

Unit 22

Identity, Nation-State and Diaspora

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Learning Objectives

This unit will help you understand:

- The Concepts and Interrelationship of Identity, Globalisation and Diaspora;
- Indian Diasporic Identity in the New Global World; and
- Cross-Border Identities.

22.1 Introduction

Globalisation is a process that has a reach in every corner of the globe is a reality of today's world. Migration of people, services and capital is an integral part of globalisation. Trends in migration are also different as compared to earlier migratory trends across the world. This leads to the rise of the concept of trans-nationalism that involves flows of culture, capital and human beings across borders. Political boundedness in the form of nations and national territorial units have somewhere been enmeshed within the globalisation process and have at times become fluid. Identity formation of the different groups within this particular process is therefore diverse and different. The diasporic communities, such as the Indian Diaspora are one of the populations that straddle the globalisation process. In this unit we will discuss some of the issues which are a result of far reaching effects of globalisation, namely the new emerging identities of communities who locate themselves in more than one place.

22.2 Conceptual Clarification

Different concepts such as 'globalisation', 'diaspora', 'transnationalism' and 'identity formation' are used to construct the discussion here. All these terms have no one particular meaning, rather they are defined by taking help of some other concepts that are interlinked and interdependent to bring out the myriad meanings that each of them possess. Albrow defines globalisation as "all those processes by which peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society". Most of these processes have a plural nature. Globalisation in the economic arena means the internationalisation of capital along with expansion of capitalist market relations. It is the economic processes that ushered in the globalisation process. Flow of capital across cultural regions and political borders laid the

base for creation of fluid boundaries; this process is essentially grounded in the patterns of capitalistic trade. The economic patterns of unequal growth across the world fashioned the capital flows wherein different companies were able to have major financial operations as well as considerable organisational presence in several countries simultaneously.

This process in turn created a moving population following the requirements of skills in the passage of capital creating networks of work relations, activities and socio cultural life designs that include their place of origin and several destinations simultaneously. Transnationalism is defined as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated 'transmigrants'. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social fold". Therefore, development of transnational migration is intricately linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism and must be analysed within the world context" Today, they form an important component of any diasporic community.

Herein, the manner in which a Diaspora is defined is of utmost importance, since this also has an impact on how the diasporic community perceives and later on strengthens its identity. The word diaspora relates to the ideas of a community longing for its homeland. In the beginning, this was applied to the Jewish community as they conceptualized their homeland as an imagined locality without any real territoriality. In the present times, this word denotes any community that has migrates, regardless of its causes for migration, and 'its attendant anxieties of displacement, homelessness and a wish to return, then the case for considering overseas communities of Indian origin as a diaspora appears far stronger'. They are also characterized by the essentialising ideals of boundedness and the unity of locality and culture. Culture becomes one of the most important factors around which the Indian diaspora builds up its identities.

Cohen (1997) argues that a diaspora can emerge from a growing sense of group ethnic consciousness in different countries, a consciousness that is sustained by, amongst other things, a sense of distinctiveness, common history and a belief in common fate.

Identity formation processes and the actors that determine these processes within the diaspora can be located in the 'theoretical space shared by constructivism and liberalism'. Even in their unique position of being spatially located outside the home state, their identity perception remains constant, as the 'inside people' give enormous emphasis to the kinship identity. Moreover, the host country population, and their home country population also share this perception; their identity perception does not just change just because their locality of residence and occupation has changed. Barth's (1969) argument that identities in the form of ethnicities is essentially the construction and maintenance of boundaries; thereafter identity formation has been often interpreted as the essences of identity and are viewed by many 'as the content of an ongoing process of boundary construction, being constantly reinvented and shifted according to the requirements of the situation'.

22.3 Globalisation: Transnational Networks and Identities

The Indian diaspora is by no means a new phenomenon, it has existed since the first trading routes in the world were established. The Indian

diasporic communities were traders in Africa, South East Asia and the Mediterranean shores as well as religious preachers in South East Asia maintaining extensive kinship and economic networks. Large scale migration of Indians in the nineteenth and twentieth century is a phenomenon of the colonial demand for labour in the distant colonies. This forms the old diaspora. The old diaspora of India consists of the Indian population of the earlier indentured labour in the sugar colonies of Caribbean, Africa and Oceania, free or passenger emigrants in Oceania and East Africa and Kangani /maistry labour to Burma, Malaysia and Ceylon.

Since Indian emigration to the West European countries also took place in response to demand for various categories of labour, and professionals after the Second World War. The difference between the PIO and the NRI though is not much in these countries, yet, the second generation of the settlers have shown a different picture of the various processes that help govern identity formation.

The uniqueness of the presence of Indian diaspora in the western world lies in the fact that it is primarily a post World War II phenomenon; also, it is essentially a skill-based emigration. This has in turn shaped the identity formation processes and the nature of the identity thus formed within the diasporic Indian community inhabiting the Western nations. In the classification of waves of movements of the Indian Diaspora, this emigration is said to be the second wave of migration. Thus diaspora studies offer a critical perspective on the very visible thematic of cultural migrancy and on debates about transnationalism and post colonialism that find a resonance in the resurgent multicultural debates.

The old diasporic Indian community's essential character remained undeniably Indian, as is witnessed in the grocery stores that abound across the world, the enormous growth in the population going to the theaters and cinemas screening bollywood films and the increasing number of the various types of places of worship, be it gurudwaras, temples or mosques, The Indian diaspora as a group clings on to its identity as INDIANS. "If we listen to the steady but vigorous dialogue within its confines, best embodied in the views of young writers and publications within the community, these concerns are about being an Indian. It is about maintaining one's own culture, traditions and values, starting from family values and celebrating all things Indian".

The Indian diasporic community is not one ethnic whole, as is used in the description of ethnicity used to describe diasporas as one coherent ethnicity. This view is not exactly corroborated in the case of the Indian diaspora since it is not a one cohesive or ethnic identity, delineated sharply in religion, language, caste, locality and territorial bias. Many scholars such as Parekh (1993) and Vertovec (2000) and Baallard, (2004) consider religion to be the one of the primary elements that defines/classifies the Indian diasporic community, the one thread that provides the commonality, distinctiveness and shared history. In this context, religion as well as culture provide an ascriptive measure of social differentiation and offer a symbolic resource for belongingness. Yet, Hinduism is considered to be the 'ethnic religion' that is defined by a strong sense of 'rootedness in India' as is argued by Parekh (1993). About 85% of the people of Indian origin and the non-resident Indians are Hindus, for whom the idea of 'Mother India' holds deep spiritual symbolic and sentimental reverence that is renewed through regular visits and pilgrimages. This common identity that has been forged is so strong that it has also become a resource for political mobilization conducted by the Hindu right and the Hindutva forces in the diaspora. This

is not an all-inclusive religious or cultural category as it excludes some of the minority faiths that have substantial followers within the diasporic community. The Indian diasporic community in Europe is divided in terms of religion, as faiths other than Hinduism such as Islam, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism and Jainism also have their own gatherings, yet, ultimately they also brand themselves as Indians and thus emerges the sub group of Indian muslims to cite an example.

Indian society is particularly characterised by the presence of caste groups; this is second category that is used as a symbol of identity that is used within the Indian diaspora denoting diversity, locality and difference. This is the site of narratives, struggles and territoriality deeply rooted in the sense of locality amongst the thinly segmented caste communities. 'This is at times reproduced through new networks and technologies' (Patel (2000) quoted in Singh). Though in some cases caste as a factor in identity construction has become weakened, in Europe, amongst the older generation settlers this was a major point of self-identification. Tied to this are the stocks of social and the cultural capital that were shared amongst the various communities that helped them gain prosperity and reach the present levels of development. The change in the attitude towards caste is seen clearly in the younger generation who grew up in the host nations and to whom the host nations became the homeland.

Thirdly, language or region of origin is used as a marker of identity amongst the Indian diaspora in Europe as the regional identities became more powerful where common language formed an important link. The importance of the intertwine of language and region is seen in the various cultural communities of Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Bengali and Gujarati associations, where communities comprise of different religions and caste but speak the same language and form the same region. This is more clearly brought out in the networks that exist within the community and encompasses people from various segments in its fold. Moreover, this is the site of passing on the oral traditions that are inculcated on an individual family basis. So linguistic affiliation brings into its fold the manifolds of culture that plays a significant role in the construction of identity.

Taking all the above factors and processes into consideration, perhaps the core feature that defines the Indian diaspora is its collective imagining of India - of emotions, links, traditions, feelings and attachments that together continue to nourish a psychological and sociological appeal among the successive generations of emigrants for the mother country.

To comprehend this reality in the changing nature of the identity formation amongst the Indian diasporic community, one has to look into the elements that will focus on the contradictions, the processes of exclusion, the fissures in the memories of successes and selective silences on the happenings that no one wants to acknowledge.

Reflection and Action 22.1

What do you understand by transnational communities?

22.4 Indian Diasporic Identity in the New Global World

The last forty odd years that saw the emergence of the Indian diaspora as a major force within the world community is the saga of its progress and

achievements. Though there were several hiccups (in the form of racial hatred that they encountered from the host nations) that at times led to race riots, the Indian diasporic community strove towards development that paid off so well that today they are a force to be reckoned with in their own particular spheres. The impact of the globalisation process is seen in the diasporic Indian community's qualities of resilience and continuity wherein all the fragments manage to coexist together. Without this feature, they might not have reached the present levels of achievement and development that has marked their rise. This was accompanied by an increasing visibility in the host nation's public life as well as the cultural sphere. The picture of harmony and equality that they projected is the one that is concurrent in the imagining of the majority of the world today. So, 'curry' has become almost the national food of Britain and Indian soul music the most in thing of the music world, making them a glorious picture of accomplishment. Yet, 'the image of the Indian community situated on a road to perfect harmony defined by the mainstream may equally be seen in a different light ... the temptations of measuring any historical phenomenon in terms of progress are attractive but they do not grasp the complexity of uneven development and even more importantly, they miss the elements of contradiction, a rich and veritable presence of forces that shape diasporic identity'.

