European University Institute

ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

CARIM India – Developing a Knowledge Base for Policymaking on India-EU Migration

Co-financed by the European Union

Indians in France: an increasingly diverse population

Leonard Williams

CARIM-India Research Report 2013/30

MIGRATION POLICY CENTRE

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

Research Report
Country Report

CARIM-India RR2013/30

Indians in France: an increasingly diverse population

Leonard Williams
Postgraduate student, Université de Poitiers

If cited or quoted, reference should be made as follows:

Leonard Williams, Indians in France: an increasingly diverse population, CARIM-India RR 2013/30, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, [year of publication].

European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/
http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/publications/
http://cadmus.eui.eu

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

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

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

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

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

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

For more information:
CARIM-India
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)
Convento
Via delle Fontanelle 19
50014 San Domenico di Fiesole
Italy
Tel: +39 055 46 85 817
Fax: + 39 055 46 85 770
Email: India-EU.Migration@eui.eu

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/

Abstract

This country report traces the history of migration from India to France and uses a wide variety of sources to build a general picture of the socio-economic and demographic profile of the Indian population in France, as well as an illustration of their treatment in the French media, the implications of France's legal framework for them and a presentation of the religious and cultural associations established, and the level of socio-cultural integration that these Indians have achieved. Being a relatively small migrant community in France, this population has received relatively little academic attention, least of all for the most recent wave of migrants; high skilled workers and students. In order to add to our knowledge about Indians in France this report concludes with the results of a survey carried out in July 2013 with sixty-one respondents and explores their motivations as well as their experiences of migration to France.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The Parisian quarter of La Chappelle, a stone's throw from Le Gare du Nord is popularly known as "Little India". Centring on three of four streets where the famous Ganesh Festival and its crowd-drawing processions of dancers, rituals and floats has been celebrated at the end of August each year since the late 1990s the quarter is thriving and undeniably Indian. The visitor will notice a wide variety of stores, restaurants and businesses catering to Paris' South Asian communities; there are numerous boutiques selling saris, Punjabi suits and roles of cloth; restaurants specialising in Gujarati, Tamil and Sri Lankan cuisine, halal butchers and spice stores; there are shops selling models of Hindu, Buddhist and Christian deities; trinkets and jewellery for all tastes and wallets – bangles for one Euro, rings for a thousand; all tastes in Indian film and music are catered for in various media outlets and many less stand-out stores, offering translation, visa, educational and other services also line the streets.

While to many outsiders the quarter is simply an "Indian" area there are in fact many South Asians with diverse origins and migration routes present here and elsewhere in France. The following country report will attempt to provide an outline of the many different Indian communities present in France through a synthesis of a wide variety of data. Indian migration to this country remains little studied and although as wide a variety of sources as possible have been drawn upon for this paper, there remain some very big limits to our knowledge about this group. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Indian population that has received the least attention in France has been the most recent; high skilled workers and students. Having introduced the general Indian population in France, this report also contains the results from a small exploratory survey with Indian expatriates living there. While this piece of original research is very limited in scope, it does produce some interesting data on a group who have, until now, remained completely unstudied.

In what follows I will introduce the demographic and socio-economic profile of this diverse population, a summary of the French legal framework and how it relates to Indians, a section on the media representation of the community as well as outlining religious and cultural associations and the integration of the Indian population. Finally I introduce my small study and some of the principal results (complete results in the Annexe).

A brief history of Indian migration to France

Indian migration to France has a long and diverse history, where later waves have often been facilitated by the conditions put in place by earlier arrivals. In order to better understand modern Indian migrations to France, a picture of the historical relations between the two countries and the migratory paths which have formed over the centuries shall be considered. While an in depth history is not possible, a general outline of the most significant contacts, events and migrations between France and India will be traced here. The migrations could be characterised as falling into three main periods; the early contacts up until WWI; the period from 1919 to 1949; the period with most migration since independence and decolonisation.

While some Indian migrations towards France can be clearly linked to colonial contact between the two countries, others appear to have developed independently. This report will attempt to do justice to the complexity of these migrations. Of the PIOs (People of Indian Origin) resident on French soil, the vast majority live on France's DOM-TOMs (*departmentes/territoires outré-mer*), its overseas territories, such as Réunion in the Indian Ocean, or Guadeloupe and Martinique in the Caribbean and make up a combined population of about 250,000 (CASTEL 1994). While these populations will be referred to in the following history, for simplicity's sake, and because less is known about those living in the DOM-TOMs, the main focus will be on PIOs living in mainland France, the *metropole*, where an estimated 80-100,000 reside (THINEY-DUVOY 2007)

Early contacts until WWI

The origins of Indian migration to France can be traced to European expansion in the 15th century. France was the last of the major European powers of the time to attempt to organise trade with India. In 1604 King Henry IV gave a commercial monopoly to a conglomerate of merchants from Rouen, Saint-Malo and Dieppe to import Indian goods. Despite some failed attempts, French sailors first arrived on the Malabar Coast, modern day Kerala, in the 1630s. By 1664, a French East India Company had been set up and in 1668 these merchants had gained permission from the Mughal Empire to establish a small trade enclave (*comptoir*) in Surat. Before long the French decided to settle in a small fishing village named Pudu Cheri, which was renamed Pondicherry and within fifty years had built it into a fortified town with an army of local recruits numbering up to 10,000 men (THINEY-DUVOY 2007; LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007).

During the early 16th century the French had established a handful of trade enclaves, mainly on the southern and eastern coasts of the subcontinent, of which Chandernagor (1668), Mahé (1721), Yanaon (1731) and Karaikal (1739). See Map 1, below, for the location of these trading posts.

Map 1. Map of French colonial enclaves in India

Source: ASNOM 2013

Joseph François Dupleix, the most famous of France's governors during this period arrived in 1741 and was keen to turn France into the most important foreign power on the sub-continent. However, he lacked the support of Paris, which was more interested in its stakes in Canada and eventually the British, under Robert Clive were able to overturn French interests in the region. Nonetheless, France was allowed to maintain her coastal enclaves throughout the rest of the colonial period, often to the chagrin of the British. It was therefore trade in the colonial context which opened the first opportunities for South Asians to come to France.

The first Indian visitors to France would probably have been *Lascars,* Indian sailors, employed on French ships for return journeys to Europe. Although French sailors and adventurers often made their fortunes on these voyages, an estimated 10-15% died on the outward trips or decided to stay in India on arrival. As a result local sailors were employed to replace them. In a related development, those employees of the French East India Company who had made their fortunes in the French enclaves often hired armies of servants and brought their *ayahs,* nannies and servants with them, at least for the long journey home. This practice continued throughout this period and would certainly have brought many Indians into contact with France. A 1681 law decreed that all non-white arrivals in France had to be declared, although this was little respected until the mid-18th century, and the first definite record of an Indian living in France dates from as late as 1724. The lascars would mainly have settled in major ports, and in particular Bordeaux, Nantes and La Rochelle, while the ayahs would either have returned to India or lived out their days with their employees. No solid figures on the numbers of these migrants exist, although a 1777 census indicates there were perhaps 200 Indians living permanently in mainland France. Based on existing records it is possible to say that there were also populations of Indians living in Paris, Marseilles, Saint-Malo and Lorient (THINEY-DUVOY 2007, SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007).

For the first half of the 19th century there continued to be a very little migration of Indians to France. Nonetheless, India made an increasing cultural impact on France, whether through imported high-quality fabrics, spices and other goods, or through the proliferation of knowledge about India by those who had been there. Artworks by French visitors which depicted the landscapes of southern India influenced the public imagination when put on show in Paris, the diaries of adventurers and the works of indologists on the religion and culture of the sub-continent further inspired a particular vision of India. In 1828 an Indian language school was established in Paris, which still exists under the name of INALCO. By the end of the 1830s various Indian entertainers were being invited to perform in France, be they dancers, snake-charmers or fire-walkers, and although most of these artists returned home at the end of their tours, some stayed on, finding work in circuses and theatres (THINEY-DUVOY 2007; SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007).

The prohibition of slavery hit production in France's Caribbean territories hard, and thus (primarily) sugarcane growers began looking for new labour. Although they began searching for workers in Europe and Central Africa, eventually accords were agreed with the British to import indentured labourers. The population of France's Indian territories was relatively small and could not provide adequate manpower - indentured labourers had first been solicited from French enclaves to move to Réunion, but by the 1850s most labourers came from British India. Their exact origins are now unknown although it is considered that they mainly came from southern India, whereas indentured labourers in British and Dutch colonies were mainly sourced from the North. French Guyana received 8472 Indians between 1855 and 1877, Martinique received 25,509 between 1854 and 1883, Guadeloupe 42,326 from 1854-1889. Although recruiters painted a rosy picture of the life and contracts on offer, the realities where very different; French colonies were particularly notorious for poor treatment of indentured labourers, so much so that by the 1880s the Indian government was attempting to limit the number of Indians going to them. Having worked out their contracts a significant number of "coolies" went home. Nonetheless, the majority stayed on as free men and to varying degrees have integrated successfully into these societies, especially once the owners began to allow women to be brought over. It was a struggle for these Indians to receive French nationality and voting rights due to their unclear origins (most were still officially British at this time), although by the early 20th century most were recognised as French citizens (SINGAREVELOU 1978; NIKLAS 2006; THINEY-DUVOY 2007).

Throughout this period France also encouraged migration to other overseas territories such as New Caledonia and former colonies including Mauritius, and Indochina. Following independence, for various political and economic reasons there has been migration to France from these former colonies of people with Indian origins (ANGLEVIEL 2006; PAIRAUDEAU 2007; CARSIGNOL 2007).

Meanwhile, mainland France began to receive a steadily increasing flow of Indian visitors and migrants, although mainly of elite educated and business classes. The French presence in Chandernagore, just outside of Calcutta, led to an interest in French literature and culture among the Bengali elite, and especially Parsis, and led to the creation of an association named the *cercle litteraire* where students discussed French culture. The decreasing travel time involved in voyaging to Europe after the opening of the Suez Canal made it possible for some of these students to complete their studies in France. Similarly, Indian intellectuals began to pay extended visits to France, and the poet Dvarkanath Tagore became friendly with the French writer André Gide. Other Indian and South Asian artists, poets and writers arrived in France towards the end of the 19th century and stayed for varying periods of time, often on exchange visits to European universities where the study of Sanskrit and classical Indian literature had resulted in the opening of specialist departments of Indology (of which there were three in Paris). France and the French enclaves were also seen as safe houses for participants in the Indian nationalist movements, although lost their place as a status as safe havens after 1910 when France and Britain began co-operating more closely on security matters. Finally, Mahatma Gandhi paid a short visit in 1889 and a second in 1931 (SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007; NIKLAS 2006).

Besides intellectuals and revolutionaries, until the early 20th century France, and especially Paris, was home to a number of merchants and traders who dealt in precious stones, pearls and other luxury items such as silk. India was one of the only mining countries in the world at this time, and its proximity to the Persian gulf meant certain regions of North India were (and continue to be) centres of world trade in such goods. Of these pearl traders, a certain Parsi from Bombay, JD Tata arrived in 1902 and married a French woman. His son, JRD Tata born in 1904 would go on to run the famous Tata Empire. However, these (mainly) Gujarati and Maharastran traders later largely left Paris in the 1930s, perhaps due to the discovery and exploitation of oil in the Persian gulf by British and American prospectors, which led to the gradual drying up of the pearl trade. Nonetheless, Gujaratis returned to Paris some fifty years later, in the 1980s and started up these high value trades once again, of which more later (SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007; NIKLAS 2006; THINEY-DUVOY 2007).

1914 – 1949. The World Wars and the inter-war period

The Indian army, mainly originating from northern India, played a crucial role in World War One. In 1914 an expeditionary force of 90,000 Indians were sent to the front in northern France and Belgium and stayed the full four years, and between 1917 and 1918 about 48,000 members of the Indian Labour Corps, who provided support behind the front, were also present. Roughly 10,000 Indians died during the war and many more were injured while participating in numerous famous battles and winning awards for bravery. About 50% of the soldiers were from the Punjab, 40% were Muslim, 30% Hindu, 19% Sikh and about 10% were Gurkhas. What did these Indians think of France? According to letters written home their overall view of France, when away from the front, was largely positive; it seemed to be a rich country with advanced technology and they were amazed to see women running farms (forgetting that many of the men would have been sent to fight), although more religious soldiers were shocked that there seemed to be little religious life in the country. The French, on the other hand developed a positive image of Indians during this war, and built a monument to the Indian soldiers who fought in France at Richebourg in 1927, and recognise the sacrifices of Indians soldiers at the National Army Museum. Although most of the soldiers returned home after the war, some stayed on in France, marrying local women. It is not clear how many stayed or where they lived however (MARKOVITS 2007; SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007).

The interwar period continued to see relatively limited Indian migration to France. Some Punjabi and Gujarati businessmen continued to arrive in Paris, trading in specialist industries and luxury goods and throughout this period there continued to be a steady though very small stream of students. The Indian military appears not to have fought in mainland France during WWII, although at least one person of Indian origin partook in the French resistance. Under the codename “Madeleine”, Noor Inayat Khan,

daughter of a famous Indian singer, took part in the French resistance and was sent to work in Paris by the British secret service. She was caught and shot in Dachau in 1944 and posthumously received French and British honours (SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007).

During this pre independence period, there was very limited Indian migration to mainland France. Nonetheless, these early contacts – colonialism, intellectual and cultural exchange, business networks and indentured labour - formed the basis upon which many later migrations were constructed. Since the 1950s, there have been a number of distinct migrations of Indians to France which will be treated separately from one another, since in many ways they have very little in common, and, based on my literature review, the members of the different groups appear not to have mixed significantly once in France.

Independence and the French enclaves: nationality, citizenship and migration

Although there were five Indian enclaves from which ex-colonial migrants have come to France, Pondicherry was by far the largest, and for the sake of simplicity I will refer to all migrants from France's former Indian colonies as Pondicherrian, although of course some came from elsewhere.

While most of the Indian sub-continent achieved independence in 1947, the French continued to hold onto some of their Indian possessions for up to fifteen years. Before describing the history of Indian independence from France, a word on French citizenship and colonial policy. Prior to the French revolution of 1789 the French king was the *de-facto* ruler of his subjects, regardless of their language or ethnicity. Once the King was deposed however, he was replaced by the state, and according to the French constitution every individual French citizen must have a direct and equal relation with the modern state and her laws with no intervening bodies. In its colonial territories, France attempted to institute the same system, encouraging all subjects to renounce any other religious or historical group membership and instead choose French citizenship which would (in theory) make them equal to all other French citizens. To begin with, in the 19th century, those who chose to renounce previous ties (*renonçants*) were mainly Roman Catholic Indians, and the motivation would largely have been to improve their social position by getting employed in the French civil service, and to escape a lowly position in the caste structure. Hindus and Muslims rarely renounced, preferring to maintain their own culture, but also knowing that renouncing religious or communal links would destroy family relations and marriage networks. In the end, very few chose to renounce, probably no more than 3,700 individuals at most (out of a combined population in the enclaves of about 285,000), the vast majority of whom lived in Pondicherry (3,500 people) (HENNION 2013).

The first French enclave to quit French control was Chandernagore in 1949, following a referendum. The French were unwilling to give up their other enclaves and were accused of fraud during referendums on independence. Nonetheless, in 1954, and to avoid hostilities with India, France agreed to sign an independence treaty with Nehru, with certain clauses. First, France would continue to manage her remaining colonies until 1962 (when the treaty would be ratified), although she would gradually pull out. Secondly, France would continue to be allowed to maintain a scientific, economic and cultural presence in the enclaves post-independence, and finally, and most importantly, for the first six months following independence, anybody who had previously lived in the colonies would be allowed to opt for French citizenship (become a *renonçant*) in place of becoming Indian after 1962. Furthermore, it was also stipulated that anyone who was a minor at the time of independence would be allowed to choose French nationality once they reached adulthood. Although this deal resulted in much confusion, a significant number of Pondicherrians (around 5,000 in total, mainly from the Pondicherry enclave) settled for French nationality, and also some of their children chose it later, on maturity. Often within families, certain members chose to become French, while others chose to become Indian, demonstrating interesting family strategies to get "the best of both worlds"(SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007; LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007; NIKLAS 2006; HENNION 2013).

