

CARIM INDIA SERIES

DEVELOPING EVIDENCE BASED MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS IN INDIA-EU MIGRATION AND PARTNERSHIP (DEMO: INDIA-EU MAP)

The Indian Community in German Media Reports

Daniel F. Schulz

DEMO-India Research Report 2015/01

DEMO-India
Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in
India-EU Migration and Partnership

Research Report
Thematic Report
DEMO-India RR 2015/01

The Indian Community in German Media Reports

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DEMO-India – Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in India-EU Migration and Partnership (DEMO: India-EU MaP)

The Demo: India-EU MaP project, co-funded by the European Commission, is a continuation of the Carim India project (www.india-eu-migration.eu) and it examines the multiple facets of Indian migration to the EU. Its overall aim is to improve migration management between India and the EU, strengthen EU-India relations, and produce in-depth empirical knowledge about the different migration streams and pathways of Indian nationals in the EU. Its specific goals include providing:

1. Evidence based research for more informed policy making and state intervention.
2. Improved source country capacity in managing migration.
3. Raising awareness among potential migrants of the risks of irregular migration.
4. Collaboration with civil society groups.
5. Empirical research and analysis of Indian communities across the EU, and their impact.

The project is led by the Indian Centre for Migration in Delhi with the partnership of the Migration Policy Centre, RSCAS, EUI.

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Abstract

Being rather small, the Indian diaspora in Germany rarely receives much attention in the German media. If it does, however, reports are mostly positive, usually characterizing Indian migrants as part of a highly educated, aspiring, and well-integrated 'migrant elite'. This media image remains heavily influenced by the stereotype of the 'Computer-Indian', brought about by the introduction of a Green Card scheme for IT experts in 2000. Most reports, however, reveal a rather instrumental perspective on Indian migrants; they focus more on the benefits they bring to the German economy than on the migrants themselves.

Key words: Indian migrants, labor market integration, German migration policy, FDI in Germany

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1. Introduction

This report aims at documenting how the German media portrays the Indian community in Germany. Focusing on both Indian nationals and German citizens of Indian Origin, it details how their lives, culture, origins as well as their economic activities in Germany are presented. To this purpose, the archives of the two daily broadsheet newspapers with the widest coverage nationwide – *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* – were systematically searched for reports for the period January 2005-March 2015, particular weight being given to 2012-2015. The two newspapers were also chosen, because their locations, Munich and Frankfurt, happen to be two important centers of the Indian diaspora in Germany. Thus, their local sections constitute a particularly rich source of information on Indian life in German cities. Additionally, the online-archive of the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit (ZEIT)* was searched and any query was also performed on the webpages of the country's most important tabloid, *Bild*.¹ Finally, searches on *Google News* were carried out in order to cover the most prominent reports of other media outlets as well. Brief descriptions of the newspapers and magazines used are given in Appendix 1, whereas Appendix 2 offers a synopsis of the search queries performed in all media archives and the hits they produced.

The report contains seven different sections: education, business and investment, labor market, crime, gender, culture, and religion. Before turning to the individual sections, however, six more general observations can be made. First, Indian nationals and People of Indian Origin (PIO's) are rarely the center of attention in the German media. Being a relatively small group, scattered through Germany, immigrants of Indian origin are easily overlooked. Second, as a consequence of this, individuals, rather than PIO groups, are the focus of most articles. Third, articles which do mention the Indian background of individuals roughly fall into two categories: success stories (of prominent figures such as top managers, sports stars, artists and the like); and reports on crimes and convictions of criminals. Usually, however, the ethnic origins of these individuals are mentioned in passing rather than being a focal point of the reports. Fourth, ever since the debates surrounding the German Green Card scheme in 2000, Indian migrants are perceived to be predominantly "Computer-Indians", that is male IT specialists. While this is a *cliché*, it is a rather positive one since immigrants from India are usually portrayed as part of a highly-skilled "migrant elite". Fifth, perspectives on people with Indian roots in Germany are heavily influenced by events in India – at times with serious repercussions for their lives in Germany. A case in point is the recent scandal of a Professor of the University of Leipzig who allegedly refused to accept an Indian student for an internship because she was furious about rapes in India. Finally, the view of Indian immigrants is predominantly an instrumental, commodified one: they are usually portrayed as a highly-skilled labor force which could help the German economy overcome the difficulties associated with a shortage of skilled labor in an aging society. It is not their needs, their culture, or their experiences in Germany which is at the center of reports. Rather, the main point of interest seems to be the potential benefits that they could bring to the German economy.

2. Education

German universities are currently experiencing a sharp increase in the numbers of Indian students; a development which is in line with a more general trend.² Among all foreign students, however, they clearly show the most pronounced growth in recent years. Between 1999 and 2014, Indian higher education students increased by more than 1,000 per cent (from 622 in 1999 to 9,372 in 2014). This makes Indian higher-education students the third largest group of foreign students in Germany in 2014, ranking only behind China (28,381) and Russia (11,126) – but overtaking the neighboring

¹ The full archives of the *Bild* are not available for systematic research.

² FAZ.net, 6.3.2014: Foreign students flock to us in droves.

country of Austria (9,305) for the first time.³ After relatively moderate growth during the early 2000s, the number of Indian students started to dramatically increase from 2010 onwards (see the table below).

Table 1. Number of Indian students in Germany, 2010-2014

Year	Number of Indian students
2010	3,821
2011	4,825
2012	5,745
2013	7,255
2014	9,372

Source: German Centre for Research on Higher Education and Science Studies (Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung – DZHW).

Note. The number includes only so-called *Bildungsausländer*, i.e. students of Indian nationality who have obtained their higher education entrance qualification outside of Germany. Students of Indian origin who obtained their higher education entrance qualification in Germany (*‘Bildungsinländer’*) are not included.

Unsurprisingly, this remarkable development did not go unnoticed in the German media. In previous years, articles had mostly lamented the comparative advantage of English-speaking countries in the battle for young talents from India and reported on government initiatives aimed at making Germany more attractive to them. Even German chancellors and presidents have reportedly made use of their stays in India to court Indian students. This goes from Gerhard Schröder⁴ to Angela Merkel⁵, and, most recently, President Joachim Gauck.⁶ These ongoing efforts of high-profile politicians mirror two things: first, Indian students are wanted in Germany. And, second, German politicians believe that Indians naturally prefer English-speaking countries such as the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom and so have decided to make Germany attractive to them.⁷

The politicians’ campaigns have been backed by policy changes, too. From August 2012 onwards, the immigration law (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) grants university graduates from outside the European Union (EU) a period of eighteen months to stay in Germany in order to apply for jobs.⁸ In Britain, for instance, reforms moved in the opposite direction by cutting this period for from 24 to 0 months. Such changes, the *Tagesspiegel* reports,⁹ have recently made Germany and Canada more popular among Indian higher-education students interested in studying abroad. An additional reason for the increased popularity of the country may be a consequence of renewed efforts to support them financially: one out of five students from India can expect to receive a scholarship in Germany (for instance through the German Academic Exchange Service’s [*Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst – DAAD*])

³ German Centre for Research on Higher Education and Science Studies (Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung – DZHW), 2014: see <http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/daten/1/2/3> [Accessed 10 April 2015] and http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/kompakt/wwo2015_kompakt_en.pdf [Accessed 7 October 2015].

⁴ *Handelsblatt*, 29.10.2001: Germany is an “interesting place” – Schröder woos Indian students.

⁵ *SZ*, 29.10.2007: Marketing tour for the Deutschland AG.

⁶ *Welt*, 8.2.2014: Gauck allures Indians – “There is a place for you in Germany”.

⁷ *SPIEGEL*, 2007/44: India – “Relax rules for Visa”.

⁸ See http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Zuwanderungsrecht_node.html [Accessed 10 April 2015].

⁹ *Tagesspiegel*, 3.1.2012: Study abroad – Young Indians avoid USA and England.

program “A New Passage to India”)¹⁰ which is a very high proportion in international comparison, according to the *Tagesspiegel* report.

The aforementioned legal changes do not, however, eliminate all problems regarding post-study visa options for Indian students. Such problems are highlighted by reports on the case of Simran Sodhi, who was threatened with deportation in spite of having a job at the local administration of a district in Berlin. After having finished her Master’s degree at the Humboldt University of Berlin, she started to work as the district’s ‘integration guide’. The law, however, requires university graduates to work in ‘appropriate jobs’ which offer adequate pay. As Sodhi’s pay was clearly below a legally defined threshold, she was found overqualified for the job. Therefore, her work was not recognized and she received a note that she had to leave Germany within three weeks.¹¹ Her case, however, provoked protests by several prominent politicians and an online petition. In the end, therefore, Sodhi’s working hours were reduced while her salary remained the same, so that her work was deemed adequate before the law and she was allowed to stay in Germany.¹² However, the case exemplifies the difficulties Indian students may encounter after graduating from German universities.

