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

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Country Report: Indian migration to the Netherlands

Ellen Bal

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Research Report
Case Study
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Country Report: Indian migration to the Netherlands

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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

This paper presents the past and present state of affairs regarding migration from India to the Netherlands. The Netherlands have never been a very popular destination for migrants from India. If we, however, include the Hindustanis in the so-called Indian diaspora, the Netherlands are home to the second largest Indian diaspora in Europe. The Hindustanis are the descendants of British-Indian indentured laborers who migrated to the Dutch colony of Surinam between 1873 and 1916, and who moved on to the Netherlands in particular during the 1970s and 1980s. At present, the "Indian diaspora" in the Netherlands includes approximately 160,000 Hindustanis and 21,729 Indians (first and second generation immigrants). This paper deals with all those with apparent (ancestral) connections to India. Two phenomena stand out and make the Dutch case particularly interesting for a study of Indian migration to Europe. Besides the presence of the relatively large group of Hindustanis, we are currently witnessing a remarkable increase in the immigration of Indian knowledge workers in the country. In practice, the two distinct categories of people of Indian descent have very little in common. This paper investigates these different categories of ("old" and "new") migrants and analyzes the implications of contemporary Indian and Dutch policies on Indian migration to the Netherlands and on processes of identity formation amongst these migrants of Indian origin

1. Introduction

The Netherlands have never been a very popular destination for migrants from India: unlike, say, the United Kingdom with its longstanding historical connections with the subcontinent. Nevertheless, since the 1960s and 1970s, a small but steadily increasing number of individual migrants from India have arrived. One immigrant of the early years estimated that in 1968 as many as ten to fifteen Indian families were living in the Netherlands at that date. If we, however, include the 160,000 Dutch Hindustanis in the Indian diaspora, the Netherlands are in fact home to the second largest "Indian diaspora" in Europe (e.g., Saleh, n.d.). These Hindustanis (in Dutch: Hindoestanen or Hindostanen) are the descendants of the indentured labors who migrated from British India to the Dutch colony of Surinam in the period 1873 to 1916 and moved on to the Netherlands, above all, in the 1970s and 1980s.

This paper focuses on Indian migration to the Netherlands and deals with all those with apparent (ancestral) connections to India: though such historical connections do not necessarily imply that people of Indian descent necessarily identify themselves as Indians or that they identify themselves with India. Two phenomena stand out and make the Dutch case particularly interesting for a study of Indian migration to Europe. Besides the presence of the relatively large group of Hindustanis, who also constitute one of the largest immigrant communities in the Netherlands (albeit still only one percent of the entire population), we are currently witnessing a remarkable increase in the immigration of Indian knowledge workers in the country. In practice, these two distinct categories of people of Indian descent[1] have very little in common. Yet, facilitated by the current diaspora policies of the Indian government and by Dutch supporters, various attempts are being made to bring the different and distinct sections of people of Indian descent together in order to smooth the integration of new immigrants and, most importantly, to facilitate Indo-Dutch relations, Indian investments in the Netherlands and *vice versa*, and further immigration of highly-qualified workers from India. Representative of these attempts were the repeated assertions during the most recent Indian Diaspora Conference in the Netherlands (The Hague, September 25th), that Hindustanis and other Dutch Indians form the bridge between India and the Netherlands. Yet, it remains to be seen whether these Dutch PIOs should indeed be unequivocally labeled as part of the Indian diaspora. This paper shall not engage in the elaborate debate among social scientists on the academic usefulness of the concept of diaspora in general, or for the Indian case in particular. It will, however, briefly touch upon local identification processes amongst people in the Netherlands whose roots can be traced back to India. These local identifications show that Hindustani notions of identity and belonging are complex and multi-layered. While some Hindustanis have indeed embraced notions of a shared Indian identity, others emphasize their Surinamese or Dutch engagement and belonging.

The purpose of the paper is to present the past and present state of affairs regarding migration from India to the Netherlands. The paper is set out as follows: section 3 provides a brief overview of twentieth-century migration to the Netherlands and presents some general statistics on the number of immigrants, with a particular focus on Hindustanis and migrants directly from India. The fourth section of the paper focuses on Hindustanis, their historical background and their migration history to Surinam and the Netherlands, and their present cultural and socio-economic situation. Section 5 examines Indian immigration from India since the 1960s and 1970s, and particularly since the early 2000s. The last part of the paper, meanwhile, briefly reflects on issues such as identification and community formation amongst individuals of Indian descent in the Netherlands, and discusses their connections with India. First, however, a number of methodological issues and shortcomings (read: gaps) in the paper must be addressed. It should be clear from the outset that no systematic research on Indian migration to the Netherlands has been carried out thus far. Given the limited time available for

[1] For purpose of clarity, the paper distinguishes between people of Indian descent and people of Indian origin. The Government of India (GoI) makes an official distinction between People of Indian Origin (PIO) and Non-resident Indians.

the project, not all questions raised in the country report template can be answered. For a systematic, in-depth, analysis of migration from India to the Netherlands, more extensive qualitative and quantitative research is needed.

2. Some notes on research methodology and the limitations of the research

This research paper draws on a wide variety of primary and secondary sources. The Hindustanis in the Netherlands and in Surinam have been the subject of ample research. Several Surinamese and Dutch historians and social scientists have published widely on Hindustani migration history and socio-economic and political emancipation and integration processes both in Surinam and in the Netherlands. Our bibliography contains a number of relevant publications on Hindustanis, but it is by no means exhaustive. From 2001 to 2006, the researcher was involved in a multi-sited research project on the (imagined and real) connections of Hindustanis with India, Surinam and the Netherlands. She worked closely together with Dr. Kathinka-Sinha Kerkhoff, with whom she published widely on matters concerning identity formation, and socio-cultural, political and economic "back-linking" to India (see references). A number of interviews that were carried out for that project also proved useful for this country report (see appendix A.)

Some complications arose with respect to the availability of statistical data on the Hindustani community in the Netherlands. The Dutch state does not carry out regular population censuses. Population statistics, however, are provided by the Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS) on a yearly basis. (http://www.cbs.nl). StatLine is the free electronic databank of the CBS. It contains statistical information on many social and economic subjects in the form of tables, graphs and maps.[2] In their population statistics, the CBS does not register ethnicity but only takes (previous) nationality/country of birth (and that of one or both parents) into account. Therefore, any systematic data for each of the different ethnic communities from Surinam in the Netherlands (Hindustanis, Afro-Surinames/Creole, Chinese, Javanese, Marron, etc.) is unavailable. Recently, however, an attempt was made by the CBS, together with Chan Choenni – who holds a special chair on Hindustani migration history at the VU University Amsterdam – to carefully estimate the total number of Hindustanis in the Netherlands (Oudhof et al 2011; see also Choenni 2011). On the basis of that analysis, employing statistical data in combination with surnames, the researchers concluded that at present approximately 160,000 Hindustanis live in the Netherlands. This figure is significantly smaller than the one frequently mentioned by the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, who estimated in 2001 that there were as many as 200,000 so-called PIOs (nearly all Hindustanis) in the Netherlands (http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/contents.htm).

While ample information is available on Hindustanis in the Netherlands, academic research on Indians in the Netherlands and on migration from India, is nearly absent and limited to a small number of unpublished master's theses and published articles (e.g., Lynnebakke 2007, Sonneveld 2011), and a few research reports (SOPEMI 2007; Engbersen et al 2011). The researcher, therefore, had to rely on a variety of primary and secondary sources and needed to carry out a good deal of research herself. Appendix A contains the names of the people who were interviewed for the country report.

Every so often, popular media, government or government-sponsored organizations, and Indian diaspora/migrant organizations report on Indian migration/migrants to the Netherlands. Recent publications have focussed on the increasing number of knowledge workers (expats) hired by large business firms in the country. These (non-academic) sources, however, are limited in number and scope. Both Indians as well as Hindustanis have set up various cultural and economic organizations which host small or relatively extensive websites where different types of information can be found. A

[2] All this information can be consulted, printed and downloaded free of charge: http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/cijfers/statline/zelf-tabellen-maken/default.htm).

number of these websites (e.g., www.indiawijzer.nl, and www.indianexpatsociety.org) proved most useful for this research.

