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Italy, 2019**

**Research Proposal for the Award of the Doctor
of Philosophy (PhD)**

Degree in English Literature-

**On the Success of Multiculturalism
Policies in Australia, Canada, the UK and
the US.**

by

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Research Proposal

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Supervisor: Dr. Salvatore Fava, (Uniselinus)

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my wife, who has always supported me in my studies, although this meant, that more often than not, she was deprived of my company for days on end as I pored over pages of books and other bulky documents. One lifetime is not enough for the exploration and acquisition of knowledge. My wife supported me on my travels to Australia and the UK and accompanied and helped me with the interviews of members of the Indian community in Melbourne and in Wembley and Southall in the UK. She helped me with note taking in libraries in Box hill and interviews in Melbourne and London. She also helped me to interview visitors from abroad who visited us at home in Mauritius. I also extend cordial thanks to the lecturers of the Open University of Mauritius, in particular their Director General, Dr. Sukon and my former Supervisor, Dr. Sooshila Gopaul, for their initial guidance which, unfortunately for me, I did not always follow. My thanks are also extended to my Supervisor, Dr. Salvatore Fava of the Selinus University of Sciences and Literature for his continued support and his advice on how to work alone on my thesis and not to rely on any technical support.

Last but not least, I offer heartfelt thanks to my daughter-in-law, Sarojini, for taking care of the most important but tedious work of editing and re-arranging in a presentable form the mass of information I retrieved from various sources.

Title of thesis

The Travails of the Indian Diaspora in four main countries of settlement: Australia, Canada, the UK and the US; how supportive policies of multiculturalism facilitated their settlement and, gradually, the emergence in their midst of germs of cosmopolitanism.

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself under the guidance of my supervisor, and has not been presented or accepted in any previous application for a degree. The work, of which this is a record, has been carried out by myself unless otherwise stated, and where the work is mine, it reflects personal views and values. This is rather a tall claim in view of the abundant literature on the subject which, through constant reading and re-reading, is involuntarily adopted as one's own. All quotations are indicated by quotation marks and all sources of information have been acknowledged in the reference list at the end.

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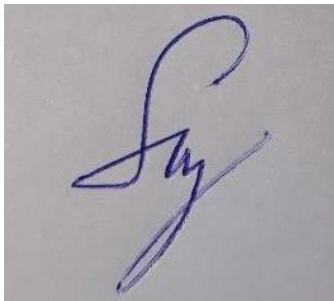
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Abstract

My interest lies with the steady flow of Indian migrants from India, starting in the late 19th century, fleeing poverty, unemployment and other evils that afflicted their country at a time when agricultural and industrial production relied on rudimentary technologies and low returns on investment. The British colonization of India largely contributed to the migratory waves. The First and Second World Wars accelerated this process with Indians fighting by the side of their colonial masters and, in some cases, accompanying them as nannies and domestic servants when they returned home. Another important phenomenon, akin to slavery, saw the transportation of thousands of Indians to the colonial plantations of cash crops, notably to the islands of Mauritius and Reunion in the Indian Ocean. According to a United Nations report, India has the largest diaspora population in the world- between 20 and 25 million. The survey was conducted by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Sims 2016) .These hordes of migrants were instrumental in enhancing the economic prosperity not only of their former colonial masters but also of the other places where they settled. Dr. Shashi Taroor, academician, historian and politician, in a series of formidable speeches and debates, describes this aspect of Indian history (Internet 2007 to date) and particularly the plundering of Indian wealth by the British. Thanks to their hardworking nature, their resilience, their patience and their amiable dispositions, fortified by Indian religious leaders, like Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and Gandhi's non-violent teachings in the campaign for India's independence and, above all, the values of Hinduism, their religion which teaches peace, love, tolerance and harmony, Indians in Canada, the UK, the US and Australia have weathered hostility in the forms of xenophobia, racism and have slowly but surely emerged as successful citizens outside their homeland. Some of them, in the UK, Canada and the USA, in particular, have risen to the highest positions in literature, academia, politics, the professions, industry and business and are gradually joining the class of cosmopolites. In Australia, the birth place of multiculturalism policies, progress has been steady, but not remarkable.

Key words: colonialism, indenture, diaspora, multiculturalism, racism, xenophobia, cosmopolitanism, cultural pluralism, Hinduism, Gandhi.

Chapter 1.0 – Introduction

Before we decide whether multiculturalism has been beneficial to the Indian diaspora worldwide, we must make sure that the term is understood in the same way by everyone who participates in the debate. I hope I have myself understood it properly.. I have studied the approach taken by Professor Will Kymlicka in his paper “Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future (February 2012). Unlike the writers who refer to “Boutique Multiculturalism” or the “3S Model” of Multiculturalism in Britain (Yasmin Alibhai Brown) cited by Ciaran Thapar in his article “The Hard knock life of British Multiculturalism” The New Statesman America, 2014, Kymlicka’s approach derives from a very serious academic approach to the subject, as a reaction to the narratives in vogue in some sections of academia, namely that we are now living in a post-multicultural age and that we are witnessing “the rise and fall of multiculturalism”. Kymlicka examines the genesis of postwar multiculturalism as a departure from old concepts of ethnic and racial superiority and the absence of human rights to their replacement by new relations of democratic citizenship and human rights. Kymlicka challenges four powerful myths about multiculturalism:

- First, he does not agree with the portrayal of multiculturalism as the uncritical celebration of diversity, (the 3S model meaning saris, samoussas and steel drum)i.e commodify multiculturalism without consideration of key social problems such as economic and political inequality. He offers instead an account of multiculturalism as the existence of democratic values underpinned by human rights;

- Second, he protests against the assertion that multiculturalism is in wholesale retreat and gives evidence that the MCPs are gaining wide acceptance and helping countries to reinforce their ethnic cultural harmony, although they may be applied to different extents.
- Third, he disputes the assertion that multiculturalism has failed or is retreating. Instead, he shows that in the western world countries have practised the MCPs to their advantage; and
- Fourthly, he rejects the assertion that multiculturalism has been superseded by civic integration and states that the two concepts are not incompatible, but on the contrary are mutually reinforcing.

Now that I have exposed the meaning of the term multiculturalism as I understand it, I may proceed with the remaining part of my introduction.

1.1 It is estimated that at least twenty million Indian subjects have since the early 19th century left the shores of India to migrate to almost every country in the world. There is almost no country in the world where we don't have a sprinkling of *“Indian communities, complete with curry shops selling Tandoori chicken, tikha Masala, idli and dosa; video outlets; and community organisations celebrating such festivals as Divali, Id and Dussehra and organizing weekend and evening language classes for children and musical evenings to keep the fraying memories of the ancestral culture alive”*, (Encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora (Lal V. Brij & ors 2006). Where they have been and what has been their plight, is a matter of concern to anybody, particularly researchers, historians and people of Indian origin. Fortunately, for us the editors of the Encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora have tracked them down and furnished us with an abundance of information from which we can launch our research. This is not to ignore or

underestimate the valuable contribution of other academics in the field. My supervisor reminded me of Mark Twain's remark "that a century of colonialism was enough for the British to convince themselves that the Indians are mystics, spiritualists and archaic, lazy and servile, rich in culture and poor in everything else". The English have seldom appraised the Indians at their real value. When they did, it was really too late. In any case Mark Twain was too wise to underestimate the wisdom of the East but his depiction of the majority of Indians in his days was not too far from the truth.

- Research Question**
- (i) Was it easy for the Indian diaspora in the four countries to settle down peacefully and integrate their social, economic and political environment?
 - (ii) If yes, does their present environment encourage them to fly higher?
 - (iii) What indications are there that some are already becoming citizens of the world?

Throughout this paper I shall attempt to answer these three questions which, in a way, form the backbone of my thesis and on which my research including my interviews were based, I shall bear them in mind in every chapter as I slog along.

The important issue is, given the strong presence of the Indian diaspora in the political, social, cultural and economic life of the White natives, is not it likely that they will, gradually, culturally at least, colonise these countries (Maria Perez 2005) as they have done in the countries of South East Asia. What I mean is that, given enough leeway and encouragement, the diaspora from India can work wonders in a supportive environment. The Indian genius for creativity and

technological innovation will have to be reckoned with (India has already shown to the world that it can have its atomic bomb and what it can achieve in space exploration and artificial intelligence and above all in spirituality). In **Chapter 2**, I shall clarify my position as a Mauritian scholar of Indian origin and explain why I became interested in the plight of the Indian diaspora worldwide and why this research is important. In **Chapter 3**, I discuss the important concept of multiculturalism as it has been studied by academics and others in the four countries I am studying and how it worked out for the Indian diaspora. In **Chapter 4** I shall explore the concept of cosmopolitanism and show how some members of the Indian diaspora have become or are on the road of becoming cosmopolites. In **Chapter 5** I shall trace out the trajectories taken by the diaspora in the four countries under study and the progress they have achieved in each of these countries. In **Chapter 6** I attempt a literature review in which I mention the various sources from which I drew my information and conclusions. How did I go about my study? What methods did I use to elicit my materials for this thesis? This will be elaborated upon in **Chapter 7** under the title: Methodology. **Chapter 8** will cover the purpose of my thesis. **Chapter 9** will recapitulate my main points, followed by my conclusions and recommendations. The last chapter, in an effort not to omit anything of importance, will be lengthier than the preceding ones. This introduction, I hope, serves as a torch which sheds light on the grounds I shall cover and indicates the direction which my thesis will take, viz that Indian migration, which is a phenomenon of the 19th century in Europe and elsewhere has been a hotly contested matter but is now being controlled. The strategy to cope with cultural diversity has been called by different names: multiculturalism, assimilation, integration, transnationalism, the mosaic in Canada, the Melting Pot and the Salad Bowl in the USA and interculturalism. I shall end up extolling and recommending for emulation the efforts made in the four countries, in particular Australia and

Canada, and at a slower pace, the UK and the USA, to allow people of different cultures, religions and languages to live peacefully together under the umbrella of multiculturalism and to grow, in the process, into citizens of the world.

Chapter 2.0 - My interest in the Indian Diaspora, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism explained.

When I reached an age when I could think meaningfully, my high school teacher, who was an adept at yoga, explained to me how yoga and meditation were useful for the human mind and the body and showed me photographs of some yogis he had met when he travelled in India. When he saw that my interest had been aroused, he talked much more about India, its people and customs. In 1982 I had the opportunity to benefit from an attachment to a management training institution in New Delhi. As part of the training, I travelled to Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Agra and finally Mumbai. I was struck by the majesty of the temples and other buildings and the surroundings gardens and parks which I understood had been designed by the Mughal emperors and the British colonial masters with the labour of the native Indians. But I was put off by the deafening noise in the cities, the filth and smell, the slums and the abject poverty almost everywhere. Then, I realised why our grandparents must have left South India as indentured labourers for Mauritius. They came in search of better living conditions. I went back to India with my wife for tourism after some thirty years attracted by something I cannot explain. Is it the call of the blood or the need to tread upon the soil which had been my ancestors'? In any case, although I had visited many parts of Europe, Australia, South East Asia and Africa, it was only India that exercised such a strong appeal on me. So, I toured India, visited the Tamil Temples from Chennai to Kanya Kumari in the extreme south and noted many improvements but

the poverty was still there and women worked hard by the road side. Some years back, the Indian Minister of Foreign Affairs on an official visit to Mauritius deplored the lack of any comprehensive work on the Indian diaspora in Mauritius. She may have been misinformed as some Mauritian researchers have actually written about the indentured labourers from India. I determined then to write on the Indian diaspora in the West. That was one of the reasons to embark on this research. I thought she was right and we must do something about it. Whether I have succeeded in this, only other researchers can say.

Since our grand grandparents came to Mauritius in the second half of the nineteenth century, I did not consider them any different from other migrants in other parts of the world. Like others, they toiled and moiled, suffering just as the African slaves who had been brought to Mauritius, forcibly before them, but they emerged as free men and women. As it is impossible to know exactly how they lived, studying the Indian diaspora in four selected countries in this research gives me adequate personal compensation for not being there to experience the same living conditions. However, my research has enabled me to understand that given more favourable circumstances people of Indian origin can rise socially and economically to the highest positions. I consider that writing this thesis is a duty I owe to my ancestors and represents my humble contribution to the history of Indians outside their fatherland.

As regards multiculturalism, before the emergence of civic integration, I was struck by what I consider to have been the best positive philosophy put forward to promote social harmony and reduce xenophobia. According to Dr. Mark Lopez in his book “The origins of multiculturalism in Australian politics” the process of acculturation was threefold: from assimilation (from 1945 to

early 1960s) to integration (early 1960 1972) and to multiculturalism (1973 to the present). One may not agree with Dr. Lopez's neat chronological development of multiculturalism until 2000, but still it has the merit of drawing a generalized picture of the development across Europe and North America of strategies to pacify the host populations in face of the newly arrived immigrants from different parts of the underdeveloped world. But why did I associate the Indian diaspora with cosmopolitanism? Is it too far-fetched? No, I don't think so. I think I am on the right track. I feel we have gone further than Lopez's classification and have entered a new era dominated by a minority of enterprising and very creative people where Indians stand out. In this I have been influenced by my readings of the great Indian thinkers such as Swami Ramakrishna and former Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to name but a couple of them. I have been inspired by Rabindranath Tagore's poems from Gita Anjali, including the one with the opening lines "Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high". I also read the speeches made by Swami Vivekanand at the Parliament of Religion in the US and studied his work on the Vedanta and Krishna Consciousness which followed. This shows that the diaspora have carried with them the wealth of Indian literature which gives them solace in their hard times and which they share with people in other lands. Every Indian knows by heart a portion of the epics: the Ramayana and the Mahabharata which he sings or recites in groups. The Indian diaspora have, on the one hand carried with them these everlasting treasures of Indian civilization. On the other hand the Indian popular Bollywood culture is permeating the whole of Europe and Canada while with films like *Bend it with Beckham*; it is sprouting new plants outside India. Rosa Maria Perez has researched this aspect of cosmopolitanism in her work *Culture and Cosmopolitanism- The Cultural Consumption of Indian Culture* (Perez, 2005). Indeed, she concentrates on one aspect of that culture: *Bollywood cinema and popular music*

(Kavoori Anandam and Puna Thambekar (Aswan, ed. 2008) Global Bollywood News, NY and London). According to the two authors, “*Bollywood films sold more tickets in the UK than English language films. Bollywood stars advertise trendy Western food and fashion bands; these stars campaign on behalf of international humanitarian foundations.*”(Anandam 2008).The Victoria and Albert Museum held a special exhibition on Indian cinema’s visual culture focusing on advertising and song picturisation. Our own Indo-Mauritians are becoming cosmopolitan. The reason is manifold, including our bilingualism and our distance from the main centres. We are proficient in the English and French languages and familiar with poets and playwrights such as Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Keats and Shelley as well as the Russians Dostoyevsky, Boris Pasternak, Marx and Lenin; French dramatists and poets such as Corneille, Moliere, Racine, Hugo and Lamartine, and American, Swedish, Indian and African masterpieces are well known to our students and intellectuals. The high school student can shift in an instant from these texts to sacred Indian ones such as Ramayana and the Mahabharat. The Muslims can recite from their sacred text and competitions are often organised among the young ones on television. Indian languages such as Hindi, Telegu and Tamil and Urdu are taught at school and debates and poem recitations are often held in both European and Asian languages. So, I have a strong feeling, having interacted with friends from Africa, Europe, Asia and Australia, that Mauritians are fast becoming cosmopolitans. The only obstacle to our moving faster to becoming true citizens of the world, the unfortunate barrier to an unhindered flight into the cosmos, is ethnicity which keeps even intellectuals clinging to their religion and ethnicity for their own material interests. This explains my interest in cosmopolitanism where it has surfaced in the West where people may not be bogged down by “narrow domestic walls” in the language of Tagore. I have a strong sense of pride when I hear of the achievements of members of the diaspora in the

fields of science and technology, in high-tech medicine, in industry and finance, academia and literature. Who among Indians would not be elated at the news that some of our people have been instrumental in starting up their own businesses in the Silicon Valley in the US or have attained the highest levels of political power in the provincial and national legislatures of these four countries? My interest in the fate of the Indian diaspora continues to grow as I realise that Bollywood cinema has penetrated all the interstices of arts and culture in the countries in my study and is exercising a strong influence on Western way of life. Moreover, since the fall of the iron curtain, many Eastern Europeans are now performing in Bollywood films and Hindi musical shows.

2.1 The importance of my thesis

The Importance of my thesis lies in its breadth and the latest information on the Diaspora. Lal's Encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora is well documented with papers on the diaspora in all parts of the world. Unfortunately, it ends with year of its publication in 2006. In this sense my research may provide a welcome gap which other researches may refine and built on. It is important to tell the world about the achievements of the Indian diaspora recently also. It may bring solace and comfort to old parents and grand children who have been born after them. Moreover, after shedding tears while reading about the misery suffered by their forbears, they will be proud to learn about the achievements of the highly qualified ones and their respectable social position. There is a story of an indomitable will and forbearance, eternal Indian values which should be internalized by one and all. My thesis will also tell about the strong international network which the diaspora has built such as GOPIO (the Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin), Hare Rama Hare Krishna network, their songs and prayers, the practice of yoga, Bhangra music and tropes which help people of Indian origins to feel at home everywhere.

Chapter 3.0 - Multiculturalism- How supportive of the Indian diaspora.

Multiculturalism has been the subject of many highly technical sociological studies as well as more popular ones stemming from the policies enunciated by politicians and discussed by many academics and other writers. Multiculturalism followed, as Lopez indicated above, from assimilation and integration. It was a strategy used by countries of settlement to placate their population and migrants from the outbursts of mutual hatred and recriminations leading to riots like the Cronulla and Brixton riots In Australia and the UK respectively. For this thesis I have adopted a simple definition, namely that it refers to the peaceful co-existence of people from different cultures with the host's culture in a common geographical territory. It is much more than a demographic fact. The notion of multiculturalism has been called by different names using metaphors to better impress on both migrants and the host population what governments meant by such policies. Thus, various metaphors were used: Mosaic, Melting Pot, Salad Bowl, in Canada, the USA and Australia. In England the term Multiculturalism was never been officially adopted by government or their officials. It was a term used by British writers and politicians without a clear definition of what it meant. Former Prime Minister David Cameron criticized it in Munich without stating when it was officially introduced in the UK and what government had meant by it. But he visited all the social ills on multiculturalism. He was himself to relent before he retired as Prime Minister.

Before I proceed further, I shall introduce some of the acculturation strategies that sociologists have identified and are supposedly used by migrants in an attempt to adapt to a new environment (la Framboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Berry 2005). I give below Berry's four main strategies

used in the process. These show the different responses to acculturation process where there is a struggle between the continued attachment to the native culture and the host country's culture:

- Assimilation: the migrant rejects his native culture wholesale and gradually embraces the new one;
- Integration: The migrant retains his own culture but adopts a large part of the new culture;
- Separation/segregation: The migrant remains attached to his native culture and rejects the new culture; and
- Marginalization: Both the native and new cultures are rejected.

My own view is that the process is a dynamic one and both Berry and La Framboise cannot have supposed that migrants' acculturation strategies could be so neatly categorized. The responses could have changed over time and depending on their immediate environment, friendly or hostile and generally, on the host country's attitude. Still, the map of migrants' responses given by Berry and La Framboise allows us to study migrants' nature and degree of adaptation. It allows me, for example, to state without fear of contradiction, that Canada, the US and Australia and the UK in that order of merit, have achieved a large measure of assimilation and integration.

I shall now analyze the meaning of multiculturalism as proposed by Banting and Kymlicka and which is used by John Berry and which I have adopted in my research to avoid the pitfalls of a partial or rather incomplete definition. A number of hazy statements have been made, based on such incomplete definitions which have led to hasty conclusions such as: we are now witnessing a post multicultural period or we are seeing now a retreat from multicultural policies or there is a

backlash against multiculturalism in many countries, especially in Europe. Banting and Kymlicka shows that these evaluations of the degree of multiculturalism attained in various countries are incomplete. So, what is their definition? First, it is the assertion that, in a given country, there are different cultures without any interaction between them as in a mosaic (this is rather surrealist and cannot exist in real life). This is only a demographic description. However, when such diversity, is accompanied by close interaction and equal participation of members of all ethnic groups in the life of their society, the result is the kind of multiculturalism we mean. A third layer of meaning may be added which is, that individual attitudes and ideologies are accepting of multiculturalism. I repeat this is the full blown meaning of multiculturalism I have used in this thesis (Banting and Kymlicka 2006-2012).

In furtherance of my contention that multiculturalism has been a success where it has been tried in the four countries being studied, let me cite a few facts on some research carried out by John Berry, 2016. First, he presents secondary data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. This is more of a demographic survey of the most diverse societies than anything else. Canada tops the list. The UK and Australia are in the 22nd and 23rd positions respectively. As regards the intensity of the multicultural ideology in various countries Australia is second only to New Zealand; the UK is 8th. Berry has based himself on the Multicultural Policy Index (MPI) from 2006 to 2012 devised by Banting and Kymlicka. Berry has also referred to the Migrant Integration Index (MIPEX) which is based on a number of indicators of migrants' integration in a number of policy domains: labour mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, and long-term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination laws. Berry notes that out of 37 countries, Canada comes 3rd, USA 9th and

UK 14th (Australia being outside Europe is not there) and expresses his surprise at the low ranking of most European countries as one EU directive enjoins member states to promote full participation of migrants in every aspect of the life of the member states. Another article provides for frequent interaction between immigrants and member states' citizens." This is what we referred to as interaction and equal participation, a view which I have adopted from Banting & Kymlicka (2006-2012) and Berry (2016).

With the flow of migrants from the poorer regions of Asia and Africa towards the more affluent western European countries and Northern America, there was a need not only to contain the flow, but also, as I said earlier, to pacify the local populations, or rather the White settlers who had been there long before, and who were disturbed by the presence of what they described as "dark-skinned" or "turbaned" people competing with them for space and on the labour market and speaking a "strange language". Hence, the adoption of multiculturalism. Not only did these migrants work for cheaper wages, have a different culture and religion but the governments, (the hosts') which had almost enticed them to come over and stay or rather to work for some time and then return home, were taking steps to help them assimilate or in default of that, to integrate the different groups of migrants- a springboard helping Indian migrants to become citizens of the world. In some countries, notably in Australia, as I noted in the interviews conducted by the senior girls of the Avila High school, the youth do not wish the diaspora to integrate and compete for resources(see the appendices prepared by the girls below). Now that I am about to complete my thesis, I am surprised that doubts continue to be expressed in some respectable quarters by some observers, analysts and researchers about the efficacy of multiculturalism. This is mainly due to the vexed problem of mass immigration faced by the western world exacerbated by the

increasing population of Muslims where they have safely settled and the numbers of refugees parked in processing places such as Nauru off Australia.. As recently as September, 2015 in an article under the pen of Anthony Browne entitled *The Folly of Mass Immigration*, it is stated that “British –born white people now account for only 60% of population of London”. Birmingham, an important city witnesses the dominance of Islam over Christianity. In one of the boroughs of London, whites are already in the minority. They are expected to become a minority in several cities. The British will become a minority by around 2100. On 5 April, 2019 George Diez, in the spring issue of the American Prospect Magazine, tells how the hordes of refugees came mainly from war-torn Syria, from Irak and Afghanistan heading to Austria, Germany and Sweden but this is now becoming problematical. There are those who condemned the West for opening up to mass immigration for their own selfish reasons Wealther, Andrew 2009, Evening Standard. In the UK, it is alleged, Labour wished to increase its bank vote and also because countries wished to accelerate the process of economic development. These articles may definitely throw non-whites and migrants in disarray. But I opine that these fears may be short-lived as these matters will find their solutions as conflict- torn areas are pacified followed by increasing foreign direct investment. Immigration might in time be a two-way process.

3.1 Australia & Multiculturalism

Let me show what policies and strategies were adopted in Australia to deal with such a delicate situation. After a period of uncertainty and unrest, the Australian government came up in 1977 with its first official definition of multiculturalism, the best I have come across, and which should , in my humble view, be the approach to be adopted by all governments and for all times:

‘In our view, an acceptance of the multicultural nature of Australian society implies that government and established institutions acknowledge the validity of ethnic cultures and we

believe that what Australia should be working towards is not a oneness but a unity, not a similarity but a composite, not a melting pot but a voluntary bond of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional opportunity. ‘For the sake of completeness I would add: ‘a common destiny’ which brings in the element of everybody working hard to achieve common goals.

In the same year the government appointed a committee to gauge the effectiveness of its programmes for migrants, bearing in mind the changing nature of migrants. Its report (the Galbally Report, 1978) which incidentally became necessary as the government must have been dissatisfied with progress achieved that far. The report concentrated on the right of all Australians to maintain their culture without fear and for the same treatment to be accorded to migrants. A programme of action was proposed based on the following principles:

- (1) all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;
- (2) every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;
- (3) needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure quality of access and provision;
- (4) services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants become self-reliant

There can be no doubt that Australia has done its best to accommodate Indo-Australians and Indian migrants. In spite of a few problems of a racial nature which cannot be avoided in a white-dominated population, the people of Indian origin, who, unfortunately, carried on them the label of former white-dominated colonized paupers, would gradually show their mettle and rise above many Australians in social status and education. Multiculturalism was a policy that benefited the Indo- Australians. However, as a result of the spate of racial attacks in the years 2009/2010 mostly against students, one has to qualify one's statement. I saw Australian Prime Minister Gillard at a function, held by a Sri Lankan social organisation in Melbourne, where she made a speech in praise of the organizers and their activities. This demonstrated to me the genuine concern of the Australian authorities for the welfare of the Indian diaspora, or at least for their co-operation in not rocking the boat. In any case, how can the government and the police be ubiquitous and be everywhere where violence will erupt. Foreigners are always vulnerable in countries whenever unemployment and other social and economic problems rear their heads. In reply to my complaint to the Prime Minister about exploitation of young Indian students by house owners and business, the relevant services informed me that the law was there and the victims were free to report cases of exploitation and excessive room rents. My own view is that our Indian settlers in Australia, university students, in particular, should also be taught to avoid places like pubs, and discotheques where people are often drunk and likely to be aggressive towards foreigners. But it is true that Australia has been a successful multicultural country compared to European countries such as Germany and Belgium. The growth rate of the Indian community is among the highest. Just between the 2006 Census and that of 2011, the Indian-born population doubled in five years from nearly 150,000 to nearly 300,000. Hinduism, it has been predicted, is likely to remain the country's fastest growing religion. But I worry that, unlike

the UK, Canada and the US, Australia does not seem to be able to produce great artists, writers and musicians from the Indo Australian community. I don't think Australia can still be criticized as a barren intellectual desert as Patrick White, the Australian author of the novel, *the Solid Mandala*, suggested (White 1966). I have tried to find the names of successful Indo-Australians. They are so few that they can be counted on the fingers. This sheds an unsatisfactory light not only on Australian multiculturalism but on intellectual life in Australia generally. Elsewhere, the picture is far from bright. Two names that stand out are Lisa Singh and Christabel Chamanette. The former is Labour Party senator for Tasmania. From 2006 to 2010 she was a member of the Tasmania House of Assembly. The latter, a community worker was born in Hyderabad. She was a senator for Western Australia from 1992 to 1996. There are a couple others who are in politics either for Labour, the Liberal party or some small parties such as the PUP. Recently, a British billionaire of Indian origin who is reputed to have turned around a number of lame industrial concerns and saved thousands of jobs ,has decided to bring back car manufacturing powered by electricity to Australia. This augurs well for the continued success of the Diaspora. Another development that needs to be lauded is the strong Indo-Australian relations which have been strengthened lately by the frequent Prime ministerial state visits to India (2009, 2012 and 2014. During these visits joint statements were issued to stress the strong links between their two countries (High Commission of India 2009, Ministry of External Affairs, India 2012 & 2014). In April, 2016 the Indian Finance Minister, Arun Jaitley addressed important groups of influential Australians in Melbourne on India's economic policies. In reply to a question from the floor, he stated that India would welcome Australian businessmen's investment in India. He added that collaboration in trade, commerce and industry would redound to the benefit of both countries. One area where India can tap Australian expertise is food processing which would reduce the

dumping of surplus vegetable produce and help farmers get additional revenue. The indirect effect of these regular interactions at the highest government levels would improve relations with and respect for the Indian Diaspora in all the countries of settlement. The current Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi has established excellent ties with the Australian government and the idea of a free trade agreement has even been mooted. In Canberra PM Modi addressed a joint assembly of both Houses. He also met important officials of both Houses and the Leader of the Opposition. In Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne he addressed members of the Indian diaspora.

Isolated cases of racism do not always match the practice. As recently as Sunday 12 October, 2014 in the Guardian, Michael Sati through a short video relates an incident he witnessed of a young man swearing and hurling insults at a train guard who had asked him to take his feet off the seats: *'Learn some fucking English, this is Australia ,because I can't understand you'. 'Do you even have citizenship?'* The language used translates the kind of conversations the White settlers probably have among themselves about Indo-Australians. This incident shows that some White Australians have a visceral hatred of Indians who found jobs in the railways, as in British Rail in the UK, because they were always respectful, hardworking, and tidy and not too demanding. In April 2008 Wikipedia: the Free Encyclopedia reported that taxi drivers protested in both Flinders Street Station and Adelaide against racist assaults and insults. This was followed by Indian students "protests". Australia will gradually realise that she stands to lose by such behaviour. For example as a result of these racist attacks which have been reported and criticized in the Indian press, there has been a decline in the number of students seeking a visa to Australia. Many students now opt for Canada with consequential loss to the Australian economy. And what's more, in 2010, according to the Federation of Indian students in Australia (FISA) 30,000

students have left Australia, the greatest number because of violence although the refusal of grant of PR and lack of jobs have been contributory factors. Two celebrated Bollywood personalities have recently blackened the picture of Australia as a tourist and favoured emigration destination. Amitabh Bachan, the most popular of Indian cinema actors, has turned down an honorary doctorate from Queensland University of Technology and the equally famous Bollywood actor, Aamir Khan, has said: “it’s most disturbing to hear about racist attacks on Indians living in Australia.” But his language was more measured because he added that attacks in India were as shameful. And lurking at the back of our mind is the treatment of the first people of Australia by the Australian people and its government. The aborigines, of whom I give the photograph of a splendid specimen at [Appendix A](#), cannot rise socially so long that they are not encouraged to integrate and they are not given every opportunity to leave their backward way of life and turn into enterprising people that they are. This may be considered a blot on Australian multicultural policies. However now, there are indications that the First People are acknowledged in every official pronouncement across Australia.

Ghassan Hage (2008), an academic at Melbourne University, points out that multiculturalism goes beyond the mere existence of cultural heterogeneity and diversity or cultural pluralism. He argues that “*multiculturalism is primarily a mode of integrating third world citizens into the Western nation state. There is a commitment to provide spaces of cultural self-expression and realization for these individuals. But this has been only in so far as the laws operating within those spaces do not come in conflict with the all-encompassing national*” laws.(Analyzing multiculturalism to-day. The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis edited by J. Bennett and J. Frow). It stands to reason that foreign-born citizens should not attempt to impose their customs

everywhere they go. Such customs as long as they are not unlawful in other countries, must be kept in the private area.

Pauline Hanson, one of the most vehement and vocal critics of multiculturalism battled on an anti-aboriginal and anti-multicultural platform to enter the Federal Parliament. With her one-nation party she campaigned against immigration and was quite successful for a time. In her view multicultural policies should be abolished alleging that it was ‘a threat to the very basis of the Australian identity and shared values’. “There was no reason why migrant cultures should be maintained at the expense of our shared national culture”.(one nation’s immigration, population and social cohesion policy).She is remembered for warning Australians that they were being “swamped by Asians” (Bastian 2012). To Hanson, multiculturalism was a failure and Australians could never co-exist with other races. It would not be an exaggeration to surmise that she and her like must have been responsible for the rise of extremism and populism leading to serious social disorders such as the Cronulla Riots (2005), racist attacks on Indians students (2009 and early 2010)in Melbourne(Singh and Cabraal 2010) and in Sydney as well (Dunn, Pelleri and Karin (2011).

A reputable historian, Geoffrey Blainey, who cannot be placed in the same class as Hanson, the former “Fish and Chips “seller, wrote that multiculturalism threatened to transform Australia into a ‘cluster of tribes’, In his book ‘Triumph of the Nomads’ he had praised the indigenous aborigines so that his subsequent hostile views on Indian immigrants came as a surprise. He was of the view that White Australia culture did not suffer comparison with the cultures of the immigrants and that multiculturalism was a national suicide and he feared the Asianisation of Australia. He published a book All for Australia values. In 1988 he stated in The Australian that

multiculturalism was “morally, intellectually and economically a sham”. This must have been a terrible blow to the Indian diaspora which was slowly and painstakingly building its own niche. Blainey wrote” the old Australians see the newcomers **everywhere**: In 1980 he stated that Asian cultures are inconsistent and incompatible with the Australian British they hear a strange language in the supermarket. They wonder what their own familiar world is coming to”. However, there were many who strongly opposed these extreme views but the Prime Minister took his defence. In fact, he received many accolades from a number of universities. In my view Blainey, as an academic, must have been cut off from day-to-day reality and was not in touch with the common Australians who were living cheek by jowl with the Asian migrants working together and building the Australian economy. How could he countenance such hostile anti-Indian language when he was lecturing to an international crowd, including students of Indian nationality?

