CASTE AND OTHER ASPECTS IN INDIAN DIASPORA:

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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DECLARATION

This dissertation titled **"CASTE AND OTHER ASPECTS IN INDIAN DIASPORA: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS"** is submitted for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted, in part or in full, for any other degree of this or any other University, and is my original work.

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Dedicated to,

            all the oppressed who are fighting for a society based on the principals of liberty, equality and fraternity...

"You must abolish your slavery yourselves. Do not depend for its abolition upon god or a superman. Remember that it is not enough that a people are numerically in the majority. They must be always watchful, strong and self-respecting to attain and maintain success. We must shape our course ourselves and by ourselves".

-Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

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Acknowledgements

ABBREVIATIONS

BAMSEF: Backward and Minorities Classes Employees Federation

DSN: Dalit Solidarity Network

FABO: Federation of Ambedkarites and Buddhist Organizations

IMF: International Monetary Fund

UK: United Kingdom

UNDP: United Nations Development Programmes

UNHRC: United Nation Human Right Commission

USA: United States of America

VISION: Volunteers In Service in India's Oppressed and Neglected

VODI: Voice of Dalit International

WACR: World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance

WB: World Bank

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration is an important phenomenon throughout the historical paradigm of human nature. To understand the historical nature of human society, we need to understand the crucial phases of human migration whereby significant changes in socio-cultural lives of individual had taken place over a period of time. According to Jayaram (2004: 16), 'migration and dispersion are natural phenomena, widely familiar both in the world of plants and in the animal kingdom'. Human migration seemed to be a historical phenomenon wherein the physical growth of an individual has taking place. The physical growth of an individual depends upon the particular geographical situation and his ability to adapt with the environment.

Over a period of time, migration of people to different parts of the world has been studied as a part of 'diaspora'. Diaspora in present context plays a significant role. In other words, the diasporic communities, wherever they have migrated created a worldwide impacts in terms of their socio-economic, political and cultural domain. Diaspora, however in the domain of social science is becoming a multi-disciplinary approach. In the sense, besides historians, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and political scientists, scholars working in the field of linguistics and literature study as well (Jayaram 2004: 32). However, Diaspora plays a vital role in the realm of social sciences in general and Sociology in particular because it gives unique perspective to explore the historical socio-cultural phenomena of flow of people with their socio-cultural baggage. Present study is a modest attempt to understand and analyze different aspects in Indian Diaspora with special reference to caste from a sociological perspective.

Statement of the problem

In today's scenario, the overwhelming growth of Indians abroad is becoming a natural or to some extent essential phenomena. The increasing industrial growth and modern technology in western world has created immense need for labour supply that led to

increase in the rate of migration of Indians to different parts of the world. However, the emigration of Indians seemed to be a historical phenomenon, in other words the flow of Indian emigration had commenced since the pre-colonial era and it is still very strong. According to R K Jain there are two basic factors or reasons behind migration of Indian people i. e. pull and push factors (1993: 04). New undertaking of industrial and commercial projects especially plantation during colonial times created the immense need for large labour supply which could be measured as a pull factor. However, the overwhelm influence of European dominance had created several socio-economic disturbances amongst peasantries both Indians and Chinese. This can be described as a push factor.

In Indian Diaspora 'indentured labour' was one of the crucial aspects that led to sustain Indian emigration for a long time. Likewise, Kangani, Maistry are the similar methods of recruiting laborers from different Indian territories especially in South India. Sandhu (1969) argues that under this system the people mostly from lower social stratas particularly untouchables and Adi-Dravidas were recruited. However, Indian emigration is a worldwide phenomenon and Indians have migrated to most parts of the world since 1830s when slavery was abolished in the European colonies. Hence, we can argue that as far as system of migration is concerned, to begin with Indians migrated through indenturedship, kangani system and free passages before India got Independence. Later after 1960s, they migrated to UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand etc. as doctors engineers, and free labourers. Hence these two types of migration of Indians before and after independence had a permanent impact that it produced 'Indian Diaspora' which exists along with Diasporic Societies.

In this context we are aware that, there are different aspects, structures, institutions of the Indian Diaspora which have been analyzed by social scientists. However, there are few important issues within the sphere of Indian Diaspora which are yet to be analyzed. For instance, 'caste' is one of the basic features throughout the Indian emigration which needs to be explored. Very few social scientists, R K Jain (1993), Barton M. Schwartz (1967) and Kumar (2009), to name just a few who somehow looked into the issues of caste dynamics and its nature within the sphere of Indian overseas communities. A moot

question is how did caste come in Indian Diaspora and the answer is not far to seek. Especially, the mode of recruiting Indian labors such as Indentured, Kangani, and Maistry itself had preserved the role of caste hierarchy in Indian Diaspora. There are many authors, Tinker (1977), Carter (1995), Sandhu (1969) who highlighted the issue of indentured and caste. Tinker (1977), repeatedly emphasized that the nature of indentured 'a new system of slavery' or which was as equally oppressive as slavery. In the same way Marina Carter (1995) argues that the condition of Indian labour was apparently worse than slave. Even the indenture was not equally treated with European settlers. This was some of the de-facto evidences which gives comparative appraisal of slavery and indentured.

Therefore, it would be pertinent to understand and analyze different institutions existing among the Indian Diaspora with special reference to Caste. We would like to analyze the process of formation of Indian Diaspora from indenturedship and kangani labourers. This study would also probe the breaking of endogamy and hierarchies within the Indian Diaspora. It would also be focuse on the changing notion of caste hierarchy throughout the old and new Indian Diaspora. Existing caste discrimination in the Indian Diaspora will also be probed by the researcher. However, before we come to analyze these aspects we would like to give clarification about the concepts used in the study.

Conceptual Clarification

Defining Diaspora

Diaspora in the field of social sciences is generally known as a movement of people from one place to another. Migration is a crucial component of Diaspora or some time migration has also been used as a synonymous to the Diaspora. However, migration is generally known for the movement of people within their territories or it is also called as internal migration. On the other hand diaspora is referred as international migration or movement of people across their national territories. There are still different views upon the contestation of diaspora meaning as described below.

Etymological Meaning of Diaspora

Diaspora, etymologically, the term Diaspora is derived from the Greek composite verb '*dia*' and *speirein* meaning "to spread", "to scatter", or "to disperse". It was originally used to refer to the dispersion of Jews after the Babylonian exile in 586 BC and to the aggregate of Jews or Jews communities scattered in exile outside Palestine in current parlance, however, the term is applied to describe any group of people who are so dispersed (Jayaram, 2004). According to Vertovec, the term "diaspora" is often applied to describe practically any population that is considered to be "de-territorialized or transnational, i.e., which has originated in land other than that which it currents resides and whose social, economic and political networks across the borders of nation state or indeed span the globe". It is therefore evident that geographically, "diaspora involves a radical redefinition of place (Vertovec 1997 in Sahu & B Maharaj: 04). In the same vein Shuval argues that, "a diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, consciousness, memory, mythology, history, meaningful narratives, group identity, longings, dreams, categorical and virtual elements all of which plays an important role in establishing diaspora reality" (Shuval, 2000 in Sahu & B Maharaj, 05- 06).

In Jayaram & Vertovec's definition, the 'geographical space' or and physical boundaries are the common entity that people come across and move to other territorial places. This in other word, Vertovec called, "de-territorilization". The "space", however is an important component in diaspora. The definition professed by Shuval is slightly different from the rests. He emphasized more of subjective phenomenon of individual rather objective physical or geographical boundaries where the imaginary construction of space supposed to be a formulation of diaspora. Moreover, the social network and linkages with the native places of diasporic communities are crucial and significant part of Diaspora. The intensity of these linkages was based on proximity or distance of the place they traveled. "The closer the proximity of the diaspora from the motherland, greater is the intensity of networks and cultural continuity including retention of the mother tongue" (Sahu & Maharaj 2007).

According to Alison Blunt (2005), 'diaspora is an inherently a geographical term and it implies a scattering of people over space and transnational connections between people and places'. Diaspora however comprises of two important factors; time and context. The particular time and context leads to comprehend the historical evolutionary and transitional shifts of diasporic circumstances over a period. The nature of peoples' movement or the diaspora has been changing gradually as changes occur in global context. Robin Cohen (1997), formulated five different categories of diaspora: victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural Diasporas. Cohen believes that variations in the diasporic experience exist and that the categorization of diaspora is to offer at least a partial explanation as to what makes each community in each location different from another.

In the present scenario new aspects of diaspora which are emerging in the field of social sciences. Especially 'double diaspora' has been concentrated on the people who had gone as migrants during the colonial period. After the colonies were given freedom, there was unrest among the natives and the migrants workers. This leads to the diaspora going to another country for better livelihood and shelter. The countries were preferred by the migrants were the native countries of the colonizers. After defining Diaspora and its etymological meaning, let us define the different institutions of caste along with its origin of term caste. It is important to do because 'Caste' as an institution has important impact on the Indian Diaspora.

Origin of the term "Caste"

In diasporic context the function of caste has appeared differently than its functions in Indian context. Historically the word 'caste' has different connotations based on its particular social contexts. In Latin, the meaning of caste derived as a *'castus'* meaning *'chasti'*. The caste or Portuguese, *'casta'* entered the Iberian Peninsula originally as the Gothic, *'kasts'* meaning "a group of animal or a breed of nestlings" (Julian Pitt-Rivers quoted in Klass 1980: 26). Here caste basically referred not only for the grouping of human beings but animals also. So far from above mentioned words, the caste can be understood as an idea of 'grouping' or 'segregation' of objective elements. It has also been noticed that the 'caste is a Portuguese and Spanish origin: 'casta', properly something not

mixed, from the Latin 'castus, chaste. The word seems to be used in the context of 'race' by the Spaniards and applied in the fifteenth century (Dumont 1988). Later, the notion of caste keep on changing but the main idea and the motive behind it never changed. The caste therefore reflects in society, when context changes the notion of caste would change, but it would never wither away.

Furthermore, there are several social scientists who have given the different characteristics of caste, endogamy which is considered as one of the chief characteristics of caste system. It means marriages are confined only to one's own caste or clans. The notion of 'purity of descent' is likely to be most important characteristics in endogamy (Dutt as quoted in Klass 1980). Dutt also stated that the society, particularly South Asia is divided into four color categories known by the names, Brahmans, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. These categories are placed vertically above each other having unique occupation. But here Dutt's inclination towards Varna theory rather caste seemed quite unauthentic. In the sense, Varna and caste both are separate entity having unique characteristics. The Varna is a racial category related to the skin color of men and so far in caste system men are not differentiated based on color rather caste. For instance, the dark color of Brahmins of South India and fair Shudras from North are contrast to the racial theories. Therefore Varna cannot be a caste (Klass 1980). Later, G.S. Ghurey (1979) gave six features of caste system in India. These features are i) Segmental division of society, ii) Hierarchy, iii) Restriction on feeding and social intercourse, iv) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, v) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and vi) Restriction on marriage (Ghurey 1979: 2-28).

Ambedkar and Caste

Refuting most of the features of caste as propounded by different social scientists, Ambedkar (1979: 8) argues that, "the critical evaluation of the various characteristics of caste leave no doubt that prohibition, or rather the absence of intermarriage- endogamy, to be concise- is the only one that can be called essence of caste when rightly understood". Further, Ambedkar has also explained that, "...creation of castes, so far India is concerned, means the superimposition of endogamy on exogamy" (1979: 9). Above all, Ambedkar later in his essay, 'Annihilation of Caste' refutes the argument that

caste system is nothing but another name of division of labour (1979: 47). In his own words, "...caste system is not merely division of labour. It is division of labourers. Civilized society undoubtedly needs division of labour. But in no civilized society is division of labour accompanied by this unnatural division of labourers into water-tight components. Caste system ...is a hierarchy in which the division of labourers is graded one above the other. In no other country is the division of labour accompanied by this gradation of labour...this division of labour is not spontaneous, it is not based on natural aptitude" (Ibid).

Having defined Diaspora and Caste let us observe that whether caste exists in Indian Diaspora or not.

Caste in Indian Diaspora

Caste is one of the Indian institutions which acquires importance in the study of overseas Indian communites. Historically, the institution of caste has deeply been rooted in its native of Indian culture. Since Indians moved across the globe, their socio-cultural patterns always remained with them which reflected in the Indian communities living overseas. In colonies like Malaya (now Malaysia) and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) caste existed more severely among Indian emigrants than any other colonies. Virtually many writters noticed that, social relations in overseas colonies, Guyana, Mauritius, Trinidad, Surinam, Fiji and South Africa are structured not along the caste lines (Jayawardena 1968).

However, in certain system of immigration Caste System was quite large. For instance, Kangani system was regulated by Indian immigration committee, it has special features in terms of its recruiting nature. The people were recruited from several villages and rural districts of Tamil population. The nature of their recruitment was based on region, kinship and caste specific which led to sustain the social hierarchy wherever they were being taken. Therefore, caste system could sustain more rigorously through Kangani system compare to any other recruiting system. The highly regimented and segregated residential pattern of the various caste groups in Tamil Nadu villages was also replicated in Malayan Plantation. The practice of separate accommodation and food habits is

common characteristic 'sui generis' of caste (Jain 1993). All kanganies belonging to the non-brahmin castes such as the *vanniar, gounder and kallar* were engaged with cultivation as 'ryots' in their ancestral village in India. Some of them were adi-dravida, paraiyan and palla castes as well (Arasaratnam 1970 as quoted in Jain 1993). Objectively, caste had disappeared in these colonies. However, Schwartz (1967), argued that the caste was an important factor in overseas Indians to understand the socio-cultural aspects of Immigration.

The main feature of Indian caste system is the inter-linkages between caste and hereditary occupations which is the basis for an economic interdependence of caste. This linkage, in overseas social structure is clearly absent. Therefore, Schwartz (in Jain 1993) argued that, "there are two main features of caste the 'ideal' caste system can still be found in the overseas Indian Communities. There is still some separation of castes and varna through endogamy and ascribed membership; and these features can be seen to exist. Yet caste is not said to be a significant social factor. The reason is caste is not the primary basis for activities and relationships, except to some extent in marriage. Caste therefore only reflects rather than govern a person's social status" (Jain 1993: 17). However, there are some other aspects which show the presence of caste and its impact on the larger socio-economic structure of overseas communities. In Trinidad, for example residence of lower castes was restricted. In South Africa, there is practice of unclean occupation by lower castes. Moreover, in Trinidad there is restricted commensality of Brahmin priest at rituals who told singer that he would not eat in the home of a lower caste etc (1993: 16-17).

In Trinidad the role of Pundits (Brahmins) seemed crucial in order to maintain caste based social hierarchy. The East Indian population was in majority in Trinidad who came under the system of indentured. There were several mechanisms to control the social structure of Boodram, Trinidad. Village Pundits are one of them who controlled Trinidadian villages. On the other hand the role of the religious organisations like *Sanatan Dharam Maha Sabha* emphasized more upon traditional panchayat system in villages (Schwartz 1965). This phenomenon clearly strengthens the roots of social hierarchies throughout caste practices. The inter-caste marriages were one of the important aspects in Boodram, Trinidad but since the marriages were more of economic

oriented, it could not get away from the caste hierarchies. The selection of spouse seemed was merely based upon the wealth and material power of an individual therefore the marriages were precarious in nature (Schwartz 1964).

East Africa and Caste

Institution of Caste is found in East Africa also however in In East Africa the caste scenario was quite different. The Indian merchants were able to make themselves apart from other indentured labour groups which results to maintain the caste practices so far. This social isolation and caste practices of merchant and traders could reflect in other colonies like, Fiji and Natal where Gujarati had been migrated. The reflection of caste among indentured labour as a whole was quite dissimilar than among the traders and merchants. All indentured labourers were engaged with a similar work force, irrespective of their caste and religion whereas the free emigrant Gujaratis were migrated as a business and trade community. This occupational distinction created a space for their social isolation.

Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Caste

However, the persistence of caste among Indian labourers on Ceylon plantation indicates that socio-economic status of emigrants is not the only key factor to give up the caste practices. The important factor appears to be the 'organisation of emigration' and the 'social organisation of the plantation', which partly accomodated caste ties. Albeit, the emigrants of several dissimilar caste had worked upon the same colonies, they worked under their own superviors and also lived seperately. Moreover, the nature of kangani and other like-minded system maintained the caste practices and was reinforced by their influence in the organisation of the plantation (Jayawardena 1968).

The caste practices undoubtedly relied on its origin-'Hinduism'. The prohibition of pollution of caste is the chief motive of Hindus. Jayawardena (1968) argued, 'polluting activities are not those that only certain castes will undertake but those that only people who have abandoned Hinduism will perform'. The notion of pollution are continue to exists because they are embeded in Hinduism. All Hindus are abided by the same set of prohibitions. However, these prohibitions are not on equal ground. In the sense, the upper

caste Hindus are privileged of such prohibitions while in case of lower caste Hindus, those prohibitions maintains occupational and social inequality which keep them apart of their well-being. This, clearly preserve the social hierarchy based on 'division of labourers'. This leads to freeze the social status of individual in which he borns. Hindus, by born stamped as a pure and impure according to their caste rank. The growth of an individual however, occurs with the consciousnesss of their own caste, which has curb their social growth. Having defined Diaspora, Caste and Caste in Indian Diaspora we would like to discuss 'Dalit Diaspora' which also proves the point the caste exists in Indian diaspora. However, because we are concerned specifically with caste in Indian Diaspora we would like to analyze its impact in the process of formation of new types of grouping called Dalit Diaspora.

Dalit Diaspora

The term called "Dalit Diaspora" is especially used in the Indian context. The term Dalit Diaspora has been promulgated by Kumar (2004, 2009) He has classified the Dalit diaspora into two categories, 'old' and 'new'. The 'old' diaspora he defined as the Dalits who have migrated to other countries during the British rule in India. These people mostly consisted of unskilled workers who were employed in plantations. By 'new' Dalit diaspora he meant the Dalits who migrated to other countries after independence. The new diaspora includes semi-literate, literate and professionally trained Dalits who have migrated especially to Australia, Canada, Europe and United States of America (USA). These people have established themselves at their respective migratory places and this is the sole reminder that they have equipped with their mental capabilities as well as technical expertise. The Dalit Diaspora 'practically the professional and student have used the modern technology of Internet to unite and make the 'old' and 'new' Diaspora aware of each other existence. Further, they have helped each other to assert the separate Dalit identity in diaspora with their own icons, religious and secular symbols. This Diaspora remains in constant touch with the home land' (Kumar, 2009).

Having defined Diaspora, Caste and relationship let us now discuss some other aspects of Indian Diaspora. Let us first look at 'Culture'.

Culture and Diaspora: Defining Culture

It is fact that the people migrate not only as a biological soul but they also take their culture along (Kumar 2004). The diaspora of a particular groups itself gives rise to the shift of cultural patterns from a place to another. Cultural transformation is quite old phenomenon of social transition of the individuals. In Diasporas, however culture is a crucial factor that is being shaped by unique cultural aspects. The culture of host and migratory society fuse and forms 'cultural assimilation'

There are several views to understand the dynamics of culture. According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1964: 564) ,"culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit of and for behavior acquired and transformed by constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i. e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture system may the other hand, be considered as product of action, on the other hand as conditioning elements of further action". Moreover, Jaeger and Selznick, defines "culture consists of everything that is produced by and is capable of sustaining, shared symbolic experiences" (1964: 663). Taylor (1994), in dictionary of sociology defines, "culture, it is referred to a learn complex of knowledge, belief, art, moral, laws and customs". Culture, therefore is a fundamental social unit among diasporic communities. Throughout the definitions it can be said that the individual growth is ever accompanied by different cultural sects wherever he migrates.

Defining Cultural Assimilation

Young and Mack (2010) argued that, Assimilation is the fusion or blending of two previously distinct groups into one. For Bogardus, assimilation is the social process whereby attitudes of many persons are united and thus develops into a united group. Moreover, Biesanz describes Assimilation is the social process whereby individuals or groups come to share the common sentiments and goals (2010). In these definitions the individual is a center for development and which shift the culture of area of origin and settlement. Biesanz however emphasized upon the social interaction of groups which gives rise to share the common culture and identity.

The term assimilation is basically used for the migrants from Europe who were absorbed into the American population during the 19th and the early part of the 20th century. The assimilation of immigrants was a dramatic and highly visible set of events and illustrates the process well. There are other types of assimilation, however, and there are five aspects of the assimilation of European migrants that could be put in propositional form. First, assimilation is a two-way process. Second, assimilation of groups as well as individuals takes place. Third some assimilation probably occurs in all lasting interpersonal situations. Fourth, assimilation is often incomplete and creates adjustment problems for individuals. And, fifth, assimilation does not proceed equally rapidly and equally effectively in all inter-group situations.

Cultural Assimilation in Indian Diaspora

Cultural assimilation is a wider process in any Diaspora but in Indian Diaspora it was ever deeply rooted. Since Indians were from different regions, language, caste and religions, the cultural transformation took place in a very unique way. We can observe and analyze the assimilation of Indian Diaspora in the light of above process or was it always different from European assimilation in American population.

Understanding Indentured System

The term 'Indentured' has to be defined properly before hand in the analysis of Indian Diaspora. Because this is the primary system of under which Indians began their journey to different parts of the world before they transformed into Diaspora. The indentured was an agreement signed between the labour and government recruiting agency which transplanted them to different colonies. The duration of an agreement was five years. The workers who signed agreement were supposed to return after five years at their own expenses or they can return on government expense after completing ten years in the colonies. Further every labour was given emigration pas- indentured. However according to Brij. V. Lal (2000: 42), "the Indian indentured migrants left home on a contract whose precise turns varied between the colonies and other time. Further he has given the history of indenturedship also. In his own words,

"Indian indentured emigration was started in the 19th century to meet the shortage of labour supply caused by the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Colonial government in the Caribbean, the Indian Ovean, Africa, and Pacific turned to India after other sources to cheap labour supplied had failed or were insufficient. Mauritius in 1834 was the first colony to import Indian indentured labour, followed by British Guyana in 1838, Trinidad and Jamaica in 1845, small West Indian colonies such as St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada in the 1850s, Natal in 1860, Surinam in 1873 and Fiji in 1879. During the eighty two years of indentured emigration, over one million Indians were introduced into these colonies. Larger number of contract labourers was also imported into Malaya, Sri Lanka and Burma but under slightly different contracts" (Lal 2000: 42).

Understanding Kangani System

The kangani system was basically South Indian phenomenon whereby heavy exodus of emigrants recruited to different British colonies. Malaya is one of the South Indian dominated colonies wherein emigrants from different towns, districts have been imported. The Telugus from Andhra Pradesh and Malayalis from Malabar Coast areas were in smaller numbers with a predominant Tamil population. Mainly these migrants belong to the lower strata of the society and also most of them were the untouchables and Adi-Dravidas. Besides kangani recruits and indentured coolies, there was a third category of local recruits consisting of 'ex-indentured coolies' from estates and locally born children of coolies; subsequently the number of local recruits was augmented also by the non-recruited assisted Indian emigrants (Jain 1993). It has been considered that the Kangani system had begun by 1860s if not earlier. There are no data available before the 1898 in Kangani migration. Sandhu noted that around 1,153,717 Kangani recruits were landed in Malaya an average more than 28,000 per annum in 1898 to 1938. This indicate that the 62% of the total assisted labour migration, nearly 44% of the all labour and almost 28% of the total Indian immigration into Malaya up to the end of 1957 (Sandhu 1969).

