INDIAN DIASPORA: A DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

K Laxmi Narayan

Centre for Study of Indian Diaspora University of Hyderabad Hyderabad-India

The Indian Diaspora is the third largest diaspora, next only to the British and the Chinese in that order. Indians/people of Indian origin (PIOs) are found in all continents. In Mauritius the PIOs are the single largest ethnic group (70.10 percent). In countries namely Fiji (47.75 percent), Surinam (35.90 percent), Trinidad and Tobago (35.25 percent), Guyana (30.30 percent), and Nepal (27.12 percent) they form a substantial proportion of host country's population. They have a large presence in the United Arab Emirates (16.55 percent), Qatar (15.76 percent), Oman (14.29 percent), Bahrain (11.16 percent), Malaysia (7.07 percent), Sri Lanka (6.28 percent) and Kuwait (5.88 percent). Several other countries have significant presence of Indians/PIOs.

Even though the history of Indian Diaspora dates back to the pre-Christian era, large-scale emigration of Indians took place mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries. The 19th and early part of the 20th centuries witnessed unprecedented emigration of indentured and other laborers, traders, professionals and employees of the British government to the British, French and Dutch colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. During the post-World War II period there was far-reaching emigration of Indians (mainly professionals) to the developed countries namely England, U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. During the oil boom in the 1970s and 1980s millions of Indians emigrated to the Gulf and west Asian countries.

In this paper, I would like to present a brief history of the Indian Diaspora with special reference to the demographic dimensions. An attempt has also been made to give a brief historical, demographic and socio-economic profile of the countries having significant presence of the Indians/ PIOs. I have covered only those countries in some detail which have or in the recent past had more than 50,000 Indians/PIOs, due to paucity of space.

1. EMIGRATION FROM INDIA DURING THE PRE-MODERN PERIOD

Indians have a long history of emigration to other parts of the world. India's links with Europe date back to the tenth century B. C. with ships moving between the mouth of the river Indus and the Persian Gulf. The Old Testament records of ivory, apes and peacocks used for the decoration of the palaces and temple of King Solomon. Even the

queen of Sheba brought spices as gifts to king Solomon and the pepper of the Malabar coast was known to ancient traders (Abraham 1993: 269).

Fifty years after Buddha's death (483 B. C.) his disciples went to the neighboring countries to spread Buddhism and settled there. The Mauryan empire was spread up to the Hindukush mountains. King Ashoka (268-239 B. C.) embraced Buddhism and sent monks to central and eastern Asia to spread the gospel of Buddha. For the first time, the whole of south Asia, and beyond, was brought under the influence of one unified political and religious system (Tinker1989: 7). King Kanishka (1st cent. A. D.) was another champion of Buddhism. During his rule Buddhism spread to southern India, eastern Iran, central Asia, China, Greece, Kandahar (now in Afghanistan), south east Asia and Indonesia (Motwani, Jyoti 1993:33).

Indians settlements were in existence in the north- eastern Africa at the time of Alexander the Great (356-323 B. C.). Alexander was advised by Aristotle to establish a colony of Greeks in Sokotra island off northeastern Africa. The army of Alexander conquered the island in which Indians were living (Pankhurst:1979). The famous work *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (a first century Greek guide for sailors) mentions that the Indian ships were arriving along the east African coast. Several Indian gold coins found at Dabra Damma, dating from the third century, have established the trade relations between Ethiopia and India.

"India had a long-standing mercantile connection with this part of the world as a part of the ancient network of the Indian Ocean. Geographical proximity facilitated by the monsoon winds made India for over two thousands years a very important market for gold, ivory, and slaves and the most important source for cotton, cloth, beads and sundry manufactured articles (Desai: 1993:118) The Greek work also mentions India's trade relations with Rome, Malay and China. Arikanedu in Tamil Nadu was a Roman settlement where muslin was made for exporting to Rome. It was also an entrepot for ships to Malay and China and carrying Indian goods to Rome. Romila Thapar attributes Roman use of this port from the first century B. C. to the early second century A.D The imports from India were luxury items like spices, jewels, textiles, parrots, peacocks and apes. Originally trade with south east Asia was caused by demand for spices which sent Indian merchants as middlemen to Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and Borneo which were a treasure- trove of various spices. Bigger trade developed with Indians settling in South- East Asia with South Indian traders dominating the trade together with prominent merchants from Kalinga and Magadha. During this period trade with China also increased with the use of Chinese cloth and bamboo in India. The routing of China silk through the northwestern towns, Taxila and Broach added to the prosperity of northwestern part of India. Thaper traces the colonization of the Irrawady Delta in Burma and various parts of Java to the Kalingans; and the introduction of Indian culture to Cambodia to an Indian Brahmin named Kaundinya who married a Cambodian prince (Thapar 1966).

There were permanent settlements of Indian traders along the coast of East Africa. The other dominant trading community was of Arabs. Arabs developed Mogadishu and

Mombasa as great trading centers. Indian traders, manufacturers and clove cultivators were concentrated in Zanzibar island. They were both Hindus (mainly Vaishyas) and Muslims (Ismailis and Bohras).

The Venetian traveler Marco Polo has a word of praise for the Gujarati and Saurashtrian merchants on Africa's east coast who he considers as "the best and most honorable that can be found in the world" (Travels of Marco Polo written in 1260 A.D). Vasco de Gama touched East Africa on his historic voyage to India. He reached Malindi in 1497 A. D. and found Indian merchants in Mozambique, Kilwa and Mombasa. He hired a Gujerati mariner named Kanji to take him to the shore of India (Desai:1989;Samaroo 1994). The Indian traders had also settled in Aden and the Persian Gulf (Tinker 1977:2).

The abundance of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain that found its way to east Africa during the medieval period did so, for the most part, in Gujerati ships (Hatim 1983: 66-72).

"Indian presence on the east African seaboard was quite substantial up to the beginning of the 16th century when the western maritime powers arrived in the Indian Ocean. The use of Indian system of weights and measures and of Indian cowries as currency, a great demand for Indian goods, all pointed to the fact that Indians were playing a key role in the area. However, there is nothing to indicate that they had penetrated into the interior or made contacts with its Bantu state systems" (Desai 1993:119).

Indian traders, laborers, adventurers and junior administrators took part in the Portuguese penetration into the interior (Desai 1993:119).

Buddhism was brought to Chin by the year A.D.69. By the fifth century a large segment of Chinese population had embraced Buddhism. "An account written in A.D749 refers to the numerous merchants belonging to the Polomen, i.e. Brahmanas of India on the river of Canton. The same account refers to the three Brahmana monasteries at Canton where Brahmanas were residing" (Motwani, Jyoti 1993:38).

India has more than two thousand years' history of cultural and commercial relations with south- east Asia. Commercial relations had a longer history than cultural contacts. According to Brian Harrison "from at least the sixth century B. C. onwards Indian traders were sailing to those lands, and down through those islands, in search of gold and tin" (Harrison 1966:10).

The first civilized society in Burma, that of the Pyu and the Mon, was focused upon the south. The capital Srikshetra (Old Prome) was an Indian-style sacred city. The culture was after the Indian pattern, and the script borrowed from south India. This society was overthrown by the Burmese.

Java was colonized by the Hindus between the 1st and 7th century. In the 7th century Javanese got converted to Hinduism and an elaborate Hindu culture developed by the 10th century. The Hindu kingdom (8th-13th century) covered much of Indonesia (New Webster's Dictionary 1992). The Cola king Rajaraja the Great (AD 985-1018) conquered the entire south India and extended his hold over Ceylon. Under his son, Rajendra (A.D 1018-35) the Cola power reached out to threaten the empire of Sri Vijaya in Java and Sumatra (Sri Vijaya kingdom was founded in Sumatra before the fourth century A.D It rose to prominence towards the close of the seventh century A.D). The Colas were expelled from Ceylon in 1070 (Tinker 1989:12). In the fifth century A.D Hindu kingdoms were formed in Java (Majumdar 1988).

The people of Java came to share with the Indians their religions, languages, art and architecture, their cultural mores, and legal and political ethos and forms (Arora 1982: 119). This area was exposed to "the heaviest Indianization" (Wales 1951:195). Majority of the people of Bali island still practices Hinduism.

Brahminical and Buddhist influences spread through the intervening culture areas to islands of Borneo as well as Mindanao and the Vaishyas in the Philippines. They gradually penetrated even to the northernmost island of Luzon. There are traces of Indic influences in the languages, literature and social customs in the Philippines (Rye 1982:144).

In Indochina the kingdoms of Fu-nan, Champa, Kambujadesa (Kampuchea), Angkor and Laos were greatly influenced by Indian culture and civilization. From the beginning of the Christian era, the Indian merchants and adventurers, princes and priests, spread the Indian language and literature, religion and philosophy, art and architecture, customs and manners in these countries, the deep imprint of which is visible even today. The Indian settlements had been widely spread all over the region by the beginning of the Christian era. Later they grew into small kingdoms. Within two to three hundred years nearly the whole of Indo-China and Indonesia, comprising Burma, Siam, Malay Peninsula, Cambodia and Annam in the mainland and the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes and perhaps many others were dotted over with such kingdoms and settlements of a less organized Majumdar (1955:34-35). Some of these kingdoms like those of Fu-nan and Champa grew very powerful. These contacts lasted for more than a thousand years (Reddi 1982:155).

The migration from India to the early states of southeast Asia involved the limited but important movement of priests and traders. These people were not part of any massive wave of population movement. Instead, by their command of specialist knowledge, they came to fill vitally important roles in the emerging south east Asian states and so to implant the Indian cultural contribution to southeast Asia's historical development. In general, however, the south east Asian classical world does not seem to have been one marked by large-scale voluntary migration. A limited but highly important number of Indians settled in the area and made their mark (Osborne 1979:90).

Afghanistan had mainly Hindus and Buddhists and was ruled by the Hindu kings till the end of the seventh century when the Arabs conquered it and people embraced Islam.

The Banjaras (Gypsies) migrated from India in the 10th century to several European countries. Their language Romani has a resemblance to Indian languages. It is spoken in widely varying dialects.

