



A HOME AWAY FROM HOME An Overview of Indian Associations in Germany

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Abstract

There is steep increase in the Non-resident Indians (NRIs) and People of Indian Origins (PIOs) in Germany in the last two decades. This Indian diaspora has been making itself visible inter alia through various associations in Germany. The associations play a key role in promoting the diverse 'arts and culture' of the India in Germany. Some associations also liaise with local government for integration measures, and some promote transnational ties with India. While these associations were established at various times during the Indian immigration into Germany, there is hardly any understanding of their identity on which they are based, their functioning and their ability to reach out to Indians and integrate with German communities. This report aims to fill this gap by spatially understanding the distribution of the Indian associations, assessing their organizational structures, the activities they fulfil and their role in maintaining transnational ties to the homeland. The findings are based on an online survey conducted between May and August 2017. The analysis reveals that these associations have gained ground in establishing themselves, making visible the Indian arts and culture, and liaising with the local government. However, their potential as key connectors between NRI/PIOs and the embassy/consulates, and between India and Germany has so far been limited. The study provides an overview of the challenges faced by these associations in reaching out to the whole heterogenous "Indian diaspora" in Germany and in promoting transnational ties.

Acknowledgements

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1. INTRODUCTION

Migration touches all states and nations in the era of globalization¹. It has helped improve peoples' lives in both origin and destination countries. In recent years, it is increasingly seen as a high-priority policy issues by many governments, politicians and the broader public throughout the world. At the same time, several diasporic communities have become increasingly influential actors in both domestic and international contexts. In recent years, the "Indian diaspora" has emerged as one of the largest migrant groups in the world, with about 31 million living outside their home country². The diaspora includes People of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). They reflect the heterogeneity of the Indian society. Thus, how "Indian culture" is lived abroad varies strongly between different destination countries, according to the specific composition of the diaspora. It is this multicultural dynamism, their cultural commitment and their socio-political success in maintaining ties between their homeland and the destination country has remained significant among the diaspora. Indians abroad, especially since 1950s, have been looked upon for their educational achievements, professional skills and recently with the boom of information technology as a specialized skill among Indians and for their adaptability along with maintaining strong connections with their motherland. In recent years, with the changing conditions in a globalizing world, the Indian diaspora has become highly mobile and dynamic. Apart from bringing their skills and expertise into the destination countries, they are also considered valuable for their multi-cultural and linguistic diversity, and in maintaining ties in their home land.

India and Germany have had a long-standing cooperation and exchange of people for more than a century. Broadly, one can distinguish four phases of migration from India to Germany after independence (Indian perspective) or after World War II (German

¹ IOM, 2017. World Migration Report 2018. International Organization for Migration (IOM), The UN Migration Agency. Geneva.

² GoI. 2017. Population of Overseas Indian- 2017. http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf

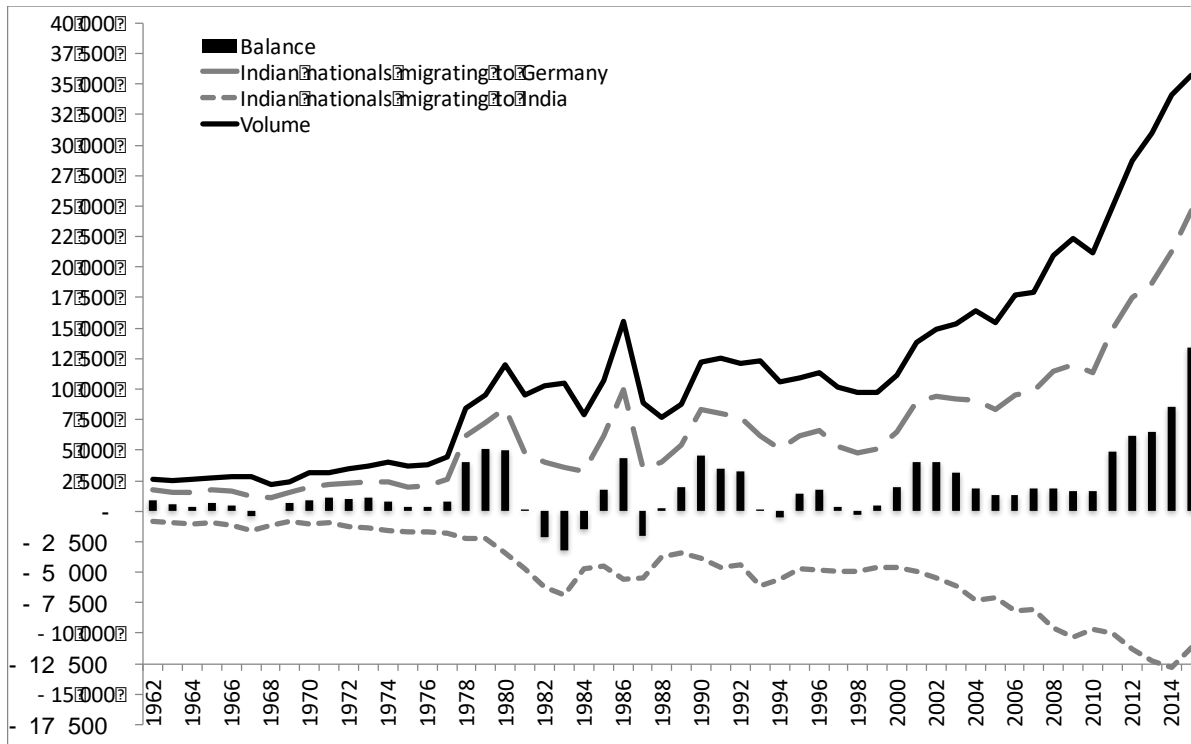
perspective). In each of these phases different groups dominated, forming different kinds of networks within Germany and to India. In the first phase, from the 1950s to 1960s, students were the dominant migrant groups who came mainly for education, returning to India afterwards. Though, few stayed as high skilled and well-integrated immigrants. In West Germany they were involved in the formation of the *Deutsch Indische Gesellschaft (DIGs)*, an association promoting cultural exchange between the two countries. The second phase was dominated by the immigration of nurses, mainly from Kerala (while there were still students coming). Because of shortages of qualified nurses for healthcare in the 1960s young untrained women were brought by the Catholic priests to meet the growing health care needs in Germany. This phase saw an active formation of Christian-Kerala associations (cultural groups, sports groups etc.). Because of this very region-religion-specific character in many cases interactions with Indian migrants from other regions were few. The third phase witnessed immigration mainly from Punjabis, related to the turbulent situation in the Indian state of Punjab during the 1970s and 1980s. For this group Gurdwaras emerged as focal points for networking and formation of a community. Many of these migrants came from rural backgrounds and did not possess a higher educational degree therefore took up semi-skilled occupations. A completely new phase of Indo-German migration started in 2000. This phase is characterized by a steep increase of the migration volume and the emergence of two new groups: high skilled professionals, mainly from the IT sector, and students.

In the past Indian migration to Germany was characterized by a steady increase of the NRI population (Fig. 1). From 1962 until 2015 the balance between migration to and migration from Germany was negative in seven years only³. Figure 1 illustrates, that in the first two phases, described above, the migration volume was very small. It started to increase in the third phase, in the 1970s and 1980s. In the fourth phase (since 2000) increasing migration led to a duplication of NRI living in Germany (35,183 in 2000; 86,324

³ DeStatis; 1962-1989

in 2015 according to DeStatis). In addition to the NRIs, the Government of India (GoI) estimates an equal number of them as Person of Indian Origin (PIOs). In total, the GoI estimates about 169,000 NRIs and PIOs in Germany and their number has been steadily increasing. Despite their small proportion, they contribute to the socio-cultural and economy in Germany.

Fig.1 Migration Tread of Indian Nationals in Germany



Source: Butsch, 2016

Germany is the second largest recipient of Indian Foreign Direct Investments (FDI)⁴ with 96 projects (worth €11.4 billion) employing a total workforce of 27,400 in 2016. A study by the Bertelsmann Foundation, Confederation of Indian Industries and Ernst & Young found that Indian companies in Germany generated almost 70% of their turnover in labor-intensive sectors, such as metal industry and the automotive sector. The Indian IT

⁴ The Hindu, 3 December 2017. Indian Firms Employ 27,400 in Germany.
<http://www.thehindu.com/business/Industry/indian-firms-rake-in-114-bn-in-germany/article21255085.ece>

industry accounts for a revenue share of 9% and is witnessing a slow shift towards high-tech products.

Second, the Indian diaspora are educationally qualified than that of the average population in Germany⁵. About 41.7% of Indians are professionally qualified migrants, in contrast to only 19.1% of the Germans. About 25% were found to be semi-skilled, and about 13% work in elementary occupations, which is also higher than the German average. About 12% of the diaspora were technicians and associate professionals (these are nurses and others) which is equivalent to the German average. It is important to note that about 40.2% of second generation of Indians (Indian origin Persons without own migration experience) occupy managerial positions, which indicates that they have a very high affiliation to education and are very well integrated, as this value is much higher than the average population in Germany (17.4%); cf. Table 1).

Table 1 Qualifications of Indian Migrants in Germany (2015)

Occupation (major groups ISCO-08)	Population in Germany	Persons with Indian migration background		
		Persons without own migration experience	Germans with own migration experience	Indians with own migration experience
Armed Forces Occupations	4,9%	*	*	0,0%
Managers	17,4%	40,2%	10,3%	5,1%
Professionals	19,1%	11,8%	20,6%	41,7%
Technicians and Associate Professionals	13,5%	*	11,6%	12,6%
Clerical Support Workers	15,5%	9,6%	8,7%	4,4%
Service and Sales Workers	1,5%	*	24,1%	18,1%
Skilled Agricultural, Forestry and Fishery Workers	12,7%	*	*	*
Craft and Related Trades Workers	6,6%	*	6,9%	2,9%
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	8,4%	*	6,0%	1,8%
Elementary Occupations	0,5%	*	10,5%	12,9%
Total	100,1%	61,6%	98,7%	99,5%

Source: Translated from Palstring, V.S. 2015. Das Potenzial der Migration aus Indien. Entwicklungen im Herkunftsland, internationale Migrationsbewegungen und Migration nach Deutschland. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge. Forschungsbericht 26. Pg 134.

⁵ Palstring, V.S. 2015. Das Potenzial der Migration aus Indien. Entwicklungen im Herkunftsland, internationale Migrationsbewegungen und Migration nach Deutschland. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge. Forschungsbericht 26. Pg 134.

The skilled and highly qualified Indian diaspora has been making itself visible through various associations that are increasing in Germany. There are several Indian associations in Germany that have been formed with a primary purpose of promoting alliances and enhancing Indo-German integration. These associations have contributed in increasing the visibility of the Indian cultural practices performed in rituals, festivities, art forms, attires and reproduce ethnic and national identities. In more recent times, Indian diaspora are looked upon for their adaptability, democratic values and maintaining their diasporic roots with their motherland. While these associations were established at various times during the Indian immigration into Germany, there is hardly any understanding of their functioning, their activities and their efforts to integrate. The objective of the study is to provide an overview of the functioning of the associations in Germany. In specific, it aims to:

1. Understand the distribution and characteristics of the Indian associations in Germany.
2. Understand the organisational ideologies and their functioning of the associations.
3. Examine the mechanism adopted by the Indian associations to reach out with Indian community and integrate with German community.

The report is organized in addressing the above objectives. The following section describes the distribution of the diaspora and their associations in Germany. The third section focuses on the online survey conducted with Indian associations to understand their organizational ideologies and their functioning. The fourth section focuses on the outreach of these associations with Indian and German communities. The last section concludes with opportunities and challenges involved for the associations in reaching out to the larger diaspora and in effectively collaborating with the Indian and German government agencies.

2. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The Indian associations is active in Germany in many ways. There are broadly three types of Indian associations in Germany that promote Indo-German friendship, act as places for networking and exchange for NRI/PIOs and enhance integration. These are (1) *Deutsch-Indische Geschallschafts* (DIGs), (2) Indian Associations initiated by Indian diaspora groups, and (3) Indian Students associations. Though these are three distinct forms, the boundaries among them are fluid. Few DIGs closely collaborate with Indian associations and interchangeably align themselves with each other for various activities and for obtaining grants. Similarly, there are few associations who represent a mixed group of current students and alumnus and claim to be a student's group, as they evolved from a student's group or, at least, claim to be working for the Indian students. In addition to these broad categories, there are roughly 700 Indian priests and second-generation Indians who are actively involved in promoting development activities. These groups, largely individual or family initiated, function as charities and as non-government organizations (NGOs). In contrast, the Indian associations represents diverse community groups and have contributed in increasing the visibility of the Indian cultural practices of art forms, attires and cuisine. They fulfill several functions, as described in the literature on migrant organizations - though they do not fulfill all of them. Gaitanides⁶ describes in total 13 functions, migrant organisations can potentially fulfil: 1. „gateway“ for new arriving migrants, 2. maintaining the cultural capital, 3. support of the individual and collective identity, 4. offering chances for individual fulfilment, 5. generation of social capital, 6. activation of private self-help, 7. filling of gaps in service provision through voluntary engagement, 8. preventive services, 9. solving of conflicts, 10. social control, 11. articulating interests, 12. humanitarian aid, especially in the countries of the origin, and 13. transfer of knowledge about the home country.

⁶ Gaitanides, S. (2003): Partizipation von Migranten/innen und ihren Selbstorganisationen. (Manuskript: E&C-Zielgruppenkonferenz „Interkulturelle Stadt(teil)politik“. Dokumentation der Veranstaltung vom 8. und 9. Dezember 2003 Berlin, Download unter www.eundc.de/pdf/63004.pdf) (accessed 12.12.2017)

Information on the number of registered or unregistered Indian associations in Germany is difficult to obtain, as in Germany there is no statistics on country-specific associations and the Indian Embassy only has records of associations which approaches the Embassy or collaborate. However, scattered information maintained by different organizations can help to build such at least a fragmentary database. The *Deutsch Indische Geschellschaft* (DIG) was established after World War II to promote friendship between India and Germany. Currently, there 29 chapters of the DIG spread across Germany. However, information regarding the Indian Associations initiated by diaspora groups is difficult to obtain. Though many of them are registered, there is an unknown number of them functioning informally. According to the records of the Indian Embassy and its Consulates there are about 93 such associations, through which they reach out to the “Indian Diaspora”. Though these does not cover all the existing Indian associations in Germany. There are for example about 20 Indian Students associations in Germany which are facilitated by the Indian Embassy. As stated earlier, some of them also claim to be associations of diaspora. From these three types of associations, the report focuses on the 29 chapters of DIG and the 93 Indian Associations registered with the Indian Embassy. Out of these 122 only 99 association were enlisted for the study, due to overlap in the dataset and few presumably closed.

In this report, the distribution of these associations has been mapped corresponding to the division of the Indian Consulates in Germany – Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg and Munich (Fig. 2). The Frankfurt consulate which includes The German Federal States of Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Saarland and Rhineland-Pfalz has the highest number of Indian associations (about 36) in their jurisdiction. This is followed by 23 associations in Berlin distributed in the states of Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt and Thüringen. In the Hamburg division there are 21 associations distributed in the states of Bremen, Hamburg, Niedersachsen and Schleswig-

Holstein. In Munich, there are about 19 associations distributed in the states of Baden-Württemberg and Bayern.

Fig. 2



Each of these associations were contacted first through email, then with a follow-up telephone conversation, and later personal meetings in selected cities - Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Berlin and Hannover. Emails were sent to all these associations

informing about the study on Indian Diaspora and seeking a phone or personal meeting to know more about their associations regarding their history, their organizational structure, identity and characteristics of their members, and their organizations administrative structures. Of the 99 associations, 81 associations (Frankfurt-28; Hamburg-18; Berlin-19; Munich-16) were found to be existent who were contacted for an online survey to gather information on the following aspects (Annexure 1 for the list of 81 associations contacted);

1. Goals of the association
2. Events and activities
3. Transnational engagements
4. Characteristics of the members
5. Constitutional issues

The survey was carried out online using the online platform “lime survey”. A link was sent to all the (81) enlisted associations, of these 38 associations responded. However, due to incomplete answering of questions, only 34 associations were considered. Of these, only 24 of them answered all the items, with 10 of them responding only to the first three themes in the questionnaire. It can be derived that these associations have not responded to the fourth to sixth theme because they are either unclear about the broad principles of the functioning of the associations or for some unknown reason did not share this information.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

In the beginning of this century, the diaspora were about 35,000 NRI living in Germany in 2000, their number increased to 48,000 in 2010, and almost doubled to 86,000 in 2015⁷. The drastic increase is attributed to networks initiated by the release of the so called Green card in 2000-2005, to attract foreign qualified information technology sector.

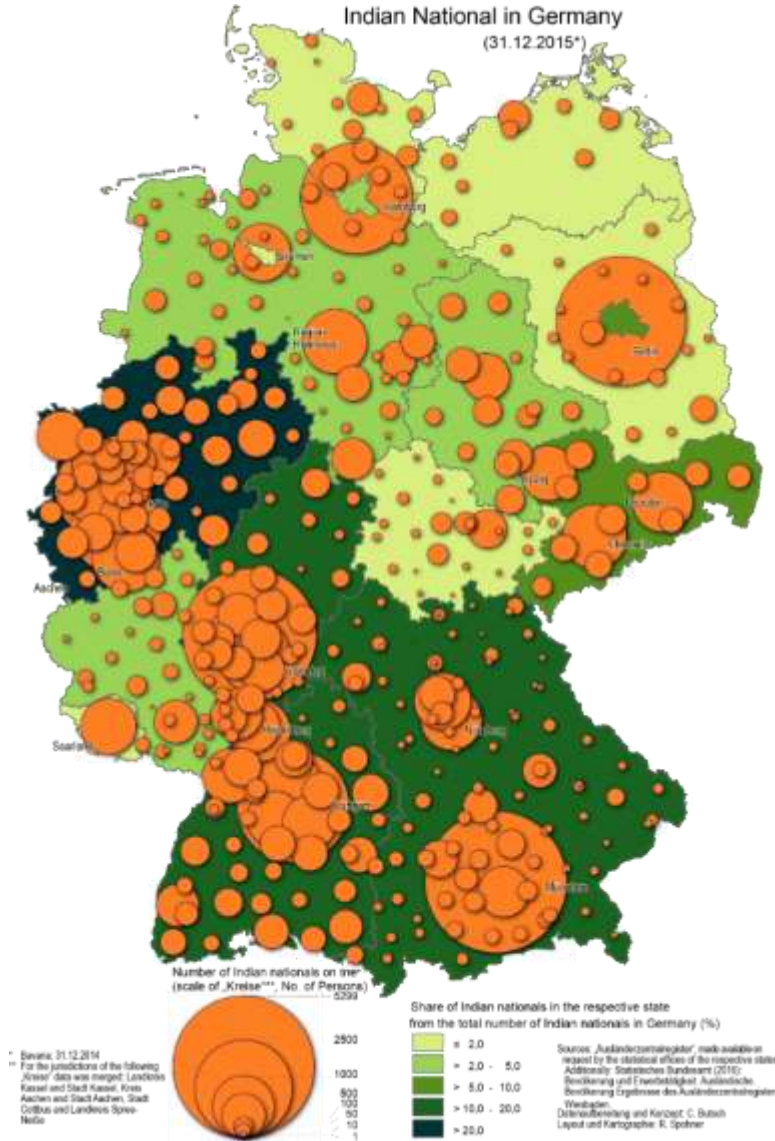
⁷ Statistische Bundesamt (2013; 2014; 2016) Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebniss des Mikrozensus. Wiesbaden.

Under this initiative, about 17000 IT professional came to Germany, of which one-third were Indians the rest came from middle and eastern European countries. Though the migration slowed down after 2005, it again picked up leading to increased migration of Indian professionals in Germany. The European Blue card initiative only maintained the trend of migration.

In recent years, the Indian student's population also has increased. In 2000, there were only 1,400 registered Indian students in Germany, which increased to 5000 in 2010, and more than doubled to 14000 in 2015. India is now the third largest sending country for foreign students in Germany. Increasing cost of educational fees in UK, USA and Australia, and the internationalization of German Universities (especially the increasing number of programs offered in English language) have been some of the favorable factors for this increase.

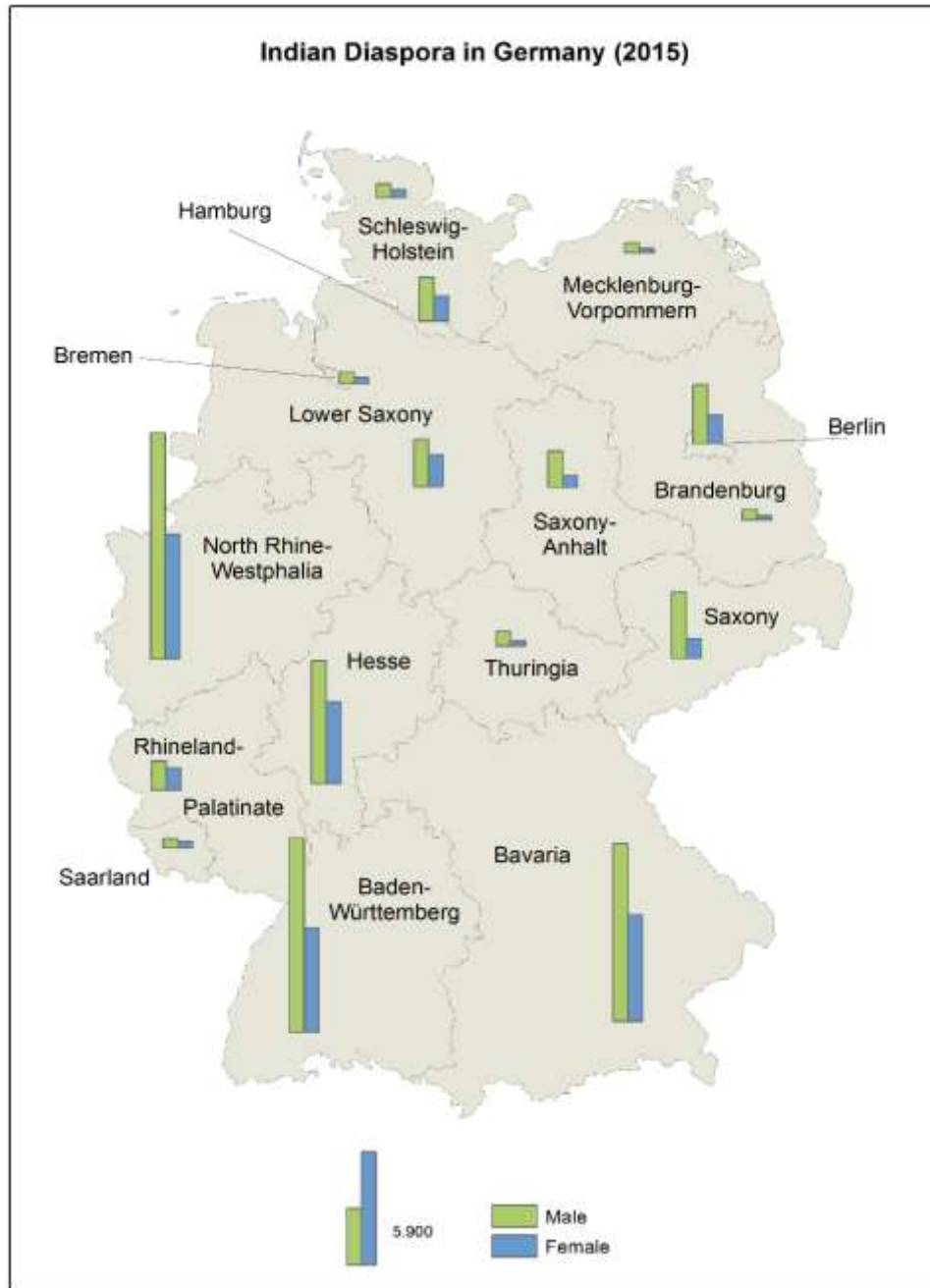
In 2015, there were about 86,000 NRIs distributed across 16 states in Germany, with most of them (about 70%) concentrated in the states of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bayern, Baden-Württemberg and Hessen (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 Distribution of NRI in Germany