Extensive government statistics on Indians in the Netherlands are only available for the years after 1995. The first information on Indians in the Netherlands dates from 1976. That information, however, has not been made publicly available by the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS).[3] The city of Amsterdam and the neighboring municipality Amstelveen, where the majority of Indian expats are currently residing, provide detailed statistical data for the Indians (first and second generation) in the region. But they have done so only for the last few years.

This paper is, therefore, based on a fragmented and varied set of primary and secondary sources, both quantitative and qualitative, including a number of interviews with key-figures in the local Indian and Hindustani communities, and with local and national policy makers. The limited time available for the project did not allow the present researcher to answer all queries in the country report template. In order to map and analyze Indian migration to the Netherlands in greater detail, more systematic (qualitative and quantitative) research would be needed. This is especially the case with the so-called "old Indian immigrants", that is, those Indians and their children who arrived in the Netherlands from the 1960s to 1995.

3. A brief history of migration to the Netherlands

Immigration issues have topped political and policy agenda's in the Netherlands for over a decade now. The notion that the Netherlands are being flooded (through "mass immigration") by desperate immigrants from non-western societies ("fortune seekers") and that their integration into Dutch society has not worked ("the multi-cultural society has failed") is widespread (e.g., Lucassen and Lucassen 2011). We see this, for example, reflected in the popularity of the Party for Freedom (PVV) – which takes an explicit anti-immigrant and anti-Islam stance – but also in the reformulation of migration policies by other, mainstream, political parties. It is interesting to observe that there is little connection between political discourse on mass immigration and reality. At present, so-called problematic, non-western, immigrants make up no more than 6 percent of the total number of immigrants per year (idem, 36-39; see also Dutch SOPEMI-Report 2007).

It is, however, true that the composition of the Dutch population significantly changed during the second half of the twentieth century. This was particularly the case for urban centers in the western part of the country. After the Second World War, international migration to the Netherlands came to be dominated by three separate migration waves: the first was formed by low-skilled laborers, so-called guest workers, or *gastarbeiders*, primarily from Southern European countries, and from Morocco and Turkey. The global economic crisis in 1973 brought a definite end to this wave of migration. Most guest workers lost their jobs and most Southern European guest laborers returned to their home countries. Yet, Turkish and Moroccan laborers, who were also seriously affected by the crisis, decided not to go back to their home countries, where their economic prospects seemed even more bleak (Cf. Lucassen and Lucassen 2011). These temporary migrants became permanent residents and they brought their families to the Netherlands. This second migration wave, consisting of family unification and family formation, caused another boost to immigration from Turkey and Morocco. Until one decade ago, family migration continued to be the prime reason for migration to the Netherlands. The third wave followed the independence and decolonization of Indonesia (December 1949), and of Surinam (25 November 1975). In the 1980s, increasingly restrictive migration policies led to a reduction in migrants from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam.

[3] For this paper I have made use of the report published by Engbersen *et al* that does include limited statistical data for the period before 1995 (Engbersen et al 2011).

In the early 1970s, approximately 160,000 people were classified as non-western immigrants. They constituted little over one percent of the entire population of 13 million people, and only a small proportion of the entire category of immigrants in the Netherlands (who made up less than 10 percent of the total Dutch population). At the time, the large majority of the so-called non-western migrants (nearly 80 percent) were of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean descent. Since then, the total number of western migrants slowly increased to 1.4 million in 2000, and to 1.5 million in 2011. The number of so-called non-western migrants increased much more rapidly, to 1.4 million in 2000, and to 1.9 million in 2011. Today, migrants of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean descent still form the large majority of first- and second-generation migrants (altogether 1.2 million) in the Netherlands.

In January 2007, the Dutch immigration law (Win) was replaced by a new one (Wi). The revised law obliges immigrants to pass an exam measuring their "level of integration". The exam includes both a language exam and a test of knowledge of Dutch society. This obligation applies not only to new immigrants, but also to many sections of so-called non-western immigrants who have already lived in the Netherlands for many years. The requirement applies to those who wish to adopt Dutch nationality, but also to foreign nationals who want to obtain a permanent legal residence. A very recent change in the law compels immigrants to pay for these civic integration exams themselves. The new law has brought many changes to integration procedures and requirements, most notably an increased emphasis on the responsibility of the immigrants for their own integration and the opening of the immigration and language market to private language institutes (see also Kirk 2010). As a result of these changes, there are various Dutch language courses available. The civic integration requirements do not apply to expats and their families.

As pointed out in the introduction, the Netherlands have never been a popular destination for Indians. A number of our informants observed that in the 1970s there were a only a few hundred Indians in the Netherlands. Available data show that the total number of Indians in the Netherlands has increased from 9,476 in 1996, to 12,032 in 2001, and to 21,729 in 2011. These figures pertain to first and second generation migrants and include children with only one parent born in India. It is important to note that the Dutch state has invented a special term for immigrants and their children (who are born in the Netherlands. They are labeled "allochtonen" ("allochtonous"): cf. the category of "autochtonous" or "native" Dutch. This category of *allochtonen* consists of first-generation immigrants (that is, people who were born in another country) and of the second-generation (i.e., people with one or two parents born abroad). The state further distinguishes between western and non-western *allochtonen*. Immigrants from India and Surinam (as well as their children) are labeled non-western. The third generation are registered as "native" or "authochtonous" Dutch and no longer appear in the official migration/population statistics as Indians or Surinamese.

Albeit still a relatively small segment of "non-western" immigrants, the number of Indians in the Netherlands has rapidly increased since 2004, when a special policy for highly-qualified migrants was introduced. In 2010 alone, 3342 new immigrants from India arrived. In absolute numbers, Indian immigrants have climbed the immigration list from number 24 (in 1995) to number 10 in 2011. They rank number four (after China, Turkey and Somalia) if we only take immigration from so-called non-western countries into account. In the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, that presently attracts most Indian migrants, Indians now constitute the largest expat community. They have recently, indeed, overtaken the Japanese, who used to form the largest expat community in the region.

It is important to note that these official statistics on Indians do not include Hindustanis, who comprise by far the largest subdivision of the Indian diaspora in the Netherlands. Most Hindustanis are registered as first- and second-generation Surinamese. All in all, they number as many as 160,000 people, by far the largest category of People of Indian Origin" in the Netherlands. This estimate also includes the so-called third-generation. On January 1st, 2009, the Netherlands counted as many as 26,800 "third-generation Surinamese". Approximately 45.5% (10,000) of these are Hindustanis

(Nicolaas et al 2009; see also Choenni 2011). They are registered as autochtonous and no longer appear in official statistics as of Surinamese origin.

The next section addresses the past and present cultural, socio-economic, and political developments of the Hindustanis. It begins with a brief historical overview about their migration to Surinam and their integration into colonial Surinam and is followed by a description of their second migration to the Netherlands, their integration in the Netherlands and their current socio-economic and cultural position.

4. The past and present situation of the Hindustanis in Surinam and the Netherlands

A short history of indentured labor and settlement in Surinam[4]

Upon the abolition of slavery and the "emancipation" of African slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam in 1863, the Dutch colonial government turned to the British government for cheap labor. The British, who had been facing similar labor shortage problems in their own colonies, where slavery had already been abolished by 1833, had set up a labor recruitment program in British India that became known as the indentured labor system. In 1870, an agreement (*Koelietraktaat*) was signed between Her Majesty the Queen of England and the King of the Netherlands on the subject of emigration from Calcutta to Surinam (Gautam 2003: 206; Choeni 2011: 12). The former slaves were forced to continue their plantation work for another decade, but from 1873, recruits from British India replaced them as laborers on the plantations. Between 1873 and 1916, when all British Indian indentured migration officially ended, approximately 34,000 British Indians arrived in Surinam with contracts (Goslinga 1990: 509). And another three thousand migrants arrived from neighboring colonies in the Caribbean (Bhagwanbali 2010, 152). After five years of contract work, the laborers were able to return to British India and free passages were officially granted. Approximately 11,623 indentured laborers returned to the Raj, of whom 900 later remigrated to Surinam (Bhagwanbali 2010, 152). The majority extended their contracts for another five years or become small-scale independent farmers, after receiving a plot of land from the administration.