Relaxed rules for the integration of foreign students after graduation are also only part of the problem. The *ZEIT* reports in 2014 that despite these changes, only one out of four graduates of German universities with foreign origins stays in the country.¹³ And one of the main reasons for that may relate to language barriers, which often stand in the way of successfully completing the degree. In the case of India, therefore, a recent initiative supported by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs aims at establishing German as the first foreign language in Indian primary and secondary schools. This initiative is part of a broader strategy designed to strengthen ties with India and to bring skilled young Indians to Germany – and is presented as a ‘true coup’ of the German administration.¹⁴ In 2012, Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan, the organization of central government schools in India, decided to introduce German as a foreign language in 1,000 public schools, a move welcomed in German media reports. Following a legal challenge of Sanskrit teachers, however, it appears as if the new Indian government will reverse the development. Since German often replaced Sanskrit as a third language (next to English and Hindi), the association of Sanskrit teachers argued it would be unconstitutional to replace an official Indian language with a foreign one.¹⁵

Regardless of this recent setback, Indian higher education students clearly grow ever more important in Germany. This is also because the national, high-profile, political initiatives are complemented by local initiatives such as efforts of the University of Applied Sciences in Hof, Bavaria. As the *SZ* reports, the exchange between universities in Germany and India has become institutionalized here with the establishment of a Bavarian-Indian Centre (BayIND)¹⁶, supported by the state of Bavaria.¹⁷ In 2014, this brought about 100 Indian students to Hof. A report of *ZEIT Campus*, however, reveals that their lives on campus are not without problems. For instance, while most students live in neat dormitories in the historical city center, the Indian students have to commute from a remote dormitory outside of the city. They are not allowed to live downtown, the report states, because “they are dirty” and “when they are cooking, the entire building stinks”.¹⁸ The university’s

¹⁰ See <http://www.indienaktuell.de/magazin/bildung-forschung-entwicklung/deutschland-wirbt-um-indische-studenten-153368> [Accessed 10 April 2015].

¹¹ *ZEIT Online*, 13.5.2014: Integration guide is to be out of Germany.

¹² *ZEIT Online*, 23.5.2014: Integration guide will not be deported after all.

¹³ *ZEIT*, 2014/12: Foreign students: Mating call with side effects.

¹⁴ *SZ*, 25.2.2013: Germanists at the Ganges river.

¹⁵ *SPIEGEL Online*, 21.10.2014: In spite of Steinmeier’s visit: India scrubs German as first foreign language.

¹⁶ See <http://www.bayind.de/enter.html> [Accessed 3 March 2015]

¹⁷ *SZ*, 10.4.2007: Bavarians and Indians collaborate in research.

¹⁸ *ZEIT Campus*, 2014/03: This time in... Hof an der Saale.

official statement holds that this dormitory has been especially set up for students from India, who arrive in Bavaria without their own furniture. However, as the report points out, this is true for American exchange student as well – but they are allowed to live in the central dormitories. Other student dormitories in Bavaria, such as the one in Garching, are reported to include students with Indian origins, who contribute to cultural exchange by celebrating customary festivals inside the dormitory.¹⁹

Because of the small size and the dispersion of the overall population, German media reports on the educational experiences of Indian primary and secondary school students are scarce. They are rarely described as a coherent and identifiable group and, thus, there are no reports of bullying and discrimination at school, either of students of Indian origins or, particularly, Sikh students. If they are identified as a group at all, articles tend to focus on the educational achievements of Indian students. This only appears to be the case in larger metropolitan areas of economically successful regions, such as Munich, Stuttgart, or Frankfurt. One report on the second generation of Indian immigrants in the Frankfurt area, for instance, portrays them as highly successful and holds that they almost all move on to tertiary education.²⁰ The report depicts the Indian Diaspora around Frankfurt, which reportedly consists of some 2,500 individuals, as one that values educational achievement and produces economically successful families. According to the report, they manage the balancing act of establishing strong ties with the local population and still maintaining their traditions, i.e. through cricket tournaments and clothes purchased from specialized shops for Indians. Overall, it reads like a spectacularly successful story of integration; for instance, the caption below a picture of those young Indians runs “young, integrated, aspiring”.

Another article mentioning Indian students in Hamburg focuses on their achievements as well. Reporting on an initiative to teach a regional dialect called “Plattdeutsch” in primary school, it reports that children of migrants perform particularly well in reading contests, mentioning particularly children from families of Indian, Russian, or Chinese origins. Because they grow up with several languages, the article reasons, they adapt to another language or dialect more quickly than their fellow students of German origin. The report further hints at the possibility that this may promote successful integration. A local teacher is cited, stating that the experience that German students have to study equally hard to learn this old German dialect may prove important for the perception, and self-perception, of migrant children.²¹

3. Business and investment

Indian companies’ investment activities in Germany are increasing (Tiwari 2013), which is usually presented in the media as a welcome development. Indians who do invest in Germany, however, also confront the reservations of German customers and business partners as well as concerns of employees regarding relocation or labor cuts. In order to meet such concerns, companies introducing a new Indian investor regularly emphasize in media reports that the investment reflects long-term strategic interests and hold that the investor is not a ‘locust’.²²

Such formulations can be found in articles dealing with single acquisitions of Indian investors in Germany. A report on the takeover of a forging plant in Munich by Indian Surinder Kapur, for

¹⁹ SZ, 1.9.2008: In the eyes of a student, Garching is a village.

²⁰ FAZ, 1.12.2009: The children of the Indians.

²¹ ZEIT, 2012/03: To chat like the old folks.

²² The term ‘locust’ in the German debate describes investors who are solely interested in short-term returns of their investment. It was coined by leading Social Democrat Franz Müntefering in 2004 in an attack on international capital, especially private equity funds and investment banks, which he described as “swarms of locusts that fall on companies, stripping them bare before moving on” (The Economist 2005).

instance has the headline: “*A strategist, not a locust*”.²³ This is also one of the core messages of a longer report on Indian investments in Eastern Germany, more generally.²⁴ The report states that investors from India “absolutely [don’t come] as locusts”, acquiring German technologies only to export them to India. To the contrary, the report states, Indians “often invest strategically and show a genuine interest in maintaining production sites in Germany”. Providing a couple of success stories, the report also cites local managers praising the investor, calling the Indian investment “some good luck”.²⁵ More specifically, the report claims that East Germany would be an ideal place for Indians to invest and explains why the potential of this relationship has yet to be brought to fruition. While East Germany is known for firms in those sectors which show the strongest growth in India (e.g. renewable energies, microelectronics, or automotive suppliers), investment activities of Indians in Eastern Germany are lagging behind those in the country’s west.²⁶ The report offers two explanations: one is that most Indians are attracted by those places where a more sizable community of Indians already exists, namely Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart. But another big problem is that Germany’s east is associated with hostile attitudes towards migrants. In particular the case of Mügeln, a small town in the east where eight Indians were attacked by a mob in 2007 (see section 5), has made headlines in India. Therefore, the report concludes, Eastern Germany needs a campaign to actively charm Indian investors if it wants reap the benefits their investments offer.

A report about Indian investments in Bavaria (about 50 by 2008) runs in a similar vein. Indians are portrayed as having both the financial means and the genuine interest to create jobs in Germany. And they are reported to go about this with caution. A direct quote of a German lawyer who helps Indian IT companies settling down or acquiring firms in Bavaria runs: “Indians are more careful and softer than Americans. They let the management continue to run its course and bring in their ideas only after a while”.²⁷ The report, however, also reports on the obstacles Indian investors face. Germans have reservations regarding their investment because they associate them with offshoring and job losses. What is more, customers tend to assume that the quality of products and services does not live up to German standards. Despite such obstacles, however, Indian investments are presented as an increasingly important and welcome development, which is actively fostered by German authorities (e.g. an office of the organization “Invest in Bavaria” in Bangalore).