The kangani phenomena had basically started after abolishment of indentured system in 1917 (Tinker 1974, Carter 1995, Lal 2000). Comparatively, kangani had preserved

family, kin and caste ties than indentured. Similarly, the patron-client ties between kangani and its recruits continued wherever they shifted on another estate plantation. This functionary mechanism of Malayan plantation was quite unique than any other estate or plantation. For instance, distinctly the Trinidad indentured labour had greater occupational freedom than his kangani recruited counterpart in Malaya (Jain 1988 quoted in Jain 1993). Kangani, however became an intermediary system between planters and labourers. The kangani has also sought to be an alternative to indentured labour which lasted till the time of 'great depression' of 20th century. The great depression however had an overwhelming impact on all socio-economic lives across the globe. The emigration phenomena as well suffered lot in the midst of great depression. Especially the condition of emigrants became more exacerbated and they became more vulnerable and marginalised. On the other way, the period of great depression would be a lesson for the world; how to cope with such disastrous situation.

Old and New Diaspora

After defining the two main systems of migration of Indians let us turns to the two types of population which began to migrate especially after 1830s under different systems of emigration over the years produced Indian Diaspora. According to Lal (2000), "descendents of Indian indentured migrants constitute an important part of the mosaic of the overseas Indian communities". Many social scientists have called them as part of old Indian Diaspora. Apart from this after 1960s a larger segment of literate and professionally trained Indians specially doctors and engineers started migrating to countries like- USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, etc. this regular flow of people have produced an Indian Diaspora known as 'new Indian Diaspora'. There is vast cultural gap between old and new Indian Diaspora. The intensity of their association with mother country has also differs.

Review of literature

Indian Diaspora in today's scenario has a unique importance. It can be measured as one of the crucial developmental indicators in the realms of socio-economic, political and cultural as well. The consistent movement of Indians towards West and European

countries gives broader vision to look differently into the matter of Indian diaspora. This movement of Indians abroad leads to inter-mingle of their socio-cultural aspects with their emigrant societies. Moreover, 'migration does not mean the mere physical movement of people, migrants carry with them a socio-cultural baggage with their predefined social identity, a set of religious belief and practices, a framework of norms and values, food habits and the language' (Jayaram 2004:16). This particular situation enabled to strengthen the 'multicultural' phenomena or 'cultural assimilation'. "Assimilation", Bogardus (2010) stated, "is the social process whereby attitudes of many persons are united and thus develop into a united group". However, the multiculturalism relies upon strength of adaptation of emigrants with their respective host society.

Coming to the 'indentured emigration' the aspects of multiculturalism was also one of the basic features in Indian Diaspora. Wherever Indian emigrants reached in the parts of world, they reached with their socio-cultural baggage. The caste and religion played crucial role in the entire gamut of socio-cultural realities of Indian overseas communities. The sporadic nature of caste throughout indentured emigration seemed to be a unique feature of indentured. In the sense that, in the entire 'voyage' of Indian emigrants caste was almost abolished. However, when the emigrants reached into to the respective colonies, again caste practices had commenced (Tinker 1977). Therefore, it is clear that the caste and Hindus are inseparable phenomenon. Since the majority of emigrants represented Hindu identity, caste was an inevitable nature of Indian indentured.

In the diasporic community, indentured emigration has always been a subject matter of discussion in various schools of thoughts. Indentured had either sought as a victims or opportunities for the Indian emigrants or also was a slave trade or oppressive institution which had sabotaged the freedom of an individual. 'Indentured has generally defined as an economically induced migration combined with fraudulent recruitment and coercive contractual obligation' (Carter 1995: 35). However, the main motives of indentured seemed to be 'commerce' and 'generation of economy' of British colonies and accordingly the system of indentured had been entrenched. Basically the 'plantation economy' was main feature of indentured emigration. Sugar plantation, throughout the

Southeast Asia especially seemed as most dominated means of economy which over a period of time had been shaped the major economic structure.

In the midst of Diaspora both new and old Indian Diaspora, Indians appeared to be most victims both of indentured and caste. More particularly, the people from lower social strata were subject of their exploitation by both colonial authority and Indian upper castes. The role played by the recruiting mechanism under indentured namely, kangani, maistry, arkatti, etc are the basic means of their subjugation. The *sirdar,* in the context of Malaya (now Malaysia) also played scanty role which leads to deteriorate the condition of Indian indentured. For instance, these recruiters throughout the India, apparently undermine the laws of indentured and also disobeyed the principles of recruitment. This further causes consistent difficulties to emigrants. Especially, at the time of voyage, number of emigrants fell sick and due to paucity of medical facility many of them had to give up their lives too. This particular situation leads to increase in enormous mortality rate among indentured and it was very common phenomena till the end of indentured. However, some staggering changes in the socio-cultural lives of emigrants have also been noticed at the same time.

The situation of drought and lack of livelihood opportunity were the common features in native lands of emigrants. This circumstance had caused for them to vacate their native places. Therefore, despite of thinking any hurdle at overseas places, people preferred to migrate. This was one of the reasons that Indians were simply available to fulfill the labour demand for British Colonies. In this way the problem of unemployment and labour inflation in some extent had always been solved by indentured. Nonetheless, "the purpose of indentured was not merely to solve the labour shortage of overseas but the cheap labour supply was one of the attractive phenomenon during this period" (Carter 1995: 09).

In addition, labour is an important entity to last indenture for a long time until the main purpose of indentured system has served. The task of labour force has assigned according to different indentured colonies. Plantation, sugarcane factories, agriculture, estate economy etc were the major work wherein indentured population had been engaged with. The colonies like Fiji and Guyana, where large number of Indians from northern and

Southern parts had flourished. The "commoditization of labour" (Kelly 1992), was one of the features of Fiji Indians. The Fiji capitals over the period have reflected across the world by its unique capitalistic nature. The Fijian culture settled in a way that the capitalism would strengthened in a greater extent. In the words of Kelly, 'capitalism itself is a culture' having two main groups- bourgeoisie and proletariats. The free emigration from Gujarat marked as a migration of dominant social classes to become a bourgeoisie who accumulate an immense economy through the exploitation of labour. Kelly moreover differentiated the Fiji Gujarati and Indian emigrants separately since Gujarati were refused to commoditize their labour. Gujarati emigrants were free emigrants did not come under an indentured system as rest of the Indian labour did. In terms of socio-economic factors there was an enormous gap between these two communities. The indentured labour left as a servant in a particular country while, Gujaratis have enormously spread over other parts of the world as well. The social capital amidst all this plays a crucial role to strengthen the economy of particular group.

Objectives of the study

- To understand and analyze the nature of Indian Diaspora in terms of its socio-economic, political and cultural aspects.
- To comprehend "indentured emigration" as a mechanism of both 'oppression' and 'survival' for Indian emigrants.
- To explore the impacts of Indian Diaspora on social structure of both host society and homeland society.
- To discover the historical and contemporary trends of caste and its influence upon Indian Diaspora especially with a reference to Dalit Diaspora.

Methodology

The present study will be based on the secondary sources of data. Books, journals, articles, newspaper articles, etc would be the major sources of data collection. Also the various research studies available on 'Indian diaspora' will be used as one of the sources of data collection.

Chapterization

Chapter 1: Along with the statement of the problem the first chapter of dissertation includes general understanding of various terms and some theoretical aspects related to Indian Diaspora. Different concepts like Diaspora, Dalit Diaspora, Caste, indentured, cultural assimilation etc have defined in the chapter. In addition, it has also focused on the brief review of literature.

Chapter 2: 'From Indentured Labour to Indian Diaspora', under this heading the overall emigration phenomenon has explored. For instance, the Indians who migrated to British established colonies such as Mauritius, Guyana, South Africa Malaya and Fiji etc as an old diaspora. On the other hand Indians migrated to industrially developed countries like USA, UK and Canada as a new diaspora has discussed in terms of its historical and contemporary socio-cultural and economic aspects. The race, ethnicity, identity, social hierarchy, social change etc have discussed vividly.

Chapter 3: 'Identity, Culture and other aspects in Indian Diaspora'. The topic mainly explored the issues of identity and culture with reference to Indian indentured emigration. The debate-whether indentured was slavery or a means of emancipation has also elucidated. Apart from this the religious dimensions in Indian Diaspora has been focused. The indentured labour and its political economy along with other cultural patterns of old Indian Diaspora has focused in the chapter. The issues like migration and trans-nationalism, culture and economy, indentured labour and class dominance etc. have explained briefly.

Chapter 4: 'Caste in Indian Diaspora' is a major theme of this topic. The nature of caste in old and new diaspora has explained in this topic. The term 'caste' with its origin and different perspectives have discussed in brief. In addition the existence and impact of caste on Indian Diaspora also discussed vividly. Dalit Diaspora is a new emerging concept described in the chapter. Moreover, the impact of Diaspora on Dalits have described in the chapter.

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Chapter 2

From Indentured labour to Indian Diaspora

In the first chapter we have already stated that migration of Indian has a very long history. Tinker (1977) dates its back to ancient period when merchants and Buddhist monks migrated to different Asian countries. However, these migrations did not produce any permanent Indian population which can be called as Indian diaspora. Hence, in this chapter we will trace the history and system of emigration of Indians which has produced Indian diaspora. In the first chapter, we have also discussed that there are two streams in which people have immigrated to different parts of the world. The first stream started in the nineteenth century under the Indentured and Kangani system immediately after abolishment of slavery (1834). These systems of Indian emigration lasted for a long time i.e. from 1834 to 1920. The Indentured system was present in the British established colonies like Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, South Africa, Malaya (now Malaysia) and Fiji. A large proportion of Indian labour had transferred under these systems produced what has been termed as old Indian diaspora.

The second steam of Indian emigration began in the third quarter of twentieth century to industrially developed countries like USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand which gradually formulated a new diaspora. The emigrants of new Indian Diaspora were basically professionals who have acquired different skills which had benefitted them to comfort life in host countries. Hence, we can observe from the above there are two streams of emigration have produced two types of Indian Diaspora- old and new. Let us first analyze the process in which old Indian Diaspora crystallized over the years.

Old Indian Diaspora

We have just mentioned above that Indian have emigrated in large numbers in the two different systems since 1834- i.e. the Indentured System and Kangani. To begin with Indians first migrated to Guyana.

Indians in Guyana

Guyana is one of the unique British established colonies whereby large number of northern and Southern Indians had migrated under the system of indentured. The Indian emigrants were begun to recruit in 1838 to work on plantation and sugar mills. In the year, 1970 the number of Indian emigrants amounted 3, 77256 (51%) and became a predominant overseas community in Guyana. The Indian emigrants mainly settled into the rural part of Guyana. Most of the emigrants migrated to Guyana were Hindus. Indian communities in Guyana were further divided along regional and caste lines. The north-Indians considered themselves more superior than South Indians was the matter of constant disputes among these communities. We will discuss the presences of caste among Indians in Guyana in fourth chapter.

The Negroes were one of the second most populous communities in Guyana followed by Indians. There number amounted 227,091 (30.7%) they had also mainly settled in rural Guyana. Most of the Guyanese villages comprised of mixed population of both Negro and Indians having shared a common socio-cultural patterns. In other words it called a "Creole culture" (Jayawardena 1968). This mixed group was recognized as "proletariats" remained landless and apart from their socio-economic progress. On the other hand, the rest of the Indian groups became peasant farmers who were apparently of higher social classes. The stigma attached with Guyanese emigrants- 'coolie' for Indians and Negroes for 'an ex-slaves' remained as matter of their oppression. This phenomenon aroused the issues of individual identity in overseas communities.

Indians in South Africa: Some aspects of Race and Ethnicity

South Africa is another British colony where Indians emigrated in the indentured system. The first ship of Indian indentured labourers landed in Verulam in 1860. However, unlike other colonies, the indentured emigrants had not only been solely engaged with sugar plantation in Natal. Many of them allocated to work on production of variety of plantation crops and later the coal mines, railways, dockyards, municipal services, and also the domestic employment. Due to this diversification, indentured labour became indispensable to the Natal economy. Indentured labour from Indian basically imported to

South Africa between 1860 and 1911, the earliest Indians to this place were imported by the Dutch East India Company as a slave (Boeskin 1977 quoted in Thiara 2003) and small number were later brought to Natal and by individual planters from Indian and Mauritius (Bhana and Brain 1990 quoted in Thiara 2003). The Indians who came before indentured system were undoubtedly slaves until 1834 whereby slavery got abolished and indentured began. However, for some author indentured could not make much difference than slavery system. Indentured had been sought as a new version of slavery system which was considered as equally dehumanized as slavery system (Tinker 1977).

Indentured Population in South Africa

In South Africa indentured had been lasted for around fifty years (1860 to 1911). In this period around a total of, 152184 indentured migrants arrived in natal; of these 101 468 embarked from Madras and 50716 from Calcutta. Of the total, 104641 were men and boys and 48022 were women and girls (Brain and brain 1982 in Thiara 2003). The ratio of women was comparatively low unlike any other indentured British colonies, 46 women behind per hundred men. At the end, only 42,415 out of total 1, 52,184 (approximately 28 per cent) Indian emigrants have repatriated to India. Large bulk of emigrants had been settled in to the respective places where they had worked. Thiara (2003), had also argued that the "indentured Indians were incorporated into a subordinated socio-economic position as dependent bonded labour. This differential incorporation was later accompanied by an emphasis on racial, cultural and institutional differences to promote racial separation" (Thiara 2003: 125). In this process of bonded labour and later racial subjugation of an indentured labour had caused by the dominance of privileged whites. In a sense that the dominance in order to control the social system and to preserve the white minority privilege and superiority. This is what the indentured also had served the same purpose and it was not only the system of controlling labour system, it has deep inception to carry the legacy of white dominance and retain the socio-economic inequality.

Demography of Indian Emigrants in South Africa

The Indian population to South Africa in 1990 was estimated approximately 2.6 percent of the total population which includes of Africans 75. 3 per cent, 8.6 per cent coloureds and 13.5 per cent whites. Indians are highly urbanized groups, estimated to be around 93 per cent in 1985, compared with nearly 90 per cent whites, 77 per cent coloureds and almost 40 per cent of Africans. The Indian residence was historically been restricted to Natal and Transvaal provinces, over 80 per cent of Indians reside in Natal where the majority are concentrated in Durban (Thiara 2003). Indians, in South Africa were collectively known as 'coolies', 'Arabs' or 'Asiatics' and they are highly diverse group, differentiated in the lines of class, (indentured labour and traders) religion and (Hindus, approximately 70 per cent, 20 per cent Muslims and 10 per cent Christians) language (approximately 50 per cent Tamils, 19 per cent Hindi, 10 percent Telugu and 21 per cent Gujarati and Urdu) as well as factors such as gender and age (Henning 1989 quoted in Thiara 2003).

Racial Discrimination

In terms of Tamil (50 per cent) population, it is quite clear that the South African emigration was South Indian, especially, Tamil emigrant's phenomenon. The 'race' had been sought as a basic social problem in three communities over South Africa- Indians; Coloureds have placed above the Indians and the later above Africans. Therefore the racial discrimination of Indians along with African was certain. In this historical process of migration of Indians to South Africa, the issue of identity has a prime importance to understand it. The Indians in other places like Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius, etc had a quite different socio-cultural context where they faced different social problems than South African Indians did. Race and ethnicity are the root cause of Indians and other subjugated groups which led them to create a homogeneous community despite of their diverse social identities. The common suffering of a group of people may leads to reach them into the common consensus which would turn them into unity.

Cultural Adaptation

In an Indian Diaspora culture is one of the significant elements to discover the adaptive changes over emigrants live. For Indian indentured, the 'culture' and sense of 'Indian-ness' during and after indentured provided a prime source of sustenance, resistance, strength and self- esteem. It is therefore, important to underline that culture is not static but continually negotiated and reconstructed (Thiara 2003). In the Initial phases, indentured emigrants dislocate from their native places and gradually resembled into its new context from where they embarked upon their new social lives. Adaptation in terms of new geographical location and also a host society was quite difficult affair but over a period they were used of it. Meanwhile, cultural amalgamation and plurality of culture were crucial aspects which have created a unique social circumstance. "The adjustment was a crucial part of the process of cultural reproduction and reconstruction, since nothing could have lasted so long unless it was responsive to change" (Haraksingh 1978 in Thiara 2003). The people who never ever came in a close contact in their homeland in order to share a common culture, who were in an indentured period have broken the social barriers and share a common consensus. Somehow these changes were bound to happen due to its unique social context. The cultural baggage of emigrants kept changing according to its new time and space. In a sense that, the cultural patterns of initial Indian emigrants was quite different than the later emigration of Indians. However, there was always a link and continuity between two cultural patterns. "This was a major means of continuing contact especially for indentured Indians and renewing their Indian connection" (Samaroo 1987 as quoted in Thiara 2003).

Throughout this context, however, the adjustment of Indian emigrants was not an easy affair. Many authors have been emphasized upon the difficulties of getting adapt with a new geographical situation and its consequences over an indentured emigrant. The abysmal condition of health due to paucity of controlling health mechanism caused to arouse a higher level of mortality rate over an indentured period (Tinker 1974, Carter 1995, Lal 2000). On the other hand committing suicide among men was in its peak. Apart from this there was complexity in terms of adjustment of cultural and religious identity. The Indians were deeply rooted in their religious believe and practices. The observance

of Hindu religion is a source of their traditional practices. The distractions of their cultural and religious practices were the growing discrepancy between Indians and British colonizers over an indentured period. The caste psyche present among Indians had always created a critical social situation among Indian indentured.

Indian Woman in South Africa

The women population (46 per cent) in South Africa played a crucial role in its production especially, in Natal economy but their importance was hardly been recognized. "The complex articulation of gender, class and ethnicity reinforced by the prevailing colonialist ideology, reduced Indian women to the rank of the 'super-exploited'. The lives of Indian women were not only marked by struggle, but also by a range of strategies for survival and choices, all of which were within certain structural constrains which need to be understood and which seriously curtailed their further freedom and potential autonomy" (Beall 1990 in Thiara 2003: 127). Under the shade of 'Indian culture', for woman it is obligatory to follow all the customs and norms for the sake of retaining patriarchism. While, an Indian emigration such practices was not been exceptions. In fact, over a period, these practices became mainstream affairs in their lives. The Indian culture therefore, based on mythological ground, is an oppressive mechanism for women and other vulnerable masses. Under these circumstances the roots of patriarchy have been rapidly grown up in an indentured environment. In result, along with Indian men, sirdars, overseares and employees were also seemed to be a source of women's vulnerability and exacerbating social status.

This is one of the perspectives that analyses the condition of women in an indentured. However, it would also be clear to underline the other side of indentured that gave, in Reddock's word, quoted in Carter (1995), women an opportunity to excessive degree of control over their social and sexual lives which they had never had before. In contrast, 'Beall', summarizes that, "it is difficult to conceive of women finding for themselves independence and freedom under conditions of forced labour. Moreover, 'the system of indentured did not offer women a temporary respite from the hardship and oppression of an unchanging institution, nor did it offer women an opportunity to flourish as

autonomous and independent social and sexual beings" (Beall 1990 in Thiara (2003: 128). From this contrasting view, the conclusive line could be drawn by understanding the historical nature of women's social condition at their homeland. In an Indian context the patriarchism has severely impacted to exacerbate freedom and liberty of woman. So far an indentured was a place where the notion of male dominance and caste oppression had been shaped in a way that the historically vulnerable and oppressed masses could see the light of struggle and assertion.

Indians in Malaya (Malaysia): A Historical Trend of Immigration

The Indian emigration to Malaya (now Malaysia) has unique emigration patterns. The consistent flow of Indian emigrants through indentured and Kangani system of recruitment has provided adequate and cheap labour supply which leads to widen Malayan economy for a long time. The Indians, especially from Southern region, were easily available and being imported for plantation work over a British settled colonies.

Population Composition in Malaya

In terms of population composition Malaya was totally different place than any other British colonies. The majority of Chinese population along with Indians was one of the main characteristics of Malayan emigration. The Chinese were numerically more as compare to Indian emigrants. It has been noticed that the estimated leaving Indians between 1834 to 1937 populations not exceed than 31 million or less than 11% of the total population in 1900. The exact total number of Indians arriving in Malaya between 1786 to 1957 is unknown, but it was never as large as the estimated 15 million Chinese and 4.25 million Indians. Moreover, in the period 1834 to 1937 40 to 45 million or approximately 15- 16% of the total Indian population have been migrated to Malaya. However, it has also been noted that the number of Chinese leaving their homeland was proportionally higher than the Indians (Sandhu 1969: 153).

Malaya Immigration: A Historical Glance

Malaya, before independence being called as 'British Malaya' with w-Malaya and 'Republic of State Singapore' although it was politically separated (Sandhu 1969). As far

as Malayan immigration is concerned there were some crucial historical events gives deeper insights upon Malayan socio-political milieu. While studying evolutionary transition of Indian emigration we know that prior to British entry into Malaya there were some Indians who already existed in the form of religious groups. They were basically Buddhists and Hindus who travelled across the Asia in order to establish their religious cult. The 'trade' was a means to serve the purpose of religious movements. For Hindus, vedas, puranas, dharmshastras were the objectified tools to spread Hindu mythology. The Buddhist culture could be seen altogether differently since their preaching of righteousness for an utmost humanity. The Hindu cult through its magical and ritualistic practices made more attraction of people who were further an object of super exploitation. Therefore Buddhism and Hindu mythology were seen as revolution and counter-revolution by in its very nature. Over a period Hindu myths spoiled Buddhist philosophy and began to dominate other spheres of socio-economic and political lives of emigrants (Sandhu 1969).

Commencement of Indian Emigrants into British Malaya

The Indians in British Malaya is one of the important elements to study an Indian Diaspora. British Malaya is basically known for its unique emigrant's strength from South India. The foundation of 'Penang' in 1786 was a first step of travelling Indians into Malaya. It has made travelling an easier way and generated an immense trade and markets which generated rampant labour force. The group of 25 people who are artificers from Bombay firstly landed in Penang in July 1787. Similarly, people from other parts attracted and did vacate their native places. In the mean time, mid-eighteenth century Britishers had been flourished throughout India by establishing their politico-economic power (Sandhu 1969, Jain 1993). In the initial phase large bulk of illiterate and semi-literate masses have been migrated to Malaya who was socio-economically deprived in their natives. This emigration could give them some hope to search a better employment and livelihood opportunity. These emigrants, in their native society happened to be carrying the legacy of hereditary bonded labour system which is part and parcel of caste-cum-feudal structure. Therefore, the beginning of emigration for these masses measured as a major social transformation in terms of breaking of hereditary bonded labourship.

This phase of immigration has developed a unique sociological perspective to comprehend the nature of Indian emigration.

After while the literary groups especially, clerical people had begun to migrate. This phenomenon leads to strengthen Malayan economy more efficiently. Moreover, this era was basically shaped by 'industrial revolution'. The major changes in agriculture, transportation, technologies created an immense need of labour force. The Indian emigration met all the labour force accordingly and contributed for the profound economic growth. Apart from Indian immigrants there is substantial number of Japanese and Chinese people are already present in Malaya. The Japanese were engaged with mines and rubber estates whilst, Chinese who were strait settlers by early years of 19th century. Many of the Chinese by this time were moved towards Malaya state in search of Tin, Gold, etc (Sandhu 1969). Indians, however only remained as a plantation worker who had come as an indentured and kangani labour system.

The indentured labour system followed by abolishment of slavery system (1834) which had continued the flow of Indian immigrants to Malaya and many other British colonies like Mauritius, Fiji, West-Indies, etc. and basically been known as sugar colonies. The indentured supposedly becoming a contract. However, it was an unusual contract because; it bargained away the personal freedom of labourers (Sandhu 1969). Due to its unique feature indentured often pondered, not a true contract at all but mere a fictional one. Sandhu, further argued that, "indentured is like 'a rotten system' rooted upon slavery, grown in its state soil, emulating its worst abuses and only the more dangerous because it presented itself under false colours whereas slavery (had) the brand of infamy written upon its forehead" (J Beaumont- 'former chief justice of British Guyana', quoted in Sandhu 1969: 79). While recruiting Indian labour most of the contracts had verbally sanctioned. In the sense there were no any proper written documents which could indicate their roles and duties over colonies. Many emigrants had to undergo into different task than what they were really told while their recruitment (Lal 2000).

