Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

CARIM-INDIA — DEVELOPING A KNOWLEDGE BASE FOR POLICYMAKING ON INDIA-EU MIGRATION

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German Case Study

Pierre Gottschlich

CARIM-India Research Report 2012/03





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Research Report Case Study CARIM-India RR2012/03

German Case Study

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CARIM-India – Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration

This project is co-financed by the European Union and carried out by the EUI in partnership with the Indian Council of Overseas Employment, (ICOE), the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Association, (IIMB), and Maastricht University (Faculty of Law).

The proposed action is aimed at consolidating a constructive dialogue between the EU and India on migration covering all migration-related aspects. The objectives of the proposed action are aimed at:

- Assembling high-level Indian-EU expertise in major disciplines that deal with migration (demography, economics, law, sociology and politics) with a view to building up migration studies in India. This is an inherently international exercise in which experts will use standardised concepts and instruments that allow for aggregation and comparison. These experts will belong to all major disciplines that deal with migration, ranging from demography to law and from economics to sociology and political science.
- Providing the Government of India as well as the European Union, its Member States, the academia and civil society, with:
 - 1. Reliable, updated and comparative information on migration
 - 2. In-depth analyses on India-EU highly-skilled and circular migration, but also on low-skilled and irregular migration.
- Making research serve action by connecting experts with both policy-makers and the
 wider public through respectively policy-oriented research, training courses, and
 outreach programmes.

These three objectives will be pursued with a view to developing a knowledge base addressed to policy-makers and migration stakeholders in both the EU and India.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/

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Abstract

Indian immigration to Germany has a century-long history. Today, the Indian population in Germany is a fully established and, despite its rather small size, highly influential ethnic group. From early 20th century freedom fighters and students to engineers and nurses to contemporary businessmen and IT-specialists Indians have played important roles in German history and society. They have become more and more visible through the founding of numerous associations, clubs, and societies, through cultural commitment and political success, and also through the establishment of prominent places for worship such as Hindu temples and Sikh gurdwaras.

This study attempts to shed some light on one of the less prominent Indian communities. It deals with its history, its demographic characteristic, and its socio-economic profile. Furthermore, the paper will assess the legal framework in Germany and analyse the media perception of Indian migrants in the country. Additionally, there will be an overview over the most important religious centres and cultural associations. The study also discusses the socio-cultural and political integration of the Indian population in Germany. Finally, some policy recommendations will be given.

1. Introduction

The history of migration from India to Germany only began in the 20th century. However, the relationship between the two countries was established even before the first Indian immigrants came to German soil. Despite the lack of colonial connections and even without any major trade relations, India early became a focal point of German intellectual interest and curiosity. Throughout the 18th and 19th century, prominent German thinkers such as Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), or Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) were fascinated by the incomparable rich cultural and philosophical aspects of India and Indian life. They produced a stunning number of articles, books, and pamphlets that reflected Indian ideas and Indian thinking (Lütkehaus 2004). Obviously, intercultural communication and scientific discourses played a major role in the relationship between India and Germany at that time. However, extended visits from Indians to Germany remained scarce and only very few Indians actually stayed for a longer time (Gosalia 2002: 238). Consequently, there are hardly any sources that deal with Indian immigration to Germany before the 20th century. This began to change when two particular groups of Indians started coming to Germany in larger numbers. On the one hand, Indian nationalists and freedom fighters sought support for their fight against British colonial rule. On the other hand, Indian students were attracted by the excellent reputation of German universities.

During the time of World War I, Indian nationalists saw Germany as a possible ally in their struggle for independence. Some of these freedom fighters came to Germany in order to evaluate the opportunities for a combined effort against Great Britain. They had plans to start a joint military campaign against the British in Afghanistan and, thereby, destabilize the British Raj in India. All of those rather amateurish endeavours failed (Voigt 1999: 6). With the financial help and support of the German government, however, some of the Indian radicals managed to establish an organization to coordinate the activities of Indian nationalists abroad. The developments in Europe and the eventual defeat of Germany ended these attempts to fight British colonial rule (Goel 2002a). After the end of World War I, many Indian nationalists and communists (e.g. M.N. Roy, Bupendranath Dutta, D.G. Tendulkar, Jasurya Naidu, or Chempakaraman Pillai) found refuge in Germany, where they were able to continue their struggle for Indian independence (Voigt 1999: 7-8). Germany had also become popular among students from South Asia early in the 20th century. German universities were leading research and education institutions, and the academic realm in Germany embraced Indian students and scholars. Munich became the temporary home of many Indians, among the most prominent being Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Taraknath Das. The latter was one of the co-founders of the so-called "India Institute" in Munich. Furthermore, three acclaimed visits by Rabindranath Tagore in 1921, 1926, and 1930 strengthened the reputation of Indian literature and philosophy in Germany (Voigt 1999: 8). In 1928, an Indian Student Information Bureau in Berlin was opened by the Indian National Congress. It is said that Jawaharlal Nehru might have initiated this after one of his visits to Germany (Goel 2002a). A prominent example of how a few, largely isolated Indian students began to settle in Germany can be found in Vikram Seth's acclaimed novel "Two Lives". The factual account of the life of his uncle Shanti Behari Seth describes many facets of how young Indian men came to Germany in the 1920s and 1930s in order to study and to make a living. S.B. Seth himself arrived in Berlin in 1931 where he began to study medical dentistry. Shortly after he passed the state examination with distinction and also completed his doctorate, however, Seth was forced to leave Germany in 1936 when the Nazi government denied him the opportunity to actually practice as a dentist because of him being a foreigner.

In the spring of 1941, Indian freedom fighters again sought German support when Subhas Chandra Bose came to Berlin after his escape from British India. His goals included the establishment of an Indian government in exile in Germany and diplomatic and military support by the axis powers. Hitler, an open admirer of the British Raj in India, remained sceptical and did not see Bose until May 1942, their first and only meeting. With the help and financial assistance of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, Bose was able to set up the Free India Centre in Berlin. This organization published

the magazine "Azad Hind" ("Free India") and also established a radio station of the same name which from February 1942 on broadcasted programs in English and in Indian languages such as Bengali, Telugu, and Tamil (Bose 2004: 470-567; Gordon 2005: 441-462). At the same time, an Indian legion within the German armed forces was formed (Hartog 2001: 46-66). This unit was mostly made up of volunteers from tens of thousands of Indian prisoners of war who had been serving in the British army and were captured by Italian and German troops in North Africa. The Indian legion, which consisted of up to 3,500 soldiers, never got to fight in India but was instead stationed at the Dutch and French coast and in Italy. The Indian troops were hardly involved in heavy fighting and suffered only minor casualties. After the German defeat in 1945 most of the members of the Indian legion became prisoners of war. Of course, it is important to note that neither the activists from the Free India Centre nor the soldiers of the Indian legion were supporters of the Nazi ideology. They merely tried to find help in their fight against British colonial rule. Particularly Subhas Chandra Bose frequently spoke out against Nazi racism and, for instance, criticized Hitler for derogatory remarks he had made about Indians (Günther 2003: 20-26). Some members of the Free India Centre later stayed in Germany, for example A.C.N. Nambiar who was to become the ambassador of India to Western Germany after World War II.

