many other founding fathers of Africa had much to borrow from India's struggle for independence. More so, India is one of Zambia's all-weather friends as the two countries have shared similar historical experiences in fighting for political freedom and elimination of all forms of discrimination and racial inequality; hence the warm relations that exist between the two countries continued in the history of India and Africa relationship (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2020).

India was one of the first countries in Asia and Africa to gain independence from the European Colonial powers in 1947, after a long and bitter struggle lasting for many decades. The independence of India also marked the beginning of the end of colonialism all over the world. It is, therefore, a historic day for all the oppressed people of the world. Within twenty years of India's Independence, most people and countries in Asia and Africa gained political freedom, including Zambia. In this context, while giving an interview to a reporter in Zambia who asked about the bilateral relations between Zambia and India, the High Commissioner of India expressed that, "India and Zambia have enjoyed a long and historical relationship of friendship, cooperation and understanding. This bilateral relationship, which started even before Zambia's independence, has

continued down the years and is being constantly broadened and deepened through an active programme of co-operation in the political, economic and social fields". He said these two countries enjoy a special relationship (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2020; Likumba 2006; www.hcizambia.gov.in).

To strengthen the economic relation, within the backdrop of the growing demand of the European and American countries to strengthen their economic ties with India, especially the United States of America, Britain others, since India's economy is one of the fastest-growing in the world and these superpowers like the United States of America (USA), Britain and other developed countries, India and Zambia are exploring various ways to strengthen their economic relationship. India invests in various areas, especially technology, science, education, agriculture, and pharmaceuticals. The High Commission of India emphasised that India is a vast country with a large population. It took the country several decades to lay the foundations for economic and technological growth to be sustained. He appealed to the Zambians to invest more in science, technology, education, etc. The Commissioner said that "my personal opinion of what is failing Africa is because its people are still not willing to take charge of their lives and their fate". People of this region should take charge of their own lives and should overcome their circumstances and need to be determined. Investment is required more in agriculture to achieve good self-sufficiency, and agriculture is a critical area that India thinks can assist Zambia. (Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2020; Likumba 2006; www.hcizambia.gov.in).

In 2005, the Indian High Commission in Lusaka presented a request to the Zambian Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and the Zambia Investment Centre for the land where selected Indian farmers could engage in active farming. India is still in dialogue with Zambia on how best it can co-operate. India had assisted by providing agriculture tractors, shellers, and water pumps. It has also provided loans for purchasing vehicles and motorcycles for the Agricultural Ministry's use. There are Indian companies who have come out with ideas of providing training to Zambian farmers and bringing groups of

Indian farmers to join with the Zambian farmers. In this way, the benefit will be for both parties.

On the other hand, in the areas of trade and economic cooperation, especially in mining, processing of precious and semi-precious stones, the power sector, rural development, development of small industries, and technology transfers, India and Zambia are collaborating. However, the best area of co-operation is developing human resources through training facilities that India provides under its Indian Technological and Engineering Course (ITEC) Programme. India offers more than two hundred training courses under ITEC, and about seventy Zambians receive these scholarships every year. The potential for trade exchanges is also huge. India and Zambia have set up a bilateral committee on Trade and Commerce, which explores ways of enhancing trade and commerce. Both countries are also at the forefront of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations, working together and coordinating the positions to maximise the benefits for less developed and developing countries. The currency policies of Zambia are more liberal than those of India and the rest of the world (Likumba 2006; www.hcizambia.gov.in).

Although India has taken various initiatives to strengthen its ties with Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi in the economic sphere, many potential areas are yet to be explored, like the sports sector. Both countries can collaborate in terms of providing training to the sports persons and promoting the specific sports for which both countries are known at the international level. The recent commendable performance of the Indian sportspersons in the Olympics brought many expectations and hopes among the players of these countries. In the political sphere, a grassroots-level leadership training programme should be initiated so that these countries can learn from grass-root level leadership in India and vice versa (Likumba 2006).

5.9.4 Diasporic Initiatives

Almost all the Indian political leaders of these three countries are economically relatively prosperous. Some of them are prominent industrialists. These industrialists have strong

ties with Indian companies and businessmen. Furthermore, when they are coming to power, they are taking all the initiatives to strengthen their ties with the Indian industries; particularly the entrepreneurs of their state of origin, fulfilling the various requirement of the different sectors of Zimbabwe's economy and thereby strengthening the political ties with both the countries. In this way, the Indian diaspora community plays a vital role in rejuvenating ties with the home country of India, the host countries, and among the Indians of home and host countries. They are also becoming beneficial to the native people by bringing economic and political prosperity to the country.

5.9.5 Indian Diaspora Network to Strengthen Connection with India

In this globalised world, every aspect of an individual life is transformed by the free flow of capital, money, technology, ideas, information, science, resources and institutions, etc. This also intensified the migration of diasporas to different parts of the globe. In such a situation, the diaspora is compelled to live away from their kith and kins who possess a unique position in their life despite staying away from them. This could be appropriately defined in one sentence, which is nicely elaborated as "*New Home"* or can be defined as a home abroad (Dubey 2011). In such circumstances, the technology became very helpful for the diaspora community to remain connected with each other despite the physical distance. The Indian diaspora not only connected to their near and dear ones and created a web of network systems to remain in touch and share each other's sorrows and happiness. They also remained connected to their home country India in various ways, and this network system helped them essentially. The Indian diaspora also connected in various ways to secure themselves in this world of complex diversity and differences. The Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO), Organisation for Diaspora Initiatives (ODI) and other such civil society organisations are playing a more significant role in strengthening the network system and working as the connecting agencies among the diaspora communities.

There are various global, regional, and national organisations working at the global, regional and national levels to connect the Indian diaspora across the globe and strengthen their connection with the home country India. These organisations are working as the

most significant network to bring together our fellow Indians settled abroad. They not only establish a connection between the Indian diaspora settled in different countries but also work as a bridge between the Indian diaspora and the home country of India. These organisations and associations also address the problems and challenge the Indian diaspora are facing in their host countries and suggest a solution to such issues, and approach the Indian government to take pro-active measures to resolve such issues at the country level, ministerial level and through establishing a dialogue between the Indian diaspora and the government of the home country. They also discuss debate and deliver on the issues of identity, problems and challenges, opportunities and expectations of the Indian diaspora from the home country, and the expectation of the home country India towards the Indian diaspora. They also work as a mediator between the government of India and the Indian diaspora.