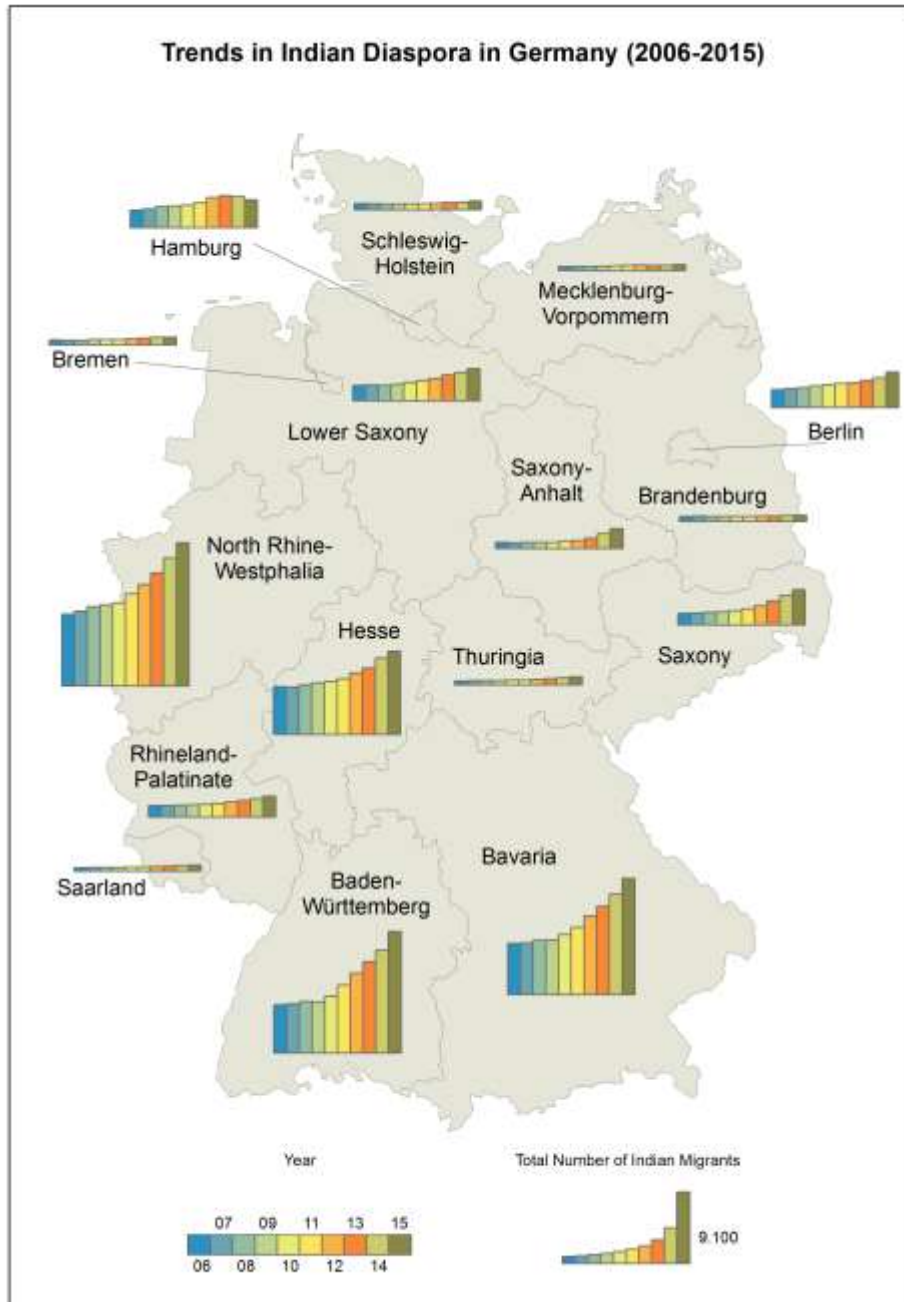
The socio-economic and employment opportunities in these states played a dominant role in their settlement in these areas, which closely reflects the general distribution of the population in Germany. The states of Berlin and Sachsen have had a moderate concentration of Indian diaspora. In comparison to the female-centric migration in the 1960s and 1970s, today the migration is male dominated (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4 Sex-Wise Distribution of Indian Migrants



It can be observed that this increase has been more rapid, especially after 2010 and is very prominent in the states where the Indian diaspora were already concentrated (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5

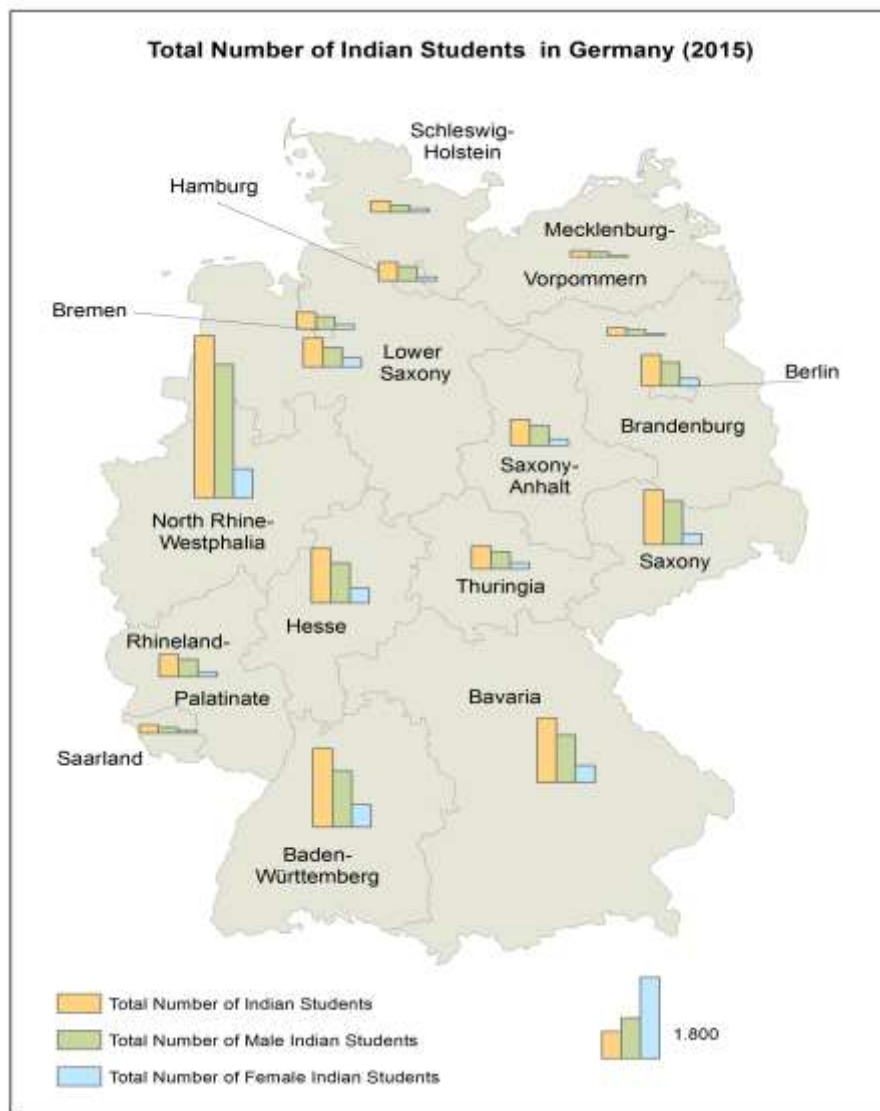


This is also related to the distribution of the industries in which NRI are employed, which are concentrated in these states. However, in Hamburg a fall in the number of Indian migrants was noticed from 2014 onwards. While few other states (Bremen, Brandenburg, Thüringen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) maintained a stable population. The comparatively small number of Indian migrants in Eastern Germany also reflects the relatively small share of migrant population in these states and their relatively weaker

economic structure. This is related to the embedding of the former GDR in the Eastern Block.

The Indian student's population also follows a similar pattern to that of Indian 'diaspora' concentration in the states (Fig. 6), with Nordrhein-Westfalen reporting highest enrolment of Indian students. Though the female students are comparatively lesser than the male.