In the tradition of Shanti Behari Seth and other Indians who had come to German universities in the first half of the 20th century, it were Indian students that brought with them the first major wave of Indian immigration to Germany after World War II. In the 1950s, several thousand students from India came to Western Germany, i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), which was a result of the good diplomatic relations between the two countries. Most of these students were technicians and engineers who came from Indian universities or from Indian companies like, for instance, the steel mill in Rourkela, Orissa. They were granted scholarships for further education, and while many of them returned to India after their studies, some stayed and formed the nucleus of an Indian diaspora in Germany (Gosalia 2002: 238). Most of the Indians who stayed were able to establish themselves in the German middle class. Due to their excellent education they usually worked in good jobs and were integrated very well (Goel 2007a: 358-359). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, close to 6,000 Indian nurses came to Germany in order to find work at hospitals. Interestingly, these "angels from India" were mostly Catholic nurses from Kerala who were recruited through the global network of the Catholic Church (Goel 2002b). This led to a huge disproportional share of Christian Indians in the diaspora in Germany, at least if compared to religion statistics in India (Schnepel 2004: 117-118). Some of these nurses married Germans. Their children are an important part of the German-Indian population (Gosalia 2002: 238). In all, the Indian community in Germany formed itself during that era as a community of professionals (e.g. nurses, doctors, and engineers), academics (e.g. students, scholars, and scientists), and businessmen and traders (Singhvi et al. 2001: 151-152). They mostly adapted to life in Germany and integrated themselves into the German society (Gosalia 2002: 239). New impetus came in 2000 with the launch of the Green Card initiative by the German government, which brought a new wave of highly skilled Indian technicians, computer engineers, and IT specialists to the country. This has so far been the last major influx of a specific immigrant group from India to Germany. However, Germany has recently become a more popular destination for Indian students and continues to attract Indian scholars and academics. Unfortunately, there are no statistics on the regional origin of the new arriving migrants from India. Except for the Malayalee nurses from Kerala and their spouses and family members, there is hardly any reliable data on their home region in India. In the 1980s, hundreds of Punjabi Sikhs sought political asylum in Western Germany. Many of them found ways to stay in Germany legally even after their asylum requests were denied (Goel 2007a: 359). They continue to form a significant minority within the Indian diaspora in Germany. Other than that, all estimations on the regional origin of Indian immigrants are little more than mere guesses.

2. Demographic Characteristics of the Indian Population

The Indian population in Germany is relatively small. According to the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, there were 48,280 Indian citizens living in Germany at the end of the year 2010. After a slight decline between 2003 and 2004, the number of Non-Resident Indians (NRI) in Germany, which had been around 35,000 for most of the 1990s, has been steadily growing since (see appendix, figure 1). The major reason for this growth has been the increasing immigration of Indians to Germany. In 2009, for example, 12,009 Indian citizens came to Germany while only 10,374 left the country, resulting in a net migration surplus of 1,635 persons. In 2008, the surplus was even higher at 1,871, with 11,403 coming and just 9,532 leaving (see appendix, figure 2). Since 1991, there have been only two years (1994, 1998) in which the number of Indians leaving Germany was slightly higher than the quantity of Indians coming to the country (FOMR 2011: 27-28, 249, 251). These figures, however, do not include irregular migrants. Naturally, there are no dependable statistics on the quantity of illegal migration from India to Germany. Overall estimations put the number of all irregular migrants in Germany at 196,000 to 457,000, with the vast majority of them coming from East and Southeast Europe (FOMR: 183). Illegal residents from India do play a minor but still significant role. According to statistics from the German police, 958 irregular migrants from India were arrested in 2005, which were roughly 2.4 percent of all suspects of illegal stay in Germany. In 2006, 941 Indians were detained for illegally residing in Germany, again almost 2.4 percent of all such arrests in this year (Cyrus 2009: 49). The overall numbers of arrested irregular migrants from India have been unsteady in recent years: 798 in 2008 and 884 in 2009. The percentages, however, have been growing at 2.7 and 3.1 percent, respectively (FOMR 2011: 189). In 2009, 3.0 percent of all persons arrested while trying to illegally enter Germany were Indians (FOMR 2011: 186). Calculating these percentages against the estimated overall number of irregular residents in Germany, one could reach a number of up to 10,000 Indian citizens staying in Germany illegally. Considering the general quantity of the Indian community in Germany, this figure seems to be a little exaggerated. In 2001, it was estimated at 2,000-3,000 persons (Singhvi et al. 2001: 152). However, one has to assume that the number of irregular migrants from India in Germany today still amounts to several thousand people.

For the overall picture, however, it is necessary to assess not only the number of NRI (regular and irregular) but also the quantity of Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) living in Germany. This is not always easy since there is hardly any specific statistical data on Indians after they have obtained German citizenship. According to the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, more than 8,000 Indians were naturalized and officially became German citizens between 2002 and 2010 alone (see appendix, figure 3). The children of PIO are not a part of any official census, which makes it very difficult to measure the overall strength of the Indo-German community exactly. However, there have been some reliable calculations: In 2001, for instance, the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora estimated the number of PIO in Germany at 10,000 (Singhvi et al. 2001: 152). Given the further inflow of Indian immigrants to Germany in the wake of the Green Card initiative and the ongoing processes of naturalization, it seems to be justified to hold this measurement as a mere minimum. In 2006, the number of PIO card holders in Germany was estimated at roughly 17,500. More current assessments have put the number of all PIO as high as 25,000. According to data from the World Bank, the total migrant stock from India in Germany was 67,779 persons in 2010. Unfortunately, however, there is no definite measurement. Therefore, the overall number of Indians and Persons of Indian Origin remains somewhat obscure: The Indian community in Germany numbers at least 65,000, probably 75,000, possibly even more than that.

There is a significant imbalance between women and men within the Indian community, which despite some progress has not been overcome (see appendix, figure 4). In 2010, women comprised only 36.1 percent of the Indian population in Germany which still is the highest number in almost ten years. The schemes for family reunification and the immigration of spouses brought many Indian women to Germany recently. For example, 1,250 Indian women came to Germany as spouses of NRI already living in the country in 2009, while during the same time span only 39 Indian husbands joined

their wives in Germany (FOMR 2011: 288). However, other fields of immigration from India to Germany remain to be extremely male-dominated. A case in point is the composition of the highly skilled Green Card immigrants from India who came to Germany between 2000 and 2004: Only 365 female computer experts found their way to the country, compared to 4,476 male IT professionals (Venema 2004: 7). Additionally, Indian students in Germany still are an overwhelmingly male group. Out of 1,645 students from India who began their academic studies in the summer semester of 2009 and the following winter semester, only 420 or roughly 25.5 percent are female (FOMR 2011: 263).

As for the age profile, the Indian community generally is a rather young population group (see appendix, table 1). Their average age of 32.9 years is more than ten years younger than that of the general population. Almost two thirds of all NRI in Germany are between 25 and 45 years old, compared to a little over a quarter of the general population which falls into that category. While more than 20 percent of all Germans are more than 65 years old, only two percent of the Indian population in Germany already reached that threshold. In contrast, the spatial distribution of Indians in Germany mostly resembles that of the general population (see appendix, table 3). However, immigrants from India tend to settle in urbanized areas and in the south of Germany. Compared to the overall percentage of the Indian population, there is an overrepresentation in three of Germany's largest cities, including the capital Berlin and Hamburg, as well as in the southern states of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria which also include main metropolitan areas such as Stuttgart, Nuremburg, or Munich (see appendix, figure 5 and table 4). The marital status of Indians in Germany is largely similar to the general population. The percentage of single persons among the Indian community (43.50 percent) is slightly higher than the number for married NRI (42.35 percent) while the figures for the general population in Germany show a vice versa picture with a narrow margin in favour of married persons (see appendix, table 2). However, compared to the overall populace the marriage propensity might be stronger within the Indian immigrant community since they are significantly younger than the general population and may, therefore, at least in part be not yet married. Generally, there seems to be a tendency towards nuclear families. Extended families appear to be rather rare.