"Romani is spoken by the descendants of a population which left India at the end of the first millennium A.D. and which made its way into Europe via Persia and the Byzantine Empire, arriving there some time during the thirteenth century. The identity of the first population, and the circumstances of their exodus have been the subject of scholarly debate since the 1780s. Late twentieth century research, some of it being undertaken in India, suggests strongly that the original population consisted of different Indo- Aryan descent (in particular Dravidians and the Pratihara migrant population who had settled in India from north), out of whom were created Rajput armies to resist the Islamic incursions into India led by Mohammed Ghaznavid. As these armies moved further west, they were again caught up in, and displaced by, the spread of Islam as it overtook the Byzantine Empire. It was the westward movement which pushed the Romani population up into Europe. The common name Gypsy (like Gitano in Spanish) originates in the misassumption that the population had come from Egypt" (Hancock 1993).

The Gypsies are spread over in Europe. Their population in Europe was about 8 million in 1993 (New York Times, May 5,1993). Of them 2.5 million lived in Rumania and 5 lakh in Hungary (Motwani 1994:3).

The Chettiyars who were bankers and traders of south India and Ceylon from medieval times, gradually extended their activities to Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia and Mauritius (Tinker 1977:3).

Before the Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean the merchants of Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal looked to the east, to the Indonesian archipelago, for direct voyages organized with their own shipping and capital. From the sixteenth century the orientation was suddenly reversed and turned westwards, towards the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Hindu merchants were to be found all through the Middle East in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chaudhuri 1985:100).

The Sikh empire was spread up to Peshawar and Khyber. The Gurkhas of Nepal carried out a sub-montane Himalayan empire which stretched from Darjeeling to Simla.

The emigration that took place from India to various parts of the world did not result in any significant permanent settlements overseas.

2. INDIAN EMIGRATION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Indian emigration during the 19th and early 20th centuries to the British, French and Dutch colonies was unprecedented. The emigration of about 28 million Indians between 1846 and 1932 was a consequence of vast colonial expansion, especially by the British empire. Indian emigration during this period was more than that of any country of which we have record (Table 1). But large proportion of those who emigrated eventually returned. Here I have briefly dealt with the two types of emigration that took place during this period. They are: i) emigration of contract laborers under the 'indenture system' or 'Kangani' system; and ii) 'free' or 'passage' emigration of traders, clerks, bureaucrats and professionals.

2.1 Emigration of Contract Laborers

The British slave trade was abolished in 1807. The institution of slavery was abolished in the British empire with the Act of Emancipation of 1834. In 1846 slavery was abolished in the French colonies, and in 1873 in the Dutch colonies. The emancipation of slaves in 1838 led to severe shortage of laborers working in sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, and rice and rubber plantations in the colonies. The British colonists were impressed by the example of Latin American and Cuban colonists who had imported Chinese laborers from Macao, a Portuguese settlement, to work on their plantations (Campbell 1969). Indians at that time were employed in public works-roads, harbors, offices and jails in various colonies and as slaves and convicted prisoners (Sandhu 1969: 132-140; Tinker 1974:44-46).

The plantation owners worldwide succeeded in bringing pressure on the British colonial authorities in introducing the system of indentured Indian immigration based at Calcutta and Madras. Following the abolition of slavery in French colonies in 1846 and Dutch colonies in 1873 respectively, French and Dutch planters also reached agreements with British authorities in India to obtain laborers under the same system.

Indenture was a signed contract to work for a given employer for five years, performing the tasks assigned to him. During this period he received abasic pay, accommodation, food rations and medical facilities. At the end of the five years, the emigrant was free to reindenture or to work elsewhere in the colony, and at the end of ten years, depending on the contract, he was entitled to a free or partly paid return passage to India or a piece of crown land in lieu of the fare (Jain R.K: 1993:6; Clarke 1990:8). The prospective emigrant had to testify before a magistrate that he understood the terms of the contract. Unscrupulous methods were used including lying, kidnapping by the recruiting men to dupe ignorant country folk in order to get them to offer themselves for indenture (Jain, Prakash 1989:25; Gillion 1973:26). The work required from the indentured was strenuous and exacting, and the recruiters sought people who were young and physically fit. The indentured were very rarely more than thirty years old, and the vast majority were between twenty and twenty-five years. Before being allowed to embark each

volunteer was medically examined, the unfit were rejected and a detailed report was submitted on those who were accepted. Jamaica, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, Guyana, Natal and Surinam governments had maintained emigration agencies in Calcutta and some in Madras as well. Majority of the recruits were young males. Females were few.

Although the Government of India, supported by the Colonial Office, stipulated that there should be forty women for every hundred men, ships often left India with less than this percentage (Geoghagan: 1873:49). The shortage of women affected both indentured and free laborers (Samaroo 1987:30). This shortage of women led to sharing of women which amounted to legal prostitution (Andrews: 1915 45-48). This led to frequent wife murders by the jealous husbands (British Guiana 1875-1894). Indian plantation life was demoralized and debilitated for many years (Tinker 1977:5). The increasing cost of Indian immigration was a major reason for the reluctance of the planters in importing women and children (Hill 1919).

The migrants volunteered as individuals. Emigration of family units or caste groups or village communities was rare (Jain, Ravindra 1993:6). The number of persons migrated, colonies and the period of emigration have been listed in Table 2.Table3 shows the year of beginning of migration of Indians. Table 4 shows the indentured Indian immigration by colony in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Under the indenture system some 1.5 million persons migrated. The indenture system was terminated in 1917 due to the anti-indentureship campaign led by Indian nationalists. The Viceroy Lord Hardinge (1910-1916), a liberal and humanitarian administrator, took the decision to end indentureship.

Another system prevalent to get the contract labor mainly to the tea plantations of Cevlon and rubber plantations of Malaysia was Kangani system. The word Kangani is an anglicized form of the Tamil word Kankani meaning overseas or foreman. The Kanganis were Indians who were employed by the plantation owners to recruit laborers in India. Kanganis were men with some capital who advanced money to the prospective coolies for traveling and settling down on a plantation (Jain, Ravindra 1970:199). The Maistry system used to acquire laborers for plantations in Burma was more or less similar to the Kangani system except that the former was characterized by a gradation of middlemenemployers (the labor contractor, the head Maistry, the charge Maistry and the gang Maistry) and the innumerable deductions. In contradiction to indentured laborers, coolies under these systems were largely free. There was no contract and no fixed period of service (Jain, Prakash 1989:162). During the period 1852 and 1937 1.5 million Indians went to Ceylon, 2 million to Malaysia and 2.5 million to Burma (Davis 1951:104). Since these colonies were situated not far from India, majority of the migrants returned home after serving as plantation laborers. After 1920 the Kangani emigration gradually gave way to individual or unrecruited migration due to fall in demand for Indian labor. The Sastri Report of 1936 brought about the formal abolition of Kangani plantation recruiting (Thompson 1943:122).

2.2 Areas of Origin

Most of the indentured migrants came from the states of Bihar, Northwest Provinces (today's Uttar Pradesh). All the Kangani and Maistry laborers and a small proportion of indentured laborers came from the Tamil and Telugu speaking areas of Madras Presidency.

2.3 Religious and Caste Composition

It is possible to know the religious and caste composition based on the Calcutta Emigration Reports. Among the laborers 86 percent were Hindus, and 14 percent Muslims (Saha 1970:34). Muslims' proportion among traders and administrators was considerable. Sikhs emigrated to east Africa as indentured laborers initially to lay the Kenya-Uganda railway line. Later they migrated as traders, policemen and army men (Clarke 1990:11).

Among the Hindus 16 percent belonged to upper castes, 32 percent to agricultural intermediate castes and the rest to lower castes and 'untouchables' (Smith 1959).

2.4 Sex and Age Composition

The emigrant population was predominantly male and young.

2.5 'Free' of 'Passage' Migration

The second type of migration of traders and artisans took place to the east African countries namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Natal (South Africa). Mauritius, Burma, Malaysia and Fiji during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, was known as "Free" or "Passage" migration. They were mainly petty contractors, bankers, shopkeepers, merchants, clerks, entrepreneurs and professionals. They mainly catered to the indentured laborers working in those colonies. Unlike the indentured laborers who belonged to mainly lower castes, the traders belonged to the upper castes. They included Baniyas from United Provinces, Marwaris from Rajputana, Chettiars from Madras and Pathans from Northwest, Gujaratis from Bombay and Punjabis. Clerks and administrators were recruited by the British government to work in the overseas territories in southeast Asia, and east and south Africa. Tinker calls them 'imperial auxiliaries' (Tinker 1974).

2.6 Settlement Pattern

The indentured and Kangani laborers initially settled on the plantations which had hired their services. After the end of their indenture, they were allowed to settle elsewhere but close to the plantation where they worked earlier so that they could be a permanent source of labor to their plantations. Here I would like to give a brief profile of the countries which have received large number of indentured or Kangani laborers, and 'free' or 'passage' immigrants from India.

2.7 Mauritius

Mauritius became a French possession in 1715. Being on the route to India the island became a bone of contention between Britain and France until the former seized it in 1810. In 1721 the first batch of Indians emigrated to Mauritius as slaves, merchants, skilled artisans, technicians and messengers. Most of the slaves in Mauritius were from Africa and Madagascar. The ban on slavery in 1832 by the British government brought in the Indians and Chinese. The first contingent of 37 Indian indentured laborers arrived in 1834. Soon thousands started arriving from Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and northern states. Their contribution to the development of the island was substantial. During the early period of the British rule some 800 Indian convicts were also brought. In 1872 there were about a thousand Indians who were shopkeepers, planters, clerks and artisans (Report of the Royal Commission, 1872:26). At the end of their contractual period they were given an option to convert their passage for agricultural land. During the period 1834 to 1907 more than 450,000 indentured Indians arrived in Mauritius, and around 170,000 returned to India. The indentured laborers worked on sugar cane plantations, and sugar industry. By the turn of the century around one-third of the land under cane was in possession of the people of Indian origin and till 1911 India imported much of auritian sugar. By the 1920s people of Indian origin had acquired wealth and 40 percent of the studentsof the Royal College were of Indian origin (Manrakhan 1994)

The Mauritius Labor Party came into being in 1936.Dr. Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the leader of the Labor Party organized the oppressed laborers against the onslaughts of the planters and led the freedom movement. He fought for the new constitution and got it in 1947. In 1948 the Labor Party defeated the 'Party Mauricien', the party of the conservatives. In 1954 elections, he formed an all-party government. Mauritius got Independence in 1968 (Varma 1975). He became the Prime Minister of independent Mauritius. In the elections of 1982, the Movement Militant Mauritian Party came to power and Anerood Jagunath, a PIO became the Prime Minister and Sri Veerasami Ringadoo, another PIO became the Governor General.Most shops are owned by Indians and Chinese.