The first Pondicherrians to arrive in France came in 1954 and there has been a fairly steady stream up to the present. To begin with, most Pondicherrians in France were male and either came to study or take up government or military posts. Those in the military were stationed in French garrison towns around the country such as Nimes and Fréjus, while those in government posts went wherever the service sent them. The majority of the Pondicherrians came as students however, and following their studies settled and worked in France, bringing wives and families over once they had created a secure economic base. However, there has been a certain number of single women coming alone to study throughout this period, so migration has not been solely male-led. There are perhaps 60,000 Pondicherrians in France at present and the vast majority live in and around Paris (more detail on all these groups in the demographics section) (SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007; LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007; NIKLAS 2006).

Throughout France's colonisation of Indochina, Tamils, mainly from the French enclaves had been recruited to work either in the army or in the French administration and many chose to stay on in South East Asia following the end of their contracts. These Indo-Vietnamese began returning to India or heading to France during the first Vietnam War, taking advantage of their French nationality. Following the fall of Saigon in 1975 another wave of a few thousand PIOs arrived in France fleeing persecution (many were leading businessmen in a now communist state) and economic insecurity. Most of these "twice migrants" live in and around Paris (PAIRAUDEAU 2007).

Another significant group of "twice migrants" have been those from Madagascar and Mauritius. Following the independence of these states in the 1960s, large numbers began migrating to France. In Madagascar, the population of PIOs (many of whom had Gujarati Muslim origins) had often held a dominant position in business which led to resentment by members of other ethnic groups on the island. This and economic uncertainty pushed many (exact figures unknown) to migrate to France. Meanwhile in Mauritius, which gained independence in 1968, up to 60,000 moved to France in the 1970s, overtaking Pondicherrians as the largest "Indian" group living in France. Indo-Mauritians had initially migrated to the island as indentured labourers or as soldiers in the British army, yet soon set themselves up successfully in commerce. About two thirds of the Indo-Mauritians moved to Paris and have continued to partake in transnational trade networks with those back in Mauritius and elsewhere. Despite many arriving as undocumented migrants, they and their children have now integrated successfully in socio-economic terms (CARSIGNOL 2007; LACHAIER 2007).

As already mentioned, there was a small migration of Gujaratis to Paris in the 1980s, perhaps of 2-3000 individuals. Some of these migrants set up luxury jewellery businesses; others cornered the "convenience store" market, opening small shops outside many of Paris' main metro stations. It is unclear whether this was a migration chain which started again after the first wave of Gujaratis came to Paris at the beginning of the century. Also from northern India, there have been waves of Punjabis, primarily Sikhs who have come to France for different reasons. The first arrivals appear to have been economic migrants, often undocumented, who turned to mainland Europe when Great Britain began to make it harder to migrate there. The first wave of Punjabis mainly settled around Paris, despite having no previous links to the place, and before long were practicing family reunification, and encouraging migration through caste networks into the 1990s. Another wave of Punjabis has been of Sikhs fleeing insecurity related to the independent Khalistan movement. Punjabis have been particularly mobile in Europe and are not necessarily tied to one country, often maintaining links with Sikhs in the UK, Germany, the Netherlands and elsewhere. Various estimates put their number at about 10-15,000 (MOLINER 2007; SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007, THINEY-DUVOY 2007).

Perhaps the most recent migration of Indians has been students and skilled workers/expatriates in transnational corporations, who have been arriving in France since the late 1990s, and appear to come from diverse origins in India. Based on my review of the literature I have not managed to find any studies on this group beyond the occasional mention (THINEY-DUVOY 2007) thus chose to carry out a small exploratory study on them for this report.

In the 1980s and 1990s France also received up to 90,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees as well as significant numbers of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants, often undocumented, who have come to gain a reputation as peddlers (although there also exists a quite separate middle class Pakistani population). Due to relatively limited knowledge in France about India, these very different South Asians are often all mistakenly considered as Indian (SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALY 2007).

Demographic characteristics of the Indian population

According to a law on liberty and information passed in 1978, it is illegal to collect data about certain aspects of the French population with regards to factors such as sexuality, political beliefs, health and importantly here, ethnicity. The principal behind this law is that such information could, in the wrong hands, be misused. Secondly, it is argued that the collection of such statistics reinforces socially constructed identities which are perhaps no longer relevant. For instance, someone whose grandparents were born in Tamil Nadu, but whose parents and him/herself have lived all their lives in France could hardly be considered to be Indian. It is argued that such a category reinforces differences rather than encouraging integration. The French approach to ethnicity is closely linked to the particular French notion of citizenship, already mentioned above, which assumes that once an individual is given this citizenship and the special relationship with the state, she will essentially become completely French. As a result, for all people who have French nationality, their ethnicity is not considered relevant information, as their primary identity is thus French. When it comes to measuring migration, French statistics only count information on those who arrive in the country; it is possible to know which countries migrants were born in. However, for people born in France, or who acquired French citizenship in Pondicherry or a DOM-TOM, there exists no data on them as people with *Indian* ethnicity. The consequence of this particular approach is that studies on the demographics of ethnic groups in France become very tricky, and the best one can do is compare different sources to estimate numbers.

While for some this approach to statistics is anti-racist, it has been criticised for ignoring sociological realities – while the theory argues that all people with French nationality are the same, access to housing, work and education remains full of prejudices based on socially constructed notions of race; such notions, often still tinged with the racist ideologies of colonialism, still exist. It is argued that mobilising "ethnic categories" in statistics, which exist in general social discourse anyway, is a better way of combatting prejudice than simply ignoring them. SIMON (2007) has argued that ethnic statistics could give a political voice to people from ethnic minority groups, and that they would provide scientific and historical proof of the diversity of France's population – a way of combatting racist discourses about France's "pure" population, for instance. Furthermore this approach ignores the multiple identities that migrants (as well as "settled" people) have, with a sense of attachment and belonging drawn from different places, cultures and societies.

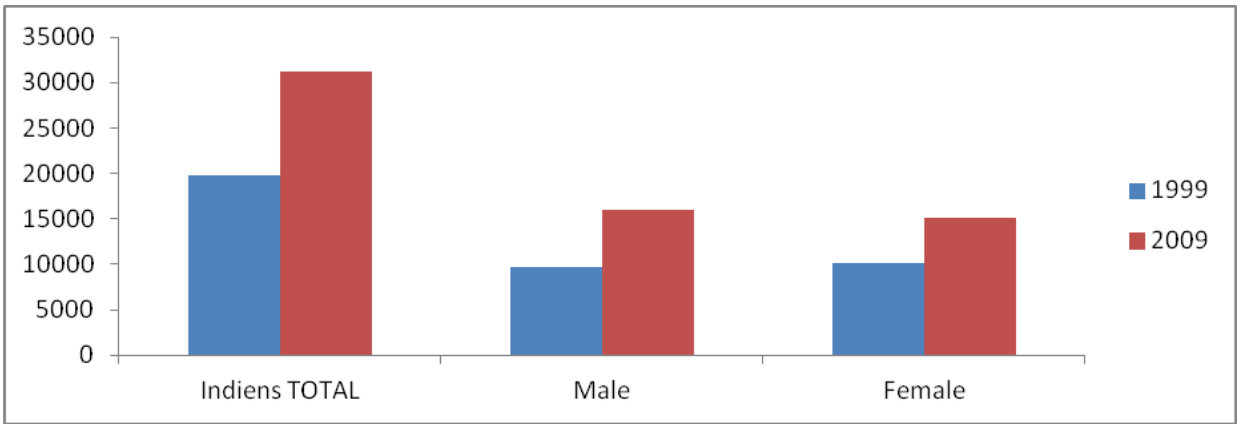
For this report I have attempted to gather as much information as I can not only about NRIs (born in India with Indian nationality) living in France, but also about PIOs (born in France but with French or other nationality). However, as indicated above, because there is no data on ethnicity in France, there are no definite statistics on PIOs. I have accessed a wide variety of sources, both of the Indian and French governments as well as a number of other academic studies. Unfortunately, the data is often contradictory and sometimes wildly varying. For example, according to data from TRIBALAT (2013) there were 19,827 people with Indian nationality in France in 1999, whereas according to Indian government statistics (2000), there were only about 10,000. When it comes to the "second generation", statistics become even more complicated. Based upon my reading from various sources, in what follows I attempt to give the best estimates of *all* people of Indian origin living in France, regardless of their political citizenship – PIOs and NRIs combined. For the sake of simplicity I will describe all these people as Indian (bearing in mind that many have never lived in India).

According to the data I have found, it is possible to put the number of Indians in France at about 80-100,000.In 2009 there were 31,142 people who were born in India living in France and roughly half have

retained their Indian citizenship while the rest have acquired French citizenship (THINEY-DUVOY 2007, INDIAN NIC 2000). Therefore, roughly 1/3 of the Indians in France were born in India, the rest were either born in mainland France, a French overseas territory (before migrating to France) or claimed French citizenship at the end of colonialism. An educated guess would put about half the population as born in France (maybe 40-45,000), the rest born in India, Pondicherry or elsewhere. A more precise figure is simply impossible given the current lack of ethnic data collected in France. This is further complicated by the fact that Indian migrants appear to be increasingly mobile, staying in migration destinations for shorter periods; thus they may be missed in the census. Furthermore, there are an unquantifiable number of Indian illegal migrants residing in France, many of whom appear to use the country as a transit destination before moving on to other countries, particularly the UK. According to SAHA (2009), it appears that most illegal migrants detained in France, or who had the intention of going to France, are from northern India, particularly the Punjab and Haryana.

The history section of this report details the different waves of Indian migration to France, and various sources provide a picture of how the Indian population had increased over time. The following table demonstrates how immigration has continued considerably since 1999:

Graph 1. Indian-born population in France



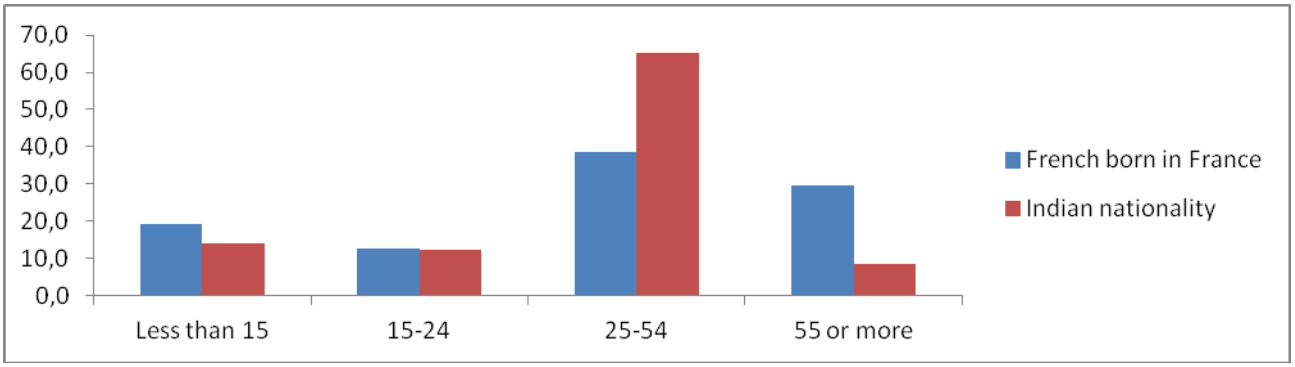
Source: TRIBALAT 2013

In 1999 there were 19,827 Indian nationals living in France; the figure had increased again by half to 31,142 in 2009, demonstrating that there have been considerable new waves of migrants in the last ten years, adding to the already existing population of migrants and their children born in France. Prior to 1999 there exists no data on Indian immigration to France in the census; in general they were subsumed under the category “other Asian”, since their numbers were significantly small, it is not possible to compare Indian immigration from longer ago statistically. Various sources, however, would appear to indicate that the immigration has been steadily rising since the late 1950s, first from Pondicherry which has steadily sent migrants throughout this period, then with occasional boosts, such as with the Gujaratis and Punjabis in the 1980s and high-skilled workers and students from all over India in the last decade.

Interestingly, while in 1999 there were in fact slightly more female migrants than males (10,190 vs. 9,637 males), males had overtaken the number of women migrants ten years later (there are now 15,973 men compared with 15,169 women). How has the male/female composition of the population changed over time? Again, there is no data available prior to 1999, so explanations can only be based on non-statistical evidence. Women have boosted numbers in varying ways. Sometimes they have come independently, mainly as students in this case (and possibly some high skilled workers), but their main route has been family reunification. The French closed their borders to labour migration in 1974, thus forcing many workers to choose whether to return to their families of bring their wives and children over. Since then, there has been much female migration in this form (more detail later) (TISON 2008).

Judging the age profile of France's Indian population is similarly difficult. While certain statistics do exist, it is possible that they are more of a hindrance than a help. Table 2 demonstrates the age profile of Indian nationals living in France with comparison to that of the French:

Graph 2. Indian and French nationals in mainland France by age profile (round percentage)

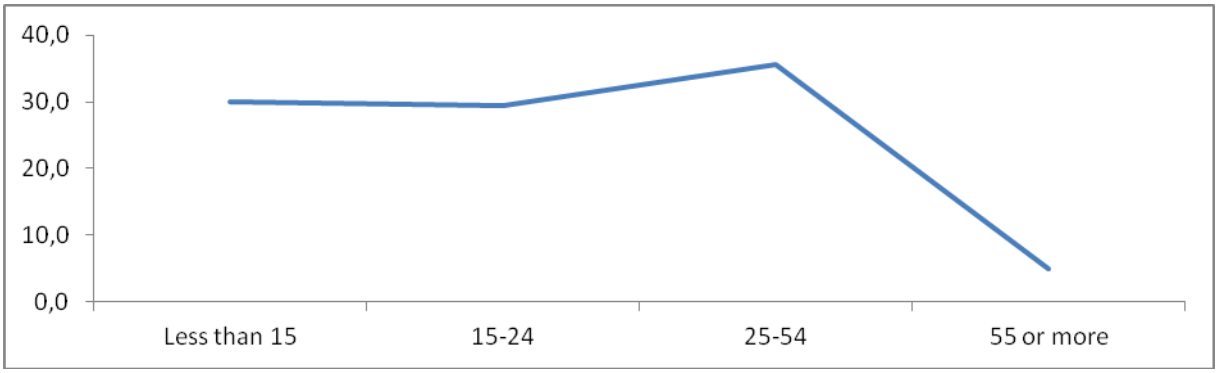


Source: INSEE 2010

This data suggests that the Indian population shares a similar curve to that of the general French population, although somewhat smoother. Both populations have relatively few children, even less young adults (15-24), then a much higher proportion in the adult population (25-54) followed by a smaller elderly population (55 years or more). There appears to be a fairly large elderly population among the Indians, and relatively few young adults, which would suggest a large proportion of the Indian population migrated some time ago, thus are generally older.

However, there is a snag with this conclusion – if this relatively elderly Indian population has had children in France, then these children will have French nationality and thus not show up in the statistics. According to TISON (2008), the average Indian family in France is similar to the rest of the population, opting for relatively smaller families. Based on her study with fifty Indian women in Paris, the average number of children per family was 2.5 (although generally more for Muslims and Christians, less for Hindus), in comparison to 1.9 children for the average French family. Therefore, for the above table we might estimate that the children of the people in the 25-54 category will be found in either the "under 15" or "15-24" categories. Based on the data which shows a basically equal gender balance, and assuming that all Indians will have married and had children in France, we might estimate a population that looks something like this:

Graph 3. Estimates of the shape of the Indian population (first and second generation) in France. Thousands



Source: INSEE 2010 and my own estimations on the possible size of the population born in France

It should be stressed that these are but very basic estimates using incomplete data and that I am not a demographer. However, since a large proportion of Indian migrants came to France between the late

1950s and the 1990s, it seems reasonable to assume they would have produced a second and even third generation. While the above graph is based on data for migrants who came to France with Indian nationality, it seems reasonable to extrapolate this graph to the Pondicherrians (who already had French nationality) and their French offspring too.

When it comes to spatial distribution of Indians in France, the review of the literature indicates that the vast majority (perhaps 70-80% based on various sources) of Indians and their children are found in Paris and Île de France (the region surrounding Paris). The rest are spread around France, mainly living in bigger cities. There are sizeable populations in Marseilles, Lyon, Toulouse, Strasbourg and Bordeaux, while other smaller communities and individuals can be found elsewhere (THINEY-DUVOY 2007).

As already mentioned, the average number of children per family is around 2.5, indicating that by and large Indians have followed French family styles, although religion appears to be an important factor here; Hindu families have less children (closer to the French average of 1.9) whereas Muslims and Roman Catholics seem to have a greater average number of children (TISON 2008). Indians in general seem to have followed French family practice when it comes to family formation – the nuclear family appears to be the preferred option, especially for younger people. Older generations frown upon the idea of putting the elderly in retirement homes. For the first and second generation marriage partners have tended to be Indian, often involving arranged marriages with someone back in the place of origin, whereas for the third generation marriage with other ethnic groups is becoming more normal. The choice to live in a nuclear family may be influenced by various considerations – size and cost of housing and resources, the simple fact that migrants often came alone and only brought over their immediate family and the environment into which Indians moved (urban industrial where living in extended families is perhaps harder than in rural environments).