The Government of India set up a separate ministry in May 2004 [5]to look into the Indian diaspora, which is named *the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs.* The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs merged into the Ministry of External Affairs in January 2016. This Ministry establishes Indian diaspora people to government contact through the various Embassies and High Commissions of India in various countries of settlement of Indians. It brings out the solution to the issues of the Indian diaspora at the political level. It provides security to the Indian diaspora settled abroad through dialogue and mutual cooperation with the host countries.

5.9.5.1 Role of GOPIO

The Global Organisation of the People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) is working as an international network of the People of Indian Origin (PIO). It was founded in 1989 at the first global convention of the people of Indian origin in New York, United States of America. The initial objective of GOPIO was to fight against the human rights violation

[5] The Ministry, which looks into the matters of the Indian diaspora, was established in May 2004 as the Ministry of Non-Resident Indians' Affairs and renamed as the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) in September 2004. The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) merged into the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) in January 2016. To avoid the duplication of work and improve efficiency, the government of India decided to do so with the suggestion of the then Minister of External Affairs, Ms Sushma Swaraj. For more on this, see the Report of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Government of India, 2020, www.mea.gov.in/overseas-Indian-affairs.htm; Bhattachergee (2016).

of the people of Indian origin, which has been improved in the last two decades.[6] The GOPIO played and has been playing an essential role in getting the attention of the international community on such an important issue and protecting the rights of the people of Indian origin across the globe and bringing them together to fight against injustice against their fellow Indians living in various parts of the world and engaged in various professions, business, politics etc. The current priority of GOPIO is to pool the resources for the benefit of the people of Indian origin, the country they belong to and the home country India. GOPIO also does various philanthropic as well as charity work among the Indians. It has been accredited by the United Nations Organisation (UNO) as a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) to participate in world conferences against racism.[7]

5.9.5.2 Role of Organisation for Diaspora Initiatives (ODI)

The Organisation for Diaspora Initiatives (ODI) is an intellectual platform which deliberates, discusses, critically analyses and reflects upon the issues related to the Indian diaspora and its engagement with the Indian state. The ODI is organising at the national and international level various conferences, seminars, symposiums and round table discussions by collaborating with various Universities in India and outside India to understand the relationship between India and the Indian diaspora in a better way. It is also taking initiatives to interact, analyse and understand the determinants of Indian foreign policy and the engagement and influence of the diaspora factor in it. The ODI reflects and studies the dimensions and impact of India's global engagement on foreign policy, domestic developmental issues and the role of the Indian diaspora in that (Taylor 2017: 2).[8]

From a broader perspective, the ODI is trying to understand the status, role, situation and issues as well as challenges of the Indian diaspora community across the globe, both at the domestic and international levels. It also studies different diasporas that constitute a

[6] www.gopio.net

[7] (www.gopio.net)

[8] www.odi.in

significant resource for their home country and the host country they settle in and establishes links between them. It maps out the networks, operations and role of various diaspora communities as a resource in international civil society space and their connection to home countries. It is also working as a platform to ensure voice and space for many diaspora communities who feel disempowered within and under the water-tight state-based international system.[9] It brings out the intellectuals, politicians, and diplomats among the Indian diaspora and the experts associated with the diaspora and working on diaspora at one platform and continuously engage on such issues. The ODI is also bringing out an internationally reputed Journal on *Diaspora Studies* published by Routledge (Taylor 2017: 2).[10] Prof. Ajay Dubey (the President of ODI and Chairperson of the Centre for African Studies, School of International Studies and the Regional Director of the Centre for Advanced Studies of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) and his team members are working tirelessly to meet the objectives of ODI for which it stands for.

The Indian diaspora were eagerly searching for a platform where they could share their memories and freely express their feelings and emotions for their home country India as well as struggles, challenges, and achievements which include hard times and good times spent in their host countries. The ODI has become that platform, and they share their experiences. At times this issue is being raised in the home country India and among the Indians that if the Indian diaspora will return to the home country India, then how India will accommodate them, how the issue of demographic imbalance is going to address by the government of India. India already has the largest population in the world, so how will it accommodate the Indian diaspora. So, India should keep a distance from its diaspora community. It should not take any proactive measures and strengthen ties with them which will increase the expectation of the Indian diaspora towards India, which will, in return, create trouble for the natives of India. This is a significant concern raised by the Indians at home. However, from the series of webinars and symposiums conducted by the ODI, it has become clear that most people among the Indian diaspora or PIOs are not interested in coming back and settling permanently in India. Their intention is not to

[9] www.odi.in

[10] www.odi.in

return to their home country, but they want to remain connected with their root. They want to remain connected with their native people or near and dear ones in their home country, India. They love to visit India. They want from the Indian government some kind of assurance that whenever they are in crisis or need in their host country, the Indian government should come to their rescue. This will provide them with some kind of security they are looking for from their home country India. Apart from this, they do not want anything from their home country India. The Indian diaspora community wants to contribute in various ways, whatever possible, to this country's people and their development. They want to remain connected to the home country in various ways politically, economically, socially, emotionally and culturally etc.

5.10 Issue of Identity

The Indian Diaspora has very much retained its identity as an Indian, and at the same time, they have also retained their diverse religious and ethnic identity in these countries. The Indian diaspora of these three countries have always tried to preserve their diverse traditions and cultures. They have integrated into their countries without losing their identity and culture. To some extent, the colonial policy also played an essential role in consolidating the Indian identity in these three countries. The British colonial government in these countries adopted the indirect rule policy, unlike the French colonial policy, which did not touch the local language, religion, custom and culture of the Indians. The Indians always considered themselves culturally superior and took pride in their cultural identity, but they never looked down upon the Africans as the whites did. For the Indian diaspora community of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, India has always remained a source of cultural strength and the most significant inspiration (Ray 2010: 88). According to Dubey (2010), the Indian diaspora in these African countries is a microcosm of Indian diversity based on region, language, religion, caste and ethnicity (Dubey 2010: xi). Research reveals that many Indians who migrated to Africa during the colonial period lost touch with most relatives back home. This happened because of the unfair and strict policies and contractual procedures which imposed restrictions on their coming back to their home country to visit their near and dear ones or take their family to Africa.