Focusing on the potential of Indian investments and success stories, negative stereotypes are hard to find in German media reports. And this mostly goes for failed endeavors as well. One example would be the insolvency of the cycle manufacturer Mifa in 2014 just after Hero Cycles from India joined the company. When the merger was announced in 2013, the German company said that it planned a strategic partnership with Hero Cycles, who would acquire a minority holding.²⁸ But the report also mentioned rumors in the business community that the world’s biggest bicycle producer might, over the long term, plan a complete takeover. The Indians, it stated, have a strategic interest in Western know-how, particularly regarding e-bikes. The fact that the Indian investment was not enough to save the struggling German company is mentioned, but no blame is given to the investor.²⁹ A notable exception, however, is a report on a failed attempt to establish a Wellness Hotel in Bavarian Hohenkammer because the Indian investor reportedly ran out of funding.³⁰ This particular investor is

²³ SZ, 1.2.2008

²⁴ FAZ, 26.11.2010: Indian investments – Rupees for East Germany.

²⁵ Similarly, the tabloid *Bild* calls the increased engagement of Tata Steel from India in the Ruhr Area “Good news for our steel industry” (see Bild.de, 8.8.2013: Indian Billionaire backs the Ruhr Area).

²⁶ The article cites an expert that the total amount of investments in the east sums up to 70-100 million euros, compared to a total amount of 4.125 billion for the whole of Germany.

²⁷ SZ.de, 17.5.2010: Investors from Emerging Economies – Development aid for Bavaria.

²⁸ SZ, 25.7.2013: Cycling the Indian way.

²⁹ ZEIT Online, 29.9.2014: Cycle manufacturer Mifa files for insolvency.

³⁰ SZ, 7.9.2010: Unfulfilled dreams of the Orient.

portrayed as dubious and moody individual – a “son, but not a businessman” – who never had to work for his wealth. The article, however, runs counter the more general picture that German media paints of Indian investors.

Most reports on activities of Indian businesses in Germany focus on mergers and acquisitions (brownfield investments); articles on business creation or greenfield investments are rather scarce. However, it is mentioned that Indian students in Germany are particularly eager to start their own business. A report on business creation by university students and graduates states that the internationalization of students drives a renewed interest in business creation. Because Indians and Chinese students, in particular, display enthusiasm and ideas for starting new businesses, they also encourage German students to follow suit.³¹ Similarly, another article focuses on business creation by migrants and gives a positive example of the collaboration of Indian Anup Chathoth and Chao Zhang from China, who are developing a new product in Munich. The report focuses on the problems they face because of uncertainties regarding their residence permit. If they are not renewed, the report warns, the innovative product could end up not being ‘made in Germany’.³²

The activities of the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce are infrequently mentioned in media reports. Such articles often focus on providing more general information regarding business developments in India and the services the chamber of commerce provides. In an interview with *ZEIT Online*, for instance, the manager of the chamber’s office in New Delhi explains the chances and risks for German companies interested in the Indian market.³³ With branch offices in Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Bengaluru, Pune³⁴ and just one liaison office in Düsseldorf, the focus clearly seems to be on activities in India. In the previous three years, the chamber supported about 100 business creation schemes in India. However, the interviewee states that Indian firms also increasingly invest in Germany, a development the chamber attempts to foster as well. It is worth noting that similar services are also offered by local and private initiatives. For instance, the Indo-German Trade Network tries to help German firms to settle in India and the other way around by providing business contacts.³⁵

For years, the idea of going to India has been very attractive to the German business community. Lately, however, media reports have shifted from stressing the opportunities to putting more emphasis on the problems German businesses encounter in India. Businesspeople increasingly express disappointment when asked about their experiences in India. Or, as the *FAZ* puts it, “the India euphoria of German companies is fading quickly”.³⁶ According to a survey among German companies doing business in India, the investment climate has worsened considerably over the past few years. Blaming mostly politicians for unfavorable developments, company representatives named legal uncertainties, bad infrastructure, and corruption as the biggest hurdles to investment. Because of all these obstacles, a flourishing industry has developed offering legal and cultural consultancy work to German companies trying to set up businesses in India.³⁷ The Modi administration in India recognizes these shortcomings, according to a very recent report,³⁸ but struggles to overcome them. Citing the World Bank’s ‘Doing Business Index’ – India ranks 142nd out of 189 countries – the article also suggests that India has enormous potential, but lacks public investment to make this potential reality.

³¹ *FAZ*, 18.8.2011: The dream of one’s own enterprise.

³² *Wirtschaftswoche*, 6.1.2012: Business creation: Innovation instead of takeaway food

³³ *ZEIT Online*, 5.6.2010: “India has its own rules”.

³⁴ In these Indian branch offices, the Indo-German chamber of commerce has a considerable number of staff: about 100 according to a report in the *SZ* (19.7.2011: Not without my consultant).

³⁵ *SZ*, 10.3.2010: “Indo-German Trade Network” turns five: The primer in indology.

³⁶ *FAZ*, 12.6.2012: India is losing its appeal.

³⁷ *SZ*, 19.7.2011: Not without my consultant.

³⁸ *SZ.de*, 23.2.2015: “Make in India”.

4. Labor market

If German media reports on Indian migrants produce one pervasive stereotype, it certainly is the ‘Computer-Indian’. In most reports of Indians migrants in the German labor market, they are portrayed as (predominantly male) IT specialists. This is still a remnant of the heated debates surrounding the German Green Card program started in 2000. This initiative to attract foreign IT specialists of the social-democratic Schröder government provoked a counter-campaign by the Conservative Party in North Rhine-Westphalia, using the slogan ‘*Kinder statt Inder*’ (‘Children instead of Indians’). The xenophobic nature of this spurred further counter-attacks and nation-wide debates. Arguably, this was the only time the Indian diaspora found itself at the center of political debates in Germany (Pethe 2006: 161). Consequently, the stereotype sticks.

Many recent articles mentioning Indian migrants in Germany – in particular those focusing on their labor market profile – thus still refer to the Green Card initiative and the ‘*Kinder statt Inder*’-debate. When referring to migrants from India especially, they are regularly called ‘Computer-Indians’.³⁹ While Indians did indeed constitute the biggest national group among the foreign IT experts attracted in, they were reportedly only 4,000 of 14,500.⁴⁰ Still, the media implicitly portrays the program as bringing only Indians to Germany.⁴¹ The stereotype is so pervasive that it goes the other way, too: not only are Indian migrants generally portrayed as skilled IT specialists, the whole debate of highly-skilled migrants in Germany revolves around Indian computer experts. As one report of the *SZ* titled “The fairy tale of the Indian”⁴² puts it: “The highly-skilled migrant is usually an IT expert and comes from India. This image is stuck in peoples’ minds since Chancellor Schröder introduced the Green Card in 2000”. Citing an official study, the article points out that the stereotype does not reflect the reality of highly-skilled migration into Germany; more than a third of highly-skilled migrants are originally from the United States (20.1%) and Russia (16.8%), while a mere 4.7% are of Indian origin.

More recent reports on Indians in the German labor market can be grouped into three categories: the first reviews the lessons learned from the Green Card initiative of 2000-2004 targeting IT specialists, while the second refers to the potential of Indian migrants to help the German economy overcome the shortage of skilled workers in other sectors as well, in particular under the Blue Card scheme. The third category, meanwhile, consists of success stories of Indian individuals in German firms and other organizations, which often only mention their background in passing.

Reports on the German Green Card initiative have arrived at a mixed verdict. While some articles portray them as a failure, others hold that the initiative marks a turning point in German migration policy, focusing on the potential rather than the problems associated with immigration. And this is closely associated with Indian IT experts. For instance, one article looking back at the initiative’s start on its tenth anniversary is entitled: “When immigration was seen as a gain again”.⁴³ In a similar vein, another report takes stock of immigration debates in Germany in 2010 and states that the Green Card initiative proves that Germany had been more open and tolerant ten years before.⁴⁴ More articles, however, focus on the program’s deficiencies. In particular, they point out that most Green Card holders were just passing through and left Germany again after a short period of time, particularly after the dotcom-bubble had burst in 2001.⁴⁵ These reports highlight the shortcomings of Germany as

³⁹ See e.g. *SZ*, 31.7.2010: 10 years Green Card in Germany: The price of fear.

⁴⁰ *ZEIT*, 2012/17: Blue Card: Decoy in blue.

⁴¹ An illustrative example of merging stereotype and reality in media reports can be found in *FAZ.net* (1.3.2010: When immigration was seen as a gain again): the subscript of a picture of the first Green Card recipient in 2000 runs “The first ‘Computer-Indian’ was Indonesian”.

⁴² *SZ*, 22.10.2009: “The fairy tale of the Indian”.