This section on the demographic characteristics of France's Indian population has been hampered by the lack of reliable statistical data. However, by making use of a variety of sources it is nonetheless possible to make estimates about the demography of France's Indian population. This portrait of Indian migrants in France will be added to in the following section on their socio-economic profile.

Socio-economic profile

When discussing Indian migration to France, creating a « general » picture of the population is not simple; India is an enormous country with massive internal diversity and the Indian migrants in France come from many different places with very different cultures and histories. Besides coming from the same geographical landmass, a Punjabi Sikh will have little in common with a Tamil Roman Catholic if they happen to meet in France. Therefore, when discussing the overall migration type of Indians in France, one must bear in mind that between groups there is great diversity (see the history and socio-cultural integration sections for more detail on differences between groups).

While stressing that a generalised picture of the Indian population in France is not really possible due to the very different types of migrations, for the rest of this section I will nevertheless attempt to simplify where possible. To begin with, my reading and the statistics suggest that Indians have a fairly high level of labour force participation in France although the limits of statistics with regards to ethnicity mean that a large portion of the Indian community are invisible in the data. Of the working age population in France who have retained Indian nationality there is overall an 83% rate of employment, meaning around 17% of Indians in France with Indian nationality are unemployed, a fairly high rate. However, if women are subtracted from this data only 13% of Indian men in France are unemployed (INSEE 2008). For the unrecorded part of the French-Indian population, perhaps over 50,000 people, no employment data is available and it is only possible to make educated estimates. My reading seems to indicate that there is low male unemployment among the Indian diaspora in France – unemployment is rarely if ever mentioned in my literature review. Certain groups, in particular the Punjabis, seem to be employed in less secure occupations, sometimes working illegally in factories,

building sites and restaurants, for example (although the majority do work legally) yet after a certain period have managed to set themselves up in businesses with the support of caste groups (MOLINER 2007, TISON 2008). The Tamils seem to have taken up employment in French government posts which are normally very secure, life long positions, and their children seem to have integrated well into the education and labour market (LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007) and the Gujaratis were entrepreneurs whose children carried on family businesses or went into high skilled professions (SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALAY 2007).

With regards to women, the story is quite different. TISON's (2008) study on 50 Indian women from former French enclaves in Paris (and another 50 in London) found that only eight members of her French sample had ever worked in the labour market, and when they had it was usually in relatively low skilled employments, such as supermarkets or factories, although at least a couple had found more high skilled occupations such as nursing or teaching. Practically all of her sample had come to France to join husbands and carry out "traditional" roles raising children and keeping the home; for most, the decision to migrate had not exactly been their own, rather arranged marriages between families had more or less made the decision for them, and at least 10% had come to France against their own will. For those who worked motivations were varied; for some it was in order to boost the family income, for others as a means to meet other people, especially the locals. Perhaps unsurprisingly, younger women, educated women and people born in France were much keener to work, seeing it as desirable and normal while older and less educated women viewed the workplace as a male realm and felt that women should remain in the home and nurture children. In some cases they had wanted to work but their husbands were opposed to them doing so. Religion was a variable which strongly influenced Indian women's attitude to work: Hindus were by far the most enthusiastic to take part in the labour market, whereas Roman Catholics then Muslims were less so (there were no Sikhs in her French sample).

QUIEN (2007) paints a relatively similar picture to TISON. On her study of Tamil women at work in Paris she also found that women mainly came for family reunification and that different religions influenced the chance a woman would work. Few Indian women had work experience before coming to France even if highly educated and on coming to France their education was ignored when looking for jobs. The choice to hunt for work was normally organised as a collective strategy to boost income for the family rather than that of the individual woman. While in India, these mainly middle class women would be expected to find a job equal to their caste status, in France any job was accepted. Usually the employment pathway would begin with small precarious jobs as cleaners or in industry, which the women often found degrading, given their previous middle class status. They might "progress" into more secure work in supermarkets which was often seen as more appealing due to the security and relative ease of the jobs. Others found intermittent work "on the side", sewing saris, cutting hair etc. for women in the community, while others would help their husbands if he had set up a business or shop. Some had found skilled work as translators into English and Indian languages. QUIEN's study is at odds with TISON's on certain accounts: QUIEN suggests these women largely dislike their work, whereas in TISON's study the jobs were enjoyed. Also, QUIEN found that almost all the women in her study found work through Indian contacts, whereas in TISON's study most found work through independent work solicitations. Besides these two differences their conclusions largely mirror each other.

When considering the level of education of France's Indian population I have been unable to find any statistical data on their participation rates due to the fact that education does not seem to be recorded in immigration statistics, or is not available to the public. Secondly, once again, because for all those born in France there is no statistical data on them as a group no data exists. Certain assumptions can be made with a degree of security, however. As already noted, many of the "second generation" Gujaratis now work in professional jobs, as doctors, accountants etc., which implies they will have participated in higher education up to university level. Similarly, many of the Pondicherrians came to France on scholarships for higher education, before staying on to find a job, so we may

assume a high level of education among many Pondicherrians. Recently there has been a considerable amount of student migration where Indians from outside of France's old colonies, often with little prior knowledge of French, have studied some sort of diploma or degree in France, often opting for courses taught in English. Exact numbers, let alone information about what they studied are unavailable (although my survey included in this report gives some indication).

According to TISON's study it has become increasingly normal for second generation women to go to university in France, especially if they are from a Hindu or Roman Catholic family, less so for the Muslims where women are expected to marry younger. While children are growing up it is generally the mother's role to support their education – fathers take little part in this. It is mothers who speak to teachers at school, help with homework and so on. Meanwhile girls (especially in non-Muslim families) are encouraged to work as much at school as boys and they are also given extra tasks in the home such as cleaning and cooking.

With regards to linguistic integration, Indians with different origins will have had quite different experiences. French was the language of education and public life in France's former colonies, so the Pondicherrians are likely to have spoken the language very well if not fluently on arriving in France. Similarly, France's "twice migrants", from places like Vietnam, Madagascar and Mauritius will also have had a good grasp of French. In France these migrants continue to speak their mother tongues at home (mainly Tamil but also Gujarati for some of the twice migrants), with the concern that they should pass it onto their children. They typically left it to the school to teach their children French, and so the second generation are largely bilingual too (NIKLAS 2006; LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007). For other groups, such as the Gujaratis, the Punjabis and more recent high skilled workers who have origins all over India, language has been more of a problem. Typically Gujaratis and Punjabis have spoken little or no French on arrival and during their first years in France lived and worked with people from their group or with other South Asians with whom they might communicate in Hindi, Urdu or English for example. Men, particularly, will have been forced to learn at least a certain level of French in the workplace, while women who do not work probably speak very little. The second generation however will likely be fluent in French and South Asian languages.

Women's experience of migration has already briefly been touched on in this report. It has been shown that the vast majority of women have migrated to France for family reunification; brought over to join a husband, father or male relative. Marriage patterns will be treated below, but often women back in India have had arranged marriages with Indian men born in France then been brought over. Most Indian women do not seem to have migrated to France independently, except for female students. Since female migration has been mainly through family reunification, waves have responded to the French legal context; in periods where labour migration has been curtailed, men had to make the choice of whether to return to India with the risk of not being allowed back to France or to bring their wives over to settle.

TISON (2008) and QUIEN (2007) provide the most in depth studies of Indian women in France, although their studies only focus on Tamil speakers from southern India. Their research suggests that the choice of migration is often out of their control – whether for marriage or for family reunification - as a result many end up feeling lonely and alienated in France. Not many Indian women in France work outside the home thus have relatively little contact with French people or wider society. The fact that they do not work leaves them fully dependent on their husbands so that besides making day to day choices with regards to clothes and food etc., many women have almost no economic independence and even when they do work their wages are rarely for their own consumption but subsumed to the family. The choice to settle in France seems to have been largely influenced by children; while at first very few wished to remain in France long term, they recognised that education and social security was better in France than in India and saw better opportunities there for the social advancement of their children. There is internal diversity with regards to gender equality among Indians in France along lines of religion, age and education. As a general rule, younger Hindu women seemed to have relatively equal gender roles with men: they were more likely (and they themselves expected to) work

and study, if the woman gave birth to a girl this was seen as equally positive as a male baby and the men shared more in household tasks. Muslim and Roman Catholic women appear to work less and perform more "traditional roles" in contrast. According to TISON and QUIEN the practice of giving a dowry with the wife seems to have largely been dropped by Indians in the French diaspora, while THNEY-DUVOY (2007) indicates that it still occurs quite regularly. It may well be that more conservative families or certain religious groups practice it more than others, and that younger generations perhaps do so less than their parents and grandparents.

Indian women seem to integrate relatively little, generally speaking, into French society, although this increases the younger they are and for how many generations the family has lived in France. Generally speaking they follow both French and Indian media, watching French television for news and information, preferring their own languages for reading, music, films and other sorts of entertainment. Although they do have contact with French people, most Indian women choose to frequent their compatriots, preferring to stay with people of "their group", although Roman Catholics seem to be most likely to have friends with people of other ethnic groups. Older women, perhaps unsurprisingly, retain Indian culture more, preferring to wear saris and eat Indian food on a daily basis, whereas younger women adopt Western clothing apart from during festivals and cook a mixture of Indian and Western food. It appears that the main challenges Indian women face in France are related to navigating cultural differences, where the disparities between Indian and French roles and expectations make it hard participate fully in the host society, yet also leave them unable to fully perform duties they would have if they had stayed in India.

When considering the factor of caste in Indian migration to France, it should be remembered that this is a form of inherited social stratification whereby members of different groups are assigned particular roles in the social structure. Caste is something that can change and the system is flexible; a caste group can improve its position during the course of a generation. The caste hierarchy, while always containing certain structural elements, varies enormously throughout the subcontinent meaning that the social standing and official classification of a caste group varies between and within states. Caste has been integrated into practically all of the religions of South Asia, while being originally a mainly Hindu construction which defines the social order through spiritually pre-determined and immutable positions. Due to its close attachment to the South Asian context, caste does not appear to travel well; once outside the logic of the system caste groups appear to lose their structuring power when South Asians have migrated to industrial capitalist societies (such as the USA), or places with strict racial hierarchies (such as colonial British Trinidad). Furthermore, since it is only members of certain castes who move to a new environment, the *raison d'être* of a caste group - to be below or above other groups - is no longer possible. Nonetheless in the diaspora, Indians, especially where there is a large population, have maintained some aspects of this system, especially as a form of social distinction but its functional role is largely diminished (DUMONT 1977; JAYARAM 2006). The literature on the Indian diaspora in France mainly speaks to the same phenomenon; while older Indians may be aware of their caste membership, little importance is accorded to this membership, and for the second generation caste appears to be largely forgotten; questions around contact between different castes or sharing food are probably ignored and eventually forgotten. When choosing a marriage partner the overall picture is that caste does not matter if the marriage partner was born in France, however, if they are being brought over from India caste is considered more important. Presumably this is particularly the case with more conservative families (THINEY-DUVOY 2007; LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007).

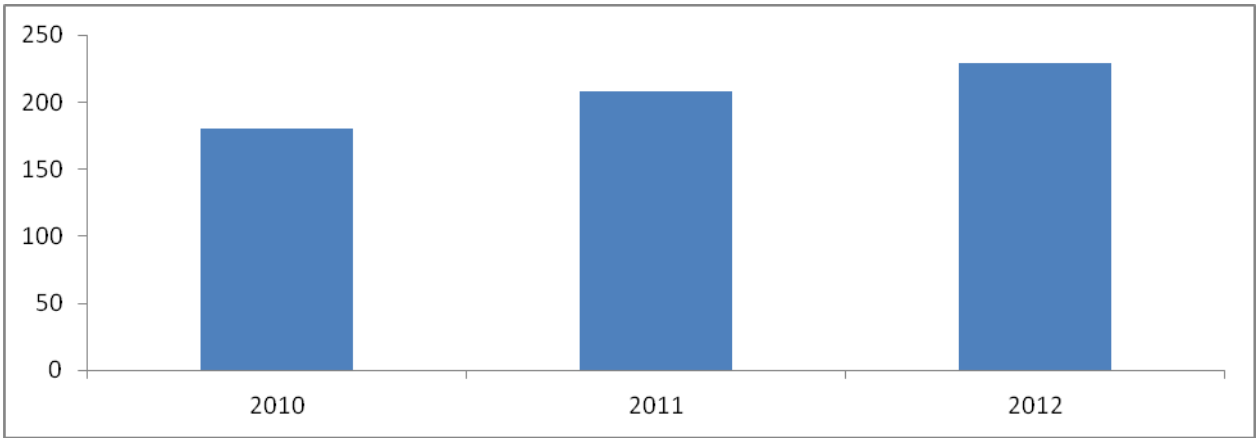
Because Indians in France have such diverse origins within India, it seems highly unlikely that there exists caste discrimination between, say, a Punjabi Sikh Brahmin caste and Tamil Hindu Vaishyas, since they would be unlikely to really recognise differences between each other without asking directly. Among the Sikhs in France there are members of Jats, Ravidasis, Lohana castes, although Jats are the most numerous (MOLINER 2007; SAHA 2009). Among Muslims there is evidence of Sayyids, Cheikhs, Pattans and Adjlafs (TISON 2008). Indian Roman Catholics may be

considered not to belong to any caste, although their ancestors may have converted to this religion to escape low caste or untouchable positions. I have been unable to find a complete list of the castes existing in France besides these examples, and in particular have no information about Hindu caste groups in France.

It appears that migration through caste networks is most important for Sikhs. Not only do members of the same caste group help one another to migrate to France, find jobs and housing, Sikhs castes have also received financial support from caste groups based in the UK. The importance of caste based migration with Sikhs should not be over stressed, however. There is much evidence that Sikhs are often employed by and/or employ members of different South Asian groups, particularly Muslim Pakistanis, thus Sikh migration is not solely caste based. For other migrant groups there is relatively little information on caste and migration, so definite conclusions cannot be drawn although TISON (2008) found that for women, at least, caste was not important when it came to finding a job. Migration through marriage with someone of the same caste group appears to happen with most Indian migrants to France. However, for most migrants caste group membership does not seem to be the principal facilitator for migration; Pondicherrians seem mainly to have been students coming alone or because they were employed in French government service, while Gujaratis and some twice migrants moved more through business networks or as “economic refugees”. Some Indians and twice migrants have been fleeing war or chaos, and more recently some expatriates are moved to France by international corporations or come to study. Caste-based migration plays a small part in Indian migration but cannot be considered a principal driver.

The study of remittances is a notoriously difficult science for a variety of reasons. When sending money internationally, banks in most countries need not declare how much has been sent unless it is above a certain threshold, typically a few thousand dollars, meaning that all amounts below that are ignored. Secondly no valuable goods sent home are ever registered, and there are many “undercover” methods of sending money. The following graph using World Bank estimates demonstrates remittances sent from France to India in millions of dollars over the last three years:

Graph 4. Estimate remittances France-India, millions US$



Source: WORLD BANK 2013

The true figures could of course be far higher. It is interesting to note that remittances have been increasing recently (earlier data was unavailable) from $180million in 2010 to $229million two years later (although this boost may be as much to do with more efficient measurement as increased sending). To my knowledge there have been no studies on the destination of French remittances to India. We might reasonably presume that the destinations which have sent the most migrants will also receive the most remittances, in which case Tamil Nadu, and in particular the areas around Pondicherry and Karaikal may well receive the highest remittances from France. The Punjab will probably be the second largest Indian destination and within this region rural areas such as Doaba

(MOLINER 2007). Gujarat is likely to be another receiving area or remittances, and there is also likely to be smaller remittances to destinations all over India from skilled workers and other smaller groups. There may also be large sums of money sent to Mauritius and Madagascar by PIOs.