The problems at first exist on the generational levels. 'The second and third generational issues are of main concern to the internal mechanics of how the Indian community functions and how it treads the waters of an aggressively and rapidly changing culture' and these concerns surface as a major issue of representation in cultural gatherings, writings and even films and television shows' in the European Union. The tendency to define themselves as Indians is predisposed by the wish to ascertain themselves as non-resident Indians. The inherent dualism is what creates the question mark; a wish to cling on to the mythical homeland that exists only in their memories. As the new generation does not possess any such memory, therefore, their identifications with this becomes problematic.

Their conception of themselves is not one of a life in exile, forced by the extenuating circumstances but that of a natural acceptance of the place where they grow up as their homeland. They do not require the anchor of the homeland so as to construct their own identity. The older generation who have though adjusted to the new configuration of their hostlands would yet like to adhere to the India that lives on in their memories and at times who refuse to face up to the reality of today's India. So they are enthralled by the constructed identities set in their own frames of reference. What happens is, that they then begin to believe the surreal image as projected by the filmmakers and this carries forward the culture of the homeland. The nostalgia embedded in the older generation's memories that they present to their children makes it difficult for the present generation to compute with the present day India.

Moreover, the new generation also has a problem with the 'Indian' identity with that of the primarily linguistic or community based identity that is built by the older generation. The adoption of the multiple identities as Tamils or Gujaratis first and then Indians also confuses them. They also find it difficult to differentiate between the two afore mentioned identities. The adoption of multiple identities and the ease with which the Indians slip in and out of and into the other is also bewildering, and then comes the posit: which one is better and which one to adopt? Added to this is their own identity as British Indians or French Indians/Asians etc. The small segments based on regional and linguistic delineation also creates a locale

where the value judgment is made as to what should be passed on to new generation and what should not be, leaving the younger generation with the biases that linger on amongst the older generation.

The rise of an underclass among immigrant Indians has grown sizeably over the past two decades. Yet their concerns, struggles and issues have not yet registered with conscience in the media or the public life of Indians. Mostly survival is the only thought in their minds and they identify with the poor, identification processes then become even more difficult as they have to deal with dual resistance from the immigrant well settled population and the native populations.

The new generation also faces a problem in that though they adhere to the imagined India of their parents' memories, they do not have any desire to come back to India as very simply they do not fit in. They have thus sought different methods to assert their identities. Whereas the earlier generation was content to remain as passive actors in the international arena, now they choose to assert themselves. The interest groups of the Indian diaspora in the western world now have a visibility that was lacking before. Here the point to mention is that 'identity does not always determine interests, ... some times identity is the interest. Since identities and interests are determined by social interaction, there is space here for domestic actor participation. This domestic actor has now gained enough credibility on the world stage to stake its own claim on its diaspora as has been the case with India. Now is the time when the Indian diaspora wants to know India and India also wants to know them. The result is the policy initiative in the form of dual citizenship. 'Consequently the process of identity construction becomes purely political and pits conflicting actors against each other ... it is a conflict over power to determine national identity'. Thus the diasporas become dynamic.

In the context of the Indian diasporas this dynamism is further accelerated by the infusion of young blood in the form of the new recruited members of the software and information technology who then become an intrinsic part of the per-existing diasporic community. They project their identity as a pan Indian identity, undoing the shackles of the earlier forces of language, region, religion etc. This is the identity that then is put in front of the new generation of the diasporic community, who are in turn baffled by its complexity

The problems of integration that are faced by the new generation amongst the Indian diaspora is not easy, they do not at times fit in with their imagined home land as well as the host land where they have grown up. The discrimination thus faced makes them frustrated and they adopt different methods of assimilation. The xenophobia and racial discrimination that the Indian diaspora faces in the European Union has also been acknowledged by Dr. Willem van der Geest, Director, European Institute for Asian Studies, Brussels in his inaugural speech on the occasion of the GOPIO conference held in Brussels in November 2004.

Moreover, the segmented societies that exist within the Indian diasporic community at times pose threats to the relations between the host land and homeland. Here, the identity formation is on extremely narrow fanatical ideals and this becomes an embarrassment for both the nations in the international arena. These contribute to the changing nature of the identity formation processes within the Indian diasporic community. None doubt the emergence of the Indian diasporic community as a force to be reckoned

with in the host nation and also its impact on the homeland as well as the increasing complex relations it has with the economy and society it is located in.

Since processes of identity formation never occur outside the socio-political and cultural contexts, with the changes in these situations the processes of identity formation will also change. This event will not manifest itself in an event one day but will slowly happen as a series of small and perhaps irrelevant events that escape notice.

22.5 Nation States: Cross Border Identities

Transnational capital and labour flows that have fuelled changes in the identity formation have had minimal impact on the idea of the nation states. Nation state in itself presents a double image, state, that is the political category with a territorial boundedness and sovereign powers of governance and the nation a constructed cultural category. Together, the term denotes the nation that has existed prior to the state. The nation states of the world are unequal in terms of both political and economic power and occupy different niches in the globalisation process. Thus, globalisation is in itself a binding factor in the world showing that economic flows that control international migration also shape "the migrant's responses to these forces and strategies of their survival, cultural practices and identities within the world wide historical context of differential power and inequality".

It was assumed that the progress of globalisation would loosen the bonds of nation states, yet, this has not happened. The pre-eminence in the existence of nation states can be correlated with the identity formation of the immigrant communities and the relationship between their social and political affiliations and ethnic loyalties. It is observed, "the transnational context of migrants' lives develops from the interplay of multiplex phenomena - historical experience, structural conditions and ideologies of their home and host societies". Economic dislocations cause vulnerability amongst the migrants resulting in transmigration in search of security. Thus during the first Gulf War in 1991 thousands of Indian immigrant workers who had to leave from the Persian Gulf nations moved on to African, Australian and American shores, the pre-existing socio-economic networks that opened up to absorb the stress helped them. These networks had been maintained by recurrent communications to and with their home societies whose patterns of culture is a part of the daily lives of the immigrants. This also highlights the importance of remittances sent by them to their homeland and that in provide them with security in times of stress. The transmigrants are therefore rooted in two cultures: both their home and host societies creating several identities that they use simultaneously depending on the context. This multiple identity formation of the transmigrants' also is their articulation of resistance to political and economic upheavals experienced by them even as they construct their survival mechanism. The Fijian Indian population who fled Fiji following the various coups to Australia and New Zealand have slowly and steadily relocated to other parts of the world. The sense of insecurity also prompts them to maintain these multiple identities, as they do not know which path/identity will sustain them in crisis.

The class relation within the transmigrant society is well defined and dominated by the interests and ideologies of both the host and home countries. These dominations are stable arenas of creation and renewal of class/caste continuum within the Indian diasporic community. This in turn

is related to the experiences of nation-building of the transmigrants', pointing to the continued importance of the category of the nation states. Together they create a multicultural society that acknowledges the existence of pluralsocia groups/ethnicities/races.

The multicultural contexts created by contemporary large-scale skilled labour migration, often willingly, create complex international bonds that are difficult to explain in commonly accepted understanding. This is accentuated in the case of the receiving nations as they are "awash with the fear that they are inundated with refugees, though dealing with but a fraction of the world's total, has contributed to a sense of siege, one in which anti-immigration platforms have well been served". Multiculturalism is usually understood as the 'inclusion of cultural differences within the formal institutions of representative government and civil society, it is best understood specifically to describe one possible political response by a host government to various forms of migrancy'. What this translates into, is the civility of nationalism wherein enfranchisement of migrated people whether current or residing for a longer period is granted.

Though many of the Western nation states endorse the concept, yet, their political processes exhibits a diametrically opposite tendency as is witnessed in the New Constitution for Europe that seeks to define the kind of belonging that could be best enumerated as the "OLD Idea of Europe". This brings out the real differences in the conceptualizations and the implementations of the policy of multiculturalism. This has been exacerbated in the wake of the destruction 9 / 11/2001, when the entire world has been refashioned into camps of they, and us, the eurocentred world against the barbaric tribalisms that exist in certain states. Paradoxically, it is within these years that the Indian diaspora has received a fillip in the concretization of their identification process as an "Indian" beginning with the large-scale celebrations of the 'Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas'. Simultaneously, it is also true that "Europe is as much the site of longings rooted in tradition- regional, national and European - as is a site of transnational and trans European attachments ... Slowly, Europe is becoming Chinese, Indian, Romany, Alabnian ... drawing on the varied geographies of cultural formation". Yet, accompanying the cosmopolitan consumption comes ethnic loyalty as a source of identity building process along with communal security and cultural nourishment. This is actually the cause for the increased calls and maintenance for ethnicity and cultural based schools, cultural and religious autonomy and an attempt to travel to the 'homeland' or re-enactment and revitalization of the histories and narratives of the diaspora. This reactivated interest in the homeland is exactly what is now being witnessed in the case of the Indian Diaspora, a diaspora that is concerned with "the interaction of space, identity and power, particularly at the geopolitical scale". Thus, there is resurgence in the interest of the second generation Indian diaspora towards the political scenario in the 'homeland' meaning India.

This could also be constructed as a change in the identity formation processes, wherein, a diaspora could be reconstructed as minimalising the impact of the experience of loss of the concerned cultural location and reaffirming the processes of culture, territoriality and identity construction. The second generation thus continues to forge its identity with the perceived homeland.