In 1987 Mauritius had 701,000 Indians constituting 70.10 percent of the country's population. Mauritus is a multiethnic community. The Indo-Mauritians who are Hindus (60.33 percent) and Muslims (13.77 percent), constitute 74 percent of the total population. The next ethnic group is that of 'General Population' comprising of European white settlers, African Creoles and Mixed Creoles, who constitute 24.46 percent of the total population. They are Christians. The Chinese constitute 1.44 percent of the country's population. "The population of Mauritius represents a panorama of cultures from Asia, Africa and Europe with borrowings of ideas and cultural traits taking place

among different cultural groups. Despite the acculturating influences of one ethnic group over the other during the last two centuries, the ethnic groups have by and large maintained their identity, language, religion and cultural systems (Mehta 1981).

The highlight of the nation's economy is the monocrop of sugar. Sugar cane accounts for 92 percent of the agricultural output. Sugar contributes nearly 90 percent of the total export earnings, absorbs one-third of the total labor force and constitutes more than 50 percent of the GNP (Mehta 1989:145). About 31,000 plantation owners and tenant planters are people of Indian origin.

2.8 South Africa

In the provinces of Natal, European planters required agricultural laborers for the sugar cane plantations. In the year 1859 Natal government assented to their request. Thus the indenture system was extended to Natal. So great was the early desire of white employers for a steady flow of indentured labor that between 1874-1892 the Natal government contributed 10,000 pounds per annum from public funds towards the cost of 'importing' its 'human consignment'. Between 1860 and 1911 some 140,000 Indians came. Majorityof the indentured laborers were Hindus from Madras Presidency and Travancore. The rest were from the Hindi speaking states, Orissa and Bengal. Among the 3,200 indentured laborers coming on eight boat loads selected at random, approximately 2 percent were Brahmins, 9 percent were Kshatriyas, 21 percent were Vaishyas, 31 percent were Sudras, 27 percent were Scheduled Castes, 3 percent were Christians and 4 percent were Muslims (Kuper 1960:7).

Indians worked on the plantations, railways, dockyards, municipal service, in the coalmines of northern Natal, and in domestic service. Many plantation workers were offered land as an inducement to reindenture, but as their numbers increased an earlier promise of citizenship was not fulfilled and the offer of land was subsequently withdrawn. Nearly majority of Indians nevertheless remained in South Africa, turning mostly to market gardening and trading in peri-urban and urban areas (Lemon 1990:131). Even though they were not happy with the racist laws and 3 tax per adult, only 152,000 (23 percent of Natal's Indians) returned to India by 1911 (Henning 1993:131). Most of them remained in Natal and several thousands moved to the Transvaal.

During the 1880s and 1890s Indian traders migrated to South Africa. They constituted around 10 percent of Indian immigrants (Kuper 1960:4). Much later teachers, accountants, priests lawyers and other professionals arrived. Most of them were from Gujarat.

In 1860 it was stipulated that women in the proportion of thirty-five percent of the total number of men should be brought to Natal. Later the proportion was raised to fifty percent(Ferguson, Davie 1952:13).

Indians were recognized as citizens of South Africa in 1961after it had declared itself a republic. They became a part of the apartheid system. They had more privileges than the blacks. In 1983 they were asked to participate in the tricameral legislature system which excluded blacks.

Agriculture was the largest single source of Indian employment in 1936, when it accounted for 37.8 percent of Indian workers, but today the corresponding figure is less than 5 percent. Many lost their land due to urban accretion. Indian employment in manufacturing rose sharply in the 1940s when large number of whites were in the armed forces. In ensuing decades many Indians displaced from commerce by the effects of group areas legislation entered manufacturing.

The Group Areas Act 1950 prohibited the Indians to move out of their province of domicile (The rules were relaxed in 1975). Within their own province, they were required to live in strictly defined locations. All Indian economic activity had to be deployed in the Indian zones.

Due to rapid economic development in the 1950s and 1960s large number of Indian women entered the labor force. In 1983, 32.9 percent women of Indian community were employed.

Indians constitute one of the four groups in South Africa. The other three are whites, blacks and the colored (those of mixed blood). In 1987 the population of persons of Indian origin was 850,000. Of these 50 percent were from Tamil Nadu, 20 percent were from Hindi speaking states, 10 percent were from Andhra Pradesh, and 20 percent were from Gujarat.

Around 80 percent of the Indian community is concentrated in Natal state. Continued restriction on inter-provincial movement after1910 maintained the concentration of Indians in southern Natal. Only in 1975 the ban was lifted. Transvaal accounts for much of the remaining 20 percent. The Group Areas Act confined Indians to Indian areas. In Durban city, the largest and busiest port in Africa (population 3 million), Indians comprise nearly 1 million. 73 percent of all South African Indians lived in Durban-Pinetown Metropolitan Area in 1980. Other major concentration of Indians are found in the Pretoria/ Witwatersrand/ Veereeniging area (99,000-12 percent in 1980) and Pietermaritzburg (51,000- 22 percent) (Lemon 1990:132). In Durban travel, tourism and hotel industries are dominated by Indians.

In 1994 the country got freedom from apartheid imperialism. There are five ministers of Indian community in the cabinet of Dr. Nelson Mandela.

2.9 Tanzania

Indian traders had been visiting the East African coast since the beginning of the Christian era. Gujarati ships brought Chinese blue-and-white porcelain to East Africa

during the medieval period (Amiji 1975 & 1983). By the mid-nineteenth century, there were a number of south Asian trading communities living in Zanzibar and other east African coastal ports (Parliamentary Papers 1910). However by the late nineteenth century the Indian population of Zanzibar already ran into thousands. South Asians had settled elsewhere along the east African coast less densely and numerously. "In the nineteenth century Indian merchants began to acquire increasingly important role in the commercial and financial life of the Sultanate. Apart from their near monopoly of the wholesale and distributive trade, some of the leading Indian traders provided the main banking and financial services available in Zanzibar during most of the 19th century. According to Sir Bartle Frere who visited Zanzibar in 1873, "The preponderating influence of the Indian trader along some 6,000 miles of sea-coast in Africa and its islands, and nearly the same extent in Asia, the Indian trader is, if not the monopolist, the most influential, permanent, and all pervading element of the commercial community" (Jain, Prakash 1993:132).

Sir John Kirk reported that the estimated capital invested in Zanzibar island in 1873 was not less than 1.6 million pounds. Their numbers also rose steadily from an estimated 1,200 in 1844 to about 6,000 in 1960. In Zanzibar there lived "the 'Chotara' or a half-caste breed between the Indian and Swahili (Parliamentary Papers 1910,cd 5193:239). Extensive South Asian penetration of the East African interior occurred in the immediate aftermath of the European colonial partition, at the very end of the nineteenth century. There were rarely sufficient densities of either Arabs or Asians in inland East African townships before the First World War (Twaddle 1990:153).

After the First World War large number of Hindus migrated from India mainly from Gujarat and Punjab. They outnumbered Muslim South Asians. By the end of the European colonial era in 1961, the population of PIOs in Tanganyika was 92,000 and 22,000 in Zanzibar (Gregory 1963:4). Hindus accounted for around 70 percent of all East African Asians.(Ramchandani 1976; Tandon; Blacker 1972). In 1964 Tanganyika united with Zanzibar to form what is now Tanzania. The South Asians who were mainly traders and artisans concentrated in urban areas. The President Julius Nyerere nationalized all large-scale foreign firms, including all the banks, insurance companies, import-export agencies, flour mills etc. The programme affected the western and Asian big business (Tinker 1977:133). Experiments in socialism and Ujamaa (collective) village life led to economic crisis and in the eighties the country ceased to be attractive for Indians. The Asian exodus continued during the post-independence period and by 1987 there were only 40,000 persons of Indian origin in Tanzania constituting 0.17 percent of the country's population.

2.10 Uganda

In 1894 Britain proclaimed a protectorate over Uganda. In 1921 the population of Asians in Uganda was a mere 3,518. In the 1930s cotton was a monopoly of Indians. 187 of the 194 cotton ginning and pressing industries were owned by Indians. Between the two world wars the population of Uganda grew very fast. The 1948 Census

recorded 35,215 Indians in Uganda. Africans resented the increased concentration of Indians in Kampala and Jinja, and in 1945 there were anti-Indian riots across the country. Four years later there were riots again (Tinker 1977:151-53).

In 1962 Uganda became Independent and became a Republic five years later with Dr.A.Milton Obote as President. At the time of Independence the population of PIOs in Uganda was 77,400 (Gregory1963:4). Asians controlled 80 percent of commerce, 75 percent of industry and manufacturing and 4,000 business houses. Most of the traders and industrialists were Gujaratis. Coffee, tea, tobacco, sugar and cotton estates were mainly run by Asians.

In 1969 Milton Obote followed the Kenyan example and implemented Immigration and Trade Licensing Acts, designed to eliminate non-citizens from the economy and to advance Africanization. The non-citizens were required to obtain work permits. Certain items of trade were not to be handled by non-citizens. The list covered 34 categories (Tinker 1977:155).