The immigrants gave various reasons for their migration from India. Often it was a combination of poverty, personal and local difficulties, coupled with a spirit of enterprise that brought people to one of the depots. A number of stories reveal how people were cheated by the *arkatiyas* (migration brokers) who promised them riches and a bright future. Other informants narrated stories about their ancestors being kidnapped by these agents. Most informants, however, told us that with the death of their ancestors, stories, memories of and concrete links to India (family members, villages, etc) got lost. The first generation of migrants from India took their memories and family connections with them to their graves.

The immigration registers preserved in Paramaribo show that almost 80 percent of the migrants that arrived by ships from British India came from the United Provinces (encompassing Agra and Oudh), and contrary to what is often though, not from that the area now known as Bihar. The migrants mostly headed from the districts of Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Benares, Azamgarh, Ghazipur and Ballia (De Klerk 1998 [1953]: 48-49). The U.P. was one of the most populated regions of British India and most people there were involved in agriculture. The pressure on the soil was high and the region was known for its internal migration.

Hence, the immigrants constituted a varied lot with differences based on religion, regional background, class, gender, etc., They also spoke a variety of languages and dialects, they came with

[4] This section is based on my previous research project during which I worked closely together with Dr. Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff and draws on a number of papers and publications that we wrote together (also see list of references).

dissimilar ambitions and personal histories, and they were differently equipped to face the long journey and the new circumstances in which they had to live and work (e.g., de Klerk 1998; Gowricharn 2003, 92). Most men as well as women (who initially constituted only a small minority of the migrants) registered themselves as singles; family migration was rare. Notwithstanding the initial heterogeneity of the British Indians in Suriname, already during their stay in the depots in Calcutta or on the long journey which lasted for months, a slow but steady process of community formation began. While some immigrants considered themselves "transients" and not "settlers", subsequent generations came to realize that they were in a "position of no return" and abandoned the idea of going back to India altogether. Suriname had become their home country. It was the abandonment of the indenture system in 1916 that led to the end of the colonial politics of segregation and to the acceleration of integration. Hence, the indentured laborers did not constitute a separate ethnic community from the start, but gradually formed one.

Those migrants who stayed in Surinam became permanent residents. Initially they, and, in accordance with British law, their children and grandchildren, maintained their British nationality. Many among them had settled down as small agriculturists. Certain members of the newly emerging community thought that for their "social and moral development" the "import of families, in particular those with daughters, was of utmost importance". They did not support "racial mixing" and wanted to preserve their old cultural heritage, which they would continue to cherish. Spokesmen of the British Indians in Surinam pleaded with the colonial authorities in Surinam to continue the system. They even sent a small delegation to Calcutta to persuade the authorities to allow new streams of migration from Calcutta to Paramaribo. When their efforts failed, these spokesmen requested the easy and cheap "naturalization" of the permanent settlers: for a more elaborate description see Bal and Sinha Kerkhoff 2003.

From 1927, indeed, all British Indians born in Surinam received Dutch nationality. This was the same year in which Nehru drafted a foreign policy for the Congress Party urging Indians overseas to identify with their adopted countries (Tinker 1976). At the same time, the Government of India had lost touch, almost completely, with Indian migrants in Surinam, as the post of Protector as well as those of other consular officers had also been abolished. One more bond with British India was, therefore, broken and the main concern for these – now Dutch – colonial citizens, who had settled in Surinam permanently, became the preservation of their traditions and separate identity (Hajary 1937: 103).

When, in 1927, the Hindustanis officially became Dutch citizens ("Nederlandsche onderdanen"),they needed to invent new identities to help them maintain their legitimate place in Dutch-Suriname *vis-à-vis* other local migrant groups and Dutch colonial power. By 1947, when British India was bisected into independent India and Pakistan, the descendants of the Indian indentured laborers identified themselves as a separate ethnic community known as Hindustanis. It has been argued that a self-defined Hindustani community really only existed after 1945, when a process of democratization began and political parties were established (Gowricharn 2003, 92). In community formation, a *lingua franca* now known as Sarnami or Sarnami-Hindustani had also developed, based largely on Avadhi, Bhojpuri and other Indian dialects, and this blended with non-Indian languages (e.g., Vertovec 2000: 48). Despite the fact that both Hindi and Urdu were taught in local schools for Hindustani children (the so-called koelie schools), and notwithstanding the fact too that both Hindi and Urdu have always been considered higher languages, which were used as religious languages, neither one of them developed into a first language, or a "home" language.

While the majority of Hindustanis identified themselves as "Hindus", the percentage of Muslims among the British Indian migrants was approximately 17.5 percent. For both Hindu and Muslim denominations, British India remained an important focal point. (British)-India, the cradle of Hinduism, kept its religious significance for Hindus. Yet, Muslims too were oriented towards (British) India and did not seem to have much interest in pilgrimages to Mecca (Karsten 1930: 20). However, neither Muslims nor Hindus constituted homogeneous categories of believers. Fragmentation and institutionalization amongst Hindus and Muslims began soon after the contract laborers settled as free immigrants in Surinam and continued during the twentieth century both in Surinam and later in the

Netherlands (e.g., Ramsoedh 2003). The most important division amongst Hindus is that between the Sanatan Dharm and the Arya Samaj. The first and most profound distinction amongst Muslims was between Sunnis and Ahmadis.

Despite some friction between Hindu and Muslim Hindustanis in Surinam, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, or perhaps because of them, religious distance between these Hindus and Muslims was less than the ethnic distance that existed between the Hindustanis and communities of Dutch, African (Creole), Chinese, Amerindian and Javanese descent. Different scholars have argued that the competition over scarce socio-economic and political resources with the Creoles or Afro-Surinamese encouraged the Hindustanis to emphasize their common origin, history, and identity, and, simultaneously, to ignore internal socio-religious differences (e.g., Brinkerhoff and Jacob, 1994). During the 1949 elections for instance, in response to Creole hegemony, Hindu and Muslim Hindustanis formed a United Hindustani Party (VHP) adopting the slogan: "Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, Christian; they are all brothers; India is the mother of them all". It has been suggested that the gap between Hindus and Muslim has increased in the course of the twentieth century, especially since 9/11, and in particular in the Netherlands, but no research has been carried out to substantiate (or challenge) this claim.

Despite their differences, having experienced a unique migration history and having been subjected to various economic and political situations, descendants from Indian indentured laborers in Surinam evolved as a distinct community with its own and varied dynamics. Today, both in Surinam and in the Netherlands, Hindustanis form clearly distinct ethnic communities. In Surinam, they constitute a relatively large and influential ethnic group (possibly the largest), and are surrounded by other powerful ethnic groups of African, Chinese and Indonesian descent. The formation of political parties is along ethnic rather than religious lines, and many Hindustanis (Muslims and Hindus) are united in the United Hindustani Party (in Dutch: VHP) since 1949 (Ramsoedh and Bloemberg 2001:139). In the Netherlands, the Hindustanis constitute a relatively small ethnic community (albeit one of the largest migrant communities in the country). Although transnational (economic, cultural, political) connections between the Netherlands and Surinam are myriad and have been maintained to date, several Hindustani informants have pointed out that both communities are developing in different directions. The first generation of migrants from Surinam in the Netherlands would often (but not always) identify as Surinamese, but many, in particular young Hindustanis born in the Netherlands do not share these tight (economic, social, emotional) connections with Surinam.

Hindustanis in the Netherlands

Hindustani migration from Surinam to the Netherlands remained fairly limited until the end of the 1960s. In the 1950s, they numbered a few hundred at the most. According to a careful estimate, the Netherlands counted 1,800 Hindustanis by 1968 (Choenni 2003, 56). Most Hindustanis who migrated during the 1950s and 1960s were relatively well to do. A smaller section consisted of students and nurses. These early migrants most often settled in the Hague, where today more than 45% of all Hindustanis live.