Refelection and Action 22.2

What are the ways in which Indians articulate their sense of identity?
How is the nation-state implicated in the globalisation process?

Identity formation at any time is the positioning of several actors, and intrinsically has an 'us' and 'they' context. The projection of the 'self' is always in response to the 'other' and as these change, the projection of the self's identity also changes. This is what is happening within the diasporic Indian community. The identity formation processes if counted as an end product becomes difficult to compute as they are in a fluid state of changing identities and moving on to multiple identities that a person can project at the same time. Moreover, 'it cannot be one homogenous model of identity that equally serves all members of a group ... we must be ready to ask for different and shifting levels of identity as for conflicting and contesting designs.

22.7 Further Reading

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Unit 23

Sub-National Identities and Diaspora

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- 23.2 Factors for the Growth of Diasporic Community
- 23.3 Factors for the Growth of Transnational Community
- 23.4 The Indian Diaspora
- 23.5 Indian Diaspora: The Regional Dimension
- 23.6 Conclusion
- 23.7 Further Reading

Learning Objectives

This Unit will help you understand:

- The concept of diaspora and its relevance to social sciences and humanities;
- The factors for the emergence of Indian diaspora;
- The nature of emigration of Indians;
- The significance of transnational and transnationalism in diaspora studies; and
- The role of socio-cultural factors in diaspora studies.

23.1 Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon that has been taking place for millions of years and continues even today all over the world. When individuals can no longer acquire the necessary resources to sustain themselves at their location they migrate to the places where these resources are available. In the earlier period people moved either because of the poor working environment and economic conditions of the home country or the attraction by the images of destination promising greater socio-economic opportunities. The processes of globalization and advancement in communication technology have provided further impetus for individuals to migrate. Economic reasons alone no longer hold strong. Linkages between sending and receiving countries are established through sharing the news and information of both home and host countries. The people who are now on the move are labour migrants (both documented & undocumented), highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, refugees and asylum seekers or the household members of the earlier migrants.

What do we mean by the term “migration”? Generally, the term has been associated with some notion of ‘movement’ through a spatial/territorial shift resulting in a temporary or permanent settlement in the new location. Migration is generally viewed as a process that begins at the ‘place of origin’ and ends at the ‘destination’. Consequences of migration - socio-cultural, economic and political - are experienced at both the locations. Migrations often take place under a multitude of conditions and circumstances, for different - economic, political, personal - reasons in vastly varied contexts and consequences. Diaspora is one of the consequences of ‘international migration’.

In 1990, the International Organization for Migration estimated that there were over 80 million migrants who have moved out of the country of their origin. Among them 30 million were said to be irregular migrants and another 15 million were refugees or asylum seekers. By 1992, the number of migrants increased to 100 million, of which 20 million were refugees and asylum seekers. The United Nations Population Division in July 2002 estimated that there were 185 million people living for 12 months or more outside their country of birth or citizenship (<http://www.un.org/esa/population/unpop.htm>). A majority of them are international migrants who are potential immigrants in countries of their destination.

Drawing from the works of Safran (1991), Sheffer (1993), Bruneau (1994) and Cohen (1999), a group or community may be called a "diaspora" if four conditions are met: firstly, if the group or community has immigrated and settles beyond the borders of their nation-state and maintains their ethnic identity and consciousness; secondly, an active associative life; thirdly, contacts with the land of origin in various forms, real or imaginary; fourthly, there should be relations with other groups of the same ethnic origin spread over the world.

23.2 Factors for the Growth of Diasporic Community

Tambiah (2000) saw the origin of diasporic communities from two different sources:

- Voluntary migrations of groups of peoples, mostly with useful occupational skills in search of better economic opportunities and standard of life elsewhere.
- Involuntary displacement of people running away from political turmoil and wars, or refuge from natural disaster in their country. They are mostly known as refugees and asylum seekers who, although with exception, are considered more of a burden to the host nation.

Box 23.1: Typology of Diaspora

Robin Cohen (1999: 178) included under his definition of diaspora such categories as Jewish, Armenians, Greek, Indian, Lebanese, and Chinese and then branches out to deal a number of minorities across the globe. He also attempts to arrange the diasporas under different analytical subtypes:

Type	Example
Victim/refugee diaspora	Jews, African, Armenian Others: Irish, Palestinians
Imperial/colonial diaspora	Ancient Greek, British Russian Others: Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch
Labour/service diaspora	Indentured Indians, Chinese & Japanese, Sikhs, Turks, Italians
Trade/business/professional	Venetian, Lebanese, Chinese Others: Today's Indians, Japanese
Contract/hybrid/post-modern	Caribbean people Others: today's Chinese, Indians
Source: Robin Cohen (1999:178)	

23.3 Factors for the Growth of Transnational Community

Peggy Levitt (1999:4) has examined the significance of several factors that lead to the emergence of the transnational networks. These include a) easy travel and communication, b) the increasing role immigrants play in the countries of their origin to legitimise themselves by providing service to migrants and their children, c) the increased importance of the receiving country states in the economic and political futures of sending countries, d) the society and political marginalisation of migrants in their host countries, and e) migration takes place within an ideological climate that favours pluralism over the melting pot.

Robin Cohen (cited in Schnapper, 1999) has examined some of the preconditions for the emergence of transnational communities. These include 1) the number and activity of non-governmental organisations, 2) the action of international associations such as Amnesty International and Green Peace, and 3) membership in supra national organisations and the number of populations they are directly involved with.

23.4 The Indian Diaspora

Indians have migrated to different parts of the world at different periods of time. In terms of sheer numbers, they make the third largest group, next only to the British and the Chinese. The people of Indian origin with nearly 20 million populations settled in 70 countries constitute more than 40 per cent of the population in Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam. They are smaller minorities in Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Uganda, UK, USA and Canada.

Historically, Indian emigration to distant lands may be categorised into broadly four patterns: They are:

- a) Pre-colonial migration;
- b) Colonial migration that began in the 1830s to the British, French and Dutch colonies;
- c) Post-colonial migration to the industrially developed countries; and
- d) Recent migration to West Asia.

Pre-colonial Migration

In the Indian context, emigration has been a continuous process since pre-colonial times when it was for the purposes of trade and the propagation of religion. As far as historical and archival data is concerned, Indian emigration goes back to the first century AD when Indian princes, priests, poets and artisans migrated to Southeast Asian countries. Among the distinguished names of this period Angkor Wat, Lara Djonggrang and Borobudur stands testimony (Suryanarayan, 2003). The early emigration from India owed its origins to the Buddhist missionaries, when the Hindu kingdoms of medieval Southeast Asia attract labour and craftsmen from India during the 16th century CE. The trade contacts slowly developed and thereby small colonies established themselves in East Africa and Southeast Asia. It is observed that merchants from Gujarat, Bengal and Tamilnadu settled down in the great port cities of Southeast Asia like Malacca, Acheh, Ternate and Tidor during this period. They gradually got assimilated with the local people (ibid.).

It was only in the wake of European imperialist expansion during the 19th and 20th century that conditions for emigration of large numbers of Indians to different parts of the world were created. New plantations, industrial and commercial ventures in European colonies needed large supplies of labour and, with the abolition of slavery in the British, French and Dutch colonies respectively in 1834, 1846 and 1873, there were severe shortages of labour to work in the sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa and rubber plantations. Looking for alternative sources of labour, aside from the African ex-slaves and European immigrants, the colonial government imported Indians under the ingenious scheme of "indentured labour."

Indentured labour is a system in which individual labourers were required to sign an agreement or contract (*girmit*) to work on a plantation for a specified number of years, usually three to five years. The emigration of indentured labour started during the late 18th century and continued up to the early 20th century. Thousands of Indians emigrated to South and East Africa, Mauritius, Fiji and the Caribbean under this system. Calcutta and Madras were the main ports of embarkment and the major districts for recruiting labour included parts of Madras Presidency with Tamil and Telugu populations and the districts of Bhojpuri region of Eastern U.P. and Northern Bihar. Approximately 1.3 million Indians crossed the oceans under contracts of indenture.

There are several factors that pushed Indian migrants into seeking employment under indenture. The first was the poor condition that prevailed at that time in India because of the social oppression, shrinking of cottage industry, periodic famine resulting in extreme poverty and unemployment. The West, on the other hand, was getting affluent because of industrial development. Second, all colonial masters found Indians skillful, hard working and useful, as a result of which the British, the French, the Dutch, and the Portuguese all took Indian skilled labour for development of plantations and agricultural economies of their territories. Upon their arrival in the colonies, the immigrants were assigned to plantations to which they were "bound" for five or more years. They lived there in isolated and insulated conditions. Although they were promised fair wages and a return voyage to India in exchange for a predetermined number of years spent working in the colonies, poverty and the desire to build a new life ensured that very few of these indentured labourers ever returned to India. Many chose to settle down permanently in those countries as they neither had the financial resources to return back nor hope for better life at back home.

Emigration to Sri Lanka, Burma and Malaya presents a marked difference in contrast to the African and Caribbean countries. All the emigrants to Sri Lanka and Malaya were from the Southern parts of India and the immigrants were recruited by the headman known as the 'Kangani'. The Indians worked on the tea, coffee and rubber plantations. During the period 1852 and 1937, 1.5 million Indians went to Ceylon, 2 million to Malaya, and 2.5 million to Burma. After 1920 the Kangani emigration (totalling around 6 million) gradually gave way to individual or un-recruited, free migration due to fall in demand for Indian labour.