In 1971 General Idi Amin seized power through a coup. In 1972 he expelled all 90,000 Ugandan Asians of whom 50,000 were Indians. The expelled included the Ugandan citizens. The mass expulsion of Asians from Uganda was prompted not only by the advent to power of one of black Africa's most repugnant post-colonial dictators, but by a supporting Ugandan soldiery containing a critical constituency of Nubians extremely hostile to Asian trade (Pain 1975).

After the expulsion most of the Ugandan South Asians migrated to Britain (29,000), Canada (6,000), India (10,000), Pakistan (200) and the USA (1,000). Only 1,000 remained behind Uganda. Amin was ousted in 1979. In 1991, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni invited the Asians to return and invest in Uganda. Very few returned to Uganda. Of the 12,800 claimants registered with the foreign office only 900 properties have been reclaimed (Mathew 1994:76). The Ugandan experience left behind a deep scar among the Asians of the region. The Asians are afraid that the Ugandan story could at any time produce a sequel elsewhere.

2.11 Kenya

In 1895 England took over the responsibility for the government from a trading company. In 1901 Uganda Railway was completed with the help of Indian immigrants. Europeans were encouraged to settle there. Some 32,000 indentured Indian laborers were shipped to East Africa to build the Kenya-Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Kisumu. After the completion of the project only as few as 6,724 remained behind (Desai 1993:120). Many migrated to different parts of East Africa and established themselves as petty traders and later into wholesale and retail traders and industrialists. Many enterprising traders from India joined them. Relatively small numbers had gone to the central African territories of Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias. Very few migrated to Ghana, Nigeria, French, Belgian or Portuguese colonies, the only exceptions being the

islands of Reunion and Mozambique, the former because of its proximity to Mauritius and the latter because of the Goa link, as well as its location on the African east coast (Hiremath:1994). The construction and transport industries were virtually under the control of Indian entrepreneurs. They were controlling cotton, sugar and sesal industries. Indians were also working as railway employees and lower level government employees who worked in an extensive variety of capacities. Between 1946 and 1960 there was a rapid expansion of Indian employment in trade and commerce (25,600) than in public service (11,800) (Delf 1963:45). The population of Indians rose from 11,787 in 1911 to 43,623 in 1931 and to 97,687 in 1948 (Jha, Prakash: 1993:133). Majorityof Indian immigrants in Kenya have been Gujaratis, both Hindus and Muslims. An important characteristic of the Indian population is its high degree of urbanization.

A new class of African traders tried to compensate for their economic weakness by exerting its political muscle through the Kenya African Union which secured independence for Kenya from Britain in 1963 under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta. The population of PIOs at the time of independence was 176,500 in Kenya Gregory 1963:4). The history of Kenyan politics since Independence has been punctuated by vitriolic outbursts against Indian traders by lesser African traders (Furedi 1974). It was the 1967 Immigration Actwhich was instrumental in stripping the Indians of many positions in commerce. The government came out with another draconian act. That was Trade Licensing Act 1967. Under this Act, certain geographical areas- especially the centers of towns- were reserved for commercial activity by citizens and non-citizens were permitted to trade only if granted an annual license. The measure was specifically aimed at the concentrations of Asian business and trade in Nairobi and Mombasa. The 1968 violence against Indians led to large- scale migration of Indians to the United Kingdom. As a result of the exodus the population of Asians fell from 176,613 in 1962 to 139,593 in 1969 and to 105,000 in 1972. By 1979 there were only 78,600 Indians. (Tinker 1977:129-35).

In August 1982 there was an attempted coup which resulted in about \$120 million worth of damages (mostly to Indian business and property) (Jain, Prakash 1993:139-140). A fresh wave of violence hit the Asian community in 1993. An organization called 'The Sons of Liberty' warned Asians to leave Kenya. It was alleged that the Indians and Pakistanis were involved in many financial scandals that rocked the country recently (Mathew 1994:76). In 1987 Kenya had 70,000 persons of Indian origin constituting 0.31 percent of country's population. They were mainly concentrated in the urban centers of Nairobi, Mombassa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret.

2.12 The Caribbean

The Caribbean consists of the islands in the Caribbean Sea plus the three nations and one dependency on the rim that share a northern European colonial heritage- Belize, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. Altogether, there are sixteen independent nations and ten dependencies- twelve including Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin

Islands. The total population of the Caribbean in 1981 excluding Puerto Rico and U.S. Virgin Islands was 28,329,484 (including 31,667,791) (Pastor 1985:5).

The importation of contract labor to the Caribbean started after 1834 and lasted for more than half a century (Riviere 1972). Guadeloupe, Martinique, British Guiana, and Trinidad stopped importing indentured laborers in the 1850s and 1860s. The 1870s witnessed a substantial increase in sugar production (Hope 185:237).

India and China were the main sending countries of the indentured laborers. Below are the total number of indentured Indians imported to the British West Indies until the termination of the system in 1917 (Laurence 1971:26).

British Guiana	238,909
Trinidad	143,939
Jamaica	36,412
Grenada	3,200
St.Vincent	2,472
St. Lucia	4,354

The French colonies started getting laborers from India, Africa, China and Europe. Between 1853 and 1885 about 80,000 Indians were brought to the French colonies namely Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guiana, mostly from Pondicherry and Calcutta (Laurence 1971:42).

The Dutch colonies initially started getting labor from the Dutch East Indies from 1853 and later from India. Between 1873 and 1917 some 34,304 Indians came to Suriname (Klerke 1953:72-73; Emmer 1984:90-111).

"Throughout the Caribbean, therefore, with the exceptions of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, Indian immigrants proved the most numerous and the most important, and Indian immigration determined the general characteristics of the whole system of contract or indentured labor whether in Suriname, Guadeloup, or Jamaica, the importation of Indian contract labor saved an ailing sugar industry. The presence of the descendants of those immigrants is powerfully asserted in Guyana and Trinidad, and no small number of them is still to be found in agricultural pursuitseven in the sugar industry...to this day" (Hope 1985:240)

2.13 Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad was first settled by the Spanish in 1498. In 1797 the British took control of the island. It remained a British territory until 1962 when it achieved its political Independence from Britain. It has British system of government. The economy, formerly dependent on sugar and cocoa, now includes rum, fertilizers, oil and coffee. Indians are

occupying important positions in the government led by the People's National Movement. The United Labor Front, a political party is headed by an Indian, Basdeo Pandey. The party emerged as the largest opposition in the last election. Racial tensions do exist between the East Indians and blacks. In 1987 the population of persons of Indian origin was 430,000. The ethnic composition is 42 percent blacks, 40 percent East Indians, 2 percent whites and 16 percent other ethnic groups and mixed races (Ryan, n.d:II).

2.14 Guyana

In 1812 Guyana, a British colony, had 100,000 African slave laborers (Singh 1987:10). Indians first arrived in Guyana in 1838 to work on the sugar plantations. The immigration of Indians continued until 1917. The 1911 Census revealed for the first time

that East Indians formed the largest single ethnic group (Tyran 1987:119). In 1921 East Indian population (124,938) constituted 42 percent of the total population (297,691).

In the 1950s the colony was given internal self-government with universal suffrage. In the 1953 elections The People's Progressive Party (PPP) led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan (PIO) came to power. Within five months the British government suspended the Constitution and dismissed PPP government because it was feared that Dr. Jagan was moving Guyana into the Socialist Block.

In 1959 the Constitution was restored and elections were held. Dr. Jagan's PPP again came to power. In the 1961 elections again PPP came to power. In 1964 a coalition of the United Force (UF) Party and PNC assumed office with Mr.L.F.S. Burnham being Prime Minister. In 1966 the country got Independence. In 1970 the country was declared a co-operative republic. The government encouraged the development and promotion of co-operatives in various sectors including food supplies, clothing, and housing. In 1971 the contry had mainly bauxite, sugar and other industries. In this expansion the state has entered into almost every area of economic activity (Debiprasad 1987:146). The main economic activities include agriculture and mining. Bauxite, sugar and rice constitute 70 percent of the country's exports. The important areas in which Indians are working include agriculture, trade, industry and civil services.

By a series of rigged elections Burnham kept himself in office until his death in 1985. Burnham led government was anti-Indian. In the 1992 elections Dr. Jagan's PPP again formed government. During the period 1964-1992 Indians were marginalised politically. They had poor representation in the government service, public corporation, army and police. During this period economy of the country also suffered. In 1987 Guyana had 300,00 persons of Indian origin who constituted 30.30 percent of country' population. Among the Indians 60 percent are Hindus, 30 percent are Muslims and 10 percent are Christians (Singh 1987:11).

2.15 Surinam

Surinam changed hands frequently between the Dutch and the English right from the Peace Treaty of Breda of 1667, finally settling down as a Dutch colony in 1814 (Malik 1993:204). In 1853 Surinam started importing indentured laborers from China and Madeira to work on the cocoa and sugar plantations. But it was only from 1873 that a mass import of indentured laborers-now from British India occurred.

Between 1853 and 1939 the Dutch colony imported more than 74,000 contract laborers: 1 percent from Portuguese Madeira, 3 percent from China, 4 percent from other Caribbean colonies, 46 percent from British India and 44 percent from Indonesia (Java). One- third of the British Indians and more than 20 percent of the Javanese returned to their country (Hira 1987:190).

The period between the abolition of indenture system and the world war witnessed the rise of Indian petty bourgeoisie. The economic activity of the Indians after the period of indenture ship, was largely confined to peasant production. A small section took to trade. In 1939, out of a population of 156,000 45 percent was Creole, 29 percent was Indian and 21 percent was Javanese (Hira:1987:195). In 1940, 70 percent of the Indians were Hindus, 20 percent were Muslims and 10 percent were Christians.

Surinam became independent in 1975. During the post-Independence period there was mass emigration PIOs to Holland, where now one-third of the population lives.

The three political parties created on the basis of ethnicity- the WPS (Creolebased), the VHP (Indian-based) and the KTP (Javanese-based) were the first political parties in this region. Between 1969-73 the VHP dominated the show with Laxman Jagannath as the leader. The quiet military coup saw Colonel Deysi Bouterse saddled in power. He turned out to be a radical leftist. One of the most significant tasks completed by him was to develop a new sense of nationalism transcending the ethnic lines. He announced the formation of a Constituent Assembly in 1985. In 1987 the new democratic Constitution was adopted and the power was transferred from the military junta to the democratic forces. Jagannath Laxman, a Gandhian, is currently the chairman of the assembly who has helped enormously in maintaining the multi-racial unity and made possible the coming together of democratic forces (Malik 1993:203-08).