Nevertheless, the Indian diaspora, especially the professionals who migrated later during the post-colonial phase, have kept in touch with their families in their home country India (Roy 2010: 79). The Indian diaspora community forms various associations to promote their culture and identity. The Lusaka Hindu Association is very much active in this sphere. Various Art and Cultural (Kala and Sanskriti) Associations were also formed by the Tamilians who settled in Lusaka to promote Indian Classical Dance Bharatnatyam, Kuchipudi etc., various dance forms, Indian classical singing and painting. They also represent themselves at the national and global levels and perform on various platforms. Their children are learning and taking the classical heritage of India to the next level. Various artists from India are also coming and performing on various occasions in these countries. They are being invited by the Indian diaspora associations and Hindu Associations from time to time. Bollywood dance and music are pretty popular in these countries.

5.10.1 Comparing African and Indian Identity

Comparing African and Indian identities is a challenging task. The African identity from the context of the host country has made Indians aspire to become part of African society, be active in various fields and serve the people in general. They are mainly contributing to the economy and society of these three African countries and bringing development in these areas, and empowering the native people of Africa. So, their African identity is primarily confined to their work culture and profession. On the other hand, simultaneously, they are very much attached to their native country emotionally and culturally. Despite the colonial policy of assimilation, they kept their regional, religious and cultural identity intact. Moreover, being Indian, they feel proud of themselves. This identity reflects in their workplace and business as well. This does not mean that they have some kind of disloyalty and disrespect towards the host countries. They do firmly commit to the people and society of these countries. The study also reveals that the Indians of these countries, especially in Zimbabwe, are still bridging the gap between themselves and the native people. In Zimbabwe, they were being targets during the Robert Mugabe regime and became targets of racial animosity to some extent during Kaunda's regime (Mohanty 2020: 47-48; Ray 2010: 88).

5.11 Comparing Connectivity of Indian Diaspora with India

On moral grounds, the foundation of the relationship between India and the Indian diaspora was made with the initiative of M.K.Gandhi. This is also reflected in the relationship between the home country India and the host country, especially in the context of the Indian-Africa relation. Considering Gandhi's contribution, every year, on 9 January, Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD) is celebrated. On 9 January 1915, Gandhi returned to India from South Africa after giving justice to Indians, settled in South Africa and fought against racial discrimination of whites against Indians and Blacks. On this particular day, he returned to India and led the freedom struggle against British colonialism. He changed the lives of Indians forever. However, it was Jawaharlal Nehru who provided the political framework. He initiated the policy of South-South solidarity as a part of India's anti-colonial foreign policy (Taylor 2017: 5; Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India Report, 2020). Then, there was a shift in India's policy towards the Indian diaspora, initiated in 2003 with the effort of the then Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Bajpayee.

Dubey 2010 viewed that there was a shift in India's policy towards its diaspora from active dissociation to the active association during this period. The Bajpayee government took all proactive measures to engage with the Indian diaspora community settled in various countries across the globe. Moreover, the government has gone one step ahead in engaging India with the Indian diaspora. It is taking all proactive measures to strengthen the ties between the homeland and the Indian diaspora community.

The 2014 election manifesto of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) undefined to address the issues and concerns of the People of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-resident Indians (NRIs). It aimed to develop a committed diplomatic strategy, along the line of ‘Brand India’ towards attending these promises. The election manifesto also acknowledged the capacities of Indian diaspora and considered them as reservoir for India. The existing skills and resources of the Indian diaspora can be utilised for building ‘Brand India’. In the same vein, the Congress also showed its commitment to address the multiple issues and concerns of the Indian diaspora. It further stressed its firm commitment to protect the Indian diaspora from exploitation. It is clear from both the political parties' election

manifestos that BJP considers the Indian diaspora as a means/tool to achieve India's foreign policy goal, which includes its agenda of development.

In contrast, Congress emphasises taking all measures to protect the Indian diaspora in their host country. It also emphasised establishing youth exchange centres to have exchange programmes at various levels, such as cultural, educational, socio-economic and political, for the knowledge of the youth and the exchanges at various levels between the Indian diaspora and the home and host countries (Challagalla, March 2018: 1). There is also a need to address the issues of aspirations and expectations of the Indian diaspora and the home country of India.

5.12. Recent Developments in India and Indian Diaspora Relation

During the interaction, the Vice-President Mohammad Hamid Ansari urged them take the advantage of each opportunity towards developing cooperation. While expressing his pleasure to be in Malawi, Ansari said: "The Indian community has been living in this friendly country for about a century and has contributed in significant measure to its development and the evolution of the multicultural fabric of Malawian society". The Government of India has also established the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs to address the concerns. The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs is committed to work towards the welfare of the Indian diaspora.

He further said: "We have historical relations with Malawi based on shared values and common experience of our struggle against colonial rule. Both the countries are multi-party democracies, multicultural and multireligious societies with a strong commitment to the rule of law and respect for human rights. India is committed to providing all possible assistance to the Government of Malawi and President H.E. Mr Binguwa Mutharika in his efforts to improve the economic situation of the people and bring about the overall development of the country." "The Government has introduced the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) scheme to facilitate the Malawi Indians' travel to and interaction with India. The Indian government is also encouraging them to take advantage of these initiatives and work to deepen the economic partnership between India and Malawi. Ansari also added that we must utilise every opportunity and undertake every initiative to

harness the potential for cooperation that exists in the areas of agriculture, mining, power, science and technology, education, information technology and Small and Medium Enterprises."

The Vice President Ansari drew the attention towards India's announcement for supporting Malawi with one million US dollar to meet the crisis created by the earth quake. This was followed by his addition to assist with one million US dollar for developing agricultural sector and strengthening health and educational sectors. He said he was happy to inform us that the Indian economy was back on track towards recovery, adding that economic reforms would continue. Meanwhile, he was optimistic that Malawi will return to the regular economic growth that it was contemplating.