Since 1968 political instability in Surinam has caused chain migration to the Netherlands. Immigrants informed their relatives and friends of possibilities in the Netherlands. This would also explain the fact that the Hague is still home to most Hindustanis today. Yet it was not until 1973, when it was decided that Surinam would become an independent nation-state in 1975, that large-scale migration to the Netherlands began. In 1974 and 1975 alone, more than 36,000 Hindustanis migrated to the Netherlands. Until November 1980, an agreement existed between Surinam and the Netherlands, that allowed free migration from Surinam (Engbersen et al 2011, 34). After Surinam's independence and the *coup d'état* and the December Murders in 1982, immigration from Surinam continued (Choenni 2003, 54-55). By the end of September 2008, approximately 160,000 Hindustanis were living in the Netherlands. Around the time of independence many Hindustanis feared that the

country would be dominated by the Afro-Surinamese. A number of communities there had, in fact, pleaded against independence

There is a general notion that, in socio-economic terms, Hindustanis have been more successful than other Surinamese groups in the Netherlands. The available figures, however, do not substantiate this claim (van Niekerk 2000). Yet, with respect to their overall level of education statistical data from the CBS do reveal that the second generation of Hindustanis (35 and older) have been doing better than the previous generation and slightly better than the Afro-Surinamese. At present, 60% of Hindustani men and 57% of women in the age-group 15 to 64 are in employment. Predictably, the (level of) their employment depends on their educational background. In 1998, approximately one quarter of working Hindustanis were in the public sector, 11% worked in the non-profit sector, and 63% in the private sector (Choenni 2003). According to Choenni, an increasing number of Hindustanis are active as entrepreneurs in a wide variety of shops, restaurants, etc. The participation of so-called non-western immigrants in higher education has increased significantly amongst the second generation. The participation of second-generation Surinamese women in higher education is even larger than amongst Dutch "autochtonous" women (CBS 2010, 10). Separate figures for Hindustanis are not available. According to Choenni, there are no significant differences between Hindustanis and Afro- Surinamese with respect to their educational and employment situation. Nor is there any evidence that Hindustanis are more active as independent entrepreneurs than the authochonous Dutch.[5]

In 1985, 71% of Hindustanis (who had arrived in 1975) had only completed primary education. Upon departure in Surinam, their professional level had been rather varied. Of the Hindustanis who were in the Netherlands in 1979, 68% had been lower employees or skilled laborers while still in Surinam. Only 1% had been active in higher professions. In the 1970s, 25% of all Surinamese (including the Hindustanis) in the Netherlands were unemployed. This was five times higher than among the population at large. The difference can, to an extent, be explained by rapidly increased immigration during the 1970s. Only by the end of the 1980s, after a general crisis had affected the entire labor market including the "native" Dutch, did unemployment among the Surinamese decrease. By 1998 it had come down to 10%. The Hindustanis are still two-and-a half times more often unemployed than the native Dutch, but they do much better than other immigrant groups, such as the Turks or Moroccans (Niekerk 2000, 18-22). In short, the Hindustani immigrants have made progress in social and economic terms since their arrival, in general more progress than other immigrant groups. Research has, however, not demonstrated that Hindustanis have been more successful than the Afro-Surinamese. Different researchers (e.g., Van Niekerk 2000, 2007; Gowricharn 2003, 90) attribute this image of success to two distinct stereotypes that had already emerged in colonial Surinam. The suggestion that Hindustanis are a thriving and successful migrant community is often emphasized and coupled with references to Indian successes elsewhere in the world. Chan Choenni, who holds a special chair in Hindustani migration, goes as far as to (partly) attribute Hindustani successes to their "Indian cultural heritage" (Choenni 2011, 27).

Cultural development and integration processes

Besides being economically successful, the Hindustanis also have the reputation of being fairly closed ethnically-speaking and, while eager to develop, determined not to lose their distinctive cultural identity (Cf Choenni 2011, 28). A comparison between Hindustanis and Afro-Surinamese shows, according to Van Niekerk, that the Afro-Surinamese have maintained more interethnic relations than the Hindustanis. Hindustani marriage partners are generally preferred over non-Hindustani candidates and parents still play an important role in the selection of spouses for their children. Although it seems that Hindustanis prefer a partner of their own ethnic background, marriages with the "native" Dutch are on the rise. Of the second-generation Surinamese in the Netherlands (including all ethnic groups),

[5] Personal correspondence with Chan Choenni, 22 December 2011.

nearly 70% of the men and 60% of the women have a native Dutch partner. This applies first and foremost to the Afro-Surinamese, but an increasing number of Hindustanis seem to chosen a Dutch partner as well (Choenni 2003, 61).

In all this, the role of caste is trivial. Class and education are much more important in selecting appropriate marriage candidates. After leaving India, the caste-system quickly disappeared among British Indians (later Hindustanis). Many Hindustanis are proud of this fact and emphasize the, in their view, appalling consequences of caste in India.

The socio-cultural situation and the development of Hindustanis in the Netherlands differs from Hindustanis in Surinam in two respects. First, in the Netherlands political competition with other ethnic groups has largely disappeared. The Hindustani identity in the Netherlands is primarily a cultural identity (Gowricharn 2003, 95). The Hindustanis have been largely successful in building an institutional infrastructure (of social, cultural, religious and media organizations). In the Netherlands, they owe their visibility primarily to their cultural and religious (Hindu) manifestations. The Indiawijzer (www.Indiawijzer.nl), which is an information portal and comprehensive guide to India and India-related information in the Netherlands, gives a regular update on and the numerous cultural, academic, etc., activities – ranging from classical Indian dance performances to Indian diaspora activities – that are organized. The cultural visibility of Hindustanis is supported by the fact that Hindustanis also constitute the largest Hindu community in the Netherlands. Unlike Muslims in the Netherlands, who come from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds, Hindus are primarily ethnic and cultural Hindustanis. On account of their separate religion, like other religious groups in the Netherlands, the Hindus have been able to set up a separate national media organization called "OHM", which frequently broadcasts on Dutch television and radio. OHM programs often pertain to both religious (Hindu) as well as Hindustani (cultural) issues (http://www.ohmnet.nl). As well as OHM, various local Hindustani radio and television broadcasting organizations are active.

In addition to Hindu media organization, six Hindu schools have been established since 1988. Contrary to Muslim schools, which often receive negative media coverage in the Netherlands and have the reputation of hindering integration processes, the Hindu schools rarely feature in public debate and are not considered problematic. Of the six Hindu schools, five belong to the Stichting Hindoe Onderwijs (Foundation for Hindu Education). Although they are principally rooted in the Sanatan Dharm denomination, they present themselves as general Hindu schools, and follow a moderate form of Sanatan Dharm. The sixth school follows a liberal philosophy that is rooted in the Karma Vedic tradition (Driessen and Merry 2010: 26). As with Hindu media organizations, the Hindu schools cater primarily for Hindustanis. Most of their students share a Hindustani ethnic and cultural background (e.g., Driessen and Merry 2010). In 2003, it was estimated that approximately 400 different socio-cultural Hindustani organizations were active locally.[6] More than 300 of these could be qualified as Hindu organizations. Characteristic of these organizations was their fragmentation. According to Ramsoedh, this fragmentation is caused primarily by conflicts over positions and other personal issues.

While a number of community leaders have the ambition to increase the number of Hindu/Hindustani organizations, in the fields of care, religion, schools, etc, research shows that so-called second generation Hindustanis have less interest in participating in such (religious) institutions (Ramsoedh 2003, 109-110).

At present, Hindustanis form the largest community of Surinamese origin (345,000) in the Netherlands. The Afro-Surinamese come second, with approximately 132,000, followed by the Javanese Surinamese (22,000), the Chinese Surinamese (11,000) and the Marrons (11,000). The majority of Surinamese were born in Surinam (first generation, is 55% for all Surinamese, 57% for the Hindustanis). A substantial segment of the second generation have one Dutch parent (16%). This number is smallest among the Hindustanis (10%). Women constitute approximately 50% of all groups.

[6] For an extensive list of organizations see: http://www.sioweb.nl/index.php/page/surinaamse_organisaties

The Hindustanis live primarily in the Hague, Rotterdam, Zoetermeer and Almere. The largest community of Hindustanis reside in the Hague. Of the 46,429 Surinamese in the Hague (the Hague Municipal statistics, http://www.denhaag.buurtmonitor.nl/), 76% are first and second-generation Hindustanis (Bevolkingstrends,2e kwartaal, 2012).