In 1987 Surinam had 140,000 persons of Indian origin constituting 35.90 percent of country's population. About 80 percent of them are Hindus, 15 percent are Muslims, and the rest are Christians. Surinam's former President Ramse Shanker belongs to the Indian community.

2.16 Jamaica

During the indenture period in Jamaica, which lasted from 1845 to 1917, 38,581 laborers arrived in that country from India. Furthermore, of this number only 11,959

returned to India after serving their indenture contracts (Tolan 1993:209). The differences between the sexes decreased over a period of time. While almost one-third of the Indians brought to Surinam were females, in 1939 their share in the Indian population increased to 47 percent (Speckman 1965).

Jamaica in 1958 entered the Federation of the West Indies, but in 1962 when the Federation was dissolved, Jamaica became a separate state. In 1987 it had 39,000 persons of Indian origin constituting 1.62 percent of country's population. Indians are well established in the fields of trade, industry, commerce and agriculture (Singh 1987:13). Indians are dispersed over all sectors of the economy (Hira 1987:200-01).

2.17 Ceylon

The emigration of Indians to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) started in 1834. Till 1938 1,529,000 Indians (mainly Tamils) had emigrated to Ceylon to work as laborers on the tea plantations. In 1987 their number was 1,023,000 and they constituted 6.28 percent of Coutry's population. In addition to the Tamils of Indian origin, there are Sinhalese Tamilians and Tamil speaking Muslims.

The persons of Indian origin are still concentrated in the central upland districts of the tea-growing area. They are very poor. A small Indian trading community lives in Colombo. They formed 7 percent of the city's population in 1971.

The problem of the Ceylonese Indians emerged when Ceylon obtained universal suffrage in 1929. Sinhalese expressed their unhappiness because the domiciled Indians were among the electors.

Soon after gaining Independence in 1948, the Sinhala dominated government of Sri Lanka steered new amendments regarding citizenship and elections which rendered nearly a million Tamils working in Sri Lankan plantations stateless and voteless (Ponnambalam 1983: 75-78). The Tamils established a separate Tamil party called the Federal Party (FP) in 1949, which by 1956 had become "the dominant party of Sri Lankan Tamils" (Ponnambalam 1983:78).

In 1956 the party in power the United National Party elevated Sinhala to the national language. This act of the government resulted in the demand for the creation of linguistic states in Ceylon by the Federal Party. In 1972 Mrs. Bandarnaike's government enacted a new republican constitution which recognized Sinhala as the single official language of the government and acknowledged the "foremost place" of Buddhism in the nation's culture. The non-Buddhists were accorded minority status, which resulted in radical revolt which was suppressed by punitive forces (Tinker 1977:44). It declared Sri Lanka a Unitary State, which once and for all put to rest issue of federalism and devolution of power.

In 1972 the Tamil United Front came up to fight for the cause of Tamils, which was in 1976 rechristened as Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). In the 1977 parliamentary elections, the TULF won a thumping majority on the plank of Tamil Elam. There was a steep decline in Tamil representation in government service from 1950 to 1970. They were also marginalised in public sector corporations. In 1970 the government adopted the 'standardization policy' in regard to admissions to institutions of higher education. This policy provided the Sinhala students an edge over the Tamils by fixing lower qualifying marks for admissions. Later four different schemes of university admission were devised by the Ministry of Education and put into effect, each of which brought further benefits to the Sinhalese at the expense of Tamil students (Chitra 1989:130).

During the post-1975 period several militant groups came up. The most noteworthy group was the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) headed by Velupillai Prabhakaran. It emerged as the organization leading the armed struggle. The LTTE even established a defacto Elam state in 1986. In the 1996 operation by the army against LTTE, most of the militants have been killed. The LTTE base has been considerably eroded. The Sri Lankan President Mrs. Chandrika has come out with a proposal to give autonomy to the Tamil speaking areas. The proposal is yet to be approved by all sections of the Tamil population.

2.18 Burma

Although Burma had Indian merchants and Brahmanas for centuries, the real Indian occupation of Burma began after the Third Anglo-Burmese War (1885). The last Burmese king was deposed by the British army (mainly Indian). Subsequently a guerrilla revolt spread a and new military force of 35,000 was raised largely from the Punjabi ex-soldiers. Even after the suppression of the revolt in the 1930s, there were still over 10,200 Indian army men. Large number of Indians migrated to Burma to work in the railways, posts and telegraphs, customs, government departments etc. Chettiars from Madras migrated to Burma as traders and bankers.

During the anti-Indian riots in Rangoon in May 1930 triggered by the dock workers, hundreds of Indian shops and thousands of rickshaws were destroyed and 33,000 Indians left for India. The trend continued in 1931 when there were 22,591 more departures than arrivals.

In April 1937 Burma was separated from India. When the Japanese invaded Burma in December 1941 the whole Rangoon's Indian population set out to flee overland. Between 450,000 and 500,000 returned to India. In 1941 over a million Indians were living in Burma, principally in the urban and commercial centers of the coastal and deltaic zones (Kaul 1982:24).

The British finally departed from Burma in January 1948. In the mid 1950s official immigration figures showed 226,743 Indians and Pakistanis as resident aliens.

The bad days for Indians started again in 1962 when General Newin launched 'The Burmese Way to Socialism'. The philosophy of the movement was that all foreigners had proved harmful to Burma and must quit. By May 1964 300,000 Indians had returned to India as refugees. Special planes and ships were chartered by the Indian government to bring them back. It was all as traumatic as the more highly publicized expulsions by Amin from Uganda (Tinker 1977:150-51).

This incident made the remaining Indians in Burma invisible. Less prominent people clinged on. But they lost the dominant position once they held in various fields (Tinker 1990:39-46). In 1987 Burma had 330,000 persons of Indian origin.

2.19 Malaysia and Singapore

British Malaya was an outlying territory of the Indian empire and from its earliest days Penang took in Indian traders and laborers. Most of them were Tamils.

Singapore's Indian population was augmented by the emigration of convicts, merchants and two battalions of Madras infantry. Singapore rapidly grew into an important commercial center in Southeast Asia.

Indian indentured laborers started arriving in Malay in 1860, to work in the sugar and coffee plantations. Chinese laborers also started pouring in. In 1887 the Malayan government switched over to the Kangani system and started giving subsidies to the shipping companies operating from south Indian ports, especially Nagapatnam. The planters during this time switched to rubber production. By 1931 there were 703,535 acres planted with rubber trees, and the estate population had grown to 237,000 of whom 144,000 were Indians. The Tamils were brought from Jaffna (Ceylon) to fill clerical and subordinate technical and medical posts. They also helped in building railways and roads.

By 1921 the Indians in Malaya and Singapore numbered 472,000 out of a total of 3,327,000 (Malays 1,623,000; Chinese 1,172,000; Others 60,000). In 1921 there were only 405 Indian females per 1,000 males.

There was a massive exodus (180,000) of Indians during the world slump which affected rubber industry during 1928 and 1930. The rubber industry in 1937 employed 300,000 Indians and 200,000 Chinese, together with 30,000 Malays and 15,000 Javanese (Tinker: 1977:98). In 1938 the Indian government closed down the emigration depot at Nagapatnam several thousand Tamils died during the Second World War.

By 1957 there were 746 females per 1,000 males among Indians and 64.5 percent of all Malayan Indians were locally born.

In 1948 Singapore was separated from the Federation of Malaya and started functioning as a separate political entity. In 1960 there were 2,306 estates having 285,300 employees of whom 60,740 were Malay, 85,540 were Chinese and 138,500 were Indians.

Malaysia came into existence in 1963 and after two years Singapore was separated from Malaysia and formed an independent republic. The Lond-based rubber companies sold away their plantations to the local syndicates. Thousands of Indians lost their jobs. Several estates switched from rubber to palm oil production.

Indians led a peaceful life during the benevolent premiership of Tunkgku Abdul Rahman. In 1969 Tun Razak succeeded Tungku and multi racialism gave way to Malay nationalism. Following May 13 riots in 1969 nearly 60,000 Indians returned to India in 1969-70 (Suryanarayana 1982:44). He was succeeded by Mahathir Bin Mohammad who advocated that the Malays ought to be treated differently from the non-Malays.

Due to the winding up of the estates the unemployment rate among Indians rose from 1.8 percent in 1957 to 8.8 percent in 1970. The unemployed drifted to the urban areas and by 1980 41 percent Indians were living in towns and formed an underclass. In 1987 Malaysia had 1,170,000 Indians constituting 7.07 percent of country's population.

The Indian community is the most disadvantaged ethnic group in Malay today. As per 1970 figures Indians are concentrated mainly in agriculture (47 percent), services (24.8 percent), and commerce (10.6 percent). Nearly 80 percent of the Indians are to be found in manual jobs, mainly unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Only 6 percent are found in administrative, professional and managerial categories (Suryanarayana 1982: 36-37).

The Indians of Singapore are better placed as compared to the Malaysian Indians. They are controlling textile business and are in various professions. Tamil is one of the four national languages of Singapore. About 30 percent Indians belong to the middle class. In 1987 their population was 100,000 and they constituted 3.83 percent of the country's population (Tinker 1990:46-55).

2.20 Fiji

Fiji was ceded to Great Britain in 1874 by the tribal chiefs of Fiji led by Cakobau Tuiviti (Paramount Chief of Fiji) to protect themselves from US extortion over the burning of a local resident's house and to bring British law to control a small but growing community of European planters, traders, and adventurers (Brow 1989).

