

Unit 16

Socio-Cultural Linkages Between Indian Diaspora

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Learning Objectives

After reading this unit you will be able to :

- Capture the growing linkages between Indian diaspora
- Discuss the various avenues and spaces of linkages among the Indian diaspora
- Analyse how these linkages forge a sense of identity among the various Indian diasporas.

16.1 Introduction

The Indian diaspora constitutes an important, and in some respects a unique, force in world culture. The origins of the Indian diaspora lie mainly in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation into the British Empire. Indians were taken overseas as indentured labour to far-flung parts of the empire in the nineteenth-century, a circumstance to which the modern Indian population of Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and other places attest in their own peculiar ways.

The world economic and political order has changed since colonial period more so with the advancement of recent communication revolution which has generated large movements of people in almost every region. The global movements of people and spread of electronic media (and its cultural products) are distinctive features of the current historical moment. The unprecedented scale and scope of this global movement and spread - important aspects of what many people commonly call globalization - has had profound consequences for the cognitive and social processes that are at the root of the formation of cultural identities.

The continued existence of diaspora cultures, the cultures of communities living outside of their "home lands" (real or perceived), is a key element of cultural diversity across the globe today. Indian diaspora has added new dimension to the cultural diversity of the different host countries across the globe. As much as they have added new elements and to their countries of origin, with globalization many diasporas, including the earlier diaspora of indentured labour, are renewing and continuing their connections with homeland. These connections are at different levels-political, economic,

familial and cultural. The Indian diaspora which is spread across the globe is now able to keep in touch with each other across space as well. In this unit we will bring out some of the main features of these transnational connections between diasporas.

16.2 Transnational Linkages

Broadly, transnationalism refers to sustained ties of persons, networks, and organizations across nation-state borders, arising out of international migration patterns and refugee flows. The recent global transformations in economic relations, ethnic conflicts, and communication technology have led to the creation of new transnational kinship groups, transnational social circuits, and transnational communities. By expanding borders across nations and creating new social ties, the concepts pertaining to cultural spheres, acculturation, cultural retention, and citizenship have started to change drastically.

People and their ideas are moving more freely back and forth across global borders than ever before. This ebb and flow, through easy travel and growing communications technology, may be reshaping the traditional concept of a nation. In fact, some people with homes in two countries are showing an amazing capacity to maintain dual identities - with strong cultural ties and contributions to both places or across many places.

Socio-Cultural Linkages

While much attention has been paid to the relationship between India and the Indian diaspora, relatively little consideration is given to the relations between the Indian diaspora communities.

Diaspora communities represent and maintain a culture different from those of the countries within which they are located, often retaining strong ties with their country and culture of origin (real or perceived) and with the communities from other countries having similar social history in order to preserve that culture. The marriage and kinship alliances between people of Indian origin from Guyana and Trinidad have been possible as they share many things in common. Some families of Indian origin who migrated after independence to USA and Europe have spread over few other countries have transnational family linkages. To these historically established Indian diasporas more recent or temporary diasporas can be added i.e expatriates on a professional or long-term basis who may envisage, even theoretically, returning to their country. These are highly mobile and have familial and professional network across the globe.

The socio-cultural linkages between the Indian diaspora have several trajectories. Today Indian diaspora has a global presence and the global networks and interactions have spawned a new cultural landscape of hybridities, confluences and influences. The socio-cultural linkages between Indian Diaspora are one of the important features of the modern transnational Diaspora.

Diversity of Inter Diaspora Socio-cultural Linkages

India is unique for the magnitude of her diversities in terms of languages and regions, religions and sects, castes and subcastes, rural and urban, food and style of dress, which are also reflected by her diasporic communities. Hence, it is not surprising to find extensive networks based on language and region, religion and caste among the Indian diaspora. Hindu Diaspora and Sikh Diaspora are instances of such extensive

networks, global in coverage. Similarly, there are diasporic communities formed on the basis of linguistic or regional identities such as Punjabis, (See Sood, 1995 and Tatla, 1999) Gujaratis, Sindhis, Tamilians, Malayalees and Telugus. These communities promote their own diaspora network across the globe. Global organizations have emerged to preserve and promote these identities and cultures, uniting India and the Indian diaspora in a transnational context. In our unit 23, we discuss some of these ethnic diasporas in detail.