Box 23.2 Distinction between Old and New Indian Diaspora

Any analysis of Indian diaspora cannot ignore the distinction between the emigrants during the colonial period and the post-colonial emigrants, who may be termed respectively as the *Old Diaspora* and the *New Diaspora*. Not

only they vary in the contexts of their emigration and destinations but also in terms of their socio-economic background and the degree of interaction with the motherland. While the New Diaspora has retained vibrant relationship with their family and community in India, majority of the Old Diaspora has lost their contact with the motherland. In the course of their long journey by ship to distant destinations, the unknown co-passengers became 'jahaji bhai' (literally meaning 'ship brother', a brotherly affinity owing to travelling together). The Indian diaspora communities formed during the colonial era were totally denied access even to their own folk attached to different plantations under a new system of slavery called 'indenture labour' invented by the British colonialists, leave alone any access to the then existing means of transportation and communication to engage with the motherland. The post-colonial emigrants on the other hand not only enjoyed the advantage of being professionally trained, middle class, Anglophone Indians but also earned adequate income that could facilitate visits and frequent communication with the place of their origin. The recent advancement in technologies of travel, transport, communication, information and Internet has contributed immensely to the growth of transnational networks and virtual communities. There is revival of the local at the global context, with the shrinking of space and time.

Post-colonial Migration

The post WW-II scenario has changed the whole international migration process by affecting each and every migrant country, and India was not far behind in this process. During this period migration was directed towards developed countries, and the migrants were mostly constituted talented professionals, skilled labourers, entrepreneurs from the peripheral, colonial and under-developed countries besides *Anglo-Indians*. This post-war migration was totally different from the earlier migration of indentured, kangani and other forms of labour migration. Large-scale migration of Indians took place during this period to the developed countries like the U.K., the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Apart from India, Indians from other parts of the world especially from the former colonies (diasporas) also started coming to these countries. They are best referred to as Twice Migrants. There are two instances: a) Africanization policies; and b) Ethnic violence in which Indians from former colonies express their interest to immigrate to these new lands.

- a) In 1972, Uganda's dictator Idi Amin ordered 75,000 Ugandan Asians out of the nation. Most of these people were of Indian origin and were successful traders, bankers and administrators or labourers. Around 27,000 emigrated to the United Kingdom, while another 61,00 went to Canada. Some even emigrated to India despite never having lived there previously.
- b) A second example is the case of Fiji. By the 1970s, native Fijians had lost their majority to people of Indian origin - mostly descendants of farm workers brought in by the British as indentured labour. In 1987 the first Indian-backed coalition was elected to government, raising tension between the ethnic Indian and ethnic Fijian populations. Subsequent events have ensured ethnic Fijian political dominance. Many Indo-Fijians have left the country of their birth; some came to India, others to New Zealand and Australia.

Recent Migration to West Asia

Recent migration of Indians to the West Asian countries is basically oriented toward labour and servicing occupations on a contract basis. The year 1973 experienced the beginning of the rapidly increasing demand for expatriate

labour in oil exporting countries of the Gulf and North Africa such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Libya. These countries adopted a development strategy centering on the building up of infrastructure and, in turn, created demand for labour in unskilled manual work, especially in the construction sector. At the termination of the first phase of infrastructural projects and with the new emphasis on industrialization in the Middle East, there has been a significant change in the structure of labour demand. Between 1975 and 1980 more than a million skilled workers from India were employed to manage and operate this new infrastructure. By the year 2005 this figure had gone up to over 3.5 million.

Reflection and Action 23.1

Describe the nature of Indian emigration.

23.5 Indian Diaspora: The Regional Dimension

India is culturally diverse in terms of regional, religious, linguistic and caste composition. Indian diaspora is no exception to these diversities wherever they are found in sizeable numbers to pursue the distinctive cultural features akin to those found at their place of origin. The following section will briefly discuss some of the significant diasporic communities from a regional perspective and their emerging transnational networks. Along with the history of migration and their transnational presence, this section focuses specifically on three diasporic communities, namely Punjabis, Gujaratis and Telugus. These communities are chosen here for detailed discussion in view of their visible presence and extensive networking among the Indian diaspora communities. They endeavour to retain traditional practices, language, religion, marriage patterns and, above all, extensive interaction between the members of the regional/linguistic diaspora community scattered across several countries besides their homeland-the region of their origin.

Punjabi Diaspora

The Punjabis settled abroad have migrated from the state of Punjab, situated in the northwest of India. It is bounded by Jammu and Kashmir on the north, on the east by Himachal Pradesh and the Union territory of Chandigarh, on the south by Haryana and Rajasthan and on the west by Pakistan. The very word "Punjab" is an amalgam of two Persian words, *Panj* (five) and *ab* (water), signifying historically the land of five rivers. The principal spoken language in the present day Punjab is *Punjabi*, which is also the official language of Punjab, written in the Gurmukhi Script. The majority population of Punjab (nearly 60%) follows Sikhism, a faith originated from the teachings of Guru Nanak. The Hindus form the largest minority, followed by Muslims, Buddhists, Christian and Jains. Today Punjabis are dispersed worldwide, especially to countries like Canada, the USA, the UK and other European countries.

Although migration of Punjabis began during the early part of the nineteenth century, it was only after 1840s that a fairly large number of people began migrating to the US and UK. During the next half-century, the benefits of economic development were exhausted due to rapid demographic growth, recurrent famines and the uneconomic subdivision of land. Further, the severity of land revenue along with rising rural indebtedness, increasing population pressure and the consequent land hunger contributed to the mass migration of Punjabis to the outer world (Sood, 1995: 28). Some of the Punjabi peasants were compelled to out-migrate under the influence of

new economic and social forces, which were unleashed by the British administration.

During the 1860s Punjab entered the orbit of colonial labour migration, where some Punjabis were entitled by colonial agents (Tatla, 1999: 46). When the British recruited labour for Ugandan railway project, Punjabis were given the preference. The migration of Punjabis to East African countries gained momentum during the end of the nineteenth century, when several thousand craftsmen, primarily Ramgarhia Sikhs from Julandhar region, were recruited to work on the railway construction under indentured system. After the construction work was over only a few workers returned home while the majority stayed there to further work for the railway. However, not many Punjabis continued to work under the indentured system since they found themselves temperamentally unsuitable to be "slaves." Describing the conditions of Punjabi workers in the plantations, Darshan Singh Tatla (1999: 46-47) mentions "...the first few hundred Punjabis so recruited were found 'unsuitable' by the planters in the West Indies, who protested that these Punjabi migrants are very objectionable as field labour. Many absconded to the Spanish Main, refused to work in the fields, and nearly all have been unruly and troublesome."

Now in the threshold of 21st century Punjabis could be found in every corner of the world and they have entered into every sphere of work. In comparison to the pre-independence period where the emigration was directed towards Canada, US, Australia, East Africa and UK, the post-independence emigration also includes destinations to various countries of Europe and South East Asia. Punjabis have established extensive transnational networks through religious and cultural associations to pursue their social, cultural and economic interests both in the countries of their residence and the motherland.

Transnational Networks of Punjabis

The Punjabis uphold their social network through family ties and kinship obligations, marriage ceremonies and other ritual activities. Overseas Punjabis retain their kinship relations through contact with the families back home in Punjab and also with kith and kin around the world. These kinship ties are kept alive through frequent visits to homeland on various occasions. As pointed out by Angelo (1997: 118) that, "...the frequency of social contacts exchanged through home visitations, some times more than twice a month and occasional home visits". Marriage is an important institution among Punjabis in sustaining the ethnic bond. One of its important roles is to create positive self-image through arranged marriages in which region, religion and caste identities are maintained and perpetuated. The Punjabis choose their marriage partners not only in their respective place of residence but from the homeland and other countries. Now marriage partners are increasingly chosen across the continent (Angelo, 1997: 66). The matrimonial advertisements, which are available in the newspapers and in the Internet, offer increasing opportunities for searching and locating the marriage partners. Social linkages have also been improved through the advent of public telephone stations (STD's), cell phone linkages and Internet email services.

The culture of Punjab is best reflected in the folklore, ballads of love and war, fairs and festivals, dance, music and literature. The rich cultural heritage, common language and a strong sense of being 'Punjabi' bind the Punjabis together. The 'Bhangra' dance, which is synonymous with Punjabi culture is now finds its prominent place in the Punjabi diasporic identity. During the last two decades there were several Bhangra troupes that crossed

the Atlantic to provide entertainment to the Punjabis in the Canada and the US. The Punjabi diaspora experiences a sense of nostalgia while such groups perform the familiar dance, as they (Bhangra dancers) depict the conditions of Punjabis abroad and their struggles in new lands for honour and livelihood. Punjabi media consisting of weekly newspapers, monthly and quarterly magazines also play a significant role in informing overseas Sikhs about their homeland. The transnational television and radio channels also provide information and entertainment to the Punjabis around the globe. There are several transnational TV and Radio channels such as *Punjabi Radio*, *Netguruindia*, *TV India*, *Live 365.com*, *Punjabi+many*, *AM1320 Vancouver*, *Multicultural Radio Punjabi Saturday*, *Montreal Canada*, *Radio Sikh-info* *Daily Kukamnama* etc., provide information to Punjabis in the diaspora. These satellite channels take images of Punjab and Punjabis to Punjabi diaspora spread over different parts of the world. Punjabi films, videos and magazines are now available in most of the Asian shops abroad which further supplement the cultural environment of Punjabis (Tatla 1999: 68-71).