3. Socio-Economic Profile

The overall migration type of Indians coming to Germany can be described as highly skilled labour. Except for the immigrants under family reunification regulations, highly skilled professionals comprise the largest group of NRI living in Germany on a temporary residence permit under the new legislation of the Aliens Residence Act of 2004, followed by Indian students (see appendix, table 5). More than a third of all immigrants from India come into Germany explicitly for working purposes, most of them in the highly skilled sector. However, one of the most complex problems in the immigration process is the acceptance of Indian certificates and diplomas. Many German institutions reject Indian records, thereby making it hard for Indian immigrants to get all the necessary documents for work permission and other things (Goel 2006: 1156). It also delays authority decisions, which often leads to even more problems (Ogale 2003: 44-47). Further difficulties arise from the specific circumstances of the social security system in Germany. There are compulsory insurances like health and pension insurance that have to be obtained by every person, including foreigners. The application procedures can be very challenging and confusing (Oberkircher 2006: 179). Here, language is the key. Many official documents in Germany are in German only. Language skills become a precondition not only for social but also for economic integration. Because of the rather small size of the Indian community in Germany most NRI are pressured to learn German fast since there is hardly any expanded or sustained ethnic support system they can rely on. This short term hardship usually turns into a long term advantage: The linguistic integration of most Indians in Germany is very good, particularly in comparison to other immigrant groups (see section on socio-cultural integration for a more detailed account).

The level of education among Indian immigrants is relatively high. In general, migrants from South and Southeast Asia tend to be well educated with approximately 40 percent of them having at least

completed some sort of secondary school and another 25 percent still in education (see appendix, table 6). However, there is a gender imbalance between South and Southeast Asian men and women in Germany: A much higher number of female immigrants never graduated (53,000 or 17.5 percent, compared to 35,000 or 13.5 percent of all male immigrants). A similar trend can be seen in the level of professional education and training. Here, 47.2 percent of all women in this group never completed any training, almost ten percent points more than the number for all men (see appendix, table 7). While specific data for NRI is unfortunately missing, it can safely be assumed that their education and particularly training level is significantly higher since the data on South and Southeast Asian population in Germany also includes many less well educated and unskilled migrants from Vietnam and Thailand. Furthermore, the educational achievements of second and third generation PIO in Germany tend to be higher than those of their parents and grandparents (Gries 2000). However, there is much potential for improvement in the academic exchange and student migration between India and Germany: In the academic year 2009, 1,645 students from India comprised 2.7 percent of all foreign citizens beginning academic studies at German universities or colleges, making India number ten on the list of the most important sending countries (FOMR 2011: 63, 265; see appendix, table 8). The number of Indian students enrolling at German universities has been growing unsteadily over the last ten years. Before peaking at 1,645 new students from India in 2009, there were just 388 Indian students in 1999. After a rapid increase, the number reached 1,521 in 2002 but fell back to a modest 1,104 in 2005 (see appendix, figure 6). Only recently have Indian students again come to Germany in larger numbers. Overall, approximately 3,500 Indian students resided in the country in 2010.

The fact that many members of the Indian community in Germany came to the country as students and the generally very high educational achievements of this population group suggest that many NRI in Germany belong to higher caste groups (Punnamparambil 2008: 18). However, the precise configuration of caste in Germany is impossible to assess. A valuable source can be matrimonial websites such as GermanMatrimonials.com or LifepartnerIndia.com which oftentimes specify caste groups, thereby implying that caste might still play a major role in spouse selection among NRI and PIO in Germany. Most of the potential grooms regard themselves explicitly as twice-born Hindus, indicating their belonging to one of the three higher varnas. Among these groups in Germany are Brahmins in general and, more specific, Lohars/Sharmas. Kshatriya groups to be found in Germany include Boyars, Guptas/Agrawals, Naidus, and Vellalars. Furthermore, there are also some spouses who regard themselves as Vaishya. Yet, all of these specifications are hardly representative since they are based on randomly collected qualitative data. Nonetheless, they may provide a broad idea about some of the prevailing caste structures among the Indian population in Germany.

Labour force participation among South and Southeast Asian migrants in Germany tends to be much higher for male immigrants (see appendix, table 9). While this general trend can be assumed to be valid for the NRI population as well, it seems reasonable to suggest that the relative gender gap is not as high. Whereas many female migrants from India enter the country through family reunification processes and/or join their husbands in Germany, there are also numerous instances where female professionals come to Germany for specific work purposes, e.g. as nurses and members of medical staff or, albeit in much lesser quantity, as IT specialists. While family reunification remains the most important way to enter the country, independent migration to Germany is not uncommon for Indian women. In the early phase of Indian settlement in Germany, such work migration of female NRI has led to some special challenges. Many of these Indian women, particularly nurses at German hospitals, had arranged marriages in India in the 1970s. When their husbands came to the country, they usually did not have a work permit and were forced to stay at home. This led to a "change of gender roles, with the wives more comfortable in their surroundings, earning money and speaking the German language, while the husbands stayed at home and felt alienated" (Goel 2007a: 359). In some instances, alcoholism and domestic violence have been fuelled by this specific constellation. Today, the gender roles have been reversed yet again in families where the husband came to Germany in the first place and the wife joined through family reunification afterwards. While the dynamic of integration by one spouse and alienation by the other tends to continue in single earner households, domestic violence also still seems to be a problem in some Indian families in Germany

Indians in Germany divert from the general South and Southeast Asian population in their occupational profile: The percentage of low or semi skilled workers tends to be lower and the proportion of highly skilled or self-employed professionals is significantly higher. NRI in Germany usually work in typical middle class positions, e.g. as clerks, doctors, scientists, or businessmen (Gries 2000). Their average income is among the highest of all migrant groups, For instance, Indian IT experts who came to Germany through the Green Card regulations had to earn at least Euro 51,000 a year to be even eligible for this special immigration type (Kolb 2005: 1). Much of this money finds its way to the country of origin: According to estimates by the World Bank, remittances in the volume of US-Dollar 511,711,400 have been sent from Germany to India in 2010. With this amount, Germany ranks not even near the countries with the highest remittances to India such as the United Arab Emirates, the United States, the United Kingdom, or Saudi Arabia (see appendix, table 10). However, because of the comparatively small size of the Indian population in Germany, the amount of remittance per emigrant is relatively high at US-Dollar 8,144 a year and almost doubles the average yearly sum of US-Dollar 4,841. There are, unfortunately, no reliable statistics on the regional distribution of these remittances from Germany in India. Given the comparatively high percentage of Malayalee immigrants, it seems plausible to conclude that much of the money is destined towards the state of Kerala.

