

Core and Periphery of Indian Diaspora

A comparative study of occupation, households and gender relations in the USA and Spain

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze socio-demographic factors which differentiate the core and periphery of Indian diaspora i. e. USA and Spain, with special focus on gender relations. Due to the restrictive immigration policies of UK in 1960's, USA emerged as the most favored destinations for Indian immigrants and become the center of diaspora with 2.8 million residents of Indian origin, on the other hand, in the south of the European Union, coinciding with the immigration boom of the 21st century, Spain with 40,000 Indians, has started to emerge as a new place of attraction. Here the difference between center and periphery is not only the question of absolute numbers but is also marked by the socio demographic characteristics (sex ratios, household structure, regional origins, occupation and level of education) and the pattern of settlement of Indian immigrants in different locations. In this paper our main objectives are first to compare the present trends of Indian immigration to the USA and Spain, secondly, to explore their occupational structure taking into account gender gaps and the factors contributing to these differences in it, and finally to study the demographic and non-demographic factors responsible for the present household structure of Indians in both countries. For this study, we are using logistic regression models to quantify the role of different independent variable in changing the profile of Indian immigrants at both destinations. The data are obtained from the IPUMS international database which provides harmonized census micro data 2010 of the USA and census data from Spanish Census of population and housing 2011, provided by INE. We expect to demonstrate how the Centre or the periphery position determines not only the volume or demographic characteristics of Indian population, but also evolves in their socioeconomic and demographic setup.

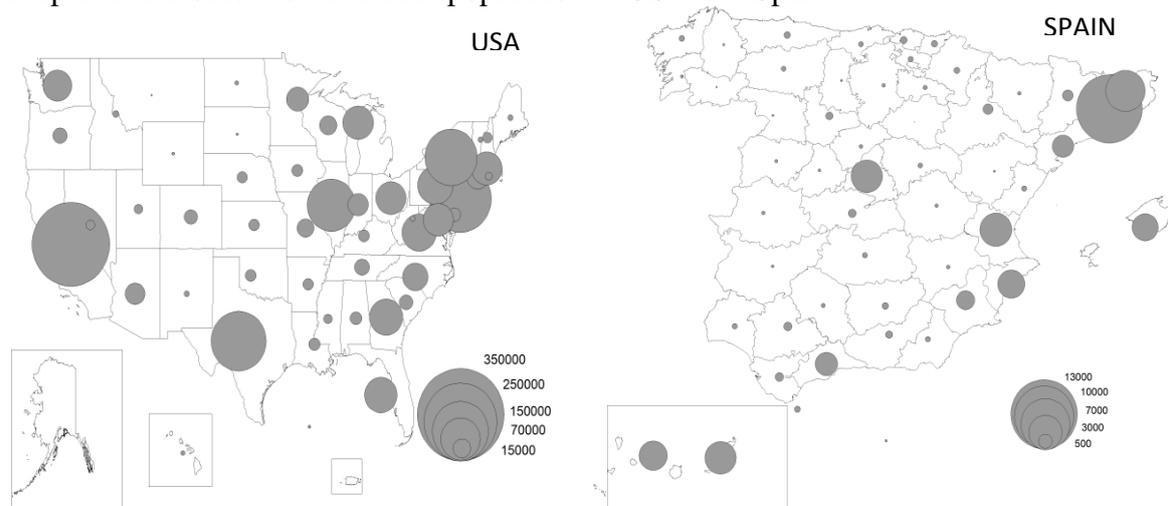
INTRODUCTION:

Indian Diaspora, with more than 25 million people (Annual Report 2014-2015, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Government of India) around the globe, is one of the largest and most diverse Diasporas in the world. It has formed by the different emigration waves spanned throughout the last two centuries. The composition of flows has evolved over time from mainly indentured labor in far-flung colonies to postwar labor for British industry to high-skilled professionals in North America and low-skilled workers in the Middle East (Naujoks, 2009). During this time the core of diaspora never remained static in a fixed territory, firstly in the beginning of 20th century it shifted from West Indies islands (at the times of indentured labor) to UK, then in 1970's, from UK to oil rich Arab countries and finally to USA, which has become the core region of Indian diaspora after 1990's.

During the last decades, Spain and USA have received the different chunks of Indian Diaspora in terms of their origin, size, motives, legal status and socio-economic profiles. These inherent differences and the different attitude of receiving population towards them have resulted in a highly diverse diaspora community of Indian origin at both destinations. Even if pioneer Indians entered in USA and Spain around the same time i.e. 1880s (Gonzales Jr., 1986; Navarro, 1974), their number was limited to few hundred at both locations. Mass immigration from India headed towards USA after the legislation changes introduced in the year 1965. A huge wave of young, educated urban dwellers, with

strong English language skills entered in the decade of 1990's (Zong and Batalova, 2015). In Spain the considerable flow of Indian immigrants entered in the first decade of 21st century. This flow was induced by economic boom of Spanish economy and consequent increased demand of manual labor in the country. Majority of the immigrants in this flow were poorly educated unskilled male rural dwellers from the northern states of Punjab and Haryana, who migrated in the search of job opportunities in the agriculture and construction sectors (López Sala, 2013). According to IPUMS census data of 2010 census, USA was home to about 2.8 million Indians, they were mainly settled in California (20%), New Jersey (12%), Texas (10%) and New York (9%), while in Spain their number was limited to 40 thousand and more than 50% were settled in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia.