The similar historical experience, socio-cultural and political situation of the country and the distance can determine the linkages between Indian diaspora. The Guyanese and Trinidadian people of Indian origin have more commonality than their counterpart in other part of the world. There has been marriage and kinship network between the two.

Ugandan Asians in United States of America and elsewhere settled as refugees have contact with their families and country. Quite a good number of Indians from Fiji migrated to other parts of world. They have contact with their relatives in Fiji and other parts of the world such as New Zealand, Australia, United Kingdom etc.

People from the same family migrated to different countries, maintain their contacts and regroup. Generally, these families are financially sound and have global network. For example many corporate and business families of Indian origin have spread across globe, many professionals in the field of Information Technology and Engineering background are internationally mobile and have relatives in different parts of the world. They maintain their contact both virtual and real.

In some cases the transition of diaspora communities to second, third and fourth generation appears to dilute the notion of a "diaspora culture". Inter-marriage between cultures, successful integration into the prevailing society, and the dissolution of sentiments of eventual return provoke an erosion of the diaspora sentiment. The basis of "diaspora" attachment ceases to be relevant in many such cases. Indian diaspora have such experiences in some countries. People of Indian origin have assimilated with the host population in some parts of African and European countries through marriage.

Old Indian Diaspora

The relationship between the old Indian diaspora is different from the new Indian diaspora. The socio-economic conditions, access to technology and political participation differs from old to new Indian diaspora. The old Indian diaspora has been facing more challenges in their host countries than the new diaspora. There are large number of twice migrants from the old diasporas (both free and forced migrants) to the Europe and USA. The socio-cultural life and their linkages vary to some extent.

A substantial number of Indian diaspora from Trinidad and Tobago are settled in Manhattan and maintain their socio-cultural network. The Guyanese Asian Indian community has grown at a greater rate than other Caribbean groups, especially since the 1980s, when conflict in the homeland created thousands of political refugees. Because of its size, particularly in Metropolitan Toronto, this group has been able to form a viable community with distinctive social and cultural organizations. For example, a weekly paper published in Toronto, *Indo-Caribbean World*, provides news about Guyana and Trinidad as well as Canadian issues. The activities of social and cultural groups are promoted,

and Asian Indian restaurants, grocery stores, and travel, insurance, and other businesses are widely advertised. Other Caribbean publications in Toronto that cater to the needs of the Guyanese in Canada are *Caribbean Camera*, the *Guyana Times*, the *Metro World*, and *Share*. The *Guyana Times* attempts to reach Guyanese across Canada and of all racial backgrounds. It devotes a larger part of its weekly edition to news about Guyana and the activities of Guyanese organizations in Toronto and elsewhere in Canada. Asian Indian cultural song and dance groups are widely featured, as are religious celebrations. The community in Canada, particularly in Metropolitan Toronto, has utilized all branches of the media - radio, television, and the press - to promote its social and cultural activities, with great success.

During the Fiji crisis, the Indian diaspora across the globe had shown solidarity for the cause of restoring democracy. GOPIO and several Indian Diaspora organizations protested against the anti-democratic rule in Fiji. Similar responses were noticed in the past while Indians were victims in South Africa, Malaysia and Uganda. The solidarity that People of Indian origin shows with their fellow Indian diaspora shows the symbolic relations they have between themselves.

Festivals

Festivals are the cultural symbols of India, which are celebrated among Indians all over the world. It provides Indians the platform to bind them together in a tight-knit community. The major festivals of Indians, which is celebrated with much fanfare across the globe are ;Holi, Diwali, Dasahara, Id, Rakhee, Baisakhi, Bhaddha Jayanti etc. Besides these festivals, it is observed that Indians also celebrate the 'Ganesh Visarjana' festival with the help of local associations. During these festivities Indians invite their kith and kin settled in different parts of the world to celebrate on a grand manner.

Trinidad's carnival is a beautiful example of how carnival can unite the world. In this small nation, the beliefs and traditions of many cultures have come together; and for a brief five days each year, the whole country forgets their differences to celebrate life! Today, carnival in Trinidad is like a mirror that reflects the faces of the many immigrants who have come to this island nation from Europe, Africa, India, and China. African, Asian, and American Indian influences have been particularly strong. Indian Diaspora from other parts close to Trinidad also takes part and enjoys this. The artists from India and Indian origin from other countries are invited to perform in the festivals. This festival is a bright example of the inter-diaspora relationship.