5.13 Political Response, Social and Educational Status

The political response from both Zambia and India has been cordial, which could be witnessed from the Ministerial and Vice-Presidential level visit to Zambia and Zambians delegates' visit to India. Many bilateral and multilateral agreements were signed between these two countries, especially in the Information and Technology, Pharmaceutical, and educational sectors. The current development regarding the relationship between the two countries witnesses that they have gone one step ahead as far as strengthening their ties are concerned in socio-economic, political and cultural fields. This is a good sign for the Indian diaspora settled in Zambia. In August 2019, the President of Zambia Mr. Edgar Chagwa Lungu made an official visit to India for three days. During this visit, the countries made various agreements to strengthen the ties further. The present Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi, expressed his keen interest in having greater cooperation and collaboration in various fields with Zambia.

The Prime Minister of India emphasised more on the developmental aspect more. He said Zambia is a reliable partner for India, and India has been sharing its developmental experience with this country. Six agreements were signed between the two countries in key sectors like defence, mineral resources, agriculture, health care, food processing and tourism. They also signed the Memorandum of Understandings (MoUs) in art and culture (The Hindu Business line Newspaper Report, 21 August 2019). During the field study, the

researcher went to various educational institutions collaborated by India and Zambia. These educational institutions are helping Zambians to empower educationally; it is especially helping those who are engaged in various work and professions and cannot pursue their studies in regular schools, colleges and universities. They prefer to go for distance education. To facilitate them to get an education, the Indian government is helping Zambia by setting up Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) for distance education learning. In Zimbabwe and Malawi, such initiatives were undertaken to develop human resources and empower people in the social and educational sectors. Various Red Cross societies, Yoga Centers and Brahma Kumari Centers are working as philanthropic organisations for charitable purposes.

5.14 Comparing Indian diaspora Policy to connect with Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi

A significant shift has taken place in India's diaspora policy from 1999 onwards with an effort of the government under the Prime Ministership of Atal Bihari Bajpayee. During his tenure Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, a separate Ministry to address the issues of the Indian diaspora exclusively was set up (Dubey 2010; MEA, Government of India Report 2005). This was the first-ever political and institutionalised effort of the government of India to connect with the Indian diaspora. This brought new hope and aspiration among the Indian diaspora abroad, including the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The government of India initiated various policies to engage with the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. A few policies are the Know Goa Programme, Pravasi Teerth Darshan Yojana, Know India Programme, National Pension Scheme for Non-Resident Indians, Online Services for voters, and Pravasi Bhartiya Kendra especially set up to engage with the Indian diaspora of these countries from socio-cultural and political perspectives. India community welfare fund has been created to facilitate welfare-related activities among the Indian diaspora. Apart from that, the India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians is working to engage in various developmental issues in India with the participation and the contribution of the Indian diaspora in these countries. Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Award is also another important initiative by the government of India to recognise, appreciate and honour the exceptional

Indian diaspora persons who have been contributing to the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of the host as well as the home countries (MEA, Government of India Report 2021).

5.15 Comparative Challenges to Connect with Indian Diaspora

The major challenge for India to connect with the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe is the time to time triggering of violence against the Indian diaspora by the local goons in this particular country. The main reason is the economic prosperity of the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe. As a result, many Indian researchers, civil society organisations and cultural organisations cannot visit this country frequently compared to the other two countries. Such incidents create obstacles to strengthening ties between the Indian diaspora and India in cultural, socio-economic and political spheres. This is precisely why the number of Indian diasporas in this country has reduced over a while. Indian diaspora find Zambia and Malawi safe compared to Zimbabwe in terms of their safety and security. As a result, during President Mugabe's regime, many Indians migrated to the neighbouring countries of Zambia largely, and some of them also migrated to Malawi.

The second significant challenge is that the numerical strength of the Indian diaspora in these three Central African countries is less compared to the Indian diaspora of Southern Africa and East Africa. This is another reason for being given less attention by the home country India in these three countries compared to other regions of Africa. Thirdly, it also caught less attention from academicians and researchers working on the Indian diaspora. Not much attention is given to this area as far as studying the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi is concerned. The socio-cultural, economic and political life of Indians in these countries largely remained unexplored. This is precisely why it did not catch the attention of the government of India. It deserves to get more attention because although the number of Indians in these countries is minuscule, they significantly contribute to the politics, economy and society of their host countries Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. To fill that gap, the present study attempted to explore the socio-economic and political situation of the Indian diaspora from a comparative perspective.

5.16 Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that the continuity and change in India's policy towards the Indian diaspora broadly impact the connectivity between India and the Indian diaspora. From the 1990s onwards, with the initiative of the government of India, many measures were taken to strengthen this relationship. Adopting a dual citizenship policy for the diaspora community to issuing NRI Cards and visa-on-arrival facilities are significant initiatives that further strengthen this connectivity. No doubt about this that the Indian diaspora is a great source to India, which time and again they proved with their contribution in various aspects, to name a few significant areas are; economic, political, diplomatic, health and education, cultural etc. During this pandemic period when the entire world suffered from Coronavirus, despite the life-threatening situation Indian diaspora, especially in African countries including Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, kept on working in the health sector as a doctor, a nurse, health workers and a pharmacist, many charitable services provided by the Indian diaspora associations and saved many lives. The Indian diaspora community provides special assistance to the people who are in need.

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Government of India provided help to access basic health facilities in these countries. It is also taking care of the Indians seeking help from the Government of India. Under the mission "Vande Bharat Mission" Indian government is making all arrangements to bring back to India the Indians who went abroad for education and job purpose; the students, professionals, business persons etc., who got stuck because of the lockdown with the immediate outbreak of a pandemic. This is a great initiative to bring back the Indian diaspora across the globe, including the Indian diaspora of African countries under study. This brought back immense faith and respect among the Indian diaspora towards their home country. Time and again, while addressing the Indian diaspora, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Modi, reiterated that India will not disappoint the Indian diaspora and will take all measures to strengthen the relation of India with its diaspora community.