From economic point of view, the Punjabi immigrants today remitted a high proportion of their earnings to support their families back home so also to improve the economy of the home state (Thandi, 1996). They invested their remittances in the form of "...establishing industries, factories, and buying land and transport companies in most of the major towns in Punjab such as Julandhar, Ludhiana, Chandigarh and other towns" (Tatla, 1999: 63). They also contribute most part of their remittances for the development of charities, hospitals and educational centres in Punjab. For instance, contribution of overseas Sikhs in the field of agriculture has led to the "the green revolution" during the 1960s. One of the examples of this type of transnational philanthropy is the development of "model village."

The Sikhs are one of the most identifiable religious groups in the world. The Sikh temple is called Gurdwaras which is one of the fundamental institutions in Sikhism. The Gurdwaras play an important role in social, cultural and linguistic life of Sikhs everywhere, besides the promotion of the religious beliefs and rituals. Through the Gurdwaras the Sikhs maintain their socio-religious identity. The Gurdwaras help them to keep the cohesiveness of the community. The religiousness of Sikhs and their ability to organise themselves have made possible to build Gurdwaras wherever Sikhs have migrated. There are thousands of Gurdwaras around the world, which promote both religious and cultural life of Sikhs by organising functions and festivals. They also mobilise people for political activity besides maintaining both the religious and social identity.

Gujarati Diaspora

Gujaratis settled abroad have migrated originally from the state of Gujarat, which is situated on the west coast of India. It is bounded by the Arabian Sea in the west, the State of Rajasthan in the north and north-east, Madhya Pradesh in the east and Maharashtra on the south and south east. The State at present comprises of 25 districts, covering a geographical area of 1.96 lakh sq. kms. According to the population census of 2001, the population of Gujarat stood at 5.06 crores (Census of India 2001).

Although the merchants from Gujarat have been involved in overseas trade for almost a millennia in spices, ivory and textiles especially in East Africa, significant migration of Gujaratis occurred during the end of the 19th and the early part of 20th centuries to the Middle East besides East Africa. The pressure to emigrate was fuelled by the conditions in Gujarat itself, such

as plague epidemic during 1899-1902 and again in 1916-18, an influenza epidemic raged in 1918-19 and there was also famine in 1899-1900. There were also the perennial problems of land shortage and employment exacerbated by the decline of local textile industry (Ballard 1996: 179-80). Coincidentally around the same time a lot of economic and commercial opportunities opened up in East African countries, new cities built up along with the railway in the areas such as Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu in Kenya, and Kampala, Jinja and Tororo in Uganda. As a result, many Gujaratis migrated to Uganda, Fiji, Zambia, Kenya, Malawi, and Zanzibar.

With the opening up of global economies, Gujaratis have made remarkable presence in the USA, UK, UAE, Canada and other countries. Many Gujaratis moved to the United States at the turn of the 20th century. Today, Patidars form the largest group among the Gujaratis in the diaspora. They are identified by the popular surname Patel followed by the Lohanas of Saurashtra origin, who are commonly referred to as Banias. In many countries such as the U.S.A, U.K., Canada and the Caribbean, where the Gujaratis have made a name, they are generally regarded as the most affluent and successful South Asian settlers. They are not only in business, which is their first love, but also in professional fields such as technology, science, medicine, and business management. Today, Gujaratis constitute one of the prominent Indian diasporic communities in the world. Although their numbers vary from one country to another, they have significant in number in most of the African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and South Africa. They have also settled in most parts of the Europe, North America, UK, Canada, and New Zealand. The transnational network among Gujaratis is being examined below from social, cultural and economic point of view.

Transnational Networks of Gujaratis

The relation that the Gujaratis maintain with the country of their origin is not only a matter of memories but also an ongoing vibrant linkage. These transnational relations can be broadly divided into two categories, i.e., micro and macro linkages. The micro level transnational linkages among the Gujaratis can be analysed from two perspectives. First, the ties between the Gujaratis in India with their relatives in other parts of the world, and secondly, the mutual contacts between the Gujaratis living all over the world. The macro level linkages are manifested in institutional, organisational and associational basis between diaspora and the mother country as well as among the diaspora community members from different countries.

Gujaratis world over are distinctly known for preserving their language, culture and distinctive food habits, including vegetarianism. Gujarat has a rich tradition of performing arts and customs. '*Dhandhya*', a folk dance with sticks and *Garba* are popular among the Gujarati youth in India and abroad. Originally *Dhandhya* was performed by rural folk, but today it is brought to urban locale by remixing the pulse of disco, hip-hop, reggae, funk, Hindi film music, and other African, American and Caribbean popular music. These fused styles are exported from London, U.S., and West Indies to India, and are captured in Hindi films, played at wedding receptions, dance parties, and community celebrations. There are some special occasions on which these cultural programmes are performed. For instance, during '*Navratri*' - a nine night religious ceremony to worship Goddess Durga - *Dhandhya* dance is a major attraction and people from all backgrounds dance together. The fondness of these dances and music is apparently a transnational phenomenon.

Television plays an important role in sustaining transnational linkages among the ethnic groups. The world-wide networks of online media allow much easier access, relatively at less cost, offering interactive opportunity to the dispersed people around the world. For example, the diasporic Gujarati web sites are creating global directories of individuals, community associations, and business organisations owned by members of the diaspora. The online media help the users to reconstitute pre-migration relationships, at least in cyberspace, as well as *create 'virtual communities'* with distinct identities.

The role of international Gujarati associations and organisations is very significant in the promotion of transnational networks by bringing all the Gujaratis together; work for Gujarat and to preserve the Gujarati culture, tradition and folklore. There are considerable number of Gujaratis living in the countries like USA, U.K., Canada and East Africa. They have formed their institutions and associations in order to look after their fellow Gujaratis in the local context and to pursue interactions with other Gujaratis all over the world.

Telugu Diaspora

Telugus have the distinction of being the largest among the South Indian communities to have immigrated to different parts of the world since the early 19th century. They originally hailed from the state of Andhra Pradesh, which is the third largest and most densely populated state of India. The official language of Andhra Pradesh "Telugu," is spoken in India by 65 million constituting around 7.8% of the total population of the country (Census of India 1991). Telugu is the first language of at least 68 million people including the diasporic population.. The language has made inroads into Mauritius, Singapore, Fiji, South Africa, the USA, Canada, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and UAE where Telugu immigrants are present in considerable numbers.

Being a coastal state bound by the Bay of Bengal on the east, Andhra Pradesh occupies a unique place in the Indian sub-continent and the Telugus have a long tradition of overseas trade with Burma, Sumatra and other countries of Far and Middle East. Large-scale migration of Telugus to other parts of the world occurred during the 19th and early 20th century for employment under the 'indentured' system of plantation labour in the British and French colonies.

There are several factors - both push and pull - which are responsible for the migration of Telugus. While on the one hand, natural calamities like famine and flood, shrinking of the cottage industry, increase in population and lack of employment has *forced* many Telugus to migrate to other countries, on the other, there were opportunities of plantation labour in the British plantation colonies that *lured* many Telugus to migrate to the countries such as Fiji, Malaysia, South Africa and Mauritius in order to escape from starvation and death.

Telugus migrated to South Africa, Fiji and Mauritius as part of indentured labour to work in the plantations during 19th century. Telugus *especially* from the coastal regions migrated to work in the tea and coffee plantations of Ceylon and rubber plantations of Malaysia, chiefly as *kangani* and *maistry* form of labour. By the year 1921, it was observed that, there were as many as 39,986 Andhras from the Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh in Malaya (Naidu 1981: 2). Among the immigrants recruited as plantation labour by European enterprises, 80 percent were unskilled labourers from

the untouchable castes of Telugu and Tamil origin. The post-war migration was totally different from the earlier migration of indentured, kangani and other labour migrations, in the sense that, many of the young Telugu professionals migrated to developed countries such as the USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and France in search of better opportunities. The transnational networks among Telugus can be examined from social, cultural and economic point of view.

Transnational Networks of Telugus

The Telugus settled in various parts of the world have close contact with their families back home in Andhra Pradesh. In the past, their kinship networks were maintained through sending letters and through occasional home visits. In comparison to the past, when any letter took months to reach home and get a reply, it has now become possible to keep in touch with the family and kin instantly on a global level. It is made possible by the improvements in communication technology such as telephone, telegraph and Internet. These technological developments have now reached a stage that has enabled the dispersed people to create a 'virtual community' in a cyberspace. The basis of family among Telugus is marriage. Traditionally marriages were performed among close relatives in accordance with the customs followed by the community within a local or regional context. At present marriages among Telugus may be found binding two families transnationally. Telugu communities world over has now managed to keep the cultural continuity through their marriage practices. They generally prefer to arrange the marriage of their son/daughter with the Telugus in India. The matrimonials, which are now available on the Internet, facilitate searching the brides/grooms based on caste and regional preferences through out the globe.

Culturally Andhra Pradesh has a distinctive tradition, which is easily identifiable from other major Indian cultural strands. Some of the cultural symbols of Andhra Pradesh include "Kuchipudi dance", "Pochampally handlooms" and "Kalamkari" paintings etc., which are still maintained and sustained by the Telugus. The Kuchipudi dance, known for its grace and charm, is performed in almost all gatherings and festivities in the Telugus diaspora. Similarly, *Perini Thandavam*, an aesthetically performed male dance, is often performed by Telugus in the diaspora. Celebration of festival is another cultural premise, which is the basis of transnational networks. Among the Telugu festivals, the major one includes *Ugadi* (Telugu New Year's day), *Makar Sankranti*, *Dasara*, *Diwali*, *Siva-Ratri* and *Ganesh Chaturthi*. These are celebrated not only in Andhra Pradesh but also among all the Telugus in the diaspora. These festivals are celebrated both in individual homes and outside collectively, bringing all Telugus together.