⁴³ *FAZ.net*, 1.3.2010: When immigration was seen as a gain again.

⁴⁴ *SZ*, 23.10.2010: Dangerously old-fashioned.

⁴⁵ *SZ*, 19.8.2010: Here to stay.

an immigration country from the perspective of Indian migrants, frequently quoting their self-reported experiences. These include problems with the recognition of foreign qualifications (e.g. in the case of Green Card holders' spouses), language barriers, low chances for career advancement, and the country's reputational problems as exemplified by the 'Kinder statt Inder'-debate.⁴⁶ Despite all these problems, driving Indian Green Card holders out of the country again, print media also portrays Indian IT experts who decided to stay after the end of the Green card scheme.⁴⁷

Debates surrounding the introduction of the Blue Card have, since 2007, only slightly widened the focus beyond 'Computer-Indians'. Engineers of Indian origin are now a second professional group often mentioned alongside IT experts. A year after its introduction in 2012, Indians were again reported to be the biggest national group among the 9,000 Blue Card recipients: about 20% were of Indian origin, followed by 9% from China and 6% from Russia.⁴⁸ The total numbers, however, are judged as rather disappointing⁴⁹ and reports quote official statistics saying that more than 70% of Blue Card recipients had already been living in Germany before. As in the Green Card debate, Indian immigrants are generally portrayed as a much needed resource to overcome the problems of the domestic economy, in particular the shortage of skilled labor and demographic challenges. And realizing that attracting such foreign workforce is not as easy as originally assumed, many reports focus on the shortcomings of Germany attracting the workforce it needs. Germany is portrayed as competing with other developed economies in a race for Indian talents. For instance, headlines read "Germany wants them: But the Indians don't"⁵⁰ or "Skills shortage: Indian wish"⁵¹. Such reports often make use of the experiences of Indian immigrants in Germany to highlight the changes needed, for instance to foster employment opportunities for partners.⁵² The overall image presented in this regard is that legal rules and administrative processes have been changed and are actually better than their reputation.⁵³ However, German firms are still hesitant in making use of the newly created possibilities on the supply side.⁵⁴ Additionally, the demand for German engineering jobs is constrained by the country's not particularly strong international reputation. Only very recently, improved rules have also been adopted in order to attract a first non-academic profession: nurses. This development, of course, mirrors Germany's demographic challenges and follows demands from private care providers.⁵⁵

Finally, careers of people of Indian origin in Germany often focus on individual success stories. These portraits of successful individuals, however, usually do not center on their ethnicity. Examples include stories on the youngest university president in Germany, Joybrato Mukherjee⁵⁶ and football coach Robin Dutt.⁵⁷ By far the most prominent figure, however, is Anshu Jain. When Jain became CEO of Deutsche Bank, German media published extensive articles on the story of his life and career.⁵⁸ Such articles present him as one of the world's most successful bankers and a 'demigod', but

⁴⁶ SZ, 17.8.2011: A culture of recognition.

⁴⁷ See FAZ.net, 2.7.2005: Green card-pioneer has weathered the end of the boom; SZ, 18.7.2007: German by choice; SZ, 19.8.2010: Here to stay.

⁴⁸ FAZ, 31.7.2013: The big inrush of the highly-skilled is yet to occur.

⁴⁹ See *Wirtschaftswoche*, 8.1.2015: Does Germany run out of engineers?.

⁵⁰ SZ, 23.10.2010: Germany wants them: But the Indians don't.

⁵¹ *ZEIT Online*, 13.4.2007: Skills shortage: Indian wish.

⁵² FAZ, 2.4.2011: Well trained, badly integrated.

⁵³ For an overview of the regulatory changes made to attract skilled labor see Gereke 2013.

⁵⁴ SZ, 5.2.2013: Welcome with exceptions.

⁵⁵ FAZ, 17.8.2011: Care industry calls for Indians and Chinese.

⁵⁶ FAS, 23.11.2014: The cold fighter.

⁵⁷ FAZ, 25.6.2011: From the second place upwards.

⁵⁸ E.g. see *Handelsblatt*, 26.7.2011: Rise of a moneymaker; or *SPIEGEL Online*, 30.5.2012: New boss Anshu Jain: The Deutsche Bank's risk investment.

also ask “Can an Indian manage the Deutsche Bank?”⁵⁹ Contrary to other successful Indians in Germany, Anshu Jain has also inspired reports going beyond his individual story. The *FAZ*, for instance, points out that Jain is an exceptional case of Indians in the top-level management of German companies and laments this untapped potential.⁶⁰ While Indian nationals are the second biggest group after Americans among business leaders in the United States, they do not seem to enjoy similar career opportunities in Germany.⁶¹ Furthermore, Jain’s example is used as an opener to a longer report on Jainism.⁶²

To sum up, the Indian IT expert in Germany is mostly a *cliché*. Despite the discriminating ‘Children instead of Indians’-debate associated with the Green Card program, however, it is mostly a positive *cliché*. Indian immigrants are generally portrayed as a highly-skilled labor force and thus as a part of “elite migrants” in Germany.⁶³ At the same time, reports often reveal an instrumental, commodified view of Indian migrants. Their main concern is typically how the German economy can benefit from skilled migrants.⁶⁴ If the experiences and needs of the migrants themselves are the subject of media reports at all, meeting these needs is often portrayed as something that German politics and society should consider *in order to* realize the economic potentials of attracting a much needed workforce.

5. Crime

Reports on crimes committed by Indian nationals represent, in some respects, the flipside of the success stories given in the previous section. They also focus on the persons involved as individuals rather than as part of a distinguished group. And the Indian origins of suspected or condemned criminals are usually not much more than a side note. Often, they are just briefly mentioned in an article to characterize the suspect, for instance in an article dealing with a restaurant owner accused of false testimony.⁶⁵ Other articles elaborate a bit more on the ethnic and cultural identity of an Indian Sikh convicted for attacking a man with a dagger in Munich. However, here the traditions and costumes of the Sikh are merely mentioned to explain why the man was carrying a dagger with him; the man was on his way to a Sikh baptism and thus carrying traditional ritual items, including his Kirpan. Still, the cultural or ethnic origins of this mentally-disturbed man are not connected to the causes of the crime.⁶⁶ An exception in this regard is a report of a trial against five Sikhs – four of Indian nationality and one German with Indian origins – who were accused of planning terror attacks on Sikh leaders in India and Austria with the aim of creating an independent Sikh state. Here, their religious identity is mentioned in connection with their criminal motivations. Their Indian nationality, however, is again only mentioned on passing.⁶⁷

Media reports of crimes involving Indians as victims do not typically elaborate on their origins either.⁶⁸ This, however, is not true of criminal acts with a presumably racist background. Naturally, articles on such attacks cover the origins of the victims at length. The case receiving the most

⁵⁹ *ZEIT*, 2011/36: Jain: The unfathomable.

⁶⁰ *FAS*, 7.8.2011: Where have all the Indians gone.

⁶¹ *FAZ*, 4.10.2006: Taking India seriously.

⁶² *FAZ*, 11.6.2012: A Jain has to renounce possession.

⁶³ E.g. *Welt*, 16.10.2009: How elite migrants climb up the ladder.

⁶⁴ E.g. *FAZ.net*, 28.1.2015: How does Germany benefit from immigration?; *FAZ.net*, 23.10.2010: Indians are cheaper than children.

⁶⁵ *SZ*, 17.1.2007: Doing his own thing.

⁶⁶ See *SZ.de*, 9.12.2014: Stabbing at Train Station East; *Bild.de*, 8.12.2014: With dagger! Pizza baker attacks pensioner.

⁶⁷ *FAZ*, 20.5.2011: Sikhs suspected of terrorism.