Indians were brought to Fiji in 1879 by Europeans to work on the cotton and sugar plantations as 'coolie laborers'. They also worked for the Australian giant The Colonial Sugar Refining Company. In all from 1879 to 1916 some 60,537 Indians came to Fiji as indentured laborers. Approximately 75 percent boarded the ships in Calcutta and the rest in Madras. Among the migrants from Calcutta there were 85.3 percent Hindus, 14.6 percent Muslims and 0.1 percent Christians. The Hindus were from various

castes. Brahmins and other high castes comprised 16 percent, the agricultural castes 31.1 percent, artisans 6.7 percent, and low castes 31.2 percent (Lal 1990). Bihar sent more persons than any other state. From 1879 to 1903 all Indians came from north India. Between 1903 and 1916 large number of south Indians came. In 1920 indenture system was abolished and Indians settled down as farmers and cane growers. The Indians were barred from owning land because of the promise given by the British to the tribal chiefs of Fiji that the government would not allow the transfer of lands belonging to the natives to outsiders. The government enacted Native Land Ordinance of 1892. By this Act 83 percent of Fiji land was permanently vested in Fijian lineages and since 1940 has been administered through the Native Lands Trust Board. It could be leased but never sold to non-Fijians (Brown 1989:97).

Fiji Indians even though were deprived of land, came up in other fields like business, industry, services and professions.

After the indenture period (1920-36) the "free migrants" arrived. They were mainly from Gujarat and Punjab (Gillion 1962).

Fiji became Independent in 1970. It became a parliamentary democracy. The party which held power for 17 years following Independence is the Alliance Party, a coalition of Fijian, Indian and European subgroups dominated by the Fijian chiefs. This party emerged dominant out of the 1963 elections when Fijians voted for the first time for members of the Legislative Council. In 1985 the Fiji Labor Party came into existence which in 1987 formed a coalition with the National Federation Party (Indo-Fijian Party) to fight the election. The coalition won in the election and formed government under the leadership of Dr.Thimoci Bavadra. Within a month there was a bloodless coup masterminded by the army colonel Sitiveni Rabuka. The coup was prompted by the defeat of ruling Alliance Party of Fijian chiefs. The Fijians wholeheartedly supported the coup (Gupta: 1987). Rabuka declared Fiji a republic and appointed himself as President. As a result Fiji was expelled from the Commonwealth. There was worldwide condemnation of the coup.

In 1990 a new Constitution was prepared which permanently barred Indians from becoming president and prime minister. It gave 37 of the 70 seats in the House of Representatives to Fijians, 27 to Indians and 6 to others. Thus Indians will always be in the opposition. In May 1992 elections were held under the new Constitution and Rabuka got elected as Prime Minister.

Since the 1987 coup 20,000-30,000 Indo-Fijians have fled the country mainly to Australia and New Zealand. They are mainly in retail trade in these countries. As per the latest statistics (June 1993) the indigenous Fijians now markedly outnumber ethnic Indians, 377,234 to 343,168.

In the economic sphere there is significant segregation. About half of the Fijian population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, while less than 2 percent of Indians are so engaged. On the other hand 51 percent of Indians are engaged in primary production,

most of it sugar cane. Indians are dominant in industry, construction, commerce and transport where they compose from 54 percent to 63 percent of the total work force. Indians have largely created a non-agricultural economic sphere. The Fijians dominate in one strategic sphere government and administration, where their proportion is 53 percent to the Indian 35 percent. A final sphere of Fijian control is the Defense Force and Fiji Police. The former is 100 percent in Fijians' hands; the latter is 60 percent Fijian, although significantly police are not armed (Brown 1989:100).

2.21 Nepal

People have been migrating into the Tarai region of Nepal since the first Aryan tribesmen were pushed eastward from the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna rivers around 900 B.C. During the period 900 to 500 B.C.the powerful kingdom of Videha was established in the northern Bihar and the eastern Tarai. A line of less powerful rulers, the kings of Sakya, had their capital at Kapilavastu in the mid-western Tarai. Buddha was born in 563 B.C. to a Sakya king. Yet another important kingdom of the ancient period established its capital at Simraun Garh. From time to time, people from the Gangetic plain established settlements that grew into kingdoms.

The Nepali- speaking Sen kings of alpa and Makwanpur gained control of the mid-western Tarai in fifteenth and sixteenth century and extended their control to the eastern Tarai around the mid-seventeenth century. The Shah kings wrested the eastern Tarai from the Sen kings in the 1770s and permitted some settlements (Hamilton 1819:131-32).

Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister of Nepal, encouraged settlement in Tarai after the Sepoy Mutiny (1857-58). Settlers moved in large numbers to forested areas, encouraged by promise of land ownership and low tax rates. The agricultural castes arrived early, followed by occupational and business- caste people after the agricultural economy had developed beyond the rudimentary stage. As the Indian railroads were extended to the border in the late nineteenth century, Indian businessmen moved across the border. Between 1860 and 1951, the Nepalese government encouraged migrants from India to develop the economy of the Tarai (Gaige1975: 60-62). The signing of British India's Treaty with Nepal in 1923 further opened many avenues for the migration of Indian traders, entrepreneurs, skilled and unskilled laborers to the Tarai and other parts of the kingdom (Upreti: 1993:286). The conclusion of the Peace and Friendship Treaty between the two countries in 1950 further encouraged inter- state migration.

All the caste Hindus and Muslims as migrants into the Tarai or descendants of migrants. They often arrange marriages all over northern India. These marriage patterns represent a continual and active reinforcement of the cultural ties that are shared by the Tarai population with the plains of northern India (Gaige: 1975: 22).

The people of Indian origin are found in almost all occupations. They are landowners, tenant farmers, farm laborers, businessmen, industrialists and industrial workers. Nepal depends on India for the supply of skilled labor for its large-scale industries.

The massive migration of Indians into Nepal is undoubtedly one of the factors that contributed to the restrictive citizenship regulations incorporated in the 1962 Constitution of Nepal. "The citizenship restrictions are to some extent at least an expression of a kind of nationalism fostered by anti-Indian feeling, a reaction among Kathmandu's governing elite to Indian influence" (Gaige 1975:107).

3. TWENTIETH CENTURY EMIGRATION

During this century emigration from India has been mainly to the North America, Oceania, Europe and West Asia. This was mainly a post- Second World War phenomenon. Phenomenal changes in the political and economic scenario of the receiving and sending countries led to their new wave of international migration. There was a shift during this period in the direction and magnitude of internal migration and composition of the migrants. The history of emigration from India and other Asian countries to the four English speaking countries namely the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, has been similar. During the mid-nineteenth century there was a substantial migration of Chinese gold diggers to the gold fields of California, British Columbia, the east coast of Australia and the west coast of New Zealand. This led to white agitation in all the four countries which ultimately led to restrictions on their immigration by the late 1880s. During the period 1897-1924 legislations were enacted in these countries to prevent the Asian immigration. The restriction were in force until the 1950s and 1960. During this period the chief flows to these countries were from Europe. An important turning point occurred during the early 1960s marking the beginning of a new phase. In the 1960s in these countries these restrictions were removed and Asians were allowed to immigrate. Today Asians constitute an appreciable element in all these four countries (Price 1987:175).

Even though emigration of Indians to the United Kingdom has a history of about three hundred years, large-scale emigration of Indians and PIOs from various British colonies took place during the post-World War II period.

Netherlands received PIOs mainly from its former colony Surinam on the eve of its independence in 1975. A brief profile of these countries is given below.

3.1 The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has a large population of people of Indian origin (955,000 in 1992) constituting 1.39 percent of the country's population. Two-thirds of Indians

living in Europe are in the United Kingdom. The Indian population has been part of Britain for almost 300 years. During the period of the Raj Indians were seamen, domestic servants, politicians, barristers, doctors and social celebrities (Visram 1986). Prior to the 1950s Indians in Britain were a middle-class group with a preponderance of doctors (Kondapi 1949), students (Kanitkar 1972) and international businessmen (Desai 1963). However, emigration to the United Kingdom started in the 1950s. Between 1955 and 1962, 146,300 Indian and Pakistani workers entered Britain, the timing of their migration being influenced by the varying fortunes of the UK's economy (Robinson 1980). Those who migrated were construction or dockyard workers. During the earlier years of immigration males outnumbered females (The ratio was 3:2 or 5:3) (Tinker 1977:165).

However in 1962, the British government imposed restrictions on unskilled labor migration which fundamentally altered both the nature of South Asian migration and the permanence of resulting settlement. Migration was increasingly of (female) dependents and for marriage, and South Asian settlement became more permanent and family oriented.

During the 1960s and 1970s large number of Indians emigrated to the UK from east Africa. One out of every four of the Indians and Pakistanis in Britain have arrived via east Africa. In the late 1970s according to Yash Tandon there were more than 200,000 Asians from east Africa in Britain (Tandon:31). Considerable east Asian migrants with capital started commercial enterprises in Britain. Britain also has a small number of east Indians migrated from Caribbean, Mauritius and South Africa.

The population of Asians living in Britain after the World War II was 7,000. During the next thirty years the Asian population grew a hundred fold. The number of immigrants was highest during the decade 1960-70. In all 196,395 Indians (107,190 males and 89,205 females) and 53,835 Kenyan Asians (28,900 males and 24,935 females) emigrated (Tinker 1977:169). The size of the immigrants during the 1950s was small. About 47,500 persons from India (30,500 males and 27,000 females) and 14,500 from Pakistan (12,800 males and 17,000 females) emigrated to Britain during the 1950s (Tinker 1977:167). The early migrants were mainly Sikhs. The later migrants were mainly Gujaratis and Punjabis. The Indians and other Asians were absorbed mainly in the older labor intensive industries which were unable to obtain workers at the low rates of pay which were traditional.

In the Indian community 57 percent of male workers were on manual work. The remainder of the Indians were found in a broad band of occupations: 6.6 percent being employers or managers, 10.5 percent being professional people, 18.9 percent shop assistants and office workers, and 2.4 percent serving in the armed forces (Tinker 1977:176). A high proportion of Indian women also work in various industries.

Since the late 1960s Indians are being employed in banks, department stores, insurance companies etc. Many Indian doctors are employed in hospitals. Their occupational distribution is now closer to that of the white British population.