Development of transnational, satellite aided TV channels and VCR technology has brought together Telugus from distant lands, creating an imaginary Telugu world. Channels like GEMINI TV and ETV, which are based in Hyderabad, reach out to the world of Telugus beyond the national boundaries. These satellite channels are dedicated to the Telugu population of the world to cater to their needs of information and entertainment. The programmes telecast in these channels suit tastes of all ages, genders and classes. There are several channels of two-way economic transactions between the homeland and diaspora. Firstly, there exists a "non-entrepreneurial channel" of economic linkage, in the sense that Telugus visit their places of origin with baggage full of novelties and valuable items *not easily available in the Indian market, to be given as gifts to relatives and friends or sold for a small profit*. This flow peaks during festival and

holiday seasons such as the Ugadi, Navaratri, Dasahra, Diwali and New Year's Day. Secondly, the "entrepreneurial channel" of linkage brings homeland and the diaspora in a formal manner. Several Telugus abroad send a significant part of their savings back home in the form of remittances in order to invest on real estate, industrial establishment, small business, and educational institutions and to contribute towards welfare activities such as charities, old age home, famine/flood victims etc. Corporate hospitals like Apollo Hospitals, Medwin Hospitals, C.D.R. Hospitals and LV Prasad Eye Institute in Andhra Pradesh are mentioned few, which are contributed to the healthcare sector by the NRI Telugus.

One of the important channels of articulation of common interest among the migrants is their ethnic association. The Telugus have formed their associations to maintain their cultural identity and to promote their socio-economic and political interest in the host country. They also maintain close network with the members of their community in the place of their origin. Through their active participation in the activities of the association, Telugus in the diaspora strive to preserve their cultural heritage. These associations sometimes organize conferences and observe festivals essentially to cater to the Telugu community settled in a locality, region or country. They also invite Telugu persons of distinction from Andhra Pradesh or from the diasporas for participation. Such associations are formed on the basis of caste, religious, regional and pan-Telugu identities.

Reflection and Action 23.2

What are the important factors that led to the international migration of Punjabis, Gujaratis and Telugus during the colonial and post-colonial period?

23.6 Conclusion

In this lesson we have discussed the importance of the concept of diaspora and transnational community, the history of migration of Indians during colonial and post colonial period and the formation of diasporas in the new world. The lesson has also discussed the three most important regional Indian diasporic communities who have made remarkable presence in the transnational sphere today. The lesson has discussed the transnational networks of these communities and their implication for the development of homeland from socio-cultural and economic standpoints.

23.7 Further Reading

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Unit 24

Globalisation, Nationalism and Transnational Communities

Contents

- 24.1 Introduction
- 24.2 Globalisation
- 24.3 Ten Theses on Globalisation
- 24.4 Nationalism
- 24.5 Transnationalism
- 24.6 Conclusion
- 24.7 Further Reading

Learning Objectives

After going through this Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concepts and nuances of globalisation, nationalism and transnationalism; and
- The interconnectedness and implications of the concepts- nationalism, globalisation and transnationalism.

24.1 Introduction

In their mutual relationships, globalisation, nationalism and transnationalism (GNT) are three processes/phenomena which are at different stages of growth and of varying dimensions and scope. Nationalism is the oldest, Globalisation in its recurring manifestation is a quarter century old and transnationalism has passed under a theoretical scanner for construction of a comprehensive framework of analysis. All the three phenomena have an inter-relationship which is problematic. The gap between popular notion and the real working of these processes, is wide and conceptually not immediately evident. As we delineate these levels, the centre of analysis focuses on an individual or a group of individuals form between the homeland and the host country and this historical engagement at the same time gets mediated by globalisation process and what Arjun Appadurai calls 'ethnoscapes' i.e. a world of imagined identities manufactured by media and one's own fancy. These diaspora or transnationals experience in their host countries 'a grinding of gears between unfolding lives and their imagined counterparts' in which "a variety of 'imagined communities' is formed, communities that generate new kinds of politics, new kinds of collective expression, and new needs for social discipline and surveillance on the part of the elites." Like Capitalism or Socialism, ethnoscape emerges in these contemporary set-ups as a competing 'master narrative' which can offer explanations for the links that hold these three mega-phenomena together. It is only a question of opening out and broadening of the compass of our enquiry in order to adjust to the new global realities which are 'hyperreal' from a perspective of global cultural economy.

If an one-shot answer to this problematic inter-relationship is sought, it would run as follows: with the loosening of nationalism, cross-border movements became easy in an era of globalization giving rise to dispersion

of immigrants chasing jobs. But this is a mechanical explanation, not without deficiencies. For instance, 'nationalism' seems to be hardening, witness Israel's assaults on Lebanon, jobs are getting outsourced to offshore countries and most of the developed countries (USA & EU especially) have resisted the advent of globalisation since they can not bring down tariffs and reduce subsidies to their farmers so as to have a free flow of trade in the world, witness failure in July 2006 of the Doha Development Round.

How does one explain Indo-Pak cross-border terrorism while India and Pakistan are unitedly taking positions against cricket umpire Haire's decision on the ball tampering (by Pakistan) issue? How is it that while major powers are crying hoarse against each other, the global trade is growing at 4 to 5 per cent per annum? There is no dearth of evidence of Prime Ministers and Presidents calling upon their non-resident nationals abroad to liberally donate to their country's development. World Conferences and organisations of ethnic groups across national borders are common place. But these features of the new global socio-cultural reality appear endless. As a strategy in analysis, it sounds reasonable to refer to a day's news to understand some contours of this reality which we get to read daily about ourselves.

Let me invite you to some excerpts cited in *The Hindu* (Sunday 10 Sept 2006) in order to familiarize you with some salient features of this emergent reality happening in the culture space activated by GNT. For reasons of space constraint, we select some news analyses and a few passages to quote.

Dominating the pages of the newspaper was the iconic news of/ 9/11 which has completed 5 years of 'war on terror'. As we know, the 'war on terror' has clearly exposed the Bush administration on whom the latest slap is the news: Saddam Hussein not only was not involved in the Al Qaeda, he actually had "rebuffed overtures" and "had even tried to capture its Iraq chief", a report by the US Senate Intelligence Committee said. As everybody knows, there were no weapons of mass destruction found before USA invaded two sovereign countries (first Afghanistan, then Iraq) *without* Security Council's endorsement. Such an act is as bad as the Al Qaeda attack on 9/11 but what really overwhelmed the global culture space is the way it was flashed (and is continuing to do so) by Fox television and others, and heavily powered policies unilaterally imposed to the effect of alienating the Muslims as a religious group. The title of the open page article says it all: *Targeting a Community for Ethnic Scrutiny*. The writer (who is a medical doctor facing uncalled for discriminations) complains (which is the subtitle): *My being a Muslim Overshadowed My Identity as an Indian*. This culture space is hotting up when one reads his complaints against 'race/ethnic profiling' which is becoming common all over the world.

"I would like to draw attention to this fact that Indian Muslims are in more than a single way much different from their brethren in other Islamic nations. Indian Muslims are probably the only ones who lived in and cherished a democratic set up..... The taste of democracy and its addiction has evolved a race of young Indian Muslims who think, believe and practice nationalism with a fervour.... The communal agenda of the so-called Indian Muslim leadership, either it be the defiance to sing Vande Matram or support Pakistan in a cricket match, can only be defeated by a purposeful *nationalist* attitude, which I am sure is evolving among the middle class educated Indian Muslims."

The positive attitude of the writer clearly contrasts against a towering negative attitude of the USA President Mr. Bush who recently set afloat a

dangerous expression 'Islamic fascists'. This only means that, as Newt Gingrich (The former Speaker of the House of Representatives, a Republican like Mr. Bush) followed him up saying, "we are in the early stages of what I would describe as the Third World War." It will not be an exaggeration to say that so much of globalisation of Islam across national borders powered by so much of publicity - through electronic and print media-has generated a huge transnational cultural field for a political endgame. As opinion polls world over show, millions of Muslims now think that America's real aim in Iraq was "to grab its oil, help Israel, or just as Mr. Bin Laden said all along, wage war on Islam."

But a fracture in the American conservative think tank has surfaced showing that it is not Muslims of Asia who are to blame; rather the Muslims who have grown up on European and American soil are showing disaffection, as citizens did in an earlier period against fascism. Led by Prof Francis Fukuyama, this conservative think tank forcefully argues that Mr. Bush has been ill-advised to push the war-on-terror to all the followers of Islam; the national fervour in UK, Spain and other countries are on decline and distraction for some Muslim terrorists who owe their loyalty to Islam over the state of which they are citizens. Writing in the magazine section Page 2, Tabish Khair who by his own admission, is neither an 'Islamic fundamentalist' nor even 'a deeply religious Muslim' offers an important explanation on the disaffection spreading among ordinary Muslims. He gives reference to Israel's mindless shelling of South Lebanon recently which has destroyed all infrastructure and livelihood systems to say that in these circumstances, an ordinary Muslim is more likely to listen to and admire Islamic fundamentalists than someone like me." Thus either way, the global cultural space gets charged up by transnational loyalties and the nationalism becomes either imperial or circumscribed depending on the nodal centre of attraction. Both the phenomena premised on transnationalism have been cocooned inside the trajectory of global capitalism which is often described as globalisation.