Conclusion

Conclusion

The comparative study of the social, economic and political situation of the Indian diaspora in three Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi opens the scope for pondering upon and researching many uncovered and unexplored facts about the Indian diaspora of these three countries. My field study visit to Zambia made it easier for me to meet directly and interact with some of the Indians who settled there, cut across their socio-economic, religious, cultural, regional, and political lines. My field study made me closer to my research area and the people with whom I started this research voyage. Studying the Indian diaspora itself is a very fascinating and challenging area. It has been a unique and exciting journey with all ups and downs in life regularly. The conclusion highlights some critical insights concerning the social, economic and political situation in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It specifically attempts to highlight the comparative aspects of the socio-economic and political status of the Indian diaspora. It explores the similarities and differences of PIOs in these three countries by considering multiple variables that govern their life. It also explores the uniqueness of the Indian diaspora communities and brings out some facts about the issue of their identity. It studied the policy of the Government of India toward the Indian diaspora and how India and the Indian diaspora are connected. It also brings out some of the significant trends in the Government of India's policy toward the Indian diaspora in changing contemporary political scenarios. In the end, this part also provides some suggestions.

The study of diaspora no doubt gained momentum recently. It is an emerging area of research that has drawn attention from different parts of the world. However, not much research has been done on the Indian diaspora living in developing countries of Asia and Africa compared to the developed countries. Sometimes, questions are raised in the intellectual forum that most of these Third World Countries of Asia and Africa are going through momentous poverty, political instability and civil war, to mention a few. It is pertinent to ponder how the diaspora community can get better treatment in these countries in such a situation. It is essential to note that in the study of the Indian diaspora in Africa, more importance has been given to the study of the Indian diaspora in South

and Eastern Africa. However, the Indian diaspora of Central African countries, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, have been at the margin of the diaspora studies.

The study of the Indian diaspora is not a simple errand. The Indian diasporic community is spreading across the world. The Indian government seems to have taken some time to recognise the potential of its diaspora in Africa. The engagement of the Indian government with the Indian diaspora is a recent phenomenon. In the 1990s, the Government of India recently decided to engage more actively with its diaspora. Though it started late, the momentous rendezvous is appreciable. It brought hope and confidence to the Indian diaspora and motivated them to contribute to their home country in various ways and remain connected. It is essential because over 20 million people of Indian Origin (both NRI and PIOs) are significant assets to India. It would help India realise the ambition of making India a developed and prosperous country. Comparatively, the recent focus by the Government of India has been more on the Indian diaspora settled in western countries. It has begun changing its policies toward the Indian diaspora in Africa and other countries. Over the period, millions of Indians have made Africa their home. They have been active in making positive contributions to the society, economy and the politics of the countries of their adoption.

The existing literature on the Indian diaspora, especially the Indian diaspora in Africa, has not paid much attention to studying the Indian diaspora in the Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Dotson and Dotson (1968) attempted to study the social condition of Indians in the 1960s from the sociological and anthropological perspective, which provided a foundation to understand especially the socio-economic situation of Indians as a minority community in the colonial phase. It was an ethnographic account of the Indian minority and primarily covered the colonial period. However, those issues need to be revisited because of the current developments due to dramatic changes in the last couple of decades. So far, no study has been undertaken on the economic and political situation of the Indian diaspora, specifically in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, from a comparative perspective. In addition, the Government of India's policy towards the Indian

diaspora, especially towards the Indian diaspora in Africa, has dramatically changed over the period.

The Government of India is taking proactive measures to connect with the Indian diaspora community in Africa. The present study is unique since it extensively studies the socio-economic and political situation of Indians in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The contributions of the present study to the existing literature range from a deeper understanding and analysis of the issues of identity of the Indian diaspora, their cultural heritage, their sense of Indianness, economic prosperity and political struggles and contributions and deep connection with the home country India and host countries to their changing interface with the native communities in various spheres. Although India had a generic Africa policy since its independence, it had no specific dedicated policy towards the Indian diaspora of Africa in general and the Central African countries in particular. The English, French and Portuguese-speaking countries were roofed under the broader policy on Africa. Even among the English-speaking countries of Africa, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, were studied to understand their situation during the colonial period, a little or no attention has been paid to understanding their position in the post-colonial period. It appears to suggest that the success of the Indian diaspora opened up the scope for the Indian Government to think in terms of its policies toward them. Consequently, India developed its country-specific policies concerning Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

The process of population migration has opened up the scope for collaboration between migration studies and diaspora studies. The impact of globalisation has also brought many changes in the life of the Indian diaspora. Due to the development of science and technology, the diaspora communities have come closer, making a space for themselves in the global sphere. Sporadic developments also add new nuances to the diaspora studies. Covid-19 disrupted the socio-economic and political life of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Such issues often indicate the need for a new perspective to studying the Indian diaspora that captures their relative experience with the unavoidable circumstances.

Needless to mention that host countries often come forward to help their diaspora in times of crisis, and India is not an exception in addressing such issues. Perhaps the success of the Indian diaspora in various fields in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi became the driving force for the Indian government to deal with matters of the Indian diaspora meaningfully. Such achievements of the Indian diaspora encouraged India to rethink its approach and mould its policies toward them, especially protecting the Indian diaspora in a foreign land. In return, the Indian diaspora communities also reciprocate, especially by contributing to the development of the mother country.

There are many sectors, especially in the economic sphere, where the Indians contribute. The need is to reinforce the relationship of India with its diaspora community. For the first time, in the 1990s, the Government of India realised that and started taking initiatives to give them dual citizenship rights, celebrate *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas, and give Pravasi Bhartiya Samman* to the achievers among the Indian diaspora who have contributed immensely in various fields. The Government of India has taken initiatives to bring them together and other policy initiatives to strengthen their relationship further. However, many things remain to be done. Chapter Five focused on the policy of the Indian government towards the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi and emphasised strengthening its relationship with them in multiple spheres.

The study reveals that the diasporas are more than just migrants. The diasporas' emotional and psychological attachment towards their home country or mother country gives them a distinct identity, unlike the migrant. All diasporas are migrants, but all migrants are not diasporas. All migrants do not share the level of emotional attachment, bonding, and commitment towards their home country and the people of their home country, which the diaspora communities do. Hence, Page and Mercer (2011) underline that "a diaspora is more than a group of migrants" (Page and Mercer 2011: 104).

Considering the level of commitment and the attachment of the diaspora communities towards their home countries, many questions were raised at the academic fora regarding the issue of 'assimilation' and 'integration'. Since the diaspora communities are attached to

their home country, is it a failure on their part to get 'integrated' and 'assimilated' in their host countries or the country of adoption where they settle? The answer, however, seems to be unrealistic. Ethnographic studies show that it is a common experience for the diaspora communities to have closely knitted (imbricated) with each other in the place they live. At the same time, the diaspora communities also continuously get engaged with the land of their origin (home country), which equally holds meaning for them, and they love to remain attached to the people of that particular place (Page and Mercer 2011: 104).