Indians are concentrated in the London Area and in the Southeast.

"The shift to a post-industrial society has strengthened the position of certain sians who are clearly members of upwardly mobile and increasingly affluent 'new' class, which some commentators feel now exists. Other south Asians have not ben so fortunate. They have seen their already weak position progressively undermined by social and economic change. For them, the post-industrial future is bleak, caught as they are on the wrong end of a new international division of labor in a country that does not care" (Robinson 1990: 194).

3.2 Netherlands

Netherlands has the second largest population of the people of Indian origin in Europe. Their population is around 90,000. In 1969 their population was only 1,500. The event which suddenly increased the population of people of Indian origin in the Netherlands was the grant of Independence to the colony of Surinam in the Caribbean in 1975. The Independence Act of Sudrinam provided for the emigration of Surinamese to Netherlands before the transfer of power. The Indian community was a prosperous business community on the eve of Independence. A series of incidents of assaults to life and property made the Indians to emigrate to Netherlands. The increasing employment opportunities in Netherlands were an incentive for them to migrate (Gupta:1994). one-third of Surinamese of Indian origin took advantage Independence legislation and flew to Netherlands in 1974-75 and later. Presently there are more than 180,000 Surinamese in the Netherlands of which nearly 90,000 are Hindustanis. Most of them are concentrated in the large cities of Amsterdam, the Hague and Rotterdam and are playing an important role in the economic and social life of the country. A small number of people emigrated to Netherlands during the post Second World War period (about 3,500).

They are mainly concentrated in educational institutions, medicine, law, business houses, hospitals and other service industries (Moharir 1993: 417).

3.3 United States of America

Emigration from India to the United States dated form the year 1820. During the period 1820 to 1890 about 700 Indians came (Kattampally 1994:38). But large number appeared much later. A few thousand Indians migrated to the west coast to work as agricultural laborers (Hess). In 1930 there were only 9,377 Indians in the USA (Reimers 1985:2). Most of the Indian immigrants were from Punjabi Jat farming families, and belonged to the Sikh faith. Many of these early Sikh immigrants worked on the Western Pacific Railroad and later moved into the rural areas of the Central Valley of California reasserting their agricultural tradition (Jensen 1980:298). The number of Indian students in American universities was small during this time (Shridharan

1941:72). The enactment of the Oriental Exclusion Act in 1924 virtually banned all immigration from Asia. The passing of the India Bill in 1946 again opened the doors for renewed immigration. Outside of China, Philippines, Japan and Korea, India sent most immigrants after the World War II, but her numbers were small. Unlike the earlier migration of Indians, those coming after 1946 as quota immigrants were professionals rather than unskilled agricultural laborers. In addition, larger numbers of non quota family members also immigrated. Overall the number of Indians arriving between 1945 and 1965 was only a few thousand, but it was the beginning of a larger immigration after 1965 of highly educated persons (Brett 1981:206-8). The White Paper of 1965 further specified an annual maximum of 8,500 work vouchers (Tinker 1977).

The 1965 Immigration Act opened the floodgates for Asians. It phased out the national origin quota system. The Act incorporated a preference system for the eastern hemisphere countries. The new law gave a higher preference to persons with professional qualifications. The first, second, fourth and fifth preferences of the 1965 Immigration Act, which allots 74 percent of the country's quotas to family unification, has further enhanced incentives to migrate to the United States. During the post- 1965 period the European immigration rates greatly declined whereas the non-European rates of immigration jumped (Reimers: 1981:9-11). By 1976 there were 115,000 Indians.

The first Indian immigrants entering after 1965 were predominantly males who took jobs in American urban hospitals, universities or businesses eager to employ their skills. But during 1972-76 females outnumbered them as the already admitted immigrant males began to bring in Indian brides. In 1978 the National Science Foundation reported that Asia accounted for slightly more than half of the immigrant scientists and engineers of that year. Indians accounted for one-third of the Asian total. Mostly these were engineers (National Science Foundation 1978:15-16). In 1975 immigration authorities classified the vast majority of Indian immigrants as professional/ technical workers or their immediate families; a higher rate than for any other nation. As Nathan Glazer puts it "Indians arrived at the right place and at the right time for success".

As the elite settled and began to bring their families and as more Indians began to use family preferences, the social base of the immigrants broadened, the sex ratio of immigrants narrowed slightly, and Indian communities developed, notably in New York City (Reimers 1985:114). The number of Indians rose from 362,000 in 1980 to 500,000 by 1987. Considering the four US census regions, the Asian Indians are remarkably evenly distributed as compared to other Asian groups. They are preponderantly metropolitan. Almost 70 percent of the Asian Indians live in the eight major industrial-urban states- New York, California, New Jersey, Texas, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and Ohio. Most of them are employed in the industrial and service sectors of the economy (Bharadwaj and Rao 1990:204).

3.4 Canada

During the period 1904-08 5,200 Indians settled in British Columbia as agricultural laborers. Approximately 80.85 percent were Sikhs who had come from Punjab and Hong Kong. Most of the rest were Hindu Punjabis. The Canadian government banned Indian immigration in 1908, and the ban remained in force till 1947. During the post-1947 period the government gradually lifted the barriers on Asian immigration which led to an increase in Indian population. During the post-World War II period the flow of Indian immigrants was highly selective. About three-fourths of all the post-war immigrants were highly educated and skilled.

By 1971 there were 67,000 Indians in Canada (Jain, Ravindra:1993:43). The migrants during this period came from different parts of India. The PIOs migrated during this period from various British colonies namely Fiji (15,000), East Africa (25,000), South Africa (2,000), Guyana (25,000) and Trinidad (25,000) (Jain, Ravindra 1993:44). Sikhs remained by far the largest Indian group representing 120,000-130,000 (Buchignani 1989;710).

The year 1976 was a milestone in Canadian immigration history. With the passage of the 1976 Immigration Act, Canada institutionalized fair adminission practices and also encouraged family reunification and admission of refugees. By 1981 there were 109,665 Indians in Canada. Indians are mainly concentrated in Ontario (45 percent) and British Columbia (about 39 percent). Over one half of all Indians in Canada today are Sikhs. The Indians who are mainly urban professionals have been gravitated to the largest cities, primarily to Toronto (Kubaat: 1987:229). Apart from the skilled professions, another avenue for Asian immigrants is the proprietorship of small business. As per 1991 Census 424,095 PIOs in Canada (including157,015 Hindus and 147,440 Sikhs (Petros 1993:47). They constituted 1.5 percent of the population of Canada. They are presently one of Canada's most rapidly growing ethno cultural populations (Buchignani 1989:71).

3.5 Australia

In the nineteenth century Australia the Chinese remained the major Asian-Pacific group. Next in number were the Pacific Islanders. Then came the Indians. Many Indian born persons in Australia were children of British military and civil service families. But there were a few Gujarati, Sind and Bengali traders and noticeable number of Sikhs and Muslims from the Punjab. Some of these people worked as tropical laborers in northern Queens-land, some were in sugar and then bananas in northern New South Wales, and others spent time hawking goods in the country towns. In all by 1901, they totaled just under 5,000. Even by 1947 there were only 7,468 Indians. Their number rose gradually during the 1950s and 1960s. The Indian population was14,167 in 1961 and 29,212 in 1971. There was a steep fall in sex ratio among the Indians from 389.9 in 1901 to 180 in 1947 to 107.4 in 1971 (Price 1987:175-80).

The declaration of the Whitlam Labor Government in 1972, that Australian immigration policy would be completely free of any discrimination on grounds of race,

skin, color or nationality, resulted in the marked rise in Asian-Pacific immigration. Similar stand was taken by the Fraser Liberal-National Government of 1975 and the Hawke Labor Government of 1983. By 1983 the population of people of Indian origin was 99,000. They wee mainly concentrated in New South Wales (29.4 percent), Victoria (29.9 percent) and Western Australia (24.2 percent). The people of Indian origin are mainly in production, processing, professional, technical and clerical occupations (Price 1987:194). In 1987 Australia had 99,000 PIOs.

4. EMIGRATION TO THE WEST ASIAN COUNTRIES

The emigration of Indians on a large-scale to the West Asian countries is a post-Second World War phenomenon. There were only 14,000 Indians in the Gulf in 1948 (Kondapi:1951:528). By 1971 their population had risen to 40,000 (Tinker:1977:12). During the seventies and eighties there was unprecedented immigration to the Gulf due to the oil boom. The population of Indian workers which was 154,418 in 1975 rose to 599,500 in 1981, and to 1,150,000 in 1992. Presently, there are about 1.4 million Indians in the West Asian countries. Of these about 1.3 million are in the Gulf countries (Jain, Prakash 1996).

The oil boom in the Gulf countries resulted in unprecedented development of physical infrastructure. These countries invariably had to import unskilled and skilled workers, and white and blue-collar workers from other countries due to paucity of required personnel in them. During the 1960s they got workers from the other Arab countries, especially from Egypt, Yemen and Jordan. Till the end of the decade there were only a few Indians in the Gulf. With the increase in the developmental activities in many countries there was a scarcity of labor. South Asia became the next source of labor for the Gulf countries. Large number of Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis emigrated to the Gulf and West Asia.

The year 1973 was the beginning of a rapidly increasing demand for expatriate labor in oil-exporting countries of the Gulf region: Saudi Arabia, Kukwai, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Qatar and Libya. In the following years the oil revenue of these countries increased considerably and they started in a big way the erection of physical infrastructure, which led to the demand for labor, especially in the construction sector, and largely for unskilled labor.

Several factors contributed to the inability of the countries to get the needed laborers within the country. They were very small domestic populations, a low participation rate in the labor market caused by the low participation rate of women, the traditional aversion of the people to blue-collar jobs, and lack of technical personnel (Biros and Sinclair:1980). Initially these countries imported the needed personnel from the neighboring Arab countries like Yemen, Egypt and Jordan. India also had the tradition of sending workers to the West Asia since the Second World War. But not many Indians had migrated till the early seventies. With the oil boom and increase in the

developmental activities in the 1970s, it became inevitable for these countries to turn to South Asia for obtaining labor. Several private agents started recruiting people in South Asia. Within a short span large-scale emigration of South Asians to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) started.