⁶⁸ E.g. see *SZ*, 16.2.2012: Indian beaten up in Haidhausen; *SZ*, 28.12.2012: Student from India mugged.

extensive coverage by far was an attack on eight Indians at a local festival in the Eastern German town of Mügeln in August 2007. Reportedly, an argument at the festival turned into a racist manhunt, at the end of which the group of Indians, severely wounded, locked themselves into the pizzeria of one of the victims.⁶⁹ As the mob shouted racist insults during the attack ('Foreigners out!'), the incident sparked a nation-wide outcry and year-long debates regarding: whether the events constituted a planned attack by neo-Nazis; whether local authorities had closed their eyes; and whether local and regional authorities had deliberately played down the events.⁷⁰ Also, Mügeln quickly became a catchword for the reputational difficulties Germany faced when trying to attract skilled labor from outside the EU. As the case was covered in international media as well, particularly in India, Mügeln exemplified to potential immigrants and investors how far Germany was from being the welcoming culture it seeks to be, perhaps particularly in East Germany.⁷¹

Recently, a very particular case involving a prominent figure of Indian origin has received a lot of attention in German media as well. The aspiring social-democratic politician Sebastian Edathy⁷² was clearly a success story until December 2013, when the young Member of Parliament was accused of possessing child pornography. He was dropped from a list of potential candidates for ministerial posts in the newly elected federal government, and, finally, resigned his seat in the German Bundestag.⁷³ Because he had previously chaired a high-level investigation committee examining a series of racially motivated murder cases (the *National Socialist Underground* murders), his fight against racism had received a lot of attention – and praise – in the German media. Being the son of a German mother and an Indian father, his dark skin and engagement against racism led to his ethnic background often being mentioned in connection with his political achievements.⁷⁴ When the scandal that led to his resignation broke, however, his ethnic background rarely came up. Most media reports treat Edathy simply as a German politician facing charges and, again, mention his ethnic background only in passing, if at all. But there are notable exceptions, such as a report in *ZEIT* which connects Edathy's ethnic background to his sexuality, as well as his ruthlessness in political conflicts: "Perhaps Edathy tried to compensate for his twofold 'stain' as an immigrant's child and a man with socially detested sexual orientations involving children with a harsh demeanor in internal politics".⁷⁵

6. Gender

The proverbial Indian immigrant of the German media is a male IT specialist (Meijering and Van Hoven 2003). As a consequence, Indian females and their experiences in Germany are almost absent from reports on Indian migrants. This does not come as a surprise as most Indian immigrants work in professions which are traditionally male-dominated. Among the population that has received most media coverage in Germany – Indian Green Card recipients – only 7.5% were female (Gottschlich 2012: 4). Similarly, not even one in four Indian students beginning their studies in Germany was

⁶⁹ *SPIEGEL Online*, 20.8.2007: Mob chases Indians – Mügeln shocked.

⁷⁰ MDR Sachsen, 17.6.2014: New study: Politicians trivialized the manhunt of Indians.

⁷¹ *FAZ*, 26.11.2010: Rupees for East Germany.

⁷² While Edathy is certainly the most prominent German politician of Indian heritage, he is by no means the only one. Other politicians of some prominence include Josef Winkler (Green party), Raju Sharma (Left party), and Ravindra Gujjula (Social-Democrats). Edathy, Winkler, and Sharma were all members of the 17th Bundestag (2009-2013). Thus, 3 out of 622 seats in the German national parliament were taken by individuals of Indian origin – a number worth mentioning given the small size of the Indian diaspora in Germany. However, there are no Indian members in the current parliament, elected in September 2013.

⁷³ *SZ*, 14.2.2014: Through very short official channels.

⁷⁴ E.g. *FAS*, 29.1.2012: Sebastian Edathy seeks to surprise everybody.

⁷⁵ *ZEIT*, 2014/09: The Edathy case: Highway to hell.

female in 2012 (22.6% of 2440 in total).⁷⁶ Most of the female Indians living in Germany – about 36% in 2010 (Gottschlich 2012: 3) – came either during earlier waves of immigration (e.g. as nurses in the 1960s and 1970s) or, more recently, to join their husbands as part of family reunification schemes. In recent years, however, both groups of women remained largely unnoticed by the German media.

As a consequence, most reports on Indian gender relations focus on events and conditions in India itself. But since these reports influence how people of Indian origin are perceived and treated in Germany – and occasionally directly affect their living conditions in Germany – they are worth mentioning here. The maltreatment of women in India and their vulnerable position in Indian society has long been the subject of German media reports. This has included: the abortion of female fetuses;⁷⁷ newborn girls being killed or dying of malnutrition;⁷⁸ the burning of brides;⁷⁹ various forms of discrimination, or cases of rape and gang rape.⁸⁰ Generally speaking, India is characterized as one of the most dangerous places for women.⁸¹ The overall verdict is that it is a “scandal that women and girls in the world’s biggest democracy are almost entirely without rights”.⁸²

The debate on the role of women in Indian society became a central topic in German media, when the case of an Indian student who fell victim to gang rape and eventually died shocked the world in December 2012. Reports on the case itself,⁸³ the protests it provoked,⁸⁴ and the trial against the five suspects⁸⁵ all featured prominently in German public debate. Given that this case was anything but an exception,⁸⁶ reports and commentaries generally held that it showed how disrespect of women is deeply rooted in Indian society. This is exemplified by headlines such as “India’s culture of rape”⁸⁷ or “Rape: What wrong with Indian men”.⁸⁸

Such reports have consequences for the lives of Indian immigrants in Germany, too, as they can feed into reservations towards Indian people as a whole. This was recently exemplified when a Professor of the University of Leipzig reportedly refused to offer an Indian student an internship in her laboratory because she was wary of Indian male students given attitudes to rape in India.⁸⁹ The case received a lot of attention after the student published parts of his e-mail conversation with the professor online, thereby creating a media scandal with reports across the national and international media. The professor wrote: “Unfortunately I don’t accept any Indian male students for internships. We hear a lot about the rape problem in India which I cannot support. I have many female students in my group, so I think this attitude is something I cannot support.” She later claimed that the published screenshot was taken out of context and she had refused the internship because her lab was full – but confirmed the authenticity of the e-mail.⁹⁰

⁷⁶ See <http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/daten/2/2/2> [Accessed 10 April 2015].

⁷⁷ *FAS*, 15.9.2010: A few hundred Euros for a life.

⁷⁸ *ZEIT*, 2013/13: India murders its women.

⁷⁹ *FAZ*, 10.3.2009: Fire victim bride.

⁸⁰ *SZ*, 8.1.2013: Daily rape.

⁸¹ E.g. *Bild.de*, 26.1.2014: Raped, sold, forced to marry: How dangerous it is to be born as a woman in India.

⁸² *FAZ*, 3.12.2013: This country wages a war against its women.

⁸³ *FAZ*, 31.12.2012: India: Women, death and a helpless state.

⁸⁴ *ZEIT*, 2013/06: The rage of the women.

⁸⁵ *SPIEGEL Online*, 13.3.2014: Trial in Delhi: Court confirms death sentence against rapists.

⁸⁶ *SZ*, 8.1.2013: Daily rape.

⁸⁷ *FAS*, 8.3.2015: India’s culture of rape.

⁸⁸ *ZEIT*, 2014/25: Rape: What’s wrong with Indian men?

⁸⁹ *Bild.de*, 9.3.2015: To protest against rape in his home country: Professor refuses Indian Student.

⁹⁰ *FAZ.net*, 9.3.2015: Indian complains about racist refusal.

As with reporting on Indian gender relations in general, reports on Indian marriages focus on the situation in India. No article specifically focusing on marriage procedures of Indians in Germany could be identified. There are, however, reports on fictitious marriages in other EU countries such as Ireland, which name Indians as one of the biggest groups of nationals who marry partners from EU member states (usually from Eastern Europe) in order to receive a residence permit.⁹¹ There was also the curious case of a German woman who was, without being present or even knowing about it, married to a twenty-year-old Indian in Bosnia – and has been trying for years to revoke the marriage.⁹² But the bulk of German media reports on Indian marriages focus on the still widespread practice of arranged marriages in India. For example, one article reports that Valentine’s Day has become the subject of a clash of cultures in India, antagonizing traditionalist advocates of arranged marriages and young individualists fighting for romantic love. Reportedly, couples are often victims of attacks around Valentine’s Day and religious groups burn Valentine’s cards in public.⁹³ At times, the rape of women is also mentioned in connection with arranged and forced marriages in India,⁹⁴ suggesting that the tradition of arranging marriages may foster acts of sexual violence. If such reports from India influence the way Germans generally perceive native Indians, they may also make it more difficult for Indian immigrants to integrate successfully. Seen this way, the cruelties women in India experience are also a burden for Indian immigrants in Germany.

7. Culture

German media reports on Indian culture often revolve around *Bollywood*. Far from being simply a reference to mainstream Indian film, it is also used to denote Indian music, dance, and culture more broadly. For instance, a report on an Indian street festival carries the headline “Bollywood and more”.⁹⁵ However, there are also better informed articles, focusing on independent Indian film, new developments in Indo-Jazz, or Indian authors. Often times, reporting on Indian culture is driven by particular events such as the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2006 which focused on Indian literature, the international success of the film *Slumdog Millionaire* in 2009, or Aravind Adiga winning the Booker prize in 2008. Such events usually lead to a (rather short-lived) spike in media interest, which often translates into coverage on broader issues related to India as well.