On the other hand paucity of availability of emigrant's record prior to 1866 had lacked to give precise picture of Indian indentured. Therefore it has been argued that "under such circumstances it is not then surprising that the individual labourer often deserted or 'lost all interest in life' and waited for death to terminate his misery". Therefore, "...the whole system of indentured labour is vicious in principle; it brutalises the employer; it demoralises the employed. It perpetrates the worst form of slavery in the guise of legal contract; it is bad in its inception, inhuman in its working and mischievous in its results, and ought to be done away with without any further delay" (Haque, 'Governor General of India' in 1910, as quoted in Sandhu: 84- 85). These are objective views narrated by some of the British nominated authorities.

Thus, Malaya is not merely the place of emigration and plantation economy, it has rather created a wider socio-political impact upon both host and donor societies. The Indian emigration to Malaya has been divided into three phases; indentured labour, kangani and later free or non-labour emigration. These emigration phases had distinct characteristics for the contribution of Malayan economy. The pre-independent Indian politics had largely been overwhelmed by colonial context. The winds of independent movement had blown across the overseas and created major impact in political domain outside the India as well.

Indians in Fiji

Fiji is another British established colony where Indians emigrated of course under indentured system since 1879 (Lal 2000). It was commenced under the control of Sir Arthur Gordon, the first substantive Governor of the colony (1875- 80). The basic reason behind importing of Indian labour was again to meet the shortage of labour caused by the prohibition of commercial employment of the Fijians and by the increasing uncertainty and cost of the Polynesian labour trade (Lal 2000:). Fiji Indians would be recognized quite differently since many of them could maintain the home- ties with their native land. Over a period of time Indo-Fijians began to grow rapidly in north- America, Australia and New Zealand. This phenomenon can be examined under the title of 'Indo-Fijian Diaspora'.

Population Composition in Fiji

In Fiji from the 1880s to the end of the indentured emigration in 1916 in Uttar Pradesh provided 80 percent of population and Bihar and Bengal 13 percent and rest of the emigrants were migrated from Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and elsewhere (Lal 2000: 45). Moreover, in terms of social composition of indentured emigrants in 1880 to 1916, Brahmans and other allied high castes comprises of 12 percent, agriculturalists 37 percent, artists 6 percent, lower castes 33 percent and Muslim 12 percentage (Lal 2000: 46).

Generally it has been noted that the recruiters belongs to Muslim and higher caste Hindus. Lal, particularly noticed the recruiters who were present from lower strata of the society as well. Among Muslims, Pathans, Sheiks, Saiyads, Mughals and Hajams accounted 40 percent population of recruiters. On the other hand among Hindus, Baniyas and Kayasthas who together provided 19.7 percent of the total with 9 percent Brahmans,Thakurs and Chattris (Lal 2000: 83). The major bulk of emigrants undoubtedly belongs to the lower strata and were tends to look for the better employment opportunity. Indentured emigration was the source to meet their employment need and even some hopes they ever had. However, the future of emigrants had to set under the shade of indentured system itself.

The Indian emigration to Fiji has been commenced in 1879 under the system of indentured. Over the whole period of time colonial migration to Fiji were; united provinces furnished 46.5 percent of all the emigrants, Oudh 29 percent, Bihar 10.5 and Central provinces 6.2 percent (Lal: 102). Apart from this there were few of the masses have been migrated from Punjab, Rajasthan, Nepal and Bengal as well. This population composition holds a wider process of colonial migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Moreover, there are 230 districts or localities furnished Fiji's North Indian migrants ranging from Tibet and Ladakh to Peshawar and Kabul. However, the heavy exodus of migrants came from Eastern districts of United Provinces (Lal: 103). Through this data it would be clear that the Fiji emigration was more of North Indian phenomenon. Many of them were settled into Fiji itself when indentured came into end.

In 1905, around 20 thousand of Indians are recorded into Fiji who was descendants of indentured emigrants introduced into the colony since 1879. Over 60 thousand of emigrants of Indian origin have been recorded by the end of indentured, 1916. Almost all population were engaged with sugarcane plantations and were part of 1 million men, women and children who had been left Indo- gangetic plains of Northern India and crossed the *kala pani*, dark water for colonies in the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans (Lal 2000: 137).

Caste Composition in Fiji

In terms of caste composition, there were together 265 castes and sub-castes which were presented in Fiji who all are migrated from North India. It was both upper castes and lower castes. The people who are migrated basically belong to the rural underdeveloped districts of North India and are migrated in search of livelihood opportunity. Indentured contract somehow meet their needs of livelihood and employment though the indentured had noticed as both the system of oppression and survival.

In Fiji's emigration, lower caste migration was all together different scenario. It provided enormous numbers of people belonged from lower rung of the society. Surprisingly the ratio of women emigrants was higher than male emigrants in lower castes. For instance, Chamar supplied 12 percent male over 16 percent female. Similarly Muslim also provided 14 percent of female over 12 percent males. This was indeed a unique situation in the entire indentured period. The family migration both spouses rather individual male migration leads to bring out new circumstance over an indentured. Unlike as other colonies in Fiji in the initial phase the number of female population was relatively low as male. Basically the women's emigration had happened along with their husband and other family members therefore there were always least chances to establish new family in the colonies.

Causes of Migration

The basic reason behind migration of northeastern and southern India was the dislocation of village life following British conquest and administrative reorganization, shortage of

land and the expansion of modern commerce (Jayawardena 1980, Jain 1993). And Indians were sought as a substitute labour force because other sources of labour were not readily available. In Guyana labours were recruited under the system of indentured in 1838 and in Fiji, 1878 to work on cane plantation and sugar factories. In result, the movement of these people to different British settled colonies led to engender new cultural scenario. The establishment of 'Indian culture' as such to Fiji and Guyana was one of the crucial aspects. Nonetheless the retention of regional differences had been great reminiscence to Indian social hierarchies.

Table: 1.1 Ethnic Composition of the Population of Guyana and Fiji

	Guyana 1970			Fiji 1971	
	Numbers	Percentage		Numbers	Percentage
Amerindian	32,794	4.4	Indian	266,189	51
Chinese	4,678	0.6	Fijian	225,102	43
Indian	377,256	51.0	Part -European	9,523	2
Mixed	84,077	11.0	European	5,286	1
Negro		227,091	Rotuman	6,512	1
30.7			Other Pacific		
Portuguese	9,668	1.3	Island Islanders	6,837	1
White	3,076	0.5	Chinese	5,008	1
Others	556	0.1			

Source: Jayawardena referred from [J.F. Greene (1974:174) and R. Norton (1977:4)]

In the above information it is clear that the Indian emigrants are predominantly placed in both the colonies of Fiji and Guyana. Apart from these colonies hardly some population turned into other colonies. The sugarcane plantation was dominating crop on most of the British colonies including Fiji and Guyana. In Guyana Indians and Negroes lived as a bulk of major population and set up their own way of living in terms of their unique tradition and culture. Whereas, in Fiji, Indians and Fiji were the major populating groups who shared their different ethnic identities.

Fiji Capitalism and Baniya Dominance

The social capital of a particular group is directly proportional to the social bond between the same communities. The Gujarati Baniyas are strengthen their social capital through their strong social bonding. Presently Gujarati Baniyas have flourished themselves within and outside the country. Wherever they did traveled, undoubtedly succeeded in market and in fact, dominated it. In Fiji as well Baniyas seemed to be a well established group comprises of businessmen, merchants, shopkeepers, etc. through which they served primary services upon colonies and created space for themselves. Over a period gradually they entered into the industrial economy and created overwhelming impacts upon industrial economic growth. On the other hand, indentured Indians who remained became a labour force of industrial economy. The class of 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat' has been aroused throughout this new context.

The Gujarati synthesis dates back to a 15th century bourgeois ethic, one that was not part of the colonial encounter with Europe at all; the Baniya version of capitalist success is about controlling transactions, an orientation to activity that is not in a labour form. Moreover, they resist making their own work into labour and giving control of it. The Indian synthesis, on the other hand, accept a world in which labour is universal object, part of human nature, as in the politico-economic discourses of the West, even they also once developed the devotional revaluations of the Indian nationalists to contest colonial social relations and definitions (Kelly John 1992: 114). This is the distinctive feature between Gujaratis, who denied of being 'labour force' and on the other hand, rests of indentured emigrants remained as either *coolie* (labour) or as an outsider or emigrant though they are entitled as a citizen of a respective countries.

Indentured Labour: A Class Perspective

In both Guyana and Fiji Indians were brought in under the indentured system to work on the plantation. The easy available Indians and unwilling or unsuitable nature of existing population of the colonies led to explore Indian labour. Plantation therefore could be seen as a means of controlling labour force (Tinker 1974, Jayawardena 1980, Carter 1995). Controlling of Indian labour directly or indirectly of their socio-cultural aspects made

their adjustment to the capitalistic mode of production. The labourers were great source of production of large scale colonial economy which could dominate throughout the globe. The Indian peasants were associated with industrial world in the two countries; Fiji and Guyana were basically similar. However, associated circumstances were different (Jayawardena 1980). The abolishment of slavery in 1834 was a crucial time whereby enormous number of slaves became freed from the clutches of their masters. This period in Guyana and Fiji had been noted as an emancipatory time for slaves. However, this huge slave population has being replaced by Indian labour after a while under the process of indentured system.

The Negroes, ex-slaves after seizing the slavery moved out of colonies and settled wherever agriculture land was available for their livelihood. Over a period of time they became marginal cultivators and became landless and bonded labourers. On the other hand peasant class was becoming industrially developed population. The abolishment of slavery therefore could not transfer into the emancipation of slaves. The class differences- bourgeoisie and proletariats became a common feature in colonial societies as well. On different colonies the class situation seemed to be different in terms of its social contexts. For instance, in Fiji the indentured system did not create a permanent class as it did in Guyana. After indentured, the Fiji Indians left the plantation and moved in search of independent cultivators by leasing land from the local cultivators. In Guyana however large number of indentured emigrants remained as a plantation labourers. As in the rest of the West Indies the plantation had become the cornerstone of society (Jayawardena 1963 & 1980). In Guyana proletarianisation was the key experience of immigrants, for many the abiding fate. In Fiji it was a limited interlude (Jayawardena 1980).

Unlike Guyana and Fiji Indian, Negroes and Guyanese Indian had some dissimilarity in terms of their social set-up. Guyanese Indians who left the plantations drifted into villages occupied by Negroes. They worked as a land cultivator. Indian and Negro population had lived together in almost every village. There are hardly any village in Guyana that is either completely Negro or completely Indian. The major different among

these groups can be seen in terms of their settlement. Over a period the Negroes became urban proletariats whilst, Indians remained in the villages in the vicinity of plantations associated with Negroes in a basic pattern of creole life dominated by the plantation. In contrast to Guyanese Indian, Fiji Indians have moved into different environment after they left plantation. The Indians moved as aliens onto lands owned by others and not as citizens in a more Indian or solely Fijian (Jayawardena 1980). The plantation in a broader sense became a future of indentured labour. In a sense, every activity is being decided and controlled by plantation. Therefore, "In terms of creole blacks, slavery was plantation and plantation was slavery; if they want to release from one, they must get rid of other" (Tinker 1974: 02).

So far the lives of Indian emigrants were dicided by plantation means. The plantation was the only source from which they had to seek for freedom and liberty. The economic motive of plantation has uprooted the freedom of choice. However, the indentured labour was just a means of producing economy rather exploting it for themselves. The indentured labour who shifted from one place to another only to fulfill his duty, at the end he hardly left any material wealth with him. Till the end the labour became an object of his 'labour' being exploited by planters and other borgeoise groups. In short the labour became a machine producing an immense economy out of his own labour but labour cannot experience the fruit of his own labour because he is being controled by others. The labour therefore are only in serach of money or economy which could sustain his life. But on the other hand money itself worsen his life of being controlled by others. In an indentured context it can be said that;

> "From the east came the rail, from the west came the ship,
>
> and took my beloved one away.
>
> The rail has become my sawat
>
> which took my beloved one away
>
> the rail is not my enemy, nor the ship,
>
> O! Its money which is the real enemy.
>
> It takes my beloved one from place to place,
>
> Money is the enemy...." (Lal 2000: 113)

In the pursuit of better life people migrated to different colonies but their wishes hardly been fulfilled. The migration made them apart of their natives, their relatives, many of them had to estrange themselves form their family and keenship. It was all because of "money". Money however made them settle over foreign land and became their new land of survival forever. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that the foreign land could treat them in a way they did not feel going their land of origin. Money or economy therefore can only be need, can be achieved but the social equality cannot not be achieved unless and until social structure has placed horizontally.

New Indian Diaspora

The new phase of Indian Diaspora has begun in the seventies of twentieth century to the industrially developed countries like United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK), Canada and Australia. It can also be called as a twentieth century migration. The emigrants were mostly of literary and professional groups could adapt comfortably to the host countries. The diasporic communities of different social strata (both upper & lower caste) were the main features of new Indian Diaspora which created a wider impact in the socio-cultural and economic realms in the respective host societies. However it has deep impact on emigrants' own society as well. 'Britain' is one of the places where huge Indian masses have been traveling since its initial phases. The modern technology, educational advancement, business, etc are the major field attracts outsiders to migrate. Today, Indians are in sizable number in Britain settled with flourishing their own cultural norms.

The Indian Diaspora in Britain

The history of Indian population across the globe is widely known. Since 1834, after awhile abolishment of slavery, the heavy exodus of Indian masses had began to migrate for different British established colonies. The indentured was a recruiting means of Indian labourers who had brought to work on plantation and estate economy. However, this form of servitude system had been criticized as a new form of slavery. The Indians, especially Hindus were prohibited to cross the sea according to their sacred scriptures. But despite, there were 'nearly twenty million people of Indian origin had settled among seventy countries' (Tinker 1974, Jain 1993, Lal 2000).

The colonization of Indian had created a new opportunity of migration that Indians make advantages of it. During 1950s, the major economic migration had begun to United Kingdom. In the mean time new states of India and Pakistan were hampered by its overwhelming export of population to Britain. On the other hand, Britain was desperately in need of labour force for their own economic aggrandizement that was provided by India and other countries. The Indians however, most important non-European groups to settle in Britain. Since there cultural patterns are highly rooted in Britain. Secondly, economically they made enormous contribution to Britain and thirdly, they could also contribute for their home economy, the economy of India (Hussain 2005). The economic development could be the main reason for Indians to settle over European society.

Diaspora and Development

The people from several countries migrated to the particular region and formed a diasporic community. The Western countries settled migratory population is an epitome of diasporic community. In general to measure the gravity of development, certain indicators of socio-economic and cultural aspects need to be taken into consideration. Moreover, it would also be underlined that the diasporic development is of two ways; for the countries of emigration and for immigration. In other words both the donor and host countries. Hussain (2005) stated that the levels of development can be judged in three ways. First, the composition of the group and the extent of their labour and self sufficiency. 'The division of labour relates to how much they can satisfy the needs of their community as they want it'. Second, when the development is high then diaspora will have more access and more influence within their own country but, if the development is low, there would be no influence on the country of migration. Third, having high development level, the diaspora can influence the government of their own country in order to achieve country's agenda (Hussain 2005).

The Indian diaspora had begun in 1947 to Britain after independence. In the initial phases, diaspora could not make an economic achievement. Later after some decades in 1980s, the situation has changed. The Indian diaspora to Britain was a second generation migration after arriving from former African colonies of Britain. The Indians into Africa

was a first generation migration which had begun out of lack of employment, poverty, and other livelihood difficulties in India. The diaspora nonetheless could not solve all the problems but helped in order to give up their native historical oppression in some extent. The second generation diaspora was all together appeared differently. They were well educated, professional and businessmen arrived in 1970s, from Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya and Malawi, and were basically middle class Hindus.

The Indian population to Britain according to statistics of 1999- 2000, is more than 942,000. Approximately 40 per cent of the population lives around London. Rest of the settled in the East Midlands and Manchester. In Britain also the predominant group of the second migration was mainly Hindus from Gujarat who settled in urban areas of Britain, particularly in 'Leicester and north London'. Initially they migrated as a single person in order to create a space so that their rest of the residence could also join them. This individual economy had become a source of strengthening their social capital by setting up the organizational structure (Hussain 2005). Such organizations mostly were religious in nature; spreading Hindu culture along with strengthening social capital within their own community was their chief motive.

The second generation migration had brought major changes over Hindu tradition outside India. Establishing several organizational sects especially in regards of Hindu religion that wider the space of Hinduism particularly in Britain. These religious institutions has aroused from different parts of India- Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab etc. Albeit, the Indian emigrants were not monolithic whole they had been recognized as a Hindu population. The settlement of these groups appeared in respect of their regional origin. For instance, Gujarati Hindus have settled in the area of Balham and Tooting likewise, Punjabi Hindus settled in South hall. However despite of their regional diversities their proud feeling of being an Indian citizen was an inevitable. But this phenomenon can not generalize when it comes to the community identity. Particularly Hindus are enormously keen to spread their excessive pride of patriotism since they want all Indians to be a homogeneous entity, a Hindu identity.

Apart from the Hindu population in Britain and other industrially developed countries like USA and Canada, large chunk of population has also well settled with their own culture and religious identity. The Dalits, especially Buddhists', migration is one of the crucial phenomena in the second generation migration. Most of these migrants are educationally well of and established their own socio-cultural set up through their social embededness. Celebrating religious deities and festive makes cultural mechanism stronger this leads to attract other native people. Moreover, the struggle and assertion of Dalits over receiving societies are incessant since caste discrimination has flourishing more rapidly wherever Hindus have been traveling.

Throughout the British societal context the issues of identity and exclusion of emigrants are quite important. The exclusion in terms of racial discrimination, whereas the identity in relation to the emigrants who settled over British society, whether they were considered as British population. During decolonization the British culture was seemed quite closed to colonial culture. Though many of the Britishers did not endorse colonialism, the colonial syndrome remained part of British culture because many still considered earlier British colonial history as a great achievement. The politics of exclusion and identity of emigrants of India and South Asians as whole are remain a matter of perspectives. Many views considered that the colonization was a 'civilizational project' since Britishers acquired colonies in order to maintain socio-economic, political and cultural upliftment. However, Hussain (2005), argued that 'this is an assumption that the people of such cultures were inferior and did not possess any civilization, thus Britain was showing favor by imposing its rule'.

Prior to decolonization in 1960s, the racism was not been abolished from Britain. 'Racism in British society operated at individual, institutional and structural level'. The Indians and other South Asians, Africans, African Caribbeans, Chinese, Somalis and the like faced were the consistent victims of racism though they adopted British citizenship. The British government so far seemed to be least interesting in the issues of eradication of racism before decolonization (Hussain 2005). In this regard it is quite clear that being an outsider the issues of identity and racial discrimination lasted for a long. The notion of

'Britishness' is completely different for no-Britishers particularly for South Asians, Chinese, Africans, etc but the groups like English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish were embedded into Britishness. The fundamental question arises is whether one was British through acquisition of the common culture of 'Britishness'.

The intellectual arguments between liberal and conservative schools of British nationalism failed to tackle this problem. In Britain there are two schools of thoughts existed: conservative and liberal nationalists. Conservatives are related to territory, common language, culture, blood ties and history. They regarded the 'the integrity of the nation as the highest political value' and felt 'deeply uneasy about the presence of outsiders'. The socialists and liberals, on the other hand, argued on the same line as conservatives did. 'The unity of the nation was prime objectives and yet citizens cannot be united only by the laws, obligations, rights and duties imposed by the state'. For them, the 'strong sense of national identity' must be the sole criteria to unite them (Parekh 1995 quoted in Hussain 2005: 192). So far it appeared that both liberalism and conservatism are two sides of a coin. The liberalism gives rise to the ethnic conflicts. The immigrants could face overburden by forcing out certain norms and values upon them for the sake of preserving the pride of nationalism.

The immigrants under these circumstances had no choice but to follow the dominance of British political structure. Over the period it has been realized that the British approach to maintain immigration was erroneous and more complex. It could not serve the purpose of immigration. The strategy advocated by liberals was an 'assimilationist approach' being replaced by 'salad bowl' approach due to its failure to tackle immigration. The 'salad bowl' theory derived from the basic idea of 'salad' which is mixture of different vegetables having their own existence though it mixed. This theoretical approach has brought the notion of 'multiculturalism' where different ethnic groups embedded into a society (Hussain 2005).

From Migration to Diaspora

The process of migration to diaspora has a wider history of its transitional shifts. In the beginning, the main motive behind migration was to get a better livelihood. Over the period the roots of migration had spread across the globe and the new identity came into existence, 'diaspora'. However, diaspora is basically referred for Jewish migration in the period of their dispersal resulting from the persecution by Romans after the destruction of their temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE (Jayaram 2004, Hussain 2005). The migrants basically settle by adopting the cultural patterns of country of migration. Jewish diaspora however mingled with the societies wherever they traveled but also did not left their own cultural patters which were more of religious in origin. The Indians are also the similar migratory group and gradually became diasporic entity and the religion is a sole of their identity.

The identity of diasporic community said to be preserved separately. As it has described above the British identity was not a monolithic whole who have settled in Britain. The immigrants are stamped as a minority groups and being discriminated racially especially South Asians. Therefore being an immigrant the individuals, in Vertovec's word, develop a 'diasporic consciousness' that can be developed among the contemporary transnational communities (Vertovec 2003). This consciousness of being diasporic community could be crystallized upon the next generation. For instance, among first generation who settled over country of migration, the level of 'diasporic consciousness' is naturally high or they preserve their native cultural patterns distinctly. Whereas among their next generation who born in the same place of migration the sense of their local culture would be relatively less and gradually it becomes volatile from their memory.

Strengthening Indian Culture

The extension of Indian culture into Britain is one of the crucial aspects of Indian diaspora. Hussain (2005) stated that there are number of ways led to penetrate Indian culture over Britain. The establishment of temples that were opened publicly in Britain and they were likely to attract British masses for different religious sects. The temple is a medium of celebrating Hindu festivals like *diwali,* is being celebrating in a way that British masses would also simply attract and participate to celebrate it. The most effective

aspect of flourishing Indian culture was 'development of food consuming markets in Britain'. The number of Indian restaurants has been established in Britain which serves popularized Indian dishes. Moreover the Indian food proved to be more effective than other South Asian countries.

Another aspect is 'Indian fashion' especially; clothing style and ornaments like gold and silver is also much more popularized younger ones in Britain. The 'Indian film' is also a crucial aspect which deeply penetrated Indian culture outside. The Bollywood has influenced western people and many of the western actors can now been found in Indian films. Music along with Bollywood has spread widely in Britain. Especially Indian classical music is well known and being enjoyed by Britishers. Musical artists like Ravi Shankar, a sitar player from India and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, a Pakistani singer are widely known personalities in musical industries.

Apart from this the radio and TV stations had also been opened in the major cities of Britain. They have maintained contacts with BBC, one of the great sources of electronic media which also sponsors some Asian music programs in Britain. Moreover there is lots of other Indian local TV, radio channel that leads to retain the Indian culture outside. These are some of the means, Hussain (2005) focused on that could sustain Indian traditions in Britain and other parts of western world.

So far the development of Indian culture in Britain may not only be limited to cultural transitions. It must have direct linkages with economic transformation. In the sense, culture is a base to develop socio-economic aspects in respective societies. For instance, in Britain the Indians settled in different parts according to the nature of their occupation or businesses. The Punjabis of South hall and Gujaratis of Balham and Tooting have developed their social capital through establishing the unique culture in the Britain. The phenomenon leads to strengthen their economic aspects. Therefore it needs to be underlined that the culture and economy are internally dependent on each other and culture is one of the sole elements to reinforce economy.