Another writer, Andrew Robb, stated some Australians are worried that the term ‘multiculturalism’ ‘had been translated by interest groups into a philosophy that fosters a rights mentality rather than a responsibilities mentality. It is divisive. It works against quick and efficient integration (Robb 2006)- again another anti-multiculturalism view.

In 2018 the same writer published an inflammatory column in the Herald Sun. He warned that Australia was being swarmed with waves of immigrants who lived in enclaves and were changing the country’s culture. This gave rise to a storm of protest. Indian Australians, as is typical of them, did not react to this manifest hostility but the Jews, through one of their leaders,

deplored what they considered to be ammunition to the right- wing parties which did nothing for social cohesion.

In 1998, another well publicized critic of multiculturalism surfaced, John Howard, leader of the opposition Liberal Party. He told the National Press Club in June, 1998, “There are profound weaknesses in the policy of multiculturalism. I think it is a rather aimless, divisive policy and I think it ought to be changed”. Howard put forward the idea of “One Australia”. In the months that followed he said that Asian immigration should probably be slowed down; if elected he would look into the matter. In spite of his election and appointment as Prime Minister, he did nothing to change the course of multiculturalism.

3.1.1 Interviews in Australia to gauge the success of multiculturalism.

No amount of documentary research can equal the weight of interviews where people give their responses to questions and where there is no compulsion or threat, i.e. in a relaxed atmosphere. I carried out the following interviews in the company of my wife, after the interviewees had been briefed by my nephew, an Australian, about the purpose of the exercise: The questionnaire at **Appendix B** was used as a guide but the exercise was unstructured.

- (i) My very first interview was with Mr. Radhesh Panday, who is from a village in UP. He is now well settled in Australia. Before coming to Australia, he was managing a retail business belonging to his uncle in Hyderabad. He is married and father of a small boy. What were his reasons for immigrating to Australia? He explained that all around him, friends and relatives were leaving for Australia, Canada, the UK and the US and, thus, through peer pressure, he left for Australia. Radhesh held a Bachelor of Science and a

Bachelor of Computer Application. He came over on a student visa and did a diploma in hospitality management. He then obtained a job as cook. After a few years, he applied for another job in the same company with better pay. But he was put off by multiple interviews unlike his white co-workers. He says this was subtle racism unlike the crude one, he suffered when white colleagues at work pretended not to understand his English and made remarks on his accent. He and his wife hold different opinions on this matter. His wife holds a Masters degree in Food and Nutrition and loves Australia. Radhesh feels nostalgic about his father who has remained behind with his couple of cows and his small plot of land. Radhesh visited him once and was so happy. He longs to go back for good in some ten or twelve years but his wife has already warned him that if he insists on this course, he will have to go alone But how can he leave his wife behind?

This is symptomatic of Indian migrants. Theirs is a life of sadness, longing for dear ones left behind and their beloved village, conscious all the time that they may not see them again, and yet building their future far from them.

(ii) **Interview of Radhesh's wife.**

My second interview was held at Radhesh's house, almost two weeks afterwards, with his wife. Husband and wife are so busy making both ends meet, paying the mortgage bringing up their child that they have hardly any time to have visitors. Indeed, while Vaishali, that's her name, answered my questions, the husband mopped the floor with his child at his waist; Vaishali told me she was so stressed .that she could give me only one hour of her time. She hails from a modest family in the village of Meerut in UP. She had done a Masters in Food and Nutrition and worked as a dietician in a retail outlet. She and

her husband agreed to leave for Australia mainly for her son to obtain an internationally recognized education. But she remains attached to India and her parents and grandparents. In fact, she travels to her ancestral home every three years and hopes to be able to do so soon. When they arrived, they had to share rented accommodation with relatives but soon by dint of hard work, they were able to have their own rented accommodation. Thanks to their savings they soon obtained a house on mortgage. Now they have made friends with neighbours and colleagues at work and are slowly integrating the mainstream but their roots are still firmly entrenched in India and whenever they have the time, they attend prayers and festivals in the Hindu temples. She does not want to talk of returning home but she may go for short visits.

Again, it seems clear that multiculturalism is a success in Australia. Indians are slowly settling down in spite of their separation from dear ones in their extended family system. Vaishali did not mention any instance of racism. She was busy working and supporting her small family and nobody interfered with that.

(iii) **Interview of a young couple at lunch in an Indian restaurant in Clayton, Victoria.**

My wife wanted to have vegetarian food in a restaurant which we had visited some years ago. When we were comfortably seated, I espied a young couple who was examining the day's menu. I approached and explained the purpose of interrupting at lunch. They were so charming- I suppose the presence of my wife must have played a part- and they agreed to be interviewed after lunch.

Mr. Dhaloyi came to Melbourne six years before at the age of 28. His wife, aged 23, joined him one and a half years later. After a period of one year doing his B. COM, he dropped out and came to Australia on a student visa to do a diploma in automobile. He has completed his studies, although his English is rather poor and is looking for a job as a mechanic. Meanwhile, he does odd jobs and his wife, who has completed a B.Tech in India and has embarked on postgraduate studies in Australia, earns a little money working in a food outlet. Initially, they found it hard to manage work and studies. They have not had any experience of racism but do not intend to leave Australia for any other destination. This is a couple who are assured that their parents do not need any financial assistance. They intend to visit them, but not in the short term. Theirs is a strong couple and are improving themselves through mutual help in language practice among themselves and with fellow workers. The husband's efforts are remarkable given that he did all his studies in India in Hindi. This is his first real contact with a foreign language.

(iv) Interview of couple at their home in Croydon.

Mr. Chandan Negi arrived from Delhi in 2007. His wife Kalpana, also from Delhi, arrived in 2012. Their child is already of school-going age. They state they were earning enough in India but came to Australia for better prospects and to ensure a sound education for their child. Chandan states he was a chief cook in Delhi and obtained a work visa for four years. He applied successfully for PR. "Kalpana loves it here", he says. At first, life in a rented accommodation was difficult. It was also difficult to reconcile family life with work. Kalpana did not have a permanent job. She was on call for childcare. The Negis do not intend to go back but they visit their relatives once a

year.. They have never experienced crude racism. But they admit that promotion at work is very unlikely. Chandan was of the view that there was more discrimination on religious and caste grounds in India than in Australia. The couple made friends with Australians of different denominations at work and in their neighbourhood. They retain strong roots with Indian culture; they celebrate all Indian festivals and go to the temple for prayers once a month and will be celebrating Navrati the next day, but they are happy in Australia and only regret the distance from close relatives. Racism may be there but they don't allow racist remarks to affect them. They are above such pettiness so long that they are doing well.

- (v) **Interview carried out with a mixed group of Indo-Mauritians (one married couple and their lady visitor from London who lives with her son in a large rented apartment in Croydon next to her son's school.**

Niven Narayanan, 45 and his wife, Lovina, younger by a couple of years, arrived in Melbourne with their two daughters 3 and 1 year old. In Mauritius Niven was working as Meter Reader for the Central Electricity Board. While Lovina was teaching French in a secondary school, they realised that with their combined savings, they would have to take some twenty years before they could pay up a mortgaged house. Lovina was already bent on leaving for Australia and Niven did not need a lot of convincing. He already reckoned fifteen years' service in his job. He, therefore, took three months' paid Vacation Leave together with Accumulated Passage Benefits and came over. Lovina registered for a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) at the completion of which she enrolled as

high school teacher. Meanwhile, only Niven worked as a cook for not more than twenty hours a week

At first life was difficult; friends gave them hospitality for the first two-weeks but afterwards they had to share the household expenses. What with their two children, the fees for kindergarten, transport and clothes, they experienced poverty as never before. In spite of nostalgia, in particular the thought of their old parents, they resolved to fight against adversity. Gradually, with two salaries coming in and the purchase of a car, they felt lighter. They bought a house on mortgage; the children were doing well at school and they can afford to go with friends for barbecue or for Mauritian celebrations.

How do they view Australia? Both of them state Australia is a land of opportunities. Niven does not like talking of going back home. Lovina would not mind taking a sabbatical to work in her native Mauritius, if only, for work experience and academic interest. As regards the attitude of white Australians towards them, Niven seems to believe that Australians' show of friendship is mere hypocrisy; Lovina shows more understanding of the white Australians because she is immersed in the academic world. Niven faces a greater variety of people whose levels of education and tolerance may not be at the same level as in the academic world. When Niven went to a pub which seemed exclusively patronized by Whites, they looked at him askance but when he introduced himself as a dart player, they were prepared to let him have a try. At the time of my visit, he had become almost a permanent member, but he still entertains doubts about their sincerity. His sixth sense tells him to beware.

(vi) **Interview of visitor from London.**

While we were interviewing Niven and Lovina, their guest, Jaymala, 57, was watching us with interest and volunteered as a member of the diaspora, to be interviewed. She is married and has a son who is attending high school. Jaymala was a teacher in the UK, while her husband is an engineer in Dubai. Mr. Mauree earns handsomely and works hard for their future in Australia or the UK. He is one of the numerous cosmopolitans I have come across. Jaymala has her private house in the UK. When Jaymala was in India on a scholarship from the Indian Government, she did a B.Sc in Mathematics and a Diploma in Computer Studies. She then went to UK and completed a PGCE. She was so highly qualified that she was immediately offered a teaching position. After fifteen years, she retired from her job and is now in receipt of a pension. This allows her to spend some time in Australia and watch over her son's education. In December, they will all meet in London for Christmas and New Year celebrations. Jaymala does not mind meeting her husband only when his job allows him to take time off. She likes Australia and with a nice house, a good car and her son, she is quite happy. She admits, however, that racism exists in various forms in Australia unlike in the UK. But she has become a world citizen with a house in Australia, another in UK and parents in Mauritius, Canada and France. She has developed a high degree of understanding and tolerance.

(vii) **Interview of Kareena in Little India in Dandenong, Australia at a place called Chandi Chowk.**

My wife and I entered a well- known Briani House called Chandi Chowk in Little India. The girl at the counter was very friendly and guided us to a table for four. After we had placed our order, we asked the girl whether we could interview her on the Indian diaspora when she could spare a few minutes for us. She agreed and this is how we invited her to our table. In our haste to get maximum valuable information, we forgot to ask her for her name. So, we'll call her Kareena. She had left her husband behind and come to Australia to improve her education. After graduating in Arts, she is now doing her MBA and works part time in the restaurant and sells Indian films in the adjoining room. Since she is alone serving clients, she interrupted the interview several times. She says that many white Australians love Indian food even if it is hot. Kareena is worried about her brothers and sisters who face deprivation in India and she intends to go back to husband and relatives when she has saved enough and is fully qualified. She likes Australia, a place, however, good for tourism and not for settlement. Indeed, she will advise her friends to come for studies and go back.

(viii) **Interview of the Chef, Ravin Tandon in Dandenong**

We had to interview him so that he did not hold a grudge against Kareena for giving us an interview during working hours. He pretends that his niece is Raveena Tandon, the Bollywood star, whom we know well, having seen her in films. I did not trust him at all as I could see he was a pretentious guy. He came to Australia in 1982 sponsored, he pretends, by the Consul-General and did a three-year diploma in hotel management. His son, he adds, is an IT expert who has friends from the different communities and they are invited home occasionally. He visits his mother in India once a year. Mr. Tandon tells us

he is a well-to-do person and has invested in India although he believes Australia is a better place to bring up children. He did not mention about his wife and other children and did not tell why, after spending more than thirty years in Australia and holding a three-year diploma in Hotel Management, he is still a cook in a third class hotel in Little India. It is, however, good that he has adopted the strategy of assimilation and is gradually losing his Indian identity as this makes him happy.

These eleven interviews have been a rich source of information and an important aid in foraging the plight of the Indian diaspora in Australia. My findings are clear with regard to my questionnaire which is at [Appendix B](#). It is generally agreed that the first few months of the migrant are quite demanding. There is a period of nostalgia and loneliness which is exacerbated by the lack of resources and the consequential needs to work and that, for a meager salary. Parents and friends are always ready to give a helping hand for a short period. But once a job is available, hard work and thrift enable the Indian migrant to buy a house on mortgage as well as a car to travel to work. Work is always available to the patient and hardworking migrant. After completing their studies and securing employment, they can always apply for PR (Permanent Resident) permit which gives them greater confidence. Racism is always lurking for the negligent or imprudent person but our interviewees, if they have ever experienced racism in one form or the other, have brushed it off because the nation and its government policies are always welcoming. In one sentence the responses from the group of interviewees show that multiculturalism is not a vain word in Australia.

(ix) Let me now introduce the results of interviews carried out by groups of 5 to 7 fifteen / sixteen year old girls of the Avila High School for girls in Melbourne.

One group of girls was required to feel the pulse of Australians of all denominations and callings on a number of issues related to multiculturalism in Australia. They were instructed to go through Federation Square, which adjoins the state parliament building in Melbourne, and interview as many passers-by as possible on various aspects of multiculturalism in Australia. They were then to make a presentation of their findings in a hall at 474, Flinders Street in the City. My granddaughter was a member of that group and knowing that I was doing some research in the area, she invited me to attend. There were other parents and teachers in attendance. The girls prepared charts which they fixed to a board on the wall. **Appendices C1-C9** are photographs of the charts taken by my granddaughter. I confess these are not very good pictures. However, they are authentic and come from the horse's mouth. Below is a brief analysis of their findings and observations:

- (a) There is a definite social barrier between migrants and White Australians which continues even if the migrants obtain their PR permits or are naturalized. Both groups share responsibility for this. They are either ignorant of each other's history or culture. Living in their own clusters or geographical areas, they seldom communicate properly;
- (b) Australians do not want migrants to integrate and to share in their assets;
- (c) Refugees such as "boat people" have antagonized Australians as they have imposed themselves, instead of waiting for their turn;

- (d) Young people are generally more tolerant of migrants than the older Australians;
- (e) Multiculturalism has not been an unqualified success in Australia; and
- (f) The government should spend more money on helping migrants to integrate and less on keeping people out.

3.1.2 My own comments on the interviews carried out by these young high school girls.

I observe that the young are more tolerant of migrants but less so of refugees, the so-called “boat people”. This can be explained by the fact that they come in touch, if ever, with higher quality migrants. They are in favour of reinforcing the Government’s strategies to facilitate migrants’ insertion rather than concentrating on safeguarding sea frontiers by turning refugees out. Throughout the interviews no trace of racism could be discerned. The very fact that they were ready to approach migrants and ask those questions on very delicate issues shows without doubt that the people are not racist; on the other hand there is mutual respect. This supports the leaders and the people’s pride in the success of Australian multiculturalism.

3.1.3 Multicultural group having dinner in Blackburn, Australia.

Before I move on to discuss the findings of another study carried out by two academics from Melbourne (Singh & Cabraal 2012), let me introduce some observations I made while having dinner in a South Indian restaurant in Blackburn, Melbourne.

We were having vegetarian food in a large crowded restaurant in Blackburn, Melbourne. It was a mixed crowd of Whites, Indians, Sri Lankans and Malaysians and people were chatting in a variety of languages, cracking jokes and laughing. It was a magnificent sight of multiculturalism at work in spite of the cacophony. There was no sign of cultural disharmony. Some people had

ordered non-vegetarian food and others vegetarian food such as Briani or a generous thali (rice on a large tin platter with several bowls of vegetable curries). They were seated close together and enjoying their food while in the background, one could hear some soft Bollywood music. For me that was strong proof of successful multiculturalism in Australia. Partaking of the same food in the same place is another indicator of peaceful co-existence.

3.1.4 Research on the fate of Students of Indian origin in Australia.

I shall now discuss the findings of a research paper by Dr. Supriya Singh (2012). She is from the faculty of the Graduate School of Business and Law, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia. She has allowed me to refer to her findings as secondary data for my own research. With assistance from a fellow researcher, Dr. Anuja Cabraal, with whom she was associated in a larger Indian diaspora study team, she interviewed some thirty five Indian students who had migrated to Australia, nineteen as bachelors and the rest, except for one single parent, with their young wives. She interviewed them in small groups or individually. Since her research is coterminous with mine, I shall draw profusely on her findings:

Seven of the 35 respondents had experienced racist abuse and violence in one form or another while 50% said their close friends, family, fellow students or housemates had experienced racist violence. Racism is a recurrent theme in their conversations. These were never reported because of perceived police inaction. Seven of those who did, stated that police did nothing or started questioning them as if they were to be blamed. The respondent who replied in Punjabi used the terms “Gorai” (White) and “KALAI” (Black) to differentiate between “pure” or “real” Australians and those who had migrated to the country. The students said Australians were good; the problem was new migrants i.e. the Blacks and other South Asians. Interestingly, two

respondents said that racism (they probably meant casteism) in India was worse. Another, working in a retail shop, was not surprised when one of his customers accused Indians of being racist, saying “you guys have your own businesses, you hire only Indians; in Australian businesses, we hire everybody”. Most of the students did not have any links with the first or second generation Indo-Australians or with the Indian community organisations (Singh and Cabraal 2010). Only four of them were closely connected through sports, cultural and voluntary work with the settled Indian diaspora. For most of the students, their direct contacts with the larger Indian communities were at the temples or restaurants.. The present researcher has observed people in these places and can say, with certainty that no attempt is made to welcome and communicate with new faces. Students come from the middle and upper classes and in their quest for greater knowledge will, in all likelihood; move to other equally advanced countries or back to India. These new citizens of the world are highly proficient in the English language, competent in IT and in their field of specialization and may engage in fruitful collaboration with people from other cultural backgrounds. One dark spot though- some of these students feel bitter when they remember their treatment at the hands of Indian employers like themselves. This is quite unfortunate and smacks of exploitation, if not corruption. This attitude is quite prevalent among Asians, whom I saw in East Africa before Didi Amine expelled quite a number of them or encouraged them to leave. There, it was the treatment meted out to black Africans serving in shops and restaurants owned by rich Indians. Singh’s research (2012) bears witness to Australian police apathy in face of the ill-treatment of a section of the Indian diaspora. One lady of 29 years of age, who possessed a Bachelor’s degree as well as a Masters, tells how she got off a train at 12.30 am after a late shift and was attacked by a group of non-Indians but when her telephone rang, they took fright and ran away. She reported the matter to the police and the questions, that

they asked her, showed they were not prepared to do anything about it. They gave the impression that, only if she had been seriously hurt or killed, would they have investigated. The same lady was once seated at a tram stop when she noticed an Indian lady reading a Hindu religious text. She started talking to her in Hindi. A man, probably under the influence of alcohol, rebuked her thus: “hey, you should leave my country. Why are you talking in your language?” This shows that racism does surface in certain situations e.g. when foreigners do not respect the privacy of their hosts and talk loudly in public in their own languages or when they go to places where the majority of patrons are Whites and people are drinking alcohol heavily. It must be admitted that Australia is generally a successful multicultural country and that the authorities have done their level best by their federal policies and their public statements to express their pride in their multicultural societies. Any occurrences of misbehavior are natural in a mixed society and may not and should not always be associated with racism.

3.2 Canada's record of Multiculturalism.

Canada has achieved the greatest success in so far as multiculturalism is concerned. Prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, was the architect of Canadian Multiculturalism. Thanks to him, his successors and to the Present prime minister ,bearing the same name, the Indian diaspora is not only becoming cosmopolitan but bids fair to, surreptitiously but peacefully, inundate Canada with its cultural symbols such as Bollywood cinema, music and dancing, its actors and actresses, Hindu temples and festivals as well as its very enterprising businessmen and writers. I, recently, came across a very pertinent article to multiculturalism- *Does Canada have a Multicultural future* 1999/2000. Biles. J and ors. The authors laud Canada for its continued efforts to anchor multiculturalism in the Canadian ethos. They list the various legislative measures that move in that direction: The Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), the Canadian Multiculturalism Act

(1988) and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002). The last-mentioned Act refers to the “two-way street” for the integration of immigrants and refugees; it is an approach that gives the mutual expectations of Canadians and newcomers of one another viz. the on-going commitment to engage in free and open discussion on a wide range of issues (Biles). Canadians do express markedly more positive attitudes towards immigration and diversity (Pew Research Centre 2002). This attitude is compared here with the racist anti-Indian attitude at the beginning of the century. There has been a radical change .Indeed, 81% of Canadians agree that multiculturalism has contributed positively to the Canadian identity and these numbers have been fairly consistent over time (Yedwab 2003). However, the picture is not as rosy as may be believed. While the East Indians emigrated well after the Europeans, the treatment accorded to Muslims has been slightly different as a result of the spate of Muslim terrorist acts perpetrated and claimed by Al Qaeda, Isis and the like of Boko Haram. The 2001 attacks against the New York Twin Towers are still fresh in people’s mind and Islamic terrorist attacks as in Australia, the UK, France and New Zealand only serve to re-open the wound. Through stereotyping, however, all Muslims are placed in the same basket. All Muslims, thus, are identified with terrorists and this, despite the exemplary conduct of Muslims in Canada, places them in a vulnerable position vis-a- vis both the Canadians and the Canadian authorities.

It is interesting to note that while, Biles and his co-authors tells much about immigrants of different nationalities particularly Muslims and Africans , they say very little about Indians. This is what leads me to believe that Indians like ants have been discreetly carving a niche for themselves in the economy and society (Perez Bollywood). They have become in this sense, the

“invisible minority” who, by dint of hard work and patience, are slowly rising on the social ladder.

One Indo Canadian writer observes *racism, schizophrenia, time lag, estrangement, violence nostalgia, madness* are some of the major themes he observes in Indian diasporic writings. He is not wrong. The same comment is applicable to the writings of British and US Indian writers in English. Let us take the example of Bharati Mukherjee who reappears later in the section on cosmopolitanism.. She came to Canada in the mid-sixties, became an academic at McGill University in Montreal but left for the US where she obtained US citizenship. When she tired- she had spent thirty years teaching in Canada and America- she had been disappointed with Canada. The Canadian Green Paper that invited a referendum on the unwanted side effects of non-traditional immigration, provoked racist outbursts against South Asians, and according to Mukherjee, drove her and thousands others like her, from the country (Mukherjee 1966) to the US. With her experience in two countries, she admits that she finds it easier to function in America. In her reply to Patricia Holt of the San Francisco Chronicle who referred to the charge made against her of being an assimilationist, she said’ *“the complexion of America has already changed. Each of us mainstream or minority has to change. It is a two-way metamorphosis”* (Natarajan, in Nelson 1993-241). She adds she is an American *“not because I am ashamed of my past, not because I am betraying or distorting my past, but because my whole adult life has been lived here and I write about people who are immigrants going through the process of making it a home here; I write in the tradition of immigrant experience rather than nostalgia of expatriation”* (ibis). This lengthy quotation, according, to the author will serve to show that the lives of immigrants in America and Canada are a constant adjustment to a foreign land where

they are trying to build a national culture made of the best from two worlds. I shall add that, since it is people that make the culture and not the other way round, the social and economic forces that impact on the people have a bearing on how they view migrants; when these forces become negative, migrants are bound to suffer. One can still feel with Mukherjee when she thinks that she has not been given her due in Canada. But see what Malik says below:

“Canada’s multilateralism is no model for Europe “says Kenan Malik, who was invited by the Trudeau Foundation in Nova Scotia to deliver a talk on Immigration and Citizenship in Europe (Malik 2011). First of all he admits that much has been done in Canada in so far as community relations are concerned. But the picture that *“all is rosy in Canada’s multicultural garden is unconvincing. The first describes the experience of living in a society that has been made less insular and more vibrant through mass immigration, the second, a set of political policies , the aim of which is to manage diversity by putting people into boxes and using those boxes to shape public policy.”*Malik seems to be saying that politicians got it all wrong while the people on the ground have learnt to respect each other and respect diversity. As Malik rightly says, the underlying problems with multiculturalism do not vanish when one crosses the Atlantic. Common problems such as respect for human rights, the wearing of religious signs and dresses, free speech and gender equality are everywhere. Canada has got its own problems with French-dominated Quebec, a minority whose social and political conditions cannot be generalized. Canada has now imposed criteria for the selection of the most qualified immigrants, a model which is emulated by other countries. As regards the labour needs of their economy such as fruit pickers, janitors and factory workers Canada has recourse to “temporary workers” with few rights and little chance of becoming citizens of Canada.

Let me spell out the definition of multiculturalism given in the Charter and the 1988 Act: *Canadian multiculturalism is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging.... Through multiculturalism Canada recognizes the potentials of all Canadians, encouraging the non-white Canadians also to take an active part in its social, cultural, economic life and to integrate into the social and political affairs.* This definition in the abstract is well translated on the ground in the day to day lives of the common people.

The following are the opinions of three Canadians on the state of multiculturalism in their own country (1) Irene Bloemraad 2010; 2012, (2) Natalia Simanovsky 2012 and (3) Murtaza Hussain 2013..

Irene Bloemraad is an associate professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley and a scholar of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research. She states that, unlike the US, Canada as early as 1971, began promoting a multicultural-based integration policy which was enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and expanded in 1988 when the Multicultural Act became federal law. During the same period no analogous formal immigration-integration policy was enacted by its next door neighbour (USA). On the basis of indices used by social scientists i.e. the number and content of public policies and government pronouncements around cultural recognition and accommodation, she concludes that Australia and Canada are the

most multicultural countries in the world. Like health care and hockey, multiculturalism has become a symbol of what defines Canada.

Second, Natalia Simanovsky. She has worked as a research officer at various think tanks. In March, 2012, she contributed an article entitled *Multiculturalism in Canada a model for other countries*. Her main point is that multiculturalism is deemed by the majority of society to be a successful government policy, precisely because it promotes, among other things, national unity (Simanovsky 2012). She adds there is social cohesion and respect for all cultures. Canada's greatest achievement, probably, is that Muslims don't feel that they are a conspicuous minority who are singled out for special negative treatment as elsewhere. "Rather than straddling the periphery, the Muslim community generally has a high socio-economic standing. Its contribution to society is far-reaching, visible in their robust presence in numerous sectors including politics, the hospitality industry, health care and media"(Simanovski 2012)

Third, Murtaza Hussein, a Canadian of Pakistani origin, was travelling in a cab in Vienna and he fell into a casual conversation with an Austrian. "*The Turksthey come here but they don't act Austrian*" his interlocutor told him indignantly and asked how it was in Canada. His reply was in the negative. But this set him on a train of thinking. Hussein reflected on the unsatisfactory level of living together in Europe. This was illustrated by the public pronouncements of three of the most prominent politicians in Europe i.e. David Cameron in the UK, Chancellor Angela Merkel in Germany and President Sarkozy in France that Multiculturalism had failed in their respective countries. Hussein observed the contrasting situation in Canada where the "otherness of minorities" in Europe is conspicuously absent" in Canada, despite the fact that one- fifth of

Canadians themselves are foreign-born. Unlike in Europe where non-white migrants have a tendency to flock together in the same neighbourhood, they integrate and move around much more in Canada. They achieve “economic success of education and social integration at a level unseen in European societies. Canadians also tend to have a much more positive opinion of immigration than Europeans (Hussein 2013).

While, in the wake of the September 2001 terrorist act against the Twin Towers in the US, the immigration of Muslims in the West has become problematic, the experience of Muslims in Canada defies the imagination. The European stereotype of the Muslim seems to have no place in Canada where they are accepted in almost all social activities. In their turn Muslims participate freely in all national activities. The only surprising thing is that questions on intermarriage (such as those from the Bogardus scale of social distance) reveal some level of discomfort, with religion being one of the most divisive characteristics. One third of respondents would be uncomfortable with a close relative marrying a Muslim or an atheist. What is relevant to my research is that Indo-Canadians do not seem to attract the same opposition of White – Canadians. This is probably why Indo-Canadians seem to feel comfortable enough to embark on higher pursuits and are embracing cosmopolitanism to a greater extent than Canadians of other ethnic origins or nationality. It may be apposite, to mention here Abraham Maslow’s theory of motivation which proclaims that when people have satisfied their basic needs in particular their safety and social needs in that order they will aspire to satisfy their ego needs or self-actualization needs on a higher plane. At this point let me mention a statement from Will Kymlicka’s *Multicultural citizenship: a Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1995

- *“The state does not oppose the freedom of people to express their particular cultural attachments, but nor does it nurture such expression-rather.....it responds with benign neglect (1995). The number of ethnic and national groups is protected against discrimination and prejudice, and they are free to maintain whatever part of their ethnic heritage or identity they wish, consistent with the rights of others. But their efforts are purely private matters.*

My own view is that the state keeps away from these matters but will intervene if the practice of their culture clashes with Canadian liberal values. This is the kind of beneficent attitude which allows me to state that the Canadian authorities have never stood in the way of multiculturalism

When we look at the difference of tone in the statements of Mukherjee and Malik above and those of Bloemraad (2010, 2012), Simanovsky (2012) and Murtaza Hussein (2013) we can see how the situation and co-existence of different cultural or ethnic groups keep on improving with the passage of time.

For multiculturalism to be an everyday reality, it must continually be nurtured by the powers that be and the common people. For this to become a reality, people from all the communities should be aware of what sort of behaviour is expected of them. Professor Bouchard (2008) in his report on the Quebec Interculturalism makes a strong plea for dialogue, understanding and accommodations of all forms for the practices of both migrants and the host population (Bouchard 2008). A serious terrorist attack as in New Zealand on 15 March, 2019 is not calculated to promote respect for other cultures. Islamophobia or Indophobia will have a

deleterious effect on the peace of mind of migrants and make them doubt whether Australia or other parts of the West are safe for them. If people cannot pray in peace in places of worship, where should they do it? Terrorism, since the year 2001, seems to have become attractive mainly in the West and the terrorist groups seek publicity to embrace so-called martyrdom when they are in fact the worst criminals. The worst features of their culture, like female mutilation, should be practiced behind their close doors, without the knowledge of the authorities and in the hope that they would not be denounced by their “victims”. However, even in Quebec the wearing of the Hijab or the Burqa is allowed except, on the solemn ceremonies like swearing loyalty to the Australian flag while Halal meat is available in the shops. But it must be said that Quebec is an isolated case by itself but the federal law applies to the whole of Canada. The problem with any researcher on Asian Diasporas is to differentiate between an Arab or Pakistani Muslim and an Indian one which is also the case with racist Whites who often mistake Indians for Muslims.

It can generally be concluded that Canada has achieved remarkable success in its quest of multiculturalism. One cannot expect everybody to be happy. There will always be some discontented people who are never satisfied. But look at the progress achieved by the Indo-Canadians in less than a century: 80% of Indo-Canadians speak English; they share a democratic value system with other Canadians. The size of the Indian community, according to the latest Statistics, was in the region of 1.8 or 1.9 million. They have settled in the urban areas such as Toronto and Vancouver with diminishing numbers in other states. Since 1994 India has been found to be among the top 10 source countries for permanent residents in Canada. The main channels of migration from Indian have been the professions and the students’ routes. Otherwise,

migrants have had to go through the stringent selective tests which ensure the high quality of Indian migrants.

According to some observers, Will Kymlicka is perhaps the best-known advocate of the Canadian multiculturalism model which characterizes multiculturalism as *“first and foremost about developing new models of democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals to replace earlier uncivil and undemocratic relations exclusion”*.

I shall now look closely and critically at the factors that, according to Kymlicka, 2012 facilitate or impede the implementation of multicultural policies:

- **Desecuritization of ethnic relations.** Multicultural relations between the majority and ethnic groups determine the degree of cultural harmony and the peaceful co-existence of different cultures. But if the dominant group looks on the minorities as a continued menace to security, there will be continued mutual suspicion. To my mind to avoid this, everybody should, as far as possible be given the same rights to human needs or should perceive themselves as social equals to all other groups.
- **Human Rights.** Multiculturalism rests on the assumption that there is a shared commitment to human rights such as compliance with the law of the land, sanctity of human life, equal rights and respect for women. But practices that run counter to equality of treatment for women generally breaches the rule of law; and other similar practices will antagonize the majority culture. For example, the Hindus have a very rich and ancient culture, with certain rituals and practices which have grown up alongside the genuine teachings of the holy texts and cultivated by holy priests who had their eyes on

the financial gains. The extra celebrations are no more justified and are a blatant disrespect of women. A few instances will be mentioned: Sati (the practice of burning the widow on her dead husband's pyre), Dowry (the mandatory gift of land, cattle, jewels, etc. to the bridegroom) prior to marriage, the obligatory wearing of white clothes by the widow as well as the removal of the sindoor (red powder) from her hair parting- she is prohibited, in other words from having a male companion for the rest of her life. If these practices were to be enforced in host countries it would be an affront to the receiving country, so odious as to deserve the opprobrium of the majority group.