Apart from Festival celebrations which become a community event attracting different communities and bringing them together; important events in history such as independence day -August 15 is celebrated in a big way. The Indian community gathers in large numbers, especially in US, for parade showcasing the Indian identity.

Religious Networks

Religion has served as the major symbolic resources in building community and professing ethnic identity. Indians in many parts of the world have retained their religious identity what they carried with them during the time of their immigration. Religious groups like Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Muslims and Buddhist etc., have made success in transplanting their religious traditions and customs in other countries. Often maintenance of religious identity in the host society refers to as ethnicity. Ethnicity is the cultural

characteristics that connect a particular group or groups of people to each other. Hindus for instance, have made tremendous effort to construct and reconstruct their ethnic identity through building temples in their host countries (see Vertovec, 2000). There are hundreds of Hindu temples can be found in USA, U.K., Canada, Australia and other parts of the world.

Religious Centres/*Mandirs* or temples are such as Swaminarayan, Sathya Sai Baba, Mata Amritanandamayi, Sachidananda Swami, Meher Baba, Swami Murugananda Saraswati, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Maheshyogi, Swami Prabhupada (ISKON), Swami Chinmayananda (Chinmaya Mission), Swami Ranganamananda (Ramakrishna Mission), Leaders of Arya Samaj and VHP, and OSHO (Rajneesh). They have made it possible further to maintain transnational networks among Indians across the world through the arrangement of seminars, discourses, symposia, workshops and charitable works.

Though followers from certain Hindu community found more in particular temple, yet there is no restriction on welcoming anyone based on caste, creed, religion etc. These temples work as a platform, where people of Indian origin cutting across their background interact. Thus, these centres promote the inter-diasporic network.

There are associations and network of religious communities such as Indian Christians United (ICU), Indian Muslim Association etc. that has transnational linkages with their own religious community.

Reflection and Action 16.1

In what way do festival bring communities together? Substantiate your answer with examples from the Indian diaspora.

What are the new ways in which the older diasporas are able to keep contacts with different Indian diasporas?

16.3 Preservation and Promotion of Socio-Cultural Linkages

The strength of any diaspora community lies in the preservation and promotion of their own culture. Two important factors can be emphasized in the context of promotion of inter-diasporic socio-cultural linkage. Firstly, the technological avenues for assisting and developing further the socio-cultural links between diaspora communities with regard to the protection and promotion of diaspora cultures; and secondly, the role of governmental and non-governmental organizations, ethnic associations, literature and media in the protection and promotion of socio-cultural linkages between Indian diaspora communities.

Technology

Technology has made far reaching impact on the diaspora cultures and their ties with their kith and kin across the globe. The multiplication of relations between different components of a diaspora network, and between different diaspora communities themselves, has provoked a more extensive multi-polar structure of diaspora networks. This subsequently consolidates diaspora cultures through increased and more diverse interaction.

The increased capacity of diaspora communities to communicate and interact between themselves at all levels, transfer funds, transport goods and raw materials, and transmit ideas between the various components of a diaspora

network is considered to be a broadly positive step in the consolidation of diaspora. The increase in affordable travel, notably international air and rail travel- demonstrate the endless possibilities that technology presents for such continued development.

The development of computers has specifically enabled the greater interaction of between diasporas, between themselves and between their communities and the prevailing societies of the country of origin and the country of settlement. The installation of “national languages” on computer hardware facilitates correspondence and communication. The development of the Internet facilitates instant communication between individuals, families and communities, and promotes the sentiments and the needs of diaspora cultures. See unit 18 for the use of internet in creating a community among the India and diaspora, in particular the Hindu diaspora.

Ethnic Media and Film

The development of various forms of media within diaspora networks also harnesses many benefits for all concerned and should be examined and exploited to the highest possible degree. Media serves as a method of diaspora publicity, a catalyst for group solidarity, and a potential mould for diaspora political and cultural agenda within the society of which it plays a part. The continued transnationalisation of media in recent years, with the establishment of satellite and cable television, the internet, and the wider distribution of written media, has provoked an escalation of social and cultural awareness of diaspora cultures. New media enables continued advances in diaspora studies and education. New media also enables the fostering and the establishment of new links between communities (See Karim, H.K., 2003).