Fig. 6

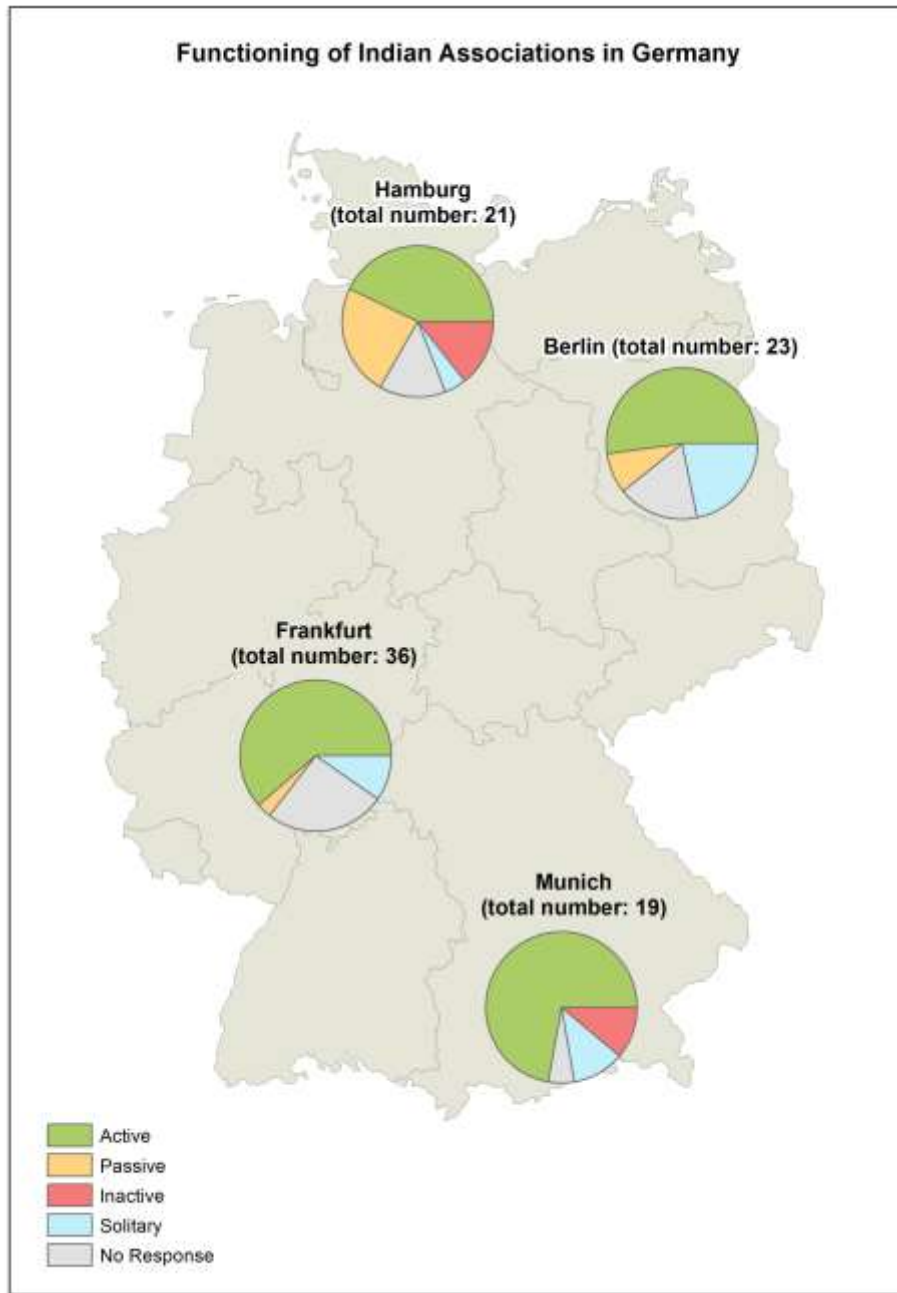


4. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS

Phone and personal meetings were organized with contact persons, generally the founder of the association or the office bearer responsible for the association. Based on these conversations, the associations were classified as; 'active', 'passive', 'inactive', 'solitary' and associations with 'no response'. An active association is defined as one with an increasing trend in the membership. While although a passive association had a structure, their membership revealed, notably, a decreasing trend. Associations were categorized as inactive when the contact person reported it to be nonfunctional at the time of the meeting. Those associations considered as 'solitary', were ones which does not show an evidence of having any formal or informal structure, and nevertheless had one lone person representing the association.

Out of the 99 associations enlisted, about 58% were found to be active (Fig. 7). The percentage of active to total organizations was highest in Munich followed by Frankfurt, Berlin and Hamburg. More than 50% of the associations in Frankfurt and Munich were active, in contrast to the more passive organizations in Hamburg and Berlin. Probably, the active associations were established in recent years. About 13% of the associations were found to be passive (9%) and inactive (4%). These associations were distributed in Hamburg and Berlin division. About 13% of the associations were found to be solitary or one-man associations. These were found in all divisions, with a higher concentration in Berlin. About 15% of the associations did not respond to the emails or phone calls. The associations which did not respond were not included in the online survey.

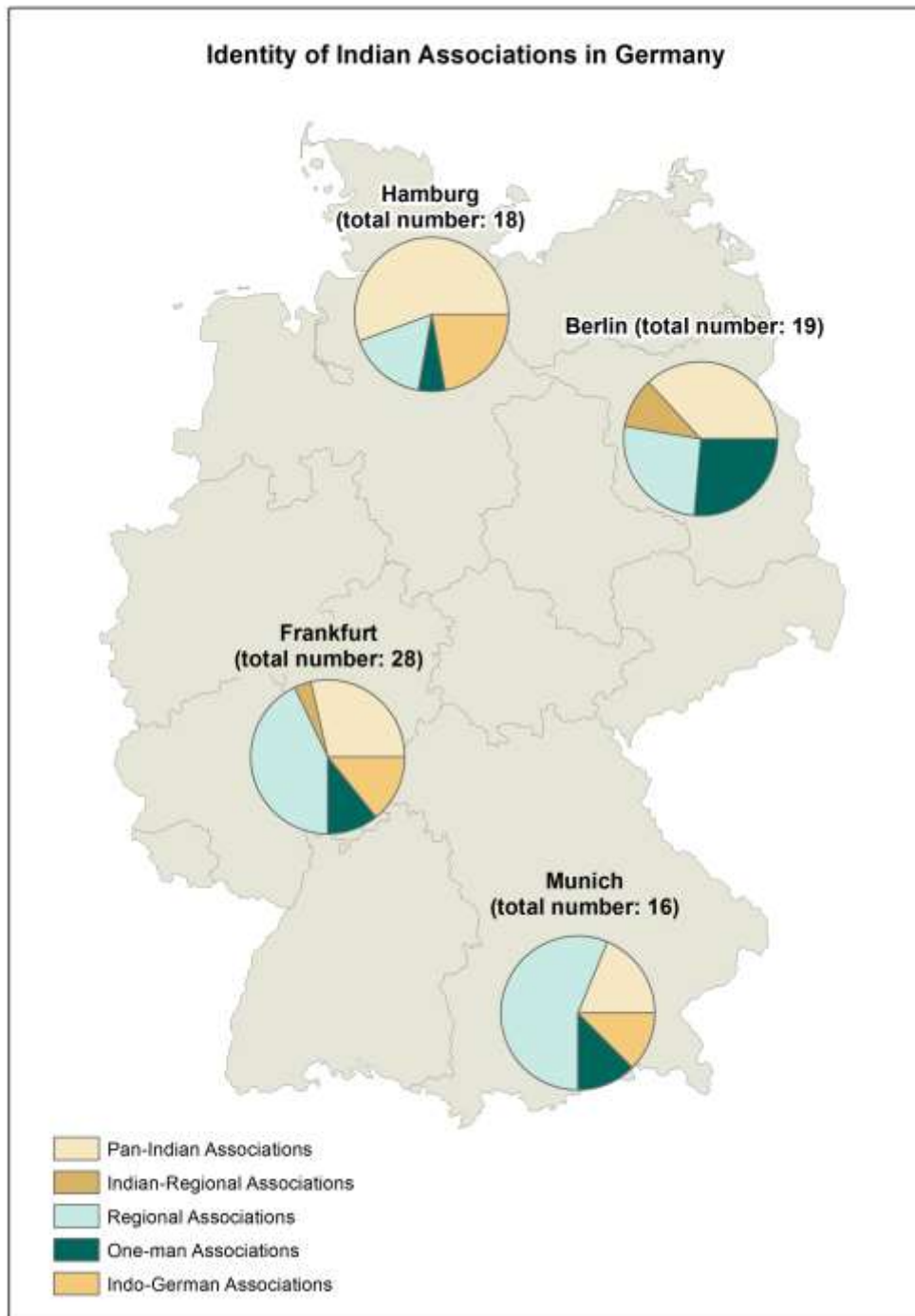
Fig. 7



Out of the 99, the 81 enlisted associations were contacted to understand how they identify themselves either through the name of the association or from the predominant groups in the associations (Fig. 8). Only 30% (24/81) reported that their associations as `Pan-Indian Associations`, where the members were from different states in India, and consequently had "India" in the associations' names. There were 42% of them who

considered to be regional associations (largely based on language and administrative states in India), as they reported facilitating regional interest (largely along language and state-based) in their associations. About 4% had “India” in the associations’ name but were dominated had regional groups. The regional associations promote the language, arts and culture of their respective regions, along with maintaining -‘Indianness’- during National Day Events. Many of these regional associations were distributed in Frankfurt (12) and Munich (9) division, which witnessed rapid increase in the number of Indian migrants in the last decades, mainly because of the rise in high skilled migrants. Further, during discussions with the associations’ representatives, it was revealed that many of the association office bearers are closely inter-related: Either they were all working together in one or two companies or were from one specific professional group (such as ICT), have migrated together, or were family friends. It is interesting to note that in a few cities (in Germany), there are more than one association representing the same Indian regional community (such as Tamil, Malayalam or Punjabi), even though the population of that community is relatively small. Some of the regional groups had also religious affinity, such as Keralites were largely Christian dominated and Punjabi groups were predominantly of the Sikh community. About 16% were found to be one-man associations. About 13% aim at strengthening Indo-German connections, which they also mention in their associations names (these includes DIGs).

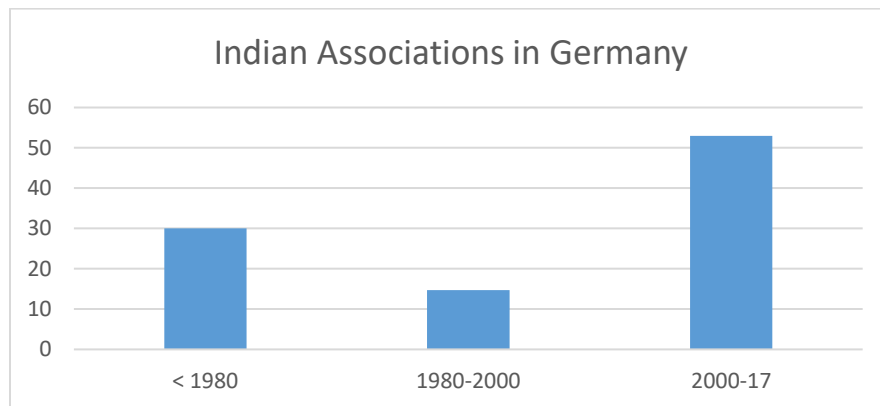
Fig. 8



5. INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Indian associations in Germany have been one of the instruments to reaching out to the `diaspora` and promoting integration. These associations are either registered as `eingetragener Verein` (e. V.) or remain informal. The Indian Association founded earliest in our sample was the Hamburger Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft, which was (first) founded in 1942. The analysis of the founding years reveals that about 30% (10/34) of the associations were founded before the 1980s (Fig. 9). Between 1980 and 2000, only about 15% new organizations emerged and a rapid increase in the associations was witnessed after 2000, especially after 2010, where over 30% (17/34) of the associations were formed. This means, that with the increase in Indo-German migration, the number of associations also increased significantly.

Fig. 9



Note: Y axis represents % in all the subsequent figures

In 1950's and 1960's most of the associations got themselves formally registered. Most of these were the DIGs. However, between 1970's and 1980's, the associations maintained themselves largely as informal groups (without registering themselves as e.V.). They seem to have started registering only from the 1990's onwards. The duration between informally started and formally registered got reduced when associations were formed after 2010. These associations were formed by the groups of acquaintances and known

to each other, which helped in rapid formation of the associations. Also there is growing realization over the benefits of registering as a e.V.