Such a phenomenon makes the study of diaspora more interesting to ponder upon in international studies. Each diaspora community would have relative experience, which differs from community to community and place to place. Starting from the Jews to the Indian diaspora, the level of emotional support and commitment of the diaspora communities towards their home country compels a researcher to ponder upon such issues of identity, foreign policy perspective and diaspora, diaspora network, connection and expectation from both sides, i.e. the diaspora and home country as well as diaspora and host country.

Another important aspect is that the era of globalisation has led to the emergence of global citizenship and global justice. Global citizenship and global justice perspective would help understand the situation of diaspora communities in general and Indian diaspora in particular and various challenges to their identity and security in a foreign land of their settlement. In addition, India's diaspora policy has taken up the root of strengthening the ties between the Indian diaspora and India. In that context, the Indian government uses the diaspora community's potential in nation-building and meeting its foreign policy agenda. This development brought new hope and expectation to the Indian diaspora. Chapter Five emphasised this aspect and extensively dealt with India's engagement with the diaspora community and vice versa. It has also explored the emerging areas of engagement between the Indian diaspora and India and the relationship between the home and host countries in the context of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

The Indian diaspora communities focus on India's deep-rooted cultural ethos and retain their cultural and religious identities. This does not mean to articulate that they do not have respect for other religious and culturally diverse people in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. They participate in each other's festivals and celebrate together, but a sense of Indianness is found among the Indians living in these countries. It is crucial to mention that the distinct identity of Indians never became a reason for rifts or conflicts between the Indian diaspora and the native communities. The economic prosperity of the Indians is the main reason for conflicts between the Indian diaspora and the native communities (Muzondidya, 2005; Mohanty 2020).

The study on the political situation of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi shows that from the independence period, these countries were highly influenced by the Indian freedom fighters and political leaders. Kantibhai Gordhanbhai Patel, a renowned personality among the Indian diaspora community of Zimbabwe, fought during the national movement of Zimbabwe and Zambia. He was a member of the politburo, a nationalist leader, a businessman and a philanthropist. He lived in Zambia during the initial phase of his political life and later moved to Zimbabwe. He immensely contributed to the anti-colonial movement and raised funds for the education of some Black African youth in Zimbabwe and Zambia (*The Herald*, 17 May, 2022).

Meanwhile, many political leaders and freedom fighters were educated in Indian universities. The visit of political leaders from both sides reveals that India, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi have close political and diplomatic relations. This shows that although the political participation of the Indian diaspora in these three countries is relatively less than their economic participation, their contributions to the political sphere cannot be ignored. Zimbabwe and Zambia Indians are comparatively more politically active than the Malawi Indians. Zimbabwean and Zambian Indians at the political level have been diligently handling the Ministry of Trade and Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture, be it Mr Suresh Desai and Mr Deepak Patel of Zambia or Mr Raj Modi of Zimbabwe. Both these ministries are vital and decide the present and future of the financial status of a country. With the coming of Mr Raj Modi into politics after the 2018

election, the Indian diaspora community feels more secure than ever before in Zimbabwe, especially in Bulawayo.

Indian diaspora communities have gone through different experiences under the French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonial rule in Africa and Asia. These colonial rulers also significantly facilitated the migration of Indian labourers to far-off countries of Asia and Africa. Unlike the Indian diaspora of East-African, West-African and South African countries, where the migration of Indians intensified during the colonial period, the experience of the Indian diaspora in Central Africa is quite different. The study revealed that during the post-colonial period, the migration of Indians to the Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi intensified. This happened because of the changing policy of the government of these countries to encourage Indians to establish business and participate in various professions after independence.

It is essential to mention that Indians came to Zimbabwe and Zambia as free migrants and not because their labour was required for specific purposes. Unlike East Africa and Southern Africa, Indians landed in Central Africa as free migrants, not indentured workers or labourers, especially in Zimbabwe and Zambia. However, at the same time, the colonial government discouraged further migration by imposing strict policy measures. The colonial government made the language test mandatory to enter Central African countries. Consequently, the latter part of the 1930s witnessed a decline in migration.

On the economic front, the core area of economic transaction or exchange is prohibited mainly to the Indians by the British during the colonial period in these Central African countries. Indians were forced to remain confined to the periphery regarding their economic activities in these countries. Only after independence could they move to the City Centre (the heartland of economic transactions or marketplace). So, after independence, the Central African countries liberalised their migration policy and encouraged Indians to move into and participate in the business sector and various professions and lend their hand to developing the society. Dillip Patel, Veena Desai and

Asha Patel emphasised this since some of their family members migrated to Central Africa during the British colonial period and some after independence.

Due to sincerity, hard work and commitment to their profession and law-abidingness, the governments formed after decolonisation also encouraged Indians to continue their participation in the economic sphere and contribute to the societies of these Central African countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Indians were not only just confined to the economy. As stated by Veena Desai, the Indians and the Indian government contributed to training and developing the security personnel, specifically the army of Zambia. Veena Desai (a Zambia-based Businesswoman) stated that the government of India sent her father to train the Zambian army. For that purpose, her family migrated to Zambia and settled there (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrOyNScTigQ).

The social and ethnic composition of the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi reflects that in Zimbabwe, the Gujarati community is mainly playing a critical role in society, economy and, to some extent, in politics (currently) with the coming of Raj Modi as the member of Zimbabwe Parliament (National Assembly) and the Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce. He is a member of the ZANU-PF political party of Zimbabwe. There is also the presence of some professionals from the Southern part of India, predominantly Tamil and Malayali people. Mostly Gujarati, Bihari, Bengali, Malayali, Tamil, Telugu, Odiya, and people from Uttar Pradesh settled in Zambia. Again, the population of Gujaratis and Tamilians is quite large compared to the other regions of India. Presumably, the Gujaratis and the people from the South are the early settlers in Zambia.