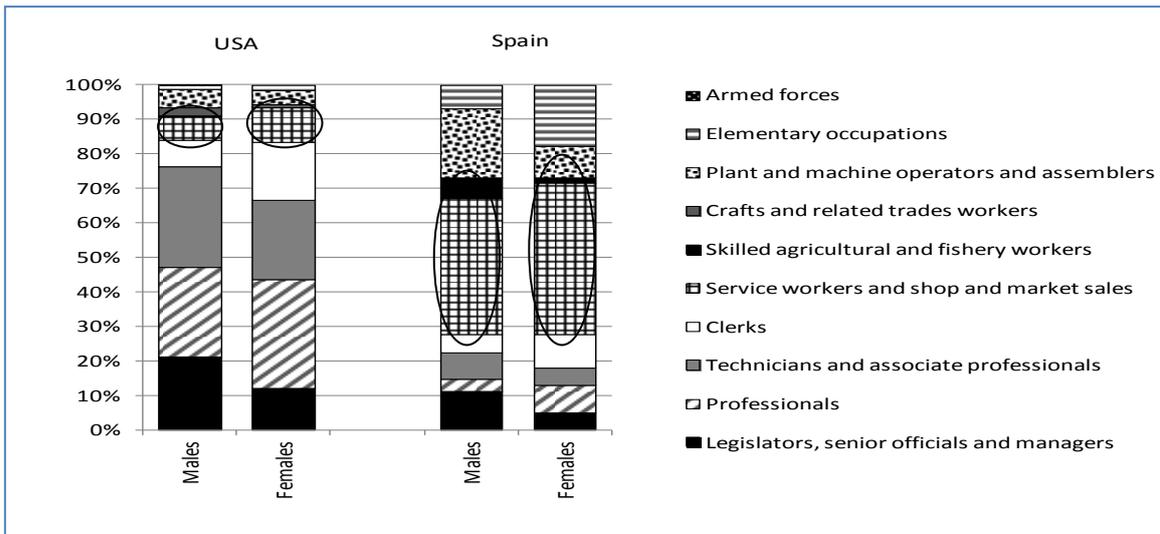
Map 1: The distribution of Indian population in USA and Spain.



Source: own elaboration with census data from 2010 census of USA and 2011 census of Spain.

On the basis of census data we can find that the present occupational structure of Indians is very different in USA as compared to Spain (Figure 1). In USA a significant part of Indian population has reached to the high status jobs of the legislators, senior officials and managers of different business houses. They have entered in all occupation sectors from most respective administrative jobs to skilled agriculture workers. The share of women in the labor market is also very important that makes this community a –model immigrant community – in USA. While in Spain, the Indian community is limited to few occupational sectors like trade, construction, agriculture and most recently in services. The majority of Indians in Spain are now engaged in services sector and the sectors where high skills are not required. Indians are still to enter in the public administration and managerial jobs. The participation of women in the labor market is also very low and mostly they are employed in family businesses in ethnic enclaves. As compared to USA the occupational profile of Indians in Spain is very low. And we can also see the effect of core/periphery in the occupational distribution, as in Spain majority of Indian population is engaged in their