4. Legal Framework

Generally, legal immigration to Germany is dependent on certain preconditions that have to be fulfilled. Particularly the inflow of workers and professionals is strictly regularized and mostly connected to the needs of the country's economy. During the 1960s and 1970s, several guest worker recruitment programs were launched to meet the growing demand for unskilled workers and specific lowly skilled professionals in Germany. Under these provisions, approximately 6,000 Indian nurses came to Germany. In the following years, family reunifications allowed for a further increase of legal immigration from India to Germany. These measures remain an important way to enter Germany today: Out of the 26,638 NRI who were living in Germany on temporary residence permits in 2010, 11,537 or roughly 43.3 percent came to the country through family reunification regulations, with almost two thirds of them being women (see appendix, table 5). The path to legal residency in Germany for highly skilled workers from India became much easier in March 2000: At the international computer fair CEBIT in Hanover, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder first voiced the idea of a Green Card designed to attract foreign IT specialists. The IT sector in Germany was desperately looking for well-educated and qualified professionals which, at that point, could not be found within the country. Hence, a lobby campaign was started in order to create the necessary political preconditions for finding highly skilled workers abroad (Pethe 2006: 159-160). Eventually, the Green Card initiative by the German government sought to meet the demands of an expanding computer industry by granting "20,000 opportunities to earn Deutsche Marks" to foreign experts and specialists. Although the program, which started on August 1, 2000, was originally limited to five years only, the first reactions were remarkably positive, especially in India. A study found that up to 95 percent of the "target group" of Indian IT professionals had heard of the Green Card, with 80 percent being interested in detailed information. A surprising high number of up to 65 percent, the study found, were actually seriously considering the offer and, at least generally, willing to spend some time in Germany (Fiedler 2000). Consequently, many of the Green Cards issued in the first years of the initiative went to Indian computer experts. India remained the single country with the by far highest share of IT specialists who were granted work opportunities in Germany (see appendix, figure 7). With 4,841 Green Cards, India is well ahead of the countries of the former Soviet Union and all other European nations. Overall, out of the more than 17,000 Green Cards issued until December 31, 2004, more than 5,300 work permissions were granted to Indian professionals. Once again, India had shown itself to be a successful international player in the area of services in general and computer and IT expertise in particular (Zingel 2000). However, when a new expanded immigration law substituted the German Green Card on January 1, 2005, some of the Indian specialists had already left Germany for other destinations. These NRI see themselves as "global Indians", who are very mobile and can be successful everywhere in the world (Oberkircher 2006: 167). Great Britain, the United States of America, and Canada seem to be more attractive options for most IT experts, which is particularly true for Indians being fluent in English and, therefore, not having to deal with a language barrier in these countries (Venema 2004: 32). Language problems and difficulties with the German bureaucracy, especially in the area of family reunification, but also in fields like taxation and social security, are some of the most often mentioned hardships Indians face in Germany (Oberkircher 2006: 179). For these and other reasons, it remains highly unlikely that Germany will ever become one of the main destinations for Indian professionals, irrespective of how favourable the legal framework might be (Wagner 2005: 16). The Blue Card scheme recently established by the European Union, which aims at a further simplification of the immigration process and generally more advantageous conditions for highly skilled workers, has not yet been fully implemented in Germany due to compatibility problems with the existing legal framework (Genchev 2010). Not surprisingly, highly skilled workers immigration from India to Germany, although of prime importance for that specific immigrant group, remains overall modest.

For many decades, access to the German citizenship was extremely limited for Indian immigrants and their children. The predominant citizenship and naturalization policy in Germany has been and largely continues to be based on the "Ius sanguinis" ("right of blood"), i.e. one becomes a German citizen only through ancestry. Recently, the alternative policy of "Ius soli" ("right of soil") has been strengthened, i.e. one may acquire citizenship automatically according to the place of birth. The reform of the citizenship legislation in 2000 brought a new "option model" for the children of immigrants who have been born in Germany. These second generation migrants still retain the citizenship of their parents according to the "Ius sanguinis" but are now also given the opportunity to opt for the German citizenship before the age of 23 according to the "Ius soli". This, however, usually requires the renunciation of the former citizenship, which oftentimes puts PIO in the extremely difficult situation of having to choose between the loyalty to the homeland of their parents and the dedication to a country most of them regard as their true home. Once they decide to retain the citizenship of their parents they lose the possibility of becoming a German citizen. A permanent dual citizenship under German law is largely restricted to citizens of other member states of the European Union and of Switzerland and therefore hardly applies to PIO. Additionally, the Indian constitution does also not allow for dual citizenship. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1955 requires Indian emigrants to give up their Indian citizenship once they become naturalized and acquire the citizenship of another country. Recently, the Indian government has attempted to strengthen the connections to its former citizens by creating the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) and giving out PIO cards, but those measures fall well short of a true dual citizenship. Apart from the "Ius sanguinis" and "Ius soli" regulations, which mostly are relevant only to the children of immigrants, NRI can file for naturalization after a permanent legal residency of eight years in Germany as long as they have no criminal record and commit to the principles of freedom and democracy according to the German constitution. Applicants also have to demonstrate adequate ability to communicate in German and basic knowledge of the legal system and the society of Germany. Additionally, they have to show that they are able to support themselves and are not dependent on certain public welfare programs due to their own failure. If immigrants successfully complete an "integration course" they have the opportunity to file for naturalization one year earlier after only seven years of permanent legal residency in Germany. Spouses of naturalized immigrants may also apply for German citizenship while not having to fulfil the mandatory permanent residency clause of eight respectively seven years. In any case, naturalization in Germany requires the renunciation of the Indian citizenship, both under German and Indian law. Therefore, the question of dual citizenship remains one of the most pressing issues for NRI and PIO in Germany.

5. Media Perception of the Indian Community

In general, the Indian community in Germany is too small to play a major role in the German media. Therefore, NRI and PIO find themselves only very occasionally in the focus of the news media. Unfortunately, these instances occur for mostly negative reasons, i.e. when Indians become the target of xenophobic sentiments. In 2000, the Conservative Party (CDU) in North Rhine-Westphalia, a state where many Indians live, launched a counter campaign to the Green Card initiative by the then governing Social Democrats (SPD) under the slogan "Kinder statt Inder!" which translates to "Children instead of Indians!" For the first time, the Indian diaspora in Germany was at the centre of a political debate (Pethe 2006: 161; Goel 2005). It was also the first time that Indians were explicitly mentioned in a xenophobic context (Goel 2007a: 360). On August 19, 2007, a group of Indians became the victims of an unprecedented outburst of racist violence. In the small town of Mügeln in Saxony, a mob harassed and beat up a group of eight Sikhs, wounding several of them. Only a large police force was able to protect the Indians who had fled into a pizza restaurant. This terrible incident sparked an outcry of disgust in Germany and even caused diplomatic irritations. Although the xenophobic criminals have been convicted and sentenced, a feeling of vulnerability seems to have prevailed among the Indian diaspora in Germany. Although it was an isolated incident, the eruption of violence also raised the overall awareness of the problem of racism and xenophobia. The media has been covering the issue extensively, thereby also spreading urgently needed knowledge about the Indian community in Germany.