The *Patidar* (Patels) among the Gujaratis prefer to live in their community in a close circle. During the field study, it was observed that only the *Patidar Samaj* (Patidar Society) live in a separate colony in Lusaka city, where the Patidar community have their separate apartment in a circle which is named as *Patidar Samaj* in the nameplate of the main gate of their apartment boundary. Meanwhile, many other Gujarati business classes mostly live in a joint family in Zambia. During the field study, it was also observed that

the Gujarati communities are very hospitable and welcoming compared to the other Indian diaspora population. Among the Indian diaspora communities, most of the Sikh and Gujarati communities are settled in Malawi. The comparative analysis of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi shows that Gujaratis dominate in food, culture, language, clothes, and lifestyle, followed by South Indian culture in Zimbabwe and Zambia Sikh culture in Malawi.

Economically, the Indians are prosperous in all three countries, but their economic prosperity became significant for their social insecurity in Zimbabwe and rare in Zambia and Malawi. Indian businessmen were targeted mainly by local goons in Zimbabwe who tried to cease their land and property. In Zambia and Malawi, Indians are relatively safe. To compare the socio-economic situation of the Indian diaspora during the colonial and post-colonial phases, Dotson and Dotson (1968) and Mufuzi (2011) underlined that the Indians belonged to the middle strata of the society during the colonial period. Gradually, they could reach the higher strata of society through their hard work and economic progress, primarily during the post-colonial phase, especially in the context of Zambia and to some extent in Zimbabwe (Field study interview conducted in March 2011).

In Zimbabwe, Indians primarily engage in industry and retail business, and some are in the health and education profession. In contrast, in Zambia, Indians are mainly involved in almost all occupations but primarily in health and education. Many committed doctors serve in the Zambian health sector, both in government and private hospitals, who belong mainly to Gujarat and some of them from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and South India. In Zambia, Indians are primarily engaged in the copper industry, retail business, grocery with Indian food items, restaurant business and a few in agriculture. In Malawi, Indians are mainly engaged in industry, retail and restaurant business with few professionals.

Diaspora as an area of study emerged due to many historical reasons, the emotional association and inseparable link in their past migration history, sense of co-ethnicity. India has a rich historical heritage, making the Indian diaspora proud and keeping themselves intact to their mother country. The growing interest in studying diaspora and diasporic is

also due to the recognised importance of those entities' cultural, social, economic and political significance.

The Indian diaspora community uses the opportunities of the host countries, but their heart lives in their mother country. This study focused on the permanent settlement of migrants and creating a new diaspora community, focusing on the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi. The Indian diaspora continued to expand and make a space for themselves in Africa for multiple reasons. However, the Indian diaspora was never a homogeneous group. In Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, Indian diaspora communities consist of various religious sects and groups with different cultural, social and religious practices. They are very much attached to their home country India and their kith and kins living in India. They are very much attached to their culture and keep their identity intact. This is unique about the Indian diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.

At last, the study suggests further exploring these countries' emerging social, economic and political opportunities. It also indicates that the Indian diaspora needs to improve their relationship with the native Africans, and various trust-building measures need to be initiated apart from various philanthropic and welfare activities. The study suggests that the Indian diaspora largely contribute to these host countries' economic sphere. The scope of their contribution needs to be broadened. It should expand to the social and political sphere as well. The Indian diaspora shall create more economic opportunities for the native people in terms of employment, skill enhancement, training etc. The Indian diaspora can play a significant role in the host countries in policy formulation and implementation as they have long association and involvement in the economic sphere and have long experience managing the economy. The government of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi should use the Indians as a great asset for their economic prosperity. The freedom movement of India and Gandhi’s ideas largely inspired the people of these host countries. The study reveals that some of the Indians among the Indian diaspora community have actively participated in the freedom movement of these host countries.

Further research needs to be done in detail on their political activism, struggle and sacrifice during the anti-colonial movement of these countries so that the native people of the host countries will realise the vital contribution of the Indian diaspora during the freedom movement period, which will help to reduce the rift between the natives and the Indians of these countries. Moreover, the Indian diaspora needs to explore multiple ways to increase their participation in the politics of these countries presently. Such measures will reduce conflict between the Indian diaspora and the natives and bring social harmony between both communities. The rich democratic tradition and the cultural diversity that the Indians learned in India could be disseminated among the natives through their close association and interaction through various political platforms, i.e., at the political party level, at the association level, within the ministry, or at the governmental level.

The native people of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi should learn the economic skill of the Indians to bring economic prosperity to their own country. Instead of developing a hostile attitude towards the Indians who achieved in the economic sphere through long struggle, they need to cooperate and develop a healthy relationship with Indians for their socio-economic wellbeing. The study reveals that the natives look at Indians from the prism of colonial experiences even today, which creates contradiction and confusion in their minds and develop a suspicious attitude toward the Indian diaspora. Perhaps the reason behind that is much research on Indians done concerning their administrative and economic engagement and involvement with the British colonial power, not as a separate community which has its own socio-economic and political history of struggle, survival, constraints, achievements and awards in these host countries during both colonial and post-colonial period. Further, a comparative study needs to be done on the comparative situation of the Indian diaspora during the colonial and post-colonial periods. A study should also be done separately on the relationship between the natives and the Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Also, significantly less work has been done on the association of the Indian diaspora with the political leaders of these countries, which again is an unexplored area. The gender issues among the Indian diaspora community of these three countries also need to be given special attention in research. Very few studies have been done on women in the Indian diaspora of Zambia.

The Indian diaspora of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi can contribute to their home country, India, more in terms of investing in the market in India, undertaking various developmental projects through collaboration and partnership both at the governmental and private level. Since the Indian government focuses on making in India and other developmental policies and has a vision of making India a great power at the global level, the Indian diaspora of these countries can largely contribute in that sphere. Indian diaspora of these three countries can lobby to put forward India's position in their host countries and at the global level. It can contribute from a foreign policy perspective, for example, India's position to have a permanent seat in the Security Council of the UNO on the issue of cross-border terrorism, arms race etc. The Indian diaspora community in these countries have a long association in the health and pharmaceutical sectors, and their knowledge and experiences would be a great asset for India to improve and develop the health sector, which is a top priority during the pandemic situation. Various social and cultural projects could be initiated through various educational and cultural exchange programs between the youths of the Indian diaspora of these countries and the home country of India.