- **When citizens feel their borders are not safe against infiltration by illegal immigrants.**

It is true that countries which are surrounded by the sea are the most vulnerable. In the interviews conducted by the Avila High School girls in Melbourne, one of the causes of the distrust of migrants was the "boat people". In like manner countries such as the UK, France and Italy, and Greece are very tempting to refugees from Asia and Africa; similarly with the US and Australia.. In the US there is the porous border with Mexico which caused President Trump to propose a wall to keep Mexicans and other South American Away.

- **Diversity Immigrants groups.** Multiculturalism works best when there is more than one ethnic group. One powerful ethnic group may counterbalance the dominant group and create friction. The Indians, fortunately for them have not experienced such a situation in countries of settlement, except in Fiji and Guyana.

- **Economic Contribution.** Multiculturalism works well when migrants contribute their share to the country's economic development. Although they may have fled poverty, they must not be seen as falling unnecessarily on social aid. Those who work hard and save for bad times, as many do, will be respected. Indeed, they are expected to pay taxes. The people of Indian origin have strong self respect and will never queue up for social benefit unless it is indispensable. They are known to be hardworking and spendthrift and proud of their dignity and self-esteem. A few years after their arrival, they generally settle down, they buy their own property and a car and live comfortably. Some of them buy their own businesses and become employers in their own rights. They are so hard working and law abiding that they are known as the "model minority" in some countries.

Most of these situations are not applicable to the Indian diaspora. Indeed the prospect of the diaspora making common cause with host countries' enemies and going to war against them is a very remote possibility. Indians may have used one or more of these countries to win support against the British during their fight for independence e.g. the Khadar movement in the US; but with the outbreak of war and the US joining the allies, the movement petered out. In any case Gandhi had the majority behind him and Subhash Chandra Bose who was courting anti-British elements outside did not command more support. Respect for human rights is not fully respected in India, in particular with regard to women and children and the lowest castes. However, things

are rapidly changing at home and the same practices would not be attempted and condoned in the West.

Joseph Heath (2014) makes an interesting point about “reasonable accommodations”. What the French Canadian in Quebec or the aborigines asked were tantamount to moving out of the federal law unlike what a Sikh police Officer Royal Canadian Mounted Police, asked to facilitate the performance of his job. He had asked to be exempted from wearing the traditional Stetson hat so that he could wear the Sikh turban. That was welcome news to the authorities as he was praying for a reasonable accommodation to better integrate a Canadian public service. But the Quebecers wanted accommodations that would take them out of Canadian federal institutions. Ironically, when they attempt to find fault with multiculturalism, they cite examples of failures in Europe but never in the provinces in their own Canada (Kymlicka)

A last point made by Heath is that the terms Mosaic and Melting pot applied to Canada and the US respectively were intended to be normative, In Canada, as I said above immigrants were expected to maintain their culture intact with respect for national values while in the US the migrants’ cultures would be merged in the Melting Pot akin to assimilation. But Heath observed that, after the last four decades, there had ,so to say, been an inversion of strategies. The present researcher opines that this situation was inevitable, with people from different communities interacting on a daily basis at work, in their localities, in their supermarkets and in restaurants. It would have been inconceivable that the acculturation strategies adopted by each individual could be metered throughout his stay in Canada.

Aurobindo Saxena of Technopak Advisors said of Canada: “the society is tolerant and non-discriminatory and summer jobs and opportunities after completion of study are available for foreign students (Saxena 2015). N. Chandramouli, CEO of Trust Research Advisory, adds: while Canada and Australia promote migration, the norms are easier in Canada and the society too has a cosmopolitan structure” (Chandramouli)

But there are still others who suspect that the various definitions of multiculturalism are tantamount to “Assimilation by stealth” (Randal and Hansen). I mentioned above that there will always be some white Canadians who will be dead against the presence of Asians in their country. Fortunately for the government and the people, they will always be a minority. A recent poster which appeared in a paper on Saturday 26 April, 2014 is an example of the minority view. It showed two photographs one superimposed above the other. The upper one showed a group of sober white Canadians with an arrow pointing to the photograph below. That one shows a group of smiling male and female Sikhs in brilliant colours. The arrows states “from this” (the upper photograph) “to this”(the lower photograph) . Below in big characters is the question, “Is this what you want?” such a poster must have sent tremors down the spine of the whole Indian diaspora. It was meant to degrade and hurt the feelings of the Sikh community. This was definitely not a positive contribution to the maintenance of cultural harmony.

This adverse comment is in line with Kenan Malik’s view above, that Canada manages diversity by putting people in ethnic boxes. Thus such boxed –persons are treated as members of a group, rather simply as citizens. This view supports the description of Canada as a mosaic model. However, the posters and their accompanying comments, in a way, distance India from Canada.

Fortunately, the majorities of Canadians holds a very liberal view and are appreciative of the Indo- Canadian community.

One academic, Saheli Soogaseth, in her literature review for her thesis *Building Bridges-The Role of Indian Diaspora in Canada* quotes the president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce as saying: “We have a lot of catching to do just to get on India’s radar screen. It’s never too late”. In the same essay she says: “*Others are in the nation, but not of it. They may be the real cosmopolitan, or they are people whose nations are actually elsewhere... or they may indeed owe a strong allegiance to some other kind of imagined international community*”. Kenan Malik in an article in the Observer issue of 22 November, 2015, draws attention to the transformation of the mental attitude of the West towards Muslim terrorists whose actions, in their view, seem to take place beyond the moral universe most of us inhabit” These terrorists think on a different plane motivated by their faith that they are waging a war with the blessing of the creator- “a war against a western society that they see as decadent and depraved”. Malik offers an objective view. Was it not former British Prime Minister Cameron who expressed the view in Munich in 2011 that multiculturalism had not been inclusive enough and had encouraged minorities to live separately from each other. So, according to Malik and Cameron, what is needed is a rapprochement for a more fruitful dialogue. As I see it, the reaction of the former British Prime Minister was too impetuous and hostile and elicited a reply in the same mould from the Muslim leaders as we shall see below. The Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, visited Canada on several occasions and has struck a few deals with the Canadian government. Herb Dhaliwal was the first Indo-Canadian to become a member of the Cabinet. Attorney-at -law David Cohen states that with every new arrival “our country is becoming richer both economically and culturally.

This shows that Canada is a truly multicultural country. In its case one can say that with all the tributes paid by Canadians to the Indo-Canadians, what has been done cannot be undone. So, Canada can teach the world many lessons on cultural harmony and respect for difference. David Miller in a paper entitled *Life and Death of Multiculturalism- Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World*, 2009, takes issue with the minority of academics who continue to discuss the hackneyed themes of the life and death of multiculturalism, the retreat from multiculturalism and post multiculturalism. He praises Keith Banting's and Will Kymlicka's significant research on multiculturalism and concludes that the celebrations of the death of multiculturalism are "not only exaggerated but misguided". On the contrary, like Banting and Kymlicka, he finds that instead of its decline, there is a shift in its favour" although he admits that there are significant cross national differences in the extent to which multicultural policies have been introduced across the liberal democracies. There is also no dilemma confronting the Europeans between opting for multiculturalism and other alternatives. There is no conflict with integration as experience has shown the multiculturalism has helped the process of integration (Miller 2009).

3.3 Multiculturalism in the UK

The general findings of those newly-arrived Indian immigrants and a few, who have already obtained their Permanent Resident permits, are highly favourable to both Australia and the UK. I interviewed a total of some ten people (married and unmarried). I, initially, asked them why they considered emigrating, how they found the new land and its people, whether they obtained assistance for board and lodging, how they managed to improve their economic and social conditions and whether they continued retaining links with their motherland. Please see below

the results of interviews carried out on the basis of the questionnaire at **appendix B** in Southall and Wembley (Para. 3.3.1)

Alan Manning, a respectable professor of Economics at the London School of Economics and Political Science does not agree with the host of people, including top European politicians (Cameron, Merkel and Sarkosy), who had stated that multiculturalism had failed. On the strength of his own research, he finds that minority ethnic groups including British of Indian origin are integrating well in their society. Details of his findings will be given below in my literature review.

A study at the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration at University College, London indicates that migrants added 20 billion pounds to the UK economy in the decade 2001 to 2011 and those migrants from the EU paid significantly more in taxes than they claimed in benefits or transfers for education, health or other expenditures. This is consistent with previous studies, all of which have shown that the benefits of immigration outweigh its costs (It is unfortunate that I don't have separate figures for Indian migrants). Ian Golding in an article in The Observer on 9th November, 2014 was right to use the title: *Enough hysteria- Properly managed immigration is key to the UK's Future*. However, there may be other serious reasons for anti-immigration attitudes. Probable causes of the rise of anti-immigration feelings, according to Nick Lowles, Director of anti-extremist group- *Hope Not Hate*- are: Muslim fundamentalism, terrorism and illegal refugees. I shall add economic downturns, the rapid social rise of Asian migrants, and the use by politicians of the term "model minority" when they refer to Asian migrants in general. The Report Searchlight Educational Trust states *inter alia* that 48% of Britons say they would

consider a new far-right wing party, if it shunned violence and Fascist imagery. The report reveals a clear correlation between economic pessimism and negative attitudes towards immigration. There is, however, evidence that political violence is strongly opposed; over two-thirds of people view “English Nationalist Extremists” and “Muslim Extremists” as bad as each other. In an article by Anthony Heath (Heath 2012) entitled *Has Multiculturalism failed in the UK? Not Really*. The author expresses his disagreement with the former Prime Minister and those who have expressed a view similar to his. Basing himself on the findings of a new report which shows completely different findings arising from the 2010 *Ethnic Minority British Election Survey* (funded by the Economic and Social Research Council) where members of the main minority groups (Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Pakistani, Bangladeshi Black Caribbean and Black African (Muslim and Christian) were interviewed on multiculturalism. The report reveals that while first generation minorities are stuck in their culture and continue to live in their closed groups, the second generation raised and educated in Britain, have become more liberal and open minded. The report shows “a further 27% shift towards integration, with greater social and workplace mixing and a significant increase in marriages across community divides” (ibis). All this confirms the results of former social surveys conducted in the UK to gauge the progress made towards multiculturalism. Further, interviews carried out in Southall and Wembley by the researcher reveal a similar view of multiculturalism

3.3.1 Unstructured interviews carried out in Southall and Wembley (See appendices)

As I mentioned above I carried out a few interviews in Southall and Wembley and the results showed that the Indo-British have no real .cause for complaint about their conditions, in particular, their economic conditions. But in the immediate post- Brexit, period, there is a feeling that people are a little reluctant to speak about their prospects after Brexit especially as some of

the British had thought that their vote had spelled the doom of immigrants and non-white British. Some Indians along with Poles had, in the aftermath of the vote, already been threatened to leave the UK. Let me proceed with a report of my interviews. A questionnaire was administered to the interviewees and after a short explanation, they were allowed to fill the questionnaire while I discussed with other people in the vicinity of the Brent Indian Community Centre

- (i) My first respondent was Mr. H. Parel Vallabhbai, 90 years old of 23, Chaplin Road (Appendix refers).

He is married, with four elderly children. He left India and settled in East Africa which he left in 1975 due the Africanisation process. At first, life was hard but people were nice and after five years of doing odd jobs, he felt settled. He had the advantage of speaking English well and could rely on some support from relatives. He would not encourage other Indians like himself to come over. He is attached to his homeland and travel to India occasionally. But he does not intend to return for good.

- (ii) My second respondent was Mr. Beedindra Mandalia, 69 years old of Ariston NW1 Road, Cricklewood, UK (Appendix refers). He is married and father of two adult children. He accompanied his parents to the UK in 1964 from Kenya. He found the UK quite impressive and he had no accommodation problems. He adds that goods have become expensive. His parents did not have relatives in the UK but with their proficiency in the English language, they felt settled after a short time. He does not know whether people from India would like to come over. He visited India almost

every year when he was young but now he does not desire to go back. As regards Brexit, he is of the view that it is a good thing to leave the European Union, he did not say why and I could not probe as this was a delicate issue.

(iii) My third respondent was Ms.V. Adata, aged 50 ([Appendix refers](#)). At the age of 25 she came to the UK on marriage grounds. She works at the Brent Indian Community Centre at their information counter. She was instrumental in getting some of the people to be interviewed. On her arrival she felt the British were not friendly but she remained open and was able to adjust. At first it was not easy; it was difficult to understand the language, hence the difficulty to get a job and then goods were expensive. She had no relatives in the country and developed self reliance; after some time she was more confident and felt settled but never felt at home and would not encourage friends in India to come over. Now that she has become more self confident, she feels at ease but is sometimes nostalgic but has flown to India only once but looks forward to go back for good when her circumstances improve.

(iv) My fourth respondent, Mr. Ramoo Vythilingum, happens to be my cousin ([Appendix refers](#)). He lives in his own house at 19 Kendall Avenue, South Surrey CR 2092. He is 69, married and father of two children, both well educated and earning well. He came to London in 1969 from Mauritius and joined the hospital services. It was very cold but people were warm, helpful and supportive. But the food was terrible and he found it difficult at first to adapt. In the hospital, accommodation for nurses was free and prices of goods cheap. Fortunately for him, his uncle and aunt were residents of London. At the beginning, life was not easy as his English was limited. He could

speaking well but he could not hold a conversation. The sad part of life was the food, the climate and the difficulty to make friends. After one year he had settled down. After a few years he was selected for some training of nurses course at the completion of which he got a job as lecturer at a university. Yes, he would not mind encouraging people to come to the UK as the country is quite liberal, tolerant and people enjoy freedom of expression. Yes, he has visited his home town more than once but has no desire to return definitely there as he fears re-adaptation would be a real problem. As regards Brexit, he is of the view that it should not happen as it is bad for trade, for the economy and freedom of movement within the 27 member countries of the Union.

In short, migrants from India/Kenya and those from Mauritius found it hard to cope when they arrived but after a while, they settled down, except that they found the language difficult in spite of their proficiency in it. Probably, it was a question of pronunciation and accent and the majority of the people they met on a daily basis spoke too fast and used a lot of local idioms. But, it is noteworthy that even if the majority has no relative in the UK, they are able to manage, but in view of the use of a different currency, they felt that goods were expensive. They would not entertain any idea of going back home and, on the contrary, would not mind encouraging their friends to come over as the country and the people are hospitable and friendly. It is understandable that they would not like to speak about Brexit but when they do, opinions are evenly divided.

- (v) My fifth and sixth respondents have comfortably settled in the UK since the early 1960s. I met them in their own bungalow near the seaside when they visited last year.

(the interview was less formal). Deva 72 left for the UK in 1968, the year Mauritius acceded to the status of an independent nation within the Commonwealth. After a few years, he got married to his cousin, Bigaye, now 67 who was employed as a nurse in one of the British hospitals while he himself worked as some sort of assistant Mechanical Engineer for British Rail. By dint of hard work, he has improved his employability by obtaining a B.Sc degree in Mechanical Engineering followed by a Masters in Business Administration. At first, they were staying with one of Deva's Mauritian cousins and managed to save on board and lodging although they had to contribute to some household expenses. His cousin's wife was an English woman who was employed as clerk. Deva and Bigaye, left them and bought property both in the UK and Mauritius; they have two sons and one daughter and live comfortably in Lewisham. Compared to the average Englishman, they have, all five, done pretty well. They regularly travel between Mauritius and the UK. They belong to the new class of Indian diasporic transnationals with double passports and multiple identities. They speak good English and French and enjoy both Hindi films and Indian music and what's more, they are now the proud employers of British girls in their old people's home in the UK. They report that their beginnings were tough. Once on his way to work, he was smartly dressed and encountered a group of girls who were walking in his direction and laughing uncontrollably. Then one of them shouted "wog". When he reached home, he asked his cousin the meaning of the word "wog". His cousin told him the word was derogatory and expressed the white man's hatred of the Black. He advised him to ignore such racist remarks as he could do nothing about it. Another day, somebody shouted at him "Paki, go home". He realised that because

of their brown colour, they were all taken to be Pakistanis. In the last years of the twentieth century, there was hardly any Indian who did not suffer from racism in the UK. But according to both husband and wife, life has improved now.

- (vi) I also went to Southall which is like a “Little India” with strong smells of spices in the air, sounds of Indian Bollywood music from the shops, display of colourful bracelets, rings for men and women, saris of different colours. I could hear Hindi spoken by the shop owners and their assistants. First, I had vegetarian food at an Indian outlet where I saw a white couple having food in the midst of Indians. The policemen on their bicycles were all whites while most of the people were of Indian origin. I went to a Sikh temple and met an elderly person seated in the yard. His family is of Sikh origin. His father reached the UK in 1962; he worked hard in the building industry and saved money which enabled him to bring his family over. They lived in East London where, according to him, the Whites, in particular the police were very racist. In his view, the Sikh temples, the Gurdwara, attracted more people than other places of worship in the UK. He often reflects on his past when they left Kenya after leaving India. They were the twice- migrants. At the age of eleven he set foot in the UK. He loves the country as his own. As regards jobs, he was always like many Sikhs, self employed. The majority of Sikhs has their own businesses and is reluctant to rely on handouts from the government. My interviewee displayed the characteristic pride of Sikhs. He told me Lord Dholakia was a Sikh and a member of the House of Lords and that London reckoned more millionaire Sikhs than any other parts of the UK and that the London’s Lord Mayor was an Indian.

I found that his attitude confirms my view that, whatever negative feelings are sparked off now and then by isolated incidents like the London bombings and the 2001 attack on the twin Towers in the US, the Indian Diaspora has no cause for concern with the British people and their general attitude to people of Indian origin. British multiculturalism has survived racism provoked by terrorist attacks in the first 20 years of this century and the declarations of politicians such as Pauline Hanson in Australia, Nicolas Sarkozy in France, Enoch Powell and David Cameron in the UK and Donald Trump, recently in the USA. These are expressions of views which have outlived their times.

3.4. The USA and Multiculturalism

I start this section on a pessimistic note but by and by this negativity will be dissipated as elsewhere. Frosting Woodbridge, a population-Immigration-Environmental specialist, is a regular speaker at educational institutions. He is worried that the purity of the American culture has been destroyed by multiculturalism. He gives many examples of how certain cities in the US, and in other countries in Western and Northern Europe, have been transformed into dirty places that reflect the poverty of the places from where Asian migrants emigrated and where White Americans dare not venture for fear of being molested. According to Makarand Paranjape who is reputed to have inversed Anita Rau Badami phrase “one foot in Canada and a couple of toes in India” in his scholarly paper on the Indian diasporic writings in English and their true identity, the US is the second largest home of Indians reckoning two million members. Woodbridge is not entirely wrong. I have had the experience of Bangla Deshi workers in Singapore who meet and spend their weekends in Singapore’s Little India. I was appalled at the state of the city on

Monday morning when the thousands of migrant workers had gone back to their respective sites of work. You just look at the tons of rubbish left behind to have an idea of what Bangla Desh looks like every day. So, can we say that some migrants are themselves responsible for the failure of multiculturalism in some countries? The first immigrants to the US were unskilled workers who found their way into agriculture and manufacturing. But recent migrants are highly qualified professionals, doctors, scientists, IT specialists and businessmen. This resulted in part in strong linkages between these two countries in these important activities. In this way Indians have an interest in ensuring multiculturalism remains a favoured American option. They are financially better off than their cousins in Canada. According to recent statistics, the average income of an Indo- American is more than double that of an Indo- Canadian. They are so good that they have earned the appellation of “Model Minority”. Minorities, it is said, do not answer back, unless they are badly provoked, like what happened in 1981 in Brixton, London when the Indians were provoked by Afro-Caribbean blacks and in Cronulla, Australia when they were provoked by a group of young Lebanese.

The median income of the Indo-American family is 62,000 Dollars far beyond the median income of American families; 10% of American billionaires are of Indian origin; 15% of Silicon Valley start-ups companies are owned by Indo-Americans; 64% of Indo-Americans have, at least, a Bachelor’s degree. Indo-Americans have 79% labour force participation. 60% of Indo-Americans are employed in professional, management or in a comparable field. Besides, they are well organised and excel at networking which increases their visibility. I shall mention but a couple of these organisations: The Indian American Council and the Group of People of India Origin (GOPIO). The latter organisation was set up by influential Indo-Americans in New York

but has now chapters in all countries where there is an Indian presence. GOPIO members have annual meetings organised by the national chapters where they discuss a plethora of matters of interest to people of Indian origin. They have even made some recommendation to the Indian government on good governance practices and how to tap the resources that the diaspora represents. Now the Government of India has started engaging with the diaspora. Prime Minister Modi spoke recently to a crowd of Indian Americans at the Madison Square.

Chapter 4 Cosmopolitanism-different perspectives.

One of the purposes of my thesis is to show that the Indian diaspora, in particular a minority among the Indo-Canadians and Indo-Americans, have had it so good that they have turned into some sort of leisure class with interests beyond the common ones and are involved in activities that qualify them for the appellation of cosmopolitans. I wish to start this section by a quotation from Salman Rushdie “The immigrant, the man without frontiers, is an archetypal figure in our age” (Rushdie 2002). So, is the new class of the well to do People of Indian origin settled in the four countries in my research? Indian immigrants in Europe, Canada, USA, who, after years of hard work, find themselves and their family adequately provided for, travel at least one a year either to India or the main cities of the advanced world and to their favourable tourist resorts. They find themselves at home almost everywhere thanks to their wide culture and their simple tastes. And as is their habit, they exchanged words with people everywhere and thanks to their mastery of the two most important European languages, can engage in conversations with them about their ways of living, their likes and dislikes and their culture. This is what I call cosmopolitanism- the openness, warmth, the habit of conversation without restraint, making it a point to share whatever they have with foreigners and learning about their cultural differences..

The Indian diaspora, through their active participation in various domains in Canada and America and through their networks, offer other Asian Diasporas a model of integration in the host country while remaining linked to their motherlands. Characteristic of Indians, they value hospitality, the main aspect of cosmopolitanism according to Kant. The first thing that the Indian will offer visitors to their homes is a glass of “Pani” (water) and later they will invite them to partake of their food which they serve on the floor in large tin plates while they are seated themselves on their locally made mats. Abroad, they followed the same practice for some time but gradually, thanks to their adaptable nature, lapsed into Western style with the best porcelain or silver crockery. The food is served on tin “talis”(large tins plates where some seven small bowl of curries are laid out), silver spoons for those who are not used to eating with their fingers. So, finally the food that is served is itself cosmopolitan consisting of a mix of European roasted meat (stewed lamb or goat) and several Indian spicy vegetable dishes accompanied by hot mango pickles. Thus, the food is a meeting of France, England and different parts of India-a pot-pourri of smells, eastern Indian perfumed herbs and tastes, French wines, Scotch whisky. The language is either English or a mix of English and an Indian language. India, it must be recalled, had lived under the Mughal emperors, who were followed by the English colonial power, with the Portuguese in Goa and the French in Pondicherry. The final product of such a cultural mix, the cosmopolitan Indian diaspora, is now spread over various parts of the world with significant communities in the US, Canada, UK, France, Australia, South East Asia and the developing Arab world.

When I turn to a definition of cosmopolitanism, I realize that there are many definitions of the term. My own understanding was that it referred to a liberal view of the world and that it

transcends provincialism and nationalism, that it is all embracing and mind-opening- an attitude that is stripped of pettiness and that, through a habit of thinking, one considers everybody else as an equal. Kwame Anthony Appiah states that a cosmopolitan community might be based on an inclusive morality. In such a community, individuals from different states or nations form relationships of mutual respect and understanding. Charlemagne and Napoleon, after him, must have had in mind some sort of unification of the world into a Francia Orientalis and a Francia Occidentalis under their command. And now we have the European Union with twenty seven member states. This shows that there are people now and before who see the world as their own and who, apart from their love for their own turf, spread their arms wide to embrace the whole world. Indians may not have such ambition; geopolitics may not be their cup of tea but by their friendly disposition, respect for the “other” and years of contact with the two great civilizing forces of the world, they bid fair to create a cosmopolitan culture. What they can’t do with weaponry, they can do with their world culture- yoga, meditation, Krishna Consciousness, Bollywood cinema and their proverbial hospitality.

Initially, in my view, cosmopolitanism could happen only to regular travellers, seers, some academics and highly religious people i.e. elite, not driven by parochialism and fanaticism. I have found that some writers and academics, without mentioning the term ‘cosmopolitan’, describe how some people have turned from ultra multiculturalists into cosmopolitans. These authors give the impression of hesitating on the threshold of cosmopolitanism preferring to stay in a sort of limbo on solid multicultural grounds. Peter Adler in *Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Multiculturalism* 2002(East-West Centre, the University Press of Hawaii) is a striking example of these writers). Adler says we are reminded daily of this cultural

transformation (he means the emergence of cosmopolitanism) and he gives examples of which we shall mention only a few:

In the corner of a traditional Japanese home sits a television set tuned to a baseball game in which the visitors, an American team, are losing; meanwhile, a Canadian family, decorates their home with sculptures and paintings imported from Pakistan, India and Ceylon. Teenagers in Singapore and Hong Kong pay unheard of prices for used American blue jeans while high school students in England and France... and Adler goes on and on with the description of a cosmopolitan way of life..It is a radical departure from the kinds of identities found in both traditional and mass societies He or she is neither totally a part of, nor totally apart from his or her culture; instead he or she lives on the boundary (Adler 2002). Tillich (1966) describes this person's psychological and physical movement 'It is in truth not standing still, but rather a crossing and return, a repetition of return and crossing, back- and- forth- the aim of which is to create a third area beyond the bounded territories, an area where one can stand for a time without being enclosed in something tightly bounded.(Tillich 1966). The writer is becoming here almost lyrical. What, according to me he is trying to convey is the freedom and the flexibility of the multicultural or rather the butterfly freedom of the cosmopolitan person. It has been observed that the members of the new diaspora, apart from their Indian languages, speak impeccable English and possess experience in key industries like information technology, science and medicine. This allows them to spend less time to look for jobs and more time on liberal pursuits such as the arts, literature and music and become less embroiled in provincial matters. Their minds are busy moving between international concerns. Thus the cosmopolitans move from one destination to another psychologically and physically. Modern communication technologies

allow them to tour the world faster than by traditional means of transport. When they travel, they tour the whole globe as they engage in their own private international business meetings, visit friends and relatives and return home for dinner almost on the same day. If they have settled in one of the member states of the European Union, they can travel without hindrances through twenty seven countries with their European passport for vacation, work or business.

In Canada on the other side of the Atlantic, we come across many of these Indo-Canadian cosmopolitan characters spread over many occupations: film producers, actors, writers, novelists, members of legislatures, medical professionals, businessmen, scientists, artists, poets, playwrights, ambassadors and sportsmen and sportswomen. These are people who travel a lot and some of them are in possession of multiple nationalities. We shall mention two of the richest Indo-Canadians: Bob Dillon whose assets are worth over 650 million dollars and Nav Bhatia, the car manufacturer who has spent up to 300,000 each season to buy 3,000 front seat tickets for games held in Toronto which he distributes to young turbaned Sikhs. His purpose is to impress upon Canadians the importance of Sikh identity. His cosmopolitan activities range from bringing Bollywood films to Canada and staging live shows with Bollywood famous actors such as Amitabh Bachan, Amir Khan, Shah Rukh Khan and music maestro, A.R.Rehman. All this shows to me that the Indian diaspora, I mean those who have the means, and who are not, continually, harassed by racism, will rise to cosmopolitan proportions. And this is what we are seeing in Canada (Perez 2018). Evidently, this movement upwards will occur with a comparable one on the part of Canadians of other origins. A report which was based on the deliberations of three roundtables on the subject of Buildings Bridges held in the year 2008 in Toronto, New Delhi and

Chandigarh led to the formulation of a number of recommendations, a number of which I give below followed by brief personal comments:

- (1) Changes to visa and immigration policies;
- (2) Greater recognition of Indian credentials;
- (3) The fostering of links between Canada and India in higher education;
- (4) Investment in youth and second generation Indo-Canadians;
- (5) The encouragement of diasporic civic engagement;
- (6) The building of better relationships between the Indo-Canadian diaspora and the Canadian media; and
- (7) The value of conducting a study on the Canadian diaspora in India.(Bhargava and ors. 2008)

It is true that in the matter of visa and immigration policies, Canada, like any other countries, mindful of the security of its frontiers and the quality of immigrants, has very arduous procedures. In any case the flow of immigrants is, more often, one way, to Canada, almost never to India; mutuality of arrangements was, therefore, not possible. As regards the recognition of the Indians' credentials, the process was biased in view of the negative stereotyping of Indian educational institutions as cheap universities that sell diplomas and degrees. There were, however, in India some reputable training institutions which did not deliver fake certificates of competence. This could have been remedied by the third recommendation of a greater collaboration between the higher educational institutions of both countries. Investment in the young immigrants in every country for that matter is a win-win situation as education and training always pay off and result in economic dividends. Encouragement of civic engagement

would enhance the participation of the Indo-Canadians in all walks of life, notably in national politics; voluntary work, environment education and other such work as would demonstrate the will of the community for the continued upliftment of the Canadian people and its flag. The building of better relations between the community and the Canadian press would go a long way towards mutual understanding and trust. A study of the number of Canadian –Indians and their status in India would improve the relations between the two peoples and their institutions. The people of Indian origin have always impressed the populations of settler countries by their law abiding disposition, engaged in lawful pursuits that redound to the benefit of one and all. There are many initiatives that arise from a habit of mind which is truly Indian. Let us see how international co-operation against terrorism have followed the events of 11 September 2001 in the US.- the cosmopolitan war against terror involving the main powers such as the USA and the UK and some twenty other countries which have sent troops to support the US. There has also been international cooperation against piracy off the coast of Somalia which has considerably reduced attacks against ships traversing the Somalian waters. It must be stressed that India has played a major role in the Indian Ocean for which the islands states in the region must be thankful. There are tendencies towards interventionism (Iraq and Syria, Afghanistan and Libya)- pro-active interventionism (Mayal 1993). There is at present a deliberate attempt to create a consensus above values and behaviours- a cosmopolitan community within the different nations that exists on its own. It is not one dominated by capital but a concerted effort to create a movement towards greater unity among the cultures of the world and an awareness that humanity may be threatened, This is the constituency that has arisen to deal with cosmopolitan problems such as the environmental dangers (El Nino, effects of tsunamis, flash floods, the survival of various species, the melting of the icebergs in the Arctic and the threat to small islands states

that, according to the United Nations Environment Programme, run the risk of being submerged in the future by the rising of the sea level. There are also many intellectuals who may now seem more prone to develop complex affiliations, meaningful attachments and allegiance to issues, people and traditions that lie beyond the boundaries of their resident nation states. This holds especially true for migrants, members of ethnic Diasporas and other transactional communities (Vertovec and Cohen 1999). People active in global social movements also orient their politics and identities towards agendas outside, as well as inside their resident nation- states (Cohen and Rai 2000). Such are the concerns of the people belonging e.g. to the GOPIO as well as those belonging to the different lodges of the freemasonry institutions and Rotary clubs. Indeed, GOPIO itself was born in New York and has important chapters in Canada and the UK. Freemasonry is of respectable vintage and has lodges with people of different ethnic groups all over the non-Muslim world (one French-speaking lodge is of Egyptian origin). What is interesting is that freemasons travel from one lodge to another within their own country and outside and share views on how to improve themselves. In the process they are helping make their members become citizens of the world.

It may now be opportune to introduce some women writers who have strengthened the notion of cosmopolitanism. We shall consider the views of five academics (Voices from Within: Diaspora and Women writers (Ramanathan Malathi). These are Shauna Singh Baldwin, Bharati Mukherjee, Anita Rao Badami, Jhumpa Lahiri, and Uma Pareswaram. Shauna Singh Baldwin, the author of the well-known novel *What a Body Remembers* (Knopf 1999, Canada) was a second –generation Canadian-American of Indian origin. Unlike writers such as Nirad. Chaudhuri, Salman Rushdie and Bharati Mukherjee, first-generation immigrant Indian writers,

who wrote through express direct experience, the former write “as a result of Research and imagination”(Baldwin 2002). So, an important point that comes out and is relevant to our description of the diaspora is their different experiences and heterogeneity. They have joined the host societies at different points of their evolution and the last ones show a more positive attitude to the new multicultural world that they are helping to construct. It is no more “their” culture but “our” culture .These women writers have a cosmopolitan outlook. Having lived in different countries, they have enriched their own Indian cultures with important additions from the cultures of Australia, Canada, UK and USA In a sense they have shed their parochialism for a broader cultural outlook. Baldwin has been acclaimed as a writer of cosmopolitan perspective. She writes about the terrible tears of the partition with a mix of detachment and objectivity. “What the Body remembers” is a poignant narration of the partition and the confrontation between the Indians and the Pakistanis around three main characters. Outlook magazine in its review states, among other things: ‘her novel is layered both with a palpable Sikh ethos as well as a cosmopolitan life style. Baldwin has thus turned into a citizen of the world It must not be forgotten that she was born in Canada, raised in India and she lives in the United States.