Asian Ugandans

A fairly small and relatively unknown group of people of Indian (or South Asian) descent in the Netherlands are the so-called Asian Ugandans, whose (primarily) British Indian ancestors had settled in Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth century, and who were forced out of their country by dictator Idi Amin Dada Oumee in 1972. Approximately 350 of these Asian Ugandan refugees settled in the Netherlands.

The majority of Asian Ugandans were in the possession of a British passport. Many migrated to the United Kingdom. A few of those who did not have British citizenship settled in the Netherlands. It has been estimated that approximately half of them have stayed: others then migrated on to other places, including the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, after they had received Dutch citizenship. No systematic research on this group has been carried out. Next year, the Asian Ugandans in the Netherlands will commemorate their exodus from Uganda, fifty years ago. Members of this group of people of Indian descent (some originate from places in what is today Pakistan, or other South Asian countries) have maintained contact with each other. They are dispersed over the country, have developed in various directions and have taken on a variety of professions. The community is apparently highly transnational. People maintain relations with relatives in various countries in the west as well as in India and sometimes migrate for the purpose of marriage. At the same time, the community seems well integrated into Dutch society. This might explain, at least in part, their invisibility in the Netherlands.[7]

5. Indian immigrants in the Netherlands

It is unclear when Indian immigration into the Netherlands began, but according to one key-informant the first Indian national arrived in 1954. The first statistical information dates from 1976. That year, 339 Indian nationals arrived (Engbersen et al 2011, 31). In this paper, the Indians who have been arriving since the 1950s and 1960s are referred to as the first wave. According to Engbersen *et al*, their immigration can be qualified as *stable at low level*. With the exception of a peak in 1987, when more than 1700 Indian nationals arrived, the development remained fairly stable until 2004, when new policies regarding highly-skilled (knowledge) labor were launched. The majority of immigrants who have arrived since then are referred to as temporary highly-skilled migrants or expats. They usually stay for a period of one to three years and then return to India. As a consequence, emigration numbers also have increased. This recent flow of highly-qualified immigrants can be labeled as *starting* (Engbersen et al 2011, 31). It is too soon to predict the development of this new trend. The next section of this paper will address the newcomers in more detail. This section concentrates on the relatively small but steady inflow of Indian nationals between the 1950s and 2004.

CBS statistics demonstrate that the number of Indians in the Netherlands have increased from 9,476 in 1996, to 21,729. These figures are based on the municipal system, that registers any person who intends to stay in the country for three months or more. Indians who enter to country for short-term assignments are not registered. The majority of Indian migrants leave the country within six years (CBS 2003).

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[7] This section is largely based on an interview with Ms. Sheela Vyas, who arrived in the Netherlands at the age of eleven. Her parents are still living in the Netherlands.

Included in this number are the so-called second generation *allochtonen*, i.e., the children of one or two immigrants from India. This second generation comprises of 6,565 people. It is interesting to observe that of the second generation children, born in the Netherlands, more than fifty percent have only one India-born parent. Hence, the majority of these children are of "mixed" decent. This is also consistent with this researcher's observations that many "first wave" immigrants have married Dutch partners. At this point, the reasons for these cases of intermarriage are unknown, since no research about the marriage patterns of Indians is available. According to one key-informant, these mixed marriages also include marriages between Indians and Hindustanis. Research is though, as we say, lacking.

Table 1. shows that Indian migration to the Netherlands has clearly been male dominated. Not only has the number of male immigrants been consistently higher, table X on migration motives also indicates that the prime motive for male immigrants has been labor, while for women "family" has been the reason for migration.

There are no absolute and sure figures on the number of undocumented immigrants from India in the Netherlands. Estimates range from 3000 to 4000 (Engbersen et al 2011, 34).

Table 1. Total Indian population in the Netherlands

Year	Total	Male	Female	Total 1st generation	Male	female	Total 2nd generation	Two parents born abroad	One parent born abroad
1996	9476	5609	3867	6735	4214	2521	2741	1272	1469
1997	9759	5706	4053	6861	4243	2618	2898	1327	1571
1998	10302	5986	4316	7207	4415	2792	3095	1372	1723
1999	11015	6378	4637	7700	4685	3015	3315	1437	1878
2000	11516	6626	4890	7988	4812	3176	3528	1494	2034
2001	12032	6871	5161	8265	4934	3331	3767	1575	2192
2002	12589	7166	5423	8556	5084	3472	4033	1685	2348
2003	12971	7341	5630	8695	5143	3552	4276	1773	2503
2004	13363	7507	5856	8859	5197	3662	4504	1876	2628
2005	13807	7743	6064	9029	5284	3745	4778	2012	2766
2006	14682	8243	6439	9673	5667	4006	5009	2148	2861
2007	16027	9105	6922	10764	6389	4375	5263	2288	2975
2008	17357	9949	7408	11817	7111	4706	5540	2429	3111
2009	19297	11169	8128	13445	8155	5290	5852	2610	3242
2010	20490	11750	8740	14284	8561	5723	6206	2783	3423
2011	21729	12409	9320	15164	9031	6133	6565	2971	3594

(source: CBS/Statline)

Table 2. Immigration of Indians 1995-2010

	Total	Men	Women
1995	591	332	259
2000	782	443	339
2005	1320	837	483
2010	3342	2093	1249

(source: CBS/Statline)

Table 3. Emigration of Indians 1995-2010

	Total	Men	Women
1995	415	301	114
2000	417	284	133
2005	658	443	215
2010	2420	1597	823

(source: CBS/Statline)

The first wave of Indians in the Netherlands was highly diverse and included a few hundred successful and (relatively) well to do migrants. These immigrants have dominated the organizational structure and public presentation of Indians in the Netherlands. A number of them are active, to one degree or another, in one of the many Indian, or India-related organizations. Other Indian immigrants, for example those who have come to work in an Indian restaurant are less visible. One website on Indian/Pakistani/Deshi restaurants in the Netherlands listed 222 establishments.[8] It is interesting to observe that Indian restaurants are spread out over the entire country. One Indian restaurant owner in the Northeast of the country pointed out that it was easier to obtain a working permit for cooks from India for restaurant owners who had a restaurant in one of the smaller provincial towns, than for restaurants in large cities such as Amsterdam.

The regional background of first wave Indians varies greatly. It seems that, with the increasing number of Indians in the country, the number of regionally oriented Indian organizations has also grown.

One of these organizations is the Indian Bengali Association in the Netherlands (Kallol), http://www.ibanl.com. According to one Bengali Indian key-informant, there are approximately 500 Indian Bengalis in the Netherlands. This informant noted that the Bengali organization Kallol replaced (in 2007) an earlier organization for Bengalis, Probashi, that also included Bengalis from Bangladesh (primarily Muslims). This particular informant believed that this organizational transformation was based, in part, on religious motives.

Although there are no official statistics available for the regional and cultural background and religion of Indians in the Netherlands, it is generally believed that migrants from the Punjab form the largest group. The Sikh community in the Netherlands is currently running six Gurudwara's in the Netherlands.

According to the Sikh Society in the Netherlands, Sikhs began settling in the Netherlands in a significant fashion. In the early 1970s, the appointment of the former Maharaja Yadvindra Singh of Patiala as the Indian Ambassador in the Hague played an important role for Sikhs in getting to know and understand the Dutch. Most Sikhs are permanently based in the Netherlands, with the exception of IT consultants and other expats from India, who return to India after a few years. Sikhs are mainly located in Amsterdam, the Hague and Rotterdam, and a fair number of Sikhs are living in Eindhoven and Amstelveen. Most Sikhs in the Netherlands have their roots in India. However, substantial numbers of Sikhs from Afghanistan have also chosen to come to the Netherlands. The Sikh Society Netherlands claims that at present some 12,000 to 15,000 Sikhs are living in the country. These figures do not match official statistics, however.[9]

Indians in the Netherlands are spread out over the country. The majority, though, live in urban areas. Amsterdam houses the largest group of Indians (4,399), followed by the Hague (2,390), Rotterdam (1,476) and Amstelveen (1,307), near Amsterdam. The Indiawijzer, the most informative and up to date website for and about the Indian diaspora in the Netherlands, also contains a list of all Dutch municipalities with more than 10 Indian inhabitants (www.Indiawijzer.nl).