The government of India need to recognize the achievements of the Indian diaspora of these countries in the way it has emphasised the Indian diaspora of South Africa and East Africa. Some of the achievers among the Indian diaspora of these countries, like Mr. Deepak Patel, Mr. Suresh Desai and Mr. Raj Modi, who have achieved incredibly in the political and economic sphere, need to be awarded in the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas. The government of India need to strengthen ties with these countries in the economic, political and diplomatic sphere. So that the Indian diaspora will become more secure and the perspective of the native towards the India and Indians will change, and they will develop a positive approach towards Indians. They will acknowledge the contribution of Indians to these societies genuinely. The potential of these countries needs to be recognized by India, and these countries need to recognize the contribution of India and future prospects in India and Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi relations.

The governments of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi needed to take all the initiatives to protect the rights of the Indian diaspora community in their country. Because a country can not progress without protecting the various communities residing within it. Especially the government of Zimbabwe, along with the other two countries, need to make special laws to provide social security and protection to various ethnic communities, including Indians. The government of these countries need to encourage and award the Indians who achieved in the socio-economic and political sphere and recognize their contribution. Especially the political leaders of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi need to realise and recognise the potential of the Indian diaspora and need to give opportunities equally. The contributions of Indians in health, and education sectors, apart from business and politics, cannot be undermined in these countries. These countries need to strengthen their ties with India for mutual benefits.

Annexure

Annexure-I

Questionnaire on

Indian Diaspora in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi: A Comparative Study

Part I: Personal Date:

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex
4. Caste
5. Religion
6. Education
7. Occupation:
8. In case of Diaspora, where when and why did you come from?

Part-II: Economic Matters

1. Number of family members:_____
2. Monthly income of the family_____
3. What is the source of your income?

   i. Land ii. Service iii. Business iv. Others (*Specify*)_____

4. If service, types of service:

   i. Class I ii. Class II iii. Class III iv. Class IV

5. If business, type of business:

   i. Enterprises ii. Shop owner iii. Middleman

   iv. Contractor v. Others (*Specify)*_____

6. Do you own any land?

   i. Yes ii. No

7. If yes, how much land do you own?

   Amount_____ Quality of land_____

8. If no, what do you mainly do to live by?

   ---

9. If yes to question 6, do you cultivate your own land?

   i. Own ii. Sharecropping

Part III: Political Matters

1. Do you cast vote?

   i. Yes ii. No

2. In deciding whom to vote for, whose opinion matters you most?

   i. Own ii. Husband/wife iii. Other

   family members iv. Caste/community leaders v. Friends/neighbours

   vi. Others (*Specify)*_____ viii. Can't say

3. Which political party do you support?

4. Why do you support/ or a member?

   i. Leadership ii. It helps our community

   iii. Development work iv. Other reasons (*Specify)*_____

5. Are you a member of political party?

   i. Yes ii. No

6. If yes, which political party?

7. What considerations matter to you when you vote?

   i. Caste ii. Religion iii. Party

   iv. Qualifications of the candidate

8. Which political party do you think represents your community's interest the most?

9. Give reasons for your answer:

   ---

10. How do you describe the role of your community during elections?

Part VI: Inter-Community Relations

1. What are the similarities and differences between Indians and other native people?

Similarities

i.

ii.

iii.

iv.

v.

Differences

i.

ii.

iii.

iv.

v.

2. How do you describe your relationship with the natives?

   i. Good ii. Bad iii. Not so cordial

3. Do you accept food cooked by the natives?

   i. Yes ii. No

4. Do you invite the natives to your family celebration?

   i. Yes ii. No

5. Do you object to inter-marriage with the natives?

   i. Yes ii. No

6. Do visit each others?

   i. Yes ii. No iii. Sometimes iv. Often

   v. Once in a while vi. Never

7. Do children play together in the neighbourhood?

   i. Yes ii. No iii. Sometimes iv. Often

   v. Once in a while vi. Never

8. Do you borrow money from the natives, if necessary?

   i. Yes ii. No

9. Give reasons for your answer (including interest rate):

---

10. How do the natives look at your prosperity?

---

11. How do the natives treat you?

---

12. How do you look at the native communities?

    i. Higher ii. Lower iii. Same

13. Give reasons for your answer:

---

14. Have there been any conflicts or tensions between the Indians and natives in this locality? i. Yes ii. No iii. Not sure

15. What is the nature and intensity of violence?

i. Often ii. Frequently iii. Rare

16. Reasons of conflict:

---

17. Catalysts of conflict:

i. Community leaders

ii. Political leaders

iii. Local leaders

iv. Government officials

v. Social workers

vi. Anti-social elements

vii. Others (specify)

18. Who helps you most during times of conflicts or tensions?

i. Neighbour, irrespective of race/class ii. Political leaders

iii. Administration and police iv. Social workers

19. Do the state apparatus are partial while dealing with the conflict?

i. Yes ii. No iii. DK

20. If yes, to whom?

i. Indians ii. Natives iii. None

21. Are there, in your locality, committees/associations/organizations that have both Indians and Natives to deal with tensions/conflicts?

i. Yes ii. No iii. Not sure

22. Do these committees/associations/organizations try to maintain peace during tensions/conflicts?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Sometimes iv. Often

    v. Once in a while vi. Never

23. Do they succeed?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Sometimes iv. Often

    v. Once in a while vi. Never

24. Do people from Indian Diasporas and Natives form peace committees in times of tensions in your locality?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Not sure

25. Do these committees dissolves when tensions are over?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Not sure

26. What, in your view, should be done to stop conflicts, if they take place in your locality?

    ---

27. Some say that people can only rely on members of their own community. Do you think that is true?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Not sure

28. Do you want to choose the member of the Native communities as your political representatives?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Sometimes iv. Never

29. If people do not represent members of their own community, then they will be dominated by the members of other community. Do you think that is true?

    i. Yes ii. No iii. Not sure

30. Do you have any complain against the Native community?

i. Yes ii. No

31. If yes, nature of complain:

---

32. Will Indian Diaspora-natives relations improve in the future?

i. Yes ii. No iii. Don't Know

33. If yes/no, give reasons:

---

34. Whenever you feel threatened by the Native communities, how do you resolve it?

i. Through dialogue ii. Forming community organisation

iii. Resort to violence

35. If resort to violence, nature of violence:

36. Any additional notes/comments

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