The second generation migration was mainly of businessmen and professional ones. They were categorized in three levels; the retain traders having own small shops of stationary, grocery, etc. Another group was businessmen, mostly of middle class having owned jewelry shops, restaurants, travel agencies, etc. And the third group was a rich, a multi-millionaires. They are basically industrialists, owner of banking and telecommunications, etc. The third group created had flourished economy more strongly across the world. In the sphere of politics these group directly or indirectly predominated. The Indian connection to Britain and vice-versa in relation to business among these groups is an inevitable approach.

The period of 1970s seemed to be quite significant. The Indians being stamped as 'Non-Resident Indians' (NRIs). The elite business group of Britain had attracted the attention of Indian government in the developmental programs. They have sent significant amounts for the development of India. However, so far this business community has confined themselves with their own middle class groups. Whatever schemes and policies were made it was for the sake of economical aggrandizement of a particular social class. The rests are apart of this sponsored development programs. The Indian elite masses who settled outside have maintained their relations with Indian government that makes other Indian elite more significant and privileged.

Diaspora and Political Intervention
The Indian diaspora has greatly been penetrated in the western and European societies. It has been created profound impacts in the socio-economic, political, and in cultural spheres in the country of migration. Nonetheless, Indian diaspora is strongly influenced by its political structure. The increasing political influence on diaspora began to shape it differently. In the sense, in India the political parties have their own ideological stands and they keep trying to spread their roots where Indians have been moved across the world.

Diaspora, under these circumstances appeared to be one of the chief political factors. It has a long history of using diaspora as a political space. Diaspora however, always has

been a matter of political intervention. Since colonial period diaspora have been attracted Indian politics and became a center of its activity. In present diaspora too, the role of political organization is crucial. The development of diaspora in large extent depends upon the Indian political structure, particularly political parties and its ideologues. For instance, in the regime of BJP government 1988, diaspora has sought to be politically significant and extended their hands to address the issues of NRIs and PIOs in Indian diaspora.

In this plight the respected government set up a committee on the Indian diaspora which was headed by one of the members of parliament. The aim of the committee was to tackle the issues of NRIs and PIOs in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. However, the real motive behind establishing this committee could not hide. 'To explore the possibility of mobilizing the migrant diaspora into serving the purpose of the Sangh Parivar' (Hussian 2005). Since Hindu organizations were already held their position in social milieu it was quite easier to serve their motives even across the India. The Hindu fundamentalists so far, wanted Indian diaspora becomes 'culturally homogenized' community and *Hindutva* is a means of common culture.

Later on Sangh Parivar and its branches have flourished into western and European world in order to transfer migrant's identity as a being Hindu. In Britain they have entered long before having peculiar mandate, 'to transform Indian Identities into Hindu Identities among those who belonged to Hinduism' (Hussain 2005). This phenomenon had also prevented conversion of Indian masses. The spirit of Islam and Christianity has spoiled by Hindu believe system and made people remain part of Hindu fold. The movements of Hinduism therefore widely captured the spaces within and outside the India as well. Their main object was only to spread Hinduism that deracinated the social lives of an individual wherever they reached.

Indian Diaspora to USA

The Indian Diaspora to USA is quite old if we look back into the historical phases of migration. From 1820 onwards Indians began to enter into the United States though there

number was less then. However, in the early years of twentieth century gradually numbers have begun to increase. Mainly, in 1910 onwards, there was enough migration of Indians due to formation of "Asiatic Exclusion League and the American Association of Labour". Most of the Indians had come from Punjab Jat families and were belonged to Sikh religion. Many of them have worked on the western pacific railroad and later moved into the rural areas of the central valleys of Californium reasserting their agricultural tradition. Again after 1910, the flow of Indian emigration had declined. The entitlement of 'Immigration and Nationality Act' in 1965 was an important turning point to attract Indians towards USA. Consequently, in the five year life span (1965- 1970) there were tremendous proportion of Indians into United States. In 1965 it recorded only 600 immigrants that shifted to 10,000 in 1970. The number of female population was also quite significant in this year (Jain 1993: 37-38).

The Indian immigration of post-1965 had a specific reason. The Indians migrated not because they had no employment in their native places but it was more of their carrier opportunity. In the sense, the immigrants were the groups of professionals, skilled and semi-skilled people. Therefore here Indian "push" factor is more considered than American "pull" factor. This group of immigrants have adopted the common host culture and established themselves along with rest of the host population. Over the period this group appeared similar with American upper-middle class by strengthening their own socio-economic units and also by following the same life-style and aspirations of this class (Jain 1993).

Religion

Religion on the other hand is an important aspect in Amerindian. The majority of the Asian Indians are Hindus but Hinduism has a very different religious organization from Christian denominations, Islam or Sikhism. The Christian Churches played a crucial role among European immigrants to develop both religious and social networks which helped to ease the acculturation process during the nineteenth and early twentieth century's. Hindu religion on the other hand, builds temples in both America and Europe which caused to strengthen internal diversity among the Indians. The Asian Indians, though

apparently homogeneous to the outsiders they are in fact internally widely divided on the regional, religious and caste lines. The "Indian nationality", Jain (1993) argued, to be binding factors for Indian immigrants but it was internally quite hollow due to its diverse nature. The language, region of origin and caste eventually became an important factor of interaction of Indians in host countries.

Family Structure

The 'joint family' is a major Indian family structure deeply rooted to its traditional and patriarchal environment. The husband is considered as a powerful and head of the family who only earns and controls the family affairs. The wife is always under the consent of husband or other males in the family. However, this phenomenon has drastically changed in the diaspora. The family structure has replaced by independent or a nuclear family in which both husband and wife earns and support the family equally. The traditional Indian arranged marriage system has been replaced by inter-caste/religious marriages that altered the traditional Indian social structure which was only being governed by superior social classes.

Economy

Since the Indians are the group of professional, educated and skilled emigrants, they could find reasonable jobs that sustain their interests of livelihood in host country. In terms of economic behavior, they preserved their traditional values and greatly emphasized on saving. Therefore, at the end they will have plenty of wealth to support their community as well. In result, the social capital also enhance in a same way but not among all the social groups. Most of the religious organizations are being funded by immigrants in order to spread their social capital through religious and cultural factors. The religion and culture are the important factors to strengthen diasporic economy. In other words, the growth of economy directly proportional to religious and cultural patterns of the same area.

Indian Diaspora to Canada

Unlike USA and UK diaspora, the Canadian diaspora also has a unique history of its migration patterns. The Indians as usual sought to be one of the important immigrant

communities who travelled from the early years of twentieth century. However the new Indo-Canadian diaspora had begun in 1972, after Canadian policy of multi-culturalism was introduced in 1971. The group of emigrants was educated and professional ones. In the same period there was a rapid increase of Indian emigrants who were social scientists and graduate students. Thence, the growth of literature especially on immigration has tremendously contributed to comprehend the different socio-economic and cultural aspects of diaspora. Today, Indians are the largest community of South Asian origin in Canada, amounted almost 380,000 populations. They are presently one of Canada's most rapidly growing ethno-cultural populations (Jain 1993).

In the beginning of Indo-Canadian diaspora most of the emigrants had come across Indian subcontinent. In 1904 to 1908 roughly 5200 Indian immigrants arrived in British Columbia, Canada, and 80 to 85 per cent of them were of Sikh religion that had either come from Hongkong or Punjab and the rest were Muslims and Hindu Punjabis. However, the majority of them were of Sikhs, numbering 130,000 which was over half of all Indians in Canada. Nonetheless, there were some other small numbered significant communities present in Canada such as; Hindi speaking (25,000), Punjabi speaking (6000), north Indians, Gujaratis (20,000), Bengalis (5,000), Tamils (5,000) and Malayalis (3,000) (Jain 1993: 44). Until the 1950s Sikh population were in majority but later on in 1950s and 1960s the people came from increasingly diverse social identities and formed a multicultural community in Canada. Before that in 1908, the Canadian government had banned Indian emigrants and it lasted till 1947. Later on the numbers of Indians have enormously increased and Canadian racial immigration barriers were systematically dismantled. The issue of race meanwhile created an enormous furor over initial phase of Indian diaspora but it was managed to tackle by new Indian diaspora or second generation migration. Immigration and settlement are therefore key phenomenon in the Indo-Canadian experience.

Family

Since last three decade there has been several studies exploring the migration of Indo-Canadians since its inception. The studies, Jain (1993) broadly divided into three areas;

socio-psychology and individual level, family organization and family adaptation and community organization and development. The individual here part of both the family and community unit when he grows. The individual psychological growth depends upon the family environment and the community traditions and norms in a broader level. In short, the individual is part and parcel of social norms and culture of which he is a natural member. The extended joint family was a common structure of family in Indo-Canadian diaspora, but over the years it has been reduced into the independent and nuclear family structure especially in the verge new diaspora. The Indian tradition and cultural setting led to prevent the joint family in the early years of diaspora. Moreover, the relationship between parents and family is an emotional tie. The parents would wish to have better future for their children by acquiring good education with a settled job. However, in terms of their marriage parents would have concern to retain their traditional social norms. In a sense, this is silent dis-approval of not accepting non-Indian culture. However, in some families such matters hardly matters.

Community

Community or community organization is one of the important social unit in Indian Diaspora which maintains the social bonding among emigrants. The aim of forming community organization is to share common culture, through language, ethnic and religious identities. This basically protects them from their insecure feeling against host society. In other words it is psychological protection against marginality, social grounding in a migratory groups (Jain 1993). Apart from this there are other ethno-cultural organizations which are being formed by the each social group to maintain their own culture. There are more than twenty such organizations exists in Canada in a large cities. Likewise in USA also there are ranges of ethno-cultural organizations. But the motive of formation of organization is not merely to maintain their social norms and culture outside but to protest against their oppressive mechanism. For instance, Dalits have established their own social organization to protect their civil rights and get rid of social discrimination.

Conclusion

The Indian Diaspora in this chapter divided into two folds; old diaspora and new diaspora. The recruitment of Indians under an indentured system was basically the inception of an old diaspora. The colonies like Guyana, South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius, Fiji, etc are the main places where Indian old diaspora flourished. There has been several factors led to occurs transitional shift of indentured labour to Indian diaspora. The indentured system, kangani and free emigration seemed to be a basic means to prolong Indian emigration to different countries. There is a distinctive feature between old and new diaspora on the scale of its emigration patterns, means of livelihood and the reason behind leaving their native places. The new diaspora attract people by its industrial development and the plenty of carrier opportunities in the countries like USA, UK, Canada and Australia. This migration is more of "will to migrate". However old diaspora has a different reason to migrate for different colonies. The lack of livelihood in one hand and social discrimination on the other hand was a constant phenomenon this situation brought them into different British colonies under the system of indentured and other British sponsored schemes. This migration is more of "force to migrate".

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Chapter 3

Identity, Culture and other aspects in Indian Diaspora

The Indian Diaspora basically reflects the diverse culture and traditional pattern deeply rooted in Indian social structure. The diversity in language, regions, religions and castes and sub-castes is widely present in the Indian Diaspora. To begin with the issues of 'ethnicity' and 'identity', the entire Indian Diaspora has been most contentious issue. Ethnicity however has linked diaspora theories to the other theoretical issues. The multiple social identities of Indian emigrants have dwindled into the 'shared identities'. For instance, in Caribbean the 'Creole' is one of the mixed communities of Africans, Europeans and some Indians shares common culture with the formation of common language. The multi-cultural phenomenon is a constant feature of Indian Diaspora.

Elements influencing Diasporic Migration

There are three fundamental and crucial ingredients which make diasporic migration as a separate and a unique entity: these three aspects are the diasporic group itself, the host society and homeland. All these elements are interrelated and inter-connected to each other. The host society and homeland, at the end are the destination point. There is a choice before emigrants whether to stay back in the host society or repatriate to home country. Many of the evidences show that maximum Indian emigrants were stayed back to the respective colonies that came as indentured laborers. Therefore "the attitude of diaspora groups towards its homeland is often ambivalent" (Shelter 1986 in Sahu & Brij Maharaj 2007: 33). Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad are some of the colonies where Indians settled in large numbers. The abysmal socio-economic condition of emigrants in their native place reminds their vulnerability. More particularly, the Indian emigrants who belonged to lower social strata have unique reasons to settle over host countries. The historical social oppression based on caste system and their persecution by upper caste forced them to leave their homeland. Therefore, the diaspora has more attraction towards the host society rather homeland when it comes into the matter of a permanent abode.

Over the period the notion of "home" in the views of diasporic communities began to change. A sense that is, "my home is where I can make a living" gives deeper reflection over their discomfort in homeland (Sahu & Brij Maharaj 2007). It can also give a comparative understanding between host society and homeland society. The host society however, as far as Dalits or lower caste emigrants are concerned became free of historical social oppression which tended to make their abode wherever they traveled outside India. In case of upper caste community they settled into host society for the sake of economic benefits. For instance, Gujarati (Baniya) group settled over Fiji in order to dominate economic resources through the trade and marketing. This group can maintain the home ties with their native places. Whilst, the Dalits and other socially deprived emigrants rarely maintain any home contact. This was the major difference between two communities.

Diaspora: Homeland and Host

The homeland and host are two separate elements in the process of Diaspora. The diasporic group crosses their national geographical boundaries with the social norms and traditions which reflect in the host societies. The homeland however provides "emotional and cultural support for the diasporic community to gain political, material or other support from host countries" (2007: 35). This fact can be more visible in the 'Gujarati community' who had migrated as a traders and businessmen in Fiji. They did not come as indentured labour and did not want themselves to be identified with rest of the Indian indentured labour. They settled themselves separately through establishing their own business and community ties with homeland. On the other hand Hindu (upper caste) dominance over Mauritius, Guyana, etc through economic and political structure had maintained their home ties firmly.

The Diaspora group, homeland and host are the crucial factors to formulate the theoretical framework of Diaspora studies. Several issues have been emerged throughout these factors; the issues of culture, ethnicity, identity, and discrimination based on social hierarchy are the important to know the condition of Diaspora. 'Revenstein's laws of migration' (1980), for instance based on the situation of homeland and host society whereby he found 'push' and 'pull' factors are the important elements behind migration

of an individual. The socio-economic condition of an individual tends to leave the homeland in order to survive with a comfort.

There is a specific awareness among emigrants when they leave their native places and settle over host countries. It may be called as, "Diaspora consciousness". The people may relate their space of 'host country' to the 'homeland'. This consciousness is also reminiscence to their socio-cultural circumstances over homeland. In other words, people draw connection of living "here" and relating "there". However, "Diaspora consciousness is entirely a product of cultures and histories in collision and dialogue" (2007: 71). The culture and history therefore undoubtedly an important subjects to comprehend the diasporic phenomena. However, "the condition of diaspora is not merely a historical fact but a cultural category, which may consequently change over time (Patrick E, in Sahu & Brij Maharaj 2007: 774).

Issue of Identity

The identity is/was an important aspect in the entire process of Indian Diaspora. The issue of identity always remained of importance in both types of Diaspora: Old and New. Apart form indentured labour Indians were called by different names. The 'coolie' was well known phenomenon in the indentured colonies and it lingered for ever even after seizing of indentured. In case of Negroes, their identiy was quite clear in contrast to Whites but since they became slaves, over a period their tradition has become evaporated in the process of slavery and been repaced by Creole culture (Jayawardena 1980). The identity of Indians has changed as the time and context changed. When the voyage had begun they came to identify each other as *jahajibhai,* (shipmates). Once they reached on to the plantation they became indentured labourers and afterall commonly known as coolies. But it is certain that the Indians did not accept these identities very cordially. They tried to deconstruct this identity of coolie by proclaiming decendents of an ancient civilisation. These identities however were subject of emigrant's descrimination in the host societies. The Guyanese Indians claimed that they were not simply coolies but Indians in order to avoid the prejudices of host society. In contrast, Fiji Indians were not inclined towards their India-ness because they wanted their position to be revaluated within the host societies. For Guyanese Indians their existance as an Indians was a matter

of liberation whereas for Fiji Indians their recognition of Indians was a mark of constraint (Jayawardena 1980).

The new identity of the Indian Diaspora in the host society in many cases abolished their social hierarchy based on caste system. Therefore, according to Lal, "everyone is equal in the denial of their individual humanity" (Lal 2000: 13). Another impact of the new identity acquired by the Indians on Diaspora was that it created a fraternity and kinship ties, which was like blood relatives. Further, this new identity of emigrants has created fraternity among them. This new relationship, Lal called, *Jahajibhai*, (shipmates) barred them intermarriage also. This common identity of emigrants fostered to develop common culture which was undoubtedly lasted in the entire indentured period. The shipboard relationship developed the mechanical solidarity among them (Tinker 1974, Lal 2000). This fraternal relationship enhances a social interaction and also economic co-operation among the emigrants. The breaking of caste and kinship bond also created a common sense among emigrants. On voyage, social and personal relationship has based in terms of their need. However all the coolies, Lal argued, were aware about their 'shared sense of servitude' and it had become the common identity of Indian emigrants. Indentured, in this particular period had developed a new social environment whereby all the outsiders seemed to live under the common privileges.

Apart from these timely formulated identites of indentured labour, their real native social identity amidst played a crucial role. Caste identity remained untill Indians remained on to different colonial places. Different religious organisation especially Hindu organisation clung with their social hierarchies in which caste is a basis of it. The colonies like Fiji, Guyana and Mauritius they created wider impact to adopt the values and tradition of Hinduism. Therefore among all other identities, caste identity is quite unique and ever lasting till Indians continue to travel across the world. Other identites are flexible and contextual can wither away when context change but caste identity can only be seized when caste system removed.

Indian Emigrants: Slavery or Emancipation

Another aspect of identity of Indian emigrants was a debate that whether the system of indenturedship gave Indians a status of slave or was it emancipation. According to Tinker, (1977) indentured seemed as a new system of slavery which was source of deception, drudgery and dehumanization. Also, he argued that, there was one, but only one difference between indentured and slavery: whereas one was temporary abode, the other was a permanent institution (Tinker 1977). But Lal, (2000) however, sought indentured not only in terms of its oppressive nature but the changes that brought out through indentured. Therefore, "whether indentured was slavery or not is ultimate an unresolvable question, a matter of perspective (Lal: 43). For Lal, indentured was not mere a matter of emigrant's oppression, it was for him, a matter of investigation of hidden aspects that have brought out only in the entire journey of indentured emigration. The indentured, therefore was a great leveler of hierarchies and social statues. All emigrants were coolies in the eyes of *sahibs,* the equal treatment to all the coolies leads to wither away from the caste practices on ship board and plantation. This was new scenario against the oppressive nature of indentured.

Why Migration was Emancipatory

The migration in nineteenth century seemed to a mainstream phenomenon since it has created wider impacts on the social and economic lives of the emigrants. The enormous population of North India to Fiji was one of the distinctive characteristics in the indentured scenario. There are three major reason, Lal (2000) noticed, behind migration from UP which has increased in the second half of the nineteenth century; first, deteriorating economic condition caused by the British impact on Indian society and accentuated by the effects of the Indian mutiny of 1857. Excessive revenue demands by the British, deepening indebtedness of the peasantry, fragmentation of landed property into uneconomic holding etc, second, establishment of labour intensive colonial enterprises in Indian such as tea plantation in Assam, jute mills in Calcutta and collieries in Bihar. Third, migration was stimulated by the availability of the relatively cheap and readily accessible transportation, especially railways (Lal 2000: 124).

Under these circumstances people had to look after for their livelihood and survival. The only option left to them was nothing but to vacate their native places and search for employment. The indentured system was a Britisher's creation in order to recruit labour from different parts of world to meet their labour need for an economic enhancement. Indian labour was cheap and easily available under these circumstances. Therefore indentured emigrants left their homes expecting that they would return one day but the majority stayed on, attracting by new opportunities, a greater sense of personal freedom, inertia, or a dread of going back to the eternal patterns of rigidly organized patterns of village life in India (Lal: 132).

When indentured officially ceased in 1917, most of the people have settled back to the respective colonies whereas some are repatriated to their native places. Especially in Fiji maximum emigrants preferred to stay back and settled with proper housing and land ownership. Moreover, they could maintain home-ties with their native land. On the other hand, repatriated bulk of population could not ensconce themselves as well as they lived better life in colonies. For instance, the fear of caste tyrannies had ever been great reminiscence of their oppressive nature at the native places. To escape from the eternal patterns of caste rigidity maximum emigrants settled in colonies. On the other hand, those who repatriated undoubtedly became the object of caste oppression (Tinker 1974, Lal 2000). The year 1917, Tinker says, is very momentous. The indentured had been declared to be an end. The settled emigrants over colonies itself had always a fear of repatriation due to the malignancy caste atrocities. The caste horror of their native places petrified their thinking and they preferred to settle over colonies forever. This was one of the reasons they rather preferred to be remain part of colonies.

On the other hand, those who repatriated faced similar experiences of caste and ever been discriminated on caste lines. Moreover, the lacking of government policies and least management over settlement of indentured emigration could not make any difference and made them more vulnerable. The condition of repatriated emigrants had becoming more pathetic. They off course lived better life over indentured comparatively. One more noticiable aspect is, when they were migrated, migrated with an empty hand. The caste identity was also almost thrown out in the entire voyage and indentured period. However,

when they returned not only with an individual identity but with their previous identity, "Caste" (Tinker 1974). This is a great example to understand that caste can only sustain in a favorable condition and India has been maintained such favorability to nurture caste under the shade of 'Indian culture'.

Indentured, since it is a matter of different perspective there are several other aspects in relation to Indian emigrants have brought out through different diasporic studies. Brij V Lal, (2000) has given deeper insights in terms of myths and realities of indentured emigration. In indentured there were several provisions in the form of labour rights have been given but it could not implicate in satisfactory manner. For instance, in theory, 'Lal observed', the conditions of employment and the general provisions of indenture were clearly laid out. However, when it comes to practice it was grossly lacking due to the indifference nature of office bearers and their incapability of fulfilling emigrant's requirements. "It has been seen that the 'deception' were certainly present in the system" (Lal: 2000).

Women and Indian Diaspora

Usually emigration of Indian indenturedship was male dominated process however, the migration of women as an indentured emigrant had begun gradually when the colonizers realized the importance of gender balance. However, in the entire indentured the ratio of women was comparatively very less than men. Over a period of time it has became obligatory to maintain at least forty percent of women's ratio over indentured (Tinker 1977, Carter 1995, Jain 1993, Lal 2000, Mahabir 2009). Why women's presence were was important in the Indian Diaspora specifically in the Old Diaspora. And answer is not far to seek. According to above mentioned authors the presence of women was necessary to cushion the male sexual satisfactions who were committing suicide. The 'sexual jealousy' sought to be the main reason behind male suicide. But for Lal, (2000) it was not the only reason behind male suicide. The brutality and atrocious nature of the oversears and sirdars had worsened the status of emigrants. These oversears were happened to be belongs to the upper caste and caste based discrimination however, were an inevitable phenomenon which was directly or indirectly associated behind the suicide rate of male emigrants. Generally the suicide rate was high between the period of six month about a

quarter made suicide, then within first year 30 percent and 57 percent within first three years (Lal 2000: 200).

Indian Woman: Oppression in Diaspora

In the indentured, women emigrants was altogether different phenomenon. Apart from the scarcity of women and their presence there are some other issues which have been high-lightened by different authors. Along with male emigrants women too were constant source of discrimination and exploitation in the entire indentured period. Moreover, women had to face extra burden of their oppression. In the sense, along with their physical labour, they were sexually exploited and their inadequate presence in the colonies made this phenomenon uncontrollable or somehow inevitable. However, the patriarchal and caste environment on one hand and indentured on the other which exacerbate the women's choice of freedom. Being Hindu women even they had to undergo for worst treatment in order to prevent religious norms and duties. "The Hindu woman in this country is like a rudderless vessel with its mask broken drifting on to the rocks; or like a canoe being whirled down the rapids of a great river without any controlling hand. She passes from one man to another, and has lost even the sense of shame in doing so" (C.F. Andrews, as quoted by Lal 2000: 198). The condition of women therefore can be seen as a doubly oppressive nature. The caste and patriarchy on one hand and the physical labour through indentured on the other.