Bharati Mukherjee is also a true cosmopolitan writer. She was born in Calcutta in a wealthy traditional family and came to the US in 1961, married a Canadian and immigrated to Canada in the mid-sixties after obtaining a doctoral degree from the University of Iowa. She became a Canadian in 1972, taught English at the McGill University of Montreal but moved back to a teaching position in New York and became a US citizen. In 1988 she moved to San Francisco to teach writing at the University of California (ibis). Such a spiraling international career shows that women have reached their highest aspirations. Mukherjee’s connection with Canada spanned

fourteen years. In an interview she throws more light on the concept of diaspora: “I see diasporality as a kind of continuum with immigrants and immigrationists on the one end of the scale, and expatriates and exiled figures and post-colonialists on the other. Mukherjee makes a distinction between immigrants, like her, and expatriates. Immigrants do not intend to return to their homeland except for short visits to old parents; they are happy to integrate whereas expatriates remain aloof with their eyes always on their native land where they will return one day. As an immigrant, according to her, one belonged to the country of adoption (Ramanathan 2002). When she arrived in USA in 1961, she proclaimed she was a Bengali and proud of it. In 1996, she said “ I describe myself in term of ethno-nationality; I’d say I am an American writer of Bengali Indian origin”. After having lived and worked for thirty years in the US and Canada, her Calcutta childhood and adolescence “offer me intriguing, incompletely comprehended revelations about my hometown, my family, my place in that community...”. Mukherjee’s recollection of life in Canada is none too happy, though she was well employed, she was “never allowed to feel part of the local Quebec or larger Canadian society” (Chen and Goudie). Several of her works like *the World according to Hsu* and *Darkness* reveal disappointment and disillusion with Canada (Natarajan, Nelson 1993). Canada has evolved since 1993. She would probably now be at ease in Canada with her openness and creative mind.

Anita Rao Badami is another writer who shows an interest in analyzing the changes in one’s perception with the passage of time, the change of location and the acquisition of new life experiences. Her novel *Tamarind Mem* is set between India and Calgary in Canada. Two protagonists, mother and daughter visualize their past lives in India. Their recollections are different, showing how the modern world has witnessed a change of culture (ibis). The

cosmopolitan character of the story comes from the different perspectives on life by the two protagonists who were both born in India but one moved to Canada. The title *Tamarin Mem* comes from the caustic tongue of the older woman. But she raises a problem that affects women the world over- their secondary role and always staying at home for the kids and the retired husband who was socially imposed. When her husband dies, she cuts loose her strings, sells the property and travels the world. She has now emancipated from her role of mother and daughter and become a regular traveller.

I now open a paragraph on Uma Pareswaram whom we have already met for her cosmopolitan experience. I shall now look at her thoughts on cosmopolitanism through her writings. Uma says that her “goal is to bring Ganga to Assiniboine not only for Indo-Canadians but for all Canadians so that the fund of Canadian allusions and sensibilities is extended, and readers recognize allusions to the river Ganga and to the Krishna cycle of stories as readily as we growing up in India, recognize allusions to the Jesus cycle of stories”(Pareswaram 1998). Uma is praising the union of East and West and the new Canada which she is helping to build- a Canada that shows respect for universal and cultural ethnic values and that is the meeting place of transnationals and citizens of the world, in particular, writers of different origins and sensibilities.

Last but not least I shall deal briefly with Jhumpa Lahiri’s short story the *Interpreter of Maladies* and her novel *Namesake*.

Jhumpa Lahiri’s parents were from Calcutta of Bengali origin. She was born in England but they left for the USA where they settled in Massachusetts. Lahiri has won a number of prizes for her

novels and short stories. Interpreter of Maladies is from her collection of short stories bearing the same title. The stories won the 2000 Pulitzer Prize for fiction as well as the PEN/Hemingway Award, the New Yorker Debut of the Year and an Addison M. Metcalf Award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters. It was an international best seller translated into more than thirty languages. This unusually long introduction is deserved as it serves to signal the cosmopolitan quality of the author and her writings. The Interpreter of Maladies is of universal interest and reminds me of the doctors of Indian origins who were posted to distant places where the almost illiterate could not communicate in proper English. An interpreter of maladies would have been welcome. Apart from this universal aspect, there are others that would not fail to move people one way or another. Mr. Kapasi, a tour driver and guide, takes Mr and Mrs. Mina Das and their three children on a tour to visit the Konarak temple. Since the beginning the reader can feel that theirs is a failed marriage. They are too young and immature. Kapasi who is a middle age man is also not happy with his marriage and he starts comparing. Here is Mina Das, a young and pretty lady who, although of Indian stock, wears a short skirt revealing her sexy calves. She shows interest in Kapasi, in his job and gives the impression that she likes his presence and conversation. Poor Kapasi, mistaking Mina's real design, weaves an imaginary affair with her until he is told of her extramarital affair and the birth of her son. That also has universal appeal but upsets the Indian Kapasi. Mina, he finds is blasé, just interested in her own look, refusing to show any feeling for her children, unlike a good mother. She munches dry seeds that she does not share with her children. The husband is more interested in taking pictures of the monkeys and "the countless friezes of entwined naked bodies. All these carved figures add to the romantic web woven by Kapasi. Finally, Kapasi is disillusioned, his address gone with the wind and unable to please Mina with advice to remove her guilt. Mina is a difficult character. She remains

narcissistic up to the end. She is interested in her own beauty in spite of being a mother of three children; and surprisingly, although she hails from India, dresses like a European with her legs bare which disturbs Kapasi. The latter is used to seeing European ladies 's bare legs but an Indian lady's bare legs is so unexpected as to arouse unhealthy feelings in a middle age Indian. He is disturbed but attracted. He had hoped to built up a lasting epistolary relationship with Mina through exchange of pictures but all this is gone with the winds and one has a feeling that Kapasi has escaped an uneasy situation.. This story, although quite banal, is told in such a way that it has an international appeal. Mina is really cosmopolitan. Many women in the modern world, who have become so blasé, will recognize themselves in Mina.

Let me now extend my analysis to the novel *Namesake*. Lahiri is the winner of the Pulitzer Prize and one of the most celebrated Indian writers in English. She was born in London of Bengali parents. The *Namesake* is her first novel. Once you start reading it, you will want to read it to the end. The *Sunday Telegraph* says of it "Lahiri turns the banal trajectory of an unremarkable life to advantage...." The relevance of the novel to my research is that it is a modern cosmopolitan novel. The cosmopolitan features are in terms of the story itself which unfolds in different countries- in The USA, the UK, France and the characters we come across move between these countries with a disarming facility. Most of them belong to the academic world which explains their mobility. They are invited to present papers on their research by other universities .Likewise , Moushimi who has spent some time in France and who is doing her research in French, has an invitation to present a paper to her fellow academics. The main characters, Gogol, Ashima, and Ashok are of Indian Bengali origin from Calcutta. They visit their many relatives in India every year for Christmas and have food seated on the floor eating with their

fingers. The food in India is a real Masala- hot spicy with chillies, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, coriander leaves, all sorts of herbs. The rice is served on a Tali (a large silver or brass plate surrounded by some seven or more bowls of curry, Korma, dal and brinjals, bitter gourd, pumpkin and okra and Lassi (sweet curd with morsels of fruit) . Fresh water is never missing.. But Gogol has been used to eating simple European food although they all enjoys samoussas, pakodas and a stew of mutton biryani or a stew of goat and rice. Gogol's name itself brings in the Cosmopolitan atmosphere. He was named after the celebrated Nicolai Gogol by his parents in America waiting for a good name to be sent by mail by Ashok's mother. Gogol dislikes the name and prefers Nikhil by which name he is known by the crowd of aunts, uncles, grandparents and the younger folk. Even at school he chooses to be known as Gogol .It is much later that his father tells him how he was called Gogol and the terrible train accident which almost left him dead. But the page that hung to his hand outside the train saved him and the page was from a book by Nicolai Gogol. His father's gratitude to the Russian author gave him his name. Finally, he would retrieve a book the short stories of Nikolai Gogol from the boxes that were to be left outside when Ashima, the mother, Ashok's window is getting ready to leave for India.

The way that the Indian way of living is woven with the new ways they develop in the US is remarkable and shows the development of a cosmopolitan way of life .Gogol marries one but the relationship is short lived. Gogol's mother persuades him to see Moushimi, a childhood friend to boost up his morale. The relationship works for a time but breaks down when she has a liaison with Dimitri, another lecturer. Again what is not Indian at all is the way Moushimi and her colleagues meet in their small group where Gogol feels an intruder and eat and drink and smoke in their own informal ways. Sometimes Moushimi is drunk and sleep out. Gogol has the

impression that all these people have slept with one another at some time in their lives. Lahiri has been brought up in America and does not have the inhibitions of Indian writers. So, she describes the sexual lives of her characters, the sexual acts openly, like Dimitri caressing the leg of Moushimi while they are travelling. What are also cosmopolitan is the meals they take sitting on the floor and eating with their fingers without soiling the palm of their hand. Before I end on Lahiri, let me mention the names of authors and titles that litter the book and give it its international character: *The Red and the Black* (Le Rouge et le Noir de Stendhal), Graham Greene, Somerset Maugham, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *Anna Karenina*, *Fathers and Sons*, Tolstoy's, *War and Peace* and Dostoyevsky and Marx. For all these reasons, I have added Jhumpa Lahiri to my list of cosmopolitan writers.

I shall now look at some of other thinkers who have expressed an opinion on cosmopolitanism from different parts of the advanced world:

Vertovec, S and Cohen R give a broad and general introduction to the subject. They retrace the birth and development of the concept of cosmopolitanism. This was not new to me as I was familiar with the ideas of Appiah and his precursor, Diogenes (412/404 BC-#23 BC). The latter when asked where he came from, is reputed to have replied, "I am a citizen of the world". Vertovec and Cohen argued that there are six ways to look at cosmopolitanism: as a socio-cultural condition, as a philosophy or worldview, as a perspective which advocates transnational institutions, as an approach which highlights the multiple constructions of the political subject, as an attitude or disposition which is open and engaging with others and finally as a propensity to be flexible, reflective and to move between cultures without residing within them (Vertovec and Cohen 2003). The Indian diaspora, I mean, those who are emerging as cosmopolitans, seem to

exhibit all the six ways of espousing cosmopolitanism to a lesser or greater degree. Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore, three Indian philosophers have shown how Indians can open up to the various currents of thought just as the Mahatma Gandhi advised Indians to open their windows on the whole world and just as the Buddha in his search for truth broke from orthodox Hinduism and is now venerated with other deities in Hindu temples.

Cosmopolitanism was given a new lease of life by the scientific discoveries such as the Evolution of the Species by Charles Darwin. The latter discovery has shown that we all derive from the same ancestor who lived in East Africa, probably on the bank of the Nile River. This led biologist Richard Dawkins (2004) to say: “all your ancestors are mine, whoever you are, and all mine are yours not just approximately but literally.” This is straightforward but it is not in this sense that I am saying that some Indians abroad have become or are becoming cosmopolitan-not biologically but as human beings who think on a higher plane than others around them. I can’t find the words to explain this. What I mean is that the thinking of Indians, just like Tagore, Shri Aurobindo, Amartya Sen and Krishnamurti surpasses others by their depth and humanity. Theirs is an invitation to the peoples of the world to join them in a celebration of brotherhood. Cosmopolitanism is a concept which continues being studied. There are those who find its manifestations in the midst of common people and others who see it in the expression of arts and letters including cinema which will be discussed now. Whatever happens in the Diaspora affects India (Perez 2005). In her paper *Cosmopolitan India- Bollywood and the citizens of the world*, Peres attempts an analysis of the extent to which the Indian diaspora has had “an impact on Western patterns of cultural consumption, by creating a new trend of cosmopolitanism that integrates the West and the diaspora itself” (Peres 2005).

Popular Indian cinema has been referred to as Bollywood in imitation of Hollywood. But the term has gained unprecedented global currency. Indian popular culture is identified with this term all over the world so much so that Bollywood is seen not as a copy of Hollywood but as an alternative to it (Madhava Prasad 2003). Hollywood is a powerful combination of films, music, actors and actresses, dance and DVDs which are to be found in the disseminated Indian film network and their by-products, to be found exposed for sale in all the shops owned by the diaspora in the West and Australia. I remember looking for a film *Siddhartha* in almost all the places I visited in Europe, Asia and Australia. Finally, my son found it in such a nondescript corner shop in Australia. *Siddhartha* is a film produced by an American featuring the Indian actors Shashi Kapoor and Simi Garewal. This goes to strengthen Perez's view of the increasing influence of the diaspora in the world. Prasad states that Bollywood films have produced another variation of nationalist ideology of tradition and modernity, and most interestingly, "they have relocated what we might call the seismic centre of Indian national identity somewhere in Anglo-America (Prasad 2003).

Bollywood films- bringing together life stories (melodrama), music, dance and sound effects- have been described by diaspora and Indians equally as Masala i.e. a mixture of Indian spices including crushed cloves, nutmeg, dry red chillies, cinnamon, coriander. The sum-total of all this is that, through Bollywood, a cosmopolitan world was created linking India to the rest of the world through a common aesthetic and semiological language. Shah Rukh Khan, or King Khan, the most celebrated Indian actor after Amitabh Bachchan, has been honoured by UNESCO's Pyramid Con Marni Award. Bollywood

films frequently appear in the UK box office top-10 and are often released in the UK and India simultaneously. Bollywood has even attempted an exploration of the relationship between the diaspora and the homeland through films such as the hit “Dilwale Dulhania le Jayenge (1998) (the brave heart will take the bride) with Shah Rukh Khan as lead male character opposite the versatile actress, Kajol. The story is about an Indian family based in Britain. The film had a ten-year run in a Mumbai cinema until 2005. It was one of the most successful Hindi films in both the United Kingdom and the US. My own explanation of this popularity of Bollywood films in the West is the universality of themes, the eternal war between good and evil, the continuing fights between mothers in law and the new daughters in law, the disputes about the sufficiency of the dowry, the colourful and sensuous dances and the melodious music with actresses and their female group of dances competing for the shortest size of their cholis (the Indian blouse which is worn on the bra and leave the greater part of the back exposed) Another attraction which do not seem to have been perceived by either Perez or Prasad is the sexual trail which the semi-nude female dancers leave behind them, The subtitles in English or French of most Bollywood films and the use of English in parts of the dialogues to attract large audiences are also missed by Perez. People who are good at reading the gestures of the actors and who are sensitive to Indian culture will understand the whole film. The Hindi parts will not be a hindrance to understanding. Why I have set about using much of Perez reflection with regard to cosmopolitanism is that Perez has planted cosmopolitanism squarely in the centre of Hollywood cinema- showing the influence of the diaspora and Bollywood in countries of settlement.

Religion can play an important role in promoting cosmopolitanism. The pope has taken the lead recently. Mindful of the delicate position of the Muslims and Arabs and the negative stereotyped perception that has been created in the minds of people all over the world towards those who are rightly or wrongly associated with terrorist attacks on non-Muslim people and places, the Pope invited one of the top Sunny clerics in the world to the Vatican. The Daily Mail ran an article on the occasion with the words “Pope embraces grand Imam at historic Vatican meeting in a bid to bring the Catholic and Muslim churches together. On January 2016 the Vatican released a video in which the Pope declared that all the world’s religions are “seeking God or meeting God in different ways” and that “we are all the children of God.” The video also, clearly to avoid any misunderstanding, featured leaders from various major religions who are shown declaring their fidelity to their particular gods. A female Buddhist cleric tells: “I have confidence in the Buddha” ; a Jewish Rabbi declares; “I believe in God”; a Catholic priest announces: I believe in Jesus Christ” and last an Islamic Leader declares “ I believe in God Allah”. Although they have come together, they still express their fidelity to their respective faiths. My personal view is that all these expressions of faith are so many assurances given to their co-religionists and to their personal God that there is no treachery meant and that they may be relied upon if an occasion arises to fight for their faith. I cannot help laughing when I realised how empty these declarations are when faced with the reality. Still it is comforting to see the Pope leaving no stone unturned to usher in “a new humanity” that refuses to see borders as barriers”. The new Pope reminds me of Swami Vivekananda’s speeches at the Parliament of Religion. Like the Pope, he is attempting to promote one world religion (Snyder 2016).If all religious leaders did the same and they

all preached that we are the children of God , the way to cosmopolitanism is already chalked out. Like the Pope, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore and Amartya Sen are doing the same in other fields.

Rooted Cosmopolitanism which attempts to maintain the commitment to moral cosmopolitanism, while revising earlier commitments to a world state or a common global culture and affirming instead the enduring reality and value of cultural diversity; and local or national self –government [Kymlicka, W]

Rooted Cosmopolitanism was a term coined by literary critic Vissarian Balinsky and adopted by Stalin, whereas a rootless cosmopolitan was the term applied to Jewish intellectuals and artists who were accused of not showing enough patriotism to the Soviet fatherland (Figs 2008) and therefore of having no roots, lacking national allegiance and affiliating with foreign cultures. Judt says Edward Said is an example of a rootless cosmopolitan because Said was not an exile but an exile from a stateless people (Palestine).

Sneja Gunew from Canada, in a paper entitled Indigenous Cosmopolitanism states ‘the debates on cosmopolitanism over the last decade represents the latest attempt to imagine a new critical framework that is more culturally inclusive and to think in ‘planetary’ rather than ‘global’ terms, a distinction made by Paul Gilroy , Gayatri Spivak and others

Whitney Johnson believes that Anthony Appiah has given an all embracing definition of the concept. In a conversation with Whitney Johnson, a philosophy major at the University of Georgio Cosmo, the 2009-2010 issue of Mandala Journal, Appiah stated:

Cosmopolitanism is the conjunction of two ideas: One which is shared with a lot of people, which is some form of commitment to the universality of concern for all human beings. That is one part of it.

But what is distinctive about cosmopolitan universalism is that it combines that sense that everybody matters, every human being is important with the idea that people are entitled to live lives according to different ideals, different conceptions of which they came up to, what they think is worthwhile.

Appiah is more down to earth as he brings in more prosaic matters such as economic and ecological interdependence, diseases that have an international linkage, multiple travel connections, and the explosion of the international network. All these ideas may be found in his two books: *Ethics in a World of Strangers* and *Ethics of Identity*.

Arjun Appudurai brings in a new dimension to the discussion. Leaving what he calls Elite Cosmopolitanism, he plunges into *Cosmopolitanism from below* among the slum dwellers of Mumbai (Appudurai 1997). Inspired by the successes of housing activists in Mumbai and their global networks; he identifies “cosmopolitanism from Below”. This is not different from Appiah’s definition which I gather from his conversation with Whitley Johnson (March 2010) is the “universality of concern for all human beings.” Arjun admittedly presents a new perspective on cosmopolitanism which, however is also based on the politics of hope and concern for other human beings and solidarity for the poor and self-help. One point of agreement between Kymlicka and Appiah is the assertion that nationalism and cosmopolitanism are poles apart,

although cosmopolitanism assumes first the existence of individuals, local and national identities; another is the wider context of cosmopolitanism than globalization. This does not mean some sort of merger of the whole world under one government and a universal language as a few idealists such as Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill and Anthony Giddens have predicted. Paul Gilroy said: "a methodical cultivation of a degree of estrangement from one's own culture and history might qualify as essential to a cosmopolitan commitment" (Gilroy). This is exactly what Indian diaspora in Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA have been doing –distancing themselves knowingly or unknowingly from their religiosity and cultural norms and adopting many of the practices of their hosts. This is not to say that the diaspora will ever be assimilated which would, in any case, not make them cosmopolitans but they are integrating the different culture in the "Mosaic" and ,in the process, enlarging their vision. This part answers some of my research questions.

I need to state that a cosmopolitan philosophy was ushered in by international structures after the Second World War. This leads me to believe that the nation states were shaken by the magnitude of the war damage. Fear of such cataclysmic events encouraged states to come closer together for security and territorial integrity. Thus we have had the United Nations Organisation and its specialized agencies to whose resolutions and conventions all member-nations have subscribed, the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) . Nowadays concern for the Green House effect, the emission of noxious gases and the pollution of the atmosphere, the melting of the icebergs in the North Pole and the risk of tsunamis-are universal concern for humanity.

According to Derrida, cosmopolitanism means “free from local, provincial or national ideas, prejudices or attachments”(1997) He means, I emphasize, free from narrow local or provincial intellectual shackles. In an interview with Bennington, he describes cosmopolitanism as a tradition we have inherited on the one hand from the Greek Stoics and on the other from the Christian tradition. The latter tradition is exemplified by St. Paul’s exhortation that as we are all the sons of God, we are citizens of the world. Academically, this may be acceptable but on a more earthly plain this reasoning sounds tenuous. Not all Christians who are engaged in an evangelization process would agree. Later Kant elaborated on this tradition. He stated that cosmopolitanism requires that we should welcome others (hospitality). Such kind of cosmopolitanism in an age of refugee scare and Islamic terrorism in Western countries may be hardly acceptable. A more practical definition is to my mind an attitude of mind that is characterized by openness, tolerance and adaptability. Hence, my argument that the members of the Indian diaspora, by their amiable disposition of mind, the peaceful practice of their religion (Krishna consciousness with meditation, group singing and dancing, yoga performed in large groups as by yogi, Ramdeo, brings people of different nationalities together in intense communion , . If I were to name some cosmopolitan figures I would mention the following: Mother Theresa, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore and William Blake. For this reason I shall not use a highly intellectual and too academic definition which in any case will not serve my purpose which is to show that many members of the Indian diaspora in Australia, Canada, UK and USA have benefited from a protective multicultural environment to maximize the educational, professional and economic facilities available around them and develop into cosmopolitan beings. The poet Rabindranath Tagore is an example of the new breed

of people. In one of his poems he invokes God to allow his country to awake into a heaven of freedom – a world which is not broken by “narrow domestic walls.”

Theresa May, the British Prime Minister in a post-Brexit speech referred to the tired language of rootless cosmopolitanism. She argued ‘if you believe you’re a citizen of the world, you’re a citizen of nowhere. She was in fact using the tired imagery of rootless cosmopolitanism. The reality is that since the UK joined the European Union they had stripped themselves of their insular attitude and had hoped to deal on an equal terms with Europeans from twenty seven political entities. There was in that move a combination of social, economic and political factors to enable a European enterprise similar to the Carolingian dream. Rootless cosmopolitanism was an inapplicable imagery. Brexit is an arduous enterprise as subsequent developments have shown. Roots have already gone deep. In any case as a result of her remark, there was widespread controversy in which Londoners, journalists, rival politicians including philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah stated their opposition to her view

The Journalist David Goodhart refers to cosmopolitans as a tribe of mobile ‘global villagers’ who are likely to identify as citizens of the world. This is the image of the ‘individualistic high flyers who benefit from globalization and want a borderless world’. They live in their ‘global – citizen bubble’ and value autonomy and mobility over local and national attachments community and belonging (Goodhart 2017). The mistake that both the Prime minister and the journalist are making is that some people can live without roots in one small political unit and spread roots mentally and psychologically far and wide as cosmopolitans. I shall come back to this point by and by. Rootless cosmopolitans were a derogatory term applied to the Jews by the Germans as

they moved about searching for a homeland. The Jews from Israel or Germany have travelled across the world and settled in many of the most developed centres where their contribution in the fields of science and technology is highly appreciated. They now deserve the appellation of cosmopolitans and I am suggesting the same for the Indian diaspora, who unlike the Jews who fled xenophobia and violent deaths, in their turn, fled abject poverty and death through deprivation.

Chapter 5 -0 Trajectories of the diaspora in their unknown new homes and progress achieved by its members.

In the opening paragraph of this chapter I shall draw on an article entitled The Indian Diaspora – Past, Present and Future by Ashok Rao in its issue of the March 17, 2013. Rao says that, in spite of distance from countries of settlement, the diaspora, which numbers around 30 million, perpetuate many aspects of Indian culture: the provincial languages, (although the majority, I should say speak, impeccable English) the rites and practices associated with their religion and their tradition for weddings, cremation and annual festivals. They maintain regular communications with their family and friends in India and they now send remittances back home on a regular basis so that India is number one in the world with over a billion American dollars in annual remittances. They also attempt through their personal caucuses to persuade the host government to pursue pro-India policies (Rao). He adds that the diaspora, which is characterized by its complexity and heterogeneity, is spread across six continents and 125 countries and can be studied under three categories: the Old diaspora, the New Diaspora and the Gulf Diaspora.. Those who migrated before the Great War and some 40 years after i.e. the old diaspora were

mostly unskilled and were destined for the plantations of colonies; those who possessed high skills in the period starting in the early 1960s went to the professions and business. They are highly proficient in science subjects, mathematics and economics and above all IT (commonly known as the IT diaspora). And finally there are those who continue to migrate to the Gulf countries. They are mostly semi-skilled and are helping countries such as Qatar, Dubai to build up their infrastructure for business and the services. So, host countries, at first had recourse to the manual labour of migrants which they continue to do. But they increasingly now require their brain power. Let me now look at the spread of the diaspora in four selected settler countries.

Before I look at the Indian diaspora in the countries of settlement, let me look at the continuing ties between India and the diaspora. Initially, under Jawaharlal Nehru, India was beset with its own problems-keeping the country intact after independence, managing relations with a hostile neighbour, Pakistan and reconstructing its economy-so that he advised the people who had left India to fend for themselves and not to rely on assistance from their birthplace. In the present two decades, India, through Prime Minister Manmohansing and now, Narendra Modi, has shown increasing interest in the plight of the Diaspora. In fact, the rise of the diaspora socially and politically in settler countries in particular Canada and the US are factors which are borne in mind in international relations. This is what Modi said in Delhi at the end of his visits to the Myanmar, Fiji and Australia: “We want to create an environment where our diaspora also feel that they can contribute towards India’s development journey” (The Hindu 2014)”. He added “that is the reason I urged the NRIs to keep sharing their views and thoughts with the Indian Government”. So, however physically the diaspora is away from India, they are assured that their homeland always care for them and indeed expect them to contribute to its development.

Indians, although they have immigrated to distant lands, endeavour to remain in close contact through one means or another. Take for example the Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) which was set up in New York but have chapters in the main cities of Europe and North America. These Indians from overseas at their biennial meetings have discussed issues to do with diaspora. At their convention of 2013, ten resolutions were adopted. Resolution 6 on “Image of India” urged the government to do something about the growing corruption and the lack of law and order of the country which makes the diaspora embarrassed about the country of their ancestors. The image of India and its diaspora is so intertwined that both the positives and the negatives of each affects the other. Both have stakes in each country’s prosperity. Therefore, we urge the government not to allow corruption to tarnish its image.

5.1 Australia

Although the history of Indian migration to Australia dates back to the early 19th century when small groups of Sikhs found their way into the country, intensive immigration only began after the 1980s. From a few Indians who came as British prisoners, labourers, domestic help and free immigrants, the number rose to some 93,000 in 2005. With the development of the outback, more labour was required. There came a number of indentured labourers. However, threat of violent reaction from the settlers slowed this trend. The Indian colonial government was forced to restrict the emigration of Indian Coolies. The Indian Emigration Act in 1839 tightened the control. But at the beginning of the century small groups of unskilled workers were taken by their British masters to Australia where the former settled. Small groups of Indians and Anglo-Indians continued to arrive as British subjects and citizens of the British Empire. An attempt was made between 1843 and 1850 to recruit Indians on a large scale but this foundered on the opposition against non-European migration. Between 1861 and 1901 came an eclectic group of

Asians made up of Sikhs and Hindus. They came to work as camel drivers, agricultural workers and hawkers, crew on liners and horse grooms. With the introduction of the Indian Coolie Act in 1862 in North West Queensland, many Indians came to work in the cotton and sugar cane plantations and the northern part of New South Wales. The Sikh settlement of Woolgooga represents the largest Indian community in Australia with a size of 1800. This bred resentment among the local population. Legislation which had encouraged Indian immigration from colonial India was repealed. However, migration continued and five hundred Sinhalese Buddhists came to work on the banana plantations. Another wave of racism arose in New South Wales. The press carried hostile articles with racist references to 'Black and turbaned heathens'. This led to the adoption of the White Australian Policy in 1901. There was no further Indian immigration over the next 50 years and the number already in Australia slowly declined to a negligible figure to 6500/7000,. This trend would continue until the end of WW11. Still some Indians as British subjects were allowed in as their labour was needed. Indians, who were already in the country, were allowed to stay but were the victims of hostile laws and restrictions e.g. showing they had passed a dictation test in English before obtaining a job in the sugar and banana industry. However, subsequently Indians, as British subjects, were exempted.

In the 1950s and after, there was a real increase in the flow of Indian migrants to Australia. After the trickle of India-born British citizens and Anglo-Indians who left after India's independence, aided by the relaxation of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1969, there arrived a different class of immigrants: Anglo-Indians and Indian professionals. This increased the number of Indian-born citizens to 15,754 in 1966 ,to 41,657 in 1981 and to 77,689 in 1996. However, unlike the majority of former Indian migrants who were either unskilled or semi-skilled, the new ones were

professionals such as doctors, teachers, programmers and engineers. They came from many parts of India and spread all over Australia. As they emigrated from different parts of India, they were not homogeneous and they lacked a common identity. They were, in fact, as multicultural as Australians. This was made more complex with the arrivals of Indian migrants (the twice-migrants) from Fiji, Malaysia, Mauritius and Singapore with their diluted Indian culture.

In the year 2001, the Indians in Australia outnumbered the other South Asian populations. With 95,452 they left Sri Lankans trailing behind with 53,610. The Fijians with a population of 40,000 were third in importance and were followed by the Pakistanis(11,920], the Bangla Deshis(9050) and the Nepalis (2,630) . Source: *Australian Census 2001*.

Censuses of 2011 and 2016, conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), tell not only the rise in the number of Indo- Australians and the number of new Indian migrants but also compares the Indian situation with those of other South Asian groups. The fact is that Indo-Australians may remain inconspicuous for some time until the third and fourth generations take over and, as is usually the case with them elsewhere, move into higher areas such as politics, academia and science. At present, apart from the professionals nursing and medicine and education, there have been very little incursion in the field of literature. Sissy Helf's *Locating Indo-Australian fiction in multicultural Australian* has yielded a poor crop. Adlib Khan, the only South Asian writer that begins to be known outside Australia is from Sri Lanka. However, let me cite him for throwing some positive light on Australian multiculturalism: "The acceleration in the proliferation of cross-cultural voices in fiction emphasizes the diversity that reflects the type of society that Australia is". An Indo-Australian fiction writer who is now becoming known is Aravind Adiga winner of the Man Booker prize 2008 for his novel *The White Tiger*. Sweeta

Peres da Costa is another name which will have to be watched. These developments augur well for Indo-Australian fiction. Another novel *There Where the Pepper Grow* by Bem le Hunte will add to the small contribution of writers of Indian origin. The author is described as half Indian half English and an Australian by choice. She has earned numerous positive reviews and a wide appreciative readership in the Eastern and Western world. (www.bemlehunte.com). It shows that the environment is supportive of creativity and will encourage Indo –Australians to venture out into novel writing. At this point it would be opportune to quote selectively from the findings of the Australian Migration Committee Report published in 2013

“Immigration and settlement in Australia has always been a nation building exercise. The committee believes that access to citizenship has been at the heart of the success and cohesion of Australian society,” said the chairperson of the Migration Committee, Maria Vanvakinou. “Settlement is a long term and intergenerational process and we need a whole government approach and better co-ordination between all three tiers of Australian government.” She added (Australia FORUM. COM)

The report was the fruit of a two-year arduous work across the country. It conducted twenty seven public hearings and received over 500 submissions. It makes 32 recommendations for Australia’s social harmony and cohesion. It notes that a committee on multiculturalism to manage this diversity has had the support of the Australian government for over thirty years. In the Committee’s opinion the multicultural policy has transformed Australia “from a small insular community with a colonial set to a sophisticated and cosmopolitan nation that can engage with the region and the world on its terms”(ibis)

So, I end this section by repeating that the Indian diaspora has settled well in Australia and has started shining in academia but other Indian -Australians have been doing well in the professions since the arrival of the more qualified ones. It needs now to move from regional to federal politics to develop sufficient clout and enrich its contribution in all fields-political, economic and social. A definition of what the Australian government wants to achieve in terms of national unity and multicultural cohesion was the official definition of multiculturalism put forward by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in 1977 in a submission entitled “Australia as a Multicultural Society”:

“in our view, an acceptance of the multicultural nature of Australian society implies that government and established institutions acknowledge the validity of ethnic cultures and respond in terms of ethnic beliefs, values and customs. What we believe Australia should be working is not a oneness but a unity, not a similarity but a composite, not a melting pot but a voluntary bond of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional structure”. This is clear and unequivocal; there is no attempt to use policies and institutions to turn all non-White migrants into little White Australians like the English colonial power (Lord Macaulay’s minute to Educational authorities) wished to do with Indians in India.