The marriage patterns of Indians in France are influenced by a number of variables such as gender, religion, class and caste and time spent in France. Across the board, the first generation of female migrants practically all came to France under conditions of family reunification. Generally speaking, the second generation born in France have by and large married people from within their community, although into the third generation marriage with other groups becomes increasingly common. Perhaps unsurprisingly, younger people who have been raised in France prefer the Western model of "love marriages"; they wish to choose their own partner, while the attitude of the older generation is more traditional, seeing arranged marriages as more suitable. It is unknown what proportion of marriages in the second and third generation are arranged and what proportion is chosen. In the case of the arranged marriages, it appears that in general men marry women who are brought over especially from India – according to the tradition of brides joining their husband's houses. French-Indian girls, on the other hand, seem more likely to have an arranged marriage locally, to someone already living in France. There are contradictions in the reading presented here with regards to dowries – some authors (TISON 2008) state that the practice is extinct in France, while others (THINEY-DUVOY 2007) indicate that it still pays a very important role. This practice probably varies depending upon caste, religion and place of origin. Interestingly, on the occasions that a girl born in France marries an Indian man, her family need not pay a dowry – her French citizenship is regarded as sufficient as it will permit the husband to live and work in the West. The beliefs of different religious groups interplay here as well, where Roman Catholics are most likely to have "love marriages" whereas conservative Muslims and Sikhs value preparing their daughters for a good marriage in order to strengthen links between families rather than a career (THINEY-DUVOY 2007; TISON 2008; QUIEN 2007).

Indians in France maintain contact with family at home through the usual methods; email, telephone and so on. Paris' Indian neighbourhood allows the diaspora there to continue to feel in contact with home through the distribution of Indian newspapers, media and films. The rise of the internet and other technology has also facilitated contact with home; it is possible to read news from home and even watch films and television. LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU (2007) studied the experiences of Pondicherrians in France and found that when they did return to India to visit, especially after having lived abroad for decades, they were made to feel as outsiders; they expressed the feeling of never quite being French, yet could not feel Indian on returning home.

Beyond personal and emotional contact I have only found limited evidence of links between the Indian diaspora in France and organisations at home. It is possible that some Sikhs based in France have supported the independent Khalistan movement through remittances, although most coordination for this goes through the larger diasporas in the UK and the US (BARUAH 2013). Occasionally there have been visits of Indian spiritual leaders (CORDIER 2010), while pilgrimages have also been organised by some Indians in France, for instance the Roman Catholics organise an annual pilgrimage to visit the shrine to the Virgin of Velankanni in Tamil Nadu. Perhaps the most organised ties between the French Indian diaspora and home is through business. Organisations such as the Euro-India Economic Business Group or the Indian Professionals Association facilitate business contact between Indian business people at home and abroad (MOLINER 2007; TISON 2008; SERVAN-SCHREIBER & VUDDAMALAY 2007).

Legal Framework

Like many industrialised nations, France's migration policy history has been closely linked to economic needs. Generally speaking, in times of economic boom or national reconstruction (following wars) it has actively encouraged immigration, first from European neighbours, later from former colonies. Such was the case following WWI and WWII. However, unsurprisingly during times of

economic decline migrants have been encouraged to return home and their legal situation becomes far less comfortable, such was the case during the 1930s economic crisis, the downturn following the oil crises in the 1970s and after the 2008 "credit crunch". Before 1945 there was never a politically organised migration policy, yet after WWII it was estimated that 1.5million foreign workers would need to be drafted in to rebuild France's economy post-War that initially came from Spain and Italy. As the economic boom continued more workers were needed and France saw mass male-led immigration from former colonies in Northern then Sub-Saharan Africa. Following the oil crises and the resultant economic downturn France effectively halted labour immigration in 1974, which unexpectedly led to mass female-led migration of women and families joining fathers who were working in France (previously labourers performed circular migrations, coming to France for shorter periods, saving money, then returning and coming back to earn more). By the 1980s France had a serious problem with undocumented migrants and the socialist government organised mass regularisations, which significantly here, allowed Punjabi Sikhs who had come to France in this decade to gain a secure foothold in the country. Into the 1990s, France began receiving increasing numbers of asylum requests, and many thousands of people were given refugee status during this decade, as a result it became one of the primary forms of immigration to France during the 1990s. Meanwhile the creation and streamlining of common European migration policies, and most notably the Schengen Zone post-1997, led to an easing of internal migration within Europe, equalled by increasingly insurmountable barriers to those on the outside of this zone. An unexpected result of the Schengen zone has been that undocumented migrants based in France have travelled to countries such as Spain, Italy and Portugal during periods of mass regularisation to gain access to citizenship in these places and can claim legitimacy on return to France (MOLINER 2007; ORIV 2006).

Since the beginning of the 21st Century perhaps the most notable trend in migration policy has been that rules and regulations have been changed and altered constantly. Generally speaking, the policy has been designed to make immigration harder as well as rendering access to French nationality a lengthier and more complicated process, yet at the same time recognising France's need for certain types of migrants to respond to the needs of the economy. In 2003 a law was introduced which abolished the right of people who had lived for ten years in France to gain citizenship, and introduced OQTF's (*obligation de quitter la territoire français:* obligation to leave French territory). OQTFs normally give (usually non-EU) migrants a thirty day period in which they must leave French territory, and usually return to the country of origin, and are given to various types of irregular migrants or asylum seekers who have had their cases rejected. The migrant is expected to use her own means to leave France, although many receive some help in leaving. If they fail to leave within thirty days, migrants are usually taken to detention centres and eventually deported on a chartered flight. The whole system has been criticised as being very inefficient and expensive, and as a political tool designed by governments who want to be seen as tough on immigration (MBODJE 2013).

Migration law was further hardened in 2006 with a new law which required people wishing to reunify their families in France to demonstrate their participation in French life and "republican credentials", and expected the family coming over to be able to show they were ready to integrate - they would need to pass language tests and know about French culture before arriving. Further, in 2007, a national office for immigration, integration, national identity and co-development was created, reinforcing the requirement of participation of immigrants, and pushing the notion of the migration-development nexus, where migrants are expected to participate in the development of their home country (MBODJE 2013; LADOCUMENTATIONFRANCAISE 2011).

Until the 1980s it was relatively easy for migrants to gain French nationality, but the last thirty years has seen increasingly tough requirements, especially for "irregular" migrants. It is possible to gain French nationality in two ways: attribution and acquisition. One can be attributed French nationality if at least one parent has French nationality, even if born outside French territory. Unusually, in the case of stateless persons where both parents are foreign nationals, but the individual is born on French soil, the child gains French nationality. Otherwise it is possible to acquire French

citizenship through birth and long term residence in France, through marriage with a French person or through naturalisation, where the individual must be aged over 18, has lived in France for more than five years and demonstrates their good character and integration into French society. For irregular migrants it is very hard to gain citizenship, they must ask for a *demande de séjour à titre excéptionnel*, a letter in which they justify their reasons for being regularised. These are very rare and are treated on the merit and particular reasons of each case.

Le Front National, France's extreme right who are very anti-immigration, has seen a popular rise in recent years, in tandem with an economic downturn. Certain parties on the centre right have partly played into popular sentiment and have also proposed increasingly draconian measures against immigrants over the last few years. However, since coming to power in 2011, François Hollande's Socialist government seem to be a softer touch on migrants, although the party is often criticised for a lack of action on many issues. There has been much talk of giving the right to vote to foreigners living on French soil and of a plan to reorganise and simplify access to the *carte de séjour* (residence permit) although there has been little concrete change (LE POINT.FR 2013).

How has migration policy history interplayed with Indian migration to France? For many Indian migrants, much of these legal changes have been irrelevant; the Pondicherrians and many of the twice migrants already had French citizenship, so for them and their children migration has been very simple, legally speaking. The biggest influence has been post 1974; due to the legal changes at this time female migration became one of the principal forms of immigration to France, leading to the arrival of many Indian women joining husbands and as already mentioned, regularisations were taken advantage of by Sikhs in the 1980s. More recently, the increasingly complex laws will have influenced Indian migrants like anyone else; the increased hassle of applying for one's *carte de séjour* leads to a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty, especially among more recent migrants. MBODJE (2013) has criticised this for essentially being anti-integration; when *cartes de séjour* where introduced in the 1980s the idea was to encourage integration by giving immigrants a sense of security, nowadays, with constant checks and the need to update it, migrants may feel quite the opposite.

As already mentioned, France's ever more complex migration laws make circular or return migration very difficult because those with irregular or temporary legal status may not be allowed to come back to France if they leave thus migrants have responded in a variety of ways. The principal method has been to gain French citizenship, thus allowing them to travel when they wish. Similarly, they have carried out family reunification in order to provide security for their relatives. Other, more mobile groups, especially Punjabi Sikhs have made advantage of regularisations in other European countries in order to gain a legal status and permit them to travel more easily. Making migration policy more complicated seems not to have stopped migration; in fact the French government still wishes to encourage certain forms of migration. Instead, these laws make life harder for migrants, often pushing them into an irregular status where they have less access to rights, making integration harder.

Media perceptions of the Indian community

The Indian community in France remains largely ignored and appears as little more than an occasional curiosity in the media. Like many nations with recent large immigrant populations, France has an ambivalent relation with its migrant communities, and the media representation of certain large groups, particularly North and West African immigrants, is often quite negative. Indians, however, being a relatively small group, remain largely unnoticed and on the rare occasions they receive media representation it tends to treat them either positively (if somewhat simplistically) or as a sort of curiosity. Indians are often confused with other migrants from South Asia, such as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans, and occasionally are presumed to be more or less the same. There are a number of Pakistani illegal immigrants in France with a somewhat negative representation as hustlers, and they are often presumed to be Indian. Meanwhile, turban wearing Sikhs have been keen to

differentiate themselves from Muslims in press coverage, a religious group they are often mistaken for (MOLINER 2007).

According to WEIBEL (2007), the French generally know little about India, apart from some knowledge of its food, religion and cinema. In general the country is seen as exotic, spiritual and unthreatening. It also is often understood as a place of great wealth contrasted with great poverty and a land which receives numerous natural disasters, while certain historical figures, particularly Gandhi, continue to be seen as great spiritual leaders. There is a gradually increasing interest in certain Indian religions, particularly Buddhism, as well as other parts of Indian culture such as dance, yoga and arts and music. THINEY-DUVOY (2007) indicates the people most likely to consume these Indian cultural representations in France are middle class and female.

In order to test whether it was true that India received little representation in the French media I carried out a very simple content analysis of the websites of six French newspapers, of which four were prominent national dailies with varying political stances (*Le Monde, Le Figaro, L'Express, La Croix*) and two were regional dailies (*Nice Matin* and *Le Parisien*). I entered the search terms "*Inde"* and "*Indien*" into the search bars of each website and then made comparative notes on the types of articles which came up following this search. For the national papers I found there were many more responses to my searches, thus counted the articles that had appeared over the previous two months (10^{th} May - 10^{th} July 2013), and for the regional newspapers counted all the articles that responded to my search over the last twelve months.

In response to my search it appears that regional papers are more likely to have articles on the Indian community in France (although my time period was bigger for these newspapers than the nationals); and most of the articles were about the celebration of festivals by Indian migrants. *Nice Matin* covered the celebration of Diwali by Indians in Sophia-Antipolis and *Le Parisien* had a number of articles on Ganesh Festival, which takes places each year in the neighbourhood of La Chappelle in Paris (it is mainly organised by Sri Lankans, although South Indians also participate). *Nice* Matin also had articles on Bollywood stars at the Cannes Film Festival. The national newspapers allocated no articles on Indians living in France per se; rather they recorded the visits of certain Indians to the country, particularly ministers as well as film stars and directors.

Le Monde (centre-left) is the newspaper which carried the most articles that responded to my search terms, and had the greatest variety of topics about India as a country. There were no articles on Indian migrants living in France, except one article about the publication of a study on female artists who had lived in Paris during the 20^{th} century, which spoke about Indians and other foreign women who had worked there. Articles in *Le Monde* over the previous two months about India treated film directors, human and natural disasters (monsoon flooding), one or two articles about life and culture in India and many articles on India's economy and its international relations (mainly in economic terms). *La Croix* is a very popular Roman Catholic daily. Perhaps unsurprisingly it covered events related to religion, including the suspected murder of a Roman Catholic in Bangalore, attacks on Buddhist monks as well as other articles on floods, a nationwide food aid program, the economy and business. *Le Figaro* (centre-right) carried numerous articles on India's international relations and business agreements, France's trade deals with India and articles about aid, health and human and natural disasters. The centre-right *L'Express* had relatively few articles on India, but when it did focussed less on disasters and international relations and more on Indian current affairs such as articles about social-entrepreneurs, a homosexual kiss in a Bollywood movie, Indian medicine and Maoist rebels. It appears then, that generally speaking, India continues to receive relatively little attention in the French press, although when it does it seems to be relatively friendly – India is seen as basically unthreatening and as an increasingly successful economic giant – or about disasters and some current affairs.

While the French media has relatively little focus on India, Indian culture is still consumed and expressed in a variety of ways on France. According to THINEY-DUVOY (2007) France is, after the UK, the biggest European consumer of Indian/Indian diaspora literature, which indicates a certain

interest and understanding of life in India among French people. There is a niche interest in Indian cinema, while *One Dollar Curry* (Vijay Singh, 2004), a film about an Indian immigrant in Paris achieved a certain success on release. In terms of music, DJ Ganesh, a Parisian of Indian origin is perhaps France's most prominent (if only) crossover Indian musician, who creates a fusion of Indian and European styles of dance music and has had relative international success. For those who look for a more specialist approach to India and Indian culture certain nationally distributed journals such as *Le Revue de l'Inde* and *Indes* treat various aspects of Indian culture, tourism, travel and news.

Religious centres and cultural associations

The diversity of religions found in India is reflected to a degree in the diaspora present in France, where there are Hindus, Muslims (mainly Sunnis), Sikhs, Roman Catholic Christians as well as a handful of Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrans and Parsis. While Roman Catholics and Muslims have largely found their spiritual needs catered for in pre-established Mosques and Churches all around France, other groups have had to construct their own places of worship. Nonetheless, there has been a desire to practice the faith following the traditions and in the style of the place of origin. While most Roman Catholics attend a weekly mass at a local French church, their needs have been taken into account by the church at the national level. According to L'AUMONERIE CATHOLIQUE TAMOULE DE FRANCE (2009) Tamil Roman Catholics communities all around France have been meeting and organising religious ceremonies with Tamil priests fairly irregularly since at least the 1970s. However, since 1999 there has been a specially created chaplaincy in Belleville, Paris, where Parisian Tamils can come together and where Roman Catholic Indians from further afield come on occasion throughout the year. It is unclear whether Indian Muslims have established separate Mosques for themselves or if they simply attend the closest (Sunni) Mosque to their homes. There does appear to be at least one association which might provide support to Indian Muslims: *L'Association Islamique des français de l'Inde.* Due to the highest population of Indians in and around Paris there are of course the highest numbers of Hindu *Mandirs* and Sikh *Gurdwaras* there. According to INDEAPARIS (2013), there are four Hindu temples in France, two in Paris and its suburbs, one near Lyon and another near Rouen; it seems that the Hindu temples are particularly associated with Sri Lankans due to the high number of Sri Lankan Tamils in France. With regards to Sikh Gurdwaras there are four and they are all found in Paris and its suburbs. For communities where there are no religious centres nearby, religion is practiced in the home while for special ceremonies rooms will be hired and spiritual leaders invited down from Paris to minister over them (WEIBEL 2007; THINEY-DUVOY 2007; TISON 2008).

Besides religious centres, there are a variety of associations established by Indians in France that focus on different aspects of Indian culture and perform different roles. Governing these diverse associations is FAFI (*federation des associations franco-indiens*), established in 1996, which appears to serve as a mouthpiece for the general interests of Indian associations. At present it is running a petition to support the creation of an Indian cultural centre as presently none exist in France.

Associations can be seen as falling under three categories: those which maintain culture and links between members of the Indian community, those which aim to share culture with the wider French population and those organised by French enthusiasts of Indian culture. The first group focus on activities such as maintaining language (speaking but also reading and writing for children) and providing a space for people of a certain origin to come together and create a "home from home". The second group seem to be largest and are active in sharing Indian culture with French people as well as encouraging younger and second generation Indians to maintain an interest in India. They proliferate a wide variety of activities including cookery lessons, yoga classes, dance and artistic events and musical repetitions. Meanwhile a small number of "indophile" associations established by French people with an interest in India exist that tend to invite Indian artists or specialists established in France to give talks (INDIAN NIC 2000).

There have, over the years, been a variety of initiatives and activities aimed at sharing Indian culture with the French, run by different groups. In 1985, the socialist president François Mitterand organised a Year of India in France, which saw many artistic, musical and other events take place throughout the country while from November 1996 to February 1997 there was an Indian film festival in Paris named "Indomania". Ganesh Festival is probably the best known Indian cultural display in France, established in the mid-1990s, it takes place on the last weekend of August each year and attracts many members of the Indian community in France and abroad, as well as people from other communities (INDIAN NIC 2000).