The High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora made a list of ethnic media that promote Indian culture abroad. Apart from some regional T.V. Channels that caters the sub-regional identity such as Lashkara Channel for Punjabi people; Gurjari Channel for Gujarati people; Anjuman Channel an Urdu Channel for Urdu speaking people; Bengla Channel for Bengalis, there are channels that provide cultural identity to broad community. For example Asia Channel for all Asians in Australia; CCITV Channel for Tamil people; RAAG Channel especially for South Asians.

Chutney music, which is hybrid music indigenous to the southern Caribbean, is not only acceptable general music lovers, more so with the Indian diaspora settled in different parts across the world. The chutney artist writes lyrics in either Hindi, Bhojpuri or English and then lays it on top of beats that come from soca and Hindi film songs. This music is entertaining to the Indian diaspora like any other Indian music. Chutney music is mostly popular among the East Indian community in Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Suriname, and also the East Indian diaspora community in Toronto, Canada and in the New York metropolitan area.

Diasporic Writers

Writers of Indian origin settling abroad and engaging themselves in creating writing in the countries of their domicile. The writings bring the memory and sentiment lively. (See our unit 20 on diasporic writing). Although there are certain common resonances in the literary representations of the experience of the writers of the ‘indenture’ and the ‘new’ Indian diaspora, the responses and the narratives of the individual writers vary greatly. Writers like A.K. Ramanujan, Agha Shahid Ali, Bharati Mukherjee, David

Dabydeen, M.G. Vassanji, Meena Alexander, Rohinton Mistry, Salman Rushdie, Satendra Nandan, V.S. Naipaul, to mention a few, differ from each other not only in their socio-cultural backgrounds and literary ancestries but also in their thematic preoccupations and literary styles. Further, the responses of the diasporic writers to India are also varied and not always adulatory; they range from sentimentality and nostalgia to a cynical celebration of their coming of age. However, their diasporic condition, their sense of exile and alienation and their efforts to seek replenishment by making symbolic returns to their origins bind all this writing into a unity. Their writings not only help to preserve the Indian and Indian diaspora culture but also it enriches the Indian culture immensely.

Reflection and Action 16.1

How is the old diaspora different from the new diaspora ?

How does media connect people across the globe and help in forging a sense of identity?

Have you read any writings by a diasporic writer ? In what way does the writing capture the social space of Indian diaspora. Base your answer on the literature that you have read.

16.4 Organizational Linkages Between the Indian Diaspora

New technologies and media, non-governmental organisations, diplomatic networks and the activities of transnational organisations such as the GOPIO, SPICMACAY, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian religious organizations such as Sathya Sai, Swaminarayan, Ramakrishna Mission, Indian Christians United (ICU), Islamic organization of Indian origin, all play a part in the promoting the diaspora culture. Besides, Indian Government organizations such as ICCR and embassies also play indirect roles in promoting inter-diasporic linkages. The activities of some of the organization are given below.

Global Organization of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO)

GOPIO was founded at the First Global Convention of People of Indian Origin in New York in 1989. The initial thrust of GOPIO was fighting human rights. Though its primary objective is to secure human rights for people of Indian Origin, it has diversified in to many other activities that concern the PIOs. Global Organization of People of Indian origin (GOPIO) is a nonpartisan, non-sectarian global organization engaged in prompting wellbeing of non resident Indians and people of Indian origin enhancing cooperation and communication between groups of Indians living in different countries and in furthering their cooperation with India.

Box 16.1: Objectives of GOPIO

- a) To promote legitimate interests of the Indian community as a whole and of specific groups resident in particular countries.
- b) To help the Indian communities in different countries to promote legitimate secular and developmental interests of the countries in which they are resident.
- c) To organize interaction between communities of Indians abroad on a global level to deliberate and decide on common issues and problems facing them, including education and technology.
- d) To provide a forum at periodical intervals to discuss, debate and decide on common problems and issues facing groups of Indians abroad and initiate measures to redress their grievances.