5.2 Canada.

5.4 Indo-Canadians have settled in various states of Canada only recently i.e.at the beginning of the 20th century. They are the youngest Indian diaspora or Canadian East Indians as they have chosen to be officially known. The majority are to be found in the cities of Toronto and Vancouver. The Komagata Maru which occurred in May 1914 recalls the creative genius of the

Sikh who tried to circumvent the restrictive immigration “continuous journey” rule by chartering a Japanese ship from Hong Kong with some 376 East Indians on board. The ship travelled by a continuous route from Hong Kong and arrived in Vancouver harbour on 23 May; 1914. The authorities were not convinced by their explanations and made them wait for two months until only some twenty of them, returning citizens, were allowed in. The rest were provided with food and were escorted towards the high seas by a military vessel. All these were British citizens who, in normal circumstances, should have been allowed free movement within the empire. This episode will go to show how arduous was the task of emigration for the first Indo- Canadians. This incident is part of my answer to my thesis question whether immigration was an easy matter. How about the few who arrived before them at the turn of the century?

In 1902 Indian troops, mostly Sikhs, stationed in Hong Kong travelled through Vancouver to attend the coronation of Edward VII. They brought back to their equally unskilled friends, news of the favourable living conditions in British Columbia which were comparable to those in Punjab. In a couple of years some 5000 East Indians, mostly male Sikhs came to work on the railroad, in lumber mills or in forestry. They were popular with employers as they worked hard and for low wages. Besides, they were law abiding and reliable. Their presence, however, were resented by the unemployed Whites during a period of depression, and a hostile Asiatic Exclusion League was formed against all Asians. The BC government disenfranchised all East Indians who, as a result were deprived of all civic rights. In effect the public service was closed to them but more restrictive measures as applied to the immigrants of Chinese origins were spared them for fear of a backlash in colonial India against the British. At a certain point in time, no Indian could set foot in Canada if he did not pass an English language test and have two

hundred-Canadians dollars. Indo-Canadians who are doing well to-day should remember that it was not that easy for their parents. While some the White Canadians argued that multiculturalism promotes the integration of immigrants, a sense of belonging and national pride (Koleth 2010), there is no dearth of detractors who argue that it promotes Balkanization and overly emphasizes differences between groups(ibis).They tend to forget that the anti-multicultural campaigns since the times of the Komagata Maru were not forgotten by migrants who, therefore, flocked together for more security. This answers one of my research questions in respect of the Indian immigrants in Canada.

In 1968 Canada introduced its point system which gives a score for qualification rather than to a person's ethnic or national background. This selection process was highly favourable to Indians who were highly qualified and, since the barriers to their emigration had been removed by legislation, their numbers grew. The demographic changes showed that Canada had become the favourite destination for Indian migrants. According to statistics released by the Government of Canada, the number of immigrants from India grew by 74% from 314,690 in 2001 to 547,890 in 2011, making India the top immigration source country. The two top destinations are Ontario 57% of the number of arrival in 2011 and British Columbia 26%of that number. Other cities shared the rest among them. Even Quebec, surprisingly has its share of the diaspora. Since, of all Canadian provinces, Quebec is the only one where the French language prevails, it is surprising that people of Indian origin have chosen to settle there. But their life is plagued by occasional confrontations over issues of free speech, public prayers or the wearing of traditional dresses such as the Burqa or the Hijab. Recently, there were public manifestations of discontent when

the authorities tried to enforce such a policy with regard to public office..But Quebec is an exception. Elsewhere, multiculturalism is a remarkable success.

5.3 The United Kingdom.

In 2001, just over 1 million people of Indian origin were living in the United Kingdom. But the latest statistics (2011 Census) has set the figure at nearly 1.2 million. In 2006 Lal Brij estimated the number at about one million. This is the first indication that Indo- British find themselves living at ease in the UK and it remains their favourite destination for vacation and studies. Indians migrants spoke many local Indian languages at first together with a smattering of English. Gradually, they started learning and speaking broken English from watching English serials. They were proud to do so and, on visits at home after a number of years, they would try to impress their parents and relatives by introducing a few English words or expressions like “Oh, my God!”, “darling” or “just too bad” in their conversations.

The first important point to note is that India was a British colony until 1947. It was during the British colonial era that the first Indians found their way to the “Imperial Motherland”. Indians have, therefore, strong links with the UK and Indians, nannies and maidservants were taken voluntarily there with their masters when the latter went back home. Rosina Visram in her *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes, Indians in Britain (1700-1947)* tells about the domestic, the seafaring and the princely classes that first set foot on English soil. The Ayahs were the nannies of English families while the lascars were sailors who came to work for the East India Company (EIC) which had faced a recruitment problem in England. Princes were naturally interested in the land of the people that dominated them. Besides, their parents wished them to have a British education so that they would be better able to behave like their masters. Here, I cannot fail to

recall Ali Jinnah, the founder of modern Pakistan with his monocle and his arrogant look who behaved like an Englishman. But like elsewhere immigration rules started restricting the flow of Indian migrant. Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore and others, with and after them, have been trained and educated in the UK. It was actually in Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901) that a significant number of Indians could be found in the UK. From 1857 onwards the number of Ayahs and Lascars grew into tens of thousands. Students in British universities increased from only four in 1845 to 700 in 1910. With their British training, some of these students were instrumental in providing the much-required leadership that would arouse the Indian consciousness on their plight and initiating the "leave India" campaign that led to independence in 1947. Other Indians had their first contact with the UK as wounded soldiers who had been involved in the two world wars and who had been sent to England for treatment. Some went back to India to tell their friends and relatives about the opportunities for work and education in the UK. But, in the wake of Independence, came the first piece of legislation to control Indian immigration -the British Nationality Act 1948 which distinguished between white migrants and those from India. Those who held a British passport and did not need a visa for re-entry settled in different parts of the UK viz. London, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Coventry and Leicester. As they gradually became more prosperous and more confident, a number spread over the smaller towns and neighbourhoods of these areas (Lal 2006).

The 2nd phase of mass immigration responded to the needs of the UK's economy. Many areas such as agriculture, mining, mining and heavy industries badly needed labour to re-inforce white war refugees. In the 1960s, as the economy recovered, the demand for labour became acute in public sectors such as the National Health Service (NHS) the passenger transport industry, the

mills towns of the north, the foundries of the Midlands, and the hosiery industry of the shires as well as the newer white goods industries of the south. Many Indians had heard about the UK from soldiers from various parts of the empire and who were willing to try their luck in this new “El Dorado”. The greatest number came from UP and the Punjab and, as is characteristic of Asians a whole network of family relationships and solidarity saw the arrival of hundreds who came to family and, initially, obtained free board and lodging in exiguous premises. This type of living and slow but certain social rise would in time arouse the jealousy and animosity of the whites and result in racial attacks. “Paki go Home” or “Wog” were insults hurled at Indians in public places such as underground train stations, bus stops, pubs or markets. The Immigration Act was passed in 1962 followed in 1967 by the cessation of immigration of manual labour from India. In fact, the hitherto unemployed White British were willing now to take up the well-paid blue collar jobs, they had formerly disdained. But between 1967 and 1972, a third wave of Indian migrants, “the twice- migrants “fleeing the hostility of the East African hostilities and benefiting from their British nationality, and, with the UN blessing, found the UK a natural haven. As the years passed, the quality of migrants underwent a qualitative change. Doctors trained in the UK arrived and were posted to distant hospitals where language was a problem. Other Indian professionals followed including nurses and teachers, some of the computer wizards made their appearance and superseded the British and earned higher salaries. The majority of the white British naturally resisted this and trouble was brewing. This situation also aroused the wrath of the Black of Afro- Caribbean origins. The Brixton Riots in 1981 between the two ethnic groups resulted, and we have heard of several attacks against Indian students and second and third generation Indian youths in streets and parks. Indian economic success may have explained the anti-Indian feeling. The 1991 UK census reveals that the Indians had done well in education and

the labour market, particularly in self –employment. The weekly English language paper Eastern Eye reports that the richest Indian club regrouped people who had a minimum of ten million Pounds Sterling in 2004. Indians have learnt from experience, unlike the British and the Afro-Caribbean’s, that they need to lay in for a rainy day and not to fall back on social security in difficult times. Still, it must be stated that only a minority are doing so well. Among them are businessmen and professionals in the liberal professions. But the vast majorities are employees in various sectors of the economy. But in the early 2000s with a downturn in the economy a great number of these workers were laid off. But resilience is one of the qualities of the Indians; they lived on their savings and on earnings from odd jobs and invested in the education of their children. And yet they suffered discrimination on the job markets. The Employment Statistics (2001 to 2002) for the Indian community show that for white males the percentage of employed stood at 85 as against 79 for Indian males while for employed females the corresponding percentages were 74 against 62. On the unemployed side the percentages of white males were 5.0 against 7.0 for the Indians males and for the females 4.0 against 7.0.

In 2006, according to an article by Daniel O’Neal, Cameron, former British Prime Minister, admitted that that Britain had made a mistake by inadvertently allowing ghettos to develop (O’ Neal, Far and Wide, Square Space, 2006). Foreign correspondent Peter Popham last year (on or about 2007) predicted future unrest saying “attacks on mosques and marches by the English Defence League are warnings of worse to come. The Coalition’s attempt (Cameron and Clegg) to bring down immigration rates is one of its most popular policies”(Popham 2007). If there are attacks on Muslims, the Indians who resemble them physically may suffer as well. Indians, as we shall see below are doing well in the UK; otherwise with the wealth that they have made they

could easily go back to India and settle there comfortably. But it is noteworthy that there is no movement back home. Thousands have integrated a society that they value and their descendents have almost been assimilated and do not want to follow their retired parents home. Meanwhile, let me quote a few statistics from the 2011 Census. British Indians are the largest ethnic group in the UK. Hinduism with 1.5% of the population is the third most popular religion.. British Indians are to be found in the fields of music, cinema, business and industry, academia, medicine, literature and the media (where the names Sir Salman Rushdie and Sir V.S. Naipaul stand out) and politics with a number of Lords and politicians on both sides of the political divide. Recently, journalist Hardeep Singh interviewed a number of British Indians who have returned to India to settle. Is this a trend that will subsist or is it just an isolated case? This is an area that would reward research and is well beyond the ken of my study. Meanwhile, some Indo-British are continuing their efforts to join the government ranks. In the 2015 elections ten politicians of Indo-British origin were elected to the British Parliament. (Bhaskar Jyoti 2016). Moreover, the Indians have managed to support, to varying extent the main political parties. These parties have benefited from their donations to meet electoral expenses and have fielded a few Indo-British candidates in safe constituencies.

John Bercow, the current Speaker of the British House of Commons was invited to an award presentation ceremony to seven eminent Indo-British personalities including Lord Meghanad Desai, a member of the House of Lords. He availed himself of the occasion to laud the Indian diaspora's contribution to Britain and has asked the Indian community to build on its successes and achieve better representation in Parliament by engaging more with mainstream politics (Anasudin Azeez 2016). Let me cite him "The Indian diaspora makes a huge contribution to

British life, and I hope its members will continue to build on its successes, both in terms of representation in Parliament and more widely across our national life. This is another proof that multiculturalism has benefited the host country as well as the Indian diaspora. My personal view is that the diaspora will continue to do well and will gradually acquire a more dominating role in society.

5.4 The USA

.Although the first Indians arrived in the US as far back as 1900, some of them fleeing the hostile White Canadians, the significant history of Indo-Americans actually starts with the passage of new legislation in 1965 which lifted the restriction on the migration of Indians to the USA through the Hart-Celler Act. From a mere few thousand, the Indian population rose to 1.71 million in 2000. However, in spite of its phenomenal growth, its financial and educational achievements compared to other ethnic minorities, the Indo-Americans have not played an important role in federal politics .The picture may be different at local level and community affairs. While in the past, the community made their presence felt in the professions, particularly in medicine and engineering, they have made a formidable incursion in recent years in computer-related industries investment banking. To-day members of the community have diversified their occupations. Large numbers have entered the taxi business, fast food franchises and hospitality industries. The Indians are also well anchored in Indian restaurants and hotels. The emergence of a high quality literature and print media augurs well for the spread of Indian values in America. In addition, the many little Indias, Hindu temples, culture shows staged by students from a number of universities and, above all, frequent tours by Bollywood stars and the increasing familiarity of Americans with Indian classical dances demonstrate the rising Indian influence in America. But let us see how the Indian migrants made it to their present position.

The Indians had to battle against many odds to forge ahead in the loneliness of a foreign land. Respite came in the year 1941 when President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill made a joint declaration about the Atlantic Charter which opened the door of these two countries to emigration from India. In truth, they were also trying to win over the Indians and prevent the formation of a Japanese- German military alliance in Asia. At the time one Asian demographer wrote: “America cannot afford to say that she wants the people of India to fight on her side and at the same time maintain that she will not have them among her immigrant groups”(Lal 2006).

The first Indians appeared in the US around 1900 and settled in lumber mills and agriculture. Although few in number, they provoked an uproar in the press and on the part of trade unions of workers. They were seen as “inassimilable”, possessed of “immodest and filthy habits” and regarded as the “most undesirable of the entire Eastern Asiatic race”. To be frank, in 1982 I was in India during three months and in the main cities; I was appalled at the state of the roads, the pavements and the rail tracks. During a meeting I even drew the attention of the Chief Minister of Karnataka to this sorry state of affairs. I complained to some others of my compatriots. The Chief Minister’s reply was that when the level of consciousness of the people rose, things would improve. My compatriots who had spent years studying in India, answered “but this is India, what do you expect with so many people and so much poverty? But this unsatisfactory state of affairs did not enhance the respect for the Indian diaspora in the West. In 1907, in the state of Washington, Indians suffered racial attacks. The Asiatic Exclusion League and other racist organisations campaigned to ban further Indian immigration, to intimidate those already in the country and to forbid them from owning property. In one region white lumbermen succeeded in driving away Indian workers. One paper the San Francisco Chronicle then warned that

Americans could not remain passive while Indians were bringing over their wives (Lal 2006). It was these hostile measures that taught Indians to develop their defensive skills until they rose in the esteem of the average American as the “model minority”.(Bhatia, Sunil 2017).

The beginning of the 20th century saw students arriving and clustering in some specific campuses. Another group, the freedom fighters came with the sole purpose of agitating for India’s independence and to inform the world of British iniquities in India. The anti-imperialist Ghadar party was set up in Oregon with a newspaper of the same name. However, early efforts to rouse anti- British sentiments in India failed with the British entering the war on the side of the allies. A consignment of arms was intercepted by the British and the Ghadarites were prosecuted for conspiring with the Germans against the British (Lal 2008). Their dream of freedom was frustrated and they had to suffer the racist sentiments and violence of America. The Immigration Act of 1917 barred all Indians barred all Asian immigration. At first an exception was made for Parsis and high-caste who tried at first successfully to pass for “free white persons”. But that judgment was overruled later as it was held that “White” clearly meant a person of European origin.. That decision removed all the citizens’ legal rights from Indians. Alien land laws from 1913 to 1921 made it impossible for Indian immigrants to acquire land and settle down. This encouraged mixed marriages with Mexican women so that many modern American Indians can claim a mixed ancestry which is proof of how imaginative and creative people from India can be when driven to extremes. In the late 1940s, political changes in both countries led to a relaxation of these rules. In 1946, the Luce-Cellar Bill gave Indians the right to become naturalized US citizens. This was followed by the US Immigration and Naturalization Act. Those who took

advantage of these measures were mostly from the Indian urban areas. Their offsprings are now doing so well that they have earned the appellation of the “Model Minority”.

One of my research questions gets a complete reply from the above train of events. But things, as we shall see, have changed almost dramatically.

In the late 1930s, two Indian associations were campaigning for citizenship and support for India’s independence. In the face of so much hostility, many preferred to return home. But in 1941, Roosevelt, the American President and Churchill, the British PM, aware that the Indian soldiers were fighting on their side, realised the incongruity of their attitude made a joint declaration that arrested that anti-Indian development. Let me make an important point here: Over two million Indian soldiers fought on behalf of the British Empire in numerous wars including the Boer War in South Africa and the two World Wars and some remained behind feeling they were entitled to and many others remained on the battle. An act of July 1946, which I mentioned earlier, restored all the lost rights and in the next seventeen years from a mere 1500 the Indo-American population rose to 7,000. A new phase of Indian immigration to the US was heralded by the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 which set a quota of 20,000 each year. And that excluded family reunion which became the main strategy for the increase in numbers. In 1975 the number had reached 175,000. Their appellation changed to “Indian Asians” in the 1980 Census to prevent their being lumped with other Asians. It is now in the region of 1.71 million. However, with the arrival of Trump, it is not clear whether multiculturalism will resist a vague wave of populism and right –wing feelings of Americanism which seem to be rising. During the 2016 campaign Trump equated multiculturalism to a revolution He stated that

multiculturalism like slavery in the 1850s is an existential threat. Klingenstein, Thomas, 2018, *Our House is Divided: Multiculturalism VS. America*. We all have noted that Trump is a one-tract mind and changes his mind all the time. He likes the limelight.

In so far as education is concerned, although the Indo-Americans can boast of high educational attainments, those who earn their living as professionals, have declined. According to the US 2000 Census, the Asian Indians have the highest percentage of their population with a first degree. In a 1997 report, the Educational Testing Service found that the percentage of the South Asian High School seniors who scored above the 50th percentile was substantially higher than for all other Asian American communities in reading and between 4 to 11 % higher in Mathematics in comparison to the three other main groups of Asians. Similarly, between 1998 and 1999 Indian obtained 63,900 of the 134,000 new H-IB visas, a scheme, whereby highly skilled foreigners are allowed to spend six years in employment in the US. In 2003, 400,000 such visas were held by Asian Indians. A very high percentage of those people eventually obtained a permanent residency. Even among the permanent residents and citizens, the Indian professionals predominate. They hail from some of the most prestigious Indian centres of learning. This has in no way significantly changed the attitudes of Americans towards people of Indian origin. Writing to the US Civil Rights Commission in 1975, the Association of Indians in America stated that Indo- Americans were exposed to the same prejudice as other non-White individuals. This was presumably to classify Indo-Americans as a minority community to qualify for certain entitlements- very out of character with the Indian personality! But the 1980 census showed that US –born Asians had an unemployment rates five times that of other Asian American groups. Fifteen years later, according to a study, conducted by the University of California, Indian

household incomes were those of the rest of the population. What's more, Indians in the agricultural sector lived under the poverty line. The minority of Indians like those at the Silicon Valley, in business in the cities or in academia, are only the golden tip of the Indian iceberg. The success of Indian entrepreneurs, CEOs, scientists, academics, media personalities, film makers and IT professionals has transformed the opinion the host population had of the Indian community. They are now known as the "model minority"; but 20 years ago when India was not "cool" there was no "India Shining" or "Incredible India"(Rao ibis)

But it must be emphasized that in the US at present that there are still large communities of Indo-Americans. Famous writers like Salman Rushdie, Bharati Mukherjee and other famous Indo-American scientists and businessmen allows us to think that the Melting Pot (the US formula for Multiculturalism) is working satisfactorily. Indeed, as I describe below some Indo-Americans have reached the centres of political power and there is now a pro-India caucus in Congress which has already blocked anti-India measures like the sale to Pakistan of Awak missiles which could have been used against India. From the internet (13.01.16), we learn that Dr. Ami Bhera, an Indian American and Tulsi Gabbard, an American Hindu were sworn in as members of the House of Representatives on 4 January , 2016 much to the delight of the small yet powerful Asian Indian community in the country. Bera is the third Indo- American to be elected to Congress. Others have successfully started businesses in the famous Silicon Valley. Indian music (popular and classical) has become well-known among connoisseurs and other music lovers. Boy George and Stephen Lascombe have sung with Bollywood singer, Asha Bhosley, (Bow down, Mister) while music composer, RD Burman, has collaborated with singer Boy George(Sunil Joshi-Hollywood through Ages), Maestro Sitar player, Ravi Shankar is well-known among

lovers of classical music in the West. The legendary singers Lata and Asha Mangeshkar have been acclaimed in various European capitals in the US and Canada. Unfortunately, it is not known what was the percentages of non- whites at these concerts. Asha Bhosley, second only to her famous elder sister Lata, has toured the UK, Canada and the US a number of times and has been warmly acclaimed by lovers of Bollywood playback singers. Half a century after the arrival of the first Indian immigrants to the US, racism has definitely declined. Even now, President Trump who loses no opportunity to attack migrants has in the presidential campaign flattered Indian students in the US. The Indian community gives no cause for concern and, indeed to the chagrin of India, many of the youths have been assimilated into American culture as feared by Uma Pareswaram in her comments on Kamala Markandaya's novel the *Nowhere Man*. In the field of entertainments, Hindi radio stations are available in areas of high Indian density, some in Tamil and Telegu and others for adults and children. AVS (Asian Variety Show) and Namaste America can be watched. Several Satellite television providers offer Indian channels. Movie theatres show Indian movies from Bollywood and Telegu areas.

In the field of religion many organisations such as ISKON are well-established. The Vedanta Society has become important as a result of Swami Vivekananda's attendance at the first Parliament of religion held in the USA in 1893. . There are temples and Gurdwara all over the US. It is estimated that some 18 million Americans practice Yoga which is indissoluble from Hinduism. In the field of plastic art , Nina Davuluri was the first ever Indian to win the title of Miss America in2004 and in the field of literature Kiran Desai was the winner of the Man Booker Prize in 2006. While the US, like Canada and Australia, recognizes the existence of cultural pluralism and cultural diversity, it has not formally subscribed to a policy of

multiculturalism (Koleth). However, after September 11, it is understandable, that Asians in general and particularly those who resembled Middle –Eastern people, have suffered a wave of racist and xenophobic hatred. But the main concern of the US is the presence on American soil of some six million unauthorized migrants from Mexico. We cannot forget that Indians have not always enjoyed a high reputation in the US. In fact, they have not always been immune from hate crimes, e.g.by the Dot-busters gangs in New Jersey.

I have mentioned the achievements of the Indian Americans not to pretend to any superiority of the diaspora over others but to demonstrate that Indian Americans have benefited from multiculturalism more than other Diasporas. I shall now move on to a brief reference of how the multicultural diaspora is turning into cosmopolitans. Cosmopolitanism has been defined in Chapter 4 where I argued that multiculturalism has been a stepping stone to facilitate the transformation of the elite in the diaspora into world citizens.

5.5 The Indian Diaspora- support to cosmopolitanism and international co-operation

I shall now end this chapter by referring to some important initiatives which have consolidated the diaspora's efforts to adapt to multiculturalism acculturation policies in host countries, which have, in turn, promoted cosmopolitanism in the ranks of Indian diaspora/s across the world. It must be added that these concerted efforts between India and the Indian communities abroad must surely have had a salutary spillover effect on sections of the host countries' populations. These initiatives are the Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) and the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas. The GOPIO was a private initiative by the Indo- American diaspora in New York. It is a voluntary organisation for the promotion of the well-being of people of Indian

origin and NRIs (Non-Resident Indians) enhancing interaction and communication between these groups living in different countries and furthering their linkage with India. Founded in 1989, it has a number of chapters in different countries. Every year between 2003 and 2014, all GOPIO members are convened to their annual meeting. Since 2015 they have had biennial meetings. The Chapters are run on the same lines as GOPIO international in their headquarters in New York. GOPIO and its chapters have, in line with its avowed objectives, the furtherance also of the host countries' socio- economic progress. At its annual and now, biennial meetings, important local and international issues relevant to the diaspora are discussed. These issues range from human right, business, academics, media, health and women. GOPIO meetings are attended by its high officials, members from national chapters and the political representatives of the host country and ,up to now, have been very .successful. It maintains close contacts with its chapters and their members and publishes a monthly news bulletin

The second initiative, the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas, is a government of India- sponsored one. It is observed every year on 9 January in commemoration of the return of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa to India on 9th January, 1915. The sponsors are the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the Confederation of Indian industries and the Ministry of North Eastern Region. The celebrations are held from the 7th to the 9th of January every year in one of the main cities of India. It is a forum for discussing issues of concern to the Indian diaspora and is attended by top political leaders, business personalities and academics. On that occasion prestigious awards (the Pravasi Bharatiya Saman) are given to NRIs (Non –Resident Indians) for their significant contribution towards the development of India. In 2014 the PBD was held in New Delhi and was

attended by 1500 delegates from 51 countries. The awards i.e. the Pravasi Bharatiya Sanam Awards were remitted by the President of India, Sri Pranab Mukherjee. At one of these annual celebrations the organization's logo was presented. The philosophy behind "the human chain" on the logo, according to his creator, "depicts our brotherhood and strength across the world". It also shows "the world wide contribution towards development of mankind and peaceful presence of Bharatiya and "Pravasi Bharati all around the world".

I have mentioned these two organisations to show that they have promoted a cross- fertilization of cultures- the different national Indian cultures with the international cultures from which delegates emanate. There is so to say a mix of cultural sensibility and feelings when these meetings bring together people from all over the world. Finally, these interactions promote both the habit of cultural harmony and cosmopolitanism. I cannot help asking a rhetorical question: how far the diaspora has moved from the anti multiculturalism of the controversial and notorious journalist, Laura Ingraham, who has been fanning the flames of racism in her vantage point as speech writer and adviser at the Whitehouse. Among some of her vitriolic statements has been the phrase: multiculturalism: A left Wing Suicide Pact (June 26, 2006).The US has never ceased to rise as the most powerful country in the world thanks to its multicultural nature.

Chapter 6 -Literature Review in countries of settlement

I shall now embark upon a literature review of the main issues which I deal with in this study of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Just as a reminder, I am writing about the efforts made by the Indian Diaspora as they tried to integrate the new socio-economic environment in Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA, against numerous odds. Evidently, I shall give both the views of

those who favoured the success of multiculturalism and of those who gave contrary views with little irrefutable evidence to the effect that migrants were relying on their generous security systems, were competing for jobs and housing and some had a bad living style and could not even speak proper English.

Was the process of settlement arduous? How did the Indian migrants succeed? What were the circumstances that facilitated the emergence of a fair number as cosmopolitans? We are dealing with the immigration starting at the beginning of the 19th century and continuing up till to-day. To begin with, in line with my stated methodology, I shall read through the writings of novelists, academics, politicians, journalists, police trainees at Hendon and chosen texts from the Internet and note their observations and comments on multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Let me start with an observation made by David Cohen, Attorney- at- law of Canada that, with every newly arrived Indian, “our country is becoming richer both economically and culturally.” (Cohen). We have already mentioned the dark episode of the Komagata Maru at the beginning of Sikh immigration to Canada. This incident remains a black spot on Canadian history of immigration, but the situation has improved in the last twenty years. The attitude of the Canadian authorities to an incident which occurred as recently as June 23rd of the year 1985 created strong doubts in the minds of the Indo- Canadians about the authenticity of Canadian multicultural policies. On that date Air India flight 1985 was bombed as it made its way to Canada and was lost with 329 passengers on board. The majority of them were Canadians of South Indian origin. Canadians did not express genuine concern although every passenger on board was born in Canada or was a naturalized Canadian. This may have been far from the truth but perception was against the authorities aided by the fact that Canada had taken no preventive measures and had

brought the suspects to court only 18 years after the tragedy (Mariam, Pirbhai, 1985)
Introduction to South Asian Canadian Literature.

A very enlightening paper entitled “Misunderstanding Canadian Multiculturalism” has been written by Joseph Heath, Director of the Centre for Ethics and Professor of Philosophy at the University of Toronto (Heath 2014). According to Heath, the percentage of foreign-born citizens in the US is about 13, while in Canada, the first country to adopt an official policy of multiculturalism in the 1970s; it has reached over 20 %. This has necessitated a cautious management of increasing religious and cultural pluralism, which was not an easy exercise. And this has put pressure in countries such as Australia and Canada to develop policies for managing cultural diversity and decide on the kind of accommodations that immigrants can reasonably expect from their hosts. There was concern that Canada would not be able to bear the pressure but in the end the country did not collapse : crime rates declined, immigrants continued to show high educational achievements, labour market participation were high and what’s more impressive, immigrants chose to become Canadian citizens in large numbers. Quebec is another story; the party in power chose to fight for secession and seized every opportunity to widen the rift between itself and the rest of Canada. In Quebec, there was growing animosity between the Quebecers and the Indian community. While they were distancing themselves from religion, they disliked the religiosity displayed by the Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus. Quebec adopted “interculturalism” in place of “multiculturalism”. The Quebec minority government could not push too hard as there was no guarantee that its policies would be supported by the Canadian parliament. In the country as well they were not assured of the vote of the minority ethnic groups. But racist policies could have resulted in ethnic trouble when the Quebecer authorities

wished to pass their Charter of Values which has been shelved until better times. Meanwhile, Quebec continues to engage in face-saving devices. Heath also makes the point that Canada, unlike Australia, the UK, and the US does not face the problem of illegal immigration as its land border is with US and its maritime borders are far removed from any populated areas. *The near – total absence of illegal immigrants makes it more difficult for xenophobic nativism to gain traction, as there is no credible basis for casting aspersion that foreigners are “breaking the rules” or somehow illegitimately taking advantage of the country* (ibis). There is the other important point that the white Australians cannot claim, as the aborigines can do, that they have lived on the soil from time immemorial. Most of them cannot claim that they hail from immigrants who have been in the country for more than two or three generations. So, they cannot pretend that their culture is deeply anchored. Heath also tells about Quebec’s attempt to go against the Federation and take decision that go against Canada’s avowed policy of multiculturalism. One such example is the creation of the Office of Religious Freedom within the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, with a mandate “to protect and advocate on behalf of religious minorities under threat.....” Surprisingly, November, 2013, saw the introduction in Quebec’s Assemblée Nationale of a Bill aimed at banning any display of “ostentatious” religious symbols by public sector employees. The Quebec government published posters showing the symbols that would not be tolerated in the province: Hijab, niqabs, turbans, kippahs as well as oversized crucifixes. Only ,recently in a paper entitled “Multiculturalism at the crossroads- learning beyond the West, Marc Woons notes that today multicultural policies exist in nearly every Western state and “ Canada continues to lead the pack in terms of greater public recognition, tolerance , and support for religious and cultural diversity among immigrants, national minorities and indigenous peoples” (Woons 2017). He adds that policy experts are all

agreed that, apart from a few states like the Netherland which have backtracked, most other states have changed little and even promoted greater multiculturalism despite the claims of some governments to the contrary. There is clear evidence to that effect. (Banting and Kymlicka 2012; Taras 2012). Woons ironically mentions that “populist rhetoric” has had the better on “the daily grind of policy development and implementation” which I mentioned in my own thesis as ignorance or a deliberate disregard of the daily practice on the ground and mere unsubstantiated allegations.

In the UK a less prestigious paper by Dr. Sunny Hundal entitled “*multiculturalism has won the day. Let’s move on*” appeared in the Guardian on 22nd April, 2013. A subtitle mentioned “Rightwing scaremongering over immigration has failed as 70% of Britons now believe a multicultural society is a good thing”. Hundal recalls Enoch Powell “rivers of blood” speech some 45 years ago which nowadays seem so surrealist as the majority of Britons hold the view that multiculturalism in Britain is a good thing.

A less enthusiastic view of multiculturalism in Britain comes from the pen of Dr. Afshin Shahi, lecturer in International Affairs at the Durham University. He was still in his teens when he left Iran for Britain. Shahi states: “Multiculturalism has failed to create an inclusive society, while the ghettoisation of Britain is hindering cultural and intellectual fusion.” Shahi is of the view that the rights upheld by British society have not been internalized by some minority groups as they are not translated in the day to day lives of the white British. What he means is that there is a wide gap between theory and praxis. He says: “I am beginning to feel the notion of multiculturalism is like a mirage in a desert.” The problem in Britain, according to him, is that abstract ideas such as “fairness”, “justice”, and “freedom” may not convey the plenitude of

meaning that they do to children of the soil. The authorities may have taken things for granted. Meaning of terms is conveyed in the process of socialization from the early years of childhood and non-British people may have been brought up on other values. I shall tell about an incident which occurred in 1984 at the Royal Institute of Public Administration (RIPA) in London. The Course Director asked us, at the end of a session, to evaluate the performance of the resource person. My friend from India was taken aback; this was a culture shock for him. Never in his culture would they pass judgment on their gurus (teachers), never would he question the views of elders. These are values which are entrenched in the ethos of a group. Some groups from abroad will take many years to internalize Western values. In the case of those like Indians and Pakistanis who were brought up in British colonies, they may have less difficulty to adapt. Shahi opines that both the hosts and the former migrants have not assumed their responsibilities fully to maximize the benefits of diversity. He opines that they should engage in a meaningful and dynamic dialogue. These frequent interactions, I agree, could bring them closer in their ways of thinking.