Socio-cultural integration of the Indian population

TISON (2008) summarises the diverse literature on integration and explains the problems a migrant might face on arrival in a new country with regards to integrating. During the socialisation process, children learn an enormous quantity of behaviours, representations and social roles, often closely linked to a particular environment. Once an individual migrates, however, much of their initial socialisation can be undermined – they can go from having a fixed and respectable role at home, to having a degrading and insecure position on the outskirts of the new society where their values and position are rejected or devalued. This can often lead to painful emotional experiences for migrants; in order to feel comfortable in one's identity the individual needs to avoid a feeling of contradiction – while all humans carry out different roles in different situations (worker at work, sportsperson on the field, daughter at home), the emotional damage can arise when different identities clash, or when the individual feels her identity has changed beyond recognition. In order to respond to this experience of contradiction, migrants need to adapt. This is done in a variety of ways – one can completely reject the previous culture and all links with it – an unusual choice due to the psychological strain this would put the individual under. At the other extreme the individual might attempt to completely "recreate" home while abroad and reject the host society completely. More commonly however individuals manage a balance between the two, separating their roles in different places and gradually incorporating aspects of both cultures.

Due to the great complexity evolved in integration (meaning here a successful adaptation), a variety of measures are proposed which are generally considered good indicators of this phenomenon, including language skills, political participation, labour market participation and union membership. Furthermore, harder to measure indicators such as friendships, ways of spending free time, emotional ties, holiday destinations and things like dress and food consumption can also be considered indicators of how well adapted a migrant/migrant population is. Countries rarely produce national statistics which measure most of these factors, and this is particularly true in France. In order to judge the socio-cultural integration of Indians in France therefore, it will be necessary to make use of various qualitative and small scale quantitative studies. Due to the great diversity of groups with Indian origin, and furthermore the internal diversity within each group (men/women, generations, class and caste and religion) what follows will be but a brief summary which cannot pretend to be comprehensive of the real complexity of each group. If there is anything all the groups have in common it is that political integration appears to be very limited with Indian *migrants* in France (the second generation is impossible to know about); although all Indians who have attained French citizenship may vote, there are currently (to my knowledge) no mayors or politicians in France with Indian origins.

The Pondicherrians and migrants from former French colonies can be seen as perhaps the most integrated Indians in France. They have as a group resided longest there, and many members of this group were employed in French government service and live all around the country. Due to the colonial link, most would have been fluent, or had a good level in French before arriving in the country and thus would have managed to get by relatively easily with the locals and the administration. Furthermore, many of the first migrants came before 1974 when France introduced a more hostile approach to immigration, thus it was relatively easy to settle during this period. While many of the first generation never feel fully French, their children are more likely to do so. The second

generation largely continued to practice Indian (Tamil) culture at home, speaking Tamil with their family, while learning French outside the home. In general the second generation chose to marry other Pondicherrians, either people brought over or those in the diaspora in France, although their attitudes towards choice in the marriage and equality in the relationship are reported to be different to their parents. By the third generation, Pondicherrians were often marrying with French people/those from other ethnicities. Pondicherrians are keen to continue practicing aspects of Indian culture in the home, cooking Tamil food, practicing religion and especially for older women, wearing saris and traditional clothing, especially during festivals although they have gradually incorporated French food and culture into the home. Little is known about what kind of education and labour market participation the second generation have. Within this group there are different religions, and it appears that Roman Catholics and Muslims are more likely to spend time with people from different ethnic groups due to building relationships with people through religious communities (TISON 2008; NIKLAS 2006; LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU 2007).

Twice Migrants from Madagascar and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean make another important migrant group in France. Many already had French nationality of gained it easily, and spoke French well before arrival in the 1970s. There were certain twice migrants who already had strong business connections in France and enjoyed a comfortable position on migration, while the majority ended up working in low paid, low skilled jobs, before later setting up their own businesses (as opposed to integrating into French companies). The second generation appear to be very well integrated, participating in higher education and getting high skilled professional jobs, mainly in the Paris area. Many of these twice migrants are Muslim and do not fully feel at home with secular French culture and society, and identify with transnational social networks rather than French culture, although the second generation presumably feel more integrated (LACHAIER 2007;).

There is a small and little studied Gujarati community in Paris who appear not to associate much with other Indian immigrants. They would have spoken little French on arrival in the country, although most have been living in Paris for over twenty years so will likely speak French to a good level by now. The Gujaratis cannot be said to have integrated a great deal into the French labour market as such; the vast majority are small business owners having set themselves up in various niches either in high value goods, are at small convenience stores and fast food outlets around Paris. Often their wives help in the running of these businesses. Little is known about the integration of their children in French society (THINEY-DUVOY 2007; TISON 2008).

Punjabis, and particularly Sikhs are established in certain Parisian neighbourhoods and in particular Seine-Saint-Denis, an area which is known for its high immigration population from Southern Europe, North and Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. From the little information available it appears that Sikhs have often come to France as illegal migrants and worked in low skilled jobs and within ethnic niches, and they also have relatively low levels of linguistic integration, especially in the first generation. They have continued to practice their culture and religion and celebrate Sikh festivals with public processions in the street. Sikhs protested publicly against France's 2004 law against the wearing of religious symbols in public places – those who wear Sikh turbans felt discriminated against and that their human rights were violated; the law led to some expulsions from Lycées by young people who refused to comply with the law. Sikhs have received support from other members of the faith around the world in fighting the law in at the national, European and international level, and the United Nations has criticised the secularisation laws as infringing on Human Rights. India has often criticised France for this law and has brought it up regularly with different French presidents. Sikhs in France, while continuing to fight the law have also responded by setting up private religious schools where expression of religion and wearing of turbans is permitted (NEIYYAR 2012; KIRBY 2007; PARASHAR 2013). Due to their often irregular status (at least to begin with) which mean they had to find work outside of the regular labour market, and because of perceived prejudice from the system it may be the case that first generation Sikhs do not feel very integrated into French society. However

the second generation will speak French fluently and have lived all their lives in France and therefore have had very different experiences. (MOLINER 2007).

Socio-cultural integration is notoriously hard to measure and when treating such a diverse population, such generalisations as provided here are bound to have many limits and exceptions. The aim has been to create a very general portrait of Indian integration in France however. The socio-cultural integration of high-skilled Indians and students will be treated in the section which follows as there is no other available data available on this group.

Study – a survey on Indian high skilled/knowledge workers and students in France

Due principally to the small size of the population in France there are relatively few studies on Indians in this country. While most of the more established communities have received at least some attention in academic research, to my knowledge there have been no studies on Indian expatriates (meaning high skilled/knowledge workers either sent by their company in the country of origin, or employed while in France to carry out high skilled/professional jobs after their studies) or students. According to THINEY-DUVOY (2007) this is a relatively new type of Indian migrant in France, so it is perhaps unsurprising that little is known about them. In order to learn about this migrant group I decided to carry out a short survey to explore their reasons for being in France and to find out about their experiences while there.

The literature on high skilled migration from India has developed over the decades as a response to changing circumstances. The discourse about the danger of a “brain drain” of doctors and engineers from India was later countered with discussions of “brain circulation” or a “brain bank” which supposed that the international experience of highly skilled migrants and their exposure to developments in destination countries would mean that they would be able to apply their newly acquired human capital on return to India, as well as encourage the facilitation of foreign investment and trade (KHADRIA 2001).

More recent studies on “knowledge workers” have explored the reasons why Transnational Corporations (TNCs) move their workers from less developed to more developed countries. The practice of outsourcing of certain tasks to third countries is a common phenomenon – in order to drive down labour costs, certain jobs are shifted out to countries with a well trained work force, but where wages are comparatively lower – India being a case in point. However, many businesses in (particularly) Western countries are also net importers of knowledge workers. A variety of reasons have been suggested to explain this although in particular authors argue that there is a lack of suitably skilled workers in the local labour market, forcing corporations who wish to remain in these markets and close to their clients to import workers. Governments, concerned that TNCs might simply move abroad where labour is cheaper have also played a role in the encouragement of the immigration of high-skilled workers, particularly the USA, Canada, Australia and the UK, although France and some other European countries have begun to follow suit. Governments have begun facilitating the immigration of high skilled workers, with varying degrees of success, in order to remain competitive (MILLAR & SALT 2007). Going further, BURGER & TOUBOURG (2013) explore why TNCs might decide to bring ITC workers from India to work in their Dutch offices. They propose a variety of explanations, but suggest that an important driver here is that TNCs like to move their workers around in order to improve their knowledge of the company and the efficiency of their work. It was found that while TNCs had outsourced work to India, they found it effective to bring some Indian staff to the Netherlands where they could gain direct experience with their Dutch colleagues and clients, meaning on return to India they would be better able to perform their roles and understand the needs of the Dutch market.

France has begun to recognise the important possibilities of encouraging contacts with India especially in relation to trade. In order to do so the French government has recently proposed plans to increase numbers of Indians students in France and improve their ease of access to jobs post-studies

there (BEDI 2013). The long term effects of these plans are yet to be seen, but they indicate that France wishes to encourage certain types of skilled migration from India, in particular in the fields of science and research. Given the potential increase in the coming years of this sort of migration to France, it is therefore interesting to find out about the experiences of the "pathfinders" - the Indian expatriates and students who came before the recent interest in encouraging them to come.

The study – methodology

Following my reading on Indian expatriates I developed a number of questions I hoped to explore in relation to the population in France. I was put in touch with some Indians living in the Nice area and carried out an exploratory interview that lasted over an hour with one professional which helped me to fine tune my questions. I then developed a survey with the information from this interview using an online survey design tool, and posted a link to the survey on various Facebook pages created for Indians living in France. I designed the survey to explore a variety of considerations – I wanted to understand the motivations of the move to France, but also the experiences of life while there.

I opted for the survey as a data collection method for a number of reasons. First of all, I hoped to gather information from Indians living all around France in order to have a very wide sample meaning that most qualitative methods were inappropriate. The interest of having such a wide sample was due to the exploratory nature of my study – I aimed to find out about the general experiences of Indians, so cast the net as wide as possible rather than focussing on one group in a specific place.

There were practical factors too – the online survey was very cheap and flexible – it permitted respondents to fill it in when they wanted to and allowed for large amounts of information to be collected very rapidly. In total I had 106 responses to my survey in one weekend, although in the end only sixty one respondents completely filled out the survey. This was a very rapid method which allowed a large amount of information to be gathered very quickly. Furthermore, because of the nature of my target population, an online survey was almost certainly the best-suited method of collecting data. I had no close contacts within this population, thus posting a link on Facebook pages seemed by far the simplest way to reach them (as opposed to sending a physical copy of the survey by post or filling in surveys face to face).

Limits of the method

When choosing to use the survey method the researcher accepts that there will be certain limits to the data produced. It is usually impossible to ask "why" a respondent ticks a certain box, meaning conclusions must be inferred and richer more explanatory data is missed. Furthermore, the researcher must pose a set of questions to a large audience often meaning the questions are very general and can miss the concerns and experiences of many respondents. Surveys are also notoriously hard to design and their structure and the wording of questions can strongly influence the kinds of responses which are returned. Because my survey was completely anonymous and because the respondents were self-selecting (I solicited most replies on Facebook pages for Indians in France) there are also limits to the representativeness and reliability of my data. Nonetheless, as already stated, this survey was designed to explore some of the general experiences of Indian expatriates in France rather than collect specific socio-economic or demographic information. Therefore, while it can never claim to be completely representative or reliable, the data collected here does succeed in revealing some of the main experiences and problems faced by Indian expatriates - the main aim of the survey.

Survey design

Following my reading and the in-depth exploratory interview I developed a set of questions designed at finding out about motivations for migration and about certain experiences of life in France with a focus on work, study, visas and residence permits and social life (the full survey can be found

in the Annexe). The choice of these topics was influenced by my reading and the interview, which highlighted the areas of concern, or problems faced by migrants in France. I was also curious to find out more about the motivations and strategies of the migrants themselves (as opposed to the interests of businesses of governments) as these are often ignored in the literature. The survey was relatively short and could normally be completed in between ten and fifteen minutes.

I used a survey design tool on the website Constantcontact.com after reviewing various online survey tools this site seemed to respond best to the needs of my type of survey and I found it straightforward to use. Once I had finished designing my survey and was happy with it I published it online on 11th July 2013 and then posted a link to it on a Facebook group called *Indians in Paris/France*. I also emailed the link to two contacts I had found through mutual friends and to one person I had already spoken with in the Facebook group, asking them all to forward the link to friends who they thought might be interested. I began receiving a good number of replies very quickly but after a couple of days posted a link to the survey on other Facebook groups for Indians living in large towns where there appeared to be a substantial number of Facebook group members: Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, Lyon and Toulouse. I set my target for fifty completed surveys, although in fact I received sixty one in four days before I took the survey offline. The survey had also been partially completed by another forty five people but I had to discount their responses. The online survey tool automatically treated some of the raw data, and allowed filtering options to compare within the results. For the rest I analysed and edited it myself with Excel.

Analysis of data: what does the survey say?

Before treating the main body of data, it is interesting to find out about the kinds of people who replied to the survey. Because there is unfortunately no information available on the Indian expatriate population in France in general it is impossible to know how representative my data is. As a consequence all the information here can only be considered as representative of the respondents to the survey – not of the whole population. Nonetheless, it would not be completely unscientific to presume that the characteristics and experiences of the population studied here will be similar to that of the total population, especially because of the relatively large size of the sample.

These considerations in mind it is now possible to create a demographic profile of the respondents. First of all, just under 25% of the sample was female (15 women and 46 men). The youngest respondent was born in 1993, the oldest in 1966, although the majority were born in the 1980s and the average year of birth was 1984 - around 29 years old in 2013 (average year of birth women: 1985 – average year of birth men: 1984). The sixty-one respondents came from all over India – indicating that this is quite a distinct type of migration to other Indians in France who usually partook in chain migrations from particular source regions. There are representatives from twenty three of India's twenty eight states and seven union territories. In particular, there were nine respondents from Karnataka, eight from Tamil Nadu and five each from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and New Delhi while many other states had one or two representatives. Interestingly, only two members of the sample were from an old French enclave – Pondicherry. Responses to my question on where expatriates were living in France were probably influenced by the Facebook group pages where I posted my survey. Perhaps unsurprisingly most respondents were found in the largest cities: seventeen in and around Paris, twelve in Bordeaux, nine in Marseille and a handful in Nice and nearby Antibes and others were dotted around other medium sized towns, while two or three were living in small towns (less than 50,000 population). I received no response from Indians in Lyon however, which is somewhat surprising as it is France's second largest city.

Most of my respondents (49 out of 61) had studied or were studying in France, and most of them had then gone on to either find a job or an internship which they were doing at present (42 people). Twelve had never studied in France – instead coming direct for work, while nineteen had never worked there – meaning that they were either studying at present or had been unable to find

employment/internships post studies. All respondents had completed or were currently in some form of higher education, most commonly a Master's degree (57%), although 34% were studying for or had completed a PhD while 8% had finished their studies at Bachelor's level. There were in fact a higher number of females who had studied in France (93% compared with 76% for men) and among them more were PhD students – just under half of the female respondents were educated at this level compared with 30% of males. While the number of women in the sample was smaller it appears that they had been marginally more successful in finding work in France than their male counterparts (73% of women were working/interning compared to 67% of men). Before jumping to conclusions it is notable that the women in my sample had lived in France proportionately longer than the men, meaning they would have had longer to find work and complete their studies. The average length of time spent in France for all people in my sample was between two and three years. My sample had also gained a certain amount of work experience in India prior to moving to France, on average they had worked for one to two years before moving. Two respondents had in fact returned to India relatively recently.