Until 2004, Bollywood films found their audience in Germany constrained to a rather small special interest community. When the private channel RTL2 started to regularly show Bollywood classics at prime time, however, a real ‘Bollywood fever’ spread in Germany,⁹⁶ spurring an increase in media coverage, but also a broader interest in Indian culture. For instance, German Bollywood fans often took Hindi lessons or attended Bollywood dancing courses.⁹⁷ In recent years, however, the Bollywood boom has somewhat abated in Germany (Banerjee 2012: 3), despite the international success of ‘Slumdog Millionaire’, which took eight Oscars in 2009. As the *FAZ* writes on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Indian film in 2013, “the impact of this industry remains mostly limited to the Indian subcontinent and the Indian diaspora in the West”.⁹⁸ Still, the German media continues to report on Bollywood productions, particularly when Bollywood stars visit German film festivals⁹⁹ or

⁹¹ *FAZ*, 18.8.2010: Sham marriages in Ireland.

⁹² *SZ*, 16.7.2012: Married against her will.

⁹³ *FAZ*, 8.2.2011: Love is in the air: Indian Valentine’s Day.

⁹⁴ E.g. *FAZ*, 12.3.2013: This country wages a war against its women.

⁹⁵ *FAZ*, 18.8.2010: Bollywood and more.

⁹⁶ *Handelsblatt*, 12.2.2010: Bollywood-Boom takes Berlin.

⁹⁷ *taz*, 6.3.2008: Like marzipan with frosting; *FAZ*, 22.6.2006: To dance Bhangra barefooted.

⁹⁸ *FAZ*, 10.8.2013: Bollywood as elixir.

⁹⁹ *FAZ.net*, 12.2.2012: Shah Rukh Khan in Berlin: The film of the hour.

Bollywood productions are filmed in Germany.¹⁰⁰ Only more specialized media outlets go beyond reporting on those mainstream Hindi productions. For instance, the yearly Indian film festival in Stuttgart – the biggest of its kind in Europe¹⁰¹ – also offers screenings of documentaries, short films, and independent productions from India, with corresponding media reports.¹⁰²

Coinciding with the Bollywood boom in Germany, the 58th Frankfurt Book Fair, the world's largest trade fair for books, focused on India in 2006. The fair brought about 100 Indian authors and 200 Indian publishers to Frankfurt¹⁰³ and initiated nation-wide reports on Indian literature, but also on Indian culture, more broadly.¹⁰⁴ The fair was deemed a great success and made an impression on German readers. Retrospectively, two years after the fair, an article states that none of the fair's editions had been as strongly influenced by its guest country as that of 2006. It calls the fair a big bang, breathing new life into German journals focused on India as well.¹⁰⁵ Not only did the fair trigger the translation of more than sixty Indian books into German, it also sparked the founding of the 'Literaturforum Indien', a society dedicated to fostering an interest in Indian literature written in the less often translated regional languages.¹⁰⁶

Reports on Indian artists often link their story to social problems in India. For instance, an article on the three Bollywood stars Shah Rukh Khan, Aamir Khan, and Salman Khan focuses on how the three Muslims promote religious tolerance in the predominantly Hindu country.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, an interview with Sitar artist Anoushka Shankar (daughter of Ravi Shankar) focuses on India's rape problems because she suffered from sexual violence as a child herself.¹⁰⁸ Censorship in India is a third problem often mentioned in connection with reports on Indian artists. Examples include a report on Salman Rushdie being 'convinced' by authorities not to give a speech at the Jaipur Literary Festival¹⁰⁹ and religious groups filing complaints against the comedy group 'All India Bakchod'.¹¹⁰

8. Religion

Of the different religious groups among Indians in Germany, some are more visible in media debates than others. While Indian Christians and Muslims could simply make use of existing churches and mosques in Germany, such places for worship did, until recently, not exist for Hindu and Sikh communities (Gottschlich 2012: 9). Therefore, the construction of new Hindu or Sikh temples attracts much more media attention than the integration of Indians in already existing Christian and Muslim communities. Hindu and Sikh festivities also receive more coverage because they offer an interesting – and from a German perspective: exotic – contrast to the country's conventional religious celebrations. Indian Christians are thus rarely considered. And if they are, it is usually related to a

¹⁰⁰ *FAZ*, 12.8.2013: Subhashree Ganguly at the Marienbrunnen.

¹⁰¹ See <http://www.indisches-filmfestival.de/en/filmfestival/> [Accessed 13 April 2015]. The Indo-German Film Club in Frankfurt pursues similar goals and has been screening Indian films beyond mainstream Hindi productions at the German Film Museum Frankfurt since 1990 (*FAZ*, 6.8.2009: 20 years of India Films in Frankfurt).

¹⁰² *SZ*, 20.7.2013: Like under a magnifying glass; Deutschlandradio Kultur, 17.7.2013: Beyond Bollywood.

¹⁰³ *FAZ.net*, 4.10.2006: India's appearance comes at the right time.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. *ZEIT*, 28.9.2006: The country of 18 languages; *FAZ*, 25.1.2006: The German India-Year: Visiting literature enthusiasts; *SZ*, 20.9.2006: The sandalwood of the uprooted.

¹⁰⁵ *FAZ*, 29.10.2008: Take care of the White Tiger: India's literature benefits from the Book Fair.

¹⁰⁶ See <http://www.literaturforum-indien.de/verein.html> [Accessed 16 April 2015].

¹⁰⁷ *FAZ*, 24.3.2015: Bollywood's muslim stars: The power of the three khans.

¹⁰⁸ *SZ Magazin*, 28.10.2013: "All of a sudden, the whole world is looking at you".

¹⁰⁹ *FAZ*, 18.1.2012: Censorship occurs: Salman Rushdie and the Indian democracy.

¹¹⁰ *FAZ*, 20.3.2015: Is it funny, or should it be banned?.

broader issue. For instance, an article on *ZEIT Online* tells the story of Father Stephen Arockiam, an Indian working for a Christian community in Munich, in order to highlight the problems associated with priest shortage in the Roman Catholic Church.¹¹¹ A similar report focuses on the integration of an Indian-born priest in Düsseldorf.¹¹² Indian Christians in the congregation, however, do not attract such attention.

Whenever a new Hindu temple is built or inaugurated, the occasion draws attention to Hindu communities within Germany, which are otherwise often overlooked. Recent examples include the first temple in Berlin, the Sri Murugan Mayurpathy temple, which opened in 2013¹¹³ or the Jyoti-Maiyya-Temple, which in 2012 became the second Hindu temple within the city of Hamburg.¹¹⁴ The Hindu temple of Hamm in Westphalia, which is the biggest in Europe, is over ten years old.¹¹⁵ The overall tone of reports on these Hindu societies and their places of worship is consistently positive and emphasizes the societies' peacefulness and tolerance. For instance, it is reported that the vegan Hindu priest Arumugam Paskaran in Hamm did not object to building his impressive temple close to a slaughterhouse where about 90,000 cattle are butchered each year.¹¹⁶ Overall, Hindu communities are portrayed as pragmatic, modest, and open, who always like to welcome visitors.¹¹⁷

Hindu festivals also frequently attract media attention, although this only goes for some of them. For instance, there are numerous reports on Diwali, Durga Puja, and, most importantly, Holi festivals, while other festivities remain almost completely unmentioned (see Appendix 2). Diwali, the 'festival of lights', is celebrated by Indians in every one of the sixteen German states – organized by the local Hindu community¹¹⁸ and attracts German guests as well. The Bavarian edition of 2011, for instance, is reported to have attracted 300 visitors, half of which were reportedly German. It is thus portrayed as a "true encounter of the two cultures".¹¹⁹ Holi festivals, however, attract the most attention by far. By now, almost every medium-sized or big city in Germany hosts its edition of the 'festival of colors'. And even though media reports usually mention the festival's Hindu roots and Indian families are often involved in organizing the celebrations, German Holi festivals often appear more as part of a global party trend than a true encounter with Indian culture and religion.¹²⁰

German Sikh communities only emerged as a subject of media reports in Germany when the Wisconsin temple shooting dragged them into the spotlight in 2012. As there were speculations in the aftermath of the massacre that the racist gunman who killed seven Sikhs might have mistaken them for Muslims, it spurred initiatives to explain Sikhism. For instance, even the German tabloid *Bild* published an article to educate its readers about the beliefs, symbols and traits of Sikhs.¹²¹ The blood bath reportedly also provoked unease among the 10,000 to 15,000 German Sikhs, who sometimes also experience being mistaken for radical Islamists, or even members of the Taliban or Al-Qaeda. An article thus reports on attempts of Sikhs in Berlin to actively inform the public that Sikhs are not associated with the Taliban in any way.¹²² These reports, and this is generalized, portray local Sikh

¹¹¹ *ZEIT Online*, 1.6.2011: An Indian prays for the Bavarians.