Oftentimes, Indians are subject to false assumptions and stereotypes. Sikhs, for instance, have been frequently mistaken for Muslims, particularly in the wake of the terror attacks of September 11, 2001 (Nijhawan 2006: 99-100). Common clichés about Indians include certain character traits that are somehow inherent in what is often called the "Asian nature": They are perceived as being passive, humble, shy, and generally submissive. Media reflections, particularly in TV shows, tend to reinforce these and other stereotypes. One of the very few recurring fictional Indian characters on German TV has been the figure of "Ranjid" from the popular comedy show "Was guckst du?!" ("What you looking at?!"), which was broadcasted from 2001 until 2005. Ranjid, an immigrant from India, is portrayed in a very stereotypical way. In his home, he is surrounded by pictures of Hindu deities and frequently uses incense sticks. Ranjid is a devout admirer of his cow Benytha, which lives with him in his apartment and frequently accompanies him on his ways around. Furthermore, he is shown as being very superstitious and as an overall rather simple minded, naïve, and shy person. He usually works in lower skilled professions, for instance as a cleaner or as an office worker, and oftentimes misunderstands orders and work assignments, thereby causing trouble. In all, the character of Ranjid rather represents the cliché picture of a worker in India than an accurate depiction of Indian immigrants in Germany. In fact, it has very little connection to the reality of NRI life in Germany (Keding & Struppert 2006: 94-97). On another level, Indian immigrants are seen as surrogates of their home country, too: They can influence the image of India in Germany. Although India has always been regarded as culturally, philosophically, and particularly spiritually superior to Germany, the main perception of the South Asian country in Germany was the extreme poverty in India. Media reporting and coverage almost always focussed on the terrible living conditions of the underprivileged sections of Indian society, including the suppression of women. Only recently has this image of India as a country of poverty shifted, in large part because of Indian immigrants. The arrival of IT specialists and computer exerts from India after the introduction of the German Green Card in 2000 has led to a new perspective emphasizing the technological advances of India (Goel 2007a: 360). Here, however, new stereotypes have been established. It is now not uncommon in the media to regard all immigrants from South Asia as "computer Indians" and "technology wizards". In a certain way, this image of a well educated and highly skilled community that works in good, high-paid jobs compares favourably to other minority groups, especially to Turkish immigrants who in parts of the media are frequently portrayed as not contributing much to the German society and unwilling to integrate. In the end, however, the technologically advanced "computer Indian" remains another mere cliché, albeit a rather positive one.

6. Religious Centres and Cultural Associations

The preconditions for worship vary greatly among the different religious groups within the Indian diaspora in Germany. Close to 25 million Catholics, a roughly equal number of Protestants, and approximately four million Muslims in Germany already constituted important religious societies before the arrival of Indians. Therefore, Indian Christians and Muslims were able to rely on existing structures. For instance, they could immediately use churches and mosques of already established religious groups for their worship. In contrast, the Hindu and Sikh communities in Germany are almost entirely made up of South Asian immigrants. They had to form their own religious infrastructure, and both Hindus and Sikhs have been very successful in that respect. When the first Hindus arrived in Germany, they basically had to perform all religious ceremonies at home because there simply were no German Hindu temples. When finally the first temples were established, they bore little resemblance to temples in India but were rather functional buildings like the Kurinchikumaran Temple in Gummersbach. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the community of Sri Lanka Tamils started pushing the construction of Hindu temples in Germany. A prominent example is the Sri Nagapooshini Amman Temple in Frankfurt which was opened in 2000. Such temples are visited not only by Sri Lanka Tamils but also by Hindus from India. They function primarily as religious centres but also offer additional services such as language classes, dance and music courses, or help with the German bureaucracy (Amend & Yetgin 2006: 37).

In 2002, the largest Hindu temple in continental Europe was opened in Hamm (North Rhine-Westphalia). This project had long been opposed by large parts of the local population and by municipal authorities. A local politician remembers: "In the beginning, the Hindu community was very much rejected" (Sieg 2008). Eventually, however, the scepticism disappeared and the temple project was granted. This may also be attributed to the fact that the Hindu population in Germany is very small and, hence, forms no real threat to the perceived religious and cultural German identity, which has been labelled German "Leitkultur" ("orienting culture"; Heckmann 2003: 73). The Sri Kamadchi Ampal Temple was constructed in South Indian style and has developed into a central place for worship for Hindus in Germany and Europe (Baumann 2006). On Hindu festival dates, up to 30,000 people gather for religious rituals and processions. They come to Hamm from places as far away as Northern Norway (Rühle 2009: 12). In November 2007, construction work began for an even larger temple in Berlin. The Sri Ganesha Hindu Temple is going to be the main religious building for the approximately 6,000 Hindus living in Berlin, but could also develop into a focal point of the larger Hindu community of Central and Eastern Europe. The foundation stone laying ceremony for the construction of the Rajagopuram of the Berlin temple took place in September 2010. Just like the Hindus, the Sikh community in Germany, which according to the Religious Studies Media and Information Service (REMID) numbered roughly 5,000 persons in 2005, has also been able to set up their own places for religious ceremonies. Initially, there were only very few Sikhs in Germany. The community grew significantly in the 1980s when many Punjabi Sikhs sought political asylum in Germany. During that time, Frankfurt became one of the major areas of Sikh settlement where the first Sikh gurdwaras were established (Goel 2007a: 359). Today, there are more than a dozen gurdwaras all over Germany. One of the most important is the Gurdwara Shri Guru Singh Sabha in Berlin, which was opened in 2002.

An important instrument to overcome difficulties in the host society is the formation of organisations and associations. These structures and networks can provide a valuable source of information and are an oftentimes essential self-help system. Through such networks Indians in Germany can find for instance support when dealing with the German bureaucracy (Oberkircher 2006: 179-180). In 1953, the German-Indian Society was founded as one of the very first central organisations of the Indian diaspora in Germany. Today, it has 33 chapters and more than 3,500 members and is still one of the most influential groups. Its newsletter, which is published four times a year, is an important source of information regarding the Indo-German community. In 1956, the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce (IGCC) was established. Since then, its focus has been the

development of good business relations between India and Germany. Thus, the IGCC is of prime importance for the Indian business community in Germany, providing information and assistance. When in the 1960s and 1970s with the arrival of the nurses from Kerala for the first time collective migrants replaced the mostly individual student migrants of the 1950s, Indians in Germany started to form more and more clubs, societies, and associations. Not surprisingly, many Malayalee organisations were founded during that time. Consequently, an umbrella organisation was established, the Union of German Malayalee Associations (Goel 2002b). Additionally, migrants from Kerala in cooperation with the Catholic Church of Germany started publishing the journal "Meine Welt" ("My World") in 1984. This magazine is explicitly devoted to the Indo-German dialogue and also works as an important discussion forum for the Indian diaspora in Germany.

Second generation Indians in Germany have formed their own "ethnic networks". In recent years, they have increasingly utilized the internet as their main medium. The probably most important development has been the launching of the homepage www.theinder.net by three young Indo-German students in 2000. The title of this virtual platform is an ironic pun: It mixes the German word for Indian ("Inder") with the internet, playing with the widely held stereotype that all Indians are IT experts. The homepage is trilingual, being available in German, English, and Hindi. However, it is important to note that German is by far the most often used language, clearly marking theinder.net as a tool for PIO whose first language is no longer an Indian language or English but German (Goel 2006: 1154-1157). As a discussion forum and virtual meeting point, the homepage offers not only information, for instance about India, and a widely used event calendar but also interactive elements where users can post messages or contact each other. Hence, theinder.net creates a "feeling of community" among second generation Indians in Germany and also sometimes serves as "a virtual refuge from everyday life" (Goel 2005).