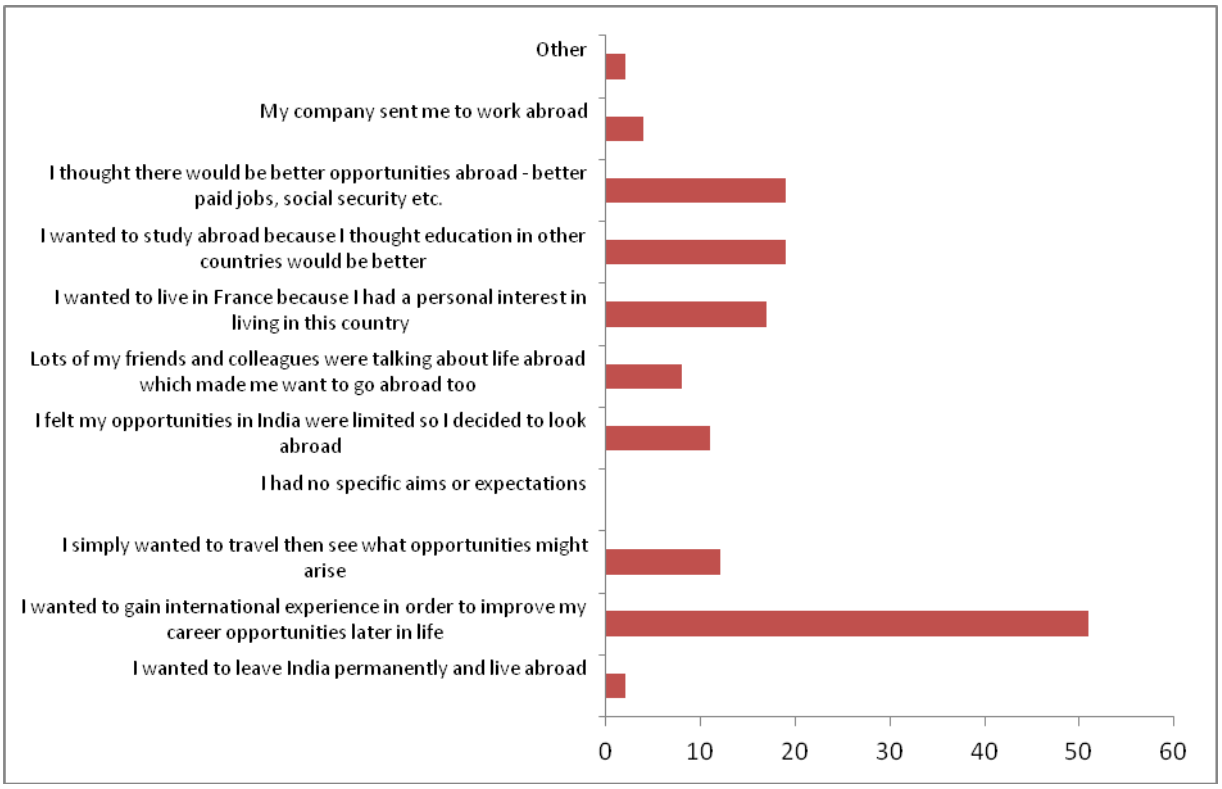
The survey was carried out in English because according to my interview respondent, most Indian expatriates in France would have been educated in this language and therefore speak it as well as or better than French. I asked the respondents to self-evaluate on their level of French before and after moving to France in order to gage how much they had improved. While self-evaluation of language is problematic due to modesty, misjudgement or misunderstandings of the measurements, most respondents reported a marked improvement in their language since coming to France. On average they rated themselves as having no French or as beginners prior to moving to France and had on the whole moved up to an intermediate level.

The average Indian expatriate in France (based on my survey) is male, twenty-nine years old, and comes from a state in southern India, perhaps Andhra Pradesh, where he had worked for a couple of years after his Bachelor's degree. He came to France about two and a half year ago to study at Master's level then found a job or internship in a large French city and has been there for a few months. In order to fill in this portrait with more detail the following section will look at the motivations of these Indian expatriates; what were their strategies when they chose to migrate? Why did they go to France? Has the experience in France altered their strategies?

Motivations for moving abroad

To begin with, it is interesting to find out why these expatriates decided to move abroad in the first place. What inspired the choice to move abroad, generally speaking, rather than stay where they were in India? Given that people often have numerous reasons to migrate, the following question allowed respondents to tick all the boxes which were applicable to them.

Graph 5. Reasons for moving abroad



In contrast to structural theories which posit that migration is carried out in response to the imperatives of the market, the above responses speak to theories around migrant agency. By far the most popular response (51 out of 61 respondents ticked it) is that the migration was carried out in order to gain international experience to improve career opportunities. The choice to move abroad can be seen as part of the strategy of individual migrants, aware of the pressures of a globalising world that recognise that international experience is highly valued by employers. As well as these long term strategies the migration was also driven by a desire for improved conditions and opportunities – migration for better education and opportunities were both very important reasons to leave India. Beyond these strategic reasons, the aspects of adventure, travel and curiosity are often overlooked in migration literature. Respondents in this survey also rated a desire to travel and a particular interest in France (presumably to do with culture and lifestyle) as reasons to move abroad, indicating that for some at least, migration might be carried out for more personal reasons.

Having chosen to move abroad, the next question is of course “why France”? Because of the size and diversity of the sample it is unsurprising that there is quite a diverse set of responses to this question. The following table indicates some of the most popular reasons for choosing France:

Table 1. Reasons for choosing France as a destination country

	No. Respondents	Response Ratio
My company sent me to France to complete a specific role	6	9.8%
I wanted to learn French	10	16.3%
I wanted to study in France at a specific school/university	24	39.3%
Because of the standard of living in this country	9	14.7%
Because education is relatively cheap in France	14	22.9%
I already spoke French so it would be easy to live in France	5	8.1%
I had friends and family in France who invited me over	3	4.9%
I saw France as a "stepping-stone" - once I had lived there it would be easier to move on to another European country	11	18.0%
I had a particular interest in French society/culture	12	19.6%
I heard that there was good social security in France	6	9.8%
Other	14	22.9%
Total	61	100%

Once again respondents indicated many different reasons for coming to France, although just over a third indicated that one reason was that they were drawn to a specific school or university there. Another way education was a draw in France was because of its cost - public education in French universities is much cheaper than in other Western countries that attract Indian students such as the USA, UK or Australia. There were fourteen “other” responses to this question of which ten were also related to specific educational opportunities. Education was not the only factor however, and aspects of France’s culture and social system also appealed to migrants. Interestingly, eleven respondents indicated that France was for them a stepping stone to migration elsewhere. Therefore, while education was probably the main reason Indians chose France, they had other motivations which informed their choices too.

Having lived, studied and worked in France for a while I then wanted to find out how life in France might have altered their initial plans. Would the realities in France have changed their stance – would they want to settle there? Return to India sooner? Go elsewhere? Except for one respondent who now wanted to return to India sooner than expected, a good proportion of respondents (28%) were now planning on staying in France longer than first planned and a handful now hoped to settle permanently/for more than ten years. For many (18%) their plans remained unchanged while many others were taking things day by day and not thinking too much about the future. Eleven (18%) respondents were now thinking of moving to a different country. The general pattern here indicates that most have settled in France fairly well; they are either planning on staying there longer or are making no sudden moves to leave.

Study and work

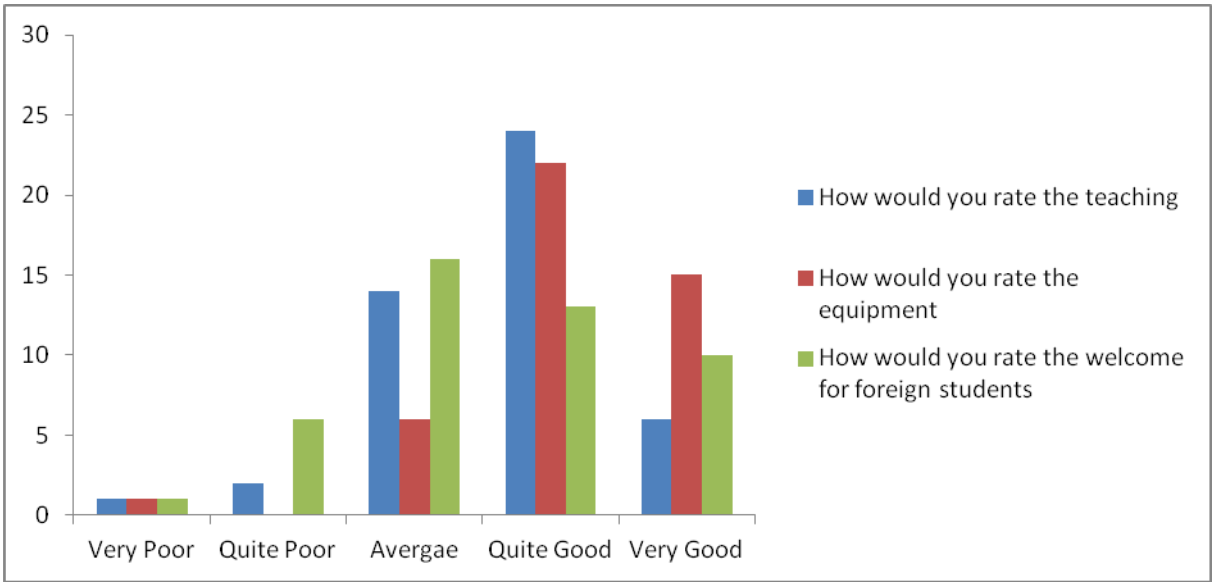
My data indicates that Indian expatriates have very high occupation rates in France and on the whole are successful in study and finding work. Of the respondents who had already finished studying in France or came without studying, almost all of them had then been able to find a job or internship post-studies in their field. Nobody reported any kind of long term unemployment, and no one was unemployed at the time of filling in the survey. Routes to employment were varied – some had worked as interns then were taken on permanently, others were still attending various internships while others had been lucky enough to get a job straight away.

Most respondents had studied/were studying at the time of filling out the survey. The majority attended courses instructed in English (43%), or a mixture of English and French where English was the main language (23%) and only 8% studied in completely French courses. This highlights the importance of providing courses in English if France wishes to attract more Indian students. As already stated, Master's degrees were the most popular diplomas attended by Indians and they went most often to private universities. France's private universities are fee-paying institutions, and many are world class. In order to compete on a global scale these schools often provide most or all of their courses in English, which explains the high number of Indians studying in English in this survey.

The courses studied were very much focussed on a limited number of fields. Of the forty-nine Indians who had studied in France, most had done so in the fields of Business, Engineering, Physical sciences, ICT and Biology/Life Sciences and one or two other specialisations. Arts, literature, social sciences, law and history courses (among others) were not attended by these expatriates.

How did the respondents rate their studies in France? The following graph illustrates the responses to a set of questions about teaching, equipment and the welcome for foreign students:

Graph 6. Evaluation of studies in France
(only including respondents who had studied in France)



In general the graph indicates a favourable response to study in France. Teaching and equipment both received high approval in the "quite good" section and equipment was rated particularly highly. Overall the data indicates a fairly good rate of satisfaction although it appears that there is work to be done on welcoming Indian students more at French universities.

While a small number of respondents came to France directly to work, the majority of respondents went on to work after their studies. Once again, the overall picture with relation to work is positive, most respondents indicated that they were quite satisfied (42%) or satisfied (also 42%) with their

experience of working in France. Respondents were asked to make comments on their work experiences, and although most comments were neutral or positive, some did report that visa problems meant they could not continue working, and two indicated some impolite treatment from colleagues.

Respondents were found in a variety of high skill fields and were particularly concentrated in research: in total there were thirteen people carrying out research at PhD or Post-doc level, and five others who described themselves as researchers without giving further detail. There were seven interns among the respondents working in a variety of specialities including engineering, market research and in other businesses. There were also four respondents working at management level and others were also heads of departments and other high level roles in different companies. There were also respondents working in finance, ICT, engineering and market research. The question on current occupation was optional and only thirty-nine respondents filled this section in. I was interested to know about the contracts of these respondents – how secure were their jobs? A large proportion (16 out of 42) had an internship contract – legally these should last no longer than six months in France. There were ten people on a permanent contract (*contrat à durée indeterminée*) – these are particularly secure jobs which make it very hard for the employer to let the employee go. Meanwhile, twelve respondents had fixed term contracts and a handful of others were in temporary work or "other". Just over half the respondents therefore had a relatively high level of job security, although the fact that many will have recently finished their studies explains why so many were working as interns or temps.

I was also interested in finding out about the process of finding a job. We have already seen that almost all the respondents have always been occupied while in France, either as students, interns or workers. When asked how they found their jobs just over half indicated that they had found the job independently having seen it advertised on the internet/newspaper, while a smaller figure was helped by their school or university (6 of the 42). For the rest a variety of strategies were employed: personal contacts, applying even when there were no jobs advertised, approaching a company they had previously worked for, transfers between university research departments. It appears that generally speaking respondents were quite successful in finding jobs, and the fact that a majority found work through the straightforward method of replying to an advertisement seems to indicate the French job market was fairly open to them. Nonetheless, I wanted to find out if respondents thought the fact they were Indian would have affected their chances of finding a job. Most (17 of 42) felt that being Indian had no bearing on finding a job at all. Among the rest, answers were spread quite evenly. Only one respondent thought that prejudice on the part of employers made finding work difficult, while others thought that visa and language problems may have restricted their opportunities. On the other hand, some respondents indicated that their being Indian may have in fact boosted their chances of finding work due to their international experience, language skills or knowledge of the Indian market. Generally speaking, therefore, Indian expatriates in France have been able to find internships and work contracts quite easily, and although a small minority found that their nationality may have restricted their opportunities, the majority felt that being Indian had no bearing, or worked positively in favour of them finding jobs.

Papers and visas

Of all the subjects discussed in the survey, matters relating to papers and visas were constantly brought up as *the* major problem of life in France. The majority of respondents came to France on long term French students visas which only covered the period of the course. Generally speaking, respondents applied for the visa themselves at the closest French embassy in India although a handful had it organised by their jobs or by their university. Once their initial visa has run out, those who wish to stay in France must apply for a residence permit (*carte de séjour*) two months before their visa expires. The application process is very complex and requires large amounts of documentation and there are various fees for the application as well as costs related to translations of original documents. Once they have handed all their documents in at the local *préfecture*, they receive a récépissé, a temporary receipt as proof of their application. The récépissé is only valid for three months, while the carte de séjour can

often take much longer to receive, meaning the applicant must keep updating their récépissé every three months. The trouble with this system is that the lengthy wait for the *carte de séjour* is stressful and restricts the movement of the applicant and can also result in problems with finding a job, as employers are unwilling to hire someone who does not definitely have a residence permit.

While the initial application process for the visa in India was mainly reported as unproblematic, if a little costly and inefficient, the real problems started in France. Over half of respondents indicated they had been stressed and worried by delays regarding their *carte de séjour*, while many people (45%) indicated they had long delays in getting it, and 39% also indicated they had experienced difficulties with the application process, such as hidden costs and not having the correct papers. Others indicated having problems with proving they had adequate resources and that the process was very expensive. One person had been put into a detention facility after having being tricked into paying for false papers. Respondents repeatedly commented that the length of this process was highly unsatisfactory and made it very hard to secure jobs. They did not understand why it took so long and this led to a feeling of insecurity about their status. The large quantities of paperwork and endless administrative procedures and the feeling of being in limbo were very exasperating.

While the *carte de séjour* was the main administrative problem that received criticism, respondents were also keen to point out other problems. One issue which was often bought up was of the difficulties relating to opening a bank account or getting a phone contract. Regulations and laws seemed to change all the time, meaning that on some occasions individuals were simply unable to open a bank account – one respondent in particular described a three month period at the beginning of his time in France where he didn't have a French account. Bank employees also appeared to be suspicious of opening accounts for foreigners and treated some respondents impolitely. Other complaints touched upon family reunification; it was a long and confusing process bringing people over. One respondent was very frustrated that their dentistry degree was not recognised in France, and meant they had to retrain in business studies while others had problems renewing driving licences obtained in India. The fact that it seemed no one speaks English at the *préfecture*, where a large amount of clients are foreigners was pointed out as unhelpful, and it was suggested that universities could do more to help graduates or that the government could organise centres for expatriates that could facilitate the application process.

France has a dubious reputation as a country where administrative processes are long and complicated, especially for foreigners. While the initial visa application in India was largely trouble free, this survey indicates there is still a long way to go to make bureaucracy in France less of a headache for expatriates.

The expatriate lifestyle: all glamour?