The Indian male dominance over women has also been noticed equally behind the root of women's suppression. Particularly, the Hindu religion and its principle of graded inequality allowed Hindus to keep one above other. And the notion of patriarchy cannot be separated from Hinduism. According to Vedic texts the women cannot stands equally with man under any circumstances. The rights and opportunities of women therefore being denied forever. This situation not only practiced in India but wherever Indians traveled across overseas, the same practice could perpetuate in the respective receiving societies. All the men however do not see in horizontal form since social hierarchy in the form of graded inequality existed amidst.

There are some other perspectives as well in terms of women and indentured experiences. In the lenses of feminist's perspectives, Carter (1995) for instance, gives a unique view to understand the women condition on an indentured. "The indentured gave women an opportunity to excessive degree of control over their social and sexual lives which they had never had before" ('Reddlock' as quoted in Carter 1995:237). Especially in the Indian context women have no choice over their marriage life but the indentured led them to overcome this situation.

Religious Dimensions in Indian Diaspora

Religion is one of the crucial aspects in an Indian diaspora. The identity of emigrants has deeply influenced and shaped with their religion. In the socio-economic transition of overseas Indians, religion had created deep impacts. For organizing Indian emigrants under an umbrella, the identity Indians was not only a sufficient one. Religion for the matter seemed to be a crucial factor to organize Indian communities in different parts of the world. However, there were some religious movements flourished in overseas context to perpetuate their religions. Many emigrants who proselytised themselves under the influence of religious rebel during that time. For instance, many of the Hindu masses had been converted themselves into Islam and Christianity in order to pursue the better life. Jain (1993), stated that, there are three major religions present in the Caribbean and Fiji colonies; Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. In Caribeean Hindus, Christianity and Islam present in 65 per cent, 20 per cent, and 15 per cent respectively. The Hindus are undoubtedly large in number. Over the years some of the Hindu populatioan had dwindled by Christian proselytisation but it could not persist longer. However, Hinduism was the dominant force throughout the Old Indian Diaspora.

Influence of Hinduism on Indian Diaspora

Among almost all overseas Indians the development of Hinduism was a very similar, their relligious believes and practices have drown out of their historical traditions relies on social hierarchy. Wherever Hindu population moved, their rudimentory pracitices of Hinduism persisted over host society. The Hindu sacred books like- *Ramayana and Bhagvad Gita, etc* were some of the means that kept masses engaged with Hinduism. The

formation of Hindu organisations like Sanatan Dharm Mahasabha, Hindu Mahasabha, etc had spread in overseas community. At the same time decline of other religious sects like Christianity and Islam overpowered Hinduism in Indian overseas communities.

In the beginning Christianity also had wider impacts on overseas communites. The Indians converted to Christianity in some extent, but over the period conversation has obstructed by increasing Hindu organisations and their enticement to the larger overseas masses. Consequently, 'Christian proselytisation has been conspicuously unsuccessful among Indian immigrans and their descedendants' (Jayawardena 1968). The Hindu sects- 'Sanatan Dharm' had a strong hold on the colonies like Fiji and Guyana. In Guyana basically the building of temples led to strenghten the practices of Hinduism through inculcation of Hindu doctrine. The temples are generally managed by Brahmin priests, who happened to be also responsible for performing domestice ceremonies, etc. In Fiji also somehow similar situation had appeared. The temples, in Fiji frequently managed by a *pujari,* rather Brahmins who confines themselves to conducting specific rites in private homes and these ceremonies are not as often the occasion for inviting friends and relatives as they were in Guyana.

The Hinduism had flourished more drastically in Guyana and Fiji but had a distinctive line in terms of its nature of growth. The main contrasting line is reflected in the positions occupied by reformist movements, particulary by the Arya Samaj. In the initial phases there was a contraversy within those movements in terms of their doctrines and rituals. But the motive appeared similar i.e to spread Hinduism. In Fiji both the marriage pattern, Sanatani and Samaji have been adopted. In contrast to Guyana the Arya Samaj priests who confined themselves for any marriagial ceremoney. The differences of Sanatani and Samaji Hindu sects are clearly persisted in Guyana, it's however reflected in its extreme forms. In Fiji the doctrinal distinctions are neglected. This is the basic fact that in Guyana the roots of Hinduism spread wider across Creole society. The limitation of Arya samaj doctrines, therefore failed to move significantly in Fiji (Jayawardena 1968). It has also been underlined that the Indian communites in Guyana and Trinidad constitute a radical contrast to those of East Africa and those of Fiji, Natal and Ceylon. This contraverises are

marked not only on religious line, the other factors such as plantation economy, their relation to home culture etc are also important.

Schwartz (1963), stated that for the smooth functioning of overseas society, there are some agencies of social control on each level. In Boodram, particularly, socio-religious organizations, the Sanatan Dharama Maha Sabha had attempted to impose the traditional panchayat organization in Trinidad. The aim of organizations appeared to solve the conflicts among East Indians in Boodram.

The Hindu religion under village pundit had shaped differently. The involvement of people with pundits in order to remove mental and physical trauma, is a kind of superstitious believes. Performing several religious deities prescribed by pundits made a direct relation to the masses. This phenomenon was very efficient to the pundit to inculcate their religious motives on people's mind. This is how the Hinduism spread its root widely in Trinidad. The village pundits, consequently seemed not only the object of religious change, rather they were responsible to transfer new socio-cultural environment. Moreover, these circumstances had prevented to attract masses from other alien culture such as influence of Christianity, Islam and the like. The East Indian community remained as a monolithic on the religious scale. But the caste reality remains as it was and exacerbated the socio-cultural environment under the fold of Hinduism itself. Thus, the role of village pundit, Schwartz, marked as an alternative method of social control available in village populace.

Impact of Hinduism on Indian Diaspora

The social structure of Indian Diaspora is quite different from the other established social structure in terms of its economy, culture and politics. The religious development had mainly seemed in north Indian population since they were familiar with Hindi language, and many of the religious (Hindu) texts written in Hindi. However, Hinduism had also been developed in non-Hindi population in overseas where majority of the population were South Indian. For example, colonies like, Malaya, Mauritius, etc. The establishment of colonial social structure had largely been overwhelmed by religious aspects. Hinduism was a dominant force among Indian emigrants. Over the years, or in contemporary

migration, the journey of Hinduism flourished in industrially developed countries like USA, UK since Hindus migrated to respective places.

The growth of religion in an overseas was an uncontrollable. The people, since they were entered into an alien culture, it was quite difficult adapt themselves with it. The religious aspects, like temple, celebrating festivals, reading religious texts were common in the Fiji, Guyana and Trinidad. Consequently, the feeling of being alienated was being assuaged in overseas Indians. Rather, 'we' feeling had developed under this circumstance. Moreover, the patterns of their daily work was same, the other problems like imbalance sex ratio, lack of basic amenities, poor health condition, etc led emigrants to brought in to the state of 'mental depression'. In order to get a relief from this depression, they often looked out for an alternative. They were not able to leave the colony since they undersigned the contract for a particular time period. Only option left with them was to adapt them with respective social structure.

The religion, amidst supposed to be a pivotal means to overcome colonial suffering at least temporarily. Hinduism had strived to gather Hindu masses not to make them free of their suffering, but they had their own agenda behind uniting Hindu masses outside India. Most of the overseas Indians being united under 'one religion', but had divided on caste lines. The upper caste emigrants who stayed back to the colonies became socio-economically well of and the legacy still continues. On the other hand lower caste remained as an 'object of labor' being owned by others. Hinduism, so far can be privilege for the upper castes, the other depressed and lower caste masses become inevitably wretched under its unequal treatment. This is the greatest weakness of Hinduism.

The colonies like Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad, Mauritius, etc where indentured had flourished, the Hinduism had grown rapidly. The formation of 'Sanatan Dharm Temple Federation' in 1964, was one of the largest socio-religious associations controlled all Hindu temples. Until the 1980s, association had monopoly of upper caste, but gradually the middle caste, Vaishas had denied their dominance over religious aspects. During the time the upper caste Brahmins and Middle caste Vaish were the objects of growing discontent of religious control. The Vaishas over the period had broken the monopoly of Brahmin as being a priest by Birth. The Arya Samaj, on the other hand denied the legacy of

priesthood by birth. In Trinidad, Hindu Maha Sabha and Siva Narayani are the two Hindu sects existed, while in Mauritius, there are other two major Hindu sects in the form of orthodoxy and reformist are existed, 'Sanatanists' and 'Arya Samaj' respectively. The orthodoxy Hindus were confined their religious and priestly rights to the Brahmins only, while Arya Samaj, who considered themselves a reformists were flexible in appointing temple priests. Moreover, Arya Samaj was likely to be more interested in the development of lower caste by removing untouchability and caste system. They united Hindus from lower social strata by preaching the doctrines of Hinduism purely based on *Vedas* and *Upnishadas*. The aim of Arya Samaj was to bring Hindus back to the original sources and authoritative texts found in *Vedas*. Consequently, they started educational institutions and did spread Hinduism vastly' (Hollup 1994).

There would be no doubt in saying that orthodoxy Hindus and reformists Hindus were different on the scale of strategies, and means of achieving their target. But there would be hardly any difference in terms of their ideology, principles, and agenda. It is grossly contradictory to think that Hindus would remove caste and untouchability. In overseas, the Indian masses were united under the fold of different Hindu socio-religious organizations. It reflects certain reasons. The socio-economic and political power of upper caste Hindus lays behind the political unity of lower caste Hindu masses. The Hindus were never been united under the fold of Hinduism irrespective of their caste, and this is a historical fact. The basic and fundamental 'ideas' of Hinduism derived from *Vedas* and *Shastras,* which is absolutely unscientific, and irrational project. The division of labour based on 'caste' is a basic principle of Hinduism. Thus, Hindus, under any circumstances, cannot think of removing caste system. Unless and until, Hindus de-Hinduise themselves, and denies the authorities of *Vedas* and *Shastras,* caste destruction is impossible.

Village Council in Indian Diaspora

Village council is one of the important elements to maintain the village structure in Indian Diaspora. Village council essentially were administrative organization. To handle the disputes within the villages and also to maintain non-conflict environment in the village are the main tasks of it. The police and local courts are the mechanism to control

social conflicts and to establish peaceful society. The final mechanism of social control in the village was 'village pundit'. It was considered to be the religiously superior having role of settling individual or family disputes through religious doctrines. There were certain obstructions to prohibit pundits from extra legal activities in Trinidad. However, despite of all this they were managed to control East Indians through the supremacy of religious dominance.

Understanding Indentured labour: A Class Perspective

Apparently in Indian Diaspora (old), two main classes were existed; the owner of the land property or planters and the labour. The category is slightly visible in the form of *sirdasrs* (supervisor) under an indentured system. The role of *sirdars*, Carter (1995), noticed that much scanty and being oppressive in nature to the rest of indentured emigrants. They are also responsible to exacerbate the socio-economic lives of indentured labour by their improper and unequal treatment to the emigrants. This situation made a sharp distinction between indentured labour and plantation supervisor. In the colonies both Guyana and Fiji Indians were brought in under the indentured system to work on the plantation. The easy available Indians and unwilling or unsuitable nature of existing population of the colonies led to explore Indian labour. Plantation therefore could be seen as a means of controlling labour force (Tinker 1974, Jayawardena 1980, Carter 1995). Controlling of Indian labour directly or indirectly of their socio-cultural aspects made their adjustment to the capitalistic mode of production. The labourers were great source of production of large scale colonial economy which could dominate throughout the globe. The Indian peasants were associated with industrial world in the two countries; Fiji and Guyana were basically similar. However, associated circumstances were different (Jayawardena 1980). The abolishment of slavery in 1834 was a crucial time whereby enormous number of slaves became freed from the clutches of their masters. This period in Guyana and Fiji had been noted as an emancipatory time for slaves. However, this huge slave population has being replaced by Indian labour after a while under the process of indentured system.

The Negroes, ex-slaves after seizing the slavery moved out of colonies and settled wherever agriculture land was available for their livelihood. Over a period of time they became marginal cultivators and became landless and bonded labourers. On the other

hand peasant class was becoming industrially developed population. The abolishment of slavery therefore could not transfer into the emancipation of slaves. The class differences-bourgeoisie and proletariats became a common feature in colonial societies as well. On different colonies the class situation seemed to be different in terms of its social contexts. For instance, in Fiji the indentured system did not create a permanent class as it did in Guyana. After indentured, the Fiji Indians left the plantation and moved in search of independent cultivators by leasing land from the local cultivators. In Guyana however large number of indentured emigrants remained as a plantation labourers. As in the rest of the West Indies the plantation had become the cornerstone of society (Jayawardena 1963 & 1980). In Guyana proletarianisation was the key experience of immigrants, for many the abiding fate. In Fiji it was a limited interlude (Jayawardena 1980).

Unlike Guyana and Fiji Indian, Negroes and Guyanese Indian had some dissimilarity in terms of their social set-up. Guyanese Indians who left the plantations drifted into villages occupied by Negroes. They worked as a land cultivator. Indian and Negro population had lived together in almost every village. There are hardly any village in Guyana that is either completely Negro or completely Indian. The major different among these groups can be seen in terms of their settlement. Over a period the Negroes became urban proletariats whilst, Indians remained in the villages in the vicinity of plantations associated with Negroes in a basic pattern of Creole life dominated by the plantation. In contrast to Guyanese Indian, Fiji Indians have moved into different environment after they left plantation. The Indians moved as aliens onto lands owned by others and not as citizens in a more Indian or solely Fijian (Jayawardena 1980). The plantation in a broader sense became a future of indentured labour. In a sense, every activity is being decided and controlled by plantation. Therefore, "In terms of Creole blacks, slavery was plantation and plantation was slavery; if they want to release from one, they must get rid of other" (Tinker 1974: 02).

Political Economy of Labour

In the entire Indian emigration 'labour' was a unique entity. The massive economic growth throughout the different colonial phases is a sole indicator of the exploitation of labour through Indian emigration. At the end, however this labour became an alienated

group who after colonial economy, got engaged with agricultural and other sort of work which reflects that they were only the object of producing economy rather gaining it. In short, the product of workers 'labour' only being enjoyed by planters. That is why, "labour, who is not belongs to himself, but to the owner of capital (Marx 1844: 08). In the colonial context planters were the owner of capital who uses the 'labour' of Indian emigrants in order to produce an immense profit which was the chief motive behind importing of Indian labour as an indentured labour.

The labour, therefore in this context, seems to be a commodity which was flexible in nature. In the sense, they were easy to move from one place to another in order to use their 'labour'. Their labour, in every context became a perfect source of generating high scale production which leads to strengthen the planter's economic power which would have control over labour force. Therefore, "the worker is related to product of his labour, as to an alien object. That means, whatever workers put his effort into this alien world, the world become more powerful whilst, worker at the same time more estranged and losing their status quo..," (Marx 1844: 68). On plantation emigrants also seemed to divided into two groups; labourers and traders. Indians of Natal, Mauritius, and Fiji are mainly of indentured origin having significant numbers of free traders. The merchants and traders could persist their traditional institutions over host societies through their economic dominance. Moreover, they had resources and social contacts to develop the preconditions of preserving traditional patterns to flourish their socio-economic dominance. Whereas, laborers on the other hand were an empty entity having neither social contacts nor economic resources. This situation led them to be at the bottom of social hierarchy. Their bargain power is less, and were only dictated them by those who controlled their means of livelihood (Jayawardena 1968).

The Indian emigrants were seen as an estranged and deceived group by plantation economy. Under the indentured system emigrants worked as a contract labour for several years. Their contracts seldom extended but there were no economic upliftment in their own lives. They remained object of their labour which is exploited by planters and land owners. Even in terms of social aspects the situation was quite similar. The emigrants, on plantation could maintain social bonding despite of diverse social identity. The inter-caste

marriages, inter-regional marriages, etc. are the indicators of their strong social amalgamation which led them to became one group. But when indentured came into end, there are hardly any social bonding among these groups. The repatriated Indian population estranged from each other and settled their own native places. The 'caste consciousness' was the chief factor behind this estrangement. Because the family who established through inter-caste/religious marriages were broken due to the fear of caste inferiority. Mainly the husband of upper caste who deceived his lower caste wife.

Culture and Ethnicity

In Indian Diaspora culture and ethnicity remained a crucial part of social system. The emigrants while settling themselves to different colonies had to adapt with outside culture on the other hand they did not leave their native cultural aspects apart. In the sense while equipping with a new culture they kept continuing their own cultural and traditional trends. This phenomenon has been evolved as a 'multiculturalism' whereby different cultural trends have practiced. In Guyana and Fiji the Indian culture sees quite different and unique than any other colonies. Moreover the culture of both the colonies can be contrasting on different lines. The Indian culture in Fiji had developed and retained more broadly in terms of ancestral tradition than that of their Guyanese counterparts. And the basis of this contrast was Hindi language which was widely spoken among Fiji Indians than Guyanese Indians whereby it almost evanesced. This was one the reasons that Fiji Indians could maintain home-ties with their native places whereas Guyanese Indians were totally lacked to do so.

Both Fiji and Guyanese Indian has different views to persuade the matter of identity of India-ness. For Fiji Indians, Indian is less amenable an object of conscious or unconscious manipulations and projections. For them Indian is too real, too existent, to be susceptible to remolding and therefore less amenable as a political and cultural symbol (Jayawardena 1980). There are two basic facts, according to Jayawardena (1980), in terms of cultural and ethnic trends of Fiji and Guyana; first, the persisting culture accelerated in the retention of traditional language and its vivid continuance in daily life, while in other cases traditional were as it were, a free floating entity buffeted by current

societal pressures. The second fact is that the overwhelming majority of Hindu population in both the countries.

The way Hinduism practiced in both Fiji and Guyana was quite different from other places. The roots of Hinduism were deeply rooted through its unique mechanism of different Hindu organization and movements. Their aim was to spread Hindu tradition worldwide. However, in Guyana and Fiji the extent of Hindu practices are entirely different based on its unique social context. For instance, in Guyana Hinduism flourished with the public sphere whereby large number of Indians gathers together and perform the different ceremonies. Whilst, in Fiji Hinduism is a private, familial and almost an unobtrusive activity (Jayawardena 1980). Moreover there are two cults of Hinduism in the entire British colonies- Arya Samaj and Orthodoxy Sanatan Hindu. Arya samaj claimed themselves as modernists who have different aims and objectives. On the other hand orthodoxy Hindus are more rigid in their traditional practices. Nonetheless, the purpose of both could not seem apart to each other. In other word, both were protagonists of inculcating of Vedic shastras which is the base of Hindu mythology.

Cultural Approach to Colonial Economy

Culture is one of the crucial aspects behind achieving overwhelming economic growth by colonizers. Since emigrants from different parts of the country, the culture was diverse and unique based on their social background. In the colonial context there are two basic forms of cultural dimensions; one is the culture which has been developed out of their native traditional values and believes and second is the overall plantation culture wherein all emigrants seemed to be merged in a single group having a same motive and same identity as 'coolie' or 'girmitiyas'. However, the first one which was a parcel of their native social hierarchy based on caste system which had been lasting unless the people of Indian origin are exists. Therefore, in the overseas social structure, caste does not appear to be a chief indicator of their social contradictions.

In Fiji, religion was a core cultural aspect which determines its mode of capital. The indigenous Fijian were basically converted Christians whilst, the Indian emigrants were almost Hindu population. The Fiji Indians resisted colonial authority and Christian

missions, but they became readily capitalistic. The Fiji Indians both indentured emigrants and free emigrant Gujaratis were Hindus and following their traditional *bhakti* or devotional Hinduism. But for the capital, not only devotionalism worked the differences between indentured Indian and Gujarati are important phenomenon in Fiji (Kelly John 1992). Since Hinduism was deeply rooted in Fiji, the socio-economic structure has determined by its vary nature. In the sense, for indentured labour religion was merely a practice of their traditional values, but especially for Gujarati migrant's religion was a source of generating social capital. In the sense, having a upper caste social identity, Gujaratis could easily manage to established their own business in any parts of the world. For other Hindus, especially lower caste, it is all together different experience. In short, it can be clear that the benefit of being Hindu, under any circumstance is meant only for people who are being socially placed on upper rank.

Despite of having same religious and national identities, Gujaratis and indentured emigrants did not come under an umbrella. There were hardly the consensuses to lead them towards social amalgamation. This lack of social interaction and fragmentation between two groups caused due to their social identities. Gujaratis were all 'Baniya' caste and protagonists of Gandhi. Gujaratis, in fact, had biased views upon rests of the Indian indentured. They see themselves as peaceful and disciplined, and they accused others especially poor Indians and indigenous Fijians generally, of laziness, lack of discipline and other polluting habits (Kelly John 1992). The vainglorious nature of Gujaratis see others as inferior and worthless people especially, Indian lower castes. Kelly, moreover, observed that the economic projects of the Indians and Gujaratis in Fiji were not determined by economic constraints, market situation and extant of economic relationship. The Gujaratis would not have come to Fiji if they had not sought to live out a version of the 'Baniya' ethic; far from the context shaping the projects, the project sought the context (Kelly John 1992: 115).

Culture and Ethnicity in Mauritius

Mauritius was one of the significant British established colonies where Tamil emigration was a mainstream phenomenon. The other minorities, Telugu and Marathi existed in a different socio-cultural setup. Basically Mauritius is a small, formerly volcanic island

located in the Indian Ocean. The history of migration in Mauritius is quite old. In the beginning French settlers had established themselves in the 1721, with the establishment of agricultural occupation, they developed infrastructure etc. They imported slaves from Madagascar and Mozambique. In the 1721- 1810, the French settlers had own major land and cultivated different food crops with sugar cane. The year 1810, had begun with British's inception to control Mauritius's socio-economic structure. The population in the same year amounted to about 77,000 and 10,000 acres of land cultivated for sugar cane. This moment was a great economic transformation of Mauritius's economy (Hollup 1994).

The abolishment of slavery system in 1834 had changed the plantation scenario. Most of the slave population, who were engaged with plantation, were looked for an alternative occupation and migrated to neighbor colonies. Consequently, Indian labor was tended to be a chief and efficient for the plantation. As a result, 450,000 Indian immigrants arrived between 1834 and 1910. The majority had come before 1865. Out of total number, one third, 165, 000 have repatriated after the five year indentured contract system (Hollup 1994: Carter 1995: Jain 1993). The Indian emigrants, in the verge of nineteenth century have acquired little land in the result of dwindling of sugar economy in Mauritius. In order to get a financial relief, planters divided their estates and sold more marginal land to the laborers and sirdars. This process, Hollup (1994), noted as a "grand morcellement", continued till the 1920, by the time about 40 per cent of the cultivated land belonged to small holders and planters. It led to reduce the dependency of Indian emigrants and helped to make them economically stronger.

In the mid-twentieth century the whole scenario of Mauritius has been changed. The plantation economy had replaced by other industrial and textile factories which resulted to reduce unemployment rate. At the beginning, economy of Mauritius has been dominated by production of large scale sugar. And later, in the verge of twentieth century industrial economy was in the peak. This was an economic shift of Mauritius colony from its historical phases to the contemporary one. This historical circumstances and successive wave of emigration, Mauritius has become a multi-ethnic and multicultural

society which has incorporated European, African and Asians cultural traits. The ethnic population of Mauritius has given in table below.