7. Socio-Cultural Integration of the Indian Population

The most obvious and also the oftentimes most difficult to solve problem regarding socio-cultural integration is the inability to communicate in German. Only language skills allow complete access to social life in Germany. As one interviewee put it, language problems form a "social barrier" that is hard to overcome. An Indian IT expert stated that because of his deficiencies in German, "I often miss the jokes and gossipy talks in my team", which may seem to be of lesser importance but describes accurately how a lack of language skills may lead to social isolation (Oberkircher 2006: 177). This problem is shared by virtually every immigrant community in Germany. Comparative studies show that even immigrant groups from within the European Union (e.g. France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Spain) face similar hardships as migrants coming from India. For instance, more than 80 percent of Italians coming to Germany speak no German at all at the time of migration (Rother 2006: 48). Both Italian and Indian immigrants generally manage a substantial language adaptation over time. NRI compare very favourably to some other ethnic groups, particularly to Turkish immigrants. While the small size of the Indian diaspora in Germany does hardly allow for ethnic separation, the almost three million Turks and people of Turkish origin in Germany are able to form ethnic homogenous neighbourhoods, for example in Berlin. In such a "parallel society", there is not necessarily an urgency to learn German comparable to the pressures that linguistically oftentimes isolated Indians face. Additionally, some Turkish women are not allowed to learn German in order to strengthen paternalistic structures of dependence (Finkelstein 2006: 98-102). Here, linguistic and social isolation reinforce each other. Such mechanisms do not play an important role in the Indian diaspora, thereby granting and strengthening the opportunity for all family members to learn the language of the host country. For some Indian immigrants, namely computer experts and other highly qualified professionals who come to Germany for only a limited period of time, the situation is different. As volatile members of an Indian diaspora in Germany they oftentimes do not feel the need to learn the language of their temporary home, particularly if the basic language at work is English (Meijering & van Hoven 2003: 178; Pethe 2006: 310-311). However, most Indians in Germany try hard to learn German, particularly if they plan on staying in this country for a longer period of time. An Indian scientist explains: "German, although difficult, is absolutely necessary for integration." Cultural habits become easier to understand, and being able to speak German opens the door to social partaking, thereby fostering integration. Furthermore, proficiency in German can alleviate most other problems, especially regarding bureaucratic processes.

Indian immigrants and their children have made noticeable societal and cultural contributions in Germany. They have become particularly visible in the fields of academics. Rahul Peter Das and Subrata Kumar Mitra, for example, are renowned scholars and highly regarded in the scientific community and beyond. Rahul Peter Das, who was born in Germany in 1954 but raised in Kolkata, teaches South Asian studies at the Martin-Luther-University in Halle. Subrata Kumar Mitra is the head of the Department of Political Science at the famous South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg. Some PIO have also become well-known figures in popular culture in Germany. Ranga Yogeshwar, for instance, is a famous science journalist and TV host. The son of an Indian engineer, he studied physics in Aachen before turning to the world of the media. Yogeshwar has won many awards for his journalist work and has also been honoured for his TV shows that deal with natural science and are highly popular in Germany. Another well-liked PIO is the singer Xavier Naidoo, who is one of the biggest pop stars in Germany. Born in Mannheim in 1971 to parents of Indian and South African descent, Naidoo has produced dozens of hit singles and several number one records. He is particularly known for his work against racism and xenophobia. A third example is the popular football manager Robin Dutt, whose father came to Germany from Kolkata. Dutt has been the coach of the first division side SC Freiburg between 2007 and 2011. Prior to the 2011-12 season, he joined Bayer Leverkusen, one of the top clubs in Germany. Robin Dutt is well-known for the spirited and very attractive style of play his teams regularly show.

Perhaps one of the greatest accomplishments for Indian immigrants has been their political impact: In his well-known book on the development of India into a world power, the German professor Harald Müller incorporates a little chapter on a future vision that draws a picture of how the world will look like for India in 2036. Here, he also deals with Indo-German relations and speculates about the future role of NRI and PIO in German politics. In a stunning point, Müller describes the imagined career of an immigrant from India he calls "Dr. Menon". A student of informatics, she came to Germany in 2002 on a Green Card. Dr. Menon had much professional success, found her way into the realm of politics, and finally became the first German government official and cabinet member of Indian descent, heading the Ministry of Defence in 2036 (Müller 2006: 329). Of course, Müllers fantastic account might be a little far-fetched from today's point of view. However, it is not as unlikely as it may seem at first glance, as three examples of PIO having been elected to the German parliament impressively show. In 1998, Sebastian Edathy won his district for the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and was elected to the Bundestag. Born in Hanover in 1969, he became the first PIO representative in the German parliament. His father came to Germany from Kerala. Edathy has been re-elected three times (in 2002, 2005, and 2009). Since 2003, he is the chairman of the German-Indian parliamentary organisation. Not surprisingly, Sebastian Edathy is particularly devoted to good relations between Germany and India. Here, he focuses not only on economic affairs and cooperation in the health or energy sector but also works on student exchange programs. Furthermore, Edathy is very active in fighting discrimination and xenophobia in Germany. He strongly condemned the racist attack on eight Indians in Mügeln in 2007 and helped supporting the victims. A second Indian-German representative joined Edathy in 2002, when Josef Winkler from the Green Party was elected. Winkler is the son of one of the Catholic nurses from Kerala who came to Germany in the 1970s. He was born in Koblenz in 1974. Together with Sebastian Edathy, Josef Winkler is active in the German-Indian parliamentary organisation, working for good relations between the German parliament and the Indian Lok Sabha and, more generally, between Germany and India. Winkler has also been particularly committed to the policy areas of migration and human rights, trying to create a more open and multicultural society in Germany. In 2009, a third PIO became a member of parliament when Raju Sharma was elected for the Left Party. Sharma was born in Hamburg in 1964. His father was an Indian engineer who came to

Germany in order to work at the Hamburg shipyard. During his law studies, Raju Sharma spent some time in Mumbai. He is very aware of his family origin and describes himself as a believer in Hinduism. In an interview, Sharma acknowledged that his mind is German while his heart is Indian: "I very much think German, but I strongly feel Indian." Politically, he was a long-time member of the Social Democrats before joining the Left Party in 2005. After his election to the Bundestag in 2009, Sharma became the speaker for religious policies of the Left Party parliamentary group. He is also the federal party treasurer. Just like Edathy and Winkler, Raju Sharma frequently speaks out against racism and discrimination. These examples are just a case in point of how important the relative small NRI and PIO community in Germany has become. This is particularly striking if compared to much larger groups such as the Turkish community. Many significant ethnic groups have not even had one representative elected on a federal level. With three members of parliament, NRI and PIO are by far overrepresented. This shows not only their own commitment and their will to integrate into German society but also the trust and confidence Germans do put in them.

8. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

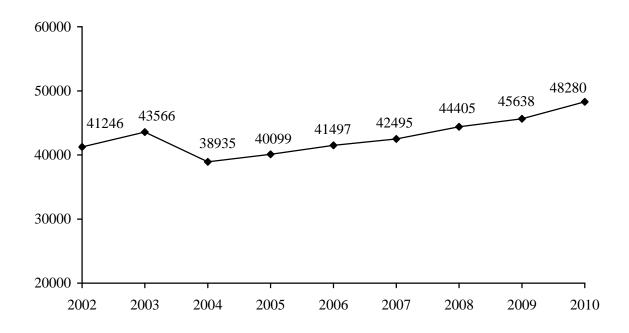
The Indian population in Germany is a fully established and, despite its rather small size, highly influential ethnic group. From early 20th century freedom fighters and students to engineers and nurses to businessmen and IT-specialists Indians have played important roles in German history and society. They have become more and more visible through the founding of numerous associations, clubs, and societies, through cultural commitment, and also through the establishment of prominent places for worship such as the Sri Kamadchi Ampal Temple that have become landmarks for the Indian community not only in Germany but in Europe. Yet, the life in Germany can also bring many difficulties and problems for Indians. The different language, the different culture, even the different weather and climate may sometimes form demanding challenges. Additionally, over-bureaucratic structures, discrimination, and subtle racism can become serious threats to a good and fulfilling life in Germany. So far, however, most Indians in Germany have adapted very well to the conditions in this country. On a continuum between total "acculturation" and the non-integrative "formation of ethnic minorities" (Heckmann 2003: 73) they are placed somewhere in the middle, neither fully adapting every aspect of a German "Leitkultur" ("orienting culture") nor forming an insular "parallel society". NRI and PIO are not only successful for themselves but through their rich culture, their effort, and their commitment contribute much to the German society. Furthermore, they transport a positive image of India and can, thereby, be an influential and important piece of good Indo-German relations. Thus, the Indian diaspora in Germany is very valuable to both countries, Germany and India.

However, some problems remain, giving room for policy recommendations. Among the most pressing issues are the recognition of Indian educational degrees and diplomas in Germany and the question of dual citizenship. While the first subject has to be taken on mainly by the German bureaucracy, a solution to the latter demand can only be found in cooperation between the two countries involved. There have been many steps into the direction of dual citizenship already (e.g. the OCI and the PIO card), but particularly the question of political participation in both the home country and the place of residence has not yet been fully answered. Given the good relations between India and Germany, a solution should be found within the next couple of years. More generally, all forms of academic exchange, especially on a student level, can further deepen the Indo-German relationship. Here, more initiatives and funding from the respective governments could help building an even stronger bridge between the countries.

Appendix

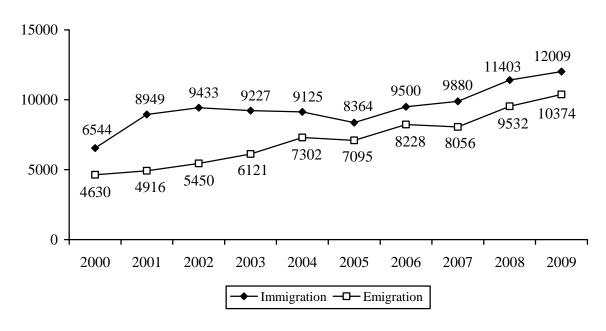
A1. Figures

Figure 1. Non-Resident Indians in Germany (2002-2010)



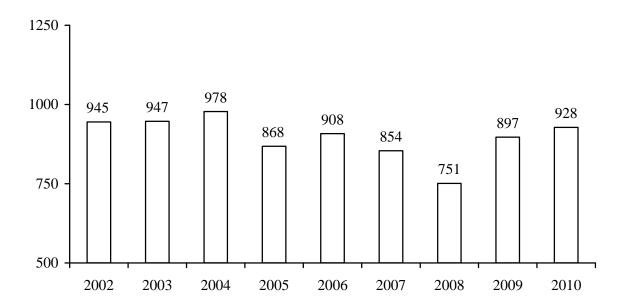
Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

Figure 2. Immigration and emigration of Indian citizens to and from Germany (2000-2009)



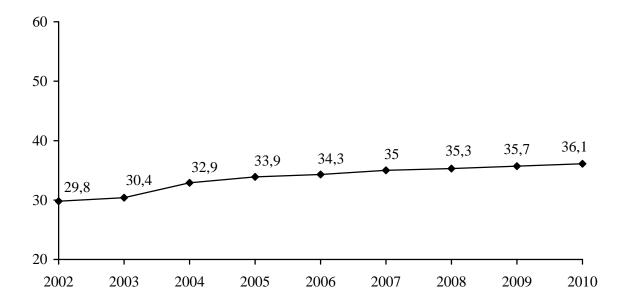
Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; FOMR 2011: 249, 251.

Figure 3. Naturalizations of NRI in Germany (2002-2010)



Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

Figure 4. Percentage of women among the Indian population in Germany (2002-2010)



Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

0,18 0,163 0,16 0,14 0,111 0,105 0,12 0,1 0.085 0.08 $0.067 \atop -0.061 \atop 0.059 \atop 0.059 \atop 0.059 \atop 0.054$ 0,06 $0,044 \ 0,04 \ 0,036 \ 0,032 \ 0,029 \ 0,026 \ 0,026$ 0,04 0,02 0 CER St RIP NAP BAY ARW HES BRUN BER

Figure 5. Indian population in percent of total population by states (2010)

HAM = Hamburg; HES = Hesse; BRM = Bremen; BER = Berlin; BW = Baden-Württemberg; BAV = Bavaria; NRW = North Rhine-Westphalia; GER = Germany total; SL = Saarland; SX = Saxony; RLP = Rhineland-Palatinate; MWP = Mecklenburg-West Pomerania; SXA = Saxony-Anhalt; LSX = Lower Saxony; SH = Schleswig-Holstein; THU = Thuringia. Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; own calculations.

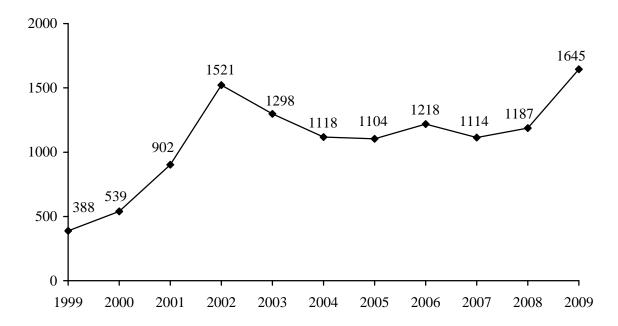
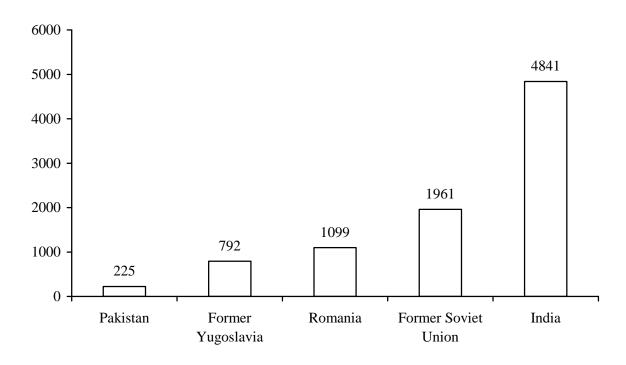


Figure 6. New enrolment of Indian students in Germany (1999-2009)

Source: FOMR 2011: 265.

Figure 7. German Green Cards issued, selected countries (08/2000-04/2004)



Source: Venema 2004: 7. Former Yugoslavia includes Serbia-Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia. Former Soviet Union includes Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and the Baltic States.