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[8] See: http://www.indianfoodsguide.com/indian-food-guide/indian-restaurants/europe/netherlands.html

[9] This section is based on my personal correspondence with the Sikh Society Netherlands. See for example http://www.sikhs.nl/index.htm

Indian expats in the Netherlands

The fastest growing category of Indians in the Netherlands are expats, highly-qualified employees with a background in information technology, consultancy, engineering, management, etc. Since the introduction of special regulations for highly-skilled migrant workers (kennismigrantenregeling) in October 2004, their numbers have rapidly increased. While in 2004, there were 533, in 2005 this had doubled to 1,098. In 2007, the total number of Indian immigrants was 2,345 (SOPEMI 2007, 30-33). For 58,9 percent of these migrants, labor is the prime motive. The second motive is family (27,8%) and the third was study (10,6%) (SOPEMI 2007, 33). An important factor in the increasing immigration of Indians to the Netherlands, and to the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area in particular, is the presence of a fast growing number of Indian companies in the region. At present, the Netherlands count approximately 160 Indian companies. These Indian companies not only attract Indian employees, they also provide thousands of jobs for local staff.

Since 2005, Indians have topped the list of highly-skilled migrants who were granted a first residence permit. Their number increased from 280 in 2005, to 855 in 2008 (that is also an increase from 17,4 percent of all highly-skilled migrants in 2005, to 29,5 percent in 2008). The Indian expats are said to come primarily from the urban areas known for their large IT industries, such as Bangalore, Chennai, Mumbai, Delhi and Hyderabad.

The regulations for highly-skilled migrant workers offer several special provisions. Highly-skilled migrants are migrants who come to the Netherlands to be employed and who have a gross annual income of at least €50,183, or €36,801, if they are under thirty. These income requirements do not apply to employees of research or educational institutions. When residence as a highly-skilled migrant has been granted, the employer is not required to be in possession of a work permit for this foreign employee: though only companies established in the Netherlands can use the highly-skilled migrant policy. The processing time of the highly-skilled migrant procedure is much faster than the regular procedure. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (IND) normally take a decision within two weeks for any request for a provisional residence permit (MVV request) and they take the decision on the residence permit in two weeks after the emigrant's arrival. Family members of highly-skilled migrants can also use a fast procedure to enter the Netherlands. They will receive a residence permit allowing them to work without a work permit. Ministers and teachers of religion, sex workers, and professional soccer players are not entitled to a residency as a highly-skilled migrant (see also http://english.ind.nl/). In the case of a stay shorter than three months, the employer must apply for a work permit at the UWV Werkbedrijf. The employer only gets the work permit when nobody in the Netherlands and the European Union (excluding Romania and Bulgaria) is available for the position.

Large multinational corporations like Tata Consultancy hire Indian employees on a regular basis. They are eligible for the accelerated provisional residence permit procedure. This procedure takes only a few weeks. Because of their short stay (not more than three months), these short-term migrants do not appear in the government statistics.

The highly-skilled Dutch migrant procedure is generally more attractive for foreign nationals than the European Blue Card. Under this scheme, highly-skilled migrants can be admitted to an EU member state if they are employed and earn at least 1.5 times the average wage of that member state, which is higher (approximately €60,000) than the required income of €50,183, or €36,801 for those under 30-years old. Moreover, in order to qualify for a European Blue Card, migrants also have to prove that they are highly-educated.

If employees do not satisfy the criteria for highly-skilled migrants, their employers need to apply for a work permit. Such permits will only be granted when nobody in the Netherlands and the European Union (excluding Romania and Bulgaria) is available for the position. Labor migrants also need to apply for a provisional residence permit at the Dutch embassy. They can use the provisional residence permit (MVV) to travel to the Netherlands, where they must apply for a temporary residence permit. This procedure is far more complicated and lengthy. The normal procedure for

obtaining a provisional residence permit (MVV) is between 3 and 6 months. Under certain conditions, employers may be eligible for the accelerated provisional residence permit procedure. This procedure takes only a few weeks.

In 2008, 2100 of the 7200 working permits for highly-skilled workers were obtained by Indians. Since the establishment of the special regulations for knowledge workers since October 2004, 13,000 knowledge workers have entered the Netherlands. The majority come from India, followed by the United States, China and Japan, in that order. Most expats are male and between eighteen and thirty years old (HR-Kiosk.nl, nd). It is estimated that, at present, more than 5000 knowledge workers employed in the Netherlands (Moser, 2011).

CBS statistics show that, 1995 to 2009, the great majority (88 %) of the 9,045 labor migrants from India are male. In the same period, 4,870 women joined their husbands, as compared to 2086 men, whose migration motive was family migration.

Table 4. Migration motives for Indian migrants

	Labor		Asylum		Family migration		Studies		Au pair/internship		Other	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1995	146	13	11	-	125	207	20	3	-	-	14	28
1996	173	13	16	4	155	214	39	11	5	-	8	27
1997	197	19	6	-	120	218	99	19	8	3	20	58
1998	319	24	5	8	140	245	86	17	8	-	37	54
1999	310	31	5	4	80	207	67	18	1	2	23	53
2000	240	39	5	2	76	196	66	23	5	2	19	53
2001	263	30	7	3	81	211	67	21	5	2	37	44
2002	204	32	13	3	77	178	85	30	-	1	19	38
2003	206	29	3	3	69	192	104	21	2	1	18	35
2004	174	31	2	2	78	138	93	23	15	3	26	36
2005	421	77	2	-	145	268	162	46	14	6	65	64
2006	968	108	-	-	207	456	187	60	11	1	25	39
2007	1342	188	2	-	171	516	210	70	8	3	40	37
2008	1763	234	5	3	231	807	295	79	6	7	38	20
2009	1256	195	7	4	331	817	365	109	11	9	32	25
total	7982	1063	89	36	2086	4870	1945	550	99	40	421	611

(Source: CBS/Statline)

A recent study among nineteen Indian employees of Cap Gemini in Utrecht showed that the prime reason for migration to the Netherlands had, in fact, been the company's decision (Sonneveld 2010).[10] The findings in the Gap Gemini research chimed, to a large extent, with the results of my study Sonneveld found that other reasons for migration were the attractive salary and the different character of the work: e.g., the possibility to work directly with clients. On-site and international experience is also expected to give a boost to careers back in India. The study also demonstrated that Indian IT workers in the Netherlands function as a bridge between India and the Netherlands. Their cultural capital facilitates communication between the Netherlands-based sections of the company and the

[10] For similar findings for other Indian companies in the Netherlands see Engbersen et al 2011.

India-based off-shore sections. Indian employees are, therefore, not recruited because of what are presumably lower salaries, but because their presence facilitates the off-shoring of different tasks to India (Sonneveld 2010, 58-59). The large majority of employees in the Gap Gemini study were married and had brought their wives and children with them. Of the twelve wives, eight did not work and were referred to as housewives or homemakers by their husbands (ibidem, 75). The researcher observed that the Indian employees were not integrated into a larger community of Indians in the Netherlands. Their social networks consisted primarily of family and a few colleagues. The informants indicated that they did not feel the need to learn Dutch. The company language is English, and it is fairly easy to get by in English in the Netherlands. At the same time, they did admit that their poor Dutch language skills prevented them from feeling integrated into Dutch society.

Indians in the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area

The large majority of highly qualified Indian migrants work and live in the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area: Amsterdam, Amstelveen, Almere, and Haarlemmermeer. In 2006, it became evident that India was an important growth market for Amsterdam. In that year, Amsterdam Economic Affairs established a special India Desk at Amsterdam *inbusiness*, the official foreign investment agency for the city of Amsterdam. Since then, the total number of Indian companies in the region has increased from 15 (in 2006) to 75 (in 2011). Each of the "big five" in Indian ICT have set up a branch in Amsterdam. Most Indian companies engage in business process outsourcing.