I shall now look at the views of academics such as Alan Manning Professor of Economics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. In a contribution to Work Policy's Networks's *on Understanding populism.* , he surveys the standing of multiculturalism in some of the main countries in the West. He notes that three of the most important European political leaders have expressed their disillusion with multiculturalism but states that he is not in agreement with their views on the basis of his own research in the UK. In his research he analyses four of the key findings of the 2007 Citizenship Survey under detailed captions. In table1, Respondents were asked to report a 'British Nationality Identity'. Respondents were from

six ethnic groups of which I concentrate on White British and Indians only as being relevant to my study. The white British reported 100% and the Indians 77%. In Table 2 the question was split into three columns, the first column asking respondents to state their stand under the caption 'fairly or very strongly feeling they belong to Britain. The White British reported 85% while the Indians reported 89%. The second column reduced the area of application to the 'local area'. The percentages were now 72% and 75% respectively. The third column was 'agreeing one can belong to Britain and maintain a separate religious identity'. The White British reported 66% while the Indians reported 84%. Table 3 is about the effect of 'Residential Segregation on the Sense of Belonging'. The response is split into four columns. The first column is where the local area is *more* than half of same ethnicity. The response from the two groups is 85% and 91% but where the second column is *less* than half of the same ethnicity the responses are 79% and 88%. When the question is restricted to the local area the responses are 74% and 79% and 58% and 71% respectively. I shall offer some comments as the presentation of the statistics may not be easy to follow. Table1 shows that the White British all report a white identity which is evident but only 73% of the Indians do so. This is because the Indians may still be waiting for citizenship while their applications are being processed. Table 2 shows a decline in the positive responses from the whites (85%) and a higher positive response from the Indians. For the local area the positive responses from both groups' responses are much lower 72% and 75%. This shows that at the local level there are problems of adaptation by both groups. Can we surmise the problem of competition for housing and jobs? Manning is of the view that the minorities may feel no conflict between their cultural and religious identity and being a full part of British society. The third column, according to Manning, shows that a high percentage of the minority perceives no such conflict. Indeed none of the other ethnic minorities including the Muslims do. (When we look at

the larger picture i.e. the whole of the statistics used by Manning, we realize that only one third of the white British) do not accept one can belong to Britain while having a minority religious or cultural identity.

From these statistics it is noteworthy that the diaspora which is of recent origin, mostly a post WW1 phenomenon, has anchored itself strongly in the ethos of the host cultural make-up. However, it is a matter of concern that the British government, in its frantic efforts to integrate minority ethnic groups, may have failed to give equal attention to the white British. More attention is needed here to avoid strife and disintegration (Manning 2011)

Some minority views: some essays written by future police officers and leaked to the media from the Hendon Police Training School, where policemen are trained to behave as impartially as possible, reveal the poor quality of the raw material. Some essays include statements such as: ‘Quite frankly I don’t have any liking whatsoever for wogs, nig nogs, and Pakis.’ I am sure that these are the sorts of policemen who do not act when reports of threats, violence and worse are reported to them at the police stations. This is very serious for ethnic harmony in the UK and confirms the findings in Supriya Singh’s survey of Indian students in Australia in so far as the police’s attitude in most of these countries are concerned.

Tony Kushner has pointed to the role of the Daily and Daily Mirror in whipping up hostility to refugees both during the 1930s and at the beginning of the 21st century. The Brexit vote resulted in a hard line attitude against migrants and the diasporas (Polish, Indian and other non-Whites) stemming at their higher social status and pay. Ironically, many of these groups may have voted

for the UK to leave. But now observers have noticed a softening of attitudes towards immigration. In preparation for Brexit the government asked the Migratory Advisory Committee (MAC) to report on the economic and social impact of EU migrant in the UK. The Survey would also show the net contribution that all migrants make to the UK's public finance.. Some of the findings are noted for their relevance for this review: The average UK-based migrant from Europe contributed about 2,300pounds to UK public finance in 2016/17 more than the average UK adult. In comparison each UK-born adult contributed 70 pounds less than the average and each non-European migrant contributed over 800 pounds less than the average. The report, therefore is not critical of non-British. I note that the Indian diaspora is not lagging behind in its overall contribution to the British economy.

In **Australia** where the government leaves no stone unturned to maintain its policy of multiculturalism (indeed Australian politicians have always been vocal in their praise of multiculturalism), there are still views expressed for or against i.e it is still a live issue). As recently as 31 October 2015 at page 32 of the Australian paper *The Age*, a columnist wrote an article entitled *Multicultural Australia: A work in Progress* where he admits that as his title suggests that cultural harmony and the peaceful co-existence of different ethnic groups requires the collaboration of one and all. He invites decent Australians to call out “the apparent vandalism against multiculturalism”. He was referring specifically to the case of a knife-wielding man who attacked a young Muslim woman in a headscarf and to the refusal of a taxi driver to drive the man who had just been honoured with the title of Victorian senior of the year. The old man deplored that such a thing could happen in the multicultural land in which his people had contributed the oldest culture. The same columnist in *The Age* went on: “Again, the paramount

point to make is that multiculturalism is one of the key reasons this nation is, and is seen to be, a decent land, a place where equality of opportunity is an engine of the achievements of individuals and communities (The Age Oct. 2015). In an article “India no longer fear racial attacks on its students in Australia” by James Bennett in April, 2017, the journal refers to a statement made by the desk officer for Australia at the Indian Ministry of External Affairs : you would have noticed that over the last ten years, there has been no incidents of Indian students being targeted in Australia”. This situation is definitely the result of a concerted effort, since the year 2010, by the Australia Government to respond to the series of attacks (one resulting into the death of a young student and the Indian Government whose Prime Minister suggested that the Australian authorities were not doing enough to protect Indian students). In 2016 the numbers of Indians students enrolled by Australian university was 60,000. Previously, the numbers had declined significantly for the benefit of the UK and Canada. But now the situation of the diaspora in Australia has improved. One area where their participation is still not significant is national politics. Shani Dattagupta in an article on May 18, 2019 comments on this and asked whether it is not because they fear racist attacks against their families as had been the case with members of other diasporas. In any case the Indian diaspora is of recent origin and they have a lot of grounds to catch up. They have started in both local and national politics. The Australian government has never let down the Indian diaspora and the different political parties-liberal and labour- are courting them because they are the largest immigrant group to Australia each year.

To see whether multiculturalism works out or not, I have sought the help of Kymlicka. It is time to introduce his Multicultural Policy Index (MPI) which, according to me has universal application (Will Kymlicka Will & Keith Banting, 2006). Bearing in mind that government for

political reasons, are always at logger heads and may from time to time slightly vary the weights given to each of these policies in opposition to what occurs on the ground i.e. in the everyday lives of people (Sneja 2015). “The Index is an attempt to measure the evolution of multicultural policies in a standardized format that enables comparative research” (Kymlicka 2012). It is built around the following eight policies that have been adapted to a greater or lesser extent by settlement countries:

- Official endorsement of multiculturalism at all levels of government;
- The adoption of multiculturalism in the school curricula;
- The inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing;
- Exemption from dress codes, either by statute or by court cases;
- Allowing of dual citizenship;
- The funding of ethnic group organisations to support cultural activities;
- The funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction;
- Affirmation action for disadvantaged immigrant groups

One will realise that not all these policies are applicable to all of the four countries in our study. Australia and Canada are very articulate about them whereas the UK and the USA are lukewarm. The former country’s Prime Minister had said that Multiculturalism had failed in the UK. (David Cameron 2011). After this clear statement at the Munich Security Conference, cited in an article entitled *The failure of British Multiculturalism* (Kern 2011) , Soren Kern reported on the very pessimistic stance of the Prime Minister and his view that aggressive and vigorous action should

be taken against the Muslim fundamentalists and extremists who would impose their culture in Britain. Cameron said:

“Radical Islam should be confronted by a two –pronged approach. First, the government should proscribe organisations and preachers that encouraged terrorism and stop funding those that pretend falsely that they will discourage terrorism. Muslim organisations should be checked on the extent of their respect of universal human rights for all including women and people of other faiths”. Cameron went so far as to assert his belief that Muslims should not be allowed to share platforms with members of the Government.

The second approach contemplated by the British Prime Minister is to insist on values which have always characterized Britishness: “Freedom of speech, Freedom of worship, democracy, the rule of law, equal rights, regardless of race, sex and sexuality and to belong here is to believe in these things”. This is unambiguous language, in other words “take it or leave it” This is very strong language and is bound to elicit a response in the same vein. The response has been as aggressive as the warning. As a member of the Indian diaspora, I believe in respect for the host-be it his home or his country. I, therefore, take strong exception to the insolent reply that was given by a respectable Muslim organisation, in this case, Faisal Hansraj, Assistant Secretary General of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) on BBC Radio 4’s Today Program that they had hoped that with a new government, there would be a ‘shift of emphasis in terms of counter-terrorism and dealing with the problem at hand... Again, it just seems the Muslim community is very much in the spotlight, being treated as part of the problem as opposed to part of the solution.” It must be added that so far as the British rule of law is concerned, the MCB recently made a strong claim for adopting Sharia law and giving Sharia courts full powers to rule on

Muslim cases. Imam Abdullah Al Hasan of the East London Mosque has said: “Islam is here to stay in Britain; Islam is here to stay in Europe”. Unfortunately, none of these representatives of one of the greatest religions on earth has the guts to take to task in equally strong language, all those Muslim terrorists groups like ISIS, Al quaeda and Boko Haram who demonstrate a total lack of respect for life and wish to impose their customs on all civilized countries instead of doing this at home where they would be confronted by many rival groups using equally fatal weapons. Such attitudes from different sides do not portend well for the continued success of multiculturalism in the West.

It is difficult to say whether the Muslim minority in the UK would join the cosmopolitan world like the Canadians especially as the Muslim Brotherhood has strongly opposed integration-the first step, in my view, towards the creation of a world brotherhood. Ian Goldin, Director of the Oxford Martin School at the University of Oxford in an article entitled *enough hysteria. Properly managed immigration is key to the UK's future* tells us a different story (note he adopts sensitive issues): one of the findings of a recent study by the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration at the University College, London are, among others, that migrants added 20 billion pounds Sterling to the UK economy in the decade 2000 to 2010 less than what they take as benefits or transfers and other social services (Goldin 2014, The Observer issue No. 11,636). Goldin adds that this is consistent with previous studies which have shown that the benefits of immigration outweigh its costs. Admittedly, this is looking at the matter from the financial perspective only and is not fully convincing. However, Goldin admits that there are other short term economic and social costs. It is clear that migrants, including Muslims, have contributed to these positive changes. In the same breath, the YouGov-Cambridge Globalism Survey (Grierson

and Duncan 2019) reveals that more people in the UK than in Germany, France and Denmark believe that the benefits of immigration outweigh the costs. Most of the negative statements against multiculturalism have been made with the Muslims fundamentalists in mind in particular Muslim terrorists. But the Indian diaspora in the UK must count itself fortunate as it has won the admiration and respect of the British. What is noteworthy is that they are not conspicuous but work with others to make the UK a successful example of cultural harmony.

In a recent survey, YouGov asked 1668 UK adults whether migrants from various parts of the world had made a positive or negative contribution to English life. In this the Indians were far ahead of their South Asian neighbours, the Bangladeshis and the Pakistanis. Allowance need to be made for the latter two groups who fail to interact with others because of their low level of English, which together with their high fertility rate rendered them reliant on social security payments. Besides, their low qualifications got them low paid jobs unlike those of the Indian diaspora. So, here also multiculturalism has been a good thing for the diaspora.

I shall now introduce an approach to the state of multiculturalism which adopts, to my mind, a more realistic down-to earth way of exploring a sensitive issue by using a bottom-up analysis of a social phenomenon. Academics and other researchers have a tendency to use quantitative methods to study a social phenomenon. But using other methods such as observation, interviews and focused study as well as ethnography may yield equally reliable findings. The approach I am introducing is that used by Caroline Howarth & Eleni in their research on whether Multiculturalism has, according to the prevailing discourse, suffered a backlash. The contextual framework for their study is the prevailing view in Europe and elsewhere referred to as “the

retreat of multiculturalism” (Joppke 2004) and even as the “death of multiculturalism “ (Kundnani 2002) . This view has been contested by other researchers including (Meer & Modood 2011; Modood 2011) but there is, at present, an overall “master narrative general” in academic circles of the rise and fall of multiculturalism (Kymlicka 2010) . The two authors are both associated with the London School of Economics and Political Science; the first is Senior Lecturer in Social Psychology, the second is a social psychologist, currently involved on a research project on multiculturalism in English schools. Howarth and Andreoli have taken cognizance firstly of the common assumption that multiculturalism has failed as a strategy to pacify both the native population and the migrants from different countries in particular Africa and Asia and secondly of the other view held by academics which has focused on the institutional frameworks to be employed in order to advance cultural equality, integration and positive intergroup relations. The two authors adopt a middle course: study multiculturalism as a system of lay knowledge and everyday practice.

So, rather than define multiculturalism in an abstract and purely academic manner and analyze the impact of normative policies, Howarth and Andreoli take us on a voyage on the ground to observe the day to day practice of the people in their daily interaction. This approach, in my view, takes us to people of different nationalities in their natural milieux-their football stadium, their supermarkets, their pubs, their barbers’ shops and the crowded parks and beaches. This, according to them, will reveal that, far from the policy making process, multiculturalism is in good health and politicians need not worry. From our point of view, this is a most satisfying way of looking at things. It is down to earth and easy to understand.

I shall now study some novels which shed light on the treatment accorded to Indian migrants in the UK towards the end of the century. Why do I have recourse to fiction and not only to facts in history books, documentaries and newspaper reports?

It is rightly said that literature is a reflection of society. Novels, short stories and drama are both a portrait of social events as well as a creative rendering of reality. As Sinha(1998) remarks, *even Helen Hull, a celebrated psychologist, is of the opinion that imagination is the faculty of re-arranging the known, of transmitting into a new end of sometimes wonderful pieces of creation.* Thus, a study of some of these literary works will help to fortify my argument about the fate, generally accorded, sometimes, openly, but more often, covertly, to people of Indian origin.

Initially, I shall draw on the contents of novels written by well-known Indian English writers. First, Anita Desai, who has received numerous awards including in 2005 the Grinzane Cavour International Prize –*Une Vita per la letteratura* (a life for literature). Desai has settled in the UK where she has spent most of her time writing and teaching.

I have selected one of her novels: *Bye-Bye Blackbird* (1984) Orient Paperbacks Delhi (note the early date indicating that the material may no more be completely reliable) to give instances of how Indians at the beginning, had to face racism and xenophobia before they could adapt to their environment in the UK. While Dev, a newcomer to the UK, is boarding a bus he heard one of the English boys say ‘wog’ and repeat it after a short while (page 16). This was clearly a word of insult to Indians. Again, an old lady who was walking her dog on an early morning muttered aloud ‘Littered with Asians! Must get Richard to move out of Clapham, it is impossible now’

(page 18). Next, there is the reference to the three categories of London dock lavatories- 'Ladies ,Gents and Asiatics' (page 19). This must have been highly offensive to Indians. The novel is replete with instances of hostile racist behavior towards Asians. When a young man wearing a Kashmiri fez , looking for a room, saw a handwritten sign, ' Room To Let', he rang the bell. The man and the woman, who opened the door, looked scandalized. They were so offended that he could have presumed he could live close to White people. Their body language, telling him to get lost, was more injurious than any verbal language they could have used (page 23). One scene in the novel shows three young men in their vests in room busy kneading dough, rolling out and frying *rotis*. They then sat down at an uncovered table and ate with their fingers. Someone in a shouted mock-BBC voice: '*what a disgusting smell*'! Even Sarah's parents, whom they visit, cannot hide their hostility to Indians. Sarah's colleague asked whether she would go to India to deliver her child. Before I end with this series on racist behavior towards Indians, let me state my view that Anita Desai is a novelist not a propagandist like Pauline Hanson in Australia. Her aim is not to run down her host country and its people, but to earn a living by producing a good novel. Not many would have dared to describe scenes like those she did. Fiction has the power to paint reality with stronger force than history. But those who have spent some time in England would remember some similar experiences. Racism is expressed in different ways: outright insults in public places, attacks on young people that venture into the cities at night, pretending not to understand the Indians' English and asking them to repeat themselves. I shall leave Desai here as the book is full of examples of racist behavior. Desai has, understandably, limited her examples to Indians but there are others who suffer similar treatment, particularly if they are black.

I shall now deal with a second novelist, Kamala Markandaya, and her novel '*The Nowhere Man*' (1972) Allen Lane. The main character is an elderly Brahmin, a small businessman, Srinivas, who has spent some thirty years in South London. After the death of his younger son and later of his wife, the lonely man lives alone in his home. But he seems so miserable that he is befriended by an English woman in her sixties. They form a strong friendship helping one another. His only friend and well-wisher, Abdul, is from Zanzibar. Abdul is a rich businessman and has no illusions about the British's esteem for Asians. After some time a group of young mischievous English boys, who have no jobs or rather would not work, visit their frustration on the old man and make an attempt on his life. Fred Fletcher, in particular, is the worst of the lot. He had gone to Australia but had failed in everything that he had attempted. The same happens to him on his return to the UK. Like the hundreds of young British who will not do anything decent in life, he looks for trouble. He manages to assemble around him a small group of ruffians and having spotted the elderly Srinivas, he concentrates all his frustration on him. He persecutes him with the help of his accomplices. True to their diasporic character, Srinivas and his wife have come over to improve their financial situation but have kept an imaginary door open to go back to India.

When they buy their own house at No.5 Ashcroft Avenue, they are not referred to by their neighbours as the Srinivasses but as "the people at No. 5". Except for a few people who are aware that their two sons are involved in the war against the Germans, they remain nondescript (page 21). Their next door neighbours are also elderly whites. Although they keep on good terms with Srinivas and Mrs. Pickering, her British companion, they resent their progress in life. Mrs. Fletcher, Fred's mother, sympathized with the ailing old Indian and tries to prevent his son from

hurting him. When Srinivas dreams of going back to India, he is completely lost as he has lost touch with his country of birth and would not know where to go in India (page 46). But he has remained an Indian at heart. He gargles and spits as loudly as they do in India when he does his toilet, splashing water on the floor of the WC embarrassing Mrs. Pickering. Mrs. Fletcher, a busybody, resents the way of living of foreigners. She has in mind Mr. Abdul and Laxman, Srinivas only surviving son. She states: "Full of foreigners, you see all sorts going around in their big cars. They are the ones with the money these days". But although she behaves like the typical suburban Englishwoman, envious of the black migrants' social rise, she will, unlike Mrs. Glass, ultimately support Srinivas against her son's racist attacks. Mrs. Glass commenting on the construction of Council's flats for the homeless uses her vitriolic tongue to make seditious remarks: '*We'll be getting allsorts*' meaning blacks and Indians. Racism runs rife until the last page of the novel.

The most tragic moment is when his persecutors ask him to leave the country and he exclaims 'But this is my country'. After having spent thirty years in the UK and lost one of his sons and his wife there, he cannot understand where his country is, if it is not the UK. In the end Fred, the character that represents the frustrated and racist British, is hoisted with his own petard and dies but, in the process, causes the death of the old Srinivas as well.

Kamala Markandaya has written more novels on the theme of the unenviable fate of the Indian/s who had left home for the UK. Her *Inner Fury* focuses on the cultural difficulties involved in an interracial relationship between Mira, an Indian girl, and Richard Marlow, an Englishman. In the novel the East is pitted against the West and deals with the inevitable hostility between two

cultures against a backcloth of the British occupation of India. *A Silence of Desire and Possession* deals with the tension between spiritual faith and materialism. The main characters are Valmiki, an Indian rustic with all the spirituality that the term denotes and Caroline, a representative of Western materialism. This is a recipe for conflict. It is unfortunate that one suspects that the author is guilty of stereotyping and her characters, I venture to say, are not true to life. They are almost caricatures of some traits ascribed to Indians and Westerners. Still, they make the point that British Indians, as some of my interviewees stated, were often the victims of racism or misunderstanding. The *Coffer Dams*, another of Markandaya's novels, is a conflict between Western technological power and India's forces of nature and primitive living. Markandaya, actually, did not witness the technological and scientific progress made by India over the recent three decades. India is now a nuclear power and has just launched a satellite in space. Bollywood is urbanizing the villages, if not their infrastructure. The most enterprising Indians, like Markandaya herself, have left India and are to be found in the European centres. But stereotypes die slowly. And our gurus, pundits and swamis in India, and recently in the UK, the US and Canada, show that Indian culture and the contemplative nature is gaining grounds, to wit Hare Rama and Hare Krishna missions, their vegetarianism and their processions on the highways of Western cities and their universal practice of meditation and yoga. (See Mark Twain's report above)

Uma Pareswaram is another such writer .She draws pedagogic lessons from Markandaya's the *Nowhere Man*. She states "the main diasporic issue that I value in the novel is the warning that it gives to us, and especially our children who think that they are "Americans" or "Canadians" She adds "no matter what we ourselves may feel about our present homeland, too many see us only as aliens who belong elsewhere not here". Pareswaram notes that Markandaya talks not only of

racism towards Indian migrants but also about other diasporic realities: non-recognition of academic achievements, resistance to the expectations of the host culture, chasms of communication, between generations, cultural values and needless cultural baggage”. Whether it be Desai, Markandaya and Pareswaram, their novels were written years ago and things may have changed substantially, notably in the UK, the US and Canada and Australia. Their value will continue as they still show that the Indian diaspora went through hard times before emerging as dynamic and successful communities

Australia which now appears as the shibboleth of multiculturalism and whose various governments consistently followed a multicultural policy had many strong opponents to the immigration of Indians and to their presence on Australian soil. Historian Geoffrey Blainey whom I referred to together with politician Pauline Hanson, through their open hostility could have jeopardized the government’s efforts to harmonise the views of Australians and migrants, in particular, those from India. It is a miracle that such hostility did not result in bloodshed. This speaks favourably for the White Australians’ respect for human rights, their acceptance of cultural diversity and their better understanding of the economic advantage of having law-abiding, hardworking people in their country. This does not mean that Indo-Australians and Indian students did not suffer from racism and racist violence.

Blainey was a formidable opponent of the Australian government policy of immigration and multiculturalism. He had won the sympathy of the aboriginal people by his book; *The Triumph of the Nomads* (Blainey 1975). But his stand against Asian immigrants which he expressed in his writings and lectures came as a surprise. He consistently stated Australian culture could not exist

side by side with Asian cultures. Since he was a prolific writer, his views were quite damaging to the harmony that the authorities were patiently building up. He had to be distanced from academia. A petition was written to the university against him and he was advised to take measures for his own security.

Pauline Hanson, who rose to recognition on the strength of her anti-immigration and antimulticultural views, disappeared for a time from the lower House but was recently reelected to the Senate. But her narrative against immigration and multiculturalism is no more in favour except with minority right wing groups and the populists. This is the only platform that allows her some political success.

As I embarked on the literature review with regard to Canada, one caption in a report on Interculturalism, a view from Quebec, a province of Montreal, caught my attention. It read; ‘Qualified Immigrants. According to the 2006 Census, 14.7% of Quebecers born in Canada have studied in university, compared with 27% in the immigrant population..’ From my research this trend can be replicated in other western countries. Why is this so, is beyond the ken of my research. The fact remains that the best jobs will definitely go to the most educated. This will provoke the jealousy of the French speaking Quebecers That is why most of the second tier white- collar jobs go to the white Canadians. Bouchard and Taylor, 2008, in a study of interculturalism in Quebec commissioned by the authorities, heard extensive testimony from engineers or architects who are working as taxi drivers, lawyers who are serving as clerks, judges employed as workmen or teachers washing dishes or making deliveries (Bouchard and Taylor 2008). It is apposite to cite another paragraph in the report: ‘Immigrants have precarious living

conditions. Among immigrants between 25 and 54 years of age who have lived for less than five years in Quebec the unemployment rate is nearly three times higher than the rate among native born Quebecers. After 5 to 10 years, it is over twice as high. Professor Bouchard's report is so illuminating and encouraging for interculturalism or multiculturalism (for me to differentiate between the two is a matter of semantics) that I am tempted to spend time on it. However, I must look at the larger canvas: the whole of Canada. In such a state of affairs, it stands to reason that hardworking Indians would resent the way they are treated. Recently, however the increasingly closer ties between India and Canada bid fair to consolidate multiculturalism in Canada. In 2010, for example Canada and India launched preliminary negotiations on a proposed Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) on various issues including cross-border trade in goods and services, e-commerce, telecommunications, sanitary and phytosanitary measures and technical barriers to trade. A second round of negotiation was held in India in March 2015 and the most recent discussions were held in 2017 in New Delhi . These close ties will definitely enhance the prestige of the Indo-Canadians and increase respect for them. This is part of my answer to the research questions. No, it has not been easy for them but India was no alternative.

The US 's multiculturalism is symbolized by the Melting Pot, whereby, unlike the Canadian Mosaic, immigrants were welcomed but were expected to join a salad of cultures and subscribe to US's key values such as democracy, the rule of law and loyalty to the American flag. But Indians did not always have the reciprocal respect of White Americans. In the mid-1980s In New Jersey Indians were attacked by the "Dotbusters" racist gangs who targeted Indian women sporting the "Bindhi" on their forehead. Miss Priyanka Chopra, Miss World 2000, and Bollywood super heroine, tells how, when a student in the US, she was the object of verbal

attacks such as “Brownie, go back where you belong (L’Express newspaper of Mauritius June, 2015). As regards professionals, anticipating the racial discrimination that might affect them, they organised themselves in federations and other associations to protect their own interests. They campaigned against measures to cut down on Medicare funding to hospitals employing doctors with 2010 qualifications. They also lobbied the government through the caucus they had succeeded to form in the Congress. They were able to obtain pro-India decisions such as blocking the sale of attack planes to Pakistan and other decisions which would have been against India’s interests. The Indo- Americans may not have been encouraged to fight for congressional seats, but they have supported financially the campaigns of a number of presidential candidates such as George W. Bush and Barrack Obama but with financial to both Republican and Democratic candidates. A minority have shifted from Democrats to Republicans, the latter being the more conservative and well-to-do ones. In the 2004 elections, Bobby Jindal was the second Indo-American, after Dalip Singh, to be elected to the House of Representatives. In the 2012 election, Dr. Ami Bera became the third. Some interesting statistics may be quoted to show how the Indo- American community feels so at ease in the US that they have never hesitated to show their true political affiliations. Thus, the National Asian American Survey of the year 2012 showed that 84 % of Indian Americans voted for Obama.

Let me now show the progress achieved through the exponential growth of the Indo- American community. In 1960 there had been just over 12,000 Indian immigrants but according to the 2010 US census, the Asian Indian population grew from 1,678,765 in 2000 to 2,843,391 in 2010. As of 2005, 40,838 doctors of Indian origins were living in the US. Nikkhi Haley was, until recently, the US ambassador to the UN. A growing number of Indo-Americans are leading Americans best business schools (Ronak Desai Forbes). Sunil Kumar moved from the University

of Chicago to become Provost of John Hopkins University in 2016. In recent years the US has witnessed several Indo-Americans heading the US's most selective business schools- Nitin Nohria at Harvard, Dipak Jain at Northwestern, Rangarajan at NY University, Paul Almadia at Georgetown and Madan Rajen at Booth. Indo-Americans have held or currently, hold more than a dozen business schools in the US. This is remarkable for a community that represents barely one % of the US population but it demonstrate that, in spite of all the odds which are often exaggerated, the Indo- American have done well. This speaks well for US multicultural policies. However, with the erratic policies of the current President and his racist language against Arabs, Latinos and Asians after so many years of successful cultural harmony and peaceful racial co-existence, doubts are being raised in the minds of hyphenated Americans so that civil strife may be brewing. Unless Trump is brought down by the US judiciary or the electorate, the Indians, among other minorities may be in for a bad time. The Muslims of some seven countries were threatened by him recently with a ban on immigration to the US. Yesterday (14 April, 2019), he attacked one lady of African origin, now a member of the House of Representatives, for her Muslim r religion.

But as far as the Indian diaspora is concerned-and this is relevant to my thesis, they are highly considered as a model minority. Professor Devesh Kapur of the University of Pennsylvania and co-author of the book: *The Other one percent Indians in America* (Kapur 2017), compared the social and political condition of the people of Indian origin with that of other American citizens. He marvelled at the immense progress achieved by the Indian diaspora. They are more educated than the average American. There are more immigrants from India than even from Mexico and China; The Indian Americans have distinguished themselves by their economic status. They earn

much more than the average US citizen. Professor Kapur cannot help asking “How did the population of one of the poorest countries become the richest group in the United States. The relevance of this analysis reveals that the diaspora, thanks to multiculturalism, is doing very well in the richest and most powerful country in the world. At present they are the recipients of one third of all visas to the US.

I have reached the end of this literature review but I must confess that I was impressed by the abundance of the literature on multiculturalism worldwide. I have had to restrict myself to what has happened and is happening in the four countries I am studying, otherwise I would have been drowned in the literature and, what’s more, would have gone beyond the ambit of the study.

Before I end this part I must include a reference to the debate on the continued relevance of multiculturalism or its demise. For this I shall pray in aid a paper from Academia entitled; Life and Death of Multiculturalism-Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World. (Miller. D. 2019).

In his paper, Miller examines the current state of multiculturalism in Canada. Against a background of the research in the subject by Banting and Kymlicka, whose contribution he acknowledges. He states that the celebration of “the death of multiculturalism is “not only exaggerated but misguided. On the contrary, like Banting and Kymlicka, he finds that instead of its decline, there is a shift in its favour, although he admits there are significant cross national differences in the extent to which these policies have been introduced across the liberal democracies (Miller 2019). There is, in truth, he argues no dilemma confronting the Europeans

(for that matter, I shall add North America and Australia) between opting for multiculturalism and other alternatives as no alternative exists. He is of the view as has been amply demonstrated in the country, that multiculturalism is not inconsistent with civic integration. On the contrary, experienced has shown that multiculturalism paves the way to greater integration or even assimilation with second and third generation of the Indo-Canadian and Indo-American diaspora. And as a descendant of the Indo Mauritian diaspora, I believe in integration or even assimilation, for peace and co-existence of whatever remains of diversity. So far to Banting and many other Canadians the statements about the death of multiculturalism stems from different understandings of the term. The two sides seem to be “talking past each other”. Miller wonders whether some Europeans are talking about the same multiculturalism which has been adopted in Canada or has Canada offered a more congenial atmosphere for multiculturalism to flourish. I also ask are we all-those who opine for the success and those who see its demise- on the same wavelengths. Former British Prime Minister Cameron e.g. referred to state multiculturalism while Will Kymlicka defends liberal multiculturalism. So in years to come in an attempt to clarify terms researchers will continue to juggle with meanings and endless debates while as Howarth and have stated, multiculturalism or co-existence of different cultures are blossoming on the ground.

Chapter 7- Methodology

With regard to methodology, given the nature and breadth of my study, I have used mostly qualitative rather than quantitative methods of enquiry. This does not mean that figures and statistics have not been used where the context so required, for example, where country comparison required it. But more often than not, I have concentrated on visits, notably to the

Indian diaspora in the UK and Australia, reading of novels and papers of wide circulation, interviews and close observation of citizens of East Indian origins in their respective milieux. In Australia I interviewed a number of people (married and unmarried) on invitation in their homes or in eating places. I visited some people on invitation in their homes or in public places such as restaurants and public libraries where we shared their views on their country of adoption. At the Melbourne Avila High School, I was invited to a presentation by some of the girls who had been instructed by their educators to go to the Federation Square near the State Parliament and interview passers-by (both Whites and others) on their feelings about emigrants and refugees. I give some evidence of their views in the appendices to the thesis (the appendices will be integrated later). I was also allowed by Dr. Supriya Singh, who together with Dr Cabraal, conducted a similar exercise as part of a larger study on the indo-Australians, to refer to her detailed findings among some young adults, a few married and others not. This will be seen when I write about multiculturalism in Australia. I also availed myself of every opportunity, I was presented with, to discuss racism, racial harmony, multiculturalism, language problems and assistance extended to migrants to facilitate integration. I made it a point to attend two functions organised by the Indo- Australians (the first from East India and the second from Sri Lanka). I could observe the ease with which they went about things. The Indo-Australians celebrate Deepavalee in a large square where they had erected a stand for the speakers and the singers and dancers ([Appendices refer](#)). There were many stands where Indian CDs and DVDs were sold and where one could enjoy genuine Indian sweets. At one stand I saw a white lady and her Indo-Australian companion crushing sugar cane and selling the juice to visitors ([see Appendix --](#)). In a different spot the Sri Lankan Hindu association had rented a big hall where they celebrated a Sri Lankan cultural event. What struck me is how much I could earn for my thesis. I saw, e.g.

that the organizers had invited some top political figures who made it a point to attend and address the gathering. Through this method I could see that the diaspora benefited from the support of the federal and local government. I also, on invitation, attended some barbecue parties in the extensive parks where my relatives and their White Australia friends mixed freely while they enjoyed their grilled fish and their scotch.