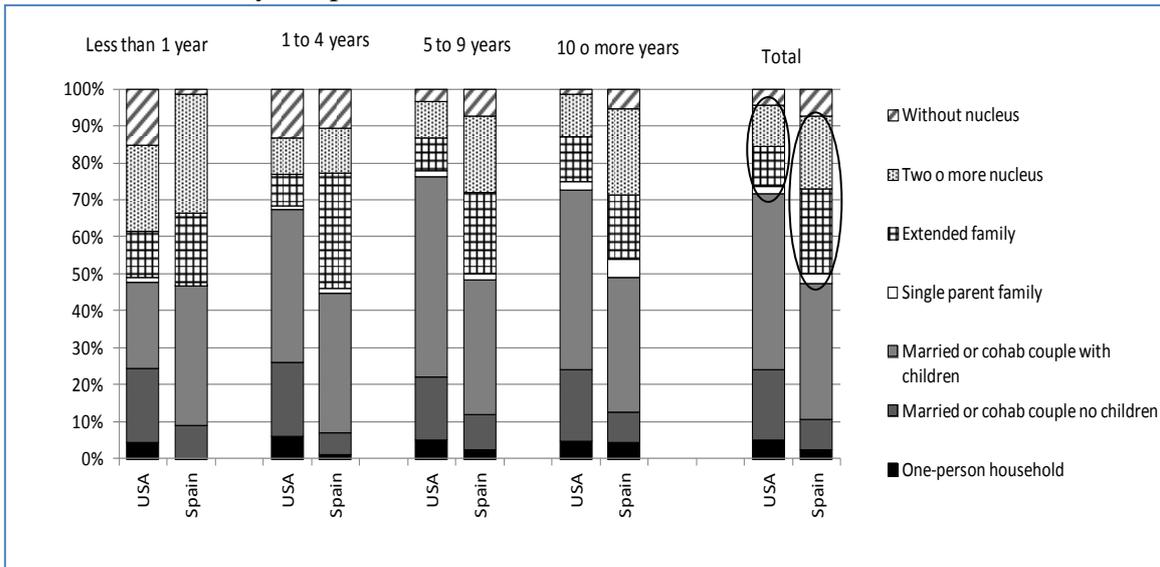
Figure 1: The occupational distribution of Indian males and females in Spain and USA, in 2011 and 2010, respectively.



Source: own elaboration with census data from 2010 census of USA and 2011 census of Spain.

traditional occupations like Sindhi community in trade related activities and Punjabis in agriculture but in USA the diversification of occupational structure put Indians close to the main stream autochthon population.

Figure 2: The distribution of Indian population in different household types on the basis of their duration of stay in Spain and USA.



Source: own elaboration with census data from 2010 census of USA and 2011 census of Spain.

Like occupational, the household structure of Indians in both countries is also considerably different in terms of existing household types and the percentage of population in all the major household topologies. As shown in figure 2, their household structure in Spain is much more complex than in the USA. The number of extended families and households with two and more nucleus in Spain is much higher as compared to USA. Again we can see that the effect of Indian joint family system is more visible at the periphery i. e. Spain then in the core i. e. USA. It will be interesting to explore the factors responsible for this difference in household structure in both countries. but in preliminary findings we can say that in Spain the household structure is much close to that of in India but in USA it is more like as the autochthon population, which further strengthen the hypothesis of core and periphery of Indian diaspora as we move closer to

the core the household structure dissolve in the local society but in the periphery they maintain their tight family bonds.

MAJOR HYPOTHESIS:

1. The characteristics of Diaspora are dynamic, changing through the time (volume, individual position at the labor market, household structure, spatial distribution, or gender roles), with a logic derived from what can be defined as central or peripheral position.
2. Centre/periphery position determines not only volume or socio-demographic characteristics of Indian population in the receiving country, but also changes in their demographic and socioeconomic setup which they can experiment or adopt at new destinations.
3. The USA, with comparatively more gender equality, equal economic opportunities and stable household structures of Indian population has emerged as the core of Indian diaspora, while Spain with relatively higher gender inequality, marginalization in economic opportunities and complex family structures remained in the periphery of Indian diaspora.

OBJECTIVES:

In this paper our main objectives are: 1) To compare the present migration trends, spatial distribution, demographic and socio-economic structure of Indian diaspora in USA and Spain; 2) To explore the occupational structure of Indians in both countries with special reference to gender differences, education, origin, demand of labor and time of arrival at both destinations; 3) To study the household structure of Indians in USA and Spain and the factors responsible for the prevalence of different household typologies existing in both countries; and, 4) To analyze the role of women in the household and in the occupation, as a parameter of the equality in gender relations in core and peripheral Indian diaspora in both countries.

DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY:

For this investigation the data is obtained from IPUMS international database, which provides samples (5%) of harmonized census micro data of 2010 Census of USA and the data from Spanish census of population and housing 2011, which was based on the sampling system (10% of the total population of the municipalities with more than 20,000 inhabitants). In the first part, which is of descriptive nature, we have used the basic demographic tools to compare the present socio-demographic characteristics of Indian diaspora in Spain and USA. In the second part, we have used the regression models to calculate the effect of various independent variables like age, sex, education, occupation, time of arrival and origin on the households and occupation structure in both countries.

EXPECTED FINDINGS:

The main expected findings are: 1) The level of education, demand of labor at destinations and different origins remained the deterministic factors for the occupation structure and the gender, age, and time of arrival have played a crucial role in changing the household structure of Indians at both destinations; 2) The participation of women in the occupational sector is higher in USA, which is core of Indian diaspora than Spain, which lies in the periphery and shows traditional employment structure, where females do only housekeeping jobs; 3) The high level of masculinity in Spain is related to the demand of unskilled manual masculine labor and the restrictive family reunification programs in

Spain, while the US quota system of labor visas and relatively easy family reunification process contributed to the balance among both sexes.

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