It is interesting to observe that the India-directed policies executed by Amsterdam *inbusiness* also include quality of life activities. In order to be attractive as an immigration country, it is reasoned, Indian expats need to feel welcome and at home. The municipality has for example opened an expat centre on the ZuidAs[11], the Amsterdam business hub, in order to facilitate the immigration of the highly-qualified knowledge workers. This and the three other expat centers or desks in the Hague, Rotterdam, and the Province of Brabant provide assistance to individual expats and to (newly-established) companies. They take care of all required immigration procedures and assist in the process of settling in. Last year, in 2010, more than 1,000 Indian employees visited the centre in Amsterdam alone. By October 2011, they already numbered 1,062.[12] Since April 2011, expat center procedures also include the so-called 30% ruling, referring to an attractive taxation scheme for expats: they pay tax on only 70 percent of their income only. As of 5 April 2011, this service has been open to all companies based in one of the participating municipalities and eligible for the IND's highly-skilled migrant ruling.[13]

The Amsterdam India desk has been involved in the organization of a yearly cricket tournament and the Diwali festival. For example, on October, 22nd, Amstelveen town (part of the larger Amsterdam Area), hosted a day-long Diwali festival as a recognition of the growing importance of the expat community in the region. The event was organized for the second time and, interestingly, sponsored by Amsterdam Economic Affairs (Amsterdam Business), and several business corporations including Tata Steel, KPMG, ING, ABM-AMRO and Infosys. The involvement of corporate and municipal support underlines the significance of the presence of Indian expats and Indian business in Amsterdam. This year, the festival attracted approximately 8,000 visitors, many of whom were Dutch.

In 2009, the India desk was also involved in the founding of the Indian Expat Society (IES). The IES

is also located on the Zuidas. It was founded with the support from Economic Affairs Amsterdam and the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs. Approximately 90 percent of their registered members are expats. In October 2011, the IEAS website had as many as 1249 registered members. Their

[11] See e.g., http://www.zuidas.nl/en

[12] Interview with Frank Kooman, Account manager Expatcenter Amsterdam, 7 October 2011.

[13] See: http://www.iamsterdam.com/en/living/expatcenter/the-30-ruling-expatcenter.

website serves as a portal and a social network platform, where people can share their experiences, ask for advice, search for new contacts and the like. Its membership is open to all Indian expats, including professionals, business persons, and students. The IES website offers useful information about living in the Netherlands and social and cultural events, it hosts forums, and blogs. The Expat Society also organizes social events such as Bollywood dance events, and picnics. Besides this, it is involved in lobbying activities for the benefit of Indian expats in the Netherlands (Moser, Spring 2011, 12-13).

Indians in Amsterdam

At present, nearly 6,000 (officially registered) Indians are living in Amsterdam and neighboring municipalities. An increasing and important segment of immigrants in Amsterdam consists of people from the so-called emerging economies, such as Brazil, Russia, India and China. In 2008, there was a net migration gain of approximately 850 people from one of these countries, a doubling when compared to the previous years. India was the most important immigration country, with a net migration gain of 351 (http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/nieuws/10400). At present, nearly one quarter of all knowledge workers in the larger Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (Metropool Regio Amsterdam, MRA) are Indians, and one fifth are from the United States (DECISIO 2010). Amsterdam city alone, with a total population of 780,559 (per January 1st, 2011), counted 2,220 Indians (including those with double nationality). If we include people with one or two parents born in India, Amsterdam counted as many as 4,392 people in 2010, and 4,554 on Jan 1st, 2011[14] (Amsterdam Research and Statistics).

One of the largest Indian companies in the Netherlands is Tata Consultancy Services (TCS). TCS established its European headquarters in Amsterdam in 1992. At present, they have more than 1,000 employees working for Dutch companies, such as the ABN AMRO, Rabobank, ING Group, KLM, and Philips. TCS is also represented on the board of the Netherlands India Chamber of Trade and Commerce and they have developed partnerships with different Dutch Universities, such as the Erasmus University Rotterdam and the Nyenrode University.[15] TCS currently employs around 420 Indian knowledge workers and an additional 10 to 15 short-term employees, who do not need to undergo the immigration procedures for knowledge workers, but who enter the country on a short-term employment visa (interview with Vasudevan Rajagopalan, Regional HR Manager TCS Benelux). Other Indian ICT firms with a base in Amsterdam include Infosys, Mphasis Europe, patni Computers, Wipro, Cogizant, and Mahindra Satyam.

Table 5. Indians in Amsterdam

	Indians			**Double nationality**			**total**		
	2009	2010	2011	2009	2010	2011	2009	2010	2011
	1522	1614	1694	517	515	526	2039	2129	2220

Source: Gemeente Amsterdam: Onderzoek en Statistiek (Amsterdam municipality: Research and Statistics).

Indians in Amstelveen

The number of Indians living in Amstelveen, neighboring Amsterdam and in close proximity to Amsterdam Zuidas, has increased from 152 in 2004, to 1,326 in 2011. For many years, Amstelveen was also known for its relatively large community of Japanese expats. Indians, however, are expected to very soon constitute the largest group of expats. Indians now have their own cricket competition, an

[14] Cf. the figures on immigrants from Bangladesh = 155 (in 2010)/167 (2011) and from Pakistan = 5219 (in 2010) 5258 (2011).

[15] http://www.tcs.com/worldwide/europe/locations/netherlands/Pages/default.aspx

established range of restaurants and an Indian Cultural Centre will open soon (*I Amsterdam*, n.d.). Available figures also show that 74% of all Indian expats in Amstelveen are between 25 and 39 years old. The largest category, 33% of knowledge workers are single, and 25% are married and nearly all of them have brought their wives.

Table 6. Indian and Japanese citizens in Amstelveen.

Year	Total population	Indians	Japanese
2004	78.912	152	1.655
2005	79.019	178	1.639
2006	78.806	230	1.623
2007	79.010	470	1.707
2008	79.003	746	1.719
2009	79.807	856	1.775
2010	80.724	1.137	1.644
2011	81.812	1.326	1.598

Source: Gemeente Amstelveen

Table 7. Indians in Amstelveen, 2011

	Frequency	Percentage
Husband (with wife)	130	9,8
Husband (with wife/child)	199	15
Lone parent with children	4	0,3
Wives in a family	330	24,9
Child	221	16,7
Single	442	33,3
Total	**1326**	**100**

Source: Gemeente Amstelveen

Table 8. Indians in Amstelveen by age groups

Age	Frequency	Percentage
0 - 3	133	10
4 – 11	84	6,3
12 – 17	5	0,4
18 – 24	56	4,2
25 - 39	987	74,4
40 - 54	49	3,7
55 - 64	10	0,8
65 - 74	1	0,1
75 - 84	1	0,1
Total	1326	100

Source: Gemeente Amstelveen

Social and cultural integration of Indians in the Netherlands

Indian immigrants in the Netherlands are diverse and fragmented. Although they would generally identify themselves as Indian, they certainly do not constitute one ethnic or cultural community in the Netherlands. Indian immigrants are dispersed over the country, come from various parts of India, and only a few hundred of them take an active part in one of the many Indian organizations. Indian expats, now forming a large segment of these immigrants, stay only for one to three years mostly, and consider themselves as transients rather than citizens. Indians who have in fact decided to settle do not constitute one single ethnic category either. Several informants pointed out that many Indians do organize in small groups, based on cultural or regional similarities, but not as one community. Although the immigrants include Hindus, Muslims and Christians[16], the vast majority are Hindu. One key-informant, himself a Muslim, estimates that among the first wave of immigrants there were only a few dozen Muslims at the most. It is entirely unclear how many of the IT workers have a Muslim background. Baas, who conducted research among IT workers who went to Australia, found that the whole IT sector includes, generally speaking, few Muslims. Since the category of IT professionals typically shows the same characteristics everywhere (probably due to the fact that companies decide where IT professionals will be stationed, not the professionals themselves), it seems likely that his findings would also apply to IT workers in the Netherlands. This means that IT professionals are expected to have upper caste backgrounds (Baas 2009, 295). This supposition has, however, not been tested in the Dutch case.