The last piece from today's (10 September) newspaper before we take up for discussion in details about G, N & T. This is again about icon 9/11 which has been etched in memories of people across board in the world. Two points we would make about this ? icon status: First, why and how, destruction of New York's twin towers has occupied almost all the collective memory in total forgetfulness of three all-time-great incidents on Sept. 11 in other calendar years? Bapu's Satyagraha was launched on that day against colonial South Africa's racial legislation in 1906 against the Indian community. Swami Vivekananda delivered his famous Chicago address drawing attention to disastrous consequences of sectarianism, bigotry and fanaticism". That was in 1893. The democratic government of Chile led by Allende was dislodged through CIA's machinations again on Sept 11, 1973. If these great events of history have been relegated and only 9/11 of 2001 is remembered today, it is due to powerful publicity and policy effects of the world's sole hegemon i.e. USA which now considers that sovereignty is a luxury (and hence can be dispensed with) for those developing countries which are promoting ill-defined cultural areas like Asian values, Arab nationalism and Latino culture. Such nations do not deserve to continue to the extent they suffer from 'freedom deficits' and serve as breeding grounds of terrorism. The second point relates to a claim by *ethnoscape* studies that fancy becomes a social fact in such situations of transnational turmoil. True indeed! How does an Indian explain 9/11? If you ask a school child or an illiterate, it is ninth November. But how has it come to mean Eleventh September which is how Americans write as. Fact is, nobody has ever questioned what these really

mean to us in our own context. This precisely is the publicity effect through which fancies, imagined communities and effects take shape and enter collective memory. Sudhir Kakkar calls popular family dramas which aim at re-inventing traditions (Films like *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gam* and *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna* are a few examples) targeting the NRIs for profit as 'collective daydream' which most, withheld from their motherland, would like to indulge in giving the threads of their imagination a free float. This phenomenon needs to be conceptualized in India but it is a 'reality' with NRIs settled abroad. In its shifting complexities, it is a hyperreality.

24.2 Globalisation

Quintessentially, globalisation refers to a process of inter-connectedness on a global scale. But it involves more than growing connections or interdependence of nation-states. It has been defined as "a historical process invoking a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial reach of human organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents." The distinguished Professor of Diplomacy and a close observer of the global scene, Henry Kissinger was straight and apt when he chose to title his address to the Trinity College on 12 October 1999 as: "The basic challenge is that what is called globalization is really another name for the dominant role of the US." Amid a complex mosaic of its features, we should focus discussion of globalisation on understanding of what happened to nationalism and the emergence of several transnational phenomena which constitute our scope here.

What Kissinger was saying at the turn of the century was brilliantly pointed out by Marx and Engels one hundred and fifty years ago. Writing in the *Communist Manifesto*, they had observed:

"In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations..... The bourgeoisie by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian nations into civilization.

It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production..... i.e. to become bourgeois themselves, in one word, it creates a world after its own image."

Box 24.1: Global Interconnectedness

Between 1950 and 1998, the world export of goods increased seventeen fold - from \$311 billion to \$ 5.4 trillion - while the global economy expanded only six-fold. Exports of services which have surged during this period represents one-fifth of the total world trade. The main driver of this trade expansion are the Transnational Corporations whose number has risen from 7,000 in 1970 to 53,600 in 1998 with some 4,49,000 foreign subsidiaries. The sales of TNCs outside their home countries are growing 20-30 percent faster than their exports; and sales of goods and services by foreign subsidiaries - valued at \$ 9.5 trillion in 1997 - surpass total world exports by nearly 50 percent. More than 80 percent of these TNCs are homed in USA only. (See Hilary French: *Vanishing Borders-Protecting the Planet in an Age of Globalization*, World watch Institute, 2000, P. 6.

But Kissinger's version is important in the sense globalisation is what US makes of it. The failure of trade talks (Doha Development Round) in July 2006 bears it out. It was a promise given to the developing countries that

"globalisation will be more inclusive and help the world's poor, particularly by slashing of barriers and subsidies in farming" by the US and EU countries. This was a promise given in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 2001 but while the war-on-terror campaign is continuing on top gear, the assurance of trade justice to the world's poor has been allowed to lag behind. Therefore, the survey result of the World Bank Report of 2001 to the effect that global inequality has widened is correct but the World Bank's inference that globalization holds "the key to social justice" is only politically correct, and not universally so. The rise in economic growth (due to globalisation) has come not, as Larry Elliot's survey shows, with social justice but with "costs in terms of internal democracy, human rights and equality."

The 'jobless growth' which resulted out of globalization was not of much help to the world's poor whose number and rank swelled aggravating the crisis of migration. In those dire circumstances, you move instinctively to places where you have people of your own community. Under globalisation, borders became porous and national economies became open. Whereas 80 per cent of the world's population lived in closed, non-market economies in 1950s, 87 percent of the world population moved into open economies by 1995. Fear and anxiety, insecurity and unemployment have goaded people to leave their homelands. Add to this, changes in job profiles and relaxed entry facilities for people from the labor - intensive economies and outsourcing of jobs (IT, BPO and now, engineering services) by the developed countries. The flow of capital, labour and job architectures has vastly increased in speed and configuration. The underside of this process of globalisation is full with filth: arms, drugs and human trafficking has carved out (in that order) large chunks of economic activities entailing heavy flow of persons and workers.

Globalisation is different from *internationalization* which is but an expression of growing interdependence among discrete but bounded nation-states. Under globalisation, the world is increasingly emerging as a shared social space. There is a significant shift in the scale of social organisation in every sphere from the economic to the security, transcending the world's major regions and continents. Central to this structural change are twin features of unavoidable consequences: the revolution of Information and Communication Technologies which have triggered changes beyond anticipation and recognition. The second feature as Anthony Giddens has brilliantly highlighted lay in the abandonment of the welfare state and discontinuation of social security packages which were part of a social compact between the society and the state ever since the World War II. What has taken its place is popularly known as the Washington Consensus articulated by another British (developmental economist) John Williamson who had listed ten reforms for the Latin American economies so that they could attract private capital back to the region after the crippling debt crisis of 1980s. This 'neo-liberal agenda' for developing countries mostly in Africa and Latin America came to be known as "economic reforms" which mostly consisted of liberalization, privatization and globalisation (LPG). But economic reforms are not sufficient in themselves and therefore, second-generation reforms were introduced under the rubric of 'good governance'. Currently, 'good governance' is being used as a conditionality by the IMF and the World Bank for loans to the developing countries.

The performance records of most countries from these two continents were disappointing whereas China and the East Asian Tigers managed to collect benefits of globalisation with innovative re-moulding of this neo-liberal

package. India, Brazil and Russia are also counted as cases of successful globalizing. An important lesson out of these experiments lay in a challenge to the national leaders not to blindly kowtow but to design and evolve institutional and policy packages sensitive to local opportunities and constraints. Another major call of restraint on unfettered globalisation came from Francis Fukuyama who had predicted in 1989 (roughly the same time when the Washington Consensus was articulated) that history has ended, the liberal democracy has triumphed world-wide and the world is ready for democratization across political boundaries and popular resistance. "Democracy and free markets will continue to expand as the dominant organising principles for much of the world", he wrote in 2001 after the September attack. But Fukuyama changed his opinion, circa 2004 and asked for restoration of the nation states to the centre stage of world politics. In other words, nation state was never dead and globalisation waves which swept them under, found their importance sooner than later.

However, nation-states and nationalism as a political force have been deeply impacted giving rise to a new phenomenon called *detrterritorialisation*. This meant that boundaries became porous and open for moving of goods, capital and labour. In its concrete form, detrterritorialisation meant "bringing laboring populations into the lower-class sectors and spaces of relatively wealthy societies, while sometimes vesting exaggerated and intensified senses of criticism or attachment to politics in the home state." Deterritorialisation is now at the core of a variety of global fundamentalisms. As Arjun Appadurai has perceptively observed, "in The Hindu case, for example, it is clear that the overseas movement of Indians has been exploited by a variety of interests both within and outside India to create a complicated network of finances and religions identifications by which the problem of cultural reproduction for Hindus abroad has become tied to the politics of Hindu fundamentalism at home"(Appadurai, 1999).

24.3 Ten Theses on Globalisation

1. Anti-globalisation protests are not about globalisation since these protests are among the most globalised events in the world.
2. Globalisation is not new; nor is it just westernization.
3. Globalisation is not in itself a folly, it has already enriched the world. What is needed is fairer distribution of the fruits of globalisation.
4. The central issue, directly or indirectly, is inequality.
5. The primary concern is the level of inequality, not its marginal change for the better. Appalling poverty and staggering inequalities demand urgent attention.
6. The question is not just whether there exists some gain for all parties, but whether the distribution of gains is fair.
7. Market economy is consistent with many different institutional conditions and, in conjunction with the latter, can produce different outcomes. Aside from the need for pro-poor public policies, the distribution of benefits depends on a host of global arrangements (e.g. trade agreements, patent laws, environmental protection etc).
8. The world has changed since the Bretton Woods agreement. Decolonisation, human rights, NGOs and movements for gender and environmental equity and justice have come up anew.
9. Both policy and institutional changes are needed. Global governance is changing under open leadership of the World Bank and the UNO but

the Third World governments have been found to be indulging in violence and waste.

10. Finally, we have reason enough to support globalisation in the best sense of that idea since some institutional and policy issues deserve to be addressed more.

Amartya Sen in *The Los Angeles Times*

The political milieu of the Westphalian Treaty-based modern state has also changed with other structural changes accompanying globalisation. It was a myth to say that state lost sovereignty (how much of it USA state lost? for example) but political authority came to be distended by economic onslaughts released by globalisation. If the social space turned out to be a shared one, continuous fragmentation of political space, (disintegration of Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia etc.) spawned ethno-nationalisms previously held in subordination by the state administrative authorities. Participation- deficit models of national integration run the dangers of secessionism in these days of transnational turmoil.

24.4 Nationalism

Modern idea of nationalism emerged from the early 19th century Western Europe out of a combination of three strands which composed it:

1. Enlightenment as a liberal conception of political self-determination (Rousseau, J., S Mill and others)
2. The French revolutionary idea of the community of equal citizens; and
3. The German conceptions of a people formed by history tradition, and culture.