A2. Tables

Table 1. Age profile of Indian population in Germany (2010)

	Indian population				C 1 1			
Age	all		male		female		General population	
	total	percent	total	percent	total	percent	total	percent
under 5	2,145	4.44	1,127	3.65	1,018	5.84	4,117,300	5.05
5-15	2,169	4.49	1,150	3.73	1,019	5.84	6,905,300	8.44
15-25	5,227	10.83	3,648	11.83	1,579	9.05	9,251,500	11.31
25-45	31,120	64.46	20,126	65.26	10,994	63.04	21,818,300	26.67
45-65	6,582	13.63	4,133	13.40	2,449	14.04	22,808,000	27.88
over 65	1,037	2.15	655	2.12	382	2.19	16,901,700	20.66
total	48,280	100.00	30,839	*99.99	17,441	10.000	81,802,100	*100.01
Ø age	32.9	years	33.2	years	32.4	years	43.8 ye	ears

Sources: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; CIA World Fact Book; own calculations. Data for general population is from 2009.

Table 2. Marital status of Indian population in Germany (2010)

M. S. L. C.	Indian po	opulation	General population		
Marital status	total	percent	total	percent	
Single	21,002	43.50	34,256,800	41.88	
Married	20,446	42.35	35,279,100	43.13	
Widowed	232	0.48			
Divorced	1,650	3.42	12,266,300	15.00	
Unknown	4,950	10.25			
total	48,280	100.00	81,802,200	*100.01	

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; own calculations. Data for general population is from 2009.

^{*} Percentages may not add up to 100.00 percent due to rounding.

 $[\]ast$ Percentages may not add up to 100.00 percent due to rounding.

Table 3. Spatial distribution of Indian population within Germany by states (2010)

State	Indian po	pulation	General population		
State	total	percent	total	percent	
North Rhine-Westphalia	10,590	21.93	17,849,025	21.83	
Bavaria	7,633	15.81	12,531,925	15.33	
Baden-Württemberg	7,241	15.00	10,754,865	13.15	
Hesse	6,714	13.91	6,067,609	7.42	
Berlin	2,946	6.10	3,450,889	4.22	
Hamburg	2,902	6.01	1,783,975	2.18	
Lower Saxony	2,323	4.81	7,923,536	9.69	
Saxony	1,821	3.77	4,151,011	5.08	
Rhineland-Palatinate	1,586	3.29	4,006,296	4.90	
Saxony-Anhalt	760	1.57	2,339,439	2.86	
Schleswig-Holstein	732	1.52	2,833,747	3.47	
Bremen	693	1.44	659,927	0.81	
Brandenburg	617	1.28	2,506,160	3.07	
Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	597	1.24	1,643,566	2.01	
Thuringia	574	1.19	2,237,434	2.74	
Saarland	551	1.14	1,018,926	1.25	
Germany total	48,280	*100.01	81,758,330	*100.01	

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; own calculations.

Table 4. Percentage of Indian population in relation to general population by states (2010)

State	Indian population in percent
Hamburg	0.163
Hesse	0.111
Bremen	0.105
Berlin	0.085
Baden-Württemberg	0.067
Bavaria	0.061
North Rhine-Westphalia	0.059
Saarland	0.054
Saxony	0.044
Rhineland-Palatinate	0.040
Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	0.036
Saxony-Anhalt	0.032
Lower Saxony	0.029
Schleswig-Holstein	0.026
Thuringia	0.026
Brandenburg	0.025
Germany total	0.059

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; own calculations.

st Percentages may not add up to 100.00 percent due to rounding.

Table 5. NRI in Germany according to type of residence (2010)

Type of residence	In	Indian population			
Type of residence	total	male	female		
Old legislation (Aliens Act 1990)	5,263	3,007	2,256		
New legislation (Aliens Residence Act 2004)	35,795	21,791	14004		
Temporary residence permit (all)	26,638	16,134	10.504		
Temporary residence permit (education and studies)	5,152	3,948	1,204		
Temporary residence permit (work, mostly high skilled)	8,970	7,507	1,463		
Temporary residence permit (humanitarian reasons, refugees)	407	308	99		
Temporary residence permit (family reunification)	11,537	3,959	7,578		
Temporary residence permit (specific circumstances)	572	412	160		
Permanent settlement permit	8,287	5,049	3,238		
Other residence permits under new legislation	870	608	262		
European Union residence permit	896	611	285		
Exceptional leave to remain	2,552	2,411	141		
Other types of residence	3,774	3,019	755		
total	48,280	30,839	17,441		

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

Table 6. School education of South and Southeast Asian population in Germany (2010)

	South and Southeast Asian population			
School education	ma	ale	female	
	total	*percent	total	*percent
Graduated:	156,000	60.0	179,000	59.1
Elementary school	46,000	17.7	58,000	19.1
Secondary school (high school)	29,000	11.2	46,000	15.2
Secondary school (technical college entrance)	10,000	3.8	10,000	3.3
Secondary school (university entrance)	68,000	26.2	62,000	20.5
Not graduated:	104,000	40.0	124,000	40.9
Still in education	69,000	26.5	71,000	23.4
Never graduated	35,000	13.5	53,000	17.5

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

Table 7. Professional education of South and Southeast Asian population in Germany (2010)

	South and Southeast Asian population			
Professional education	male		female	
	total	*percent	total	*percent
Trained:	85,000	32.7	90,000	29.7
Apprenticeship	37,000	14.2	46,000	15.2
Technical college	8,000	3.1	8,000	2.6
University	28,000	10.8	23,000	7.6
Not trained:	175,000	67.3	213,000	70.3
Still in training	74,000	28.5	70,000	23.1
Never trained	101,000	38.8	143,000	47.2

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany.

^{*} Percent of that particular population group.

^{*} Percent of that particular population group.

Table 8. New enrolment of foreign students in Germany (2009)

Country of origin	Total number	Percentage
China	5,613	9.2
France	3,685	6.0
United States	3,386	5.9
Spain	3,071	5.6
Russia	2,790	4.6
Poland	2,644	4.3
Italy	2,450	4.0
Austria	2,317	3.8
Turkey	2,208	3.6
India	1,645	2.7
total	60,910	100.0

Source: FOMR 2011: 63, 265.

Table 9. Employment of South and Southeast Asian population in Germany (2010)

	South and Southeast Asian population			
Employment	male		female	
	total	*percent	total	*percent
Not employable	107,000	41.2	172,000	56.8
Employable:	154,000	59.2	131,000	43.2
Self-employed	26,000	10.0	10,000	3.3
Clerk	58,000	22.3	57,000	18.8
Worker	45,000	17.3	42,000	13.9
Unemployed	24,000	9.2	17,000	5.6
total	260,000	100.0	303,000	100.0

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany; own calculations.

^{*} Percent of that particular population group.

Table 10. Countries with highest remittance to India (2010)

Country	Amount in million (US-Dollar)	Number of emigrants	Remittance per emi- grant (US-Dollar)
United Arab Emirates	15,879	2,185,919	7,264
Unites States	15,279	1,654,272	9,236
United Kingdom	4,629	657,792	7,037
Saudi Arabia	3,339	1,452,927	2,298
Kuwait	2,025	393,210	5,150
Australia	1,906	209,908	9,078
Singapore	1,167	157,114	7,427
Qatar	1,033	250,649	4,120
Oman	1,021	447,824	2,279
Germany	552	67,779	8,144
total	*55,000	11,360,823	4,841

Source: World Bank; Rahman 2011.

^{*}Estimate.

A3. Sources and Literature

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Additionally, interviews from multiple sources have been used (self-conducted, from specific journals such as "Meine Welt", or from particular internet platforms like theinder.net).