In the UK I interviewed some indo-British at Wembley and Southall where there are large populations of people of Indian origin. I also obtained vital information at the festivities surrounding the marriage of my niece somewhere near Lewisham in London. There, I noticed that many of my relatives had engaged in cross marriages with Europeans. The same racial harmony could be witnessed elsewhere, e.g. in a vegetarian British restaurant where my nephew, a British young man, opted for rice and spinach and I saw around us a mix of British having similar food or Vada, Sambal and vegetarian biryani. My nephew told me that many Britishers were adopting vegetarianism and other Hindu practices. I also visited a Hare Rama Hare Krishna Centre where I saw a mixed crowd of Indo-Australian votaries and their white fellow members ((photograph at [Appendix](#) –refers). On the whole my research has relied on close observation, oral interviews of people of different ages and marital status (those who have recently arrived and those who have grown up or even aged in their new homes). It was not possible to engage in work with focused groups or in an ethnographic study for lack of time. In the UK I interviewed a few Sikh leaders in Southall near their temple, who apart from their proverbial arrogance, showed a reluctance to answer questions about their treatment by the white British. I suspect they fear that they may antagonize the government with dire consequences. I must add that I have been eager for statistics which reveal the conditions, aspirations and social standing of the

diaspora in each of the four countries forming part of my research. I obtained plenty of information on the diaspora's feelings towards their hosts on internet from the pen pf researchers and academics and novels. But Brexit UK was very cautious. As Anuhya Bobha says in Huffpost in April, 2017, "Model Minorities" don't speak out. The Indians have always remained silent. So, I have accessed the internet very frequently and I was gratified by the abundance of relevant and recent developments in my field of study. A rich source of information was the media: the debates in the aftermath of terrorist attacks in the US, France and other countries and the policies of political parties in the run-up to elections. On the whole qualitative methods have been my preferred option in my research. With regard to Canada and the US where I have never set foot in view of distance , travel costs, board and lodging. My strategy has been to keep in close touch through various techniques. First, I made sure that I was fully informed about events in both countries such as the terrorist attack against the World Trade Centre in 2001 and the media coverage it obtained in the Western democracies and the resultant debates on immigration, terrorism, multiculturalism, boat people., the statements made by the leaders of all Western democracies, either fanning the flames of racism or advising restraint and calm. The media also took me to the places where the terrorist acts had taken place and where people of all races were laying flowers and praying for the victims. The media did a good job as it showed how everywhere people were taking these events with fortitude. There was no verbal violence or retaliation. In Canada, I have relied heavily on the media and my close relatives and friends to keep abreast of Canadian events as they affected the Indian diaspora and to learn how Canada is a miracle of cosmopolitanism. I have also relied on the internet and on the papers to know about feelings towards immigration and politics and also about Indo-Canadian trade links and relations.

I cannot think of any other method that could give a better understanding of the conditions of the diaspora in Canada.

Chapter 8-Purpose of my thesis

This has been partly covered in the abstract and part of the introduction. I must add that, as a member of the Indian diaspora myself, I have always been curious about the fate of my diasporic ancestors and cousins. I wanted to trace out their trajectories in their new homelands, the way they were welcomed, the fights they had to put up to be accepted and, since then, their efforts to integrate without being assimilated i.e. to retain their religion and their culture while integrating their now new home country's culture in particular to understand their views of their hosts and how they were able to adapt to its law, language, music, literature and education and, where they have become citizens, their involvement, if any in the social and economic fields. I also paid frequent visits to public libraries in my own country, in the UK and Australia and read articles on refugees, boat people and processing centres like Nauru as well as academic papers, and general or specific comments on foreigners and the different Diasporas in the four countries of settlement. I also engage in discussions with relatives and friends in both the UK and Australia and with visitors and relatives from Canada and the US. I spent some time in the pubs in Australia and the UK to observe people at close quarters in a relaxed atmosphere. On the whole, in spite of all my endeavours, I have found that social research is a very stimulating but complex exercise as people keep on changing their perspectives. This is so as there are many matters that keep them unconsciously reviewing their acculturation strategies, e.g. economic and political changes such as the UK's decision to leave the European Community and President Trump anti-immigration views and his Mexican wall and how these matters have disturbed the peace of

mind of millions of people who stand to lose or to gain by these measures. Berry's and La Framboise acculturation strategies adopted by settlers of non-white origins become highly relevant. The future of the national Diasporas, where I reckon friends and relatives, is important to me. We know what happens to non-whites when there is a downturn in the economy. The feelings that migrants are no more needed because their own white people have returned from various European countries will continue to be faced by our Indo-British diaspora not to mention the racism that this will inevitably foster in the UK with spilling effect in the rest of the Union, As yet there is no immediate menace but when I discussed with some of the Sikhs in the UK and my own relatives outside the interviews, I could sense the hidden fear at the post-European prospects. And although they pretend that everything is ok and they have no fear, I could sense in their aggressivity and passion that they are worried. The Poles could tell about their xenophobic experience when Brexit was approved by Parliament. The same could happen to any Indo- British in the coming years. All this explains my continued interest in the present and future plight of the Indian diaspora. Another reason for my interest is the progress achieved in the social, economic and political field by the diaspora, first and second generation in the UK, Canada and the USA. How come they have been involved in start- ups in the formidable Silicon Valley? The purpose of research on the diaspora is therefore two-fold- first out of curiosity for the fate of people who originated from the same land and second , out of an academic need to follow the progress made by the poorest people on earth into places of great power.

Chapter 9- Recapitulation, Conclusions and Recommendations.

In none of the four countries I have studied so far, have I come across any reference to any writing or thought that multiculturalism is in its death throes. Yes, there have been some strong allusion to a “retreat from multiculturalism”, “post multiculturalism” and similar expressions. Yes again, David Cameron, the previous British Prime Minister , Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor and Nicolas Sarkozy the former French President did state almost in unison that multiculturalism had been a dismal failure in their respective countries. But each reacted to specific events, as politicians do, to appease their banks of voters as a result of the increase in terrorist acts perpetrated by Muslims extremists and fundamentalists and also following the hordes of illegal refugees from Africa, Arabic countries making their way into Western European countries. There was also the realization that young men in their own midst, who had been brought up on Western values, had been surreptitiously indoctrinated and turned into terrorists against their own people. But apart from these occasional lapses, there is cultural harmony and peaceful co-existence of ethnic communities in the West. The attack against the Twin Towers (the World Trade Centre) had traumatized the Western world but the negative feelings it aroused have now subsided leaving a sensation of sadness and uneasiness. Human nature is such that the worst tragedies are forgotten with the passage of time, leaving only a vague sensation similar to the loss of a mother. Multiculturalism continues to be praised. Prime Minister Gillard in Australia can bear witness to the storm of protest which arose when she removed the term multiculturalism from the title of a department of the federal government. Moreover, Indian students who had adopted alternative destinations as a result of the spate of attacks on them in Sydney and Melbourne had now resumed their preference for Australia (Mazumbar 2015, the Indian bureaucrat for Australia at the Ministry for External Affairs). It is unfortunate that the

colossal task of carrying out a comparative national survey of the success of multiculturalism, involving each country where there has been immigration, has not yet been done. The work, in fact a swot analysis , carried out by the two reputable academics Eddy Ng and Irene Bloemraad on multiculturalism covers only a few countries and is limited to the observance of human rights, but is nevertheless a useful instrument to measure the success of multiculturalism in all the countries of the world.

In Australia one can say that multiculturalism has anchored itself strongly thanks to the efforts of its successive Governments (regional and federal) who have left no stone unturned, through incessant pro- multicultural pronouncements and policies. Its recent Prime Ministers (Abbott, Gillard , Turnbull and Rudd) and now Morrison have built strong links with India which strengthens multiculturalism . In 2014, PM Modi paid a state visit to Australia. He was in Canberra where he addressed a joint assembly of both Houses of the Australian Parliament. He met the important officials of both Houses and the Leader of the Opposition. He also visited Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne where he also addressed members of the Australian Indian community. Talks with PM Abbott centered on collaboration between their two countries in the fields of resources, education, skills, agriculture, infrastructure, investments, financial services and health and also on terrorism and other international crimes. These two countries' strategic position in the Indian Ocean made them close partners. The Comprehensive Partnership Agreement which they are contemplating and their record of present collaboration have boosted the morale of the diaspora. The findings of the interviews I conducted as well as those by Supriya Singh and those done by the Avila High School Girls move in the same direction that, apart from isolated cases of racism, racial tension has subsided. Indians may be involved as

victims (and also as we often hear as perpetrators) of criminal offences which cannot all be attributed to racism). So, as I said multiculturalism in Australia has gone a long way and will continue to boost up the morale of the Indian Community.

Recently, on the occasion of Prime Ministerial visits between the two countries (2012, 2014 and 2016) we have witnessed joint statements made by the respective prime ministers lauding the strong links between their two countries and inviting Australian business to invest in India. What remains to be done is what should be done to ensure that multiculturalism continues to spread and reaches the daily lives of people in every nook and cranny of the urban and rural areas of the country. Our recommendation as well as those for an enhancement of cosmopolitanism appears at the end of this last chapter.

9.1 UK

In the UK, in spite of the incidents involving Indians and the white Englishmen which have led to the perception that Multiculturalism has failed (David Cameron), there is ample evidence that the majority hold a different view. After the terrorist attack against the 9/11 Twin Towers in New York and the angry response of the US President, it would have been adding insult to the injury if the US allies did not join the concert of protest. This was a warning to potential terrorists as well as an exercise of diplomacy friendly nations and as members of the NATO. Sunny Hundal sums up the opposite view with weighty arguments. In an article in the Guardian entitled: *“Multiculturalism has won the day. Let’s move on”* Quoting statistics he states “Right Wing scaremongering over immigration has failed as 70% of Britons now believe a multicultural society is a good thing. He adds “it’s official : 45 years after Enoch Powell made his “rivers of blood” speech- the fear mongers have lost the war, while those who think Britain is stronger

with a multiracial and multicultural identity have won”. He also referred in the same article to the former Tory chairman Lord Ashcroft’s survey of British ethnic minority in the week starting on 15 April, 2013. That survey revealed that 90% think that Britain had become a multicultural country and a similar proportion thought it was a good thing. A broader national survey found that 90% of all Britons also agreed that Britain had become a multicultural country and 70% were in favour of the development (ibis). This shows that multiculturalism, which had a pedestrian beginning in the UK, has gathered steam for greater acceptance of people from outside. It proves my point that, although there will always be a minority of British who will continue to be against foreigners, especially Asians and the Blacks, the majority view will always prevail. And this will allow the Indian diaspora to soar above mundane things and give their time to higher pursuits as citizens of the world. It must not be forgotten that the ties built during the colonial period have been sustained because of the links which have been strengthened –to wit the academics and other writers, the professionals in the medical and IT fields and the scientists and, above all, the English language which has developed the free expression of the Indian ethos and literature (referred to by academia as Indians writing in English).

In the wake of the vote in favour of Brexit, some uncertainty was created as some of the Brexiteers in their excitement molested some non-white British and Poles by hurling xenophobic and racist insults at them. Prime Minister Cameron quickly reacted. He said “Government will not tolerate intolerance, let’s remember these people have come here and made a wonderful contribution to our country.” The mayor of London, a Pakistani by birth, also spoke out against a spike in racist abuse in the aftermath of the referendum. How do we view these unfortunate

incidents? The fact that these feelings did not spread to the rest of the country shows how weak they were and could not affect ethnic harmony. Most of the writers who have expressed an opinion on multiculturalism have endorsed the majority view, revealed by statistics that the people, including the white have agreed that multiculturalism is good for the UK. Even among the Indo-British writers the same trend is observed. Sheetal Sharma, e.g. in an article in Sage Journal, May 2019 after having immersed herself in an analysis of the cultural differences between the host and the diaspora, concluded that the Indian diaspora has assimilated itself well in the British society along with retaining its cultural distinctiveness. The last sentence betrays a clear misunderstanding of acculturation strategies. Assimilation means an obliteration of the diasporic culture; the writer, in fact, means integration. The UK was the imperial ruler of India for quite a long time and has left behind many traces of their civilization and culture, in particular their language and legal system. Indian politicians invoke the principles of fair play, democracy and human rights, the rule of law and free speech. These are matters which are cherished in India and this retains the link with the UK intact. Hence, the perennial quality of multiculturalism in the UK, in so far as the Indian diaspora is concerned.

One should not forget that the transformation, happening within diasporas the world over, is a continuing dynamic process that depends on a number of environmental factors including political changes, Take former UK Prime Minister David Cameron, for example. He had said in Munich that multiculturalism had been a failure in the UK. But surprisingly in 2015, he invited the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi for an official visit and even escorted him for a formal address to a large gathering of Indian diaspora at the Wembley Stadium. But multiculturalism is a social construct. The fall and rise of multiculturalism depend on what happens on the ground.

The mood of the host population and their attitudes towards the people of non –English origins may suffer a sea-change in different fields: social, economic and political .In the UK, it is good that members of the Indian community should continue to support both sides of the political divide, not only labour, as used to be the case earlier.

My interviews carried out with members of the Indo-British diaspora in Wembley and Southall and with those from Mauritius do not betray any animosity against the British. In spite of some doubts about British people sincerity towards the sons of their former servants, all interviewees agree that they have integrated the society; they found it difficult at first but after some struggle, they were able to secure a job and save for a rainy day. After some six to seven years most of them are happy. Their children are getting a first-class education. They own their own house, and in some cases, a second, have bought a car and socialize mostly with their own kind on weekends. That is understandable as they share the same values and tastes. While they have integrated the society, it would be a fallacy to state that they have been assimilated. It must be admitted, however that the degree of integration varies from the first settlers to the second and third generation. Indians who immigrated to the UK have seldom been expelled or repatriated. Indeed, beyond many of those first immigrants, who have reached a respectable age, have been transformed beyond recognition. They have become more tolerant and mature. They are proud to speak English and recommend foreign food such as roasted lamb with a number if side dishes instead of the occasional goat curry dhal and pickle. They have developed expensive tastes and instead of Indian whiskies, they drink gin or Scotch whisky at table. They keep a collection of expensive whiskies on their open shelves such as Royal Salute, Blue, Green and Black label. The cheapest would be a Chivas Regal!

One can guess what would happen if Le Pen's ultra right wing party were to be elected in France or if the like of Enoch Powell or Pauline Hanson were to capture power in the UK or Australia. For the time being the people of Indian origin, the diaspora Diasporas are well settled. It will be quite difficult to turn the clock back. I recommend that Indians continue to organize themselves in socio-cultural organisations as widely as possible but in so doing should not represent a threat to the UK. As an example organisations such as a Hare Rama Hare Krishna, should not go too far in their public manifestation and boast of their successful evangelization. They should attempt to be as inclusive as possible. The Muslims should follow the example of their brothers in Canada and Australia and while continuing to follow the teachings of their great religion, spend more time with their hosts and try to understand their point of view. I must say that my own relatives in the UK, some of whom were born there, have been absorbed by the society, to such a degree that they are not interested to visit their parents' birthplace and show no interest, as well, in landed property bought by their parents. The latter continue to cherish their links with Mauritius and to a lesser degree with India, the birthplace of their grandparents. When I visit them in the UK in different places or when I attend a marriage ceremony in the family, I need to deploy all my skills to speak French, English and Creole in quick succession, depending on the identity of my interlocutor. Some of my nephews have married English girls or other European ones (Portuguese and Spanish) while a few have looked for and married a girl from Mauritius. I do not think I should spend more time with the diaspora in the UK. Theirs is the story of the oldest British Indian diaspora, whose ancestors such as Gandhi and Tagore and a host of other illustrious Indians, were trained in the various creative fields in the UK and who finally, inspired by British values, fought for their rights and took their destiny in their own hands.

9.2 Canada

As I said in my chapter 7 on methodology, I have relied on qualitative methods for my research but with respect to Canada and the USA, however much I would have liked to observe *de visu* the subject in its natural habitat, there were insuperable financial hurdles. I therefore had to optimize the benefits of the remaining methods: conversations with visitors to Mauritius, recourse to relevant materials on the internet, reading of papers on Indians in the USA and Canada and novels by postcolonial writers such as Uma Pareswaram. Watching electoral campaigns such as the one in the USA on the media which saw the rise of Trump as President has been a rich source of information on how the diaspora is viewed by the different contenders. So my research on these two countries has not benefited from an ethnocentric treatment. This has been remedied by intensive and extensive reading.

Prime Minister Modi will be remembered for his contribution to the cause of multiculturalism in Canada. When he was there in April, 2015, he was warmly welcomed by the Canadian Prime Minister William Harper. They had talks on bilateral collaboration. He also reached out to the Indian diaspora and in a speech to the crowd who had come to see him and listen to him, he had these encouraging words: “so many of our Punjabi brothers and sisters have made Canada their home and enriched it with their renowned vigour and entrepreneurial skills (PMO, India). The choice of words is remarkable. They reach the hearts of all Indo- Canadians, bring solace to the nostalgic and a welcome balm to the wounds of those who suffer from separation from old parents and their birthplace. The Canadian Minister of citizenship and Immigration, Chris Alexander, recently stated: Our government is proud to announce that Canada continues to attract visitors, students and business travellers from India”. He added that the impressive scale

of visitor visa and study permits granted to travellers from India is an indication “of the strong ties that exist between our two great nations”. During the Indian Prime Minister visit he announced that the agreement on the procurement of uranium from Canada for our civilian nuclear power plants launches a new era of bilateral co-operation (PMO, India 2015). All these developments point to only one thing –that multiculturalism has been a resounding success in Canada. So, the memories of the Komagata Maru ship in Vancouver Harbour will continue to be remembered in history classes and literature on the diaspora but after the acceptance of people of Indian origin in Canada and the continued arrival of highly qualified Indian migrants. The incident will, only be part of the stories that old folk will continue to tell their grandchildren near the chimney. My recommendation is that the diaspora should aim at achieving more under the ‘two-way street’ philosophy and venture more into Canadian outback with the new agricultural and industrial technologies that were not available in their times in India.

9.3 U.S

In **the US** the latest incident which is a blot on Trump’s great vision of America (Kumar Raghunathan (2017 News Desk; The New Yorker) is the murder of the young engineer, Srinivas Kuchibotla who had had a drink with a friend at a pub in Kansas. His assailant shouted that he wanted to get rid of all Muslims. In fact, in many other incidents, many of these hate crimes arose out of a mistake of ethnic identity as a result of the difficulty to differentiate between Indians and Saudis and between Egyptians, Muslims and Sikhs. But this does not mean that people of Indian origin condone crimes against their Muslim brothers. Just after the terrorist attack of 9/11, a Sikh gas station owner was attacked. The motivation for these xenophobic attack was the 9/11 attack. Nowadays it is Trump’s xenophobic public addresses as well as his attacks against all Muslims indiscriminately (Raghunathan 2017 News Desk; the New Yorker). However, it is interesting to note that people across the country did not follow him. Processions

were held with posters against the Trump's administration's Islamophobic policies and chanting 'let them in "in one voice". Airports and public squares were closed in defiance as all Asians had realised that no ethnic group was safe with the erratic Trump. When it is realised that the label "Model Minority " would not save Indo-Americans against sudden deadly attacks as they did not display their passports to all comers, the Indo-Americans joined the protesters. When we think of Trump's personality we are convinced that except for vested interests, he cannot come back to power, if ever he crosses the hurdle of destitution. His latest blunder which will bring his country on the verge of war with the Arab world is the bombing of a drone accompanying a plane by the Iranians which had, allegedly, not responded to a warning from the Iranians. His trade war with China does not augur well for the latter's neighbours in case of a nuclear war.

It must be remembered that in a foreign country, however much the country achieves a high degree of cultural harmony and multiculturalism, there will always be some remnants of racism , That is more so if the Indians are highly successful in socio-economic and political activities. In the US, the Indian diaspora has succeeded in ensuring it has a caucus in the Congress which protects not only their own interests but that of India to which they remain strongly attached. Besides, Indo- Americans have the highest median income of any ethnic group in the US. Many of the start-ups in the Silicon Valley are by Indo-Americans. Some of their richest members financially support the presidential candidates at each election. Most of their funding benefits the democrats. Indian American entrepreneurs and computer scientists in the Silicon Valley contributed to the campaigns of both G.W. Bush and Al Gore in the 2000 Presidential contest. In that of 2004, they supported both sides. According to a survey conducted by the Asian American Legal Defense and education Fund, 2018; 69 % of Indian Americans were enrolled in the

Democratic Party compared to 7 % in the Republican Party. Out of those surveyed 91% of Indians said they voted for Barak Obama. The National Asian American Survey on the 2012 election showed that 84% of Indian Americans voted for Obama. These figures show that the vast majority of Indian Americans are in favour of the Democratic Party and they do so fearlessly. A tiny minority are with the republicans. This trend indicates that Indians whatever their social standing have a marked preference for democratic policies which are not anti-immigration. I can forecast a overwhelming majority for the democratic candidate in the next campaign. Trump will be written off with the Indo-Americans voting massively against him. I said earlier that Indian Americans are doing equally well in politics. Again the Melting Pot is doing well. As early as 2004, Bobby Jindal, the billionaire businessman was elected to the House of Representatives, in 2012; Dr. Ami Bera followed his example. This again shows that the diaspora has adapted successfully to the US culture and temperament. This march cannot be arrested by the like of Trump. Just recently Nikki Haley, Trump's Ambassador to the UN, retired without further ado and, more importantly, without any adverse comment by the President who is used to blaming his former collaborators. This single fact shows that presidential candidates have found that the Indian vote may tip the balance in favour of one or other candidate.

Now if I look at any area, the religious and ethnic field, the diaspora has achieved high visibility in food and culture. Ganesh, the elephant-headed deity is displayed all over the US and a fair number of white Americans have espoused Hindu culture and imbibed Krishna consciousness and the practice of yoga and meditation. The cities resound with the songs "Hare Krishna, Hare Rama" sung by Americans sporting the saffron colour on their forehead and other White passers-by stop to listen to them preaching unity and peace. The popular former US president, Barack

Obama, openly declared in a famous speech on 24 July 2008: “ I am a proud citizen of the United States and fellow citizen of the world” echoing the ancient Greek Diogenes of Sinope’s answer ,when asked where he came from: ” I am a citizen of the world”(Mieder 2009). This is in line with the teachings of the Hindu scriptures and reminds one of the speeches of Swami Vivekanand at the Parliament of Religions in the US

Prime Minister Modi, who was the Chief Minister of Gujarat in 2001 when religious riots broke out, was suspected of having deliberately refrained from intervening to save the Muslims. The BJP, the party, he led was accused of being anti-Muslim. The Indian court of justice exonerated him but his reputation had been sullied in India and abroad. And he continues to be associated with “Hindutva”(Hindu Power) His application for a visa to visit the USA was not initially approved and he was, therefore, banned from ever setting foot on American soil. In 2014, sensing that the wind had turned, Barack Obama., the American President, invited Prime Minister Modi to pay a visit to the US. During that visit he addressed the UN general Assembly and, followed by Mr. Obama, attended with his counterpart, a gala public reception by the Indian American community at Madison Square Garden. Modi paid some four official visits to the US. During one of these he visited the Silicon Valley and met with entrepreneurs, several of whom are of Indian origin. He has encouraged them to do some business with India in specific fields.

I have mentioned all the above to show that India has developed close relations with the US which has resulted in a number of agreements for their mutual benefits. The Indian- Americans’

morale has thus been boosted up and they feel they deserve respect and admiration. So, multiculturalism has worked well for the Indian diaspora and for the USA.

A term which has been coined by Stanley Fish in 2012 is Boutique Multiculturalism; this is an attempt to denigrate multiculturalism. It refers to a superficial relationship like people enjoying Chinese food or Indian cakes such as soup or Briani respectively- not a genuine relationship. I condemn such a language because it does not take account of the true and profound relationship that people from different cultures live peacefully together and enjoy one another's cultural wealth like what I saw in Australia and England – people from different cultures enjoying religious song in the temples and afterward partaking of the food served to all votaries.

My strong recommendation is that the diaspora should endeavour, by all legal means, to improve life for everybody and enhance the reputation of their motherland and the host country and nation. Let me end this part with a view which I have favoured throughout this research and which has been expressed in simple terms by a contributor to The Guardian, (Gary Younge March, 2011). He writes “In this debate there are two types of multiculturalism, one rooted in fact, and the other in fiction. The multiculturalism of fact is the lived experience of most people in Europe and the world. Cultures are dynamic and emerge organically from communities. None exist in isolation or remain static. So, the presence of a range of cultures in Britain or anywhere else is not novel, but the norm.

9.4 Cosmopolitanism

Multiculturalism has provided the springboard for the Indian diaspora to become cosmopolitan.

If we look at their way of life outside India, we can see that they have reached unfathomed and unparalleled depths of thinking and imagination. Their writings are international in depth while strongly located in the Indian psyche. V.S. Naipaul, Salman Rushdie Uma Pareswaram, kamala Markandaya, Bharati Mukherjee, Anita Desai and her daughter Karan Desai, Shauna Shing Baldwin, Tagore, Shri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda, Rohinton Mistry, Amartya Sen, J.K Krishnamurti, Vikram Seth and many others are so many Indian brains who have left the Indian soil to navigate the cosmos. Their thoughts transcend the limits of nationalism and search the contours of the whole world. They are the pioneers of cosmopolitanism, the heirs of Diogenes and the stoics. The Indian diaspora conforms to many requirements of Cosmopolitanism. Although closeted in India, their minds travel the world. Such is the state of the yogis who meditate in the Himalayas or in Sylvan solitudes but who can leave their bodies, through the power of levitation and travel the world. An interesting definition is by Charusheelo in *A diaspora at home (2007)* :*the majority of educated Indians may stay at home but their minds travel over the globe. In a sense they are physically Indians but mentally and psychologically cosmopolitan.*

Ulrich Beck(2007) states that the wall between them(ethnic or national groups) should be replaced by bridges. How beautifully said, when we realised that the greatest nation on earth is thinking of building a wall between it and Mexico! Beck also said: “The cosmopolitan discourse recognizes that issues of global concern are becoming part of the everyday local experiences and moral life –worlds of the people”. The Indians have never wanted to be insulated. For example, Swami Vivekananda attempted at the Parliament of Religion in the USA to teach to the world

universal respect and peace. The ensuing attempt to spread Vedanta consciousness shows that Indians have gone beyond terrestrial concerns. Krishna consciousness manifested by Hare Krishna, Hare Rama song and dance in the streets of the European cities with adherents from all communities is a strong indication of how many Indians are becoming citizens of the world metaphorically and literally.

Although, I have been at pains to show that multiculturalism has survived the onslaught of the Right –Wing philosophers and the White extremists who recall with nostalgia the KKK methods, I must admit that the reactionaries are not dead. David Miller in a recent paper *Life and Death of Multicultural Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World (2019)* using Keith Banting and Kymlicka’s significant contributions to the debate on the continued importance and relevance of multiculturalism concludes the celebrations of the death of multiculturalism is “not exaggerated but misguided” On the contrary like Banting and Kymlicka, he finds that, instead of its decline, there is a shift in its favour. Although he admits that there are fluctuations in the way it has been applied. I agree with him that there is in fact no other option confronting western democracies. Academics will always theorise and will attempt to find all sorts of instances as evidence to prove that the debate is still a live issue; to me this debate is spent. Nowhere you visit will you find people arguing on the importance multiculturalism, instead, mixed groups of people go about their daily tasks with an occasional joke about pronunciation or diction here and there A good laugh about colour, white, blown or black does not hurt . It’s not the same as a white person hiding behind a bus and shouting “Wog” or “Hurry, Hurry. Mrs Scurry!” or Go back home, Paki (Bye Bye Blackbird by Anita Desai).

Indians rally around most of the universal values of the civilized world and of cosmopolitanism: democracy, the rule of law, respect of human rights, freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of worship. They are not western values, nor are they eastern values. They are universal values. Indians have always had a tradition of discussing in their village Panchayats before accepting or rejecting a proposed change. Thus they have found it easy to adapt to Western environments as they were brought up on values which came up in the West much later.

It is impossible for one who stays in a sea-locked small island far from countries which formed the subject of his research to have recourse to some more effective research methods such as case study, prolonged stay among the people who are the subjects of his study, regular visits over months or even years to observe his subject as closely as possible but he has the compensation of accessing the works of the masters on multiculturalism, Brij V. Lal 's Encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora, Will Kymlicka, Gunew Sneja, Berry, La Framboise who have identified the best ways to study diaspora. And we owe a debt of gratitude to the many academics whose papers, articles and books have shed much light on such a vast subject as the Indian diaspora, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Vertovec and Banting have addressed various aspects of cosmopolitanism as a modern phenomenon and many individuals the world over have developed cosmopolitan responses to many situations. I shall look at some such manifestations. In the past if an African football team played a European team in Kenya or Cameroon; there would naturally be a minority of white spectators, while the majority would be black. The Black spectators would cheer and applaud their side but we can see how a cosmopolitan fever has now seized everybody in the field of sports. The supporters of Manchester United, Manchester City, Arsenal, Liverpool or Spurs would be a mixed crowd of blacks and whites and what's more would be seated near

one another. If after the match two groups of supporters come to blows, nobody would be able to distinguish the whites from the blacks. In 1984, I attended a match between Liverpool and Tottenham Hotspurs. The only goal was scored by Crooks, a black player, from Spurs. There was a roar of applause from a mixed crowd of supporters. They just loved Crookes's talent and did not mind his black colour. Yesterday; I was watching the fastest runners on internet. The crowd, the photographs and commentators went into frenzy when the black Jamaican Otto Bolt won the 100 and 200 metre-races for a numbers of years. These are remarkable manifestations of cosmopolitanism. Football and other sports items involving, groups preferably, where there both black and white players, can go a long way to consolidate cosmopolitanism. There are also individual football players such as Pele, Maradona, Ronaldo and Beckham who have been adored by all nations. Their photographs are hung on the walls of many homes in non-white countries. Chauvinism and patriotism are defeated by the cosmopolitan habit of mind. When the Americans went into space followed by the Russians the whole world, without any distinction of colour, race, religion or sex, watched them live on television and applauded. There are like this some daily or occasional events that bring the whole world together. Our governments should identify these unifying events and promote similar ones if we want the world to become an inclusive one and we could then pretend to be citizens of the world. It is unfortunate that the United Nations Organisation is used much more for its role of arbiter between conflicting nations rather than as a catalyst of international meetings where nations exposed their culture and their arts. This would have promoted greater harmony and civic integration. More people would have concentrated on cosmopolitanism and, thereby, resolved petty differences of race, colour and religion.

(This thesis has been prepared by Mr. Soocramanien Vithilingem of the Republic of Mauritius).

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"I HAD TO FIT INTO
THESE TWO WORLDS ...
I GOT IN A LOT OF
TROUBLE & ENDED UP
IN BERRIMAH JAIL."

DAVID'S COUNTRY

PICTURES \ MICHAEL RAYNER

8 THE WEEKLY REVIEW \ SEPTEMBER 29, 2015

Aborigin from Australia.

David, a specimen of the First Australian People speaks to us.

PETER WILMOTH MEETS ACTOR DAVID GULPILLI

At 62 ("That's what they tell me; I was born in the bush so I got no proper birth certificate") and with a strong measure of self-punishment behind him, David Gulpilli is in amazing shape. He takes off his shirt for our photo shoot - he's lean, a little wiry, like the young dancer he once was, and he moves with the fluidity of the dancer that he will always be.

Watching him is quite something. Snake-hipped and smooth, he moves with extraordinary grace, striking poses, his arms drawing semi-circles in the air, singing little songs to himself as the photographer rests. It is quite riveting, a performance of its own, just for us in this studio.

Our photographer, Michael Rayner, photographed David 16 years ago in Ramingining, the tiny town in north-east Arnhem Land that David has called home and to which he has regularly returned. So our shoot is a reunion of sorts.

When Michael shows him the photograph he took in 1999, David seems intrigued, transported to the country he loves, country which has inspired a film that every Australian should see, if only to gain further understanding of the deeply complex questions that confront each of us.

David is in Melbourne for a rare visit to talk about *Another Country*, a documentary film made by his regular collaborator Rolf de Heer. Narrated by David, it's a study of Ramingining, at once revealing, moving, sometimes beautiful and often confronting. David reads a tight, taut script he co-wrote with Rolf and Molly Reynolds.

His voice-over reveals that the nearest "proper" town to Ramingining is 400 kilometres away: "When you think about it, it's a crazy place to have a town". It's a town, he says, where "there is no work, nothing to do, no facilities and no future"; the town "doesn't work whitefella way and it doesn't work blackfella way".

This is a film, David says in the narration, about "what happened to my culture when it was interrupted by your culture".

Another Country is the second semi-autobiographical film David has been involved in with Rolf de Heer in the past few years. Last year's *Charlie's Country* was, he says, "about a true life of me and my people and my country".