In 1975, 71 percent of the expatriate labor in the Middle East were nationals of other countries, and 20 percent were Asians, the majority of them coming from the Indian sub-continent (UN/ ESCAP 1984). Non-Arabs were concentrated in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE. Over the years the nationality structure of the laborers changed. There was a steep rise in the number of South Asian laborers. The main reasons which made the South Asians competitive in the labor market were, they were cheap, disciplined and hardworking and they came from either Muslim countries (Pakistan and Bangladesh) or Muslim regions of India like Kerala (La Porte: 1984:701; Gulati 1986:194). During the initial years of oil boom, the oil-rich countries concentrated on building the infrastructure and imported mainly unskilled laborers. During the later years the emphasis shifted to industrialization and that led to importing of more skilled workers. Before 1976,1 million unskilled workers were employed in the labor importing countries for the infrastructural projects. Between 1975 and 1980 1 million more unskilled workers had to be imported to manage and operate this new infrastructure (Shaw 1981). Again the oil-rich countries had to turn to South Asia to get the skilled laborers since other Arab countries were unable to provide the needed labor.

Most of the Indians working in the Gulf are unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. As per the 1980s data pertaining to their occupational structure, more than half of them were working in the construction and transport industries. Others were in the utility and maintenance and office and paramedical services (Jain, Prakash 1994). There is no possibility of Gulf and West Asian countries needing more laborers from India. There is a possibility of considerable number of Indian workers returning from the Gulf and West Asian countries in the near future. Most of the construction workers may have to return to India since much of the construction of infrastructure facilities is over.

About half the Indians living in the Gulf are from Kerala, and the rest are from Andhra Pradesh Tamil Nadu, Goa and other states of India.

The Indians living in the Gulf are not the citizens of those countries. Citizenship in the Gulf is not granted to non-Arabs irrespective of the duration of stay in the host country. They have gone there as temporary workers on a contract basis. They will have to return after their contract is over. Most of the workers are not allowed to take their families to the Gulf. They are provided free accommodation, food and transport by the employers.

The Gulf remittances have helped in the development of certain regions of India. The annual remittances from the Gulf is now estimated at Rs.10,000 crores (1992). In the Indian financial sector approximately RS. 21,000 crores of expatriate investment exist. Bank deposits at Rs 18,000 crores account for the lion's share.(Mohan 1994:69-70).A brief profile of these countries is provided here.

4.1 Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia has the largest number of Indians in the Gulf. In 1987 there were 250,000 Indians. They are engaged in all kinds of economic activities varying from construction work to high ranking professional work. The oil boom resulted in rapid economic development of the country. The Indians are mainly found in the large cities namely Riyad, Jeddah, Dhahran etc.

4.2 United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) has the second largest concentration of Indians in the Gulf. There were 240,000 Indians in 1987. They are found in all the seven autonomous emirates. Large number of Indians are living in the two cities namely Abu Dabi and Dubai. They are found in every sphere of economic activity. Indian businessmen have invested in industry and trade and commerce in the free trade zones.

4.3 Oman

Oman has a large Indian community (1,90,000 in 1987). They form majority of foreign nationals in Oman (56 percent). 55 percent of Indians are blue-collar workers. 80 percent of senior management personnel are Indians.

4.4 Kuwait

Kuwait in 1987 had 110,000 Indians. The Iraqi invasion in 1990 led to mass exodus of Indians from Kuwait. The Indian government operated 488 flights over a period of 59 days to fly back all Indians from Kuwait. After the war most of them returned to Kuwait.

4.5 Bahrain

Bahrain has 48,000 Indians (1987). About 60 percent Indians are skilled laborers. Some are businessmen and considerable number of them are professionals.

4.6 Qatar

Qatar has 52,000 Indians (1987). About 70 percent are skilled and unskilled workers, 20 percent are white collar employees, and the rest are professionals and executives.

Table 1
Estimated Total Migration to and from India, 1834 to 1937 (OOO's)

YEAR	EMIGRANTS	RETURNED	NET
		MIGRANTS	EMIGRATION*
1834-35	62	52	10
1836-40	188	142	46
1841-45	240	167	72
1846-50	247	189	58
1851-55	357	249	108
1856-60	618	431	187
1861-65	793	594	199
1866-70	976	778	197
1871-75	1,235	958	277
1876-80	1,505	1,233	272
1881-85	1,545	1,208	337
1886-90	1,461	1,204	256
1891-95	2,326	1,536	790
1896-1900	1,962	1,268	694
1901-05	1,428	957	471
1906-10	1,864	1,482	383
1911-15	2,483	1,868	615
1916-20	2,087	1,867	220
1921-25	2,762	2,216	547
1926-30	3,298	2,857	441

1931-35	1,940	2,093	-162
1936-37	815	755	59
Total	30,191	23,941	6,250

Note: These estimates, prepared by the writer on the basis of migration data and census statistics in India and in the countries of destination, are extremely rough and should not be taken literally, particularly for the early years.

Source: Davis (1951:99)

^{*} The figures do not always correspond to the exact differences between the first two columns because of the rounding.

Table 2
International Migration: 1846-1932

Country of Origin	Population of Migrants (in millions)	Proportion of Country's population in 1990
British Isles	18.0	43.3
Portugal	1.8	33.3
Italy	10.1	31.1
Spain	4.7	25.3
Sweden	1.2	23.5
Austria-Hungary	5.2	19.8
Germany	4.9	9.7
India	27.7	9.4
Russia*	2.3	1.8

^{*} The Russian figures are available only upto 1924

Source: Carr-Saunders (1936: 49) and Davis (1951: 98)

Table 3

Year of Beginning of Migration of Indians

Country	Year
Philippines	1762
USA	1790
Indonesia	1798
Mauritius	1834
Ceylon	1834
Uganda	1834
Nigeria	1834
Guyana	1838
New Zealand	1840
Hong Kong	1841
Trinidad and Tobago	1845
Martinique and Guadeloupe	1854
Grenada	1856
St. Lucia	1856
St. Vincent	1856
Natal (South Africa)	1860
Malay	1860
St. Kitts	1861
Japan	1872
Surinam	1872
Jamaica	1873
Fiji	1879
Burma	1885
Canada	1904
Thailand	1910

Source: Motwani (1994:3); Roberts and Byne (1975:14)

Table 4

Indentured Indian Immigrants by Colony in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries and Indian Population by Country, 1980

Colony (Country)	Period	Indian	Indian Population	
		Immigrants	(Est.) 1980	
Mauritius	1834-1912	453,063	623,000	
British Guiana (Guyana)	1838-1917	238,909	424,400	
Natal (South Africa)	1860-1911	152,184	750,000	
Trinidad	1845-1917	143,939	421,000	
Reunion	1829-1924	118,100	125,000	
Fiji	1879-1916	60,969	300,700	
Guadeloupe	1854-85	42,326	23,165*	
East Africa(Kenya/Uganda)	1895-1901	39,771	79,000/430**	
Jamaica	1854-85	36,420	50,300	
Dutch Guiana (Surinam)	1873-1916	34,000	124,900	
Martinique	1854-89	25,509	16,450	
Seychelles	1899-1916	6,319	n.a	
St.Lucia	1858-95	4,350	3,700	
Grenada	1856-85	3,200	3,900	
St. Vincent	1861-80	2,472	5,000	

Note: For various reasons, these figures are not entirely accurate However, they do provide a relative indication of proportions. Further, these figures do not represent net immigration. Data not available are designated as 'n.a.'.

Source: Clarke et. al. (1990:9)

Table 5 Indian Diaspora

^{*} This total is for the year 1967

^{**} These figures are much lower than those prior to the expulsions of 1972. In 1970, the Indian population of Kenya was 182,000 while that of Uganda was 76,000.

Country	Persons of	% of Host	No. of PIOs	% of Total
	Indian Origin	Country's	Accepting	No. of Indians
	Total (000s)	Population	Foreign	Abroad
			Citizenship	
<u>AFRICA</u>	***	***	***	***
Kenya	70	0.31	1	0.55
Mauritius	701	70.10	700	5.52
Mozambique	21	0.14	11	0.16
South Africa	850	2.57	850	6.69
Tanzania	40	0.17	33	0.32
<u>AMERICAS</u>	***	***	***	***
Canada	229	0.89	129	1.80
Guyana	300	30.30	300	2.36
Jamaica	39	1.62	38	0.30
Surinam	140	35.90	140	1.10
Trinidad & Tobago	430	35.25	430	3.39
USA	500	0.21	287	3.94
ASIA*	***	***	***	***
Afghanistan	46	0.30	45	0.58
Bhutan	70	4.93		0.55
Burma	330	0.84	50	2.60
Malaysia	1,170	7.07	1,029	9.21
Nepal	3,900	27.12	2,388	29.93
Singapore	100	3.83	74	0.79
Sri Lanka	1,023	6.28	457	8.10
Thailand	65	0.12	55	0.51
<u>EUROPE</u>	***	***	***	***
France	42	0.80	38	0.33
Germany	32	0.50	8	0.25
Netherlands	103	0.70	100	0.81
UK	789	1.39	395	6.21
MIDDLE EAST	***	***	***	***
Bahrain	48	11.16		0.38
Iraq	35	0.21		0.28
Kuwait	110	5.88	1	0.87
Libya	36	0.88		0.28
Oman	190	14.29		1.50
Qatar	52	15.76		0.41
Saudi Arabia	250	1.80		1.97
UAE	240	16.55	1	1.89
Yemen (FDR)	103	1.41	100	0.81
OCEANIA & INDONESIA	***	***	***	***
Australia	99	0.61	87	0.78
Fiji	339	47.75	339	2.67
Indonesia	30	0.02	15	0.24
<u>TOTAL</u>	12,697	0.25	8,200	100.00

Note: Data generally relate to June 1987 and should be treated as broad approximations.

Source: Statistical Outline of India 1992-93.

^{*}Excluding Middle East, separately shown as on 15.7.1980

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