- e) To disseminate information regularly on global, regional and national developments affecting Indian community abroad as a whole or substantial parts thereof.
- f) To develop channels of communication between groups of Indians resident in different countries and between them and India.
- g) To raise funds through contributions and other means on regular basis and at special occasions for promoting social and cultural activities at a global level as well for the relief and rehabilitation of groups of Indians affected by natural and other calamities.

Society for the Promotion Indian Classical Music and Culture Amongst Youth (SPICMACAY)

Society for Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Culture Amongst Youth (SPICMACAY) aims at introducing traditional Indian culture to the youth of the country. It seeks to conserve and promote an awareness of the rich and heterogeneous cultural tapestry amongst the youth of India, through focus on the classical arts, with their attendant legends, rituals, mythology and philosophy and to facilitate an awareness of their deeper and subtler values. The movement caught the imagination of the young and began to grow geographically.

The idea of promoting Indian classical music and culture among youth, in fact took off not in India but in United States. Writing about the genesis in their website the organization has this to say: "The "big bang" of SPIC MACAY came in 1972 at a concert of Ustad Nasir Aminuddin Dagar and Ustad Zia Fariduddin Dagar at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in New York. After a few sporadic concerts (notable amongst them was that of Ustad Ali Akbar Khan) at Columbia University, New York, under the aegis of the India Club of Columbia University during the period 1972-76, the idea took a more defined direction in 1977 in India" (<http://www.spicmacay.com>). SPICMACAY has presence in several countries i.e USA, Canada, Germany etc., and this is instrumental in promoting inter-diaspora cultural linkages by introducing artists from India as well as from the Indian diaspora to the youths of Indian diaspora in several universities and colleges globally.

Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR)

Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), which is the cultural body of Indian government, though it does not promotes Inter-diaspora linkages directly it has an indirect role. ICSSR is about a communion of cultures, a creative dialogue with other nations. To facilitate this interaction with world cultures, the Council has strived to articulate and demonstrate the diversity and richness of the cultures of India, both in and with other countries of the world. The Council publishes books and journals relating to Indian Culture, Philosophy and Mythology, Music, Dance, Theatre and includes translations of Sanskrit classics in a number of languages including French, Spanish, Arabic, Russian and English. The council has branches in several countries. The Indian diaspora community of several ethnic backgrounds and get a platform to access the culture of India directly and consequently it also promote the inter diaspora linkages.

16.5 Regional Diasporas: Global Networks

The assumption that people will live their lives in one place, according to one set of national and cultural norms, in countries with impermeable national borders, no longer holds. Rather, in the 21st century, more and more people will belong to two or more societies at the same time. This

is what many researchers refer to as transnational migration. Some will put down roots in a host country, maintain strong homeland ties, and belong to religious and political movements that span the globe. These allegiances are not antithetical to one another.

Some of the visible regional organizations having transnational networks are Bengalis, Gujaratis, Punjabis, Tamils, Telugus, Kannada, Malayalis, Marathi etc. These communities have inter diaspora socio-cultural linkages across continents. Some of the organizations are mentioned below:

Telugu

Telugus have migrated to many parts of the world as coolies in the colonial times to software engineers and doctors in recent times. They have a very strong inter diaspora network across the globe.

Telugus have formed a global network called World Telugu Federation (WTF), which was inaugurated in 1993 with the chief objective of promoting and perpetuating not only the language, culture, art, heritage, traditions but also business of the Telugu people. WTF has branches in several countries across the globe. A very hoary past with tremendous values enrich the present generation and it is the Federation's aim to educate and preserve this legacy and inculcate them in the younger generations. The organization promotes Language, Performing arts and handicrafts. The World Telugu Federation networks with various Telugu Federations and Associations formed in various parts of the country and around the world. It fosters friendship and goodwill among various Telugu communities in India and abroad.

Gujarati

Gujaratis have spread to many parts of the world. Several associations have transnational linkages and they not only engage in conducting charitable works and religious activities but also promote fine arts, music, dance, etc; conducting programs of entertainment value such as drama, movies, etc; conducting educational programs (language classes, etc.).