Table 2.1: Ethnic Population in Mauritius

Ethnic Communities	Population	Percentage
Hindus	388,919	40.2
Tamils	70,579	7.3
Telugu	28,578	3.0
Marathi	20,430	2.1
All Hindu Population	508,506	52.6
Muslims	160,229	16.6
Creoles	243,118	25.1
Franco-Mauritian (whites)	34,530	3.6
Chinese	20,580	2.1
Total Population	966,963	100

Source: 1972 and 1982 census data quoted in Hollup 1994: 300

The Hindu population in Mauritius remained as a majority community constituted 52.6 per cent of the population. However, it was not a homogeneous community, rather divided into numbers of caste and sub-castes. Among Hindu population, the Hindi or Bhojpuri speaking people were exclusively more in number, constituted 40.2 per cent of the total population and 76.5 per cent of all Hindu population. The Tamils seemed to be second largest community followed by Hindus, it constituted 13.9 per cent of population; Telugus 5.6 per cent and Marathi 4 per cent represented the smaller minorities within the whole Hindu population (Hollup 1994: 299). The Hindus moreover, a privileged group having a common language, same regional origin (from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar) and almost a similar cultural trait under the fold of Hinduism. The religious believe and cultural traits were appeared similar among them. Whereas, the minorities, Telugus and Marathi their socio-cultural trends were quite different. The inter-caste marriages were rare phenomenon among them. In result, the degree of integration among their community had preserved, but with other groups their integration had been

circumscribed. This situation aroused the sense of maintain hierarchies based on their social identities. Along with caste hierarchies, racial discrimination also seemed to be one of the main social problems in Indian Diaspora.

Racial Discrimination and Diaspora

Unlike the Indians in East and Central Africa, the Indians in South Africa were also a majority population who has migrated as an indentured labour. The numerically minor population of 'trading class' was also happens to be an independent emigrants. This trading class was mainly from Gujarati Muslim having similar language and religious identities. However, the majority of the masses belonged to Tamil Hindus. The 60 per cent of Indians in South Africa are working class. This major bunch of population would lead to form a single identity which may dominate on the rests. The free Indian population over a period produces the first Indian petite bourgeoisie in the form of shopkeepers, hawkers and petty traders engaged in trade with local Africans and Indians on estates, peasants, farmers and skilled artisans (Thiara 2003).

The Indian emigrants sought themselves different from other South African population. The discrimination based on race, ethnicity, and language was quite inevitable phenomenon on an indentured. The cultural and physical distinctiveness of Indians reinforced by their own institutions and state legislation that segregated Indians from the rests. Indians over years have maintained a separate political identity and developed an overarching view of 'Indianness'. This has served to maintain the external perception of them as a distinct group and enhance their uncertain status, which has clear implications for their location as a diasporic minority in a majority setting (Thiara 2003).

There was a huge transitional shift in terms of colonial economy. The postwar South Africa created the structural conditions under which Indian politics became radicalized. Indians became increasingly industrialized and urbanized since the labour shortages created by economic expansion could only be overcome by the increased employment of black workers. The Indian labour was a great source to meet the shortage of labour supply. The growing industrial economy and scarcity of labour force was a matter of difficulties, the Indians an easy and cheap labour supply was the source of balancing

industrial demand of labour supply. In the mid-twentieth century rapid industrialization and increased segregation measures in postwar South Africa intensified oppositional struggle and led to radicalization of political organizations as well as attempts to increase political cooperation across racial lines (Thiara 2003). In those days the daily life of Indian and Africans was marked by the struggle for survival in the face of increased prices, higher unemployment, lower wages, extreme poverty, etc. and obviously the tension between two groups has increased. The Indians become sandwiched between Africans and whites. The competition and contestation over the urban spaces created antagonism between Indians and Africans.

The 1949 riots are a critical event which created an insecure feeling among Indians. In result, many Indians were dislocated and repatriated to native places. Whites were engaged with the anti-Indian pogrom which had worsened the situation of Indians. The sense of insecurity had created the psychological impact on Indians and the expulsion has sought to be a solution of their predicament. This event remained as a haunting memory for a long time. Since Indians were, in this period dominated commerce and trade in South Africa, soon after riot their condition became re-settled. They were living comfort life compare to Africans who further impoverished their living condition. During this period the African livelihood depends upon Indian's trade and economy which made them more uncomfortable and frustrate. On the other hand, it is an important to underline that all the Indians were not an equal level in South Africa. In the sense, very few belong to particular social identity only dominated trade and market in South Africa. The remainder large chunk of emigrants was still living in an abysmal condition as many Africans did. In 1943-44, 70.6 per cent of Durban Indians lived below the poverty line (Hemson 1977 as quoted in Thiara 2003). It is however clear that there were not much gap between labours of Indians and Africans who had to face the similar socio-economic challenges.

The African blacks were the subject of 'racial hierarchy' and Indian emigrants, of 'social hierarchy' based on caste system. Both the group underwent into distinct oppression which is marked by their own societies. The minority, traders and merchants from Indian and an industrialized dominated whites from South Africa would be seen an equal level in

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terms of dominating the economic resources and the labours on the other hand, seemed to be exploiting their labour which produce an immense economy which ultimately belongs to capitalists who won the labour force.

The economic mechanism is an important parameter to analyze an ethnic and racial conflict in this whole process of Indians in South Africa. The economic motives of industrialists and colonialists could only sustain their own interests. The labour became a separate entity, remained as a source of their labour which can be exploited by those who accumulate it. Neither industrial mechanism nor government served their purpose of became an independent and free being. The lack of government policies and their scanty role towards emigrant consistently failed to sustain emigrants' interest. The Indians in South Africa were not only the object of racial and ethnic conflicts; they were severely hampered by the capitalist's phenomenon. Moreover, Indians were not a monolithic population since they were belonged to diverse social identities. The traders, businessmen, shopkeepers were socially dominated groups and became part of industrial economy wherever they traveled across the globe. The only subjugated group was who were socially placed in lower rank. The 'caste' factor of Indian dominance and the 'race' of African, has been distinctly placed over two groups. Sometime these two could intermingle to discriminate each of the groups.

Health Status of Indentured Emigrants

The health of emigrants had always been a subject matter of discussion. Since the initial phases of the migration there was paucity of health care even during and after voyage as well. The lacking of medical facilities, medicine and doctors were subject of worried in the entire indentured. The high mortality rate was an invariable phenomenon throughout the indentured period. The inadequacy of infant care and sufficient diet leads to increase infant mortality rate and it was never been control till the last phase of indentured.

Apart from this there is some of the criterion which needed to be followed by recruiters while recruiting labourers. But in most of the cases it did not happen and the people who have being recruited some of them were already unfit for plantation works. During voyage many of them have suffered with illness and had to lose their lives. According to

Carter, (1995) "the principle of selectivity" has not been implicated by sirdars or recruiters during recruitment of people which over a period leads to exacerbate the status of indentured in terms of poor health status and high mortality rate.

Migration and Social Change in Indian Diaspora

Migration and social change are inextricably interwoven phenomenon. The growth of one parameter is equally relies on another. While in the process of migration people move across their national boundaries and adapt with other social environment. This transfer of national boundaries or transnationalism is one of the basic components to share multicultural and ethnic identities. In a sense, transnationalism occurs with transition of socio-cultural baggage of emigrants which plays crucial role in the receiving societies. The sociological notion such as social network, social capital and social embededness plays an important role in the sociology of migration (Vertovec 2003).

The gravity of migration may be measured on the scale of push and pull factors. These factors lead to appraise the socio-economic status of transnational society. The transnationalism aptly suits the study of population movements or emigrants in a world where improved modes of transportation as well as the images are transmitted by modern means of telecommunications have shortened the social distance sending and receiving countries (Brettell 2000, as quoted in Vertovec 2003). The modern technology and communication makes transnationalism more strengthen and widen. The social network amidst has a significant role in order to analyze the social relations among emigrant's community. As a method of abstraction and analysis, the social network approach sees each person as a node linked with others to form a network. Network analysis thus provides a vocabulary for expressing the social environment as patterns or regularities in the relationship among actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1994 as quoted in Vertovec 2003).

Unlike social network, social capital is one of the crucial elements in the process of migration. Social capital is closely related to social network with regard to their substance and impact. For instance, the homogeneous community of traders or merchants- Baniya, from Gujarat who belonged to the same social category who were dominated Fiji capitalism. The social relationship among this group is very strong in order to support

each other for the sake of profit gain. Social capital itself a metaphoric, shorthand notion can provide privileged access to resources or restrict individual freedom by controlling behavior (Portes 1998, as quoted in Vertovec 2003). However, social capital enhances community strength socially and economically as well. It also in Durkheim's word, leads to maintain the 'organic solidarity' among the individual. The social capital can be maintained through marriages, communications, and participation in events, festivals and membership in associations.

The third factor of transnationalism is 'embededness'. In the process of both social network and social capital, embededness is an important phenomenon. 'Embededness refers to the fact that economic action and outcomes like all social action and outcomes are affected by actors' dyadic relations and by the structure of the overall network relationships' (Granoevetter 1992 quoted in Vertovec 2003). Portes (1995), develops Granovetter's idea of embededness in two way; first, relational embededness which involves actors' personal reactions with one another including norms, sanctions, expectations and reciprocity. Second, structural embededness, refers to different scales of social relationship in which many others take part beyond those actually involved in an economic transactions (Vertovec 2003).

Transnationalism therefore, directly relies upon the process of migration especially the socio-economic movement of people across the nations. In case of overseas Indians, emigrants and their socio-economic resources like plantation etc are interconnected through transnationalism. The transfer of national boundaries particularly for Indian emigrants is become a profound social change. The rudimentary and traditional social practices linked with caste system had broken when they moved across their national boundaries. Meanwhile the socio-economic and cultural transformation is an inevitable in the processes of transnationalism. The overwhelming colonial economy through plantation is an epitome of unique economic transformation.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to analyze different cultural and structural elements prevalent in Indian Diaspora both old and new Diaspora. To begin with we are aware of

the fact that India is country of diversity. Religious, Regional, linguistic, class, etc diversities are writ large in Indian society. We have already stated that when people migrate they do not migrate only as biological souls rater they take along with them their socio-cultural baggage as well. Hence we see the diversities present in the home country are reflected in the Diaspora as well.

However, the culture and structure within a diaspora community is shaped by the interplay of their elements. One the size of the emigrant community the host society and the relation with the home land. It is in this context we have seen how different aspects of Indian Diaspora were shaped. At the outset the conflict for the establishment of a dignified identity was always there in the old Indian Diaspora. The Indian indenture labourers were addressed with different names like Coolie, girmitiya etc. which Indians always contested.

If the status of Indian males was not very high the status of Indian women in Diaspora was a matter of grave debate. There, was in these criticisms of her presence, her character and body. She was not only exploited for her labour but was sexually exploited not only by her male counterpart but also by the British Sahibs and other officials. Although, Indian women contributed immensely towards the emotional stability of her male counterpart, yet she remained excluded and discriminated.

Religion and religious organizations acted as dominant structure for social control. Although, Hinduism was the dominant religion in Old Diaspora as individuals from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat dominated. But in new diaspora especially in UK, USA and Canada we can observe Sikhisim dominants. Village panchayat was another social structure which acted as an anchor of social control.

In old Diaspora we have also analyzed whether indentured ship was a kin to slavery or it was emancipatroy. We can argue it was both. For some it was emancipatroy because of the exploitative condition under which they functioned. Especially, the landless labourers from any group regions. Secondly, after British regime had established their draconian laws it was difficult for the small land owners for service. However, the stringent service condition and discriminatory role of oversears and officers made the system very

draconian. The racial discrimination and lack of health facilities made the condition ever worse.

Last but not the least we have analyzed in this chapter the social change and continuity in the Indian Diaspora. In terms of continuity we have found how regional, religious and linguistic identities have been still repetitive. In old Diaspora Indian emigrants are in spell of frozen culture. However, there have been many changes among them as well; there is flexibility in terms of endogamy and social hierarchy. Patriarchies were also getting relaxed. Transnationalism has given birth to new relationship. Telephone, internet and computer revolution has further contributed for social change.

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Chapter 4

Caste in Indian Diaspora

It is fact that there are plethora of studies on Indian Diaspora in general however, they have hardly emphasized on its social aspects like caste. This chapter would mainly analyze the caste in an Indian diaspora, both in historical and contemporary realms. Usually social scientists argues that how can caste migrate in Indian Diaspora? In this context Kumar (2009: 59) eloquently portrays, "it is sociological fact that when people migrate they do not migrate only as a biological souls. Rather they migrate with their socio-cultural baggage as well. People take along with their family and caste values as well as their social structures". Hence, it is easy to understand how caste migrated to Indian Diaspora.

Caste, in Indian Diaspora has been a unique entity since the people from diverse social identities have traveled across the world. The caste institution seemed not to be a monolithic whole in an Indian Diaspora. It has, however, not appeared as a mainstream social structure in overseas communities. The nature of caste system is therefore quite different in terms of its norms and practices as compared to its land of origin i. e. India. When the Indian masses cross their geographical boundaries, crossed their social boundaries and entrenched a new social structure over a host societies. Caste as a social structure also differed.

The Indian culture reflects out of its traditional believes and practices directly linked with caste institution. Indian emigrants wherever it reached the caste reflects throughout their culture. The caste phenomena can only be related with the emigrants of Hindu identity. In the sense, caste is whole and sole of Hinduism, as its observance is based on the. The rigidity of caste is maintained in Hindu culture both within and outside India. In the study of overseas Indian or Indian diaspora as whole, caste is one of the unique elements to comprehend diaspora from sociological point of view.

Understanding Caste

Although we have defined caste in first chapter, we would like to elaborate and define caste as an institution in this chapter for better understanding. The philosophy of caste emerged out of *vedas* and *puranas,* the sacred Hindu texts bounded each social group in an inflexible way. Before we come to analyze caste in Indian Diaspora let us again spell out the characteristics of caste. Caste is one of the unique social institutions which influence on many other institutions like family, keenship, education, religion etc. Hindu religion particularly, is a base of caste inequalities. The caste is an institution of the Hindu religion and wholly peculiar to that religion alone (Ibbeston 1916 quoted in Klass 1980). The Indian social structure is largely overwhelmed by Hindu customs and traditions have its roots in *vedas* and *puranas,* considered to be sacred texts of Hindu religion. Since Hindu masses are predominantly more, the dominance of Hinduism is inevitable.

Caste: Social or Religious

However, Ibbeston, has argued that 'the caste is a more of societal in nature rather religious, it has no necessary connection with Hindu religion'. It seems contradictory to his own views, as initially he stated that caste and Hindu religion are dependent on each other. Nonetheless, caste does not existed in other religions since their tenets of religion based not on caste. Moreover, every Hindu is conscious of his own caste rather the sense of religious fraternity. They organize themselves based on not religious unity, but the unity of caste instead. Therefore, under a religious identity Hindus cannot and never come together due to its caste obstacles. "Hindus", therefore, 'Ambedkar' (1979) argued, "cannot form a society or nation since in every Hindu the consciousness that exists is the consciousness of caste".

Caste: Division of labour Vs Division of Labourers

Many philosophers and social scientists both from within and outside India stated that the caste is nothing but a division of labour. The caste societies in Durkheim's sense an organic system with each particular caste and sub-caste filling a distinctive functional role. 'It is a system of division of labour from which the element of competition among

the workers has been largely excluded' (E R Leach, 1962 in Klass 1980: 103). Since Indian society has been split into number of caste groups, merely division of labour theory is quite vague to understand the social structure. Many philosophers including western and Europe, repeatedly failed to understand Indian society only because their persuasion of caste based on labour division. "The caste system divides a whole society into a large number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and connected together by three characteristics: separation, division of labour and hierarchy" (Bougle's as quoted in Dumont 1988). As far as a second characteristic is concerned, Bougle's had failed to give an authentic view about caste society.

Ambedkar (1979), in his study of caste, precisely stated that, "caste system is not merely division of labor. It is also a division of laborers. In caste society division of labor are graded one above the other. However, in no other country the division of labor accompanied by this gradation of laborers. The division of labor is not 'spontaneous'; it is not based on natural aptitude". The gradation of laborers itself is confine themselves with a particular forced occupation that cannot be given up. This system precisely cultivates the caste system. Since caste phenomena existed differently in overseas communities, many anthropologists and sociologists underlined caste realities differently from Indian social structure. The unit of endogamy is a crucial to evaluate caste aspects. Berreman, for example, stated that "a caste system may be defined as a hierarchy of endogamous division in which membership is hereditary and permanent" (Berremen 1960, quoted in Schwartz 1964). On the other hand, he observed that the endogamy is not the extremely important criteria to perpetuate caste in overseas context. Rather it seemed quite flexible.

In the light of the above description of caste as given in the first chapter we will examine now existence of caste in Indian Diaspora.

Caste in Overseas Indian Communities

We have already discussed that the Indians migrated from different nooks and corners of the Indian territories to overseas colonies. Secondly we have also analyzed that different system of Indian migration. Thirdly, we have also analyzed different versions of presence

and absence of caste in Indian Diaspora. Since caste is deeply entrenched in Indian social structure, it is quite uneasy to give up caste practices though people traveled into the place where there was no hierarchy based on caste. In this regard wherever Indians reached across the world, the existence of caste appeared undoubtedly wherever they had been settled. However, the notion of caste exists separately than that of Indian notion of caste. In overseas, Trinidad was one of the important colonies wherein the numbers of East Indians are significant minority groups. Schwartz (1964), conducted a study in Trinidad, a village called 'Boodram' where he found the different aspects of caste and endogamy. The village has been sought as an epitome of deep rooted Hindu culture and traditions. In the village two major sects of Hinduism were existed: Sanatan Dharma Mahaa Sabha and Siva Narayani having different features. The first one appeared to be more traditional and orthodoxy.

Schwartz (1964) found that in village Boodram the practice of endogamy was given priority in order to maintain the social hierarchies. Consequently the East Indians and Creole sharply been distinguished by their social norms and practices. For instance, the ethnic group marriages were 99 per cent endogamous and only one per cent exogamous. Nonetheless, the religious dichotomies within the East Indians were likely to be important one. Out of 826 total East Indian population of Boodram, 19 were Muslims and rests, 807 belonged to Hindu, either being Hindu or converted (Schwartz 1964: 59). Both the religions have maintained endogamous unit. The religious exogamy was seemed to be quite a rare phenomenon in the place.

However, on the other hand as far as caste was concerned, the endogamous unit had broken into exogamy. For example, out of 143, total marriages by caste in Boodram, only 41 were endogamous and rest 102, of exogamous. By percentage, of these total marriages 45 per cent were endogamous and 55 per cent exogamous. Moreover, Schwartz observed that among all other groups of the East Indians exogamy was common marital affair than endogamy (Schwartz 1964: 62). The Siva Narayani affiliated groups geographically placed into a separate locale. They were considered to be more backward. The lack of interaction with mainstream villages made them more vulnerable and stamped to be a

'wild' one. This group can be known as tribal who lived in forest. Gradually, when the development took place, the gap of interaction has abridged.

It is interesting to note that Schwartz found that in Trinidad, the four fold *varna* system has been perserved as it is present in India. The Brahmin *varna* includes only Brahmins, sometime called Maraj. Kshatriyas, refered to as Chattrii, and Bhaats are the only groups included in the Kshatriya *varna*. Vaishya were comprised of Ahirs, Kurmis, Malaas, and Naus. The Shudras included Chamars, Dusaads, Mahils, Mushars and Telis. In these *varna* groups the exogamy was a dominant marital unit. For example, out of 103, total marriages in Boodram, only 37 were endogamous and 66 were exogamous. In other words, 47 per cent of marriages recorded as endogamy against a vast majority of 53 per cent of exogamous marriages (Schwartz 1964).

Caste and Rituals in Overseas Communities

It has been seen that the religious dominance in overseas communities had grown up tremendously. The rise and spread of Hinduism strengthened due the influence of different Hindu socio-religious organizations in overseas communities. Fiji, Guyana, and so far Trinidad, though it is minority East Indian group, Hinduism flourished under the hold of its religious sects. The emigration process is likely to be a means of transforming one culture into another one. In an overseas community Hinduism entered through emigration of Hindu masses and it expanded by different Hindu socio-religious movements. The ritual space was one of the crucial elements to spread Hinduism in overseas community, particularly into Trinidad.

Caste Composition among Fiji Emigrants

In the colonies like Fiji most of the emigrants came from mostly varied background. The caste disintegration was one of the basic features in overseas. In Fiji there were almost 265 caste and sub-caste that traveled mainly from North Indian subcontinents. Among this the representation from rural area was comparatively more than urban or towns. The consistency of unemployment and lack of agricultural production made people migrate in search of better employment and livelihood opportunity. The population comprises of both higher and lower castes in Fiji. Brahmins, Thakurs Rajputs, and Khatris were upper

caste Hindus. While, Pathans and Sheiks among Muslim were higher status groups. The agricultural castes like, Jats, Kurmis and Koeris; and lower castes such as Chamars, Dusadhs, Gonds and Luniyas were from North India migrated to Fiji (Lal 2000: 106). This population contributing Fiji's one percent of North Indian migrants. The detail numbers and percentage has been given bellow.

Table 4.1: Caste Groups Contributing Fiji's one Per cent North Indian Migrants

Name	Numbers	Percentage	Name	Number	Percentag
Chamar	6,087	13.40	Lodha	735	1.62
Muslim	5,455	12.01	Jat	708	1.66
Ahir	4,197	9.24	Gadaria	691	1.52
Thakur	3,416	7.52	Kewat	656	1.44
Kurmi	2,307	5.08	Rajput	652	1.43
Kori	1,942	4.27	Pathan	584	1.29
Brahmin	1,535	3.38	Murao	553	1.24
Kahar	1,500	3.30	Luniya	559	1.23
khatri	1,182	2.61	Gond	541	1.19
Pasi	999	2.20	Sheik	493	1.08
Koeri	740	1.63	Dusadh	464	1.02

Source: Lal 2000: 107

The lower caste population was more in number in Fiji. The Chamar constituted (13.40) per cent of population, seemed greatest number among all North Indian emigrants. Over all Indian population in 1880- 1916 has been comprised of, Lower caste 33 per cent, Muslims 12 per cent the middle agricultural castes 37 per cent, Artisans 6 per cent and Brahmans and other upper castes were 12 per cent (Lal 2000: 46). In terms of religious orientation almost all population of lower and higher belonged to Hinduism except some Muslim minority.

Caste System and Its Perpetuation in Diaspora

'Rituals', Schwartz, noted that, 'is an important element in the organizational maintenance and perpetuation of the caste system'. In an overseas community, three major factors

played crucial role to legitimizing the functions of caste, namely, pollution, *dharma* and *karma*. These factors comprises of many other major rituals which directly or indirectly promote caste system. Pollution is derived from the inclusion of proscriptive regulations based on commensal, sexual and physical interaction. The prescriptive and proscriptive rules of behavior based upon the concept of pollution leads to segregate the individuals according to their caste groups (Schwartz 1964).

The concept of *dharma* sought synonymous to the religion, particularly to Hinduism. Some sociologists have argued that the *dharma* is 'a way of life' and maintenance of deities and observance of *dharma* or religion is a moral duty of an individual. Dube, for instance, accepted the caste traditions and argued that it is essentially a duty of individual to adhere to the acceptable rules of behavior. In this way, Dube justified caste. (Dube 1955, quoted in Schwartz 1964). *Karma* and *dharma* are the important elements to carry on the legacy of caste system. *Karma* however is the core of Hindu mythology. The birth and death of individual can be controlled under the *karma* mythology. The destiny of individual has shapes in accordance with his past deeds. But it is merely an irrational and unscientific project of Hinduism.

The ritual, in the project of Hinduism, is a sole element controls the concepts of pollution, *dharma* and *karma*. The rituals are being practices widely under the influence of Hinduism. The Brahmans are higher authority to perform all kinds of Hindu rituals. However, the lower castes Hindus are the protector of Hindu religion. In other words, the rituals and other religious deities are immensely performed by these groups. The concept of *karma, dharma* are been internalized by lower caste Hindus which result to strengthen ritual aspects of Hinduism. On the other hand imitation of Brahman or other upper caste for the sake of being superior is common in Hindu masses, which is a myth. This imitation gives rise to the immense ritual practices. The rituals, ultimately maintain the legacy of caste system. This practices were not confined only to Indian periphery, in large extent it percolated outside too wherever Hindus did migrate. In Trinidad, East Indians were a significant number; constituted 40 per cent of island's total population. This practice existed here.