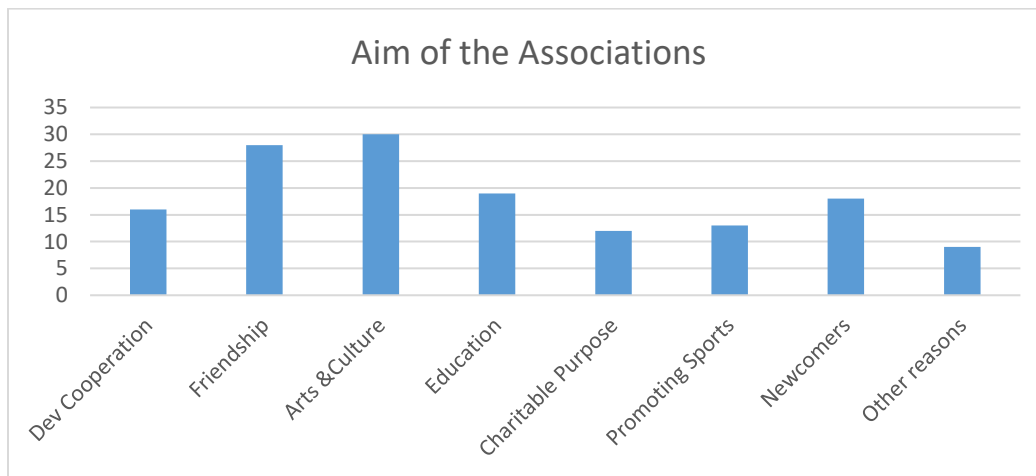
Table 2 The Informal and Formal Stages of the Indian Associations in Germany

S. No of Associations	INFORMAL	FORMAL
1	1942	1942
2		1953
3		1953
4	1959	1959
5		1964
6	1965	1965
7	1972	1992
8	1972	1983
9	1978	
10	1985	1999
11	1992	1998
12		1992
13		1992
14	1999	2016
15	2001	
16	2003	2014
17		2003
18		2005
19	2006	2010
20	2008	2016
21	2008	
22		2011
23	2009	2011
24	2011	2013
25	2012	2012
26		2015
27	2013	2016
28		2014
29		2016
30		2016
31		2017
32	2016	2017
33		2016
34		2017

5.1. Goals and Activities

Promoting cultural activities was stated as the most important function the founders of the associations had in mind (‘maintaining the cultural capital’, ‘support of the individual and collective identity’ and ‘offering chances for individual fulfilment’ in Gaitanides⁸). This was followed by an intention of developing/maintaining friendship (‘generation of social capital’), for educational purposes (‘transfer of knowledge about the home country’), as a point of reference for newcomers (‘gateway’ for new arriving migrants’). Forming associations for charitable purposes and promoting sports were reported by least number of associations (Fig. 10). The Indian associations in Germany therefore do not fulfill all the possible functions, mentioned by Gaitanides and most of their activities are oriented towards Germany and not – like with classic hometown associations – towards India.

Fig. 10



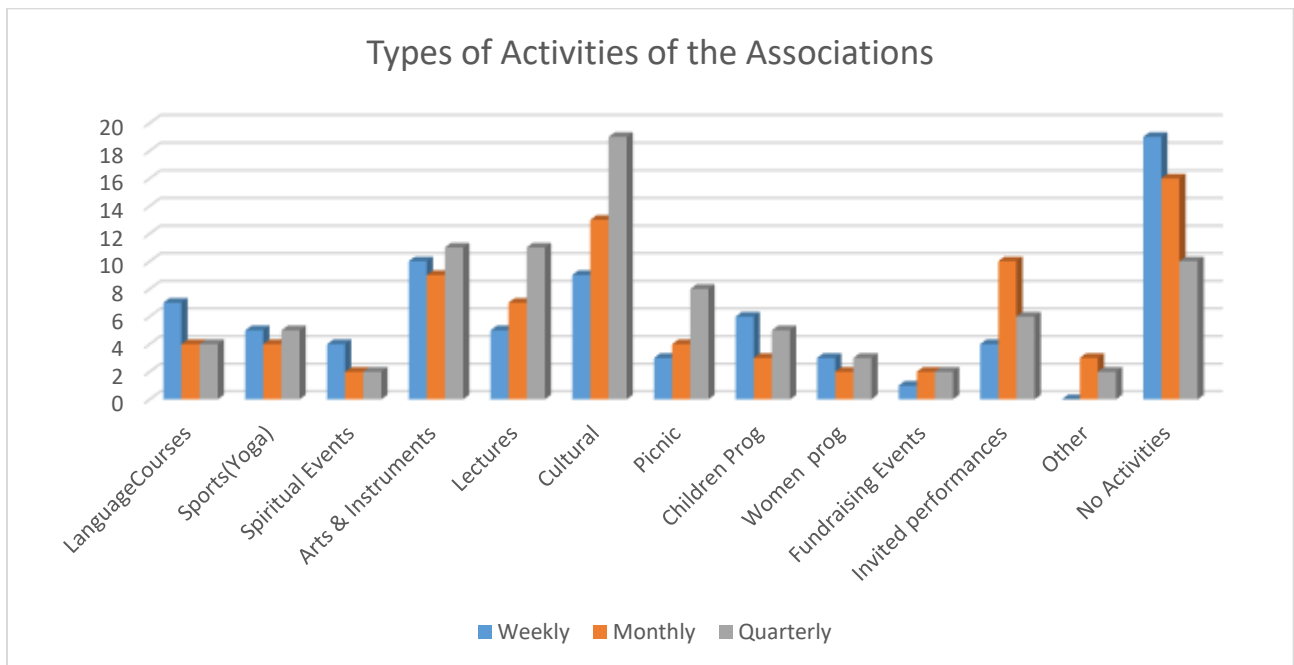
The associations also organize various activities that are closely aligned with their aims, mainly associated with ‘arts and culture’ (Fig. 11). Cultural programs and arts & instruments are the most frequent activities of the associations, followed by invited performances. These programs mainly serve the purpose of maintaining the cultural capital and supporting the individual and collective identity. However, they also

⁸ Gaitanides, S. (2003): Partizipation von Migranten/innen und ihren Selbstorganisationen. (Manuskript: E&C-Zielgruppenkonferenz „Interkulturelle Stadt(teil)politik“. Dokumentation der Veranstaltung vom 8. und 9. Dezember 2003 Berlin, Download unter www.eundc.de/pdf/63004.pdf) (accessed am 12.12.2017)

contribute to the knowledge on India and the Indian culture among the German population. Although the outreach is relatively small. Yet, these programs have improved the visibility of the NRI/PIO especially with annual events, such as Diwali, Onam, Dashara, Durga Puja, which are celebrated often in large settings and are also covered by German newspapers.

In most cases, the arts and cultural programs emulate the cinema-based events (largely from Bollywood and other cine programs). It is during these annual events, where non-members (Indians but also Germans) seek contact to these associations. In addition to the annual events, associations also organize weekly and monthly programs such educational programs, programs for children, women’s gatherings, movie screenings, sports day and picnics. On a weekly basis only few activities take place, e.g. some of the associations also organize languages courses or arts and instrumental classes. Many associations reported no regular activities.

Fig. 11

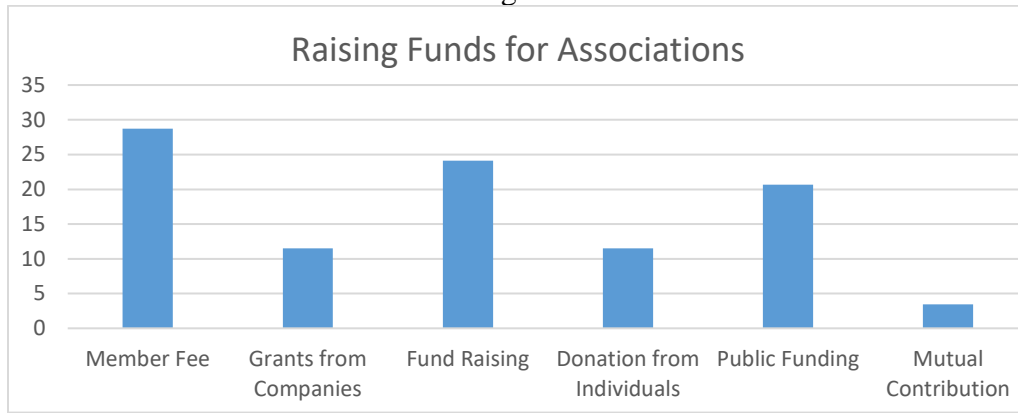


In addition to these, few associations also have special programs for child education and development or address the healthcare needs of the women. There is a association which exclusively focuses on child development. They organize workshops and get-together to create awareness on the child care, facilitate child development and the educational systems in Germany, along with Indian educational values. In the process, they facilitate the innovativeness of parents and their children in through various cultural and drama groups. In these groups, there is no focus on `cine culture`. This creates basic awareness and guides them on the prevailing childcare and schooling patterns and help to facilitate Indian and German arts and culture. Some associations, in addition to giving details of the doctors, also translate the healthcare awareness materials from local hospitals for women in reproductive age, organize workshops with gynecologist for women on health care practices and reproductive health issues. It is interesting to note that these associations take innovative approaches to address topical issues facing Indian diaspora.

5.2. Fund Raising

Membership fee is one of the main sources of funding for about 30% of the associations (Fig. 12). This was followed by about 25% from fund raising (from annual events, selling food, lotteries and other goods) and 20% from public funding (from public agencies in Germany and the Indian Embassy). About 12% of the associations reported raising grants from individuals and companies. Interestingly, less than 5% of the association reported raising funds through mutual contributions. However, many associations receive contributions from well-wishers who partially fund the associations programs (such as dining, travel cost of the participants, gift vouchers and others), make personal contributions and receive grants from potential private sponsors. It is important to note that the associations must follow certain rules to maintain their status of an "eingetragener Verein" ("e.V."), which allows them to officially issue receipts that can be used for tax exemptions for example the membership fees.

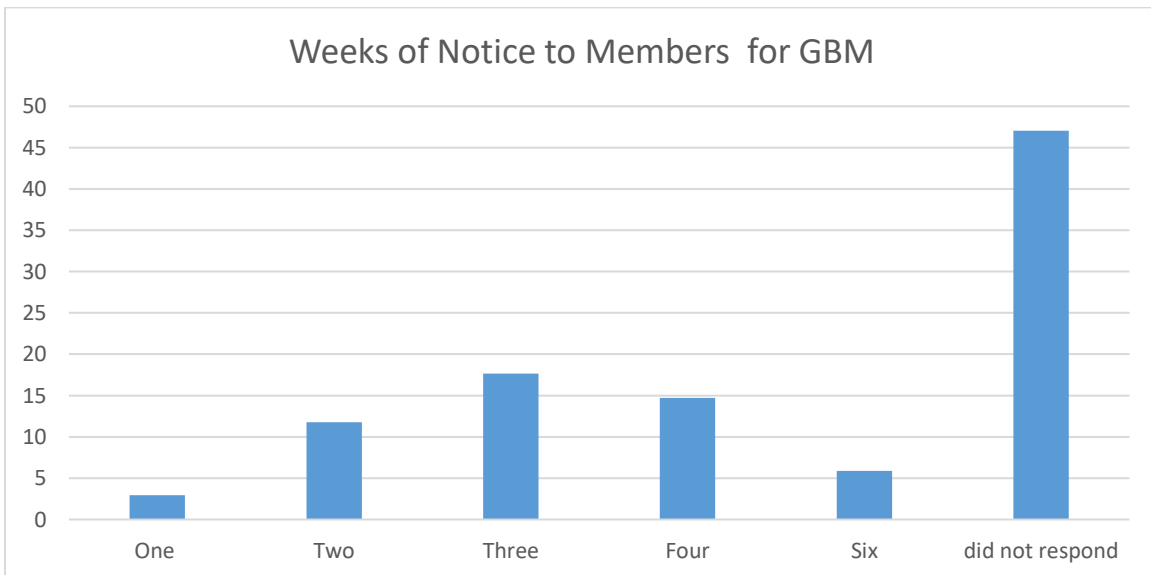
Fig. 12



5.3. Executive and Constitutional Bodies

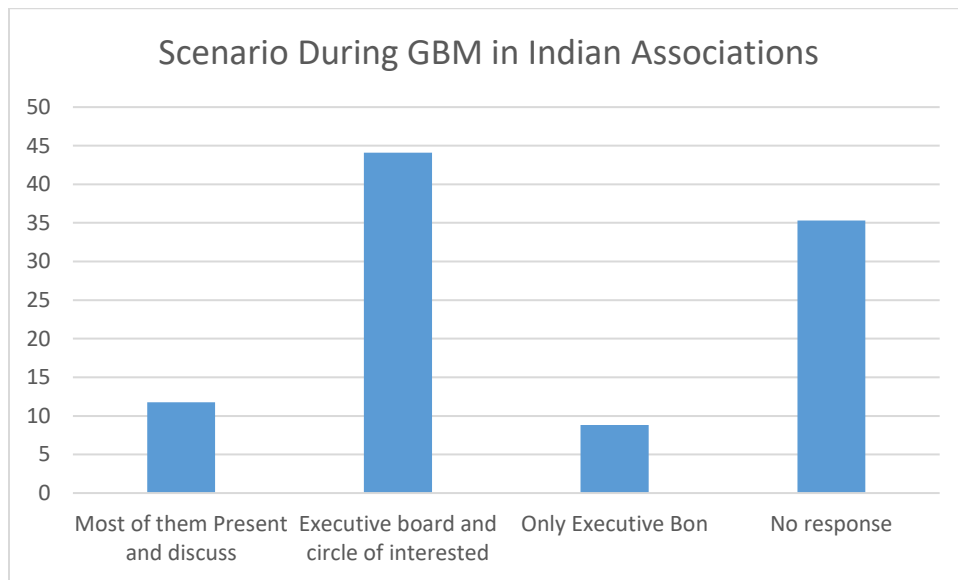
Most (58%) of the associations hold their general body meetings (GBMs) every year, excepting few who holds it biannually or once in more than 4 years. About 30% of the association formally invite their members between one to three weeks prior to the meeting (Fig. 13), only 20% gave 4 or more weeks of notice, if this was prescribed in the bye-laws of the associations. Interestingly, about 50% of them did not respond to this question. Giving enough notice (about 4 weeks) to the members before calling for the GBM is important for the vibrant participation of the members in the associations.