David has been charm itself all through our photo shoot, but when it comes time to sit down and talk, he is suddenly restless and uneasy. I get the strong feeling that talking about the new film triggers in him a deep sense of injustice about the lives of many in his community. He seems to find a struggle to talk about the joy of acting and filmmaking.

David has a remarkable filmography. Since he was cast by British director Nicolas Roeg in the 1971 film *Walkabout*, he has appeared in many films including *Storm Boy* and *Mad Dog Morgan* (1976), *The Last Wave* (1977), *Crocodile Dundee* (1986) and more recently *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002), the lead in *The Tracker* (2002) and Baz Luhrmann's *Australia* (2008).

At the heart of both his latest films is the clash between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal culture and the difficulties

that has brought. "I had to fit into these two worlds," David says.

"I didn't keep the respect for my ancestors and that's important. I broke the law for my ancestors because I shouldn't have touched alcohol and drugs in the Western area. I got in a lot of trouble and ended up in Berrimah jail (in Darwin)."

It was while he was in Berrimah that Rolf de Heer visited him. "Rolf asked 'How long are you going to be?' I don't know.

"Where you go after this?' I don't know. 'Do you want to go home?' I don't know. It started me thinking. I said, 'I'll go and live in the white man's world. It's too late to go back to Arnhem Land.' But in the white man's world I made a mess.

"I went to the white man's world and they said 'Taste this'. So I fell in love with beer and cigarettes. I said to Rolf, 'Just make a film about here, about my life'. That was *Charlie's Country*. It's a true story about drugs and alcohol.

"Rolf said, I can't get you out (of prison); but when you do, we make a film about me, about my life, drug and alcohol like this. I thought, 'When I go out from here I don't want to drink any more'."

Once again he found himself caught in limbo between the worlds of black and white. "Did I want to go back to my people, or live whitefella way? I have sons and daughters in Melbourne. My mind was all over (the place) when I was talking to Rolf. And that was true, mate. I cried. Talking about it makes me cry. When we was making film, we always talked that the last shot to be done has got to be in Berrimah (prison), and when we finished Rolf said, 'That's it, we done. Your story is on here' (points to the camera)."

Making *Charlie's Country* and now *Another Country* has led David to reflect on his life.

"I think about my father. I saw my father when I was a little boy, walking to him, I remember. My father made wild honey sugar in the wax. He put a stick in the middle and spun it around. My father showed me that.

"... My father is buried on Elcho Island. One day I will go and get my father and my mother. I will find right place to bury them on my homeland (of Gulpilli, Arnhem Land). I will dig 'em and get the bones and bring them back. We will have big ceremony for that one."

Living in both worlds has never been easy for David, perhaps at no time more so than when he went to London to promote *Walkabout*. "I was a bush boy and I didn't pick up the proper English," he says. "I had a hard time for question and answer. When I went to England, I was in London and the journalists asked me a lot of questions I couldn't answer. I had to cry."



TIMELESS DANCE

"I took the photo David is holding in 1999. I'd flown in to shoot him at his home in Ramingining for the *Sunday Age*. What struck me then was his energy, his quick-fire movements, like a dance or an electric shock. He's lost none of that energy." - MICHAEL RAYNER



I ask him if he thinks *Another Country* will help people understand that divide. "Yes. It will help people understand.

Charlie's Country has been travelling around the world. That was my story. I've been locked up many times in prison. Drug and alcohol and speeding and all that."

Making the film and reflecting on his life in two worlds has also triggered some anger. His eyes and voice flash with rage as he says, "I know blackfellas' law and whitefellas' law. It's wake up! We don't know each other, you and me. Right? Today you are running my country and you can't even feed me.

"And that's what I want to say to the prime minister - what are you doing? You are federal government running around doing things for yourself, you don't care about the Aboriginal people. I did *Charlie's Country*. Who for? It's for you to understand who I am today, for real. Australia is still an Aboriginal country." He says he likes to act "because I have to educate the white people here in Australia, especially Labor and Liberal, especially the federal government. They don't own the land in Australia, I own the land. This is an Aboriginal country. It's always

been an Aboriginal country. Every prime minister has done for themselves, for their own community. We the Aboriginal people are zero to the federal government of Australia. You are redneck, all you Australian government."

He wants people to see *Another Country*, he says, "because it is my message to everyone."

"We have big problems - cane toads, the government and rubbish. We are choking in rubbish. This is not just about Ramingining but all remote Aboriginal communities.

"We have never been listened to in the right way. So I wanted to tell you. I ask the government - don't you know who lives and owns this land? You have made a mess of the country. White people are living by the dream of the steel. You brought the beer and cigarettes and poisoned our people. No more mining of our land. You've been helping yourself to the land."

Later he tells me he has six children, many grandchildren and "soon a great-grandchild". Jida and Andrew live in Geelong, Phoebe in the UK, Jamie in Ramingining and Milan and Makia in Melbourne.

He met his partner, Hilary Reed, who is originally from the UK, when he was painting in Darwin and she was working for the city council. He tells me they passed each other in the street by the big banyon tree and he called out to Hilary, and things went from there.

I ask where he calls home now. "I live sometimes on my traditional country of Gulpilli, Arnhem Land. I also live in Murray Bridge, South Australia. Sometimes I live in Darwin."

His has been an extraordinary life, one of contrasts. Growing up in a remote town, becoming a beloved film actor, hanging out with Jimi Hendrix and Bob Marley, spending time in jail, struggling with alcoholism, always torn between the city and the country, those two worlds that caused him pain when they collided. And all the while advocating for the rights and for the lives of his people.

I wonder if acting has been a positive element in David's life. His friend and collaborator Rolf de Heer believes it has been very much a mixed blessing.

"From my outsider's perspective, acting has been positive in David's life in that it's given him both treasured memories and also the ability to show the world his undoubted genius.

"But he's had to pay a very high price for that, his battle with alcoholism, his estrangement from his community and his loss of culture," Rolf writes.

"Would he have been better off without acting? Impossible to tell, though. I sometimes think so. He would have been a very different person."

pwilmoth@theweeklyreview.com.au

• *Another Country* opens at Cinema Nova on September 17

Appendix C,

There are, unfortunately, downsides to migrating to Australia, and there are also people who make fitting into the city lifestyle a difficult, and not very enjoyable experience for those who move here. There are still people in society with an old way of thinking, the pre-modern opinion is not necessarily positive toward people of a different race to themselves. However not all of the problems are caused by people who also reside in the country, when faced with a new place and community people sometimes 'retreat into their shells' and this can cause difficulty in finding employment and spread the opinion that there are many more aspects to a multicultural society than there truly are. Youth violence is a large problem with migrants as a change in the lifestyle can often cause anger and there is a higher rate and frequency of attacks on international students, often ending in serious injury to the international student.

From the Avila High School Girls' interview

C2 to C5

34				
35	Freedom	INTERVIEW carried out by the		First
36		AVILA HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS in		
37		MELBOURNE, City next to		First
38		PARLIAMENT HOUSE		
39	Feeling welcomed			
40				



Department of Premier and Cabinet

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Face to Face Interviews

Mr. Akyol works for the department of Multiculturalism and Citizen Affairs. He was happy to help out and also made us feel welcome in such a formal place. We all felt out of place and some of us believed that we were under dressed. He was such a nice guy and helped us grasp a better understanding of our Rich Task topic. Jeannine, Gabrielle's mum suggested we emailed the Minister of Multiculturalism and Citizen Affairs, but the Minister's assistant emailed us another recommended contact.

Interview: Mr. Akyol:

How does the city benefit from its many different cultures?

Melbourne is one of the most multicultural cities in the world. 42.2% of people in Melbourne are born overseas, 2.3% speak another language at home and 1st and 2nd language are English.

3

C4

Multiculturalism and Citizen Affairs, but the Minister's assistant emailed us another recommended contact.

Interview: Mr. Akvol:

How does the city benefit from its many different cultures?

Melbourne is one of the most multicultural cities in the world. 42.2% of people in Melbourne are born overseas, 2.3% speak another language at home and 1st and 2nd migrants manage 50% of businesses.

How could people from different nationalities be more included in Melbourne?

Every city has its challenges and sometimes people do get the feeling they are not included or engaged.

The older you are the harder it is to learn more languages.

How has the city become more inclusive overtime? In what ways or through what events has this change happened?

We value different cultures and want people to share it with us.

Could Multiculturalism have a negative effect on Melbourne?

Negative political parties from Europe have said that Multiculturalism has failed. This is because they have not tried to make it work.

What do you do to make it work?

Everyone has a responsibility to make multiculturalism a success.

Has Melbourne's influence had an effect on the different cultures?

It can be very hard to cope with change when having moved somewhere that is totally different.

Sometimes new immigrants keep to themselves and stay with people who are in the same situation as them.

People and cultures evolve.

One of the ways in which Melbourne helps is by providing the opportunity for two different societies to come together and organize an event.

In what ways has multiculturalism shaped Melbourne?

Socially economically and culturally

C5

03006 0412 021 500
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In your opinion have there been any noticeable cases of discrimination towards people from different nationalities in Melbourne?

Yes, Racism and discrimination are everywhere.

It does occur and has been reported and recorded.

What do bystanders do is the real question, sometimes they stand up but sometimes they don't.

Local support sends a strong signal.

People need to be accepted and respected

Religious leaders say this behavior is not acceptable.

It will always exist.

Are people from different cultures looked upon differently than the permanent residents of Melbourne?

New arrivals tend to get noticed more.

A book has been made with different stories of people from other cultures. Big posters and banners have been made from this book and put up at Fed square. The book also includes AFL players.

In your opinion, How do you see the different multicultural aspects of Melbourne changing over the next twenty years? Or is it possible that the other cultures will influence Melbourne to change.

UK is still the largest migrant source in Australia but there are people from 200 countries or origin.

These sources have changed.

Diversity will continue to increase.

Culture evolves.

The natural reaction to coming somewhere different is to hold tight to your culture.

Ideas and influences provide creativity.

Population in Europe is ageing, and this makes it hard to sustain.

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6

... that they arrive
need in the society, abus
employment opportunities.

Interview 2 - With Reshma Manandhar

Community Liaison Officer and volunteer coordinator at Multicultural Hub - Melbourne

Do you think life in Melbourne is accepting for overseas migrants?

Yes. Melbourne is a multicultural city.

Are you a migrant? If so, where did you come from and how has your experience been in Melbourne?

Yes I am a migrant. I came to Australia from Nepal in 2002. My experience has

Do you think that part of the for people integrating badly society is the migrants themselves Sometimes. But we must understand it is not easy to leave everything know behind and start new.

Do you think people accept migrant they accept local

C-7

Do you think life in Melbourne is accepting for overseas migrants?

Yes. Melbourne is a multicultural city.

Are you a migrant? If so, where did you come from and how has your experience been in Melbourne?

Yes I am a migrant. I came to Australia from Nepal in 2002. My experience has been fantastic here in Melbourne.

Is there any different treatment for people who arrive in different methods, e.g. asylum seekers

Yes. People who come as asylum seekers have little English so it is harder for them to get used to the city plus there are less services dedicated to them.

Do you feel that the lifestyle of Melbourne suits all kinds of people or one specific group?

I think lifestyle of Melbourne suits all kinds of people.

Do you think Asylum seekers are a problem?

No. As a developed nation we have responsibility to accommodate people who seek asylum. Seeking asylum is not a crime it's a human right.

Do you think that the difficulty in social barriers is mutual or caused by both parties?

I believe it is caused by lack of knowledge and information.

Have you experienced or seen racism in the streets?

Yes. I think racism is part of being human. Like any other emotions we have racism as well within us. But as we live in multicultural society we have to learn to live with it and deal with it.

Is there a particular group of people responsible for the difficult relations between different cultures e.g. youths

No. We live in a society. If there is something wrong with us then we all are responsible for it. We can't put blame on one group of people.

INTERVIEW OF RESHMA MAHAR DHAR

(Contd)

C 8

Do you think that part of the reason for people integrating badly into society is the migrants themselves?

Sometimes. But we must understand that it is not easy to leave everything you know behind and start new.

Do you think people accept migrants as they accept locally born people?

Some do and some don't. Again we need to educate people from all different backgrounds.

Do you think migrants are socially disadvantaged?

Sometimes they are. As you come to new city, new country it takes time to get settled. It's a similar experience if you are to change school. You will feel isolated in a new school wouldn't you? It will be harder to make new friends and understand new rules and regulations so there for till you have learn all aspect of your new school you will be bit disadvantaged.

Have you seen migrants being treated differently?

Yes. As a migrant I experience it all the time.

Are you happy in Melbourne?

I'm very happy here. And most of my family and friends are happy too.

Are the people of Melbourne accepting of migrants?

I think we do.

Are the migrants accepting of the people of Melbourne?

I think they do.

Is the status of a migrant relative to the way that they arrived?

Yes.

What is your response to the following statement: Recent migrants and overseas students are well integrated in the life of the city.

I agree. It's natural for people to want to live a normal life. Sooner they adapt the new way of living better is it for everyone.

INTERVIEW OF RESHMA MATHANDHAR (Contd)

C9

Analysis of Interviews

There is a definite social barrier between migrants and the people who are born here, and despite either side of the arguments beliefs the issue is coming from both sides. We have land and we refuse to share it, that is our problem, we don't want to share our land and we don't make new programs to help new migrants integrate into society well, the difference in cultures can cause quite an issue for some people for example, in middle eastern countries the citizens have a bad relationship with the police but in Australia we have a really good relationship with the police, they aren't corrupt and they help whenever they can and even though the police are only trying to help the fact that in their previous society the bad opinion of police has been drilled into them and that creates fear of the police and causes some of the issues that people may have. Another unfortunate problem is the stigma around the way that the person in question migrated, there can be a very negative atmosphere around someone who arrives by boat rather than waiting in line for years on end and as well as complicating the process for the border control this also complicates the process for the migrant as they are labelled with a pretentious title and so often imprisoned in a facility until their identity can be confirmed and they are safe. A lot of the issue is the fact that we don't make enough of an effort to help the immigrants integrate into society, we need to spend less money on keeping people out and more on helping people to integrate into our society, we try to be accepting of all races and cultures so how does it make sense to judge people upon how they travelled to our country?

A FRANK ANALYSIS OF THE VIEWS OF blacks in Australia
by a group of High School Girls in MELBOURNE

Appendix D



Indo. Australians relaxing to a park w/ Melbourne

D 2.



Indo. Australians having a picnic in a
Melbourne Park.

E



*White Australians and Indo-Australians celebrating
Diwali Festival*

E1



Diwali Festival

E 1

E 2



Indo-Australians celebrating Diwali in Australia

E 1
E 2

E 2



Divali celebrations



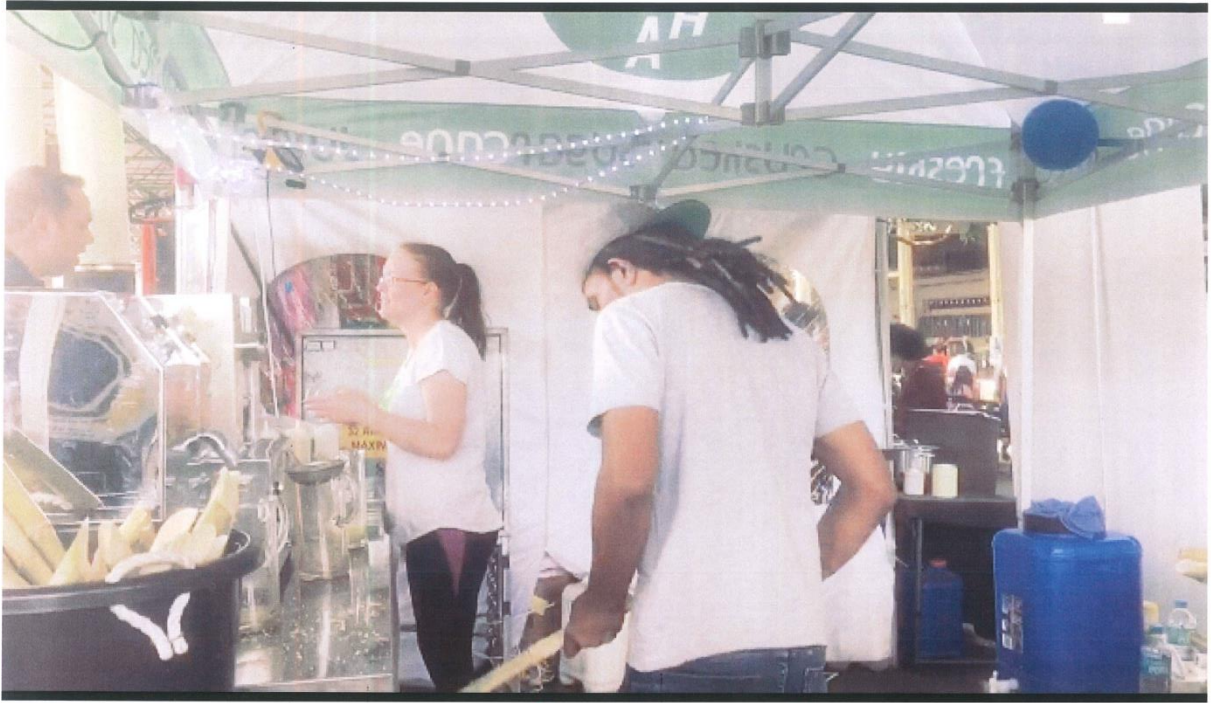
E 3

Researcher discussing with two Indian girls
in Melbourne



White lady and Indo. Australian making Sugarcane juice for visitors.

17



White Australian and Indo-Australian serving sugar cane juice

F2

91



*Hare Rama Hare Krishna devotees together
with visitors from Mauritius at St. Albans.*

92



93

St. Albans - Have Rama Have Krishna
Centre

Appendix H1

~~Brent~~ Brent Indian Community Centre

PhD thesis - Open University of Mauritius- August 2016

By Soocramanien Vithilingem under the supervision of Dr. Sooshila Gopaul

The Indian Diaspora adapting to multiculturalism in the UK, Australia, the USA and Canada and slowly converting to cosmopolitanism. n

Methodology: Qualitative methods.

Unstructured interviews carried out among members of the diaspora in the UK.

Name: Vallabhbhai H. Patel.

Address: 13 Chaplin Road

Age: 90

Gender: male

Marital status:

married

No. of Children :

4 Four

Age: 1. 69

2. 66

3. 63

4. 59

1. When did you move to the UK and why?

1975 Due to Africanisation.

2. From which country were you? original India

3. How did you find the UK (the people, the climate)? Very nice

4. Was it easy at first? Tell us about the first few weeks (housing, food, job and prices of goods) ?

Starting is always hard

Brent Indian Community Centre

5. Did you have relatives in the UK? *yes.*

6. Was it easy to communicate with people? *yes*

7. What were the main difficulties you encountered? ? *getting The Job*

8. Were people friendly and helpful? *yes.*

9. When did you feel settled? *1980.*

10. Do you like it here? Why? Would you encourage people to come over? *yes.*

11. How you been on a visit/s to your home town? *Occasionally*

12. Do you have any desire to go back for good? Why? *No*

13. What do you think of Brexit? What will be its impact on race relations in the UK? *Do not kn*

THANKS

H 2

Indian Community Centre

Fulham / Hammersmith

PhD thesis - Open University of Mauritius- August 2016

By Soocramanien Vithilingem under the supervision of Dr. Sooshila Gopaul

The Indian Diaspora adapting to multiculturalism in the UK, Australia, the USA and Canada and slowly converting to cosmopolitanism.

Methodology: Qualitative methods.

Unstructured interviews carried out among members of the diaspora in the UK.

Name: Mandalya Beend~~a~~ndra

Address: Anston nwi Road, Cricklewood, UK

Age: 69

Gender: M

Marital status: Married

No. of Children :

Age: 1. 30

2

2. 33

3.

1. When did you move to the UK and why?

1964 . to accompany my

parents

2. From which country were you?

Kenya

3. How did you find the UK (the people, the climate)?

I was impressed

4. Was it easy at first? Tell us about the first few weeks (housing, food, job and prices of goods) ?

Good was OK. Heavy no problem ;
Now goods have become very
expensive

Engineering job

5. Did you have relatives in the UK?

No parents did not have relatives

6. Was it easy to communicate with people?

Very easy

7. What were the main difficulties you encountered? ?

8. Were people friendly and helpful?

9. When did you feel settled?

Yes well settled -

10. Do you like it here? Why? Would you encourage people to come over?

No, they don't like

11. How often have you been on a visit/s to your home town?

Almost every year when I was still young

12. Do you have any desire to go back for good? Why?

No

13. What do you think of Brexit? What will be its impact on race relations in the UK?

THANKS

Good idea to leave the UNION

+13
Brent Indian Community Centre

PhD thesis - Open University of Mauritius- August 2016

By Sooramanien Vithilingam under the supervision of Dr. Sooshila Gopaul

The Indian Diaspora adapting to multiculturalism in the UK, Australia, the USA and Canada and slowly converting to cosmopolitanism.

Methodology: Qualitative methods.

Unstructured interviews carried out among members of the diaspora in the UK.

Name: V. Arathia

Address:

Age: 50

Gender: F

Marital status:

No. of Children :

Age: 1.

2.

3.

1. When did you move to the UK and why?

25 years old, on Marriage basis.

2. From which country were you?

India.

3. How did you find the UK (the people, the climate)?

Not friendly, open, adjustable.

4. Was it easy at first? Tell us about the first few weeks (housing, food, job and prices of goods) ?

No. difficult to understand language,
difficult to know their culture, to recognise
faces, difficult to find job because of the
language... prices of goods always high
compare to other country.

5. Did you have relatives in the UK?

No.

6. Was it easy to communicate with people?

No.

7. What were the main difficulties you encountered? ?

believe in you, and try your
luck rather thinking some one will help you.

8. Were people friendly and helpful?

No.

9. When did you feel settled?

After ~~became~~ getting confidence in me.

10. Do you like it here? Why? Would you encourage people to come over?

Yes. but never feel lonely
~~to~~ don't prefer to encourage. but their own work.

11. How you been on a visit/s to your home town?

by flight

12. Do you have any desire to go back for good? Why?

Yes, our own. motherland, always feels
our land.

13. What do you think of Brexit? What will be its impact on race relations in the UK?

THANKS

H 4
South Croydon

PhD thesis – Open University of Mauritius- August 2016

By Soocramanien Vithilingem under the supervision of Dr. Sooshila Gopaul

The Indian Diaspora adapting to multiculturalism in the UK, Australia, the USA and Canada and slowly converting to cosmopolitanism.

Methodology: Qualitative methods.

Unstructured interviews carried out among members of the diaspora in the UK.

Name: Ramoo Vythilingam

Address: 19 Kendall Avenue south - Surrey CR20 9R

Age: 69

Gender: M

Marital status: married

No. of Children :

Age: 1. 34

2. 30

3.

1. When did you move to the UK and why?

Came in 1969 to study

2. From which country were you?

Mauritius

3. How did you find the UK (the people, the climate)?

very cold - The people were very helpful and supportive

4. Was it easy at first? Tell us about the first few weeks (housing, food, job and prices of goods)?

Very difficult - food was awful - couldn't adapt
Went to hospital - so accommodation was available
Don't know about prices of goods but most of the
articles were very cheap but compared to
Mauritius, was very expensive

5. Did you have relatives in the UK?

Yes - my uncle and Auntie

6. Was it easy to communicate with people?

Initially it wasn't easy as my English was limited - could speak well but to engage with people wasn't easy.

7. What were the main difficulties you encountered? ?

Food, climate and making friends - spent most time with a few fellow students of Mauritian origin

8. Were people friendly and helpful?

Yes

9. When did you feel settled?

after two years

10. Do you like it here? Why? Would you encourage people to come over?

Yes, the country is quite liberal, tolerant and free - freedom of the press etc.

11. How many times have you been on a visit/s to your home town?

Yes

12. Do you have any desire to go back for good? Why?

No - I don't think I could re-adapt again.

13. What do you think of Brexit? What will be its impact on race relations in the UK?

THANKS

Very bad - it shouldn't happen - bad for trade, bad for the economy, bad for freedom of movement.

SELINUS UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCES AND LITERATURE

PhD Thesis

IN DEFENCE OF MY THESIS

(A five-page paper)

As per one of the requirements of the Selinus University of Sciences and Literature for the award of the PhD degree

I decided to launch some serious research in the fate of the Indian diaspora some three years ago as a result of a statement made by a former Indian Minister of External Affairs on mission to my country that it was a matter of regret that there was next to no information on the Indian diaspora in the Indian Ocean. This led me to accept an invitation from the Osmania University in Hyderabad, India to present a paper on the different destinies of the Indian diaspora in the islands of the Indian Oceans, mainly Mauritius and its dependency, the Island of Rodrigues the French department of Reunion and the Republic of the Seychelles. I spent some three-months researching for my presentation which was enriched by my one- year stay in the Seychelles and a subsequent short holiday there, several missions and holidays in Reunion Island as well as rather long stays in Rodrigues.

Following from this first taste of academic research, I decided to go for more in-depth work on the diaspora in four countries where there is now a substantial community of people of Indian origin, i.e Australia, Canada, the UK and the .USA. My supervisor, from the Open University of Mauritius and I discussed on the most appropriate methodology for the nature and breath of my research and I decided to opt for qualitative methods rather than quantitative ones. In view of my limited financial means it was agreed that visits to these four countries would to be limited to the minimum. So, apart from two visits to the UK lasting three months and one month respectively and my previous short visits there several times on official missions from the government ,I went to Australia three times for periods ranging from two weeks to three months. Canada and the US could not be considered as I could not afford more visits. But I found ways to familiarize myself with the conditions of the diasporic communities there through various means.

In **chapter 3** I attempt to show how multiculturalism has been highly successful as far as the Indian diaspora is concerned. First, thanks to the written literature available, in particular, novels written by Indian novelists writing in English, videos with researchers such as Gunew Sneja and others and above all academic papers written by the stalwarts such as Will Kymlicka, Professor Bouchard, Dr. Modood, Elsa Koleth, Uma Pareswaram and Makarand Paranjape to name but a few. My own observations of the diaspora showed how multiculturalism has been successful in the four selected countries. Second, reading newspapers and browsing in libraries in Australia and London and listening to television programmes brought a wealth of information. Observation of people in their natural milieu as in London, Manchester and Liverpool and in various places in Australia, having food in restaurant and observing people, enjoying themselves in public parks or going about their businesses in the streets, in the markets, showed how people from different ethnic groups live peacefully together. One would be amazed to see how people of Indian origin have integrated their new social environment. In the UK, e.g., I attended the marriage celebrations of my niece and was introduced to my new relatives of British, Portuguese and Iranian origins. I also met my nephews and nieces of former unions between my own people and Europeans. Other methods which brought immediate results on the state of multiculturalism were interviews which I carried out in Australia and the UK. My relatives in Australia introduced me to some of my interviewees; my granddaughter invited me to a presentation on multiculturalism by herself and her classmates in the City in Melbourne at the Avila High School.

Observation coupled with interviewing and patient listening to everything, are probably the best research methods for research like mine. When I saw a British senior clerk lunching in a Tandoori restaurant in the London University area on Papadams which he downed with a tumbler of beer and followed with mutton Vindaloo and white rice, I wondered how Indian culture had infiltrated the British way of life. All this required close and patient observation. The discrete interaction can be observed on the underground train. There is a lot to be recorded in one's notepad. Last, but not least I was fortunate to be invited to a Sri Lankan celebration in Melbourne where the Australian government had deputed their spokesman to attend and make a speech in which he congratulated the Sri Lankan organisation for their continued enrichment of cultural life in Australia. I also attended the celebrations of Divali in Melbourne where members of the Indian associations and the community were present together with their guests from the white Australian families. In one of my appendices I have shown a mix of white Australians and

Indians making sugar cane for distribution to those present. Other appendices show the influence of Hare Rama Hare Krishna in Australia. A few appendices are the results of a questionnaire I administered to Indians in the UK. My thesis is laid out in nine chapters: the Introduction and eight chapters, expose my thesis viz. that the Indian diaspora wherever they have settled have succeeded in integrating their environment thanks to their peaceful nature, the multicultural policies of the different government and ,most importantly, the collaborative attitude of the majority of the host populations- and this in spite of the hostility and racism they faced at the beginning mainly in Australia, Canada , UK and USA.. The situation when we look at it with hindsight was understandable. A surplus of unemployed newcomers competing for jobs, housing and other scarce resources creates an explosive situation where the local workers organize themselves to oust foreigners including Indians. The difference of culture, skin colour, religion, and language and food habits exacerbated the situation.

My fourth chapter introduces an important aspect of the development of the cosmopolitan diaspora The supportive environment aided by the hardworking nature of the Indian diaspora, their law abiding nature, their amiable nature have enabled them to reach the highest rungs of the social ladder , less so in Australia. In the UK, Canada and the USA, they have played an important role in local and national politics. The new British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, has included three Indians in his Cabinet and members of the diaspora are to be found in the important professions. They are playing an important role in academia and some of their novel writers have received prestigious accolades. The Mayor of London is of Pakistani origin. The House of Lords have seen the presence of a few Indians such as Lord Desai. In the US, Nikhi Haley was ambassador to the UN and Indians are found in the main parties to whom they make significant financial contribution, The writings of Salman Rushdie, V.S Naipaul, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, the Hare Rama Hare Krishna Mission in the four countries being studied, the activities of GOPIO is evidence that an important section of the Indian diaspora are becoming citizens of the world by the breadth of their thoughts. Many Indians are studying in Australian, Canadian, British and American universities so that the synergy of various types of learning and cultures makes the Indian diaspora cosmopolitan.

Chapter five retraces the steps taken by the diaspora when they left the shores of India and set foot in the four selected countries. Many statistics in the thesis will show their presence in the

west as well as the social and economic progress achieved by them. They have so to say infiltrated all walks of life. The computer wizards are helping to build up the economies of these countries by introducing sophisticated techniques in industry and science. They are reputed to have many start-ups in the Silicon Valley and have been involved in space exploration and the scientific work of medical laboratories.

Chapter 6 reviews the relevant literature on the Indian diaspora. The linchpin is Brij V. Lal's Encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora (2006). Many other writers and researchers have contributed to the wealth of knowledge on the lives of the diaspora. Apart from, Lal's encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora my thesis has been strengthened by secondary sources such as the researches carried out by Berry on strategies of acculturation, Will Kymlicka on Multicultural Policies, Andreoli and Howarth on multiculturalism on the ground Professor Bouchard and Dr. Gunew Sneja in Canada Dr. Appiah, Dr. Arjun Appudurai, Dr. Elsa Koleth and a host of researches that I cannot mention here.

Chapter 6 deals with the methodology. Since many aspects have already been mentioned let me proceed in a cryptic form. The methods used are qualitative combined with some statistics where this was indispensable. Observation in public places and interviews in restaurants and the residences of interviewees on invitation formed an important part of the methodology. Attendance at marriage and religious and other cultural celebrations allow us to see at close quarters how people live in harmony in both the UK and Australia. As regards Canada and the USA, I relied on the novels written by Indian academics such as Uma Pareswaram and Kamala Markandaya and Anita Desai. I also watched very informative programmes, films and documentaries on television and read the newspapers in Australia and the UK. I read extensively on the contribution of Bollywood cinema and musical programmes where Indian and European artists collaborated.

Chapter 8 is brief as I have already mentioned why we embarked on this thesis. My objective was to try and bring my modest contribution to the wealth of research on the diaspora. As a descendant of indentured labourers, I felt it was my duty to throw some light on the social ascent of part of the diaspora in the West and Australia. I wanted to see for myself how bad was the situation of the diaspora from the writings of academics such as Geoffrey Blainey and the political speeches of Hanson in Australia. I was impressed by the very positive researches of

Howarth and Andreoli and Professor Bouchard in Canada. I am satisfied that my efforts have yielded comforting results.

Chapter 9 is mainly about my recommendation : continued interaction at an international level through mechanisms such as GOPIO and its allied institutions, Hare Rama, Hare Krishna, Yoga, Propagation of Vedanta philosophy, continued collaboration between people of Indian origin through Bollywood and business and the frequent visits to the main Western centres of top political leaders for international cooperation, artists, scientists and other professionals, And above continued involvement of the Indian diaspora in the socio-economic and political life of the Western world. Remittances by rich members of the diaspora should continue for the economic development of India so that the flow of my migrants should be a two-way traffic. Indian businessmen should invest in India as well for job creation and to encourage young Indians to stay with their old parents in India

In these nine chapters I hope I have done justice to my objective which was to track the diaspora in four selected countries and write about the progress achieved by a significant number of them. At first as we can see life was not easy for them but gradually, by dint of hard work and an exemplary conduct, they have risen in many respects, above many members of the host nations. This remarkable achievement is evident in Canada and the US. In the space of less than a century, some of the poorest people on earth have become the wealthiest and in the process have or are becoming cosmopolitan as described by Kwame Anthony Appiah and others.