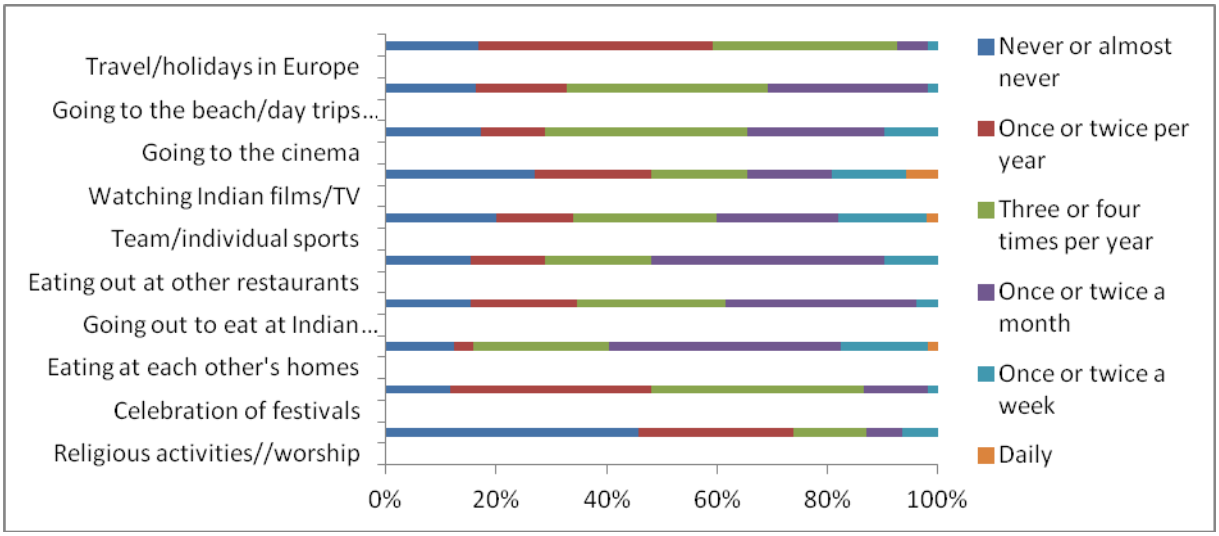
I was interested to find out about the lifestyles of these migrants in France. Throughout this study I have referred to them as expatriates in order to distinguish them from labour migrants and earlier Indian migrants to France. Expatriates are quite a distinct type of migrant – usually relatively young, single, and well-paid. They are internationally mobile and work in high-skilled and professional jobs in destination country and rarely see their migration as permanent. Due to their being single, young and well paid, expatriates are often portrayed in films and novels as having very glamorous lives.

Outside of work, then, how would these expatriates spend their free time? The survey indicates that most (52%) had found an equal balance between spending time with compatriots and frequenting French people/other foreigners, and Indian women were particularly likely to divide their time in this way (10 out of 15). Three respondents commented that they were often alone outside of work - whether out of choice or due to circumstances it is unclear. While the experience of life in France was certainly lonely for some, the rest passed most of their time with Indians and/or family, with other foreigners or with mainly French people. One or two respondents did indicate that while studying at least, there were definite cliques at French universities, where the French students kept apart from

foreigners. They also noticed that other foreign students, as well as French people with non-European origins seemed to separate out into national/ethnic groups, indicating that more needs to be done with regards to encouraging the integration of foreign students at universities.

Table 7 (below) explores some of the activities the respondents carried out in their free time with other Indians while living in France. Following my exploratory interview with an Indian expatriate I chose the following set of activities which appeared to be fairly typical ways of spending time. Unfortunately I did not add an option for going to bars/clubs.

Graph 7. Activities in free time with other Indians (all respondents)



The responses to this question were not particularly different with regards to gender, except in the case of eating at friend's homes, which was more common for men than women, while women ate at non-Indian restaurants more regularly than men. Religious activity appears to be quite limited among Indian expatriates, with 45% of respondents saying they never or almost never practiced religion with other Indians and then the majority of the rest doing so only a couple of times per year. There was not a question about religious confession in this survey so it is not really possible to say to which faith respondents do or don't affiliate themselves to. There may well be many reasons for this low rate of worship, although for Hindus in particular there are few centres where they can practice their religion in France, and even if there are, it might be a temple which caters to Hindus from a different region with quite a foreign worship style.

It was reported that festivals were celebrated by most people a few times each year, indicating that Indian expatriates maintain a strong cultural link with home, and a desire to recreate certain aspects of their culture abroad. My interview respondent explained how in Antibes (south-east France) the community of Indians organise different festivals each year which are also well attended by French locals. Memories of home were also ignited by watching Indian films and TV on a regular basis and eating at Indian restaurants. The respondents to this survey can be seen as quite sociable, participating regularly in team sports, taking regular holidays together in France and abroad and eating together at restaurants or round one another's houses.

When reflecting on their overall experiences in France, most respondents were quite happy about their time in the country. Most agreed that the experience was positive overall, that they had been able to build good relationships with colleagues and clients at work and that they would recommend the country to an Indian friend; very few really regretted coming to France or going abroad. Results were more mixed in relation to finding a job, settling in and coping with the administration – while some people were perfectly happy, over half of respondents for each of these questions replied negatively, showing that moving to France is by no means straightforward for Indian expatriates. Furthermore,

70% of respondents agreed to having experienced varying degrees of stereotyping while in France, and others made comments about being ignored in shops and banks, being harassed and experiencing prejudice. Another comment that was often made was that they were surprised how little French people spoke English which made integration very hard to begin with; others mentioned that salaries were not globally competitive and that it was very hard to be a vegetarian in France as well, of course, as the constant headache of paperwork. Despite these negatives it should be remembered that overall comments and survey responses were mainly on the positive end of the scale.

Conclusions and policy suggestions

How might this data add to the portrait of the fictional "typical" twenty-nine year old man from Andhra Pradesh introduced above? We now understand that his main reason for migrating was part of his long term career strategy – he hoped to gain international experience in order to improve opportunities later on in life. Nonetheless he was also interested in France because there was a specific university where he wanted to study there and because he had some personal interest in France. When he first came a couple of years ago he studied a Business course at a private university at Master's level where the teaching was in English. Overall the university experience was quite good, although he struggled to make friends with other non-Indian students. To begin with he had a lot of trouble getting his head around the French bureaucracy, partly due to his limited French, and felt he received some prejudice from various officials in government offices and bank staff. Nevertheless he eventually got all his papers sorted and despite some worries getting his *carte de séjour* he was able to find an internship he saw advertised online where he has now been working for a few months and it is going well. Outside of work he spends time with Indian friends but also French and other foreign expatriates and he goes regularly to restaurants or to eat at friend's houses, and also plays sport, perhaps volleyball or cricket. From time to time he goes travelling in France and has visited nearby European countries such as Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands on holiday. Overall, life in France has been good, and despite a few problems with paperwork and some limited racism, he has settled in quite well.

How might the comments and data collected in this survey be used to improve the experience of Indian students and expatriates? France is currently planning on boosting cooperation with India and hopes to attract more students and post-study workers to the country and therefore might improve their experience by introducing some of the following measures:

1. A number of respondents suggested that France should have some kind of "Expat Centre" where new arrivals who are working in high skilled professions could go and have all their documentation dealt with in a sort of "one stop shop". So as to avoid endless queues at *préfectures* and smoothen their arrival, such a centre, where the staff could communicate in English, could manage all procedures relating to visas, *cartes de séjour*, family reunification and advise with matters such as opening a bank account, finding housing and setting up a phone contract. Since many employers are currently not helping with such issues, a government department could perhaps be a good alternative and would help avoid the current headache of paperwork many new expatriates have to deal with.
2. Similarly, universities should all have adequate international student services where advice on papers, housing, banks and finding work post-studies is provided by English-speaking staff. While some universities almost certainly already have such a place, it should be a requirement across the board. Furthermore, on arrival/during inscription, foreign students should be made aware of the places they can go to find help – this is not always obvious.
3. On a related note, universities ought to encourage integration between local and foreign students. This might be organised through various often quite simple methods. For instance, when doing in-class group work, the groups should be chosen randomly by teachers so that students with different backgrounds, who might otherwise gravitate towards "people who look like them", have to work together and foster relationships. Also, international students might be encouraged to share expertise from their own countries during lessons – an Indian who has

experience of business or engineering back home will be able to share very interesting insights with his colleagues in France. In this way prejudice might also be neutralised.

4. If an Expat centre is not possible, it should be a requirement that all staff at *préfectures*, where many clients speak limited French, should at least have a basic level of English and a small booklet with instructions and explanations on managing French paperwork/steps through the system should be provided in English. Meanwhile, new migrants could be offered free or cheap French lessons at the beginning of university/when they arrive to work in France.
5. With regards to visas and *cartes de séjour*, it might be premature to make remarks here as it appears at the time of writing that France is currently easing visa application processes for Indians. Nonetheless, on a general level applications for residence permits, as well as family reunification really do need to be sped up, because at present this paralyses expatriates, often prohibiting them from getting jobs or gaining any sense of security. A number of respondents indicated that this was the worst thing about France and one or two even indicated that due to the complexity of these procedures they were thinking of leaving France – this seems an unfortunate and avoidable reason for France to lose the high-skilled workers its economy needs.

As with much research, this survey only draws us to ask more questions to better understand the responses given. The data collected about respondents was fairly limited, so many more questions need to be asked to gain a better picture of their experiences and to draw comparisons and find correlations. Do people from certain states tend to study certain subjects, or work in certain types of jobs in France? Which kind of people felt most prejudice; women or men? People in Marseille or Paris? It would be interesting to explore in more detail the use of free time by Indian expatriates; why do so few practice religion? How and why do they celebrate festivals, and who is invited? What is the significance in visiting Indian restaurants, especially if the food is from a different region in India to that where they come from? How serious were the problems and delays with administration; did they often lead to people losing out on job opportunities? A longer term study with one-to-one interviews preferably focussed on Indians living in one or two specific towns would go a long way towards revealing the answers to these questions and more.

General conclusions to country report

This country report has compiled a wide range of sources to provide an illustration of the Indian community in France. Despite a number of large blind spots in the data which make it impossible to indicate definite numbers, it is nonetheless possible to profile most of the main Indian groups living in France with relatively accurate estimates regarding their size, occupations, ages and geographical location. This report also summarised a number of factors which weigh on Indian migrants, including the legal framework and how it pertains to them, the mainly benign if simplistic treatment they receive in the media, their various religious and cultural associations and a treatment of their limited though increasing integration.

Having introduced the population at a general level the study then introduced the results of a small survey with Indian expatriates, high skill workers and students, a population that until now has been completely ignored in the literature. The study found that generally speaking, these migrants had integrated well in France, having good access to education and employment. This principally young and male-dominated group were found in France's main cities where, despite considerable problems with administrative procedures and some prejudice, they had had an overall positive experience of life in France. The analysis of the data was consequently used to support some policy recommendations to help improve the experiences of this group.

Indian migration in France is diverse and complex, and when talking about Indians in France, it might be more accurate to focus on migrants from specific states because their experiences and

migratory routes are so very different, meaning generalisations are somewhat meaningless. Unfortunately, at present, migrants of South Asian origin in France are often seen as one single group, where even national differences are unknown or ignored. This report, within certain limits, has attempted to go against such a generalisation, and show the diversity and changing identities of people of Indian origin in France.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all the respondents who replied to my survey, and particularly those who forwarded it to friends and colleagues. I also wish to thank the participant who I interviewed for his insights which helped with the development of my survey. Thanks also go to my tutors at the University of Poitiers and colleagues at the European University Institute for their support, comments and advice.

Bibliography

ANGLEVIEL, Frédéric. *The French Pacific.* IN LAL, Brij, V (Ed).*The encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora.* Singapore: Editions Didier Millet. 2006

ASNOM. *Map of French enclaves in India.* [Online] Available at: http://www.asnom.org/oh/fr/0156_asie.php?PHPSESSID=ae629fb09017c051eba6ce41ae8fd119 Accessed: 22/07/2013. 2013

BARUAH, Sanjib. *Now foreign funds fuel Khalistan cause.* [Online] Available at: http://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/NewDelhi/Now-foreign-funds-fuel-Khalistan-cause/Article1-1038681.aspx Accessed: 19/07/2013. 2013

BEDI, Aanchal. *Postgrads can now get a five-year visa to France.* [Online] Available at: http://www.hindustantimes.com/HTEducation/Chunk-HT-UI-HTEducationSectionPage-OtherStories/Postgrads-can-now-get-a-five-year-visa-to-france/SP-Article1-1089671.aspx Accessed: 16/07/2013. 2013

BURGER, Jack ; TOUBURG, Giorgio. *International mobility of professional knowledge from the Global South: Indian IT workers in the Netherlands.* IN *Global Networks.* 2013. Article published online before inclusion in print issue. Accessed: 05/06/2013. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/glob.12012/references

CARSIGNOL, Anouck. *Les Indo-Mauriciens en France : au carrefour des diasporas.* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 120-127 . 2007

CASTEL, André du. *Les Indiens en France.* IN L'ETANG, Gary (Ed.) *Présences de l'Inde dans le monde.* Paris : Editions l'Harmattan. 1994

CORDIER, Solène. *Amma, la gourou de Kerala.* [Online] Available at : http://www.youphil.com/fr/article/03044-amma-la-gourou-du-kerala?ypcli=ano Accessed: 17/06/2013. 2010

DUMONT, Louis. *Homo Hierarchicus. Le système des castes et ses implications*. Paris : Editions Gallimard. 1966

HENNION, Faustine. *Renonçants et renonçants : deux réalités du renoncement en Inde.* [Online] available at : http://www.actupondy.com/fr/home/878-renoncants-pondichery Accessed: 20/07/2013. 2013

INDEAPARIS. *Les lieux de culte de l'Inde en France.* [Online] Available at : http://www.indeaparis.com/religions/les-lieux-de-culte-de-l-inde-en-france Accessed: 16/07/2013. 2013

INDIAN NIC. *Other countries in Europe.* [Online] Available at: http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/diasporapdf/chapter11.pdf Accessed: 17/05/2013. 2000

INSEE. *Recensement de la population 2008 : exploitation principale & exploitation complémentaire.* [Online] Available at : www.insee.fr. Accessed 13/04/2013. 2008

INSEE. *Etrangers immigré.* [Online] Available at : www.insee.fr. Accessed 13/04/2013. 2010

JAYARAM, N. *The metamophosis of caste among Trinidad Hindus.* IN *Contributions to Indian sociology.* No. 42. Vol. 1. Pp. 143-175. 2006

KHADRIA, Binod. *Shifting paradigms of globalization: the twenty-first century transition towards generics in skilled migration from India* IN *International Migration.* Vol. 39 No. 5. Pp. 45–69. 2001

KIRBY, Emma Jane. *Sikh school sidesteps French ban.* [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6996198.stm Accessed: 18/07/2013. 2007

LACHAIER, Pierre. *Khojas duodécimains de Madagascar* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp : 138 – 142. 2007

LADOCUMENTATIONFRANCAISE. *Quelle politique de l'immigration ?* [Online] Available at : http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/dossiers/d000073-immigration-et-politique-migratoire-en-france/quelle-politique-de-l-immigration Accessed: 05/07/2013. 2011

LAKSHMI DASSARADAAYADOU, Sophie. *Tamouls indiens : de Pondichéry à la France.* IN *Hommes & migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 68-81. 2007

L'AUMONERIE CATHOLIQUE DE FRANCE. *Qui sommes-nous ?* [Online] Available at : http://www.aumonerietamouleindienne.org/index.php/fr/qui-sommes-nous- Accessed: 18/07/2013. 2009

LEPOINT.FR. Un projet de loi sur l'immigration avant l'été**.** [Online] Available at : http://www.lepoint.fr/politique/un-projet-de-loi-sur-l-immigration-avant-l-ete-14-05-2013-1666656_20.php Accessed: 12/07/2013. 2013

MARKOVITS, Claude. *Les soldats indiens au secours de la France en 1914* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 45-59. 2007

M'BODJE, Mamadou. *Les nouvelles politiques françaises de l'immigration et leurs contextes : 2002-2012.* [Online] Available at: http://www.ritimo.org/article4739.html Accessed: 12/07/2013. 2013

MILLAR, Jane ; Salt, John. *In whose interests? IT migration in an interconnected world economy.* IN *Population, space and place.* Vol. 13. No. 1. Pp. 41-58. 2007

MOLINER, Christine. *L'immigration sikhe en France : des plaines du Pendjab à le Seine-Saint-Denis.* IN *Hommes et Migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 130-138. 2007

NEIYYAR, Dil. *UN human rights body backs French Sikhs on turbans.* [Online] Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-16547479 Accessed: 18/07/2013. 2012

NIKLAS, Ulrike. *The French Caribbean.* IN LAL, Brij, V (Ed).*The encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora.* Singapore: Editions Didier Millet. 2006

NIKLAS, Ulrike. *France.* IN LAL, Brij, V (Ed).*The encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora.* Singapore: Editions Didier Millet. 2006

ORIV. *Historique de la politique d'immigration en France.* [Online] Available at: http://etrangersimmigres.oriv-alsace.org/IMG/pdf/A_chap_II_Fiche_9.pdf Accessed: 03/07/2013. 2006