¹¹² *RP*, 15.4.2015: Germany has become his home.

¹¹³ *Bild.de*, 9.9.2013: First Hindu temple in Berlin: From the basement to the motley temple.

¹¹⁴ *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 29.1.2012: Second Hindu temple inaugurated.

¹¹⁵ *SZ*, 19.4.2010: Alone among saris.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ e.g. *Tagesspiegel*, 8.9.2013: Berlin's first temple: Heinz Buschkowsky and the holy cow.

¹¹⁸ *FAZ.net*, 25.10.2011: Indian in Germany: Interest instead of strange looks.

¹¹⁹ *SZ*, 15.12.2011: Family celebration with light chains.

¹²⁰ *SZ*, 13.6.2013: Bubble bathing with a demon.

¹²¹ *Bild.de*, 6.8.2012: After blood bath with 6 victims in US Sikh-Temple: What is Sikhism?.

¹²² *taz*, 13.8.2012: Tolerance underneath the turban.

communities as particularly open, tolerant, and peaceful. They often explain the circumstances that led them to flee India, as well as their religious symbols, such as the Turban or the Kirpan. No controversies over these symbols can be found, however, even in the aforementioned reports of a mentally-confused Sikh who used his Kirpan to stab a man in Munich.¹²³ If anything, reports emphasize the tolerance and pragmatism of German Sikhs, for instance in an article on a young Sikh from Hamburg who cut his hair – Sikhs don't cut their hair to show their respect for the Creation – in order to join the German army.¹²⁴ In line with the overall media image of Indian migrants in Germany, the German-born Sikh is generally portrayed as a well-integrated and ambitious citizen.

9. Conclusion

The Indian diaspora in Germany is rather small and, thus, largely flies under the radar of German media. If Indian migrants are mentioned in reports, they are therefore rarely characterized as part of a specific group. Rather, such reports focus on individuals and their acts. Their ethnic or cultural backgrounds are often merely a side note, indicating cases of successful integration. Correspondingly, the few existing reports on Indian culture and religious practices of Indians in Germany mostly mirror positive sentiments and a great interest – particularly during the German Bollywood boom around 2006, regarding festivities such as the Diwali or Holi festivals, or the inauguration of Hindu temples in German cities. Negative reports focus mostly on the vulnerability of women in India, sometimes with repercussions for Indians in Germany.

The only time the Indian diaspora found itself at the center of political debates in Germany was when the Schröder government enacted the Green Card program in 2000 in order to attract foreign IT specialists. The accompanying discussions gave birth to the stereotype of the “Computer-Indian” – a stereotype so pervasive that much of the ongoing debates of highly-skilled migration to Germany still refers to this mythical figure. The introduction of the Blue Card scheme has, since 2007, widened the media focus only a little to include engineers of Indian origin in the popular imagination as well.

But while the “Computer-Indian” is a *cliché* – and the original political debates associated with the Green Card campaign were often discriminatory – it remains a mostly positive *cliché*. Indian immigrants are generally portrayed as a highly-skilled labor force and thus as part of a “migrant elite” in Germany. Consequently, many reports focus on ways for Germany to attract more Indian employees and students. German officials' recent efforts to establish German as a third language in Indian schools is a case in point. This initiative is part of a broader strategy designed to strengthen ties with India and to bring skilled young Indians to Germany – because Indians are perceived as highly educated, ambitious and ready to integrate.

At the same time, such reports reveal a rather instrumental, commoditized view of Indian migrants. Their main concern is usually the benefits they bring to the domestic economy. If the needs of the migrants themselves are the subject of reports at all, meeting them is presented as something German politics and society have to consider *in order to* realize the economic potentials of attracting – and keeping – this vital foreign workforce.

¹²³ Bild.de, 8.12.2014: With dagger! Pizza baker attacks pensioner.

¹²⁴ Welt, 20.10.2014: Why a Sikh abandons his religion for the army.

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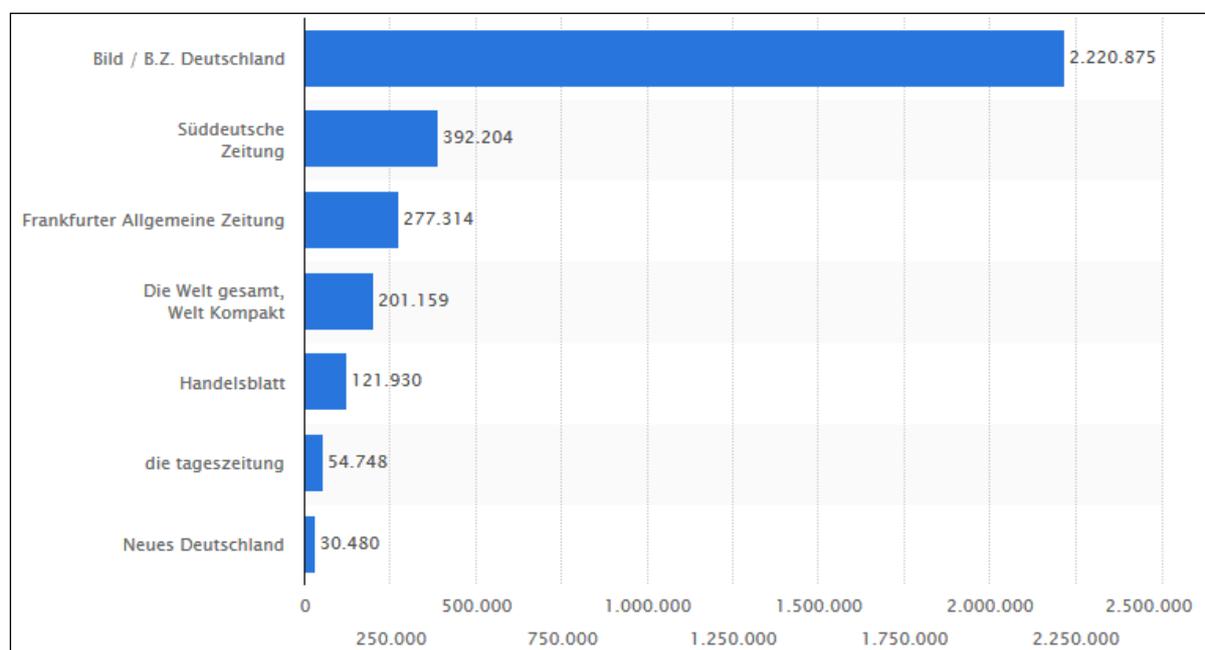
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Appendix 1. Brief descriptions of media sources

Figure 1. Circulation of German daily newspapers in early 2015



Source: Statista 2015, available on: <http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/73448/umfrage/auflage-der-ueberregionalen-tageszeitungen/> [Accessed 10 April 2015].

Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ). The “South German Newspaper” is the largest German national subscription daily newspaper. Published in Munich, the *SZ*’s editorial stance is considered to be of center-left orientation. Its online portal, sueddeutsche.de, also attracts a wide audience.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) is the *SZ*’s main competitor. The second largest national subscription daily newspaper was founded in 1949. It is published in Frankfurt am Main and considered center-right, or liberal-conservative. It is the German newspaper with the widest circulation abroad. Its Sunday edition is the **Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung (FAS)**.

Bild is Germany’s leading tabloid and has by far the largest circulation among German newspapers. It is the best-selling tabloid in Europe and had the fifth-largest circulation worldwide in 2010.¹²⁵ Often criticized for sensationalism and publishing stories based on dubious evidence, *Bild*’s editorial stance is conservative and nationalist.

Die ZEIT, established in 1946, is a weekly newspaper with long and detailed articles, which are well-regarded for their journalistic quality. Published in Hamburg, the liberal *ZEIT* is sometimes slightly left-leaning and sometimes slightly right-leaning. It is the most widely read weekly newspaper in Germany.¹²⁶

SPIEGEL is a weekly news magazine with a circulation of more than one million. The right-liberal magazine from Hamburg has a reputation for revealing political scandals and is one of Europe’s most influential news magazines.¹²⁷ Its online sibling, **SPIEGEL Online**, is one of the most visited German language news websites.