As a final process-product, nationalism thus was found tied to principles of freedom, equality and collective sharing of a history and culture. One of those who most vigorously espoused the cause of nationalism was the Italian Giuseppe Mazzini for whom three requisites are non-negotiable in nationalism: independent territory, a moral obligation for all to the nation one belongs to, and the notion that world is but 'a family of nations'. For the French romantic revolutionary, Ernest Renan, nationalism represents 'a daily plebiscite', a historical process of renewal on a daily basis.

Despite all that it stands to promote an identity of uniqueness, nationalism has never emerged as an alternative to globalization. It has been a part of it, though the relationship between nationalism and globalisation has never been free from tensions. These interactions however are variously perceived. For instance, one school of thinking holds Mazzini and Woodrow Wilson an 'old hat' and they are not for having more number of states which will only add 'disorder' to the international comity of nations. Another school thinks that the major developed countries of the OECD cannot afford another war which is always feared, and is the worst consequence of nationalisms. Eric Hobsbawm has argued that the old belief of a self-contained 'national' economy has been substantially eroded and its place has been taken by another nationalist idea, namely that "separate statehood can provide the best means of negotiating a favourable position in the international marketplace."

Box 24.2: The Core Themes Of Nationalist Ideology

1. Humanity is naturally divided into nations.
2. Each nation has its peculiar character.
3. The source of all political power is the nation, the whole collectivity.
4. For freedom and self-realization, men must identify with a nation.
5. Nations can only be fulfilled in their own states.
6. Loyalty to the nation-state overrides other loyalties.
7. The primary condition of global freedom and harmony is the strengthening of the nation-state.

Adam Smith

All these were arguments from a political economy perspective. Arjun Appadurai has however ventured an explanation of this problematic interrelationship between globalisation and nationalism from the perspective of global cultural economy.

As Scott Lash and John Urry have pointed out, globalisation represents 'a disorganized capitalism' which at present is outside the compass of enquiry available today. The new global cultural economy is 'a complex, overlapping disjunctive order which as distinguished from its previous *avatars*, is so striking by its 'sheer speed, scale and volume' that the disjuncture (between economies, cultures, politics etc) have become central to the politics of global culture. "The world we live in now seems rhizomic, even schizophrenic, calling for theories of rootlessness, alienation, and psychological distance between individuals and groups on the one hand, and fantasies (or nightmares) of electronic propinquity, on the other." In this world of the hyperreal, we enter a 'new condition of neighborliness' or what Marshall MacLuhan famously called 'a global village'. The media however keep creating at the same time, communities with "no sense of place". It is also called Communities caught in the media scape giving these new perceptions a further globalizing twist, Fredric Jameson points out a "nostalgia for the present" which refuses to die despite change in the living context and conditions. One important new feature of this global cultural politics marked by disjunctive relationships is that "state and nation are at each other's throats, and the hyphen that links them is now less an icon of conjuncture than an index of disjuncture." Appadurai insightfully explains this phenomenon: "This disjunctive relationship between nations and state has two levels: at the level of any given nation-state, it means that there is a battle of the imagination, with state and nation seeking to cannibalize one another. Here is the seedbed of brutal separatisms - majoritarianisms that seem to have appeared from nowhere and microidentities that have become political projects within the nation-state. At another level, this disjunctive relationship is deeply entangled with various global disjunctures: ideas of nationhood appear to be steadily increasing in scale and regularly crossing existing state boundaries, sometimes, as with the Kurds, because previous identities stretched across vast national spaces or, as with the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the dormant threads of a transnational diaspora have been activated to ignite the micropolitics of a nation-state."

Unyoking of 'imagination' from the 'place' constitutes the critical differential feature of living in such a world. The space released for imagination in this process is neither small nor large, micro or macro since it is not a 'problem of representation'. But day-to-day routine living cannot escape but face this space. The challenge thus becomes one of embedding large-scale realities

of the transnational world in the concrete life worlds of immediate experience. This is so because their lives cut across national boundaries while bringing two societies into a single constituted social field.

Box 24.3: Nationalism and Globalisation

- Nationalism was only fully recognized as relevant by International Relations in the past two decades.
- Nationalism is both opposed to globalization and a product of it.
- The spread of nationalism is a result of the transformation of the international system over the past two centuries.
- Nationalism is now the moral basis of states and of the international system.

Fred Halliday

24.5 Transnationalism

Transnationalism (TN) refers to a process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin with their country of settlement. These immigrants who maintain simultaneous presence in two or more varieties can also be described as transmigrants. The transnational social field thus constituted comprises, in part, family ties sustained through economic disbursements and gifts and in part, by a system of legalized exchanges, structured and officially endorsed by the home state. Till recently, migrant experiences in different areas of the world were studied as discrete and separate phenomena unrelated to fast emerging hyperreality which has overwhelmed the world in the process of globalisation. The growing demand is to study these migrant population dynamic and fluid social relatives with in combination an analysis of the global context and dimensionality. As discussed before, global restructuring of capital has deeply affected economies of the developed countries (e.g. swelling un - and under - employment of the labour force). In order to comprehensively grasp these problems besetting migrant populations ever on rise, a transnational framework of analysis has become necessary. While developing such a framework of analysis, Nina Glick Schiller Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc - Szanton (SBB) have identified six premises which are central to conceptualization of Transnationalism:

- 1) bounded social science concepts such as tribe, ethnic group, nation, society, or culture can limit the ability of researchers to first perceive, and then analyze, the phenomenon of transnationalism;
- 2) the development of the transnational migrant experience is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism, and must be analyzed within that world context;
- 3) transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants;
- 4) transnational migrants, although predominantly workers, live a complex existence that forces them to confront, draw upon, and rework different identity constructs - national, ethnic and racial;
- 5) the fluid and complex existence of transnational migrants compels us to reconceptualize the categories of nationalism, ethnicity, and race, theoretical work that can contribute to reformulating our understanding of culture, class, and society; and
- 6) transmigrants deal with and confront a number of hegemonic contexts, both global and national. These hegemonic contexts have an impact

on the transmigrant's consciousness, but at the same time transmigrants reshape these contexts by their interactions and resistance.

To the extent that transnationalism is a product feature of world capitalism, the identity of the transmigrants has remained a contested terrain. The global flow is determinative of the class profile of these migrants who normally crowd the lower echelons of the dominant society they migrate into. The Chinese transmigrants may have a small component of the Hong Kong capitalist class but the Indian, Caribbean and Filipino populations have important petit bourgeois and professional strata. But all the strata of these migrant populations live and grow in a transnational world constantly created, reenacted and reconstituted by hegemonic constructions and practices in their daily routine existence.

In such a contingency, the transmigrants find their options usually *subordinate* to the dominant ideology of the host country, and *open* vis-à-vis the homeland so that they can "continuously translate the economic and social position gained in one political setting into political, social and economic capital in another." Internal class differentiations of the hegemonic states often play a crucial role in the constitution of the transnational social field. The American multinationals, for instance, prefer transnationalism over the American poor and middle class who prefer nationalist protection. *The Economic Times* of 26 September 2006 carries this news: 449 Indian have been given a 10 year multi-entry visa to Malaysia on payment of just 75,000 US dollars with all other conditions waived. Though sufficient research is warranted to confirm, an important hypothesis can be formulated in this context that the gifts and activities which flow across the borders carry with them social relations embedded in them. As SBB argue, these social relations take on meaning within the flow and fabric of daily life, as linkages between different societies are maintained, renewed, and reconstituted in the context of families, of institutions, of economic investments, business, and finance and of political organizations and structures including nation-states.

In the absence of deep-going researches, we can only conclude at this stage with a formulation that a true understanding of Transnationalism is not possible without a global perspective. The latter comes, as we have seen above, in a basket of nationalisms disjointed from their states and activated through a larger-than-life imaginative mode fashioned and facilitated by the revolutions in media technology and loosening/widening of the national features of a sovereign state. Understood in this sense, Transnationalism and Globalisation have created a new world of reality which is awaiting rigorous conceptualization.

24.6 Conclusion

The contours of future research of this area remains ill-defined but three broad approaches merit consideration since they are doing rounds lately. The first such approach is **cosmopolitalism** which seeks to promote the idea that all human beings are equal and the international community should defend the victims of war crimes and punish the perpetrators regardless of the places of their origin. Many cosmopolitans therefore welcomed the UK House of Lord's ruling that the leaders guilty of human rights violations can not claim immunity from prosecution by appealing to the member of sovereign immunity. That is how General Pinochet, the Chilean dictator was brought to book by the UK Courts. The other approach is **post-modernism** which emphasizes a peculiar point that knowledge

designed to progress contains the danger of domination. The diversity, according to this approach, should be respected against homogenization which usually leads to new forms of power and exclusion. In other words, appropriation of reality for creation of knowledge doesn't have to follow a given dominant model. The third salient approach is communitarianism. Michael Walzer has criticized cosmopolitanism on the ground that individuals acquire their most fundamental rights and responsibilities as members of particular communities inhabiting across the national borders (i.e. group rights and not as members of the human race). This point received sharpened focus from W. Kymlicka who with the help of a path-breaking analysis to establish a respect point of view that the rights of indigenous people depend effectively on curtailment of some individual rights which lie at the heart of the liberal democratic polities of the West.

As you can see from the above, a new vista is opening out privileging theorizations in the new context of globalisation, nationalism and transnationalism in their active authentication and signatures. The world appears to be fast growing into a different place now.

24.7 Further Reading

Appadurai, Arjun. 1999. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." In Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

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