Notwithstanding their dispersal and fragmentation, several Indian immigrants have been very active in Indian cultural institutions. One of the most well-known India-oriented organizations is The Netherlands-India Association (NIA). NIA was already founded in 1951 by a number of Dutch people interested in the culture of India. Since the late 1960s, when the number of Indians in the Netherlands began to increase, the composition and aspirations of the Association changed accordingly. Today its aims and objectives are to promote knowledge and understanding of India and the Netherlands among the peoples of both countries and to encourage improved relations between them. Their website suggests that this association primarily targets the better-off segments of the so-called Indian Diaspora. On their website we learn that "the Association notes with gratitude that many prominent political, judicial and religious leaders of both countries have addressed its meetings and that outstanding Indian artists have performed under its auspices." [17] Another well-known Indian immigrant organization is the Netherlands-India Chamber of Commerce & Trade (NICCT), a non-commercial, relatively small voluntary business association of people of Indian origin in the Netherlands. It was founded in 1988 by a few prominent businessmen and it provides a forum for the Dutch Indian business community to foster and develop closer ties amongst its members, to promote their commercial interests, to discuss their problems and to promote economic relations between India and the Netherlands.[18] A third relatively active and successful Indian immigrant organization is the Foundation for Critical Choices for India (FCCI).[19] The FCCI was established in 1980 as a think tank for the economic and social development in India, mobilizing the resources of non resident Indians (NRIs) and persons of Indian origin (PIOs) (e.g., Bhalla et al, 2008). A fourth organization that should be mentioned here is GOPIO, the Global Organization of People of Indian Origin. GOPIO is an international network of and for people of Indian origin outside India. It was established in 1989, during the First Global Convention of People of Indian Origin in New York. Indians and Hindustanis from the Netherlands were actively engaged in the creation of GOPIO. In fact, the first GOPIO Chairman was from the Netherlands. The

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[16] It is interesting to observe that the operation theatre nurses generally come from the South of India and are Christian.

[17] Also see: http://www.netherlands-India.nu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=36&Itemid=7

[18] Also see: http://www.nicct.nl/mission.php?PHPSESSID=d82cc87062e772c4b336b4e88feaba5d

[19] Foundation for Critical Choices for India: http://www.fcci.nl/; see also: http://www.indiawijzer.nl/ngo/ngo_holland/leidschendam/leidschendam_fcci.htm. For one of their successes see: http://www.indiawijzer.nl/indian_diaspora/fcci_publication/10_voting_rights_covering_text_iw_050210_1.pdf

board of GOPIO Netherlands consists of both Hindustani as well as Indian members. Both the website of the Indian embassy and the Indiawijzer mention a number of other Hindustani and Indian organizations in the Netherlands. Although they are quite numerous and involved in many cultural and economic activities, some key-informants also admitted that the number of Indians and Hindustanis active in these organizations is limited. One staff member of Amsterdam foreign affairs, responsible for India-oriented activities, admitted that she would rather work with the India desks of large international companies such as PWC or Ernst and Young than with one of the Indian organizations mentioned above.

The role of the Indian embassy has been, to a great extent, contingent on the background and interests of the ambassadors. The current ambassador to the Netherlands, Bhaswati Mukherjee, has for example taken on an active role in the establishment Indian Cultural Centre in the Hague (The Gandhi Centre), which was opened on the 2nd of October 2011. The Cultural Centre, located in a former church building, had long been on the wish list of Indian and Hindustani representatives in the Netherlands. The Gandhi centre is the 36th Centre established by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) worldwide. The goal of the Centre is to promote Indian cultural and diversity in the Netherlands. It will have a library and substantial collections of Indian films, documentaries and other multimedia material related to India and Indo-Dutch heritage. The centre will also organize lectures, seminars, and debates, primarily to promote and cultivate Indo-Dutch relations. The centre will organize too courses in yoga, meditation, art, Ayurveda, and Indian languages and it will support various cultural exchanges.

Indians and Hindustanis in the Netherlands

It will now be clear that the people of Indian descent in the Netherlands constitute a highly diverse, fragmented and scattered category. It would certainly not be right to refer to them as a single ethnic, cultural, or national community. Although Hindustanis identify with India on the basis of their historical links, and while they consider India as the source of Hindustani culture and religion, they also recognize their Surinamese and Dutch connections. Even though they generally consider themselves a distinct cultural and ethnic community, and acknowledge the influence of their Indian origin in that distinctiveness, they do not identify themselves as Indian. As mentioned before, men as well as women have made remarkable progress with respect to their level of education and employment. Although they are still lagging behind in comparison with "authochtonous" Dutch, they do better than other immigrant communities. At present, 60% of Hindustani men between the age of 15 and 64, are employed. Beside them, 4.3% are self-employed. For women the respective percentages are 57% and 1.6% (Choenni 2011, 20). According to Choenni, Surinamese women are relatively often (in comparison with autochtonous Dutch) employed in health care organizations or educational institutions.[20] No separate information about Hindustanis is available.

Earlier research has demonstrated that the relations between Hindustanis and Indians (e.g., Bal and Sinha-Kerkhoff 2003; Sinha-Kerkhoff and Bal 2003; Lynnebakke 2007) are oftentimes complex, ambiguous and uneasy. Apart from various cultural, economic, political. differences, language seems to play an important role. While Hindustanis are generally fluent in Dutch – which for many is their mother tongue – first-generation Indian immigrants speak English and possibly one or more other Indian languages, and need to learn Dutch; something many find very hard to do. As stated before, Dutch courses are widely available due to strict immigration requirements. However, Indian employees working under the special expat scheme are not required to attend the integration courses that are compulsory for regular migrants who seek long-term residency or naturalization. Tata Consultancy Services, for example, does not offer any Dutch language courses, nor does it pay for such courses if their employees wish to learn Dutch.

[20] Personal correspondence with Chan Choenni, 22 December 2011.

Hence, the socio-cultural interactions between NRI and PIO have remained limited. Wahid Saleh, owner of the Indiawijzer and a retired engineer and active member of the Indian community in the Netherlands, writes about an "unseen barrier among the communities" (Saleh n.d.). Since the Government of India has actively engaged in diaspora activities, several events have been organized to bring together Indian immigrants and Hindustanis. These efforts have not always been successful and even cause new rifts and debate among Indians and Hindustanis. On the 25th of September 2011, for example, representatives of the Indian Diaspora organizations in the Netherlands organized the first Netherlands edition of the Annual Diaspora Conference, entitled "Indian Diaspora in Netherlands: Achievements, Contributions & Challenges". Various speakers from all sections of the Diaspora in the Netherlands, including representatives of the Government of India, prominent Dutch dignitaries, and leading figures both from the Indian as well as the Hindustani communities addressed an audience of approximately 300 participants. The majority of these participants, however, turned out to be Indians. At one point, one Hindustani participant took offense and articulated his Dutch and Surinamese identities:

> "I will speak in Dutch, because I am Dutch [members of the audience applaud]. I am not an Indian, if I was born in Surinam. We will fall between two stools if we teach our children that they are Indian. Culturally we are Hindustani, we can never be Indian" [more applause].

To conclude, the Netherlands may generally be considered home to the second largest category of people of Indian descent in Europe, differences amongst this widely fragmented category seem larger than the similarities. A recent and insistent emphasis on the common heritage amongst Indian immigrants and Hindustanis, by a number of stakeholders from the Netherlands and India, including the Government of India, Diaspora and business organizations, etc, has led to an increasing number of joint activities. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that they will, one day, come to constitute a single Indian community. The Hindustanis, with their entirely distinct routes of migration, and cultural and identity formation, are also strongly attached to the Netherlands. Indian immigrants who have settled are highly diverse and dispersed over the country, and the new group of Indian expats have no intention of staying in the Netherlands for more than a few years, or of becoming part of the Indo-Dutch community on a more permanent basis.

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Appendix A: List of key-informants

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Lavesh Lakhina, director HumanR: recruitment, placement and contracting of highly-educated Indian professionals, and Executive President of the Indian Expat Society

Mohan Gautam, Retired lecturer and researcher, settled in the Netherlands

Nandini Bedi, Filmmaker, settled in the Netherlands

Sanderien Verstappen, Researcher University Amsterdam

Sheela Vyas, member of the community of Asian Ugandan Origin

Vasant Moharir, Ex-Dean and Senior Lecturer of the Institute for Social Studies, the Hague. Ex-President of the Foundation for Critical Choices for India, Board Member of Directors, India-EU Trade Chamber, Brussels.

Vasudevan Rajagopalan, Regional HR Manager TCS Benelux

Vidhya Sampath, Director External Relations Tata Consultancy Services

Wahid Saleh, Social Entrepreneur and founding father of the India Wijzer