PAIRAUDEAU, Natasha. *Indo-China : Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.* IN LAL, Brij, V (Ed).*The encyclopedia of the Indian diaspora.* Singapore: Editions Didier Millet. 2006

PAIRAUDEAU, Natasha. *Via lIindochine : trajectoires coloniales de l'immigration sud-indienne.* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 24-33. 2007

PARASHAR, Sachin. *France won't overtunr ban on Sikh turban.* [Online] Available at: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-02-12/india/37058280_1_ban-on-religious-symbols-turban-symbols-in-public-schools Accessed: 18/07/2013. 2013

QUIEN, Alexandra. *Femmes indiennes au travail à Paris.* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 160-167. 2007

SAHA, K.C. *Smuggling of Migrants from India to Europe and in particular to UK: A Study on Punjab & Haryan.* New Delhi: UNODC. 2009

SERVAN-SCHREIBER, Catherine, VUDDAMALAY, Vasoodeve. *Les étapes de la présence indienne en France.* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 8-23. 2007

SIMON, Patrick. *Les statistiques ethniques : Un moyen nécessaire ou dangereux ?* IN *Les Après-midi*. 9. 23 Octobre 2007. 2007

SINGAREVELOU. *La politique coloniale française et les minorités indiennes de la Caraïbe.* IN *Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique : Asie du Sud, traditions et changements.* Pp. 611 – 617. 1978

THINEY-DUVOY, Solange. *L'Inde en France.* Paris : Editions Bachari. 2007

TISON, Brigitte. *Des indiennes en Europe – valeurs et stratégies identitaires : comparaison Paris-Londres.* Paris : L'Harmattan. 2008

TRIBALAT. *Indiens.* Statistics obtained following an email exchange with the demographer. 2013

VUDDAMALAY, Vasoodeven ; ALY-MARECAR-VINEY, Nourjehan. *Les Indiens du Vietnem: un rôle pionnier*. IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 34-39. 2007

WEIBEL, Nadine. *Spiritualités indiennes en Alsace.* IN *Hommes et migrations.* No. 1268-1269. Pp. 174-182. 2007

WORLD BANK. *Bilateral Remittance Estimates for 2010,2011,2012 using Migrant Stocks, Host Country Incomes, and Origin Country Incomes (millions of US$) (May 2013 Version).* [Online] Available at: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTFINANCIALSECTOR/0,,contentMDK:22378309~menuPK:6681487~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:282885,00.html Accessed: 24/06/2013. 2013

Annexe

Survey results (text answers, in-detail data and some personal information withheld)

Constant Contact Survey Results						
Survey Name: Indian Expats in France						
Response Status: Completed						
Filter: None						
7/15/2013 9:49 AM EDT						
To begin with, I'd like to find out about your general motivations for moving abroad in the first place - what were your initial plans or the reasons which inspired the choice to move abroad? Please select all appropriate responses						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
I wanted to leave India permanently and live abroad		2	3.2%			
I wanted to gain international experience in order to improve my career opportunities later in life		51	83.6%			
I simply wanted to travel then see what opportunities might arise		12	19.6%			
I had no specific aims or expectations		0	0.0%			
I felt my opportunities in India were limited so I decided to look abroad		11	18.0%			
Lots of my friends and colleagues were talking about life abroad which made me want to go abroad too		8	13.1%			
I wanted to live in France because I had a personal interest in living in this country		17	27.8%			
I wanted to study abroad because I thought education in other countries would be better		19	31.1%			
I thought there would be better opportunities abroad - better paid jobs, social security etc.		19	31.1%			
My company sent me to work abroad		4	6.5%			
Other		2	3.2%			
Total		61	100%			

Having decided to live abroad, why did you choose France as a destination country? Please select all appropriate responses						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
My company sent me to France to complete a specific role		6	9.8%			
I wanted to learn French		10	16.3%			
I wanted to study in France at a specific school/university		24	39.3%			
Because of the standard of living in this country		9	14.7%			
Because education is relatively cheap in France		14	22.9%			
I already spoke French so it would be easy to live in France		5	8.1%			
I had friends and family in France who invited me over		3	4.9%			
I saw France as a "stepping-stone" - once I had lived there it would be easier to move on to another European country		11	18.0%			
I had a particular interest in French society/culture		12	19.6%			
I heard that there was good social security in France		6	9.8%			
Other		14	22.9%			
Total		61	100%			
Please select the description that best describes your employment history in France						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
I have only been a student since I came to France		21	34.4%			
I came to France with my company so have always been employed since arrival		5	8.1%			
I studied at a French university/school then found a professional job		3	4.9%			

I studied at a French university then have had jobs not related to my course (work in supermarkets, hotels etc.)	1	1.6%			
I studied then have had internships	12	19.6%			
I came to France independently and found a job	2	3.2%			
I studied then had an internship which led to a permanent job	8	13.1%			
I have been unemployed for most of my time in France	0	0.0%			
I studied then was unemployed	0	0.0%			
I studied, then was unemployed for a while before finding a job	1	1.6%			
Other	8	13.1%			
No Responses	0	0.0%			
Total	61	100%			
Please choose the sentence that best describes how your experience of working and living in France have changed your initial plans					
	Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
My plans have basically stayed the same	11	18.0%			
I now want to stay in France permanently/for more than ten years	4	6.5%			
I now want to live in France for longer than I initially expected	17	27.8%			
I now plan to move to live in a different country	11	18.0%			
I want to return to India sooner than I initially planned	1	1.6%			
I want to keep working for my company for the forseeable future and then see what opportunities come up	6	9.8%			
I am taking things day by day - I haven't thought much about the future	6	9.8%			
Other	4	6.5%			
No Responses	1	1.6%			
Total	61	100%			

Please describe your language levels before and after living in France						
1 = None, 2 = Beginner, 3 = Intermediate, 4 = Fairly well, 5 = Very well, 6 = Fluent						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Your level of French before you moved to France	42	13	2	1	2	1
	69%	21%	3%	2%	3%	2%
Your current level of French	1	20	26	4	5	5
	2%	33%	43%	7%	8%	8%
Did you study in France?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Yes		49	80.3%			
No		12	19.6%			
No Responses		0	0.0%			
Total		61	100%			
Which language did you study in?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Only in French		5	8.1%			
Only in English		26	42.6%			
A mixture of French and English, but mainly French		3	4.9%			
A mixture of English and French, but mainly English		14	22.9%			
Another language		0	0.0%			
No Responses		13	21.3%			
Total		61	100%			

Which description best describes the course you did in France?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
2 year Master's degree at a public university		5	8.1%			
3 year Licence (Bachelor's degree) at a public university		1	1.6%			
Doctorate (PhD) at a public university		10	16.3%			
2 year Master's degree at a private university		16	26.2%			
3 year Licence (Bachelor's degree) et a private university		0	0.0%			
A French language course at a private or public insitution		0	0.0%			
A shorter diploma/course (3 - 18 months) at a public university		3	4.9%			
A shorter diploma/course (3 - 18 months) at a private university		4	6.5%			
Other		9	14.7%			
No Responses		13	21.3%			
Total		61	100%			
What was/is your main area of study in France?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Arts		0	0.0%			
Social sciences		0	0.0%			
Literature		0	0.0%			
French language course		1	1.6%			
Engineering		12	19.6%			
Information technology/programming		5	8.1%			
Physical sciences		7	11.4%			
Mathematics		1	1.6%			

Geography		0	0.0%			
History		0	0.0%			
Business		15	24.5%			
Communications		0	0.0%			
Law		0	0.0%			
Education		0	0.0%			
Medicine/nursing		2	3.2%			
Other		6	9.8%			
No Responses		12	19.6%			
Total		61	100%			
Please rate your experience of studying in France						
1 = Very poor, 2 = Quite poor, 3 = Average, 4 = Quite good, 5 = Very good						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	
How would you rate the teaching	1	2	14	24	6	
	2%	4%	30%	51%	13%	
How would you rate the equipment	1	0	6	22	15	
	2%	0%	14%	50%	34%	
How would you rate the welcome for foreign students	1	6	16	13	10	
	2%	13%	35%	28%	22%	
Have you worked or done an internship in France?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Yes		42	68.8%			
No		19	31.1%			
No Responses		0	0.0%			
Total		61	100%			

How did you find your current/most recent job/internship?			
	Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**	
My company in India transferred me to work in France	2	3.2%	
I had personal contacts working for the company who helped me find a job there	3	4.9%	
My university/school helped me find the placement	6	9.8%	
I saw the job/internship advertised while searching online/newspapers and applied directly	22	36.0%	
I approached the company although no jobs were advertised	2	3.2%	
The company approached me and asked if I would be interested to work for them	2	3.2%	
I had worked for the company previously and applied through professional contacts	1	1.6%	
I found the job through a job fair	0	0.0%	
I find the job through an employment agency	0	0.0%	
Other	4	6.5%	
No Responses	19	31.1%	
Total	61	100%	

Do you think that being Indian may have influenced your employment opportunities?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
No - it had no influence		17	27.8%			
Yes - the company were actively seeking to recruit Indians as they were expanding in the Indian market		1	1.6%			
Yes - the company were seeking to employ Indians due to their knowledge of the Indian market and work culture		2	3.2%			
Yes - being Indian made it much harder to find a job due to prejudice		1	1.6%			
Yes - being Indian made it harder to find a job because of language restrictions		5	8.1%			
Yes - being Indian made it harder to find a job because of visa related problems		5	8.1%			
Maybe - the company were looking to hire international workers		6	9.8%			
Maybe - the company likes to hire English speakers		4	6.5%			
No Responses		20	32.7%			
Total		61	100%			
7 Comment(s)						

Please describe the type of contract you have						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
CDI (permanent contract) in France		10	16.3%			
CDD (fixed-term contract) in France		12	19.6%			
Temporary work		3	4.9%			
Internship/work experience		16	26.2%			
Continuing a contract I begun in India		0	0.0%			
Other		1	1.6%			
No Responses		19	31.1%			
Total		61	100%			
Some international workers have described how they have had unexpected surprises in their contracts on arriving in a foreign country. Has this happened to you? Please describe below.						
11 Response(s)						
How satisfied overall have you been with your job in France						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**Very dissatisfied**	**Dissatisfied**	**Quite dissatisfied**	**Quite satisfied**	**Satisfied**	**Very satisfied**
	0	1	2	18	18	3
	0%	2%	5%	43%	43%	7%

How did you organise your visa for coming to France?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
I organised it independently by visiting the closest French embassy to my home in India		35	57.3%			
I organised my visa from a third country		2	3.2%			
My job organised the visa for me		7	11.4%			
My school/university organised the visa for me		11	18.0%			
I paid an agent to help organise the visa for me		4	6.5%			
Other		1	1.6%			
No Responses		1	1.6%			
Total		61	100%			
What kind of visa did you come to France on?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Short stay Schengen - business/travel/family		0	0.0%			
Short stay Schengen - internship/conference		1	1.6%			
Long stay French visa - work		11	18.0%			
Long stay French visa - study		44	72.1%			
Long stay French visa - family		1	1.6%			
Other		4	6.5%			
No Responses		0	0.0%			
Total		61	100%			

Please select all problems (if any) you experienced with regards to getting a French visa in the first place						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Visa application rejected without explanation why		1	1.6%			
Slow response to visa application meaning I was late for courses/job		9	15.2%			
Very complicated visa application process		7	11.8%			
Inefficient application process, lengthy queues at embassy etc.		4	6.7%			
Very expensive application process		6	10.1%			
Hidden fees, such as health certificates, translations		5	8.4%			
I had little or no problems getting a French visa		41	69.4%			
Other		4	6.7%			
Total		59	100%			
Please select all problems (if any) you have experienced with your papers in France						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Difficulties with application for renewal of carte de séjour (costs, delays, did not have all the correct documents)		22	37.9%			
Long delays in getting carte de séjour update		26	44.8%			
Stress/worry due to renewing carte de séjour		30	51.7%			
I have been put in a detention centre for having incorrect/out of date papers		1	1.7%			
Expensive to update carte de séjour		15	25.8%			
I was tricked into paying for false papers		1	1.7%			
Problems proving I had adequate resources		5	8.6%			
I have had no problems at all or only minor issues with my papers in France		16	27.5%			
Other		10	17.2%			
Total		58	100%			

Outside of work, who do you spend your leisure time with?						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Mainly other Indian professionals		6	9.8%			
Mainly French people		5	8.1%			
Mainly other expatriates from different countries		8	13.1%			
A mix of Indians and other people - about 50/50		32	52.4%			
With family/relatives		6	9.8%			
Other		4	6.5%			
No Responses		0	0.0%			
Total		61	100%			

If you spend time with Indians outside of work, please indicate the kinds of activities you do together and how often you do them						
1 = Never or almost never, 2 = Once or twice per year, 3 = Three or four times per year, 4 = Once or twice a month, 5 = Once or twice a week, 6 = Daily						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Religious activities//worship	21	13	6	3	3	0
	46%	28%	13%	7%	7%	0%
Celebration of festivals	6	19	20	6	1	0
	12%	37%	38%	12%	2%	0%
Eating at each other's homes	7	2	14	24	9	1
	12%	4%	25%	42%	16%	2%
Going out to eat at Indian restaurants	8	10	14	18	2	0
	15%	19%	27%	35%	4%	0%
Eating out at other restaurants	8	7	10	22	5	0
	15%	13%	19%	42%	10%	0%

Team/individual sports	10	7	13	11	8	1
	20%	14%	26%	22%	16%	2%
Watching Indian films/TV	14	11	9	8	7	3
	27%	21%	17%	15%	13%	6%
Going to the cinema	9	6	19	13	5	0
	17%	12%	37%	25%	10%	0%
Going to the beach/day trips to different tourist spots	9	9	20	16	1	0
	16%	16%	36%	29%	2%	0%
Travel/holidays in Europe	9	23	18	3	1	0
	17%	43%	33%	6%	2%	0%
2 Comment(s)						
Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about your experiences of life in France						
1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Disagree a little, 4 = Agree a little, 5 = Agree, 6 = Agree strongly						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
I have experienced stereotyping	4	4	8	27	7	3
	8%	8%	15%	51%	13%	6%
My experience has overall been positive	0	3	7	9	27	11
	0%	5%	12%	16%	47%	19%
It has been easy to settle in France	8	12	8	14	13	4
	14%	20%	14%	24%	22%	7%
I have had problems finding work	3	12	3	12	11	13
	6%	22%	6%	22%	20%	24%
I have had problems with administrative procedures	1	6	1	15	17	18
	2%	10%	2%	26%	29%	31%
I have built good relationships with colleagues and clients	0	1	2	8	29	18
	0%	2%	3%	14%	50%	31%
I would advise an Indian friend to work in France	1	7	8	17	19	7
	2%	12%	14%	29%	32%	12%

I wish I had gone to a different country	8	17	9	10	8	7
	14%	29%	15%	17%	14%	12%
I am very happy in France - there is little I would change	2	10	16	10	16	5
	3%	17%	27%	17%	27%	8%
I regret moving abroad - it would have been better if I stayed in India	21	22	8	2	2	4
	36%	37%	14%	3%	3%	7%
Thank you for taking the time to fill out this survey, the information you have provided will be very useful in my study on Indian migration to France. If you have any more opinions or remarks which you think should be taken into account please do let me know in the space below.						
24 Response(s)						
Gender						
		Number of Response(s)	**Response Ratio**			
Male		46	75.4%			
Female		15	24.5%			
No Responses		0	0.0%			
Total		61	100%			
Please indicate the year in which you were born (example: 1985)						
61 Response(s)						
In which state do you come from in India (where have you lived longest). Example: Tamil Nadu						
59 Response(s)						
In which town do you currently live in France?						
57 Response(s)						

What is the highest level of education you have acheived (or are currently studying at)?						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**Standard XII - A Levels - International Baccalaureate**	**Undergraduate degree/Licence/Bachelor's**	**Master's degree**	**PhD/Doctorate**		
	0	5	35	21		
	0%	8%	57%	34%		
7 Comment(s)						
How long have you lived in France?						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**0-1 years**	**1-2 years**	**2-3 years**	**3-4 years**	**4 years or more**	
	16	11	13	13	8	
	26%	18%	21%	21%	13%	
How many years did you work professionally in India before moving to France?						
Top number is the count of respondents selecting the option. Bottom % is percent of the total respondents selecting the option.	**Never worked in India**	**0-1 years**	**1-2 years**	**2 -5 years**	**5 years or more**	
	17	11	10	17	6	
	28%	18%	16%	28%	10%	
Please indicate your current job title and employer (optional)						
40 Response(s)						