Punjabi

The Punjabi social network especially the Sikhs are well spread in several continents. The Sikhs now work within a global diaspora. The social network facilitates the transnational mobility of Sikhs. An educated and professionally qualified young Sikhs can move many parts of the globe for his professional growth without much problem. For example, a young educated Sikh who have grown disillusioned by the lack of opportunities in racist and industrially declining Britain may have little interest, at least at present, in going back to Punjab or in joining their relatives who have settled in Southeast Asia and East Africa, the opportunities available in Canada and the United States, where well established Sikh communities are also to be found, are much more attractive. In consequence a great deal of re-emigration across the Atlantic is currently taking place.

Punjabis have been maintaining strong global networks - socio-cultural, economic, religious and political - with their kith and kin. There are several transnational TV and Radio channels such as *Zee Alpha TV*, *Punjabi Radio*, *Netguruindia*, *TV India*, *AM1320 Vancouver*, *Multicultural Radio Punjabi Saturday*, *Montreal Canada*, *Radio Sikh-info Daily Kukamnama* etc., that reach Punjabis across the globe.

Panjabi Bhangra and other cultural forms travel across the globe along with their migration. The artists are drawn not only from India but from Punjabis settled in other parts of the Globe.

Tamil

Indian Tamils are well spread across the globe. Tamils went as indenture labour to many European colonies. Today Tamils constitute a substantial portion of Academician, IT professionals and Engineer outside India. Tamils are very particular about the preservation of their language and culture.

The ethnic Indian Tamil media has presence in countries with substantial populations of Tamils of Indian origin. Tamil Radio stations and T.V. channels are now found in Singapore and other parts of the world that reaches the Tamil people.

Caste based Transnational Diasporic Networks

The diversity of India is also reflected in its diaspora. The caste based transnational diasporic network such as Dalit Diaspora, Telugu Association of North America (TANA) and ATA in United adds new dimension to the Indian diaspora.

Telugu Association of North America (TANA) is an organization of people of Telugu origin residing in North America founded by Kamma Caste and American Telugu Association (ATA) by the Reddy caste having origin in Andhra Pradesh in India. These organizations promote network among Telugus (Kammas and Reddys respectively) across the globe.

Though not very prominent till date, the Dalits of different countries have been networking and supporting the fellow Dalits diasporas and the dalits in the country of origin. The transnational Dalit diaspora of Indian and Nepalese origin have taken the advantage of information and communication technology (ICT) to further their cause. They organise international conventions to sensitize the Dalit issues. The first ever meeting of Nepali Dalit diaspora and friends of Dalits (fellow Dalits from India) was held at Elkridge (Maryland) in the Washington DC suburb on June 18, 2005 and discussed the moral obligation to involve towards the development of fellow Dalits in the country of origin.

Box 16.2 The Dalit Diaspora

The Dalit diaspora has all of a sudden become visible. Yet another Dalit international conference was successfully concluded earlier this month in Vancouver, Canada, with the help of the Dalit diaspora in different parts of the world. This is the fourth such conference organised since 1998. The first one was organised in Malaysia, by the Dalit International Organisation in October 1998. It was followed by a two-day international conference on Dalit human rights in London in September 2000 by the Voice of Dalit International (VODI). VODI organised another International Dalit conference in India in February 2003. Besides, Dalits also participated in the World Conference Against Racism in Durban.

Three factors have contributed to the new visibility of the Dalit diaspora. One, increased communication facilities because of the information revolution. (Log on to www.ambedkar.org, webmaster@gururavidassabha.org etc. and you can find out all about them). Two, the strengthening of civil society, with NGOs, both at the international and national level, taking keen interest in issues related to Dalits and other marginalised sections. And lastly, the intervention of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, World Bank, and other international and national institutions for maintenance of human rights of Dalit and other deprived sections (Vivek Kumar, *Indian Express*, 24, May 2003)

16.6 Conclusion

The socio-cultural linkage between Indian Diaspora is a complex one. There are different patterns of relationship between twice-migrants, indentured labour and the migrants who settled in Europe and USA after 1950s. With the advancement of Technology especially Information and Communication Technology had far reaching impact on the distance relationship among the people of same group. There is much more interesting pattern yet to be discovered in the relationship between intra-diasporic, inter-diasporic, diaspora-host, and diaspora- homeland as there has been rapid social change during this era. The diversity of their relationship has to be explored further.

16.7 Further Reading

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