Fig. 13



Those associations who reported holding of GBM, reported using a combination of social media, email and postmail to inform their members about the meeting. The email being the dominant mode. During the GBM, all the associations discussed issues like the implementation of projects, the associations' budget, held elections and debated possibilities of future programs. However, among 44% of the associations reported that the discussions in these GBMs were mainly between 'the executive board and a circle of those interested' (Fig. 14). Ten per cent of the associations reported it was 'only the executive board' that discussed actively during the GBM. Only 12% reported that most of the present members discuss. About 35% associations did not report to this question.

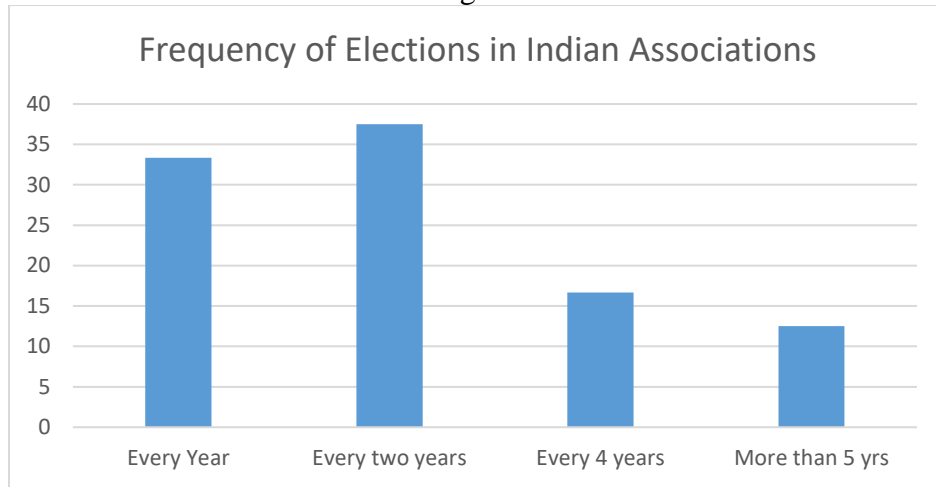
Fig.14



While most of the associations (60%) reported the GBM to be held on separate occasion, few associations' (10%) combined social activities along with GBM. This can be seen as critical, as clubbing social activities and GBM results in trivialising the importance of the association and its functioning. On the other hand, it is an effective measure to involve a larger share of members in the GBM, thereby increasing the associations democratic legitimation. About 30% of the association did not respond to this question. Most of the associations (50%) reported to have election process once in a year or once every two

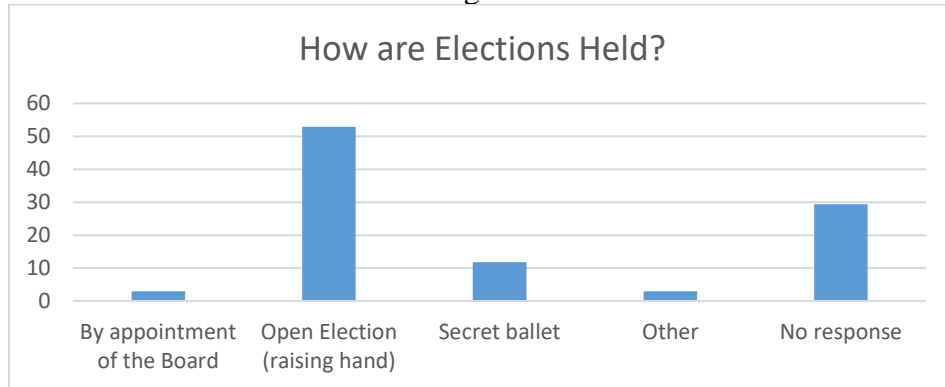
years. However, 20% reported to having elections once in more than 4 years. About 30% of the associations did not respond to this question (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15



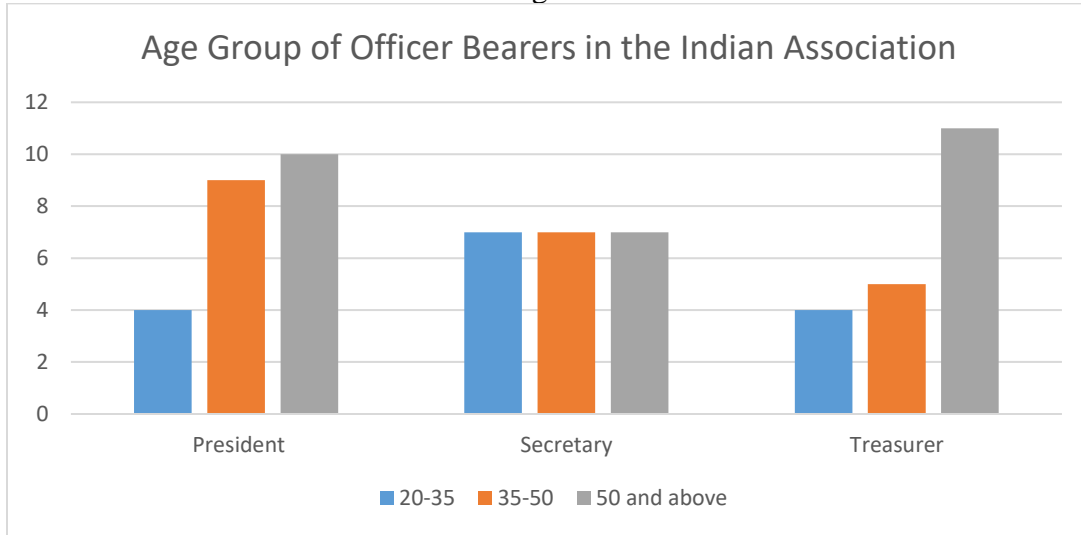
Elections were held during the GBMs and interestingly, 44% of the associations reported the nomination of office bearers for election on the very day of the election. Only 20% reported to have given their members the chance to nominate candidates in advance. About 32% of the associations did not respond to this question. In 50% of the associations, it was the board members who nominated candidates for elections amongst themselves, with about 30% of the association reporting to have search committees or requesting their members to nominate candidates. The elections are held in about 50% of the associations by open election (hand raising), very few (10%) reported to have used secret ballot (Fig. 16).

Fig. 16



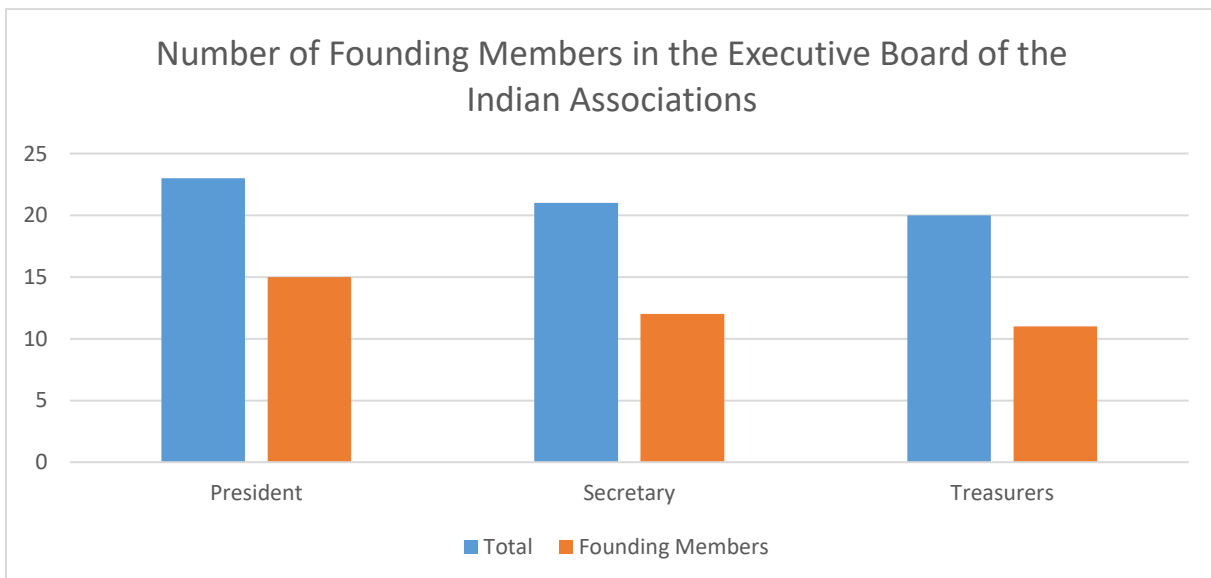
The executive members, namely the President, Secretary and Treasurer were mostly men (with very few women in these positions) and many (28) of them were 50 years and above (Fig. 17). In recent years, however, few associations have elected women as members of their board.

Fig. 17



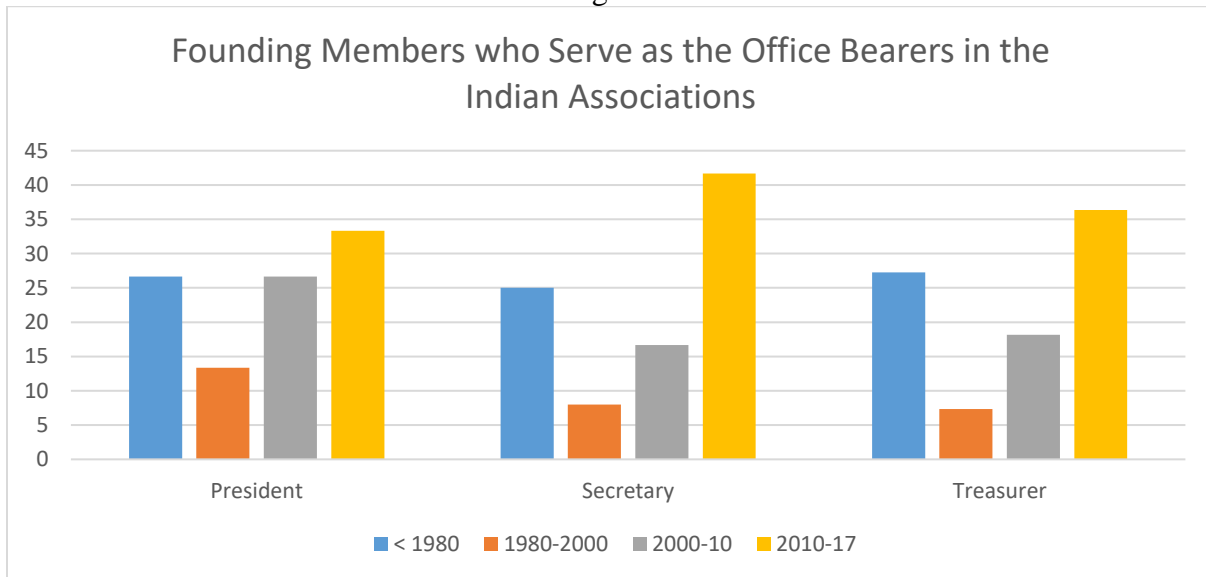
Of the total executive board members, about 60% were also the founding members of the associations (Fig. 18), who were largely within the age-group of 35 to 50 years.