Likewise, the celebration of *Rama* through reading *Ramayana* was a common practice in the colonies like, Fiji, Guyana, Malaya, Trinidad, etc. where Hindu community has a strong socio-religious hold. It was likely to be daily affair to gather together and explore the epic of *Ramayana.* This practices, however, Schwartz noticed, was the most successful method for the perpetuation of formal Hinduism in Boodram. Establishment of temples, practicing several rituals, celebrating festivals like *diwali, hanuman pooja,* and finally reading religious texts like *Ramayana* are the basic cultural tools to expand Hinduism throughout the overseas communities. In some places there was an attempt to establish Hindi school to spread Hindi and Hinduism but so far it did not last long.

In addition, there were some supernatural believe and practices which directly linked with Hindu mythology. Black magic, evil eye, stamping woman as a witch, etc are the superstitious practices presented among East Indians. This superstitious believe and practices automatically strengthen the roots of Hinduism in overseas communities. In the villages these practices penetrated in greater extent than that of urban and town space where maximum people were associated with permanent occupations. The villages mostly comprises of illiterate masses and being apart from modern technology and development which encourage the growth of superstitious practices.

It is astonishing to read that 'although Schwartz (1964) emphasized that performance of rituals is an important phenomenon for maintenance and perpetuation of caste system, however, Schwartz never shows how the rituals perpetuate Caste. As we have observed that Schwartz has given minute details of religious rituals, performances of religious events, and superstitions of Hindu social order but she never shows how these are linked to caste.

Caste Composition in Mauritius

The Mauritius is one of the mixed ethnic and cultural British established colonies wherein Indian emigrants played a major role. A vast amount of Indian labour had created an immense economy which shaped the entire Mauritius's socio-economic structure. Despite of caste barriers emigrants had developed a common identity; *jahajibhai* (shipmates) was a contextual change, caused to make blood relations. This

identity became an important basis of their social life in the entire plantation phenomenon. The caste identity had reduced into the ethnic and cultural identities. However, in Mauritius the influence of Hinduism led to form its unique social setup.

In Mauritius the majority of the population (60 per cent) came from eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar, the South Indians were 33 per cent comprises of Telugus and Tamils, and 7 per cent of Marathis from Maharashtra. It has been noticed that, more than half of the Hindus belonged to agricultural, shepherd and artisan castes, considered to be a superior or clean caste in northern India. The lower castes amounted to 27 per cent and there were approximately 5 per cent tribal also recruited from Chota Nagpur in Bihar. The upper castes, Brahmin and Kshatriya constituted 13 per cent of the immigrants (Hollup 1994: 301). The women population, in the initial phases was comparatively very less. In mid-nineteenth century the women emigrants were maintained up to one third of the immigrants. Throughout this caste composition it is quite clear that the Indians were heterogeneous group in terms of caste, religion, regional origin and linguistic affiliation.

Among Hindu emigrants the Brahmin (Babujee), Vaish, (Ahir, Kurmi, Loiri, Kahar etc.) Rajput (Dusadh) and Ravived (Chamar) were the major caste groups. The Brahmin and Kshatriya were likely to have an equal status in overseas communities. The rest of the classes have been divided into certain caste. The Brahmin and Vaish were considered to be higher and middle castes respectively. The Rajput and Chamar were lower caste. The caste 'Rajput' has a unique history of being lower caste. It has been considered that the Rajputs are basically originated from Rajasthan. During the Mughal empire they lost their land, royal title and became fallen Rajputs. They were forced to become petty cultivators and villages menials after settling in Bihar and came to be known there as 'Dusadh'. In 1965, they organized themselves and reclaimed their original title, 'Rajput'. In Mauritius, occasionally they admits their caste 'Dusadh' but proud to refer themselves as Rajput. The Chamar similarly had quite similar history in Mauritius. They are often known by respectable name 'Ravidas' or Ravivad, the follower of *'saint Raidas'*. Their habit of sacrificing pigs to goddess *Kalimai,* and eating pork stamped them to be lower caste untouchables in Mauritius. (Hollup 1994: 309-310).

In Mauritius the Brahmin and Vaish are the major upper caste Indian communities. Vaishas, over the years became a dominant community in all the spheres -economy, religion and politics. The religious duties no more confined with Brahmins. The Vaishas made their own religious priests, built their own temples under the fold of Hinduism itself and overcame of Brahmin's monopoly. Moreover, the population of Vaisha community in Mauritius seemed to be higher, in result, the political structure of Mauritius have been dominated by Vaisha, since they were having 'Prime Ministers' from their own community.

The dominance and prestige of higher caste does not derive from their ritual or traditional practices but, their legacy of economic and political power. For instance, on plantation upper caste people were happened to be the overseers or contractors, received respect from lower caste groups and became the first beneficiary Indian emigrants by acquisition of land as small planters and entrepreneurs. The socio-religious organizations came to Mauritius was dominated by upper caste Hindus who also benefited from the political and bureaucratic structure since they occupied higher position in it. Consequently their relatives and caste group privileged by their power structure. 'This practice of nepotism', Hollup (1994), argued, gradually turned into casteism which was accompanied by increasing competition among Hindus for limited resources on the colonies'.

If there was any doubt that caste existed in Indian Diaspora the presence of Dalits (ex-untouchables) as indentured labourers made it quite clear that caste did existed in the Indian Diaspora.

Dalit Migration to Mauritius

We have already seen that Dalits like Chamars, Pasis, Doshads, etc. numbering 33 per cent of total Indian emigrants went to Fiji as indentured. Similarly they also migrated to Mauritius as well. It has been noted that the majority of Mauritius's Indians have migrated from the eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar. The number of lower caste among this population seemed to be comparatively more than upper or middle caste groups in the same regions. All these population however came under the scheme of indentured labour sponsored by British with an Indian collaboration. Some population

had also been recorded as 'kangani' migrants who had come in the beginning of mid-twentieth century. The detail number of numerically sizable Dalits (ex-untouchables) has been given below.

Table 4.2: Dalit Population in Mauritius, 1843- 1873

Name of the Castes	Men	Women
Chamars	338	96
Doshad	186	46
Dhangar	68	19
Bhuiya	40	21
Pasi	26	6
Dhobi	25	-
Moochi	23	-
Total = 894	706	188

Source: Carter, Marina (1995: 202-203), in Kumar,2009.

These emigrants mainly travelled from Calcutta were mostly of north Indians while, South Indians were travelled form Madras. The maximum numbers of emigrants from Madras region were Malbar (1362 Males, 495 Females), Gentoo (613 Males, 219 Females) and Muslim (126 Males, 40 Females). Apart from this there was other small number of populations who were belonged to Hindu and Christian religion from the Madras region. In addition, the migrants from Bombay, Maratha (1091 Males, 280 Females), Purwari (142 Males, 79 Females) and Muslim (141 Males, 28 Females) were a major population traveled to Mauritius in the same year. (Carter 1995: 202-204). The women population has maintained with one third of the ratio of the total population in Mauritius.

In April-July 1872, around 1659 emigrants traveled from Calcutta to Mauritius and the numbers of lower caste groups were quite sizable. The agricultural castes, 38 per cent, lower castes 27 per cent, and 13 per cent artisan castes (Carter 1995: 98). The lower caste in an overseas had engaged with a similar task irrespective of their native graded occupations. For instance, Dhobi (washer man) and Chamar (leather worker), etc were no more associated with their traditional work in overseas communities. In fact, the overseas context did not provide the space to carry on their traditional occupation. Neither for the

upper caste Brahmin nor for the lower castes also. The notion of occupational prestige has been changed in overseas communities.

Caste in UK

The community leaders of Sikhs insist that Sikhs numbers 500,000 in UK. However, they also accept that one third of Sikhs traditionally belonged to the Dalit Category. It is suggested that they are reluctant to classify themselves as Sikh because of old division of Jat and non Jat Sikhs: Further, there is strong Punjabi communities which have identified themselves as Ravidasis and Majhabis, which prove the strong caste division among Sikh Community in UK (Tatla & Singh 2008:60). The caste divisions in U.K is further strengthened by the fact that five castes, Ravidasis, Valmikis, Namdharis, Nirankaris and Radhasoamis have separate religious centers for their people (see table below).

Table 4.3: Caste wise places of worship in UK

Regions	Ravidasis	Namdharis	Nirankaris	Radhasoamis	Valmikis
England	13	6	12	4	9
Scotland	1	1	-	-	-
Wales	-	-	-	-	-
N. Ireland	-	-	-	-	-
Total	14	7	12	4	9

Source: (Tatla and Singh 2008: 79)

Relationship between Caste and Occupation in Indian Diaspora

The endogamy is one of the important aspects to retain caste prestige among Hindus. But in an overseas the picture was slightly different. The endogamy merely is not a basis of preserving caste prestige since inter-caste marriages among Hindu castes were common. In Mauritius, some caste was supposed to be inferior due to their eating habit of pork and rearing pigs. The inter-caste marriages in this community appeared less in number compare to other lower caste groups. The practice of both hypergamy and hypogamy were common in the colonies like Mauritius which were mainly firmed with economic concern. In the sense, rather than looking caste of an individual, people were more

concerned with his economic well of so that he/she could lead a better life. The caste aspect, meanwhile, in marriages had gradually been ignored.

The preference for hypergamy rather hypogamy tended to be more in Mauritius. It has some reasons. The child born in hypergamy family will have father's name, automatically indicates higher social status since father happened to be an upper caste. While, in hypogamy it is reversed. Choosing higher caste spouse was becoming a symbol of enjoying higher social status through wealth and economy. In the pursuit of this phenomenon, endogamous unit was almost on the brink of vanishing, except few economically lower caste groups. They had some limitation in terms of choosing spouse due to poor economy. Those economically well-of having greater choice of preferring spouse from any of the castes. Caste endogamy, Hollup (1994), observed, "is also a result of kinship networks rather than based on any ideology which would maintain the purity of group and ensure separation". Caste in an overseas context can be seen as both an element of social unity and social fragmentation. For example, the inter-caste marriages which unites castes to some extent, while endogamy on the other hand, preserves the caste structure as it is. However, intercaste marriage or either hypergamy or hypogamy had a limited space in the overseas in order to override the structural phenomena of caste. As long as these institutions exist, caste distinctly exists among them.

The caste proudness could find in other way around. Especially in case of hypergamy and hypogamy, lower caste fellow would have a feeling of proud since he/she married with an upper caste. This sense may develop out of their historical persecution, thinking that they get rid of caste tyrannies they faced at their native. Therefore, the prestige in overseas communities had been derived from the power and economic well being rather caste and religious rituals, as it exists in Indian society. The social groups seemed more as a class and ethnic than caste groups. The new ethnic or class identity has encompassed the caste identity. Nonetheless, this phenomenon cannot be an absolute in entire overseas communities. The existence of caste, undoubtedly been evanescent, but could not expunge from overseas Indians. The tendency of developing relations with higher caste status still continues which results to sustain the caste consciousness in overseas Indians.

The occupational division has no more considered as caste division in an overseas community. Most of the occupation does not confined only with a particular caste; rather it has been practiced by other caste as well. The occupations like barber, washer man, etc were undertaken by other castes like Rajputs, Vaish and Creoles in Mauritius. Moreover, even the priesthood was no more monopoly of Brahmins in Mauritius as it has seen in Fiji and Trinidad. The service of priesthood no longer determined by their birth. The Arya Samaj movement tended to recruit priests from all other castes in Mauritius (Hollup 1994). Having observed this there would be a need to reflect on other aspects of occupational conglomeration. Does the occupational heterogeneity have served a real motive of formation of an equal society. The answer would not be an affirmative, rather negative.

For the matter we can analyze the Hindu socio-religious movement entered into overseas communities. The Arya Samaj had preached the doctrine among Mauritius Indians to unite them under the fold of Hinduism for the sake of religious and political power. The feasibility in changing occupation does not transfer the sense of being superior or inferior. The upper caste when engaged with the occupation that socially degraded, such leather work and other manual task, the occupation soon gets a market value and it will be commercialized. The value of occupation therefore depends upon individual's social status. There is no same value for an occupation if the two different castes (socially upper and lower) do it. Therefore the 'value of occupation' and 'individual's social identity' is directly proportional to each other.

In overseas, the Indian emigrants were delivered same kind of occupation that is plantation, irrespective of their social identity. The higher caste migration happened basically in order to find better employment opportunity outside India. While, lower caste had some other reasons behind their migration. The caste based social oppression was a chief motive to vacate their native places. The indentured, however, in some extent meet their need. Lal noted the feelings of one of the Indian emigrants migrated to Suriname;

"I call India blessed, and the Brahmins and Kshatriyas too,

Who attach untouchability to their subjects.

They rule by the power of these very subjects,

While keeping the company of prostitutes.

The subjects escaped and came to the islands

And, yes, India turned on her side..."(Lal 2000: 114).

The dominance of Hinduism kept alive wherever Indian (Hindus) traveled in the world. The caste consciousness has begun to penetrate more rigorously in the overseas Indians in the form of Hindu socio-religious sects. The overwhelming influence of Hinduism in the colonies like Trinidad, Fiji, Guyana and Mauritius led to established a new social structure, an 'overseas social structure' mainly dominated by Hindu Indian population.

Caste Disintegration in Overseas Indians

The nature of caste in overseas Indians is sought to be different from its mainland Indian social structure. Many scholars (Schwartz 1967; Jayawardena 1971; Jain 1993) had discussed the issues of caste in the context of overseas Indian communities. The Indian caste system, 'they noticed that', could not perpetuate as it is practicing in India. The particular time and context supposed to be an important element to carry on the legacy of caste in an overseas Indian community. Caste in overseas Indians did not form important social unit though the inter-caste marriages was quite common phenomena. The common identity of Indian indentured labor as being 'coolie' had undertaken the same king of work and sharing the living conditions. The indentured, however weaken the social restrictions governed by caste. Caste therefore was not an important principle of social organization in an overseas Indians (Hollup 1994).

The practice of rituals and other rudimentary customs were not the only factor to penetrate caste consciousness in overseas. "Not only were ritual purity and occupational specialization dealt moral blows by the circumstances of immigration and initial settlement, but the immigrants came from different localities in Indian and were unable to reform the small scale organization on which caste groups behavior had been based" (Mayer 1967 quoted in Hollup 1994). The caste differences, Hollup underlined in terms

of its 'content and meaning'. He also noted that the, disintegration of caste, gradually merged into an ethnic identity within a socio-political context of increased competition for political power and scarce resources. The issue of caste mobilization has always been a matter of political assertion. In other words, since the historical phases of Indian emigration, it had consistently been attempt to influence caste or religious groups under an umbrella. The political motive of uniting caste was a temporary; it could not eliminate the sense of suffering.

The Scholars (Schwartz 1967; Hollup; 1994; Jain 1993) argued that the caste can only be grown in an environment where 'Hindu culture' has been placed in over social structure. Dumont (1980), described the caste outside India, as in Nepal and Sri Lanka, as quasi-caste. The roots of Hinduism are clearly found in both the countries which results to shape the society under the fold of caste system. Leach (1960, quoted in Hollup 1994), argued that castes groups which exist not in isolation but as units in interdependence. As far as indentured overseas context is concerned this view can be applicable that all the caste groups lived in a similar condition sharing food, shelters and so on. But it would be contrary to relate this view to Indian caste system. The caste in India is totally separate entity. The territory or the geographical space has been sharply confined for their living conditions. In this circumstance, the physical isolation of caste groups is an inevitable and sternly functioned.

The endogamous unit was not an adequate criterion to evaluate caste in overseas Indian communities. It has been marked that the breaking of endogamy was an unavoidable phenomena during indentured emigration. The shortage of women population and also being common identity of emigrants as, 'coolie' or *'jahaji bhai'* (shipmates), to break the barriers of endogamy. However, the traditional practices and culture of Indian overseas reflects the degree of caste divisions. The minority community, especially linguistic-cultural population remained as an endogamous unit in Mauritius. For instance, the smaller number of Telugu and Marathi population had automatically relied upon endogamy. The smaller or minor community reflects more integration of caste bonds whereas larger community reflected more disintegration. The Tamil Hindu population is

an example of stronger disintegration of caste groups. Among the middle caste Hindus (Vaish) the inter-caste marriages were frequent in Mauritius (Hollup 1994).

Over the years, when Indians settled into different colonies, they were tended to form a single identity- 'a Hindu identity' in the places like Mauritius, Trinidad, etc. The influence of Hindu religious organizations like Arya samaj, etc has inculcated the doctrines of Hinduism throughout different social practices. On the other hand, educational development, economic growth and modernity, Indians have been culturally modified themselves and influenced by the process of acculturation often termed creolization (Mayer 1967 quoted in Hollup 1994). The creolization has a long history of its mixed culture since the population of mixed descent, African American and European settled. The Indian indentured was a new phenomenon over creolization. Cohen (1997), states that Creolization is a condition in which "the formation of new identities and inherited culture evolve to become different from those they possessed in the original cultures and then creatively merge these to create new varieties that supersede the prior forms".

The caste identities in overseas Indians therefore had begun to dwindle into ethnic identities. The communal solidarity had changed the political structure of India during and after independent. The role of Indian emigrants was indeed an important in the process of India's independent. The indentured laborers from South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius have been united to fight against British Empire in India. However, the organizers had political motives to rule India after independent. And they did it so. Here, it is important to underline the contradictions of emigration and Hindu movements. The Hindu movements entered into colonies in order to unite the Hindu masses for their socio-economic betterment. But the real and hidden agenda was quite different. The Hindus were/are never united rather divided on caste lines both within and outside India. But the Hindus, only an upper caste could enjoy the fruits of their movement whether it is socio-religious or independent India movement.

Dalits and Diaspora

If there is any doubt that whether caste existed in Indian Diaspora, the presence of Dalit Diaspora removes that doubt. The history of Dalit diaspora is quite old. The Indian

migration has been noted since the beginning of nineteenth century, eventually called an 'old Indian diaspora'. The abolishment of slavery system caused to replace the western slaves by Indian laborers. This migration of Indians was only confined to South Asia and African countries since British had established their colonies at the respective places. The migration, then noticed as 'Indian emigration' sponsored by different schemes like indentured and kangani. The continuous flow of Indians to different colonies caused to strengthen the colonial economy which could dominate through entire world then. In this process of migration the presence of labor especially socially vulnerable were inevitable. The ruthless social oppression by socially higher castes is a historical phenomenon in an Indian society. In order to get rid of social slavery, they preferred an economic slavery.

Until the third quarter of the twentieth century the Indian emigration had been sponsored by different schemes. Henceforth, most of the Indians have managed to migrate on their own especially to the developed countries like USA, UK, Canada, etc. The development in an Industrial realm mostly attract Indian masses particular of skilled professionals and educationally well of. This phase of emigration came to be known as 'Indian diaspora'. The Dalits in Indian diaspora is one of the unique entity and quite different from their historical migration scenario. For instance, in the initial phases Dalits or lower caste migrated as an indentured labor while, in Indian diaspora, Dalits are educationally well qualified, professionals like doctors, engineers, etc. This migration can be noted under the "pull factor" (Jain 1993) wherein an individual would attract to migrate in search of his own betterment.

The term 'Dalit diaspora', over the years came to be known in the spheres of academia. Kumar (2004), explored the term widely in the domain of Social Sciences in general and Sociology in particular. He underlined that there are two kinds of Dalit diaspora; 'old' and 'new'. The old diaspora mainly indentured and assisted laborers had taken into different parts of African colonies like Mauritius, South Africa, to Asia like Malaysia, Burma, to parts of Caribbean Latin America like Trinidad, Guyana, Surinam and to Pacific like Fiji. Whereas, the 'new' diaspora has been developed in the midst of globalization. The increasing industrial development in the places like Europe, United States of America, Canada and Australia attracted Dalits to migrate who are literate,

technicians, mechanics, students and the professionals (2004: 114, 2009: 61). Since Dalits in diaspora existed in plenty of numbers they have organized themselves on the scale of common religious identity. It leads them to develop a social bonding within the diasporic community and also to maintain the home ties as well. However, the caste based discrimination underlined as one of the crucial elements in an Indian diaspora.

Indian Diaspora and Caste Discrimination

It has been pondered that the caste or caste based social hierarchy outside India is almost an unconvinced fact. The caste supposedly cannot show its existence across the Indian periphery. In short, the presence of caste and caste based discrimination has repeatedly been ignored in Indian diaspora. However, to believe all this naively without undergoing any practical evidences would be unjust to the issues of Diasporas. Some scholars like Schwartz (1967), Jain (1993) have explored the caste realities in overseas Indian communities. In the recant phenomena of migration, in an Indian diaspora the existence of caste is an inevitable fact, stated Kumar (2004 & 2009).

There have been specific reasons behind the migration of Dalits since its historical phases of migration. Having lack of means of livelihood, poor agriculture, etc made condition of Indians more exacerbated. Such condition forced them to live in an abysmal poverty. However, this was not merely the case for the people who were socially lower caste or Dalits. For them the cause of migration was above all this. The historical social oppression of Dalits, caste atrocities and social boycott were/are the daily affairs. They had nothing to lose any material property since they were abandoned all source of achieving material wealth. In this context the only option left with them is to leave their native places and look out for better life. The 'migration' adopted as a way out against their historical social evils.

The existence of caste in an Indian Diaspora is quite natural since the emigrants are mainly of Hindu origin. It has been noted that most of the Indian emigrants were of Hindu origin migrated in 18th and 19th century under an indentured system. Caste then has its unique existence in an Indian emigration and it still lasting in the resent Indian Diasporas. Today there are several practical evidences that caste discrimination is alive in

Indian Diaspora. Kumar argued that, if castes exist in Indian Diaspora and Dalits also happens to be part of it, then the caste based discrimination is an inevitable phenomenon (Kumar 2004). Although the caste system does not appear outside world as it does in Indian social structure, there are plenty of events represents the caste discrimination in overseas communities. The colonies like Trinidad, Guyana, Mauritius, etc where Hindus are predominantly settled. The practice of Hinduism in the form of celebrating rituals and traditions are in great extent in the colonies which resulted to percolate the roots of caste. In the present diaspora also the 'caste discrimination' is a growing discrepancy in UK and USA.

Caste Discrimination in United Kingdom (UK)

The caste discrimination so far is not merely confined with the countries of caste origin. The roots of caste gradually percolated to the other countries through the Diaspora. The United Kingdom (UK) could be an example of caste based discrimination among Indian communities. The emigration from Asian countries to UK has been commenced in 1950s, 60s and 70s. Most of the Dalit masses of diverse caste background have been placed over United Kingdom across different territories. Since then the caste practices in United Kingdom is common phenomena among an Indian Diaspora. Despite of the practical evidences of caste discrimination, it has repeatedly been denied the existence of caste and its consequences in United Kingdom and other European countries. The "Dalit Solidarity Network" (DSN), started in 1998 is the great attempts to picturize the caste realities outside India.

According to the DSN (2006) report, it has been noted that around 50,000 Dalit population lives in UK, the exact figure is still clandestine due to the issues of identification as 'Dalits' and changes of names. Caste however, does not recognized as a matter of discrimination but the DSN has substantiate their argument that 'the caste based discrimination exists in UK and the interaction pattern of Indians in UK based on their social identity, so the caste is a vital subject of their daily socio-economic lives'. The religious identity along with caste is an important factor directly attached to the caste discrimination. The Asians are strongly inclined towards the religious believe which provides mutual identification and solidarity. But in real sense, this solidarity is hollow,

since they have been divided vertically on caste lines. Especially in case of Hinduism the feeling of 'fraternity' is very rare since Hindus are not monolithic whole.