¹²⁵ See <http://www.pressrun.net/weblog/2010/09/the-worlds-biggest-selling-newspapers.html> [Accessed 10 April 2015].

¹²⁶ See http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/29/technology/29iht-diezeit29.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 [Accessed 10 April 2015].

¹²⁷ See <http://www.economist.com/node/1446317> [Accessed 14 Apr 2015].

Die Welt is the fourth most important daily newspaper in Germany in terms of circulation. Being published by the same publishing house as the tabloid *Bild* (Axel Springer), it is generally considered to be of liberal-conservative orientation.

die tageszeitung (taz) is the most prominent daily newspaper of the left and is published in Berlin. Growing out of the leftist movements of the 1970s, the cooperative-owned newspaper advocates left policies and Green liberalism and intends to constitute an alternative to mainstream media. The *taz* is generally critical of government – and was so even during the coalition of the Green Party with the Social Democrats (1998-2005).

Tagesspiegel. ‘The Daily Mirror’ is a Berlin-based, classical liberal daily newspaper. It prides itself as being the only major Berlin newspaper to have increased its circulation since German re-unification.

Handelsblatt is a leading business newspaper, with the fifth-largest circulation in Germany. Published in Düsseldorf, the social-liberal daily comes from the same publisher as the business weekly, *Wirtschaftswoche* (see below).

Wirtschaftswoche is a weekly magazine, published in Düsseldorf. It provides mostly business- and economy-related news.

Hamburger Abendblatt is a regional daily newspaper focusing on news from Hamburg. It is considered mildly conservative,

Rheinische Post (RP) is one of the most important regional daily newspapers in Germany. Published in Düsseldorf, it is particularly widely read in North Rhine-Westphalia and is affiliated with the conservative Christian Democratic Party.

MDR Sachsen is the Saxon branch of the Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (“Central German Broadcasting”), the public broadcaster for the Eastern German federal states of Thuringia, Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt. MDR broadcasts a regional TV channel to the three federal states and also contributes to the first national TV channel (Das Erste). Furthermore, it broadcasts a number of radio channels and produces news on its webpage.

Deutschlandradio Kultur is the culture-oriented radio station of Deutschlandradio, a national German public broadcasting radio. Based in Berlin, it is one of the four national networks that Deutschlandradio produces. Next to radio broadcasting, it also publishes scripts of its productions online.

Appendix 2. Documentation of queries and hits

		<i>SZ</i>	<i>FAZ</i>	<i>ZEIT</i>	<i>Bild</i>	Google News
General	Inder in Deutschland	1002	1578	500	123	28,600
	“Inder in Deutschland”	1	6	1	0	29
	Indischstämmig	6	4	29	0	10
	“indische einwanderer”	5	2	12	0	8
	“indischer eltern”	11	9	7	0	22
	“indische eltern”	3	1	7	0	23
	“indischer Herkunft”	21	33	15	0	158
	“indische Herkunft”	7	4	15	0	20
Gender	Deutsch-Inder	1	9	7	33	29
	Deutsch-Inderin	1	1	7	7	15
	“indische Frau”	7	5	44	0	126
	“indischer Mann”	0	1	18	0	23
	“indische Frauen”	25	25	44	0	626
	“indische Männer”	8	8	18	0	1270
	“indischer einwanderer”	15	32	12	0	51
	indische Einwanderin	2	1	2	0	5
	indische Migrantin	0	3	62	0	7
	Einwanderin Indien	2	1	2	0	18
	Migrantin Indien	0	2	86	0	25
	Ehe Inder	141	91	136	8	2100
	Hochzeit Inder	81	60	42	11	1610
	Heirat Inder	21	20	25	5	486
	Zwangsheirat Inder	0	2	0	0	80
	Ehe arrangiert Inder	7	3	15	0	34
	Ehe arrangiert Indien	15	11	33	1	97
Education	“indische studenten”	15	7	27	0	152
	indische studenten	239	137	352	13	14,300
	indische studenten visum	5	0	15	0	85
	studenten indien visum	17	7	34	1	310
	indische studenten wohnheim	1	0	9	0	47
	studenten indien wohnheim	4	5	16	1	143
	indien studentenvereinigung	3	1	3	0	93
	indien student sprachbarriere	1	1	2	0	66
	Sikh Schule			27	0	364
Business/Investment	“indische investoren”	6	6	7	0	30
	“indischer investor”	6	4	7	0	46
	“Investoren aus Indien”	0	11	2	0	16
	Übernahme + “indische Firma”	0	6	0	1	14
	Unternehmensgründung Inder	0	7	6	0	208
	Gründung Inder	42	88	57	2	754
	Mittelstand Inder	24	49	18	2	2140
	“indische Handelskammer”	8	8	5	0	38
	“indische Handelskammer” Deutschland	7	8	3	0	12
	“in Indien investieren”	11	21	4	0	135
	Investition in Indien	149	382	564	9	7350

(cont.)

Appendix 2: Documentation of queries and hits (cont.)

		<i>SZ</i>	<i>FAZ</i>	<i>ZEIT</i>	<i>Bild</i>	Google News
Crime	Anklage Inder	33	22	29	12	1970
	Anklage indisch	5	3	56	0	585
	Verhaftung Inder	11	6	8	2	1450
	Inder verhaftet	38	40	31	1	1360
	Urteil Inder	98	96	63	19	3290
	Täter Inder	80	70	69	26	2620
	Gewalt Inder	180	158	184	29	11,800
	Labor Market	“indische Angestellte”	4	3	3	0
	Inder Ausbildung	88	173	100	8	3750
	Inder Arbeitsmarkt	19	81	54	7	1220
	Inder Spezialist	12	27	49	1	1210
	Inder Fachkräfte	33	36	38	5	1360
	Inder Fachkräftemangel	19	19	12	2	451
	Inder Green Card	12	19	6	0	309
	Inder Greencard	8	8	5	1	83
	Inder Blue Card	1	7	3	0	296
	Indien Blue Card	7	14	6	2	2810
Culture	Indien Festival	559	243	104	46	47,500
	Kulturfestival Indien	7	4	7	0	298
	Kultur indisch	55	118	633	4	67,900
	“indische Kultur”	51	11	27	0	133
	“indische Musik”	136	25	25	0	319
	“indische Kunst”	33	28	8	0	46
	“indische Literatur”	9	14	11	0	9
	“indischer Film”	4	4	21	0	34
	“indische Filme”	15	21	21	0	64
	“indische Autoren”	9	8	15	0	3
	Musik Indien	1538	720	368	99	64,900
	Banghra / Bhangra	6	2	2	3	69
	Raga	118	46	14	1	514
	Tala	22	20	3	6	833
	Bollywood	979	529	150	222	7.260
	Kunst Indien	1602	898	492	47	60,800
	Literatur Indien	778	603	283	14	36,200
Film Indien	1876	767	530	156	73,800	

(cont.)

Appendix 2: Documentation of queries and hits (cont.)

		<i>SZ</i>	<i>FAZ</i>	<i>ZEIT</i>	<i>Bild</i>	Google News
Religion	Tempel Inder Deutschland	32	42	24	3	3140
	Hindu-Tempel	55	45	26	43	548
	Sikh-Tempel	41	24	15	29	134
	Krishna-Tempel	12	8	2	3	23
	Gurdwara	8	3	1	0	27
	Tempel Frankfurt	244	529	137	68	14,800
	Tempel Hamm	14	8	5	15	1120
	Tempel Berlin	668	603	563	127	32,500
	“Tempel in Berlin”	3	4	3	0	118
	Tempel München	1973	318	201	54	19,200
	“Tempel in München”	8	1	1	0	1
	Tempel Hamburg	192	160	182	91	25,700
	“Tempel in Hamburg”	0	0	2	0	5
	Sankranti	12	1	3	1	24
	Holi	212	18	10	54	52,000
	Shivaratri	11	0	1	0	6
	Rama Navami	0	1	0	0	49
	Durga Puja	12	10	2	0	59
	Buddha Purnima	0	1	0	0	3
	Nag Panchami	6	0	0	0	3
	Janmashtami	2	1	0	0	6
	Diwali	82	28	9	0	204
	Turban	634	557	263	187	3040
	Kirpan	0	0	0	0	42
	Turban Inder	45	38	25	5	3170