Fig. 18



Many of these founding members continue to serve as the office bearers of the associations (Fig. 19). It is interesting to note that about 25% of the associations formed before 1980, and those formed between 2000 and 2010 reported that their founded member are till-date the current President of the association. Founding members retaining their positions for a long period are often a concern for the sustainability of the associations. Especially when the founding generation gets too old to keep the association running. Yet, this stability ensures the functioning of the associations for a relatively long period of time, but without active involvement of other associations members. As a result, with each new wave of migration a new wave of associations emerges. This also highlights the point that most association consists of relatively homogeneous group and most of them will be of temporary nature. The high percentage of founding members in the associations formed after 2010 could be due to their recent formation.

Fig. 19



Most of the office bearers (60%) were either self-employed or retired. This helps them in the mobilisation of the members and in concentrating on the functioning of the association. However, there is a sizable number (30%) of students acting as a secretary.

Among the associations 30% reported having more than one member of the same family in the extended board.

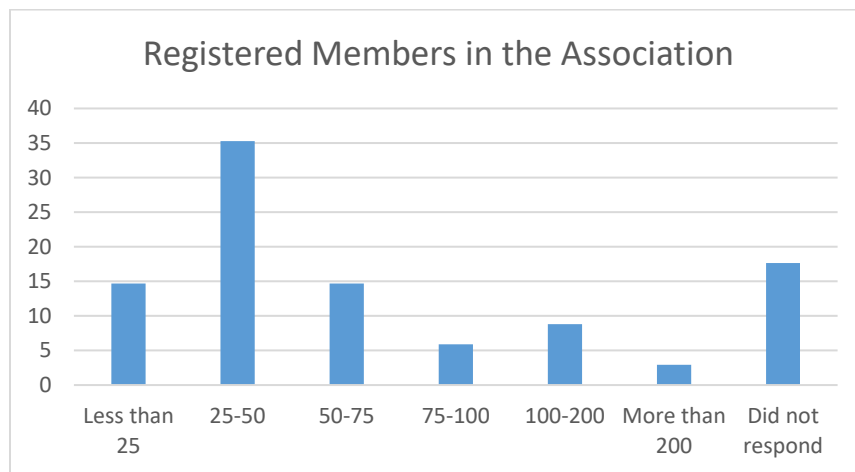
Regarding satisfaction on the functioning of the associations, about 50% reported mostly or fully satisfactory functioning of their association. The rest was partly satisfied, and about 30% did not report.

6. REACHING OUT TO MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS

6.1. Membership

The outreach of associations to the Indian diaspora has been limited. The outreach is estimated by their registered membership. About 50% of the associations reported to have less than 50 members in their association, and about 20% reported between 50 and 100 (Fig. 20). About 10% reported having more than 100 members.

Fig. 20

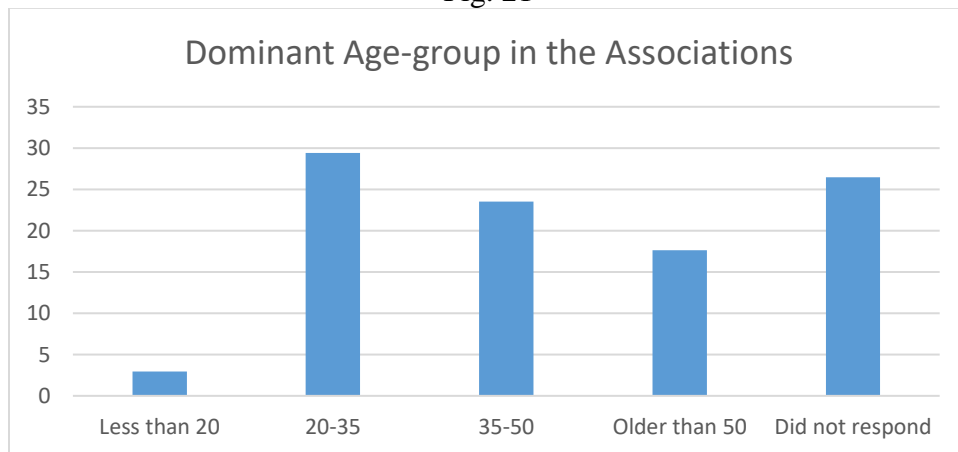


Though it is difficult to estimate the total membership of these surveyed associations, their coverage compared to the total diaspora population (86,000) may be small. A survey by undertaken by Carsten Butsch in a different project indicates that the membership in

Indian associations is well below 50%⁹. This may be somewhat over-estimated due to the sampling method, because even if one assumes a rough estimate of 99 associations having approximately about 200 members each, this would reach out only to about 19800 Indian diaspora population (ie about 23% (19800/ 86000) of the Indian diaspora in Germany). Though the associations are making attempts to reach out to NRI/PIO who are not member of the respective associations, a significant share of them cannot be reached through associations.

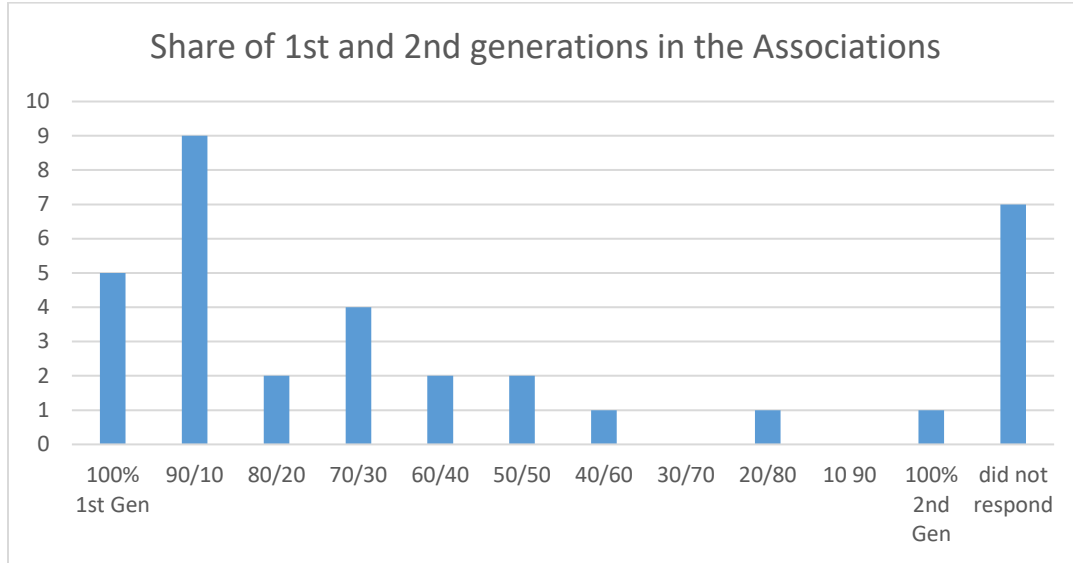
The dominant age-group of the members were of 20 to 35 and 35 to 50 years (below the age of 50) and this was reported by more than half of the associations, indicating that these consist mainly of the younger generation (Fig. 21). Also, many of the members were 1st generation migrants (Fig. 22). Many of the associations reported having difficulties in reaching out to the 2nd generation of Indians.

Fig. 21



⁹ Butsch, C. (in publication process): Indische Migrant*innen in Deutschland – Transnationale Praktiken, Netzwerke und Identitäten.

Fig. 22



6.2. Communication

Most of the associations (40%) used an institutional address or a common address for their official communication, with an equal number using private address. About 20% of them did not respond to this question. Having a private communication address could restrict the access of other board members to the post-mails. Therefore, this aspect might result in a decreased transparency.

Communication between the members within the association was primarily in English and German language. In addition to these two, the regional associations communicated in the regional language of their members' region of origin such as Malayalam, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil and Telugu.

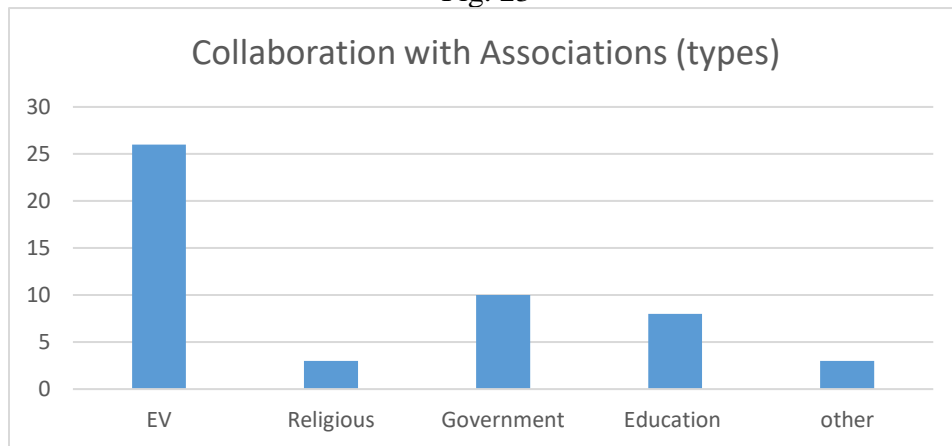
The main medium of communication with members of the association are email and social networks (like facebook). Most of the associations have websites, but they are mostly to display their activities for public. Few associations provide more organized information on their websites, such as their past and present executive board members,

the total number of members, types of past activities or programs. Communication with non-members usually takes place through personal networks. Website, social network and mailing list are other common medium. Very few associations print posters and flyers to reach out to the public; some make presentations in international offices and in educational institutions to reach out to the newly arriving diaspora.

6.3. Collaborations

Most of the associations (about 75%) collaborate with other for realising certain programmes or activities (Fig. 23). These collaborations are primarily for joint organizations of events (such as Diwali & national events) and mutual sharing of responsibility. However, it is significant to report that few associations (less than 30%) collaborate with local governments and educational institutions. Some of the associations are also collaborating with local governments for organizing joint events. This also helps associations to utilize the infrastructures of the local institutions for various events and to reach out to the local population. Such collaboration is also encouraged by local authorities in some cities, who are willing to reach out to the migrant groups.

Fig. 23



7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

There has been a significant increase of NRI/PIO in Germany in the last two decades. More than half of the NRI/PIO are professionally qualified, in contrast to the professionally qualified personal in German communities. This is a potential for the German economy. However, there is also a large untapped potential, namely of the accompanying spouses. For their benefit and the benefit of the German economy, ways should be sought to integrate them actively into the job market. The Indian associations play a key role for some NRI and PIOs as a 'gateway' for those arriving in Germany and in 'maintaining the cultural capital', they 'support the individual and collective identity' of their members and 'offer chances for individual fulfilment' of those staying in Germany. These associations are places where 'social capital' is generated and they also formulate the interests of the Indian Community in local contexts.