In United Kingdom Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Buddhist are the major religions traveled from Asia, mainly from India. The several caste and sub-castes have been divided across the Hindu and Sikh religion. Consequently, there is a establishment of separate religious shrines, Hindus built temples and Sikhs Gurudwaras. However, these religious symbols are not open for all the people who are belong to the same religion. The caste difference is a main reason behind it. The people who are of 'out-caste' remained excluded from the socio-religious functions. But the things did not stop on this. The out-caste or lower caste emigrants have also built their own religious symbols in the form of Gurudwaras and Buddha Viharas. This is an alternative to the Hindu religious dominance in United Kingdom.

There are three Dalit communities have been traveled from India to UK namely, Ravidasis, Valmikis and Ambedkarites. The first two are come from Punjab and rest from the other Indian provinces follower of Dr Ambedkar. However, Hardtmann, comments that 'the relationship between Ravidasis and Ambedkarites are highly ambivalent'. The unit of endogamy is strictly been followed in United Kingdom as it is in India. The upper caste Sikh would have hesitation to marry with lower caste Sikh is a practical reality in UK. The disclosing of caste in relationship of fellow Dalit would immediately turns into desertion. Most of the organization therefore based on their caste and religious in origin in order to protect their own communities through unity. (Herdtmann 2003, in DSN: 2006).

The discrimination of Dalits at workplace and educational institution has also been noticed in United Kingdom. The upper caste people are reluctant to work under the supervision of lower caste Dalit. They either refused to work. The higher caste inspector would not have to work with a lower caste bus driver. Calling caste related names is one of the most community reported complaints in UK (The Hindu: 2010). Most of the Temples (Gurudwaras) the entry is been restricted to upper caste Sikhs only. (DSN: 2006). Consequently, the separate places of worship have built by Dalit Sikhs. The establishment of Ravidasi worship places by lower caste Sikh and Buddha Viharas by

Ambedkarites led them to unite under an umbrella, "Dalit community". This is also a political identity of lower castes that travelled to other developed countries like USA. The identity brings social unity that creates a spirit to fight against social discrimination outside India.

The creations of social and spiritual alternatives against the oppressive structure have maintained the social rights of Dalits in United Kingdom and other countries too. The establishment of religious symbols are not merely the worship centers, it has wider philosophical connotation behind it. Dalits are one of the historically persecuted communities in the world. Their struggle and assertion has marked to achieve the society suffused with the principles of freedom, fraternity and equality. It would be a great reminiscence to other alike communities who are historically been deprived of their fundamental rights and freedom.

Dalits in the Midst of Globalization

The Dalits in present Diaspora are widely distributed in the countries like United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA), Canada and Australia. After 1990s the Dalit Diaspora are becoming more visible since it has created an immense furor on social and an academic domain. The transitional shift of globalization had given an opportunity to Dalits to migrate to developed countries. The growing modern science and technology helps Dalit to unite via e-groups and Internet facilities is the process of globalization. The Dalit issues have flourished in the domain of international level and formed several organizations that are associated with issues of Dalit rights and development. Moreover, Dalits have created their own websites in order to unite globally and form a social networking. It helps them to take up the issues of discrimination worldwide (Kumar 2004). Dalits however, have approached to UK government to enact a law against caste discrimination and the government responded in affirmation. Britain's new Equality Act empowers the Government to declare 'caste to be an aspect of race' (The Hindu, 2010). This attempt of Britain government identified the caste is a subject of social discrimination. Dalits have won the argument to enact discriminatory law over higher castes in United Kingdom. All this has made easy by developing social contacts

throughout the world. The globalization therefore plays an important role in the midst of Dalit Diaspora.

Dalit Diaspora and its Significances

The major significance of Dalit Diaspora can be measured by the extent of social progress of Dalits. It is fact that since ages Dalits were not allowed to cross their defined social space. The Diaspora had broken their abandoned social boundaries and open the doors to move freely anywhere in the world. In the era of indentured migration the most staggering changes happened in the realms of their social lives. The 'inter-caste marriage' was the first attempt to break the historical legacy of caste system and to assert for equal social rights. 'Women', (Reddock in Carter 1995), 'especially could make a choice over her social and sexual life irrespective of caste and religious constrain in an overseas context.

The social networking is one of the important aspects developed out of migration of Dalits especially to the countries like USA, UK and Canada. The Dalits there established religious shrines in order to spread the religious awareness among their own community. For instance, in UK the establishment of *Buddha Viharas* (Buddhist Shrines) and *Gurudwaras* (Sikh Shrines) is one of the crucial steps to develop socio-religious awareness among the Dalits. Moreover, in Canada, they established first organization 'Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Association' in 1979 in Vancouver. In 1981, Guru Ravidass Sabha Vancouver had come into existence. A Buddhist Council in 1985 had also established. The Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organization (FABO) and Voice of Dalit International (VODI) are also working in UK in order to spread social awareness among Dalits and make them conscious in order to lead them towards unity in the host society (Kumar 2004: 64).

The creation of an organizational existence abroad helped Dalits to celebrate their common socio-religious identity. The identity tends to entrench their own culture. The most staggering significance of diaspora is to identify the Dalit issues in totality. The Dalit organization abroad not only conscientize the masses but they brought out Dalit issues on an international forum. The Dalit Solidarity Network (DSN) is one of the UK

based organization explores the caste realities on an international domain. They have also been engaged with the campaign against the caste atrocities and humiliation of socially deprived.

The whole scenario of Dalits Diaspora therefore is quite unique in the historical facets of world migration. The role of Dalits or socially deprived were seemed to be crucial during the colonial phase. The sizable numbers of Dalits made an overwhelming impact on the economic structure of British colonies which went unnoticed and unregistered. The sporadic nature of caste discrimination however was a unique phenomenon over the colonial social context. On the other hand the caste system had broken only to the overseas environment through inter-caste marriages etc.

The migration of Dalits as a part of new diaspora to the industrially developed countries like USA, UK, Canada and Australia is a new phenomenon (Kumar 2009). This migration can be measured on the scale of their struggle and assertion over oppressive social structure within and outside India. The movement of Hindus across the national boundaries happens to carry their social structure outside. The Indian Diaspora to UK and USA is an example of flourishing Hindu culture there. The caste discrimination is an output of Hinduism wherever it penetrates. Nonetheless, since the context has been changed, the notion of caste outside has also changed and percolates in different forms. The social networking of Dalits in UK and USA helped them to form a unity which is capable enough to combat against the caste oppression. The growing science and technology is also happens to be a crucial factor to strengthen the Dalit solidarity worldwide. Thus, the 'Dalit Diaspora' is a new ray of hope to overcome of social oppression and to carry the legacy of struggle and assertion.

Conclusion

The nature of caste as we have seen in this chapter is quite dissimilar to its nature where caste is a fundamental social reality. The sporadicity of caste in Indian Diaspora (old and new) appeared as common phenomenon because people migrate with their socio-cultural baggage, bringing caste in diaspora. However, caste in present diasporic community is becoming an undeniable fact since Indians (Hindu) have reached into the different parts

of the world. We have analyzed how Indians emigrated to different parts of the world with different caste compositions. Hence, it is difficult to accept the caste existed in Indian Diaspora in both Old and New. Further, many social scientists have argued that as sson as Indians landed in alien land caste disintegrated. However, caste discrimination in USA, UK and Canada recently has revealed that caste is re-appearing in Indian Diaspora. Although caste does not exist in Indian Diaspora the system of stratification but it hampers the day-to-day interaction within Indian community. This has created hurdle for the development of diasporic community in general and Dalits as particular. Ambedkar (1979) had prophetically argued that, 'when Hindus flourishes themselves across the globe, the caste would become a global problem'. This situation seemed proximately same when we looked at the nature of Indian Diaspora. The caste system in Indian Diaspora could not wither away, in fact it has strengthen since Indians (Hindus) established their own culture and traditional patterns mainly based on social hierarchy. Thus, the existence of caste in Indian Diaspora is becoming a natural fact since Indians traveled not only as a physical object but they flourished with their socio-cultural baggage. Caste in Indian Diaspora, albeit not appearing as a mainstream social structure, it has deep psychological influence on the individuals.

Another, aspect of Caste in Indian Diaspora is that it has helped Dalits to establish their own community. This has helped Dalit to organize themselves at the international level and develop transnational network. The whole process has given Dalit violation of human rights in India a consideration wider exposure. The Dalit have approached supra-institution like United Human Rights Commission (UHRC), World Bank, IMF etc. for protecting the Dalit Human Rights. With usage of modern information technology Dalit Diaspora has been successful in creating a virtual society which is not a weak achievement. This process has enhanced the self esteem in Diaspora (Kumar 2009: 71). The presence Dalit Diaspora has really questioned the professional and academic credentials of the social scientist for keeping the world ignorant about the exclusion, untouchability and discrimination existing in the Indian Diaspora.

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Summary and Conclusion

The aim of the study is to explore caste and other aspects of Indian Diaspora since its historical phases to contemporary era. The indentured labour was a basic means which prolonged Indian emigration for a long time. On the other hand 'new diaspora' is a dawning of struggle and assertion of Dalits who have been historically persecuted in the midst of social hierarchies. The present study in this context would give some basic understanding of historical and contemporary nature of Indian Diaspora. The present study especially emphasize on the 'caste aspects' throughout the old and new diaspora. In addition, the means of continuing old diaspora has also been discussed vividly.

The 'introductory' chapter we have began with the basic understanding of term migration with human society. The growth of human being has been determined by the historical phases of migration. The natural changes or the shift in migration patterns tends to percolate immediately in the lives of individuals. Migration and the growth of human being therefore are directly proportional to each other. Over the period, migration has been recognized as a 'diaspora'. In present scenario, Diaspora has a unique importance not only in terms of studying the history of migration but it has also created a worldwide impact to understand the multi-cultural social phenomenon. Therefore, 'migration and dispersion are natural phenomenon' (Jayaram: 2004). A differential trend of Diaspora gives deeper insights of its socio-economic and political environment.

As Diaspora term coined by several scholars entails both objective and subjective elements that were crucial to present discussion. In tantamount to above discussion, 'geographical space' or physical boundaries as an objective entity and the notion of imaginary construction of 'space' as a subjective entity played a crucial role in defining Diaspora. The 'Dalit Diaspora', is becoming a new stream to deal with the issues of diaspora, as a term over a prolong period coined by Kumar (2004). The migration of Dalits to the industrially developed countries like USA, UK, Canada and Australia is a new phenomenon for studying diaspora. The Dalit Diaspora has gain a notable recognition in academia through its struggle and assertion against their century's social oppression and persecution by dominant social classes.

The indentured system and caste aspects are the epicenter of present study. An indenturedship were supposed to be means of oppression and it is a malicious in nature that had denied the liberty of an individual. However, there are both perspectives on indentured system that are being discussed in present study. In addition, it has been inferred that a nature of indenturedship is being seen as both the object of 'oppression and survival'. In the case of Indians who are socially oppressed, indentured had incubated a hope of being a free individual. Many Indian emigrants freed from the clutches of social hierarchy after they were settled in different indentured colonies. Nevertheless, caste still does prevalent in overseas Indian communities.

The second chapter basically explores diasporic patterns- Old and New diaspora; those are migrated to different British colonies under the system of indentured. The Guyana and Fiji was one of the important colonies where indentured had commenced in 1838 and 1879 respectively. The northern Indians are mainly dominated over Guyana and Fiji's socio-economic structure. Over the years, the Hindu religion has flourished deeply in order to capture Indian labour for their political accomplishment. The Hindu dominance over Fiji's social structure had existed for prolonged period. The majority of Indian emigrants were belonging to lower and middle castes along with some higher castes and other minority groups. The issue of culture and ethnicity remain crucial in the entire colonial context. Every indentured colony had its unique cultural patterns according to the nature of population composition. However, most of the colonies like Fiji, Guyana, and Mauritius were dominated by north Indians. The religion, Hinduism was a basic means to override colonial social structure. Apart from this the Baniya dominance over Fiji's capitalism was a staggering fact. The Baniya groups had come to Fiji separately as an independent migrants as a traders and businessmen who settled themselves over different colonies. Over the years, the economic structure of Fiji was under the control of Baniya's capital. Later, they flourished into other parts of the country.

The new Indian Diaspora is one of the important aspects discussed in the chapter. New diaspora basically began by 1960s when the people of skilled, semi-skilled and other professionals including doctors and engineers have migrated to USA, UK, Canada, Australia etc. The growing industrial mechanism and increasing carrier opportunities in

these countries attracted people to migrate for these places. Therefore this migration seemed more of "willing to migrate" rather, "force to migrate" was the case of old Indian Diaspora. Moreover, the New Diaspora has created unique space for the people who were historically persecuted. For instance, Dalits and other oppressed group have maintained their existence in New Indian Diaspora out of their struggle and assertion. The religion unlike in old diaspora played crucial role in new Indian Diaspora as well.

The third chapter mainly focused on the theoretical aspects of Diaspora with special reference to identity, culture and other aspects of Indian Diaspora. Since Indians were traveled across the world, the multiculturalism was one of the common phenomena in Indian Diaspora. Gradually, in some places like Caribbean the multi -culture had reduced to common 'Creole' culture which was conglomeration of Africans, Europeans and Indian emigrants. However, under the shade of common Creole culture individual had also maintained their own community bonding by sharing their native traditional and cultural practices. The three factors tended to be most important in the process of Diaspora; the diasporic group itself, the host society and homeland. The intention of settling over the host societies is different among the diasporic groups since they were socially diversified with each other. The Dalits or ex-untouchable groups settled into host society to move out from their historical caste oppression whereas; other higher social classes were settled for their economic accomplishment.

Consequently, the notion of 'home' had changed. The perception *"home is where I can make a living"*, is more concentrated by emigrant communities wherein their discomfortless towards their native places could not be veil. The constant unemployment, abysmal poverty, and many other are the reasons caused them to make their abode wherever they were migrated. In the process, they could not maintain home ties with their native land, except only certain section- socio-economically dominants could able to keep home ties. The "diasporic consciousness" has eventually developed among the Indian Diasporas. The relativity of space, between homeland and host society become a common fact. Moreover, the "Diaspora consciousness is entirely a product of cultures and histories in collision and dialogue" (Sahu & Maharaj 2007).

The issue of identity is/was always in the peak of diasporic communities. The Indian emigrants in overseas were recognized by different names: *Jahajibhai* (shipmates), *Coolies* (Labour), etc. but emigrants did not satisfy with these identities since they have established themselves in host societies. The identity of Indians has changed as the time and context changed. When the voyage had begun they came to identify each other as *jahajibhai,* (shipmates). Once they reached on to the plantation they became indentured labourers and afterall commonly known as coolies. But it is certain that the Indians did not accept these identities very cordially. They tried to deconstruct this identity of coolie by proclaming decendents of an ancient civilisation. These identities however were subject of emigrant's descrimination in the host societies.

Moreover, the debate on Indian emigration whether it was slavery or a means of emancipation has discussed in the chapter. Tinker (1977) has argued that the indentured emigration system is nothing but a new system of slavery. It has estranged and de-humanized Indian emigrants that they never recovered. On the other hand Lal (2000) has given a new perspective. He noticed that the indentured emigration has given some space where emigrants could break the legacy of their historical social oppression. Therefore, 'indentured remained as a matter of irresolvable question. On the other hand indentured has sought as a means of emancipation. In a sense that it was indentured system first meet the issues of labour inflation and unemployment. The most important fact is that when indentured began it was great challenge to maintain the legacy of social hierarchy in overseas communities. Moreover, the practices of inter-caste marriages, widow marriage, etc were some of the instances that had damaged the caste based social hierarchy in Old Indian Diaspora.

Religion is one of the important aspects in Indian Diaspora. The identity of emigrants has deeply influenced and shaped with their religion. Especially as part of old diaspora the influence of Hinduism was rampant in host society. The formation of Hindu organisations like Sanatan Dharm Mahasabha, Hindu Mahasabha, etc had spread in overseas community. At the same time decline of other religious sects like Christianity and Islam overpowered Hinduism in Indian overseas communities. The mechanism of flourishing Hinduism was quite unique. Formation of several religious sects in overseas

communities, building temples, etc had direct impact on social structure of host societies. Moreover, capturing village places and acquiring dominant position was another feature that could maintain Hindu dominance in Indian Diaspora.

The indentured labour and class analysis is one of the crucial aspects in Indian Diaspora. After abolishment of slavery (1834), there was a great demand for labour supply was fulfilled by Indian emigrants as to work on plantation under the indentured system. The 'labour' was being an object of production of an immense economy; however his labour had only been exploited by his owner- planters. At the end, labour left nothing with him, except his own 'labour'. The identity of Indian labour remained an important issue for the host societies. There was always a discontent to consider emigrants as a citizen of a particular country though they are legally part of those countries. The issues of culture, ethnicity had emerged out of this conflict. The emigrants in host society still identifies as an 'outsider'.

The 'indentured labour' and 'class hierarchy' are also seen as indicator of social inequalities in overseas communities. The planters and landlords were owner of all the means of production in indentured colonies and the laborers merely an object of producing larger economy. At the end, the small scale farmers or in Marxian term, "piety bourgeoisie" became the bourgeoisie as part of class dominance. In the colonies like Fiji, traders and workers consider as two major classes. However, the class differentiation among Indian emigrants could not be marked by economic status but was with a social status. For instance, the upper caste emigrants settled over colonies with the achievement of adequate means of production and became dominant forces in the host societies. Whereas, lower caste emigrants, hardly accumulate land and other expediencies for their livelihood. Most of them migrated as an indentured labor and remained as a landless labor or worked as daily wage workers.

The impacts of indentured has also been discussed in the chapter mainly with respect to women and the overall health status of Indian emigrants. The shortage of women became a constant matter of worried until it made obligatory to have one fourth of women ratio of total indentured population. It has argued that the, suicide is a result of inadequate number of women population. However, this view has been refuted by Lal (2000), by

stating that there are some other reasons percolated through socio-economic discrimination of emigrants such as regional disparity, differences in religion and caste. The condition of women was seemed to be doubly oppressive through caste and patriarchy on one hand and the physical labour through indentured on the other. Further, it has also been observed that "the indenturedship gave women an opportunity to excessive degree of control over their social and sexual lives which they never had before" ('Reddlock', as quoted in Carter 1995). The practices of inter-caste marriages, widow re-marriages are some of the instances which had broken the traditional bonding affiliated with Hindu customs. In short, social status of women became exacerbated and more vulnerable not only because of indentured system but also due to the riddles of Hinduism.

Migration and trans-nationalism is one of the crucial factors in Indian Diaspora that are also discussed in the chapter. A social change through migration and trans-nationalism is an inextricably interwoven fact. A cultural shift, in the process is an inevitable since the people migrate along with their socio-cultural traditions. Hence, social network, social capital and social embededness are important elements undergoes through social change (Vertovec 2003). The Indians in Britain are well established fact since beginning of migration. This migration formed 'Indian Diaspora to Britain'. The diaspora comprises of well established socio-economic structure of Indians in Britain. The diasporic development, Hussain (2005) contextualize in three different ways; the group composition and the extent of their labour and self sufficiency, the diaspora development and the influence or access of the country of migration are dependent on each other. More diasporic development will result into more access and influence on diaspora over the migratory countries and vice-versa. In sum, the higher diasporic development brings government's attention to accomplish country's own agenda.

The second generation diaspora to Britain had basically made drastic changes over economic structure of Britain. This diaspora comprises of groups of educated and businessmen who had arrived in 1970s were all middle class Hindus. Over the years this group had emphasized more upon socio-religious unity along with strengthening their own economy. As a result, the Hinduism started flourishing rapidly in Britain. Further, an

establishment of several religious organization and worshiping places in Britain are symbolically benefited to spread the roots of Hinduism. The caste discrimination however became a subject of social problem among Indian communities in Britain. The Dalits and other lower caste groups are the victims of the caste discrimination who had flourished Britain in seventies. But caste discrimination had been ignored for a long time until the British government enacted a law against caste discrimination.

The fourth and last chapter of dissertation is "Caste in Indian Diaspora". The chapter mainly focused upon the different aspects of caste realities since its initial phases of migration to the present Indian Diaspora. Caste is a unique phenomenon in an entire Indian Diaspora though it has ignored for a long time. However, the understanding of term 'caste' has several biases among the scholars from within and outside India. It has consistently made an attempt to define caste as a unit of "division of labour" (Klass 1980, Dumont 1988), rather "division of labourers". In caste society division of labour are graded one above the other. However, in no other country the division of labour is accompanied by gradation of labourers. The division of labour is not 'spontaneous'; it is not based on natural aptitude as stated by Ambedkar (1979: 47). Though in Indian Diaspora caste does not appear as a main social structure but it has intensified to carry out its legacy.

During indentured period, most of the Indian communities were transcended their caste boundaries through intercaste marriages. This phase embark upon an alternative force against the centuries social ostracization of socially deprived communities. The religion-Christianity, Islam and Hinduism are clearly visible in overseas. The Hinduism among them overpowered rests and flourished widely. The mechanism which brought Hinduism over overseas is quite stronger than any other. For instance, there were several Hindu sects who had spread Hindu myths as an individual's "way of life". The overseas people, so far had no alternative to satisfy their spiritual desire than to merge themself into the fold of Hinduism.

The role of *pundits,* however determined to control the village social structure in overseas, since masses were illeterate and were simply became victims of superstitious – a believes sanctioned by *pundits.* Consequently, the village population had come under

the influence of *pundits,* who preached and spread Hinduism. Therefore, Schwartz (1964), stated "Ritual is an important element in the organizational maintainance and perpetuation of caste system". Hollup (1994), on the other hand argued that, caste was not an important principle of social organization in an overseas Indians. The identity 'caste', over years, had dwindled into ethnic and cultural identities. Moreover, the occupational status no more indicates the social status of an individual. In a sense, conglomeration of different social groups into any of the occupation had broken the traditional legacy of caste system. Therefore the social pride does not necessarily attached to the occupation of an individual.

The Dalit Diaspora is a new phenomenon has slowly being discussed in the domain of academia. The heavy exodus of Dalits to different developed countries has created staggering impacts on the social structure of host as well as on native society. This part of chapter mainly explores the caste realities outside India in the form of Dalit Diaspora and caste discrimination. In Indian Diaspora the caste based discrimination is not a new phenomenon though it has been recognised after a long time. Since Indians (Hindus) travelled across world, they preserved their traditional and cultural norms which preciesly reflects caste hierarchy. In this context, Kumar (2004), stated that the Indian Diaspora is not a monolithic whole, the diverse socio-cultural patterns among Indian communities outside was always a subject matter of perceptions. He further argued, if caste exists in Indian Diaspora and Dalits also exists in it, that means caste based discrimination is an inevitable fact.

In a country like United Kingdom around 50,000 inhabited Dalit population are facing enormous caste oppression. The Hindu dominant forces established themselves through building temples and forming several organisations which inculcate Hindu myths in a host society. The Hindu culture is widely penetrated especially in United Kingdom through Indian cinema, folks, songs, food, festives, dress, and so on. The Dalits, however have created an alternative to Hindu culture, by establishing their own culture like building *buddha viharas, gurudwaras, etc.* The organisations like Dalit Solidarity Network (DSN) also tackles the issues of caste discrimination in UK. The "Dalit solidarity" outside India is exemplifying significance of Indian Diaspora. The presence

Dalit Diaspora has really questioned the professional and academic credentials of the social scientist for keeping the world ignorant about the exclusion, untouchability and discrimination existing in the Indian Diaspora.

The globalization and its shift towards modern technology enables Dalits to be familiar with the outside world. In history, Dalits or lower caste were not even allowed to transcend their defined geographical boundaries where they were ghetoized. However, their struggle and assertion had allowed them to become an independent being. In short, the Dalit Diaspora is a product of historical struggle over the centuries persecution by dominant masses.

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