Characteristics of Associations

The study shows that there are several 'passive', 'inactive' and 'one-man' associations. It seems that most associations seem to follow a certain life-cycle: 'active-passive-oneman-inactive'. To utilise associations for an active outreach to 'the diaspora' e.g. by the consulates and embassy, it is important to know about this life cycle model of associations. Though there are several Indian associations that have been existing for many decades, many of them become passive to inactive. In the meanwhile, many new associations are formed. The old ones are becoming inactive, as new ones emerge and remain more dynamic and engaging with the diaspora community. What is not covered in this survey is an overview of those associations that have ceased to exist. It seems plausible that in the past other associations existed that already became inactive. Given the young nature of many associations, there seems to be many challenges in reaching out to 'the diaspora'. Understanding these challenges remains of utmost importance to strengthen their agency and support them in fulfilling as many different functions as possible.

Many of the Indian associations cater to the needs of specific regional groups (largely based on languages/states). Sometimes there are more than one associations of a regional Indian group in a city, even though the population of this regional group is too small. This is a clear indication of diverging interests within 'the diaspora' groups. Despite maintaining these regional identities, many associations work together with other associations and other institutions to celebrate Indian National Days (Independence, Republic Day and Gandhi Jayanthi) and festivals such as Diwali or Holi and other programs. With this, they are making efforts to strengthen national identity along with their regional diversities.

Regional associations hardly provide 'a home away from home' for NRI/PIO who are from other parts of India (Pan-India diaspora). It is important that association before forming should clearly spell out their objectives and goals, and why they need more than one association in a city, especially when comprise of a same regional group.

Outreach of the Associations

The associations have limited (20-25%) outreach to the 'Indian Diaspora'. It is important for the associations to evolve strategies to involve the unreached. One way is for associations to actively involve members and their extended families in organizing events and in functioning of the associations, rather restricting to the Board members and their family members. For the Indian Embassy/Consulate this means that they should consider other ways to establish linkages to the Indian diaspora in Germany. Recently, the Indian Embassy has requested diaspora to register with them on their website, so that the Embassy can have a list of NRIs and PIOs. However, it needs to go beyond collecting data to actively engaging with this growing diaspora population. One simple way is to start sending around emergency contact details of the consulates in the divisions (though it is also available online); sending out regular newsletters to NRI/PIO sharing the activities in the embassy/consulates and seek diaspora contribution in them; and develop a list of well-wishers who can support the larger 'Indian diaspora' on various issues

(legal, counselling, job markets and other useful resources) depending on their expertise and focus.

Most of the Indian associations cater to 1st generation Indians and find it challenging to effectively engage with the 2nd Generation diaspora. However, recently a few new associations formed are actively involving 2nd Generation in the associations or even specifically addressing the interest of 2nd generation interests.

Associations maintain their webpages for announcing and showcasing their events to reach out to their members and non-members. However, there are only a few of them who clearly mention the list of current and past board members, details of their members, their fee, their bye-laws, the election process, issuing notice for general body meeting and programs. It is important for all associations should share similar information on their website as this will be useful for non-members, and to reach out newly arrived Indian diaspora and German communities.

Activities of the associations

Indian associations are involved in promoting arts and culture as one of their core activity. Most of the events in the associations are cinema-based contents and activities. These reflect the `good, bad, worst, ugly and ugliest which are often glorifies injustice, violence, sexist and classist attitudes as cool and mass entertainments. It is important that the associations do not glorify these negativities.

Very few associations focus on Indian Classical, regional folk arts and dances, and Indian culinarians. In the process they have reached out to other Indian (from other associations) and German communities (such as city councils and other culture-oriented associations) in supporting these events. Some of these programs are attended by more than 500 members who are primarily non-members. So far, the association`s events and programs are rather conservative.

Overall, the associations' foci have largely been on arts and dances. To play a role as 'bridge-builders', the associations would need to expand to other events such as healthy lifestyle that focus on nutrient-rich Indian cuisines, scientific achievements and constructive socio-political dialogues on developments in India and in Germany. Further, they could play a significant role in addressing several issues facing Indian Diaspora, such as family relations, social-psychological stress, children education and women's empowerment

Institutional Structure and Fund Raising

Many of the associations continue to have their founding members as steering the associations from an executive member position. These passionate members come with rich experience in managing the associations. However, for the sustainability of the associations it might also be healthy if these passionate leaders would step-back from their offices to build or give-way to the new comers and second generation to sustain the dynamism in the association.

Few associations have women members in their board and involve them in organizing cultural events and programs. A step forward would be to address or empower women, especially those who are educated and accompany their spouses. A sizeable number of women who come as 'accompanying partners' are highly qualified from reputed institutions and have specific skills, but unfortunately are not able to enter the German job market. Indian Associations and Embassy should take up this matter with the German authorities to facilitate this human resource potential.

Most of the associations raise funding through membership fee and through public events such as Diwali, New Year and so on. Many associations use this occasion to collaborate with other associations in most probability to increase the number of visitors

to the event or to sell more tickets. This is also financially supported by public agencies (local government and Indian Embassy).

Scaling Up

The Indian Consulates have been involved in scaling-up the activities of the associations through a federal body in their division level. The Consulates hold regular meetings with the representatives of the associations twice or thrice a year, where they share the programs, make their associations visible in local institutions, and address any shared concerns with the embassy/Consulate. For example, the Frankfurt consulate has the `Friends of India` initiative where all the associations meet once in three months and this year (2018) plan to jointly organize an `India Fest` in Frankfurt. Similar initiatives have been taken in Hamburg, Berlin and Munich divisions too. It would be good if these meetings are organized on rotation-basis in different cities, rather centred around the offices of Consulates and Embassy.

It would be good for consulates/Embassy to actively facilitate the association in enhancing their goals, streamlining their functioning and proactively engaging them in transnational activities. They can invite prominent diaspora associations in other countries, experts in diasporic studies and government officials to explain the importance of the associations. This is also a demand raised by the association leaders during interaction by the lead author. The associations could be actively encouraged to support various development and charitable programs in India, such as Smart city, *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan*, *Beti Bachao-Beti Padhao*, healthcare and educational-related activities in close collaboration with the Indian agencies.

It is commendable that Germany has many Indian associations. However, their potential as key connectors between NRI/PIOs and the embassy/consulates, and between India and Germany has so far been limited. The number of members in the Indo-German Parliamentary Committee (IGPC) has reduced. In 2010, there were 52 Member of

Parliamentarians who were actively involved in promoting Indo-German collaboration. However, this number has reduced to 16 in 2014. It is important that the Indian Diaspora and the Embassy/Consulates take an active role in increasing the members in the IGPC. This will help associations for long-term sustainability, enhance Indian solidarity, showcase India as a knowledge society that embraces global culture, and facilitate Germany as an international destination for technological and cultural advancement.

Annexure 1 List of Associations Contacted for the Study

S.No	Name of the Association	Consulates' Jurisdiction
1	Indian Association Dresden	Berlin
2	Bharat Majlis Berlin	Berlin
3	India Unity Centre	Berlin
4	Indian Research community	Berlin
5	Sri Ganesh Hindu Temple Association	Berlin
6	India Club Berlin	Berlin
7	Indian Women Association	Berlin
8	Punjabi Union Berlin	Berlin
9	Ladies Corner	Berlin
10	Indo-German Friendship Forum	Berlin
11	Urdu Anjuman Berlin	Berlin
12	GOPIO German Chapter	Berlin
13	Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha Berlin e.V.	Berlin
14	Indian Cultural Centre	Berlin
15	Deutsch Indische Gessellschaft (DIG)	Berlin
16	Tamiliches Kultur Zentrum e.V.	Berlin
17	India Promotion Centre	Berlin
18	Punjabi Gemeinde	Berlin
19	Bharat Association	Berlin
20	Berlin Kannada Balga	Berlin
21	Bharat Verein e.V	Frankfurt
22	Kerala Samajam e.V.	Frankfurt
23	Telugu Velugu Germany(TVG) e.V.	Frankfurt
24	Indian Association Bonn e.V. (IAB)	Frankfurt
25	Rhein-Main Bengali Cultural Association e.V	Frankfurt
26	Goan Association Germany e.V.	Frankfurt
27	Gujarati Samaj Germany e.V	Frankfurt
28	Marathi Mitra Mandal Germany e.V	Frankfurt
29	Indische Tanzakadime "VARNAM"	Frankfurt
30	Indischer Sport- und Familienverein Frankfurt e.V.	Frankfurt
31	Vishwa Hindu Parishad e.V. of Germany	Frankfurt
32	Indische Musikakademie	Frankfurt
33	Mainz Wiesbaden Indian Association e.V	Frankfurt
34	German Malayalee Council (GMC)	Frankfurt
35	Indischer Familienverein Langen e. V.	Frankfurt
36	Navodaya Indischer Verein e. V.	Frankfurt
37	Dr. Ambedkar Mission Society	Frankfurt
38	Anubhab Academy, Cologne	Frankfurt
39	Bharat Samiti e. V., Cologne	Frankfurt
40	Sikh Verband Deutschland e.V.	Frankfurt

S.No	Name of the Association	Consulates' Jurisdiction
41	Nrithyathi School of Indian Dance	Frankfurt
42	Indien Forum Frankfurt .e.V	Frankfurt
43	Balagokulam Group	Frankfurt
44	Darmstadt Indian Association (DIA).e.V	Frankfurt
45	Sneham e.V South Indian Association Bonn	Frankfurt
46	Indian International Association of Rhine-Waal University of Applied Sciences.	Frankfurt
47	Frankfurt Tamil Sangam(FTS) e.V	Frankfurt
48	Rhein Main Kannada Association e.V	Frankfurt
49	Anivasi Bharathi	Hamburg
50	Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft e.V.	Hamburg
51	Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft e.V. Winsen (Luhe)	Hamburg
52	Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft e.V., Hannover	Hamburg
53	Deutsch-Indische Hindu-Gesellschaft Bremen e.V.	Hamburg
54	Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft, Bremen	Hamburg
55	Forum für Deutsch-Indische Völkerverständigung e.V.	Hamburg
56	German - Indian Round Table, Hamburg (GIRT Hamburg)	Hamburg
57	Indian Business Forum e.V.	Hamburg
58	Indian Association of Hannover	Hamburg
59	Indian Festival Committee, Hamburg, e.v.	Hamburg
60	Indian Students Association (ISATUHH), Hamburg	Hamburg
61	Indische Punjabi Kultur Gesellschaft e.V. (Kiel)	Hamburg
62	Kerala Samajam e. V.	Hamburg
63	Shaktya e.V.	Hamburg
64	Singh Sabha Sikh Center e. V.	Hamburg
65	Zentralrat der Inder in Hamburg (ZiH)	Hamburg
66	Sampriti Munchen e.V	Munich
67	Indisch Deutscher Verein Ingolstadt e.V	Munich
68	Mana Telugu Association	Munich
69	Maratha Association in Munich	Munich
70	Kannada Balaga Association	Munich
71	Gujarati Association	Munich
72	Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft Nürnberg – Franken	Munich
73	Malayali Samajam e.V	Munich
74	Malayalee – Deutsche Treffen	Munich
75	Kairali Verein e.V.	Munich
76	Deutsch Indische Gesellschaft Augsburg e.V	Munich
77	Indo-German Cultural Association	Munich
78	Deutsch-Indische Kreis e.V.	Munich
79	Kerala Samajam Munich e.V	Munich
80	Bharat-Majlis e.V	Munich
81	DIG-Karlsruhe	Munich

